

B. A. & B. A. Com. (Hons.) Part - III

General Studies

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OUTLINE OF THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF INDIA, 1757-1857

The first half of the eighteenth century in India occupied by the collapse of the Mughal empire and a struggle for power by its would-be successors. The visible decline of the empire can be dated from 1712, the year of the death of Bahadur Shah I. The South was already the Nizam's domain. Kabul was lost to Nadir Shah in 1739, Sind and fertile Gujarat with Surat went in 1750, prosperous Oudh in 1754 with the defeat of Chief Minister, and the martial Panjab to the Afghans in the same year. Afghan under Ahmad Shah Abdali sacked Delhi in 1756-57. During this phase the position of the Britishers was becoming strong.

Alivardi died in April 1756 and was succeeded by his grand son Siraj-ud-daula, youth of twenty. He was disliked by the Englishmen. With the help of Mir Jafar the Britishers defeated Siraj-ud-daula at Plassey in June 1757. After 1757 there thus grew up a state of Bengal administered by the Nawab but where the military power was in the hands of the East India Company who used it to help themselves to the revenue and to give their merchants to free run of country's internal trade. The Company sent Clive back to Calcutta in 1765 as a kind of poacher turned gamekeeper. Within a short period the Company Bahadur of the Bengal, with the branches or bridgeheads in Madras and Bombay was one of the recognised great power of India, Mir Kasim was defeated at Buxar in 1763.

Fortune favoured the English in the Karnatak also. After a number of minor engagements, a decisive battle between English and French army took place near the fort of Wandiwagh (22 June, 1760) and French army was defeated. The Nawab of Oudh was defeated in 1764-65. The serious reverses in the third Battle of Panipat (1761) checked the rising Maratha power for time being, but in 1769 the Marathas felt powerful enough to resume their raids in North India. They defeated the Jats and Rajputs. But after the death of Peshwa Madhava Rao, the position of the Maratha became weak. The Maratha's accepted supremacy of the Company on 17 Jan, 1779. By dint of hosting a treaty between the Marathas and the Company was held in 1782.

A soldier of fortune named Hyder Ali rose to power in Mysore, and by 1761 became its virtual ruler. The boundaries of his kingdom touched the Nizam and the Marathas, and came to be regarded as one of the great powers of south. The hopelessly incompetent government of Madras involved themselves in quarrel with Hyder Ali without making adequate preparations for the

same. Hyder Ali has a complete triumph, and dictated the terms of the treaty under the walls of Madras in 1769. In 1780 Hyder Ali invaded Kamatak and swept it with fire and sword almost up to the gate of Madras. But after the death of Hyder Ali during the war, his son Tipu Sultan concluded a peace with the British in 1782.

In 1792, Tipu was defeated and a treaty was concluded by which Tipu was compelled by the British to pay rupees 3,30,00,000 and to cede half his dominions. Lord Wellesley (1798-1805) completed the conquest of Mysore. Wellesley succeeded in inducing the Nizam to accept subsidiary alliance. But Tipu Sultan refused to be a bond-slave of British. The British declared war against Tipu on Feb, 1799. On May 1799 Tipu was defeated. The Peshawa had to accept the supremacy of the British on 31 Dec, 1802 by the treaty of Bassein. Sindhia was defeated by the British on 23 Sept. 1803. The British defeated Bhonsle at Argaon on 29 Nov. 1803. In North India, General Lake captured Delhi and Agra. The Peshwas was again defeated in 1817. About the same time the British cast longing eyes at Sindh and, after a series of unjust aggressions, Sindh was finally annexed in 1843.

The last great territorial acquisition was the Punjab. It was Ranjit Singh who united those to the west of Sutlaj under him and established a powerful kingdom. Being thus checked on the east, Ranjit Singh extended his dominion in the other three directions and occupied Kangra, attack on the Indus, Multan, Kashmir and Peshawar was foiled. At the time of his death (1839), the Sikhs ruled over a vast kingdom and were recognised as a great military power in India. Ranjut Singh left no able successor. In December, 1845, the Sikh army crossed the Sutlaj and invaded British territories, but due mainly to the treachery of sikh general, they were defeated in four successive engagements (1845-46) and the British losses were very heavy in all these engagements. Hostilities were brought to an end by the Treaty of Lahore in 1846, but within less than two years the British declared war against the Sikhs. The Sikh army gave a good account of themselves at a Chiliawala, inflicting heavy losses on the British on 13 Jan. 1849, but was totally crushed at Gujarat on the bank of the Chenab in Feb. 1849. The Punjab was annexed to the British dominions by Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General (1848-1856). He also gave the finishing touch to the policy of expansion. Many states were annexed by the Doctrine of Lapse formulated by him. The kingdoms of Satara, Nagpur and Jhansi and smaller states, like Jaipur, the Bundelkhand and Sambalpur, in the Central provinces were annexed to the British territories on this principle.

The Raja of Sikkim had rightly seized two Englishmen, but as a penalty Dalhousie annexed a portion of his territory situated between Nepal and Bhutan. By an arrangement made with the Nizam of Hyderabad, Berar and certain districts were assigned to the British for the payment of the British force in Hyderabad. Dalhousie also withheld the pension of eight lacs of rupees, granted to the ex-Peswa Baji Rao, from his adopted son Dhondhu Pant, better known as Nana Sahib. The Nawab of Karnatak having died, the title and rank of Nawab was abolished. The same procedure was adopted with regard to Tanjore. The British also tried to expand their empire outside India. Their attempt to establish their authority in Afganistan failed miserably but they

conquered Burma. The policy towards Afganistan was due to the fear of Russian expansion, and that against Burma was to check French influence in South-East Asia.

The year 1857 completed a century of British rule in India, dating from the Battle of Plassey. It may be regarded as the dividing line between two distinct ages and is marked by two great events which are mainly responsible for bringing out this great change. These are, first the great outbreak popularly known as the Sepoy Mutiny, or great Revolt of 1857 and second the establishment of three Universities in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, which was the logical fulfilment of the introduction of English education.

The British conquest of India was nearly complete by 1856. The initial period of the British rule in India was one of naked plunder. This was followed by the establishment of a regular system of exploitation. The exploitation of the peasantry was intensified. The govt. made heavy demands on the Zamindars and chiefs. The disbanded soldiers of the armies of Indian rulers whose state had been taken over by the British, or who had entered into subsidiary alliance with the British, the craftsmen who produced their goods mainly for use by the ruler and his family, the officials of the annexed kingdoms and many others lost their means of livelihood as a result of British conquest. The first major revolt broke out soon after the British conquest of Bengal was held by Sanyasis and Fakirs, There were many other peasant revolt in different parts of country. Some of the powerful tribal revolts were of the Bhils in Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra, Kols in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Gonds and Khonds in Orissa, Kolis in Maharashtra, Mers in Rajsthan, and Santhals in Bengal and Bihar. From 1795 to 1805, an anti British rebellion broke out in southern parts of the country. There were mutinies by the Sepoys of the Company's army. The most notable of those were the Vellore Mutiny in 1806 and the Barrackpore Mutiny in 1824. Another powerful revolt during this Period was that of the Wahabis, the followers of a Muslim sect founded by Sayyid Ahmad Bareilvi. The Wahabis had a large followers among the peasants and craftsmen of Bengal and Bihar. They urged the people to join in a holy war to overthrow the British rule. The anti-British activities of the Wahabis continued from 1830 till after the revolt of 1857.

The year 1857 was an eventful year in the history of the Indian people. The Indian soldiers, generally known as sepoy (sipahi), always out-numbered British soldiers. It was mainly with the help of the sepoy that the British conquered India and maintained order and discipline over their vast dominions. The sepoy certainly welcomed their recruitment in the Indian army and preferred it to enrolment in the army of the Indian Princely States. The Indian army contained a large Brahmin element which was particularly susceptible to the unease. It has shouldered the burden of successive campaigns during the last twenty years and believed itself to be indispensable to the British. It disliked on religious grounds, the increasing tendency to employ it in distant regions beyond, India and especially overseas. Then came the greased cartridge for the new Enfield rifles smeared with cows and pigs' fat, unclean to both Hindu and Muslims, The mistake was genuine, the cartridges were withdrawn, explanations were offered, but the flashpoint had been reached. The conviction ran like wildfire that there was a plot against the old culture, the mutiny followed

The mutiny proper began with the rising at Meerut on 10 May, 1857 and the seizure of Delhi the next day, it virtually ended with the fall of Gwalior on 20 June, 1858. In spite of four months' previous military unrest and successive incidents, the authorities were caught by surprise with forces denuded for the recent Crimean war. For a time they had their backs to the wall. The arrival of reinforcements settled the issue which had here, in the long term not obvious to the combatants at the time, been in doubt. The highlights were the siege of Delhi and its recovery in late September operations round Kanpur and Lucknow including their famous siege, and the central Indian campaign in 1858 of Tantia Tope and the Rani of Jhansi. Cardinal factors in the successful early British stand were the loyalty of the Punjab, due largely to Sikh dislike of Muslims and distrust of the revived Mughal regime in Delhi, and the passivity of the Deccan and South India. The war was fought with great ferocity on both sides, and reprisals were savage. The reason for this must be sought in the fact that tensions on both sides were extreme. The Indian soldier was divided between strong feelings of loyalty and equally strong fears for his caste or religion, all that gave life meaning in fact. To him at that moment while mutiny meant probable death obedience meant probable degradation. The keenness of inner conflict was reflected in the extremity of outward action. The British on their side seemed hopelessly outnumbered and saw themselves and their families suddenly threatened with destruction. Their world of easy authority had dissolved in an amount, their most trusted subordinates had risen in revolt, their former self confidence was profoundly shaken. Many of the atrocities on the British side were an index of this shaken morale.

Sir L. Graffin says that perhaps a more fortunate occurrence than the mutiny of 1857 were occurred in India. The mutiny swept the Indian sky clear of many clouds. It disbanded a lazy pampered army, which, though in its hundred years of life had done splendid service, had become impossible; it replaced an unprogressive selfish and commercial system of administration by one liberal and enlightened and it attached the Sikh people to their rulers and made them what they are today, the surest support of the govt.

The mutiny's most important result was the extinction of the East India Company. India was brought under the direct rule of the crown and an act for the better government of India was passed, which provided for the administration of the country by and in the name of the sovereign through one of the Principal Secretaries of the state, assisted by a Council of fifteen members. The British government had to revise its old policy of annexation and ascheats. The Doctrine of Lapse' was abandoned and the Queen's proclamation declared "We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions. The policy of centralisation adopted in the Charter Act of 1833 was reserved and the govt, recognised new principles of decentralisation and Indianization. The British govt. reactionary and more cautious in the attitude towards the people. The artillery was kept exclusively in the hands of the Europeans. An act for the 'Better Government of India, was finally passed on 2nd August, 1858 and the responsibility for the Government of India was directly assumed by the Crown. A Secretary of State for India took the place of President of the Board of Central and the Council of India. that of the Board of Directors. The Governor-General was henceforth styled of the Viceroy, or representative, of the crown in India.

As a result of the policy adopted in 1835 and foundation of three Universities in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta was laid 22 years later, English education made phenomenal progress in Bengal and elsewhere. The spread of English education led to an agitation by the Indian themselves for introducing English as the language of the court. Lord Hastings, the Governor-General (1844-1848), issued a regulation which virtually made English Education the only passport to higher appointments then available in India. The Muslims, however, generally speaking, held aloof from English education. This difference in the progress of English education among two great communities was to have important consequences in the future.



Lesson—2

REFORM MOVEMENTS OF THE 19TH CENTURY

Social Religious Movements :

The nineteenth century, specially latter half, saw the beginning of new stirrings in the minds of the Indian people. The impact of Western Civilization roused them from their medieval torpor and gave a rude shock to their cherished ideas and institutions. In every sphere of life they had to meet the challenge of new culture which forced them to revise their orthodox ideas and to make a revaluation of their old values. With the spread of English education new wine begun to be poured into old bottles. The resulting ferment began to stimulate thought and activity and to arouse new aspirations. Indian with English education gave up their attitude of uncritical defence to authority, tradition and customs and so became the pioneers of almost all movement for social and political reforms.

Mrs Anne Besant has remarked that in India any movement to be strong must rest on a religious basis "It only throbs with full response when the religious note has been struck which call out its sympathetic vibration". It is common knowledge that the rise of Sikhs and Marathas to political power was largely due to the inspirations of religion. Hence, it is quite fitting that the dawn of the new renaissance in India should be heralded by great religious movements.

A. The Brahmo Samaj :

The pioneer of religious movements and social reforms in the nineteenth century was Raja Rammohan Roy (1772-1883). He was brilliant product of the impact of western education upon

Indian culture. "He was in fact the first modern man in India. "A true humanist and reformer, he wanted to raise the Hindu society from the slough of superstition and dependency. With this object he founded the Brahma Samaj in 1828. It was a theistic organisation open to all who believed in the unity of God and discarded the worship of images. Ram Mohan's idealism was based upon the universalism of the Upanishads. The work begun by him was carried forward by Debendra Nath Tagore (father of Rabindra Nath) and Keshab Chandra Sen, a very powerful preacher. Keshab Chandra's fervent devotion, Keshab Chandra Sen's wonderful eloquence and missionary zeal carried the influence of the Brahma Samaj far outside the limits of Bengal. Everywhere the Samaj had played a notable part as a reforming and uplifting agency. Its services in the cause of elevating the positions of women deserve unstinted praise.

B. The Prarthana Samaj :

It was in Maharashtra that influence of the Brahma Samaj movement made its abiding impression. In 1867 Keshab Chandra Sen founded the Prarthana Samaj in Bombay and it counted among its members distinguished personages like Justice Gobinda Ranade and Sir. R. G. Bhandarkar. In Maharashtra as in Bengal the movement was a rational unitarianism but the Prarthana Samaj laid great stress upon social reform than upon theological speculation.

Justice Ranade was an erudite scholar with a keen intellect and under his able guidance the Prarthana Samaj became the active centre of a new social reformation in western India. He was one of the founders of the Widow Marriage Associations and was an ardent promoter of the famous Deccan Education Society. Its object was to impart such education to the young as would fit them for the unselfish service of the country. Ranade was also closely connected with the formation of the Indian National Congress and it was at his initiative that a social conference began to be held along with the annual meeting of the Congress.

C. The Arya Samaj :

The socio-religious movements represented by the Brahma Samaj and the Prarthana Samaj were reforming movements inspired by rationalism, but the awakening of India had a two-fold aspect. It looked for inspiration not merely to the West but to India's glorious past and idealised it. Dayanand Saraswati founded the Arya Samaj in 1885 with the distinct object to re-establishing Hinduism on the pristine purity of the Vedic age. "Back to the Vedas" was his motto. He repudiated the authority of all, the sacred books of the Hindus except that of the Vedas. He regarded the prevailing religious beliefs and practices based upon the Purans as unhealthy accretions and distortions made by selfish and ignorant persons. The new movement rapidly spread specially in the Panjab where its educational activity met with remarkable success. Dayananda's was a heroic soul and his sudhi movement (i.e. conversion of non-Hindus to Hinduism) gave to Hinduism a militant and aggressive character. Though a revivalist he set his face against the prevalent orthodoxy of the Hindus. He denounced the taboos of the caste-system and the practice of child marriage. He encouraged female education and the remarriage of widows. His teachings fostered pride in the country and its past and gave the people a national

outlook. As a proselytising sect with a great urge for social reform the Arya Samaj is one of the living forces of modern India.

D. The Ramkrishna Mission :

Quite different in spirit was the movement which derived its inspiration from Ramkrishna Paramahansa (1883-1886), the saint of Dakshineswer near Calcutta. He started life as a poor priest without any formal education, but soon developed into a divinely inspired teacher of supreme spiritual truths. On him Max Muller has said, "Illiterate Ramkrishna in comparison with whom the brightest intellects of Europe are mere gropers in the dark". His pithy sayings and common place illustrations are marvels of lucid exposition. He practised different forms of religions to demonstrate their fundamental unity. All religions, he used to say, are but so many paths leading to the same goal, and all worship the same God under different name. His teachings did much to dispel the mists of scepticism and ultra-modernism which had enveloped the soul of Bengal. The Ramkrishna mission, founded by his great disciple Vivekananda, is the living embodiment of his message and teaching.

Vivekananda was man of dynamic energy and such was the inspiring force of his personality that anybody who listened to him could not forget his western progress with India's spiritual background. Rooted in the past and full of pride in India's heritage, Vivekananda was yet modern in his approach to life's problems and was a kind of bridge between the past of India and her present". He anticipated Mahatma Gandhi in preaching fearlessness, in denouncing untouchability and in his burning enthusiasm for the uplift of the masses. Under his inspiration the Ramkrishna Mission has adopted a comprehensive programme of social service. It has started schools, hospitals and has always been in the fore-front in rendering humanitarian service of the people afflicted by flood and famine.

The most notable thing about Vivekananda was his flaming zeal for reviving the greatness of Hinduism and the motherland. "We must go out and we must conquer the world through our spirituality and philosophy"—this was the noble ideal he stood for. He boldly proclaimed that the Vedanta was destined to be the religion of mankind. His powerful utterances gave young India self-confidence and proved a tonic to the depressed and demoralised Hindu mind. For the first time in the modern age, the Hindus felt that there was no reason to be apologetic about their culture and religion. At the Parliament of World Religions held in 1894 at Chicago in America he captured the imagination of all by his courageous presentation of the Hindu religion and its world-wide significance. In the words of Sir Valentile Chirol, Vivekananda was the "first Hindu whose personality won demonstrative recognition abroad for India's ancient civilization and for her new-born claim to nationhood."

E. The Theosophical Society :

The Theosophical movement in India was sponsored by Madam H.P. Blavatsky, Russian lady, and Colonel H. S. Olcott, an American military officer. They came to India in 1879 at the invitation of the Arya Samaj and founded the Theosophical Society with its headquarters at Adyar

near Madras. The movement they started was a Hindi revival in European garb. Mrs. Annie Basent came to India in 1893 and joined the society. She gave a tremendous impetus to the revivalist movement then going on in India. The keynote of her teachings was that regeneration of India could be brought about only by the revival of her ancient religious ideals. With that object in view she started the Central Hindu School at Benaras which gradually grew into a College and finally developed into the Hindu University. The Theosophical Society gave strength to Hindu University. The Theosophical Society also gave strength to Hindu revivalism and proved to be an important factor in social and religious especially in South India.

These socio-religious movements stirred Hindu society to its depth. They stimulated efforts, individual and organised, for the abolition of many anomalies and practice which cumbered the society and arrested its development. They gave people a new sense of self-respect and a new pride in the past and these in the long run proved to be an important factors in building up a new India.

Rise of Muslim Politics

It was unfortunate that the Muslim as a community were indifferent to the Congress movement. Some Muslim leaders, it is true, attended the Congress and few of them were elected Presidents but as a class they held aloof. Several factors were at work, which determined their attitude towards the Congress and gave a separatist turn to their politics.

First, it should be noted that the muslims were heavily depressed by the consolidation of the British rule in Northern India. It was great blow to their pride and self-respect to find themselves ousted from all positions of power and authority. The last vestige of their influence in administration was gone when vernacular was substituted for Persian as the court language. The ardent spirits among them brooded over the past in sullen resentment. They hated British rule and Western culture and were in turn looked upon with suspicion by the Government. Hence, they supported Wahabi revivalism which was definitely anti-British and took a prominent part in the great upheaval of 1857, in the hope of restoring the fallen fortunes of their community. After the collapse of that rebellion their condition worsened and they felt still more down-hearted.

Secondly, Muslim orthodoxy had turned its back on English education as un-Islamic. Hence the Muslims failed to share in the intellectual renaissance brought about by western thought and science and conveyed through the English language. As a consequence all avenues of perferment thrown open by English education, were closed to them. The Hindus, on the other hand, forged ahead and by their progressive trends began to outstrip the Muslims in every walk of life. This heightened their sense of frustration and the Muslims began to think that the Hindus had stolen a march upon them.

The man who did most to raise the Muslim community from slough of despair and depression was Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. His father held an office of rank in the Mughal court and he joined the service of the Company as a judicial officer in a subordinate capacity. He clearly realised that if the Muslims were to retrieve their lost position they must have English education

and win the support of the British Government. So he set himself to woo the British and to persuade co-religionists to reconsider their attitude towards English education. In 1875 he founded the Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, destined one day to become the Muslim University of Aligarh. This was his greatest service to his community. His college not only promoted higher occupation among the Muslims but fostered a spirit of solidarity by giving them a common ideology. The British Government exploited the outlook of the muslim community and began to patronise the Aligarh Movement. Theodore Beck, Principal of the M. A. O College, gave to the institution a distinctly communal turn and a missionary spirit. Hence-forth the 'Aligarh man' became the symbol of Muslim solidarity and the spearhead of Muslim movement everywhere in India.

Sir Syed kept aloof from the Congress and did his best to keep away his fellow Muslims from the national movement. He did so not from any unpatriotic motive. He felt that the Congress demand for representative government would injure the interests of the Muslims who in India formed a small minority. In 1883 he declared in the Governor-General's Council that the system of election, pure and simple cannot safely be adopted. The larger community would totally override the interests of the smaller community." Sir Syed thought that the interests of his community would be better served by co-operation with the British Government than by opposition to it. Hence, he courted the support of the British authorities by setting up several Anglo-Muslim associations as rival organisations to the Congress. All these proved short-lived but they indicated the lines along which the awakening of the Muslims was to develop. The fear of majority rule first expressed by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was echoed half a century later by Mr. Jinnah who became nervous about what he called the "brute majority" of the Congress. This fear complex, adroitly manipulated by the British Government led to the successive Muslim demands for weightage, separate electorates and lastly Pakistan.



Lesson—3

GENESIS AND HISTORY OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS 1885-1947

The Indian Politician learnt from the success of the Englishmen the value of organisation in political struggle. They also became conscious more than ever before of the ignoble status of Indians in their own country. Immediately after the Ilbert Bill agitation occurred another

sensational, even the imprisonment of Surendranath Banerjee for contempt of court. It evoked sympathy and protest throughout India and even a Kashmiri Pandit ignorant of English, burst into tears when he heard the news.

There proverb that good cometh out of evil was fully illustrated when these events of 1833 brought to the forefront the desirability of a political organisation of an all India character. The Indian Association, Calcutta took the lead and a National Conference was held in Calcutta on 28, 29 and 30 December, 1883. The Conference which met in the Albert Hall on 28 December 1883, was attended by more than a hundred delegates, both Hindu and Muslim, and the places they represented, outside Bengal, included Bombay, Madras, Lahore, Allahabad, Delhi Cuttack, Jabalpur, Nagpur, Ahmedabad, Bankipur, Muzaffarpur, Meerut, Tejpur, Hossainpur etc.

The proceeding began with a national hymn. The questions that were taken up for discussion including industrial and technical education, the wider employment of Indians in the civil service, separation of the judicial from the executive functions, representative government, National Fund and Arms Act.

The second session of National Conference was held in Calcutta in 1885 on 26 and 27 Decemeber. It was more than representative than the first, being joined by the British Indian Association, representing the landed aristocracy which had kept aloof from the first session. More than thirty political Association, most of northerns India, sent their representatives to the conference.

Surendanath moved the first resolution of legislative council in such a way that popular opinion might be reflected in it. Among other subjects which were discussed may be mentioned the Arms Act, the civil service question; the separation of the judicial and executive functions and the curtailment of expenditure, mainly under three hands, viz. annual military expenditure, the 'home charges' and the enormous cost of civil administration. In short, almost all the questions that formed the chief planks in the Congress platform during the first twenty year of its existence were discussed in the sessions of the National Conference.

The Indian Association wanted to give a permanent character to the conference. Accordingly, Surendranath moved "that a conference of delegates from different parts of the country should be held next year". The delegates from Allahabad and Meerut lent their support to the resolution. The latter suggested that the venue of the conference should be changed every year and it should meet in places like Bomaby, Madras, Allahabad and other great capitals of India. This resolution was carried with acclamation. At the conclusion of the proceedings of the National Conference, a telegram to the following effect was sent to the political conference about to be held at Bombay. "The delegates in conference assembled in calcutta with desire to express their deep sympathy with the approaching conference in Bombay.

This Conference was the Indian National Congress with which the National Conference merged and hence-forth the Indian National Congress became the true representative of Indian political views. This National Conference deserves the credit for giving the first concrete example

of all India political movement and marks the culmination of the political evolution in Bengal for half a century. The first session of the Indian National Congress was held in Bombay on 28 December, 1885, attended by 72 delegates, representative of the different regions. W. C. Banerjee, a leading Barrister of Calcutta, presided and nine resolutions were passed demanding, among other things a large number of elected members of the Supreme Local Legislative Councils, reduction in military expenditure of simultaneous Public Service Examinations in England and India and the raising of the age of candidates.

The second session marked a distinct advance over the first as the delegates were elected of whom 434 actually registered their names and presented credentials. Another innovation was the admission of the public. A distinct change in the tone and spirit of the Congress was noted in the Calcutta session and general feeling was that the Congress only echoed in the voice of Bengal. This was highly irritable to both Englishmen and the Indian Muslim leader Syed Ahmad Khan of Alighrah. The latter actually dissuaded the Muslims from joining the Congress on the ground that the satisfaction of the demands would lead to Bengali rule. Unfortunately, this left a permanent effect. If we leave aside the Lucknow session of 1899 where a large number of Muslim delegates attended and their attendance during the first ten years was 10 percent in the second ten years, 4.8 percent, and the next ten years, ending in 1915 with only 2.4 per cent.

Before the Indian National Congress completed twenty years of its existence, a new party arose with a different ideology and method of work. This party was led by Tilak; Aurobindo Ghose, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lajpat Rai and others. They disapproved of the mendicant policy for securing reforms and decided upon a bold assertion of the rights with the strength of the mass people. Before any exact programme could be devised by the new party, the whole political atmosphere was charged by the partition of Bengal in 1905, followed by the Swadeshi and Boycott movement. The nationalist at last found the opportunity for which they had been waiting so long as immediate and concrete cause to fight for.

The Congress met in Calcutta in December 1906, in a tense atmosphere. Bengal being the strong citadel of the extremist party, they scored at least a partial victory in 1906. The split in the Congress at Surat was followed by a series of important events.

The first was the grant of reforms in the Indian administration by the Indian Council Act of 1909. It increased the number of non-official members to the Imperial and provincial Legislative Council and provided for the appointment of an Indian as member of the Viceroy's Executive Council as well as in the Indian Council, advisory body to the secretary of state for India in England. For nine years of the Surat faces; the moderates ruled over the Congress in splendid isolation with their old ideals and programme. But the country had lost faith in them, and the Congress had very little following the Congress held its annual session as usual but the spring had gone out of the year.

The second great event was the birth of a secret revolutionary party which sought to terrorise the government as well as rouse the sleeping masses from political support by murdering

officials, committing dacoities for money to get arms and making bombs for an ultimate armed revolt against the British.

The third was the Home Rule movement. Tilak was sent to Jail in 1908 and Aurobindo having retired from politics took to a spiritual life in Pondichery. The extremist party, therefore, ceased to play an important part in politics.

The fourth great event was the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 in which Indian soldiers rendered valuable services in various theaters of war in Europe, Africa and Asia and the British government at Home promised a substantial measure of self-government of India. Now the India Act of 1919 was introduced.

A special session of the Congress was held in Bombay on 29 August 1919, to consider the question of the extremist party, but the veteran leaders headed by Surendranath Banerjee, refused to attend the session. In September, 1920, a special session of the Congress was held in Calcutta when Mahatma Gandhi enunciated his famous doctrine of 'Non-Violent Non-Co-operation'. In the annual session of the Congress held in December, 1921, it was decided to start "Civil Disobedience Movement" under Mahatma Gandhi.

In 1927 a Parliamentary Commission was appointed under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon to report on the working of Constitutional Reforms granted in 1919, and to suggest for the lines of advance towards the goal of responsible government promised in India. At the beginning of 1928 the different political parties in India made a joint effort to frame a constitution for India. At midnight of December, 31, 1929, Jawaharlal Nehru, the president of the Congress raised the National Flag of India in Lahore 'Independence Day' was celebrated on 26 January, 1930 and it was decided to hold similar celebrations every year on that day.

As the result of the elections held in 1937, on the basis of the Act of 1935, most of the Hindu members elected to the legislature either belonged to the Congress Party or were sympathetic to its ideals and programme. But there were not many muslim members belonging to the Congress party, The Second World War began in Septemebr, 1939. Sir stafford Cripps promised Dominion status and Constituent Assembly after the war. But, as he refused to introduce immediately any substantial change in the Indian administration, the Congress refused his proposals. The Muslim League supported Cripps in this respect, but opposed the proposals of the Consitituent Assembly and the granting of Dominion status to India.

The Congress then decided to start a mass struggle on the widest possible scale. A proposal to this effect was accepted on August 8, 1942, and during the night that followed, the government arrested Gandhi and other leaders and declared the Congress an illegal organisation. Against this act violent outbroke in differnt parts of the country. Peace was established in 1943.

The Second World War ended in a complete victory of the Allies with the surrender of Japan in 1945. In 1946 (19 Feb.) the British government announced that three members of British Cabinet would visit India to promote the early realisation of full self-government in India. The Cabinet Mission arrived in March 1946 and made an attempt to devise a constitution accepted to

both the Congress and the League. But as the two bodies could not come to any agreement, the mission publish their own recommendations on May 16, 1946. According to their proposals, the whole of India would forms one Federal Union. The Central Government would deal with Defence, Communication and Foreign policy while the other subjects would remain under the jurisdiction of the Provincial Governments. A Constituent Assembly would be formed to draw up the detailed constitution.

The Muslime League at first accepted these proposals but rejected them on account of differences with the Congress regarding the comparision of the Viceroy's Executive Council as well as the interpretation of some of the clauses in the Cabinet Mission Plan. In the midst of all these troubles, Jawaharlal Nehru and his colleague joined the Viceroy's Executive Council on September 2, 1946. The Viceroy realised that the real power of administration was gradually passing into the hands of Congress. A number of representative of the Muslim League were therefore, nominated to his Executive Council. Further, the British Government declared that if the Muslim League did not joint the Constituent Assembly, its decision would not be binding on those provinces, where the Muslims constituted the majority of the population.

In spite of this, the Constituent Assembly began its session on December 9, 1946, and Rajendra Prasad was elected its president. The Muslims, with the exception of two members from the North-West Frontier Province, abstained from the Assembly in a body, and it was, therefore, doubtful how far the decisions of the Assembly would be accepted by the British Government.

At last on February 20, 1947, the British Government publicly declared that the British would quit India not later than June, 1948. Lord Mountbatten was appointed Viceroy to succeed Lord Wavell in order to make arrangements for the peaceful transfer of power from the British to the Indians. The declaration was highly resented by the Muslim League and communal riots broke out in the Punjab and the North West Frontier province. The recurrence of these serious communal riots convinced the Hindus of Bengal and the Hindus and Shikhas of the Punjab that it was no longer possible to live with Muslims. They, therefore, proposed these two provinces should be partitioned.

Lord Mountbatten and Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah were appointed Government General respectively of Indian Dominant and Pakistan. Nehru was appointed the Prime minister of the former and Liaquat Ali Khan of the latter. Neither the British Govt, nor the British Cabinet were to have any authority over Indian administration, and both the governor-generals and the provincial governors were to act accordingly to the advice of their ministers. The new system was brought into operation at midnight on Aug. 14-15, 1947. Thus the Indian National Congress played an important role till 1947.



INDIAN FREEDOM MOVEMENT 1905-1919

Even the moderate demands of the Congress were not accepted by British rulers. The non-fulfilment of demands, combined with the rising awareness among the people led to the growth of the Congress which advanced the movement further. A new phase began in the history of the Indian nationalist movement. New demands were made and new methods of struggle adopted with increased mass mobilization.

Rise of Extremism :

At the turn of the century, a new trend developed which has been called 'extremism'. Under the influence of the new trend, the nationalist movement gave up the practice of merely issuing appeals to the government and adopted new radical ways of political agitation. The demands put forward also assumed a more radical character several new factors contributed to this.

Curzon came to India as the new Viceroy in December, 1898. During this period of Viceroyalty, he imposed extremely unpopular measures which intensified the opposition to British rule. He had said that he would assist in the 'peaceful demise' of the Congress. When he left India, the Congress and the nationalist movement were stronger than ever before, and had in fact, assumed new dimensions.

His most unpopular act was the partition of Bengal. The object of the measure was given out as administrative convenience. The leaders could clearly see that it was actually a measure to divide the people. East Bengal was to be a Muslim majority province and the West a Hindu majority province. The partition was designed to disrupt Hindu-Muslim unity and thus weaken the nationalist movement. However, the effect of the measure belied the hopes of the government. It provoked an agitation and such angry reactions against British rule that the partition measure had to be annulled.

International events also contributed to the growth of vigorous nationalism. Russia was defeated by Japan in 1905. This was the first victory of an Asian nation over an European nation. Although Japan was herself turning to an imperialist power and the war had been fought for imperialist gains in China. Japan's victory gave confidence to the Indian nationalists in their struggle against Britain. The defeat of Russia was followed by the 1905 revolution in Russia. The revolution had aimed at the overthrow of the Czarist autocracy but had been suppressed. This revolution also influenced the thinking of the Indian nationalists.

The group which led the extremists in the Congress consisted of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra pal, and Lala Lajpat Rai. It was usually referred to as 'Lal Bal Pal'. They extolled

the past of India in order to inculcate self-confidence and national pride in the Indian people. Tilak had been active in the Congress since 1890. In 1897 he was prosecuted and sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment for his 'seditious' writings and speeches. Earlier he had started a paper, 'Kesari' in Marathi through which he conducted his nationalist campaign. He revived the Ganapati and Shivaji festivals and made use of them for arousing national feelings. He exhorted people to action which, according to him was the true message of the Bhagavad-Gita. In this period, the 'extremists' wing became more and more concerned with arousing pride in Indian culture. In Bengal, the cult of the Goddess Kali was adopted. The 'extremists' condemned the old leadership of the Congress for their praise of western culture and their faith in British government.

There was a wide divergence between the views of the extremists' and the moderates on the means to achieve political rights. Tilak summed up the difference thus 'political rights will have to be fought for'. The moderates think that these can be won by persuasion. We think that can only be got by strong pressure. The 'extremist' leaders drew masses into the struggle, particularly in urban areas. The mobilization of the people, particularly the youth, for the struggle was a major contribution of the 'extremists'.

The Boycott and Swadeshi Movements

The partition of Bengal created widespread indignation all over the country. In the turbulent atmosphere that followed, the boycott and the swadeshi movements started. Swadeshi, literally meaning 'of one's own country' aimed at the promotion of indigenous industries. Along with swadeshi, boycott of British goods was organized. The Swadeshi and boycott were powerful instruments directed against foreign rule. They attacked the British rule where it hurt most. About swadeshi, Lajpat Rai said, "I regard it as the salvation of my country. The swadeshi movement ought to make us self-respecting, self-reliant, self-supporting and last, but not the least, manly. The swadeshi movement ought to touch us how to organize our capital, our resources, our labour, our energies and our talents for the greatest good of all Indians irrespective of creed, colour and caste. It ought to unite us, our religious and denominational differences notwithstanding anything. In my opinion, swadeshi ought to be the common religion of the United India. On the boycott movement he said, the primary thing is prestige of the government and the boycott strikes at the root of that prestige. The illusory thing they call prestige is more powerful and potent than authority itself and we propose to do this by boycott. We desire to turn away our faces from the government house and turn them to the huts of the people.

It was at the height of nation-wide protest movement against the partition of Bengal that annual session of Congress was held at Calcutta in 1906. At this session Dadabhai Naoroji sponsored the new programme of the Congress which had been advocated by the 'extremists'. Dadabhai's supports for the stewardship of the programme led to its general approval. For the first time, it declared the attainment of Swaraj as the aim of the Congress. Swaraj or self government was defined as the system of government obtaining in the self-governing. British

colonies. The Swadeshi and the boycott movements were favoured as the means of resistance. Promotion of national education was declared as the aim of the Congress.

The Swadeshi and boycott movements spread to many parts the country. Shops selling foreign goods were picketed. Students played an important part in the Swadeshi and boycott movements. Meetings were held all over the country and associations were formed. The government restored to repressive measures. Meetings were banned, the chanting of the national song 'Bande Mataram' composed by Bankim Chandra Chatterji was prohibited, recognition withdrawn from schools and grants were stopped. Processionists were lathi charged and various attempts were made to strike terror in the people. However, all the measures of oppression were of no avail. The popular upheaval was so intense that many people came to believe that the end of British rule was near. It was at this time that Tilak wrote: 'Repression is repression, if it is legal it must be resisted peacefully, but if it is illegal, it must be illegally met'. He also gave Congress the slogan 'Swaraj is my birth right and I shall have it'. The movement continued into the year 1907. The nationalists newspapers were banned and their editors prosecuted. Many leaders were imprisoned.

In 1907, the 23rd session of the Congress was held at Surat. Here the 'moderates' and the 'extremists' came into conflict. The 'moderates' wanted to modify the resolutions on Swadeshi and boycott passed the Calcutta session in the previous year. They also wanted to add into the constitution of the Congress a clause that self-government was to be achieved through constitutional means and by reforming the existing system of administration. They were opposed to the intensification of the movement. Tilak tried to capture the leadership of the Congress. There ensued disorderly scenes and the session broke up. The two groups later met separately. leadership of the Congress remained in the hands of the 'moderate' group. The 'extremists' worked separately until reunion in 1916.

Meanwhile, the repressive measure of the government continued. The repression was particularly brutal in Bengal, Maharashtra, Punjab and Tamil Nadu. In 1907 the Seditious Meetings Act was passed to prevent the holding of meetings likely to promote disturbance of public tranquillity. In 1910, the Indian Press Act was passed which gave the authorities wide powers to punish the editor of any paper which published matter which in their view was incitement to rebellion. The government deported people without trial under a century-old law. A number of papers were banned and leaders imprisoned and deported. Tilak was sentenced to six years' imprisonment and deported to Mandalay for two articles which he had published in his paper 'Kesari'. His arrest was widely resented and led one of the earliest strikes in the history by the textile workers of Bombay.

Thus in the first decade of the twentieth century, the nationalist movement entered a new phase. More and more people were drawn in it, and they were no longer satisfied by appeals to the government. The association of religion with the movement in some places encouraged communal thinking and proved harmful.

Morley -Minto Reforms :

In 1909, the government announced the Morley-minto Reforms to conciliate the 'moderate' nationalists. In 1861, six non-official members had been added to the legislative council. The council had no powers and only considered matters which were referred to it. The Indian members who were nominated drawn from like families of princes and big landlords by Indian Council Act of 1892, the membership of the central and provincial legislative councils was enlarged and non-official Indian members were added. As a result of the movement following the partition of Bengal, the Morley-Minto Reforms introduced further changes in 1909. As usual, the new measures were too little and too late. The memberships of the central and provincial Legislative Councils were enlarged and a few more elected members were added. However, the elected members were not popularly elected. They were elected by landlords and Chambers of Commerce. Separate electorates were introduced for the Muslims. The introduction of separate electorates was a calculated move in accord with the imperialist policy of 'divide and rule'. Communalism was openly introduced into Indian political life.

The Councils had no real powers and were not popularly elected bodies. The 'moderate' leadership welcomed the reforms as constituting an advance but expressed its 'strong sense of disapproval of the creation of separate electorate on the basis of religion'. The reforms were condemned by the 'extremists'. Many Muslim leaders condemned the separate electorates. Gradually, even the 'moderate' leaders of the Congress realized the inadequacy and in some respects, the harmful nature of reforms. At the session of the Congress in 1909, one delegate said; 'We protest against it because it means the partition of the whole living India, an affair much more serious than the partition of the boundaries of Bengal'.

The reforms were not meant to be a step in the direction of self-government for Indians. Morley, Secretary of state, who had framed the reforms along with Minto, the Governor-General who had succeeded Curzon, disclaimed any intention of bestowing self-government on India. He said that if these reforms led directly or indirectly to the establishment of the Parliamentary system in India, one for one would have nothing to do with it.

Revolutionary Movement :

Along with the open political movements, there arose in the first decade of the twentieth century various revolutionary groups in different parts of the country. These early revolutionaries, active mainly in Bengal, Maharashtra, Tamil-Nadu and Punjab, had no faith in constitutional agitations. They believed that by terrorizing British officials, they would be able to demoralise the entire machinery of the government and bring about freedom. After the government suppressed almost all open political agitation and imprisoned a large number of nationalist leaders, the activities of the revolutionary groups were intensified.

The revolutionary groups organized assassination of unpopular public official's magistrates and approvers, committed dacoities to collect money for their activities and looted arms. Attempts were made on the lives of two Viceroys, Minto and Hardinge. Such movements

were organized outside India, in Europe and America also. Of these, the most prominent was the 'Ghadar (meaning mutiny) party'. These movements collected money for use by revolutionaries in India tried to smuggle arms into India and fomented mutinies of Indian soldiers in India as well as those stationed in Burma and Singapore. Although the methods of individual terrorism could not be effective against a mighty empire, the heroism and self sacrifice of these revolutionaries were a source of inspiration to the people and helped in the growth of popular nationalist feelings. C. R. Das, a leader of the nationalist movement, was opposed to terrorism but he was attracted by their idealism. He said, 'Being thwarted in their zeal of freedom, they grow impatient and believe in revolution.' They see before their eyes that all nations, big and small, are eager for freedom. You give them freedom, and you find all anarchism will end.

Formation of the Muslim League :

After the Revolution of 1857, the British government followed a policy of 'divide and rule'. Elphinston had frankly said, 'Divide et impera' was the old Roman motto 'as it should be ours' In the beginning Muslims were discriminated against. They were kept out of the army and the services. However, when the nationalist movement arose, the policy of the government underwent a change. The government branded the Congress as a Hindu movement and encouraged the upper class Muslims to start their own separate organizations against the Congress. When the partition of Bengal led to a united protest movement. Curzon himself toured Eastern Bengal and addressed Muslims on the advantages that could accrue to them as a majority community in East Bengal. However, at the Calcutta session of the Congress in 1906, a large number of Muslim delegates participated. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who later led the movement for a separate state of Pakistan, was also present. He moved an amendment opposing reservation of seats, which was accepted. Moving the amendment, he said, 'The foundation upon which the Indian National Congress is based is that we are all equal, that there should be no reservation for any class or any community, and my whole object is that the reservation should be deleted.

However, in spite of the fact that many Muslims had joined the united nationalists; movement the influence of the communal elements among the Muslims became strong. Many leaders still looked for concessions from the government to promote the interests of the newly-emerging middle-class and upper class economic interests. The leadership feared that, by opposing the British government the Muslim middle and upper class economic interests would suffer. Another reason was the suspicion which the Hindu revivalism associated with some extremist leaders of the Congress had created in the Muslims.

The encouragement given by the government to upper class Muslims and thus to communal politics is evident from the event which led to the formation of the Muslim League. On October 1, 1906, a Muslim delegation led by the Agha Khan met Governor-General Minto at Simla. Agha Khan, the religious head of a Muslim sect, was an exceedingly wealthy person. He led a life of luxury, mostly in Europe. Another important leader was Nawab Salimullah of Dacca. The Governor-General encouraged the deputationists and within three months, on December 30, 1906, the Muslim League was formed. The objects of the league were :

- (a) To promote amongst the Mussalmans of India feelings of loyalty to the British government and to remove any misconceptions that may arise as to the intentions of the government with regard to any of its measures.
- (b) To protect and advance the political rights and interests of Mussalmans of India and respectfully to present their needs and aspirations to the government.
- (c) To prevent the rise among Mussalmans of India of any feelings of hostility towards other communities without prejudice to the other objects of the League.

However, in spite of the promotion of loyalty' by the Muslim League, more and more Muslims were drawn into the nationalist movement. In 1912, Abul Kalam Azad founded the 'AL-Hilal' and Maulana Mohammad Ali started the 'Comrade' in English and 'Hamdard' in Urdu. These papers started by eminent nationalists carried on their advocacy of the popular cause and infused the masses with their fervour. The Muslim League also, in 1913, adopted the goal of self government for India. In 1913 Jinnah joined the Muslim League. He did so to 'bring the policy of the League into the line with the progressive and national aims of the Congress.' The outbreak of the war brought the Muslim masses into the nationalist movement on an even greater scale.

Nationalist Movement during the First World War :

When the first World War broke out, the British Government declared India an ally and a belligerent. Indian people and Indian resources were used for fighting the war. The strength of the Indian army was raised to 1,500,000 and compulsory recruitment of Indians was restored too. Millions of pounds were taken from India to be used by the British government for its war expenditure. Indian solidiers were sent to fight in far-off lands.

A large number of Muslims were drawn into the anti-British during the war. British imperialism was inimical to the Turkish empire which was ruled by the Caliph (khalifa). The defence of the Caliphate (khalafat) became an important question for Muslims in many countries. Muslims in India were also drawn into the movement for the defence of Turkey and against the British peasant unrest also grew during the war years and peasant movements during this period helped to prepare the ground for a mass movement. The nationalist movement grew strong during the war years. Tilak was released in 1914 and in 1916 he formed the Home Rule League. Mrs. Annie Besant formed another Home Rule League a few months later. In 1916 at the Lucknow session of the Congress, the 'moderates and the 'extremists' were united. Equally significant was the unity between the Congress and the Muslim League achieved at Lucknow in 1916. According to the pact, the Congress and the League were to join their efforts to demand the government.

- (i) that a majority of the Legislative Councils be elected;
- (ii) that the latter be invested with wider powers than herebefore,
- (iii) that at least half the seats in the Viceroy's Executive Council be filled by Indians. The Lucknow pact as the Congress-Muslim League united programme was called, was an important achievement.

Meanwhile the Home Rule campaign was being intensified. Many moderate' leaders like Motilal Nehru and C.R. Das came out in support of Home Rule. Repressive measures followed. The papers mentioned before, and Hamdard were banned. Annie Besant was interned. and her paper New India, was forfeited. The government action enraged the people. Protesting against the repression, C. R. Das said, "I do not think the God of humanity was crucified only once. Every outrage on humanity at the hands of tyrants and oppressors is a fresh nail driven through his sacred flesh'.

The statement of the Secretary of the State after the outbreak of war that the 'goal of the British policy is progressive realization of responsible government in India prompted many nationalist leaders including Gandhiji, to support the British war campaign in the hope of attaining self-government after the war. Gandhiji later said, 'In all these efforts at service, I was actuated by the belief that it was possible by such services to gain a status of full equality for my countrymen. The reforms that were announced at the end of war came as a disappointment. The resulting frustration led to an unprecedented upsurge of nationalist sentiments.



Lesson—4B

INDIAN FREEDOM MOVEMENT BECOMES MASS MOVEMENT—1919-1935

Gandhiji's Leadership :

The nationalist movement grew into a wide-spread mass anti-imperialist movement at the end of the war. Many factors contributed to this development Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi came into prominence at this time and became undisputed leader of the nationalist movement. After studying law in England, he had gone to South Africa to start his legal practice. In the struggle against the discriminatory and racialist policy of the government of South Africa, he perfected his philosophy of action. It consisted of non-violent resistance and, when applied to the Indian scene, it served to bring millions of people into the movement, for Swaraj. Powerful mass movements were launched under his leadership. These involved defiance of laws, peaceful demonstrations, boycott of courts, stoppage of work, boycott of educational institutions, picketing of shops selling liquor and foreign goods, non payment of taxes and the closing of vital business. These non-violent but no less revolutionary methods influenced millions of people belonging to all sections of society and infused in them bravery and self-confidence. Millions now braved the

repression resorted to by the government, boldly courted imprisonment and faced lathi charges and firings. Gandhiji lived the simple life of an ascetic and talked to the people in a language they could understand. He came to be known to the people of India as Mahatma Gandhi.

Gandhiji made social reform a part of the programme of the nationalist movement. His greatest achievement in the field of social reform was the campaign against the inhuman institutions of untouchability which had degraded millions of Indian to the level of animals. His other achievements were in the field of cottage industries. He saw in the charkha, the spinning wheel, the salvation of the village people, and its promotion became a part of the Congress programme. In addition to infusing people with the spirit of nationalism it provided employment to millions and credited a large group of people who were ready to throw themselves into the struggle and court imprisonment. The charkha became so important that it eventually became a part of the flag of the Indian National Congress.

Gandhiji devoted himself to the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity. He regarded communalism as anti-national and inhuman. Under his leadership the unity of the nationalist movement was secured and the people of India marched on their quest for independence.

Consequences of the War and Repressive Measures :

Apart from Gandhiji's leadership, several other factors led to the growth of nationalism into a mass movement. The war expenditure imposed on India had further impoverished the masses. The spread of influenza epidemic took a huge toll of human lives. The war was followed by an upsurge of nationalism in many countries. Three autocracies had been overthrown—Hohezzollern in Germany, Habsburg in Austria and Romanov in Russia. The fall of autocracies had a healthy effect on the political climate of the world. The Revolution led to the inauguration of socialism in U. S. S. R. which included large parts of Asia. The Soviet government of the U. S. S. R. proclaimed the right of subject nations to complete independence and abolished the imperialist gains which the Czarist regime had acquired in Asia. All these developments influenced the consciousness of the Indian people and inspired them to plunge themselves into the nationalist struggle with greater vigour.

The Montague-Chelmsford Reforms, which became the Government of India Act in 1919, clearly defined the jurisdiction of the Central and Provincial Governments. The Central legislature now consisted of two houses with elected majorities. However the franchise was limited and the legislature had no real powers. In the provinces, a system called 'dyarchy' was introduced. There were elected majorities in the legislative councils, the franchise being based on property qualifications and communal electorates. There were certain provincial subjects which were under the jurisdiction of the legislative councils but the governors had wide powers of interference and the legislatures were, for all practical purposes, powerless. The reforms introduced were a far cry from the aim of Swaraj and were condemned both by the Congress and the League. The reforms further angered the masses and were condemned as unsatisfactory.

The defeat of Turkey in the war and the dismemberment of the Turkish empire angered the Muslim masses and led to an outburst of popular feeling against the British government.

The British government resorted to repressive measures. In 1919, the Rowlatt Act was passed in spite of being opposed by all Indian members of the legislative council. The Act authorized the government to imprison people without trial. Three India members—Madan Mohan Malviya, Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Mazharul Haque—resigned from the Council in protest. The Rowlatt Act aroused a wave of popular indignation and led to the massacre at Jalianwala Bagh. All the repressive measures, however, only added fuel to the fire of nationalism.

The Massacre at Jalianwala Bagh

The Rowlatt Act came into effect in March 1919. Voices from all over the country swelled the chorus of protest. On April 6, there were strikes, hartals, and demonstration at many places. In Punjab, the protest movement was particularly strong. The government resorted to lathi charges and firing in many places. On April 10, two outstanding leaders of the Congress, Dr. Satya Pal and Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, were arrested and taken to an unknown place. To protest against the arrests, a public meeting was held on April 13 Jalianwala Bagh, a small park enclosed by buildings on all sides in Amritsar, General Dyer with his British troops entered the park, closed the only exit and without giving any warning ordered the troops to fire. The meeting had been peaceful and there had been no provocation. Among those who had come to the meeting were women, children and old person. The firing lasted about 10 minutes about 1600 rounds were fired. As the exit, which was a narrow passage, had been closed no one was allowed to escape. After some time, Dyer, left with his troops, About 100 dead, according to unofficial estimates, and about 200 wounded persons lay unattended to in the Bagh. The monstrous act provoked un-paralled indignation throughout the country.

Dyer's unexample act of brutality and 'deliberately calculated massacre' shocked the conscience of many Englishmen and they condemned him.

Immediately after the massacre, martial law was declared throughout Panjab and a reign of terror was let loose. However, the terror failed to crush the movement and the 'moral effect' Dyer hoped to create failed to materialize. Soon the Khilafat and the Non-Cooperation movements broke out.

Khilafat and Non-cooperation Movements

The Khilafat movement was organised by the famous Ali brothers, Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali and others in protest against the injustice done to Turkey after the war. In fact, it became a part of the Indian notionalist movement. The Congress leaders joined in the Khilafat agitation and helped in organising it throughout the country.

In 1920, the Congress adopted the new programme of non-violent non-co-operation under the leadership of Gandhiji, The aims of the Non-Co-operation Movement were to redress the wrongs done to Punjab and Turkey, and the attainment of Swaraj. It was to proceed in stages

beginning with the renunciation of titles, to be followed by the boycott of the legislatures, law courts and educational institutions and the campaign of non-payment of taxes.

It was decided to organize a corps of 150,000 volunteers to carry on the campaign of Non-Co-operation.

The Non-Co-operation movement was a great success. In the elections to the legislatures, about two-thirds of voters did not vote. Educational institutions were deserted. A new programme of national education was started. Such institutions as the Jamia Millia and the Kashi Vidya Peeth were established. Many Indians resigned their government jobs. Foreign clothes were burnt in bonfires. There were strikes all over the country. In Malabar, the Moplah rebellion broke out. Hindus and Muslims participated in the movement as one, and scenes of fraternization were witnessed all over the country. Amongst the Sikhs, there was a movement to dislodge the pro-government and corrupt mahants from gurudwaras. Thousands of persons enrolled themselves as volunteers. In the midst of the movement, the Prince of Wales arrived in India. On the day of his arrival on November 17, 1921, he was 'greeted' by general strikes and demonstrations. At many places, police resorted to firing at the demonstrators. The repression continued and by the end of the year all the top leaders with the exception of Gandhiji were arrested. By the beginning of 1922, about 30,000 persons were in Jails.

At the height of the Non-Co-operation movement and the repressive measures of the British Government, the annual session of the Congress was held at Ahmadabad in December, 1921. The Congress under presidentship of Hakim Ajmal Khan, decided to continue the movement until the Punjab and the Khilafat grievances were redressed and Swaraj attained. The mood of the people can be gauged from the fact that, at this session, many people were no longer satisfied with the slogan of Swaraj which did not mean complete independence. Maulana Hasrat Mohani, an eminent nationalist leader and a leading Urdu poet proposed that Swaraj should be defined as complete independence free from all foreign control. The proposal was not accepted but it showed the dynamics of political consciousness at work in the people.

Early in February Gandhiji decided to launch a no-tax campaign in Bardoli district in Gujarat. However, in Chauri Chaura (in Uttar Pradesh) people turned violent and set fire to a police station causing the death of 22 policemen. When the news reached Gandhiji, he decided to call off the entire Non-Cooperation movement. The working committee of the Congress met on February 2, 1922 and decided to concentrate on the popularization of charkha, the promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity and combating of untouchability.

The leaders of the Congress who were in jail were unhappy to learn that the movement had been called off. Gandhiji himself was arrested and sentenced to six years' imprisonment. However, he was released within two years and started his constructive programme for the popularization of charkha, the combating of untouchability and the promotion of national education. These helped in the consolidation of the movement. A section of the Congress led by Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das formed the Congress Khilafat Swaraj party and decided to

participate in the elections to the various legislative bodies which had been boycotted earlier and to weak them from within until the demands of the people were met. Subsequently, some of them led by Madan Mohan Malviya and Lajpat Rai opposed the policy of wrecking the Councils from within and decided to offer Responsive Co-operation to the government.



Lesson—4C

THE INDIAN FREEDOM MOVEMENT, 1935-47

In April, 1936, the Congress session was held at Lucknow under presidentship of Jawahar Lal Nehru. In 1934, the Congress had demanded the formation of a Constituent Assembly elected by adult franchise to decide the constitution for India. In December 1936, at a special session, the Congress in a resolution rejected the Government of India Act of 1935 and stated the constitution reiterated its resolve regarding the Constituent Assembly.

Although the Congress condemned the Government of India Act, it decided to participate in the elections to the provincial legislatures which were to take place in 1937. The Election Manifesto of the Congress demanded the convening of a Constituent Assembly. It also advocated land reforms to save the peasants from ruthless exploitation; equal rights for men and women, and improvement in the condition of workers.

The elections were held in 1937 and about 15.5 million people cast their votes. Besides the Congress, many other parties including the Muslim League participated in the election. The Congress swept the polls in most parts of the country. In six provinces, it won an absolute majority and in three other provinces, it emerged as the single largest party. There were 482 seats reserved for Muslims, Of these, the Muslim League, which claimed to represent all the Muslims in India, won only 108 seats. In four provinces including the North West Provinces where Muslims constituted the majority community, the League failed to secure a single seat. In the North West Frontier province, the nationalist movement under the leadership of veteran leader, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, secured significant victories and the Muslim League, which wanted to decide the nationalist movement on the basis of religion failed to have any influence there.

After the elections, the question of forming ministries in the provinces arose. Many leaders were opposed to the forming of ministries by the Congress. However, it was decided by a majority vote to form ministries wherever the Congress had a majority. In July 1937, on the assurance of the Viceroy that the governors would not interfere in the administration, the Congress formed its ministries to six provinces—United provinces, Central Provinces, Bihar,

Orissa, Madras and Bombay. In the North West Frontier Province and Assam, the Congress formed its ministries later and in Sind, a ministry was formed with the support of the Congress.

These ministries took some important steps immediately after coming to power. Political prisoners were released and ban on newspaper were lifted. Important steps were also taken up in the field of education.

In 1938 the Congress with Subhas Chandra Bose as its President expressed its total opposition to the scheme for a federation at the centre proposed by the British Government and prepared to launch a movement to gain complete independence immediately. It was proposed that the British Government be presented with an ultimatum to agree to complete independence, failing which a movement would be launched. But the following year the radical and the moderate sections of the Congress were divided on this issue, and Subhas Chandra Bose decided to contest against the moderate candidate for Presidentship at the Tripura session of the Congress. This was the first time that the office of the Congress president was contested. Subhas Chandra Bose was elected president but was asked to form the Working Committee in consultation with Gandhiji. The two leaders could not agree and Subhas Chandra Bose resigned. He later formed the Forward Block to mobilize radical elements in the country.

From Swaraj to Complete Independence—1927-1939

After the calling off the Non Co-operation movement, for a few years there were no nation wide political campaigns for agitations and the constructive programme of Gandhiji had taken up. But soon this lull was over. The Congress adopted the slogan of Complete Independence, and mighty movement known as the Civil Disobedience movement launched to achieve it. The nationalist movement now assumed a wider character and adopted a comprehensive programme for the social and economic reconstruction of Indian society once independence was attained. Thus the struggle for political independence became a prerequisite for the reconstruction of Indian society.

Next to Gandhiji, the central figure in the new phase of the nationalist movement was Jawaharlal Nehru. After receiving his education in England, Jawaharlal Nehru returned to India in 1912. Soon he came under the spell of Gandhiji and threw himself into the nationalist struggle. His contact with the peasants of Uttar Pradesh, which he developed in the 1920s aroused the deepest emotions in him and made him a life-long champion of the people. He wrote about his experience. I was filled with shame at the degradation and overwhelming poverty of India. A new picture seemed to arise before me, naked, starving, crushed, and utterly miserable. The discovery of India' made his nationalist thinking all the more intense and national independence and the struggle to improve people's condition became one to him. In December 1921 he was arrested alongwith Motilal Nehru his father, and other nationalist leaders. He was released for a few weeks, then he was re-arrested and again released early in 1923. Then he went to Nabha, which was a princely state, to observe the demonstration of Akali Sikhs against the corrupt mahants. He was arrested and sentenced after the pretence of a trial. His experience of Nabha

opened his eyes. He realised that India ruled by the Indian princes was no better than British rule, and, in many respects, much worse. He became the champion of the people of these state against the oppression by their rulers became an integral part of the nationalist movement. He became one of the general secretaries of the Congress when Maulana Mohammad Ali was the President.

Another important leader to rise in this period was Subhas Chandra Bose. Educated at Calcutta and Cambridge, he was selected to the Indian Civil Service but, instead plunged himself into the nationalist struggle. He organized student and youth organizations throughout the country for the strengthening of the nationalist movement and, in 1924, was arrested on the charge of organizing terrorist activities. Jawahar Lal and Subhas became the leaders of the radical wing in the nationalist movement and the idols of youth all over the country.

Indian Nationalist Movement during the Second World War

In September, 1939, the Second World War broke out and the British government declared India a belligerent. Indian opinion was not consulted, and by a unilateral decision, India was made a party to the war.

As soon as the war was declared, the Congress clearly stated its attitude. It condemned the aggression committed by fascist countries—Germany and Italy, and their ally, Japan—against the countries of aggression. Britain, which claimed to be fighting for freedom had destroyed the freedom of the Indian people and had dragged India into war. The Working Committee of the Congress in a resolution stated 'The people of India have, in the recent past, faced grave risks and willingly made great sacrifices to secure their sympathy is entirely on the side of democracy and freedom. But India cannot associate herself in a war said to be for democratic freedom when that very freedom is denied to her, and such limited freedom, as she possesses, taken away from her.'

The Congress demanded the establishment of an Indian government responsible to the Central Legislative Assembly and the promise that the independence would be given as soon as the war was over. The British Government did not agree even to this. In November 1939, the Congress ministries in the provinces resigned because it was now clear that Britain was pushing her own imperialist ends in the war. Another similar offer by the Congress in 1940 was also rejected by the government.

In October, 1940 the individual Satyagraha was launched by Gandhiji. Selected individuals broke the law by making anti-war speeches in public and offered themselves for arrest. Vinoba Bhave was chosen as the first person to offer the Satyagraha. Soon the individual Satyagraha became a nation-wide movement. Within six months about 25,000 persons were in jail.

The movement was progressing when Germany attacked the U. S. S. R and Japan attacked the U. S. naval station at Pearl Harbor, and started advancing in South East Asia. These developments led to the widening of the war into the World War. In January, 1942, the Allied Countries including U. S.A., the Soviet Union and Britain, issued the United Declaration. The

Atlantic Charter which had been, issued by the United States and Britain in 1941 was agreed to by all members of the United Nations. This Charter declared; 'They (the United Nations : respect the right of all people to choose the form of the government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them'. The Prime Minister of Britain, Winston Churchill, however declared that the Charter did not apply to India but was concerned with those countries of Europe which had been occupied by Germany.

Nationalist leaders including the president of the Congress Abul Kalam Azad, and Jawaharlal Nehru were opposed to fascism and condemned it as the enemy of the freedom of peoples everywhere. They expressed their sympathy and support to victims of fascist aggression. The Indian nationalist movement pledged to fight against fascism side by side with the United Nations but this could happen only if the Indian people were in control of the government of their country. Many countries, allies against fascism, but pressure on the British Government to concede the demand of the Indian people.

In March, 1942 Sir Stafford Cripps came to India to hold talks with the Indian leaders. However, the talk broke down as the British were not willing to promise complete independence even after the war was over and rejected the Congress proposal for the formation of the national government during the war.

After the failure of talks with Cripps, the Congress prepared to launch the third mass movement against, the British rule, (The first was the Non-co-operation movement and the second the Civil Disobedience movement). In August 1942, Gandhiji gave forth the slogan 'Quit India'. The Congress passed a resolution on August 8, 1942 demanding the 'immediate ending of British rule in India's as an urgent necessity both for the sake of India and the success of the United Nations'. The Congress resolved to launch a mass civil disobedience struggle on the widest possible scale 'for the vindication of India's inalienable right to freedom and independence', if the British rule did not end immediately. The day after the resolution was passed, the Congress was banned and all the important leaders were arrested.

The arrest of the nationalist leaders provoke a wave of indignation among the people.' 'Quit India', the pithiest call to action resounded throughout the country. There were spontaneous demonstrations at many places, and people resorted to the use of violence to dislodge the foreign rule. The government used police and army to suppress the movement. Hundreds of persons were killed and over 70,000 arrested in less than five months. Despite the government's ruthlessness, the struggle continued throughout the period of the Second World War.

In 1941, Subhas Chandra Bose has escaped from India and had reached Germany. He carried on activities for India's freedom from there and made broadcast exhorting the people of India to overthrow the British rule. In July, 1943, he came to Singapore, Rash Behari Bose an Indian revolutionary who had escaped from India in 1915 to Japan, had set the Independence League. After the Japanese had defeated the British in South-East Asia. the Indian National Army was organised from among the Indian soldiers who had been taken prisoner by the Japanese.

Subhas Bose took over the leadership of the Indian Independence League and recognized the Indian National Army (Azad Hind Fauj) to liberate India from British rule. On October 21, 1943, he proclaimed the setting up of the provisional Government of Free India. In 1944, three units of the INA along with the Japanese troops moved into the Imphal-Kohima region of north eastern India. The attack was, however, repulsed. Even though the attempt to liberate India failed, the activities of Subhas Bose and the INA served to strengthen the anti-imperialist struggle in India. It may, however, be remembered that both Germany and Japan were aggressor countries with ambitions of world domination. The Indian nationalist movement had never viewed them as friends in its struggle for freedom and its sympathies, from the very beginning, had been with the victims of the German aggressions in Europe and of Japanese aggressions in Asia.

The Demand for Pakistan

You have read earlier about the rise of communal parties. These parties were organized on the basis of religion and claimed to be working for the promotion of the interests of their respective communities. In reality the communal parties played into the hands, of the British rulers and hampered the cause of freedom. During the period, when the nationalists movement was at its height, these parties were swept away and failed to get the support of the people. The Muslim League fared badly in the elections of 1937. So did the Hindu communal organizations. However, soon communalism raised its head again, this time in a more sinister form and led to tragic consequences for the people of India.

The new development in communal politics in India was the propagation of what is known as the 'two-nation theory'. According to this theory, the Muslim League led by Jinnah claimed that India consists of two separate nations Hindus and Muslims. Politics based on this theory led to tragic incidents and ultimately and partition of the country.

The 'two-nation theory' was a total falsification of the entire history of the Indian people. In medieval times, Hindus and Muslims had developed a common culture. They were one people. In the nineteenth century, before, during and after the Revolt of 1857 they had fought as one people to free themselves from foreign rule. In the twentieth century, when the national movement became a mass movement, people of both communities, Hindus and Muslims alike, suffered repression as one people and one nation. The nationalist movement was a struggle of the entire Indian nation involving all the communities living in India. Now the 'two-nation theory' attacked the entire basis of the Indian nationalism. The Hindu communal leaders also advocated this theory by asserting that only Hindus of India constituted a nation.

In 1940, at the Lahore session of the Muslim League, the demand for a separate state of Pakistan was made. It was based on the 'two nation theory'. The Muslim League demanded that 'the areas in which the muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North Western and Eastern Zones of India should be grouped to constitute ' Independent State' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign'.

The demand for a separate state was opposed by large sections of Muslims who opposed

any separatist demand. Many nationalist leaders like Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who had always been in the forefront of the national movement, stoutly opposed the demand for a separate state as anti-national and detrimental to the interests of Muslims and the people of India as a whole. Many Muslim organizations were also opposed to the demand for a separate state and fought against communal tendencies and for the freedom of the Indian people. Of those the more prominent were the Khudai Khidmatgar in the North West Frontier Province organized by the veteran leader, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, popularly known as 'Frontier Gandhi' the Watan party in Baluchistan, the All India Momin Conference, the Ahrar party, the All India Shia Political Conference and the Azad Muslim Conference. These organizations, along with the Congress, led to a large number of Muslims in the struggle for independence.

The Muslim League was encouraged by the British Government to press its demand for a separate state and played the game of British imperialism which had the effect of disrupting and weakening the movement for independence. When the Congress withdrew from the provincial governments in protest against British attitude to the demand for independence, the Muslim League celebrated the event by observing what is called the 'Deliverance Day' and tried to form ministries in the provinces although they did not have a majority in any provincial legislature.

Nationalist Upsurge after the Second World War

The Second World War was fought in the name of freedom and democracy by the countries of the United Nations. The conscience of vast multitude of people had been stirred by the war against fascism. The demand for independence of colonial people swelled to a crescendo after the war. The people of Asia and Africa charged forward in a crowning bid for independence. The political climate of the world had changed. In the general, world-wide struggle against imperialism, the struggle of the Indian people shone forth unique and exemplary.

The war had changed the entire picture of the world. The old imperialist countries—Britain, France, Holland and other—had been weakened by the war. They were no longer powerful enough to withstand the onward march of the nationalist movements. Britain was no longer the world power it had been for centuries and her supremacy was gone for good. The U. S. S. R., which had suffered most heavily during the war, emerged stronger. Many countries of Europe, which had been occupied by Germany, had become socialist after the defeat of Hitler's Germany. These countries were opposed to imperialism. Thus in the war while fascism has been destroyed, imperialism had received heavy blows.

In Britain itself, the Conservative Party, which was opposed to the demand for the independence of India, lost heavily in the elections. The war-time Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, who had disclaimed any intention to 'preside over the dissolution of the British Empire' was no longer the Prime Minister. There were many people in the Labour Party, which had come into power under the leadership of Attlee, who were opposed to the continuation of British rule over India. Conditions were ripe for the end of imperialism in India.

In India the resentment against British rule ran at a high pitch at this time, Indians had

suffered a great deal during the war, The British government had shown callous indifference to the famine-stricken people during the terrible famine that had raged in Bengal in 1943 in which three million people died. At the end of the war, all this pent up resentment broke out in dealing a final blow to foreign rule.

In November, 1945, three officers of the Indian National Army were tried at the Red Fort in Delhi. They were charged with the 'crime' of conspiring against the king, that is, the British Empire. They were defended by the barristers among the nation's leaders. But they were sentenced to transportation for life. The sentences which were later revoked-provoked wide spread popular upsurge all over the country. The armed forces were also affected. Thousands of ratings of the Royal Indian Navy revolted. The British Government saw the writing and hartals all over the country. The British Government saw the writing on the wall. It was no longer, possible to hold the Indian people in subjection.

Achievement of Independence, 1947

In February 1947, the British government sent the Cabinet Mission to India to hold discussions with Indian leaders. The British Prime Minister announced his government's willingness to grant independence to India. The Cabinet Mission proposed the formation of a Union of India in which provinces would be grouped in four zones with their own constitutions and enjoying autonomy except in matters of foreign policy, defence, and communication. It also proposed the formation of a constitution making body, not elected by the people, but by the provincial legislatures on the basis of communal electorates. The members from the Indian states were proposed to be appointed by the rulers of Indian states. The Congress accepted the Cabinet Mission proposal regarding the constitution making body. Although the Congress had earlier insisted on a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise, it agreed to the Cabinet Mission proposal in order to avoid any delay in the achievement of independence.

In July, the elections to the Constituent Assembly were completed. The Congress had won 201 seats out of the 210 general seats, the Muslim League won 73 out of 78 seats reserved for Muslims. The Muslim League boycotted the Assembly and pressed on with its demand for a separate state of Pakistan. Meanwhile the people of the states pressed for the integration of the states into a United India. On 2nd September, 1946, the Congress formed the Interim Government which was headed by Jawaharlal Nehru. Later, the Muslim League also joined the Interim Government.

On 24th March 1947, Lord Mountbatten was appointed the Viceroy of India and the British Government announced that it would transfer power to Indian hands not later than June, 1948.

On 3rd June, 1947, Mountbatten presented a plan for the division of India into two independent states—the Indian Union and Pakistan. The Indian states were given the right to decide their own future. Partition was completed and power was transferred to the two states of India and Pakistan. Pakistan was comprised of West Punjab, East Bengal, Sind and the N.W.F.P.

On 15th of August 1947, India became independent, Unfortunately, the victory of the

glorious struggle of the Indian people for independence was tainted by ugly happenings immediately before and after the achievement of independence. Millions lost their homes, several thousand persons were killed. Gandhiji had been touring the riot affected areas bringing solace and comfort to the people. On the day India became independent, he was in Calcutta which had been ravaged by communal rioting. He came to Delhi only after communal violence had ceased there. He was shot by a Hindu fanatic on 30th of January, 1948.



Lesson—5

ROLE OF GANDHIJEE IN THE INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT INDICATING THE PART PLAYED BY HIM IN THE NON-CO- OPERATION MOVEMENT, CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT AND THE PERIOD FROM 1943-47

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the prominent leader of Indian nationalism and the prophet of non-violence in the 20th century, was born as the youngest child of his father's fourth wife, on October 2, 1869, at Porbandar, the capital of a small principality in Gujarat in Western India under British suzerainty. His father, Karamchand Gandhi, who was the Dewan (Chief Minister) of Porbandar, did not have much formal education but was an able administrator who knew how to steer his way among the capricious princes, their long suffering subjects, and the head strong British political officers.

Gandhi's mother Putlibai, was completely absorbed in religion, did not care much for finery and jewellery, divided her time between her home and the temple, fasted frequently, and wore himself out in days and nights of nursing whenever there was a sickness in the family. Mohandas grew up in a home steeped in Vaisnavism—worship of the Hindu God (Visnu)—with a strong tinge of Jainism a morally rigorous Indian religion, whose chief tenets are non-violence and the belief that everything in the universe is eternal. Thus he took for granted 'ahinsa' (non-injury to all living beings), vegetarianism, fasting for self-purification, and mutual tolerance among adherents of various creeds and sects.

Youth—The educational facilities at Porbandar were rudimentary; in the primary school that Mohandas attended. The children wrote the alphabet in the dust with their fingers. Luckily for him, his father became Dewan of Rajkot, another princely state. Though he occasionally won prizes and scholarships at the local schools, his record on the whole was mediocre. One of the terminal

reports rated him as 'good at English', fair in Arithmetic and weak in Geography; conduct very good, bad handwriting. "A diffident child, he was married at the age of 13 and thus lost a year at school. He shone neither in the classroom nor on the playground. He loved to go out on long solitary walks when he was not busy nursing his ailing father or helping his mother with her household chores.

He had learned, in his words, "to carry out the orders of the elders, not to scan them". With such extreme passivity, it is not surprising that he should have gone through a phase of adolescent rebellion, marked by secret atheism, petty thefts, furtive smoking and most shocking of all for a boy born in Vaisnava family, meat eating. His adolescence was probably no stormier than that of most children of his age and class. What was extraordinary was the way his youthful transgressions ended.

"Never again", was his promise to himself after each escaped and he kept his promise. Beneath an unprepossessing exterior he concealed a burning passion for self-improvement that led him to take even the heroes of Hindu mythology, such as prahlada and Harischandra—legendary embodiments of truthfulness and sacrifice as living models.

In 1887 Mohandas scrapped through the matriculation examination of the University of Bombay and joined Samal Das College in Bhavnagar (Bhaunagar). As he had suddenly to switch from his native language Gujrati—to English, he found it somewhat difficult to follow the lectures.

Meanwhile, his family was debating his future. Left to himself, he would have liked to be doctor. But besides the Vaisnava prejudice against vivisection, it was clear that if he was to keep up the family tradition of holding a high office in one of the states in Gujarat, he would have to qualify as a barrister. This meant a visit to England, and Mohandas, who was not too happy at Samal Das College jumped at the proposal. His youth imagination conceived England as "a land of philosophers and poets, the very centre of civilization". But there were several hurdles to be crossed before the visit to England could be realized. His father had left very little property; moreover, his mother was reluctant to expose her youngest child to unknown temptations and dangers in a distant land. But Mohandas was determined to visit England. One of his brothers succeeded in raising the necessary money, and his mother's doubts were allayed when he took a vow that while away from home, he would not touch wine, women, or meat. Mohandas disregarded the last obstacle, the decree of the leaders of the Medh Bania caste, to which the Gandhijee belonged, who forbade his trip to England as a violation of the Hindu religion, and sailed in September 1888. Ten days after his arrival he joined the Inner Temple, one of the four London Law Colleges.

England—Gandhi took his studies seriously and tried to brush up on his English and Latin by taking the London University matriculation examination. But during the three years he spent in England, his main preoccupation was with personal and moral issues rather than with academic ambitions. The transition from the half rural atmosphere of Rajkot to the cosmopolitan life of London was not easy for him. As he struggled painfully to adopt himself to western food, dress,

and etiquette, he felt awkward. His vegetarianism became a continual source of embarrassment to him, his friends warned him that it would wreck his studies as well as his health. Fortunately for him he came across a vegetarian restaurant as well as a book providing a reasoned defence of vegetarianism, which, henceforth, became a matter of conviction for him, not merely a legacy of his Vaisnava background. The missionary zeal he developed for vegetarianism helped to draw the pitifully shy youth out of his shell and gave him a new poise. He became a member of the executive committee of the London Vegetarian Society, attending its conferences and contributing articles to its journal.

In the vegetarian restaurants and boarding houses of England Gandhi met not only food fadists but some earnest men and women to whom he owed his introduction to the Bible, and the Bhagvatgita, the most popular expression of Hinduism in the form of a philosophical poem, which he read for the first time in its English translation by Sir Edwin Arnold, The English vegetarians were a motley crowd. They included socialists and humanitarians like Edward Carpenter, "the British Thoreau" Fabians like George Bernard Shaw and Theosophists like Annie Besant. Most of them were idealists, quite a few were rebels who rejected the prevailing values of the Victorian Establishment denounced the evils of the capitalist and industrial society, preached the cult of the simple life, and stressed the superiority of moral over material values and of co-operation over conflict. These ideas were to contribute substantially to the shaping of Gandhi's personality and, eventually, to his politics.

Painful surprises were in store for Gandhi when he returned to India in June 1891. His mother had died in his absence, and he discovered to his dismay that the barrister's degree was not an open sesame to a lucrative career. The legal profession was already beginning to over crowd, and Gandhi was much too diffident to elbow his way into it. In the very first brief he argued in a Bombay court, he cut a sorry figure. Turned down even for a part time job of a teacher in a Bombay high school, he returned to Rajkot to make a modest living by drafting petitions for litigants. Even this employment was closed to him when he incurred the displeasure of a local British officer. It was, therefore, with relief that he accepted the none-too attractive offer of a years contract from an Indian firm in Natal, South Africa.

South Africa—Africa was to present Gandhi challenges and opportunities that he could hardly have conceived. In a Durban court, he was asked by the European magistrate to take off his turban : he refused, and left, the courtroom. A few days later, while travelling to Pretoria, he was unceremoniously thrown out of a first-class railway compartment and left shivering and brooding at Pietermaritzburg Station; in the further course of the journey he was beaten up by the white driver of a stage coach because he would not travel on the footboard to make room for an European passenger; and finally he was barred from hotels reserved for "Europeans only". These humiliations were the daily lot off Indian traders and labourers in Natal who had learned to pocket them the same resignation with which they pocketed their meagre earnings; What was new was not Gandhi's experience, but his reaction. He had so far not been conspicuous for self assertion of aggressiveness. But something happened to him as he smarted under the insults heaped upon

him. In retrospect the journey from Durban to Pretoria struck him as one of the most creative experiences of his life it was/his moment of truth. Henceforth, he would not accept injustice as part of the natural or unnatural order in South Africa, he would defend his dignity as an Indian and as a man.

While in Pretoria, Gandhi studied the conditions in which his countrymen lived and tried to educate them on their rights and duties, but he had no intention of staying on in South Africa. Indeed, in June, 1894, as his year's contract drew to a close, he was back in Durban ready to sail for India. At a farewell party given in his honour he happened to glance through the Natal Mercury and learned that the Natal Legislative Assembly was considering a bill to deprive Indians of the right to vote. "This is the first nail in our coffin". Gandhi told his hosts. They professed their inability to oppose the bill, and indeed their ignorance of the politics of the colony, and begged him to take up the fight to their behalf.

Until the age of 18, Gandhi had hardly ever read a newspaper. Neither as a student in England nor as a budding barrister in India had he evinced much interest in politics. Indeed, he was overcome by a terrifying stage fright whenever he stood up to read a speech at a social gathering or to defend a client in court. Nevertheless in July 1894, when he was barely 25, he blossomed almost overnight into a proficient political campaigner. He drafted petitions to the Natal legislature and the British Government and had them signed by hundreds of his compatriots. He could not prevent the passage of the bill but succeeded in drawing the attention of the public and the press in Natal, India, and England to the Natal 'Indians' grievances. He was persuaded to settle down in Durban to practice law and to organize the Indian community. In 1894, he founded the Natal Indian Congress of which he himself became the indefatigable secretary. Through this common political organization, he infused a spirit of solidarity in the heterogeneous Indian community. He flooded the government, legislature and the press with closely reasoned statements of Indian grievance. Finally, he exposed to the view to the outside world the skeleton in the imperial cupboard, the discrimination practiced against the Indian subjects of Queen Victoria in one of her own colonies in Africa. It was a measure of his success as a publicist that such important newspapers as 'The Times' of London and the Statesman and Englishman of Calcutta editorially commented on the Natal Indian's grievances.

In 1896 Gandhi went to India to fetch his wife Kasturba and their children and to canvass support for the Indians overseas. He met prominent leaders and persuaded them to address public meetings in the country's principal cities. Unfortunately for him, garbled versions of his activities and utterances reached Natal and inflamed its European population. On landing at Durban in January 1897, he was assaulted and nearly lynched by a white mob. Joseph Chamberlain, the colonial secretary in the British cabinet cabled the government of Natal to bring the guilty men to book, but Gandhi refused to prosecute his assailants. It was, he said, a principle with him not to seek redress of a personal wrong in a court of law.

Gandhi was no the man to nurse a grudge, On the outbreak of the Boer War in 1899, he argued that the Indians, who claimed the full rights of citizenship in the British crown colony of

Natal, were in duty bound to defend it. He raised an ambulance corps of 1,100 volunteers, out of whom 300 were free Indians and the rest indentured labourers. It was a motley crowd : barristers and accountants, artisans and labourers. It was Gandhi's task to instill in them a spirit of service to those whom they regarded their oppressors. The editor of the Pretoria News has left a fascinating pen portrait of Gandhi in the battle zone :

"After a night's work which had shattered men with much bigger frames, I came across Gandhi in the early morning sitting by the roadside eating a regulation army biscuit. Every man in (General) Butler's force was dull and depressed, and damnation was heartily invoked on everything. But Gandhi was stoical in his bearing cheerful and confident in his conversation and had a kindly eye."

The British victory in the Boer War brought little relief to the Indians in South Africa. The new regime in South Africa was to blossom into partnership, but only between Boers and Britons, Gandhi saw that, with the exception of a few Christian missionaries and youthful idealists he had been unable to make a perceptible impression upon the South African Europeans. In 1906 the Transvaal government published a particularly humiliating ordinance for the registration of its Indian population. The Indians held a mass protest meeting at Johannesburg in September, 1906 and, under Gandhi's leadership, took a pledge to defy the ordinance if it became law in the teeth of their opposition, and to suffer all the penalties resulting from their defiance. Thus was born Satyagraha ("firmness in truth") a new technique for redressing wrongs through inviting rather than inflicting, suffering, for resisting the adversary without rancour and fighting him without violence.

The Satyagraha struggle in South Africa lasted for more than seven years. It had its ups and downs, but under Gandhi's leadership the small Indian minority kept up its resistance against heavy odds. Hundreds of Indians chose to sacrifice their livelihood and liberty rather than submit to laws repugnant to their conscience and self-respect. In the final phase of the movement in 1913, hundreds of Indians, including women, went to jail, and thousands of Indian workers who had struck work in the mines bravely faced imprisonment, flogging, and even shooting. It was a terrible ordeal for the Indians; but it was also the worst possible advertisement for the South African government, which, under pressure from the government of Britain and India accepted a compromise negotiated by Gandhi on the one hand and the South African statesman General Jan Christian Smuts on the other.

'The saint has left our shores', Smuts wrote to a friend on Gandhi's departure from South Africa for India, in July 1914, "I hope for ever". Twenty-five years later, he wrote that it had been his "fate to be the antagonist of a man for whom even the I had the highest respect". Once, during his not infrequent stays in jail, Gandhi had prepared a pair of sandals for Smuts who recalled that there was no hatred and personal ill-feeling between them, and when the fight was over, "there was the atmosphere in which a decent peace could be concluded."

As later events were to show, Gandhi's work did not provide an enduring solution for the Indian problem in South Africa. What he did to South Africa was indeed less important than what

South Africa did to him. It has not treated him kindly, but by drawing him into the vortex of its racial problem, it had provided him with the ideal setting in which his peculiar talents could unfold themselves.

The Religious Quest—Gandhi's religious quest dated back to his childhood the influence of his mother and of this home at Porbandar and Rajkot, but it received a great impetus after his arrival in South Africa. His Quaker friend in Pretoria failed to convert him to Christianity, but they quickened his appetite for religious studies. He was fascinated by Tolstoy's writings on Christianity, read the Quran in translation and delved into Hindu scriptures and philosophy. The study of comparative religion, talks with scholars and his own reading of theological works brought him to the conclusion that all religions were true and yet every one of them were imperfect because they were "interpreted with poor intellects, something with poor hearts, and more often misinterpreted".

Rajchandra, a brilliant young philosopher who became Gandhi's spiritual mentor, convinced him of "the subtlety and profundity" of Hinduism, the religion of his birth. And it was the Bhagwadgita, which Gandhi had first read in London, that became his "spiritual dictionary", and exercised probably the greatest simple influence on his life. Two Sanskrit words in Gita particularly fascinated him. One was 'aparigraha' (non-possission), which implied that man had to jettison the material goods that cramped the life of the spirit and to shake off the bands of money and property. The other was 'samabhava' (equability), which enjoined him to remain unruffled by pain or pleasure, victory or defeat, and work without hope of success or fear of failure.

There were not merely counsels of perfection. In the civil case that had brought him, to South Africa in 1893, he had persuaded the antagonists to settle their differences out of court. The true function of a lawyer seemed to him "to unite parties given as under". He soon regarded his clients not as purchaser of his services but as friends, they consulted him not only on legal issues, but on such matters as the best way of wearing a baby or balancing the family budget. When an associate protested that clients came even on Sunday, Gandhi replied : A man in distress cannot have Sunday rest."

Gandhi's legal earnings reached a peak figure of 5,000 a year, but he had little interest in money making and his savings were often sunk in his public activities. In Durban, and later in Johannesburg, he kept at open table; his house was a virtual hostel, for younger colleagues and political co-workers. This was something of an ordeal for his wife, without whose extraordinary patience, endurance, and self-effacement, Gandhi could hardly have devoted himself to public causes. As he broke through the conventional bonds of family and property, their life tended to shade into a community life.

Gandhi felt an irresistible attraction to a life of simplicity manual labour and austerity. In 1904, after reading Johan Ruskin 'upto this last', a critique of capitalism he set up a farm at Phoenix near Durban where he and his friends could literally live by the sweat of their brow. Six years later another colony grew up under Gandhi's fostering care near Johannesburg, it was named Tolstoy Farm after the Russian writer and moralist, whom Gandhi admired and

corresponded with. Those two settlements were the precursors of the more famous 'asrams' in India, at Sabarmati near Ahmedabad, and at Sevagram near Wardha.

South Africa had not only prompted Gandhi to evolve a novel technique for political action but also transformed him into a leader of men by freeing him from bonds that make cowards of most men, "Persons in power", Professor Gilbert Murray prophetically wrote about Gandhi in the 'Hibbert of Journal' in 1918, "should be very careful how they deal with a man who cares nothing for sensual pleasure, nothing for riches, nothing for comfort or praise, or promotion. But is simply determined to do what he believes to be right. He is a dangerous and uncomfortable enemy because his body which you can always conquer gives you so little purchase upon his soul'.

Emergence as leader of nationalist India—From 1915 to 1918, Gandhi seemed to hover uncertainly on the periphery of Indian politics, declining to join any political agitation, supporting the British war effort in World War I, and even recruiting soldiers for the British officials for any act of high-handedness or from taking up the grievances of the long suffering peasantry in Bihar and Gujarat. Not until February 1919 provoked by the British insistence on pushing through the suspected of sedation, in the teeth of Indian opposition, did Gandhi reveal a sense of estrangement from the British Raj. He announced a Satyagraha struggle. The result was a virtual political earthquake that shook the subcontinent in the spring of 1919. The violent outbreaks that followed—leading among other incidents to the killing of British soldiers of nearly 400 Indians attending a meeting at Amritsar in the Punjab and the enactment of martial law—prompted him to stay his hand. But within a year he was again in a militant mood, having in the meantime been irrevocably alienated by British insensitiveness to Indian feeling on the Panjab tragedy and Muslim resentment on the peace terms offered to Turkey following World War I.

By the autumn of 1920, Gandhi was the dominant figure on the political stage, commanding an influence never attained by any political leader in India or perhaps in any other country. He refashioned the 35 year old Indian National Congress into an effective political instrument of Indian nationalism : from a three day Christmas week of the upper middle class in one of the principal cities of India, it became a mass organization with its roots in small towns and villages. Gandhi's message was simple : it was not British guns but imperfections of Indians themselves that kept their country in bondage. His programme of non-violent non-cooperation with the British government included boycott not only of British manufacturers but of institutions operated or aided by the British in India : legislatures, courts, offices, schools. This programme electrified the country, broke the spell of fear of foreign rule, and led to arrests of thousands of Satyagraha, who defied laws and cheerfully lined up for prison. In February 1922, the movement seemed to be on the crest of a rising wave but alarmed by a violent outbreak in Chauri Chaura, a remote village in eastern India, Gandhi decided to call off mass civil disobedience. This was a blow to many of his followers, who feared that his self imposed restraints and scruples would reduce the nationalist struggle to pious futility. Gandhi himself was arrested on March 10, 1922, tried for sedation, and sentenced to six years' imprisonment. He was released in February 1924, after an

operation for appendicitis. The political landscape had changed in his absence. The Congress party had split into two factions, one under Chitta Ranjan Dass and Motilal Nehru (the father of Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first prime minister) favouring the entry of the party into legislatures, and the other C. Rajagopalachari and Vallabhai Jhaverbhai Patel, opposing it. Worst of all, the unity between the Hindus and Muslims of the heyday of the non-cooperation movement of 1920-22 had dissolved, Gandhi tried to draw the warring communities out of their suspicion and fanaticism by reasoning and persuasion. And finally, after a serious communal outbreak, he undertook a three week's fast in the autumn of 1924 to arouse the people into following the path of non-violence.

During the mid-twenties Gandhi took little interest in active politics and was considered a spent force. But in 1927, the British government appointed a constitutional reform commission under Sir John Simon, a prominent lawyer and politician, that did not contain a single Indian. When the Congress and other parties boycotted the commission the political tempo rose. After the Calcutta Congress in December 1928, where Gandhi moved the crucial resolution demanding dominion status from the British government within a year under threat of a nation-wide non-violent campaign for complete independence. Gandhi was back at the helm of the Congress party. In March 1930, he launched the Sayagraha against the tax on salt, which affected the poorest section of the community. One of the most spectacular and successful campaigns in Gandhi's non-violent war against the British Raj, it resulted in the imprisonment of more than 60,000 persons. A year later, after talks with Lord Irwin, Gandhi accepted the truce, called off the civil disobedience, and agreed to attend the Round Table Conference, in London as the sole representative of the Indian National Congress. The conference, which concentrated on the problem of the Indian minorities rather than on the transfer of power from the British, was a great disappointment to the Indian nationalists. Moreover, when Gandhi returned to India in December 1931 he found his party facing an all out offensive from Lord Irwin's successor Lord Millingdon, who unleashed the sternest repression in the history of the nationalist movement against it. Gandhi was once more imprisoned and the government tried to insulate him from the outside world and to destroy his influence. This was not an easy task. Gandhi soon regained the initiative, in September 1932, while still a prisoner, he embarked on a fast to protest against the British Government's decision to segregate the untouchables (the depressed classes) by allotting them separate electorates in the new constitution. The fast produced an emotional upheaval in the country, an alternative electoral arrangement was jointly and speedily devised by the leaders of the Hindu community and the untouchables and endorsed by the British government. The fast became the starting point of a vigorous campaign for the removal of the disabilities of the untouchables whom Gandhi renamed Harijans, 'the children of God'.

In 1934 Gandhi resigned not only as the leader but also as a member of the Congress party. He had come to believe that its leading members had adopted non-violence as a political expedient and not as the fundamental creed it was for him. In place of political activity he now

concentrated on his "constructive programme of building the nation from the bottom up"—educating rural India, which accounted for 85 per cent of the population, continuing his fight against untouchability, promoting hand spinning, weaving, and other cottage industries to supplement the earnings of the unemployed peasantry and evolving a system of education best suited to the need of the people. Gandhi himself wanted to live at Sevagram, a village in Central India, which became the centre of his programme of social and economic uplift.

The Last Phase—With the outbreak of World War II, the nationalist struggle in India entered its last crucial phase. Gandhi hated fascism and all it stood for, but he also hated war. The Indian National Congress, on the other hand, was not committed to pacifism and was prepared to support the British war effort if Indian self government was assured. Once more Gandhi became politically active. The failure of the mission of Sir Stafford Cripps, a British cabinet minister, who came to India in March 1942, with an offer that Gandhi found unacceptable, the British equivocation on the transfer of power to Indian hands, and the encouragement given by high British officials to conserving and communal forces promoting discord between Muslims and Hindus impelled him to demand in the summer of 1942 an immediate British withdrawal from India. The war against the Axis, particularly Japan, was in critical phase, the British reacted sharply by imprisoning the entire Congress leadership and set out to crush the party once for all. The popular reaction was one of shock and indignation, there were violent outbreaks that were sternly suppressed the gulf between British and India became wider than ever.

A new chapter in India-British relations opened with the victory of the Labour Party in 1945. During the next two years, there were prolonged triangular negotiations between the leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League under M. A. Jinnah and the British Government culminating in the Mountbatten Plan on June 3, 1947, and the formation of the two new dominions of India and Pakistan in mid August 1947.

It was one of the greatest disappointments of Gandhi's life that Indian Freedom was realized without Indian unity. Muslim separatism had received a great boost while Gandhi and his colleagues were in jail, and in 1946-47, as the final constitutional arrangements were being negotiated, the outbreak of communal riots between Hindus and Muslims created a unhappy climate in which Gandhi's appeals to reason, justice, tolerance and trust had little chance. When partition of the subcontinent was accepted—against his advice—he threw himself heart and soul into the task of healing the scars of the communal conflict, toured the riot torn areas in Bengal and Bihar admonished the bigots, consoled the victims, and tried to rehabilitate the refugees. In the atmosphere of that period, surcharged with suspicion and hatred, this was a difficult and heart-breaking task. Gandhi was blamed by partisans of both communities. When persuasion failed, he went on a fast. He won at least two spectacular triumphs, in September 1947 his fasting stopped rioting in Calcutta, and in January 1948, he shamed the city of Delhi into a communal truce. A few days later, on January 30, 1948. While he was on his way to his evening prayer meeting in Delhi, he was shot down by a young Hindu fanatic.



ATTAINMENT OF FREEDOM AND PARTITION OF THE COUNTRY

The proclamation of India as a dominion introduced radical changes to the country's state-legal status. Throughout the territory of the Indian Union, in which the former provinces of British India and princely states were united on a federal basis, laws issued by the British Parliament were gradually eliminated. The Constituent Assembly began its work under the leadership of its new President Rajendra Prasad, one of the Congress leaders and associates of Gandhi.

The first government of independent India was led by Jawaharlal Nehru who combined the offices of Minister of Foreign Affairs and Defence. The majority of the ministers were members of the Indian National Congress party. In addition, B. R. Ambedkar leader of the Scheduled Castes Federation, was appointed Minister of Law and S. P. Mookherjee, leader of the Hindu Mahasabha, Minister of Industries and Supply.

The composition of the government of "national concentration", reflected the socio-political balance of forces within the country that grew up in the early post-Independence years. Despite the fact that Nehru was Prime Minister and still enjoyed the support of the left elements in the Congress, the predominant influence in the government was that of the moderate conservative forces. Home minister and Deputy Prime Minister at this time was Vallabhabhai Patel who by that time had become the acknowledged leader of the Right grouping within the Congress leadership. While the key economic ministries—Finance and Trade eventually fell into the hands of Chintaman Deshmukh and T. T. Krishnamachari who had connections with powerful Indian capitalists.

The provincial legislatures that had been elected in 1946 and the provincial governments that were answerable to the bourgeoisie and landlords now at the helm of the country.

An urgent task of the new state apparatus was to 'Indianise' the administrative apparatus and the armed forces, a step which substantially curtailed British influence over domestic and foreign policies of independent India. The India Government succeeded in securing the withdrawal of the last contingents of British troops from the country in February 1948. In 1949 there were still about a thousand British officials in the central administrative apparatus, mainly in diplomatic service.

The British imperialists, anxious if at all possible, to maintain their position in India, hoped not only to make use of their immediate agents within states, in which even after the proclamation

of independence administration remained in the hands of the local rulers. This meant that a new and urgent task facing the new India Government was to accelerate the integration of the princely states into the Dominion.

The Integration of the Princely States

The First Administrative and Territorial Reform

In 1947 a special ministry to deal with the principalities was set up, which Vallabhabhi Patel was put in charge of along side the Home Ministry. After series of negotiations between him and the princes, a formula was evolved for incorporating the princely states into the Indian Union. Each of the rulers concerned signed an instrument of accession to the Dominion which was then deposited with the government archives.

In accordance with these treaties the princess retained their rights to all their estates both personal and real. They could not be called to account for any actions they had perpetrated, before the treaties concerning the annexation of their territory to the Indian Union came into force. The princes were granted state pensions (totalling all in all 56 million rupees). Civil servants from the princely states were also given certain guarantees (secure employment, pensions, etc.)

At the same time princes were stripped of their political power, and their units of fighting men were either disbanded or integrated into India's regular army. The territories formerly belonging to the princes now became part of India and they were placed under Indian jurisdiction.

In so far as the incorporation of the princely states into India (or, Pakistan), according to the articles of the Independence of India Act (1947), depended upon the desires of their rulers, many of the latter did not go out of their way to hurry to declare their intentions, hoping eventually to retain the former direct relations with the British Crown that they had always enjoyed. The opposition on the part of the princes was supported by the British, in particular Mountbatten himself, who until June 1948 still held the post of Governor-General of the Dominion. However, both the clear cut position adopted by the Indian Government on this subject, once it had offered most favourable conditions to the princes facilitating their integration and the anti feudal movements that were taking shape within the princely states (particularly in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Travancore, Bhopal and Orissa) obliged the princes to hurry and sign the instruments of accession.

During the period 1947-1949, 555 of the 601 princely states were integrated into India, and the remainder became part of Pakistan. The integration of former princely states into Indian Union took three different forms : 216 of the smaller princely states became part of neighbouring provinces (Bombay, Central Provinces, Orissa and others) constituting separate districts within those provinces, seventy princely states were incorporated into the Union as administrative units governed from the centre—either within their former borders (Bhopal, Manipur, Tripura), or as a group of princely states (Himachal Pradesh, Kutch, Vindhya Pradesh), 269 of them were grouped

together as federal units, or unions of states (Pepsu—the Patiala and Eastern Punjab State Union, Rajashthan, Saurashtra, Madhya Bharat, Travancore—Cochin) or separate federal states within original borders (Hyderabad, Mysore, Jammu and Kashmir).

In the new provinces, both the princely states unions and the separate former princely states, elections to the legislatures were organised and governments accountable to these legislature were set up. The governors—or Rajpramukhs—representing the central power were appointed from among the former princes.

While the former princely states were being united with India in this way, the first large scale territorial and administrative reform was being implemented. At the same time a survey and settlement was carried out and a land revenue system introduced similar to that used in the 'rayatwari' areas. Rates of land taxation in a number of the former princely states were also brought down at this time.

The integration of the princely states into the Indian Union and the administrative and revenue reforms mentioned above did a great deal to consolidate the state system and dealt a serious blow to the forces of feudalism. However, the compromise solutions arrived at, the retention by the princes of large of their landed estates, palaces, and other riches, not to mention their enormous pensions (the Nizam of Hyderabad for example was granted 5,000,000 rupees a year, and the Maharajah of Mysore 2,600,000 and also the various privileges, the appointment of various princes to the post of Rajpramukhs, etc.—all paved the way to the, continued influence of the princess with regard to certain spheres of the economic, political and cultural development of their former realms.

This process of integration into the Indian Union proceeded smoothly on the whole during the period 1947-1949 with the exception of three cases : the princely states of Junagadh (in the Kathiawar peninsula), Hyderabad and Kashmir where unrest broke out.

The ruler of Junagadh, who was a Moslem, declared that he intended to make his territories part of Pakistan although over half the population of the principality consisted of Hindus. This, decision by the prince led to serious unrest in Junagadh that compelled the Indian Government to send troops into the princely State in February 1948 and hold a plebiscite. The vast majority of the voters came in favour of integration into India and the ruler of the princely state fled to Pakistan.

A more serious situation took shape in the large princely state of Hyderabad. The Nizam who was also a Moslem leaning on political support from the British who had started up a press campaign calling for preservation of special status for Hyderabad and of its direct links with London, went out of his way to delay the integration of his realm into the Indian Union. It was against this background that the Indian Government concluded a special agreement with this Nizam in October 1947, providing for the preservation of the status quo for a period of one year, but prohibiting the Nizam from increasing his armed forces or seeking any outside military help etc.

The Nizam, however, soon choose to ignore his obligations under this agreement. During 1948 large shipments of arms were sent in from Pakistan. It was soon abundantly clear that plans were underway for the creation of a military and political stronghold for the British imperialists in the centre of independent India. At the same time, however, tension was mounting within the princely state itself. Outbreaks of popular revolt against the Nizam rule, which had begun in 1946, now developed into a peasant uprising that swept through the whole eastern part of the princely state (Telengana). In order to put down the uprising, the administration and the feudal lords mustered armed bands of 'razakars' who terrorised the non-Moslem population of Hyderabad.

The influence of the peasant movement in Telengana began to spread more and more of neighbouring northern districts of Madras province, also populated by the Andhra (Telugu). In this situation the Indian Government, anxious to prevent Hyderabad breaking away from India and also the spread of peasant unrest to the Andhra region, delivered an ultimatum to the Nizam in September 1948, demanding among other things that he disband his 'razakar' detachments. On September 13 armed forces of the Indian Union entered the princely state and succeeded in occupying it within five days. Regular Indian troops not only wiped out the 'razakar' detachments, but also embarked on action against the insurgent peasants in Telengana. At the beginning of 1949 the Nizam signed an agreement providing for the incorporation of Hyderabad into the Indian Union, but allowing him to assume the title of 'rajpramukh' in his former domain.

The Beginning of Indo Pak Conflict over Kashmir :

The worst tension at this period was that which developed in the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir, where the opposition to the local ruler continued under the leadership of National Conference. In the summer of 1947 while visiting the area, Mountbatten had attempted to persuade the ruler to accept a plebiscite, hoping that the Moslems of Kashmir who constituted the vast majority of the population, would vote for integration into Pakistan.

British policy in Kashmir plans were foiled in September 1947 by the arrival of Gandhi in Kashmir, who had succeeded in securing release of Sheikh Abdulah from prison and an agreement between the Maharaja and the leadership of the National Conference. The next move by the imperialists was to provoke direct armed conflict between India and Pakistan. On October 22, 1947 detachments of Pathan tribesmen from the North West Frontier Province invaded Kashmir and on October 2, they were already approaching its capital Srinagar.

The Maharaja's administration collapsed, the Maharaja himself fled from Srinagar while the defence of the city was organised by popular forces led by the democratic wing of the National Conference and the Communists.

Despite opposition from Mountbatten, on October 27, Indian paratroopers were sent to Srinagar on the following day. Indian units joined battle with the units of the Pakistan regular army, which had invaded Kashmir in the wake of the Pathan detachments. A long drawnout armed

conflict ensued, in which operations on both sides were supervised by British generals—commanders-in-chief of the armies in the two dominions (until the end of October one and the same man General Okinleck—had been supreme commander of both armies).

A government known as Azad Kashmir (Free Kashmir) was set up in the territory occupied by Pakistani forces.

On December 31, 1947, India submitted the Kashmir issue to the UN; Security Council for consideration. A UN Kashmir Commission was set-up during the deliberations of this body representatives of Britain and America sought to exacebate differences between India and Pakistan. In the spring of 1948 armed conflict came to an end and a ceasefire agreement came into force on January 1, 1949.

In the autumn of 1947 after the Maharaja of Kashmir had renounced his throne his successor who had been made head of state of the farmer princely state signed an agreement providing for the incorporation of Jammu and Kashmir into the Indian Union, which, however, at the same time accorded the new province special autonomy and left open the question as to the future status of Kashmir, that would have to be decided at some time later date.

The events in Kashmir and Hyderabad added to the tensions between the two main religious communities in the subcontinent—Hindus and Moslems.

Hindu-Moslem Riots : The Death of Gandhi

The partition of India into two dominions and the establishment of the new states, frontiers sparked off mass migrations of Hindus and Sikhs from Pakistan to India, and the moslems to Pakistan. These mass migrations hit in particular the border regions of the two states. From the internal regions of India it was mainly representatives of the wealthy upper echelons of the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie who emigrated to Pakistan. This mass movements of Hindus and Moslems gave rise to an actue deterioration of relations between the two communities in both the dominions. Plunder and destruction of refugees' dwellings and mass scale butchery became everyday happening. In response to the atrocities perpetrated by religious fanatics in Western Punjab against Hindu and Sikh refugees, similar actions against Moslem broke out in Rajasthan, and Delhi, which then spead to Bihar and ceratin other regions of India.

Gandhi who had always championed Hindu-Moslem unity was deeply disturbed by these developments. As a sign of protest against the killing of Moslems he began a hunger strike. Gandhi's stand evoked widespread discontent in chauvinist Hindu circles ground around the Hindu Mahasabha and the closely associated para-military organisation Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (Union of National Volunteers). Reactionary circles were displeased not only by Gandhi's stand on the question of Hindu-Moslem relations, but also by a certain radicalisation now to be observed in his social and political views that had occurred during the 1940s. At this time when chauvinistic religious propaganda was rampant, a member of the Hindu Maha Sabha made an attempt on Gandhi's life on January 30, 1948, which proved fatal.

Gandhi's assassination led to widespread indignation throughout India. The public started demanding that Hindu religious organisations be banned. In some places members of these organisations were murdered. The government banned the activities of Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh and the Hindu Maha Sabha was obliged to declare that it would renounce political activity and now concentrate on work in the field of culture and education. These tragic events of January 1948 that culminated in the death of the national leader, "the father of the Indian Nation", dealt a serious blow at the aspirations of the Hindu communalist leaders.

After the consolidation of the new state's sovereignty the next major task was to surmount the economic consequences of the partition of the country into two separate dominions.

The Economic Consequences of Partition :

The post-war economic difficulties exacerbated by poor harvests the curtailment of war time production, shortage in certain types of raw materials and industrial articles were made still more serious by the partition of the country into two dominions.

Pakistan was accorded agricultural areas that had provided 40 percent of the nation's cotton, 85 percent of its jute and 40 percent of its wheat. India immediately suffered from a shortage of raw materials for its main branch of textiles industry and found itself short of food supplies.

The armed conflict of 1947-1948, which was followed by a trade war between India and Pakistan in 1949-1950, dealt a major blow at the inter-regional economic ties which had taken shape back in the colonial period. India was now faced with the task of setting up its own cotton and jute base, while Pakistan had to create its own textile industry, Normalisation of trade relations between India and Pakistan were also complicated by the failure so far to resolve other economic problems, including the regularisation of refugees' property, financial claims across the borders, the division of currency reserves.

The common irrigation system and transport network were also now disrupted. For a long period the only contact with Assam was by air. Now that supplies for the textile industry had been curtailed and that its markets had been reduced textile factories either had to close down or shorten the working week. Small-scale productions, spinners, and handlooms weavers suffered most from this shortage of raw materials and the abruptly curtailed market.

By the autumn of 1949 the volume of production in the main branches of industry announced to a mere 60 to 70 percent of the level attained during World War II. This depression in industrial production was determined not merely by the reduced markets for raw materials and finished articles but was also by the worn out condition of the capital equipment. A similar situation arose in the transport network, for 60 percent of the locomotives and carriages needed replacement.

The fall in production inevitable gave rise to acute employment problems. In some districts unemployment among factory workers and in cottage industries reached menacingly high levels.

In Eastern Punjab, for instance, the number of industrial workers in 1946-47 and 1947-48 fell by a third. The situation in the labour market was further complicated by the influx of refugees, whose numbers exceeded the seven million mark.

The shortage of industrial consumer goods coincided with food shortages : in the first year after Independence agricultural production was only 90 percent of pre war output.

The partition of the country added to the contradictions intrinsic to Indian economic development right across the spectrum, contradictions stemming from the colonial structure of the economy. In the early years after independence India still remained a backward agrarian country, in whose economic structure precapitalist patterns were predominant. Figures relating to the national income for 1948-49 show that 48.1 percent was derived from agriculture, 11.5 percent from cottage and craft industries, and 8.3 percent from large scale industrial production. The predominance of feudals pattern in the system of land ownership and land utilisation continued. The mediaeval level of technical equipment in agriculture meant that the level of labour productivity in India was one of the lowest in the world. The level of per capita national income in India was also one of the lowest in the world at that time, it amounted to 246 rupees in 1948. This was 10 percent of the figure for Britain and five percent of the American figure.

Scope on the economic for manouvre on the part of the Indian bourgeoisie was extremely limited due to the dominant position enjoyed by the foreigners, for the most part British, capital in the main branches of the economy. According to the first survey of foreign investment in India drawn up on the basis of figure for June 1948, it was established that these investments totalled 3200 million rupees, and of this total, 72 percent was British. Ninety seven percent of all investment in the oils extractive and refining industries was in foreign hands, 93 percent in the rubber industry, 90 percent in narrow gauge railways, and match production, 89 percent in the jute industry, 86 percent in the tea plantations, 73 percent in the mining etc.

Foreign monopolies reaped an average annual profit between 1200 and 1500 million dollars from capital invested.

The colonial structure of the Indian economy and the domination of foreign capital also predetermined India's place within the system of the international division of labour. As before, India now performed the function of a raw material appendage to the industrial capitalist countries. Britain in particular in 1946-47, 60 percent of India's total imports were foodstuffs and manufactured goods, while 52 percent of her exports were raw materials and food.

The young Indian state now had the daunting task of overcoming its centuries old backwardness and creating a diversified modern economy.



INDIAN CONSTITUTION—SPECIAL FEATURES

The Indian Independence Act of 1947 which recognised the independence of India and divided her into two Dominions, allowed full liberty to the Constituent Assembly of each Dominion to frame and adopt any constitution without reference to the British Parliament. Accordingly, the Constituent Assembly which first met in 1946, reassembled in 1947 and finished its work on the 26 Nov, 1949. It declared India or Bharat to be a Sovereign Democratic Republic.

The constitution adopted by the Constituent Assembly had made India a Union of States. These states have been divided into three categories called Part A, Part B and Part C, States. The territories comprising the Andaman and Nicobar islands are included in part D.

The part A states are the Governor's provinces of British India. They are politically advanced and as such they have been given full measure of autonomy as defined in the Constitution.

The Part B states are those which were formerly ruled by the Indian Princes. They are allowed to retain their identity either individually or in groups. They were Hyderabad, Jammu and Kashmir, Madhya Bharat, Mysore, Pepsu (Patiala and East Punjab States Union) Rajasthan. Saurashtra and Travancore Cochin. The Governor of these states is called the ruler or Rajpramukh. As these states took a well-developed administrative system, they had been placed for a period of ten years under the general control of the president whose directions they were to carry out.

The ten states in Part C were Delhi, Ajmer, Bilaspur, Bhopal, Coorg, Himachal Pradesh, Kutch, Manipur, Tripura and Vindhya Pradesh (Now the number had increased). These states were administered by the Central Government that is, by the President acting to such extent as he thinks fit through a Chief Commissioner or through the Government of a neighbouring state. Their status was thus different from that of other two categories of states.

Borrowing the American and French usages the Indian Constitution has set forth a number of Fundamental Rights to which every citizen of India is entitled. They are meant to afford protection to the people against the high-handed action of the Executive and Legislature. But the guarantee of these rights had been made subservient to the paramount need for the security of the state. There is, however, a unique feature in the list of the Fundamental Rights. It provides not merely for political or legal equality but for social equality as well. The constitution prohibits all sorts of discrimination based upon religion, caste sex and race. It has banned untouchability. In these respects our constitution is more enlightened than that of many other democratic countries where racial discrimination is maintained to this day.

The Fundamental Rights have been classified in the constitution under seven hand, viz,

- (1) Right to equality
- (2) Right to freedom including freedom of speech and expression, peaceful assembly movement, to hold and acquire property etc.
- (3) Right against exploitation,
- (4) Right to freedom of religion,
- (5) Cultural and Educational Rights,
- (6) Rights to property and
- (7) Right to constitutional remedies.

The rights are not mere abstract declarations of principles but are enforceable in a court of law. The courts have been empowered to declared void any act of the Executive or Legislative, which takes away or abridges any of the Fundamental Rights. Besides, the Judiciary has been armed with power to issue writs such as those of Habeas corpus, Mandamus, etc. in order that it may enforce any particular right against any authority in the state, at the instance of the individual where right has been violated. The constitution has given the power to use these writs to the Supreme Court and the High Courts. Parliaments is authorised to grant similar power to other courts as well.

Chief features : The structure of the government as set up by the constitution of India is federal. The Executive and Legislative powers have been divided between the Union and the component units called the states. The Federation is of the closer rather than the looser type. The framers of the constitution have taken special care to graft upon the federal system the strength of the unitary government in order to arrest centrifugal forces. Although a federal system has been set up the constitution has provided for a single judiciary, a single set of rights and obligations. single citizenship, all India services and other factors which make for centralization. Under certain conditions the Union Parliament can legislate on subjects included in the state list, and the President by declaring on subjects included in the state list, and the President by declaring a state of emergency in any state list, and the President by declaring a state of emergency in any state can over its administration. Thus declaring a state of emergency in any state can take over its administration. Thus the constitution has effected a unique combination of federal and unitary systems.

Another feature of the constitution is that it is the lengthiest and the most detailed constitution ever penned. It contained as many as 395 Articles and 8 schedules. Its bulkiness is due partly to the incorporation of the accumulated experience gathered from the working of most of the constitutions prevalent in other countries and partly to the inclusion of administrative details not usually found in other constitutions.

Lastly, it should be noted that although it is a rigid or written constitution provision has been made to impart to it a certain amount of flexibility. It is not so rigid as the constitution of the

United States. A special procedure has indeed been prescribed for the amendment of federal clauses. But many of the provisions of the constitution could be amended or modified by the usual process of ordinary majority required for general legislation.

The Executive of the Union consists of the President and a Council of Ministers. The president, elected for a term of five years, is the executive head of the Union. He shall appoint a Council of Ministers on the recommendation of the Prime Minister to aid and advise him in the exercise of his functions. The Prime Minister is also to be appointed by him. All the ministers are jointly responsible to be appointed by him. All the ministers are jointly responsible to the House of people which is the lower house of the Union parliament. If the President violates the constitution he shall be liable to removal by the process of impeachment.

The constitution provides for a Vice-President who will ordinarily preside over the Council of state which is Upper Chamber of the Union Parliament. He will act as the president during the temporary vacancy in the office of the President.

The supreme legislative power is vested in the Union Parliament. It consists of the President and two Chambers—The House of the people and the Council of states. The House of the people is to be directly elected by the Union on the basis of universal adult franchise. It was to consist of not more than 500 members and its normal life has been fixed at five years, the Council of States was to consist of not more than 250 members of whom twelve should be nominated by the President, and the rest should be chosen by the method of indirect election on the basis of population. They are to be elected by the elected members of the Legislative Assemblies of different states and as such they are the representatives of the states. Money Bills and the other financial Bills must originate in the House of the people and after they have been passed, they are to be transmitted to the Council of States for its recommendations. These bill should be deemed to have been duly passed even if the House of people rejects the recommendations of the Council of States. In other words, the House of the people has sole control over Money Bills. In all other matters the two House have almost equal powers.

In this connection it should be noted that although the Council of States reflects the federal character of the Union, its composition deviates from the acknowledged principles of federalism. In America equal representation is given to all the federating units (states) in the second chamber, irrespective of their size and population. In India the second chamber i.e., the Council of States, has been constituted roughly on a population basis.

The Indian constitution has set up a supreme court of India which besides being the highest judicial court, plays an important role in the Government of the country. It consists of the Chief Justice of India and not more than seven other judges. It is at once the interpreter and guardian of the constitution, and a tribunal for the settlement of inter-state disputes also as of disputes between the Government of India and the states. Its jurisdiction is threefold—Original, Appellate and Advisory. It may declare invalid any law of the Union or State legislatures if such law contravenes any provision of the constitution or exceeds the legislative power which the

constitution has conferred upon the legislatures, concerned. The judges are appointed by the President in consultation with the Ministers and other persons qualified to give opinions. The constitution has sought to secure the independence of the judges by making it difficult for the president to remove them. It declares that the judge shall not be removed by the President, except on a joint address by both the Houses of Parliament on grounds of proved misbehaviours or other incapacities.

The machinery of govt, set up for the states is modelled on the system established for the Union. The executive head of the states in part A is the governor appointed by the president for five years and holding office at his pleasure. Like the president he is to be aided and advised by a Council of Ministers. The governor appoints the Chief Minister on his own initiative, and the other ministers on the recommendation of the Chief Ministers. All the Ministers are collectively responsible to the Legislative Assembly of the State. In the case of the states in part B the executive head is called Rajpramukh who is subject to the control of the President and is to act with the advice of his Council of Ministers,

In some of the states viz. Bihar, Maharashtra, Tamilnadu, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal, the Legislature is bicameral, consisting of the Governor and two chambers—the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council. The Legislative Assembly is a popular body directly elected by universal adult franchise. The Legislative Council or the upper chamber consists of members indirectly elected as also of members nominated by the Governor. The Legislative Assembly is presided over by a Speaker who is elected by the Assembly from among its members. In the Legislative Council the President is the chairman elected by it.

The Lower House, that is the Legislative Assembly has full control over the provincial finance. All money Bills originate and are passed by it even if the Upper House does not agree. All other Bills may originate in either House and consent of both the Houses is necessary before they become law. A bill passed by the Upper House may become law if it is passed for the second time by the Lower House even if the other chamber opposes it. Thus the Upper House can delay but cannot prevent the enactment of a Bill passed by the Lower House.

The Indian constitution has made a threefold distribution of legislative powers between the Union and the state viz. the Union List, the State List and the concurrent list.

The Union-List contained 97 items or subjects over which the Union Parliament had exclusive powers of legislation. There are subjects which affect the interest of the whole country such as Defence, Foreign Affairs, Railway, Post and Telegraphs, Currency and Coinage, Union Duties and Taxes. Uniformity of legislation is necessary in these subjects.

The State list included 66 items or entries over which the state legislatures has exclusive power of legislation. These are usually subjects in which diversity of local conditions may demand diversity of laws. Subjects like agriculture, public health and sanitation, education, maintenance of law and order, forests and fisheries have been placed in the state list.

In the concurrent list have been put subjects in which both the Union and the State are interested and so the Union Parliament as well as the State Legislatures can make laws in regard to them. The concurrent list includes subjects like Marriage, Contract, Criminal law, Civil Procedure, Labour Welfare, Social and Economic Planning etc.

In case of overlapping and a conflict between the Union Law and the State Law regarding the concurrent list, the former will override the latter. Besides, legislative power the Union is invested with the executive authority over the states in certain cases. The Union executive has the power to give directions to the State Executive to ensure compliance with the laws made by Parliament and the the existing laws applying to the state. It also can give directions to the State Executive not to exercise its authority in a manner which may prejudice or impede the exercise of the executive power of the Union. There is not doubt that there are very wide powers given to the Union.

The Constitution has vested the executive powers of the Union in the president. These powers are to be exercised by him either directly or through officers subordinate to him, in accordance with the Constitution. The president being the head of the Union, all executive action of the Union must be expressed to be taken in the name of the president. The president has also important powers with regard to the Legislature and legislation. He is a component part of the Union Parliament. The Judicial power of the president relates to the power given to him of granting pardons, reprieves, remissions, respites, and of commuting sentences in case of any persons, perons convicted to an offence. This power extends to all cases where a sentence of death has been passed or where the punishment is by a Court Martial.

The constitution has vested in the President certain extra-ordinary powers to deal with cases of emergency. He may issue a "Proclamation of Emergency" when

(a) The security of India or any part there of it is threatened by war external aggression or inter disturbance,

(b) When the constitutional machinery of a state breaks down so that its government cannot be carried on it according with the provisions of the Constitution, and

(c) When situation arises, which threatens the financial stablity or credit of India or any part thereof.

Generally speaking the effect of the proclamations of Emergency is to turn the federal Constitution into a unitary one. For while the proclamation is in operation the Union Parliament shall have unrestricted power to legislate for the whole of India or any part thereof in respect of any of the matters enumerated in the state list. Secondly, the executive power of the Union will extend to the giving of directions to any state in any matter as to the manner in which the executive power thereof is to exercised.



Foundation of Indian National Congress

The foundation of Indian National Congress in 1885, was the first planned manifestation of Indian nationalism on All India level. The social and religious reformation movements, played very important role to national awakening. However, other important factors which contributed to the national awakening can not be overlooked. We see the seeds of nationalism in the revolt of 1857 itself. The elements of nationalism grew stronger by 1885. Now many national leaders were planning to establish an organisation on the All India level, though, the credit of making the dream a reality, goes to Mr. A. O. Hume, an English retired civil servant.

Circumstances leading to the foundation of Indian National Congress—

Before the foundation of Indian National Congress itself, some classes of the society had begun to establish their organisations to safeguard their interests. In 1838, the landlords founded an organisation namely "Land Holders Society" to safeguard their interest. However, this society may be called as first public organisation of modern India. It aimed at safeguarding the interest of the landlords of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa.

In April, 1843, another organisation was formed namely, "Bengal British India Society". It aimed at knowing the real conditions of Indian populace and to widen its horizon, and also to adopt peaceful and constitutional methods so that people may progress, avail their due rights and people of all classes have a common progress.

In 1851 both the organisations combined and a new "British India Association" was formed. Though the chiefs of this organisation too were the landlords and their aim was to protect the interests of the landlords. One liberal effort of this organisation was a petition, they sent to British Parliament, at the time of the renewal of the charter of 1853. In this petition they demanded a popular legislative assembly, separation of executive and judiciary, lesser salary to officers and abolition of salt excise and stamp taxes. Of course, these demands made some impact.

In 1875 Babu Shishir Kumar Ghosh founded 'Indian League' with the aim of promoting nationalism and political education. In 1876, Anand Mohan Bose and Surendra Nath Banerji, Founded "Indian Association" with the sole aim of bringing in its fold the middle class and the common populace as well.

In the meantime the repressive measures of Lord Lytton, accelerated the political activities. The age to appear in the Civil Service Examination was lowered to 19. As the examination was held in London, it became impossible for youngsters to go to London and appear in the examination. Against this policy "Indian Association" started an agitation. Mr.

Surendra Nath Banerji lead the agitation. He with a great speed visited the cities like Benaras Allahabad, Kanpur, Lucknow, Aligarh, Delhi Meerut, Amritsar and Lohore etc. and founded auxiliary associations on the model of 'Indian Association, Calcutta' in some cities.

On the model of 'British India Association', 'Bombay Association' was formed in Bombay Presidency. Its aim was to present memorandums to the Government from time to time to remove the drawbacks. The repressive measures of Lord Lytton and the Libert Bill controversy, had a deep impact on the political circle of Bombay. Here, by the efforts of Mehta, Tailang and Tayyabji, "Bombay Presidency Association was formed in 1885. "Poona Sarvajanic Sabha came in to existence in 1867 and its founder was Ranade. The aim of this organisation was to work as a link between the Government and the people.

Political associations were also formed in Madras Presidency. As a branch of 'British Indian Association'. Madras native association was formed. 'Madras Mahjan Sabha' came into being in May 1884, with the aim of co-ordinating the local organisations.

In this way, due to the efforts of Indian nationalists, the ground was prepared for the foundation of an organisation on All India Level. The nationalists regarded foreign rule and exploitation as their common enemy and they felt the need of political solidarity. The prevalent organisations had a narrow aim, so they did not have the good fortune to become as the organisation of All Indian Level. The enlightened Indians felt the necessity of an All India organisation for long. Thus, by the efforts of "Indian Association, the first conference of "Indian National Conference" was organised in Calcutta in 1883. Delegates from various parts of the country participated in it. By its first resolution, it demanded Civil Service examination in India also. at the sametime as in London and to make the apperaing agé 22, as before. Its second resolution stressed at raising national fund. Third resolution demanded a representative Legislative Assembly. Fouth resolution demanded to repeal Arms Act and fifth resolution expressed anguish over Libert Bill controversy. Though this conference was not a total success but it had its own significance because it was an step forward, to bring all the national leaders on a single platform, and towards formation fo a joint All India organisation.

Second "Indian National Conference was organised in Calcutta in December, 1885. But when all the preparation was ready, the friend of Mr. A. O. Hume Mr. Womesh Chandra Banerji asked Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji to postpone his conference and to participate in the Bombay conference. Later on, this very conference was named Indian National Congress and its sessions took place from 28-30 December, 1885.

The Founder of Indian National Congress—Generally, the credit of founding "Indian National Congress goes to Mr. A.O. Hume a retired British I. C. S. officer. He has been called. "The father of Congress" Mr. Hume was a liberal. He was also impressed by Theosophical Society and had a deep sympathy with the Indians. He was an experienced and farsighted man too. He knew very well that there was a great discontent in India against British rule and a great explosion could not be ruled out. So he felt the need of an All India organisation to protect the British government. Mr. Hume wrote an open letter to the graduates of Calcutta University in March 1883,

in which he made an appeal to educated youths to be organised and to work for the welfare of their motherland. The latter said that if only 50 educated youths gave up their self interest and try for the freedom of their country then the tasks ahead would be easier. The Hume's letter had a deep impact on the Indians. After some discussions with the Indian leaders, Hume founded Indian National Congress.

Hume kept his proposals before Lord Dufferin, the then Viceroy of India, Hume did not want debates on political matters through this organisation but Lord Dufferin suggested to be the Congress a political organisation like the opposition party in England. After getting the consent of Lord Dufferin and after discussion with Indian and British Leaders, Mr. Hume decided to found Indian National Congress. He proposed to convene the first session of Congress in Poona from 25-28 December 1885.

However, W. C. Banerji is of the view that the idea of founding 'Indian National Congress' was first conceived by Lord Dufferin and to make it a reality he took the help of Mr. A. O. Hume. Dufferin wanted an organisation in India, which might place the real problems of Indians before the government, so that British India be saved from an explosive situation. Lord Dufferin and Mr. Hume met in Shimla. As a matter of fact both Lord Dufferin and Mr. Hume were enlightened imperialists. Both were anxious of the gap between the rulers and the ruled and wanted to establish an organisation of both government and non-government persons, on national level. In this way both, Mr. Hume and Lord Dufferin contributed a lot towards the foundation of Indian National Congress.

The Aims of Congress—There are differences of opinions among the scholars over the question of the aims of the foundation of Indian National Congress. Some scholars are of the opinion that the Indian National Congress was founded, to safeguard the interests of the British empire, while other scholars see the foundation of the Congress as a medium of Indian nationalism. What were the real aims of Congress? To know the answer of this question, it is necessary to study and analyse both the views impartially.

The British of Congress as a Safety Valve—Lale Lajpat Rai opines that the main aim of the foundation of Congress was to safeguard the British empire from dangers, and not to struggle for the political independence of India. The interest of the British empire was supreme, and that of India, nothing. The Congress achieved this aim. At the time of the foundation of Indian National Congress. Mr. Hume told his friend Mr. Auckland Colvin that the scheme was the product of his own work and that the dangers would pass through this safety valve, that is Congress.

Dr. Nand Lal Chatterji is of the view that Mr. Hume proposed the foundation of Congress at a time when there was possibility of Russian invasion over British India. That is the reason why the behaviour of government of India changed just after the removal of Russian danger. Sir William Wedderburn and Rajni Pamdatta are also of the opinion that the main aim of the foundation of Indian National Congress was to destroy the national spirit of the Indians.

There is no doubt that Mr. Hume had a sympathy with the Indians but after all he was an English and wanted to see British rule over Indians. He was foreseeing a revolution full of blood.

So to transform the explosive and revolutionary ideas of the Indians into the constitutional flow, he contributed towards the foundation of Congress. It proves that Mr. Hume founded Congress as a 'Safety valve.'

As a medium of Indian Nationalism—Some scholars opine that the main aims of the foundation of Indian National Congress was to express the Indian nationalism in the form of an All India Organisation. Then the question arises why Indian nationalists accepted the scheme of Mr. A. O. Hume ? It will be a crime to raise our fingers on the patriotic spirit of these Indian politicians. So it is clear that they must have accepted the scheme of Dr. Hume after keeping some objectives in mind. Probably they believed that Indians would get their due rights through constitutional methods alone. They also believed that the English love democratic institution and they would accept their demands. Lala Lajpat Rai also wrote "Hume was the supporter of the freedom of Indian under the banner of British government.....Hume was a man of true and big heart, He loved freedom and was shocked to see the poverty and pitiable condition of India". Mrs. Annie Besant and Dr. Zakaria are of the same opinion.

Aims of Congress as told in its First Session—

Mr. Womesh Chandra Banerji, the First President of Indian National Congress, in its first session, told the following aims of the foundation of Congress—

- (i) To promote closeness and friendship among the people of different parts of the Empire, who are working sincerely in the interest of the country.
- (ii) To eradicate all pre-conceived ill, among nationalists through direct friendly behaviour, which has been created on the basis of caste, creed and religion and to nourish the feelings of national integration.
- (iii) To compile standard and matured conclusions, reached by discussion on important and necessary social questions, by educated Indians.
- (iv) To decide the ways and directions to be followed by Indian politicians, in the interest of the country.

In conclusion we can say that main aim of the foundation of Congress was to safeguard the British empire, After the revolt of 1857, there was again a scene of eruption of volcano. Increasing poverty had made the situation more grim. This situation was known to Mr. A. O. Hume, when he was in government service and he knew that conspiratory seered organisations were increasing all over the country. Mr. Hume believed that the organisation like Congress would prove to be a safety valve against revolutionary discontent and actually it proved to be. But at the sametime we will have to accept that the Indian politicians, who contributed towards the foundation of Congress, were true patriots and in no way they were the followers of British government. They co-operated with Mr. Hume because at that time they did not want to antagonise the British government. If Mr. Hume used congress as a 'safety valve' then, the Indian politicians -wanted it to be used as a 'Lightening Conductor.'

Gopal Krishna told in 1913—

"No Indian could have founded Congress. If any Indian would have tried to start a movement like this on All India level, then the government officers would have never allowed it to happen. If the founder of Congress would not have been a great, retired English officer, then the officers would have suppressed the movement any way."

Thus it is clear, that the foundation of Indian National Congress was the natural result of political circumstances and activities in the preceding years of 1885. Till this time the political situation had become such that it made necessary to decide some works and targets and to struggle for achieving them. To achieve the targets, it was necessary for the nationalists to come on a single political platform. An organisation of All India level alone could be such a platform. As these aims were connected to each other and depended on each other and could have been achieved through efforts on national level. For the people, who participated in the Bombay conference in December 1885, these basic aims were important and they went there with a hope that the most beginning of achieving their aims would start from Bombay. The success or failure of Congress and analysing the character of Congress in successive years, should be decided on the basis of its success in achieving its aim in the first few years of its foundation and not on the basis of its founders.

The First Session of Congress—

The credit of foundation of Indian National Congress goes to a retired British Civil Servant, Mr. Allen Octovius Hume. He is also regarded as "Father of Indian National Congress". Hume was a liberal Englishman. He had deep sympathy with India and the Indians. Moreover, Mr. Hume was an experienced and farsighted man. Inspired by several factors, Mr. Hume wanted to establish an organisation on All India level. To achieve his goal, he wrote an open letter to the graduates of Calcutta University. It was a heart touching letter. In this letter Mr. Hume appealed the educated youths to work for the progress of their motherland so that "intellectual, social and political awakening of Indian nation could take place and for this a disciplined and organised army be prepared." He wrote further "if only fifty educated youths gave up their narrow interests and organise themselves to struggle for the freedom of the nation, then the tasks ahead can be very much easy." The letter of Mr. Hume had a deep impact on the educated Indians.

Mr. Hume was graced by the then Viceroy of India, Lord Dufferin and then he went to England where he discussed his scheme with the main persons who were interested in the affairs of India. Before coming back to India, he organised an 'Indian Parliamentary Committee'. The purpose of this committee was to take promise of the Members of the Parliament, that they would take interest in the Indian matters.

In March 1885, Mr. Hume returned to India and decided to convene a meeting of the representatives from All India, during X-max holidays in Poona. A letter was issued containing the following matters.

"There would be a meeting of Indian National Union" in Poona, from 25 to 31st December 1885'. The English knowing delegates from Bengal, Bombay and Madras provinces would take part in it. The aim of this meeting will be—

1. Mutual introduction of the person, who are devoted to the progress of the nation
2. To discuss and decide the works to be done this year."

For the first session of Congress it was decided that it would take place in Poona, from 25 to 31 December. But Poona witnessed the epidemic 'cholera' and so the venue was changed and was decided that the first session of Congress be held in Bombay. On 28th December, 1885, at 12 noon, in the premises of Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College, the first session of Congress started and thus 'Indian National Congress' came into existence. In this session 72 delegates from different parts of the country participated. The main leaders participated in this session were— A. O. Hume, Mahadev Govind Ranade, Womesh Chandra Banerji, Dadabhai Naroji, P. Nadiu, Kashinath Trayambak, Tailang etc. This session of Congress was presided over by Mr. Womesh Chandra Banerji, who was an Indian Christian. According to Mr. Womesh Chandra Banerji "India never witnessed such an important and widely represented conference". In this way the great political and national organisation came into being, under whose leadership the war of Indian independence was fought.

Congress was founded with the grace of the Viceroy, who was the chief representative of British Imperialism in India. It was decided that government officers would not take part in its programmes but if they desire, then they may present themselves in the session as 'inspectors'.

The 'resolution' of the first session—

During initial days the aims of Congress were very humble. Indians wanted to let the government know their problems through Congress and its solutions. The following resolution were passed in the first session of Congress—

- (i) A Royal Commission be instituted to inspect the Indian administration
- (ii) India and Burma be separate units.
- (iii) Changes in the organisation of Army and reduction in military expenses.
- (iv) The post of 'Secretary of State for India' and 'India Council' be dissolved.
- (v) Examination of Indian Civil Service be organised in India and age limit for the appearing students be raised.
- (vi) Reforms in central and provincial Assemblies.
- (vii) Higher post for Indians in government service.

It was decided to send the resolutions to the political Assemblies and to convene the next session of Congress in Calcutta. The conference ended with the slogans praying victory for Empress Victoria. From its start to its end, we see the dominance of Mr. Hume on the session. He was also elected first secretary of Indian National Congress.

The foundation of Indian National Congress in 1885 was an event of unparalleled significance. It is true that the history of Indian National Movement starts from the foundation of Congress itself. Congress, from its first day of existence, made its aim the well-being of all Indians. There is no doubt that in its first session, Congress showed loyalty to crown and it is proved by the concluding events of the first Session. In the report of this Session this event has been described in the following words. Mr Hume after thanking for his respect, said—"Since the duty to say, thanks has been assigned to me, so my proposal is, if we have a mistake in the beginning, it should be removed at the end. Abiding by this theory, all of you say, three times, rather three into three nine, times, and if possible, nine into three 27 times, 'Jai' of the person, we do not have the ability to open the lace of her shoes, and who nourish you all and regard you all as your children. I mean you all join your voice to say 'Jai' of 'Her Majesty, the Great liberal, Empress Victoria.' The speaker what told more could not be listened because from all sides there was a 'Jai' 'Jai' noise and voice of Mr. Hume could not be heard. According to the will of Mr. Hume people did it again and again.

In this way Congress began its life as a puppet but one day the same Congress was declared illegal by British administration. A day came when the British Government used to search Congressmen here and there and freedom lovers, numbering in lacs, were ready to do or die at her instance.

The Indian National Congress gave the political awakening in India, a new direction. On the stage of this organisation, the great intellectuals of India for their due demands, discussed with each other and awakened consciousness in the country. In the beginning this movement was liberal and constitutional in nature. Congress got the sympathy of government through its humble prayers and policies and prepared the ground on which a movement of coming years could stand successfully. In fact Indian National Congress sowed the seeds of Indian nationalism.



Lesson—4

RISE, NATURE AND IMPACT OF REVOLUTIONARIES

Till 1905 Congress leaders did not want any confrontation with British Government. But after the partition of Bengal in the same year extremist activities took a formidable shape. The gap between moderates and extremists in the Congress had resulted in a split in the Surat Congress in 1907 and till 1916 the extremists virtually remained out of Congress sessions. After the Surat Congress the British Government adopted more repressive measures which gave rise to more violent extremism and its followers are known as Revolutionary or Terrorists.

Revolutionaries wanted to remove the British Government by violent means. To them the answer to Government's repressive policies was terrorism. The following were the causes of the rise of terrorism in the Indian National Movement—

1. The reactionary policies of Lord Curzon—The national movement would have followed a different course in the absence of a reactionary ruler like Lord Curzon. The partition of Bengal by Curzon had stirred the whole country. The Government had partitioned Bengal on the plea of administrative expediency but the real aim was to put a check on the growing nationalism in Bengal. The partition of Bengal was based on the British policy of Divide and Rule. The Universities Act of 1904 enacted by Curzon was more to alienate the students from the main stream of national movement. This act of Curzon in turn, only added to the growing discontent of the educated youngmen and their discontent took a turn for the worse in years that followed.

The tightening of repressive measures—The British Govt. tried to put a check on extremism by force. In 1907 Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh were sentenced to imprisonment without trial. In order to prevent Indians from holding meetings Seditions Meeting Act was passed in 1907. The Newspapers Act enabling seizure of presses and the Criminal Law Amendment Act of December 1908 permitting ban on principal societies in Bengal were the fragments of legislation aimed at restraining the revolutionary activities. These repressive measures, however, had adverse effects and they in fact strengthened the revolutionary activities. During the swadeshi movement in Bengal the police resorted to lathi charge and arrest of leaders and their supporters. The young people felt offended and they decided to pay back terrorism with acts of terror. The revolutionaries missed no opportunity to attack British officers with bombs which they made clandestinely in many parts of the country.

Economic discontent—The latter half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century witnessed a number of famines and epidemics. The British Government's apathy during those distresses was resented by people at large and younger generation in particular. During the famine of 1877 around 20 lakhs people were affected. The tactless handling of the Poona plague situation witnessed the first outbreak of revolutionary terrorism the murder of the Plague Commissioner Rand and Averst by the Chapekar brothers. Tilak criticized the Government policy but he was accused of sedition and sent to jail. This event had ripples throughout the length and breadth of India (The cottage industries were ruined rendering many people jobless. The unemployed youths turned to terrorism as all other avenues were closed for them.)

The failure of constitutional methods—The Congress in its early years believed in constitutional methods i.e. praying, delegation, memorandum and mobilization of public opinion in England etc. But by 1909 they could understand the futility of these methods. The Morley-Minto reforms provided for a separate representation for the Muslims. This again was based on Divide and Rule policy of the British Government. The Indian voice at central and provincial legislatures was ignored. The moderates were greatly disappointed and there was a tilt towards revolutionaries.

International situation—The international situation widened the roads of revolutionaries. In 1905 Japan defeated a giant nation like Russia which inspired the revolutionaries. Indians in South Africa were very badly treated. Under Asian Registration Act of 1907 every Indians residing in South Africa had to be registered by making thumb impressions. The British Government took no notice of it which the Indians resented strongly and the younger generation took arms against the govt. for its apathy. They now realised that independence demanded blood of the people of the country and they were ready to sacrifice their lives at slightest provocation.

Nature of Revolutionary Movement—The British administrators have termed the revolutionaries as dacoits, murderers anarchists etc. They wanted to insult the revolutionaries by above mentioned terms. The activities of revolutionaries meant terrorism but not anarchism. They did not like to create anarchy like the Nihilists of Russia.

The revolutionaries never aimed at establishing a reign of terror, rather they wanted to create a panic in the heart of oppressors of the Indians. Their main targets were the English officers who tortured the Indian nationalists. They seldom attached any innocent British administrator. The revolutionaries looked down upon the British administration, culture, civilization and language. They wanted to throw them out forcibly. They also instigated the Indian army to take up arms against the British Government.

The revolutionaries were worshippers of the force of strength. In order to frighten the British officers they used to hurl bombs and shoot them. They were ready for life imprisonment or to be hanged but they never hesitated to do their duty.

The organizers of the revolutionary movement were selfless patriots. They were ready to sacrifice everything for the country. They could not tolerate the oppression on their fellow countrymen. They wanted to rebuild the nation on the basis of social equality. Most of the revolutionaries belonged to middle class urban society.

Extent of Revolutionary Terrorism—The main centres of revolutionary activities were Bengal, Maharashtra, Punjab and Madras.

In Bengal the two prominent leaders were Barindra Kumar Ghosh and Bhupendra Nath Dutta. They started 'Yugantar' weekly in 1906. through which they preached revolutionary ideas regularly. In 1907 an attempt was made to kill the Governor of Bengal but it failed. Kingsford, who during his tenure as presidency Magistrate in Calcutta have publicly flogged the revolutionaries, was transferred to Muzaffarpur as District Judge. In 1908 Khudiram Bose and Rafulla Chaki, two brave sons of Bengal attempted to kill Kingsford but he was not hurt. Instead, two European ladies were killed, Chaki committed suicide and Khudiram Bose was hanged in Muzaffarpur jail.

The famous Alipur conspiracy case was an attempt to strike a blow at the British Govt. but within months after Khudiram's hanging, the police arrested Barindra Kumar Ghosh and Arobindo chosh, Kanhai Lal and Satyendra were hanged to death. The Govt. witnesses, the sub Inspector and Govt. pleader were murdered during the hearing of the case. During the First World War the revolutionaries with the help of an assistant of a firm procured pistols and cartridges. The bulk

of the secret political committees under the leadership of Jatin Mukharjee made a plan to disrupt rail services and capture Fort William. Naren Bhattacharya was entrusted with the work of procuring arms and amunitions from Germany but their plan could not materialise and Jatin Mukherjee's heroic death at Balasore left the plan unaccomplished.

The first sign of terrorism in Maharashtra began with the murder of Rand, the Plague Commissioner in 1897 in which Damodar and Bal Krishna Chapekar were involved. The whole country observed hartal for a day as protest against Tilak's conviction in July 1908. The Savarkar brothers—Damodar and Ganesh founded 'Mitramela' in 1899 which in course of time became famous 'Abhinava Bharat'. V. D. Savarkar and Shyamji Krishna Verma went to London and Ganesh Savarkar carried on revolutionary activities in Maharashtra. In 1909 V. D. Savarkar sent a parcel of pistols to Ganesh Savarkar but the police detected it. Ganesh Savarkar was arrested and sent to Andaman and a ban was imposed on 'Abhinav Bharat'. Anant Kanhere killed Jackson, the District Magistrate of Nasik for Savarkar's arrest. Anant Kanhere, Vinayak Rao Deshpande and Krishnji Pant were sentenced to death for their involvement in Nasik conspiracy case. There was also a 'Nava Bharat' group in Gwalior which proclaimed its goal to be a republic. V. D. Savarkar was arrested in 1910 and was sent to Andaman. Among the revolutionaries of Maharashtra the name of Basudev Balwant Phadke is worth mentioning. He contributed a lot to spread the revolutionary ideals in Maharashtra during the famines.

The prominent revolutionaries of the Punjab included among others Lala Lajpat Rai, Ajit Singh and Lala Harkrishan. The revolutionary activities in the Punjab were a sequel to provocations from the British. Lala Lajpat Rai was to be deported in 1907. Ajit Singh's organization was more active in revolutionary activities. Lala Pindi Das inspired the revolutionaries through his journals. Therefore, he was arrested. Ajit Singh and Sufi Amba Prasad left for Iran after being released from the jail and carried on their activities from there.

In different towns around Madras meetings were held in sympathy with Bengal revolutionaries from 1906 onwards. There was an attack on Kakinda European club in 1907. After a sahib had smashed the ears of a boy for shouting 'Bande Matram' there was an attack on Government offices at Tirunelveli in March 1908. The police opened fire to bring the situation under control. The Tamil revolutionaries were responsible for the murder of District Magistrate. As he in Tirunelveli in 1811. Subramaniya Iyer Chidambaram Pillai, Tubramania Sive and poet Subramaniyam Bharti were prominent among the revolutionaries in Madras.

In 1912 the capital of India was transferred to Delhi from Calcutta. There was a bomb attack on Hardinge while he was making his official entry into the new capital in December 1912. He, however, escaped unhurt. Master Amir Chand, Awadh Bihari, Bhai Mukund, Hanumant Sahay etc. were arrested.

The revolutionary activities began in England, America, Canada in London Shyamji Krishna Verma had started India House and an Indian Home Rule Society. London became the centre for revolutionary activities. V. D. Savarkar with the help of Shyamji Krishna Verma used to send arms for Maharashtra revolutionaries. Ganesh Savarkar was, however, arrested and sentenced to life

imprisonment. Madan Lal Dhingra assassinated the India office bureau chief at Curzon-Wythe in 1909 because he had punished Ganesh Savarkar. V. D. Savarkar was extradited in 1910.

Lala Hardayal and Sohan Singh Bhakna organized the Indians in America and Canada and founded Ghadar movement. The aim was to contribute to Indian freedom struggle pains and Geneva also became centres for revolutionary activities. Madam Cama brought out 'Bande Matram' from Geneva.

A far flung conspiracy was organized by Rash Bihari Bose and Sachin Sanyal in cooperation with returned Ghadarites in Punjab. Passion were further inflamed by famous Komagate Maru incident. A plan for coordinated revolt on 21 February, 1915 based on mutinies by Ferozpur, Lahore and Rawalpindi Garrisons was, however, foiled. There was a mutiny at Singapore in February 1915. Efforts to send help to revolutionaries from aboard were centered during the war days to Berlin where Virendra Nath Chattopadhyaya, Bhupen Dutta and Har Dayal etc. set up Indian Independence Committee. In 1915 Mahendra Pratap, Baraktulla, and Obeidullah Sindhi set up a 'Provisional Government of free India. in 1915 when England was badly poised during the First World War the armed revolt as planned by Rash Bihar Bose, Sachin Sanyal, Kartar Singh, Pingle etc. also failed, Gandhiji's emergence in Indian politics after the first World War decidedly changed the course of freedom movement in India though revolutionary activities continued till India achieved Independence. A new chapter was introduced in the annals of national movement with Gandhiji.

Impact :

Though the Revolutionary or Terrorist movement failed, it constituted a very important chapter in the history of national movement in India.

The revolutionaries warned the British Government that the empire would not last by brutal force. The people would not tolerate their oppression and would retaliate inevitably. The British learnt a lesson from revolutionaries. There is no doubt about it that if the revolutionaries not taken the course of terror the Indians would have suffered heavily at British hands.

The revolutionaries instilled a sense of hatred against British rule. The stories of their sacrifices were discussed even in the villages. The whole country was stirred.

No one can be compared with the revolutionaries in the matter of self sacrifice. If they took to arms to face the challenge of injustice and oppression, this can not be called immoral. They were motivated by selfless service to the nation. They did not bother for their lives and were ready to shed their blood for the mother land. The posterity feels proud of their sacrifices. The courage they displayed even when going to the scaffold is a rare thing in history. Their names deserve to be written in golden letters in the history of Indian national movement. To conclude with Sumit Sarkar (Modern India 1885-1947) the British were often frightened, rare examples were set to death defying heroism in the cause of complete independence and world wide contacts were sought in quest for shelter and arms, leading.....to important ideological

consequences.....Terrorist heroism evoked tremendous admiration from very wide circles to educated Indians and sometimes from other too—a street beggars lament for Khudiram for instance, could still be heard in Bengal decades after his execution."



Lesson—7

THE ATTAINMENT OF FREEDOM AND PARTITION

After the suppression of the Revolt of 1942, there was hardly any political activity in India till the end of the second world war. During this period there was raised the call of 'Jai Hind' from the Indian National Army. But after the end of the war, the national movement in India, however regained momentum. Fresh negotiations between the British, Congress and the League were started, which paved the way for freedom—the final goal of the Indian people. Though, India ultimately did get freedom, it was with a wide spread communal violence in several parts of the country and a tragic partition.

(A) The Indian National Army

The genesis of the Indian National Army or the INA goes back to the Mutiny of Vellore in 1806, the Mutiny of 1857 and the Ghadar Party's revolt in Singapore in 1915.

The idea of INA, however, was first conceived in Malaya by Mohan Singh, an officer of the British Indian Army, whom the Japanese encouraged to form anti-British organisation and handed over to him the Indian prisoner's of war. By December, 1942, serious differences cropped up between the Indian Army and the Japanese over the role that the INA was to play. Mohan Singh was dismissed from his post and interned. The INA remained in a state of suspense. But soon it found the new expression when Subhash Chandra Bose joined it in July 1943.

Subhash Chandra Bose had escaped from India in March 1941 to go to the Soviet Union for help. But when the Soviet Union joined the allies in June 1941, Bose went to Germany, met Hitler and sought his help in freeing India. Later in February, 1943, he left for Japan to organise an armed struggle against the British with the Japanese help. He reached the Japanese controlled Singapore in July 1943, issued from there his famous call 'Delhi Chalo' and announced the formation of 'Azad Hing Fauj' to liberate India on 21 October, 1943. Subhash Chandra Bose who was now called Netaji by the soldiers was assisted by Rash Bihari Bose, an old terrorist revolutionary and General Mohan Singh. He gave his followers the battle cry of 'Jai Hind'. The INA joined the Japanese army in its march on India from Burma. Inspired by the aim of freeing their homeland, the soldiers and the officers of the INA hoped to enter India as its liberators with

Netaji as the head of the provisional Government of Free India. Despite all his quarrels with Gandhiji, Netaji did not forget to ask for the blessing of the 'Father of the Nation' while starting his enterprise. Indian prisoners of war in Japanese camps provided a ready recruiting ground for the INA which was able to rally about 20,000 out of the 60,000 prisoners of war. Financial aid and volunteers came from the Indian trading communities settled in South East Asia. The INA was demonstratively non-communal, with Muslims quite prominent among its officers, and ranks and it also introduced the innovation of women's regiment named after the Rani of Jhansi. Between March and June 1944, the INA was in action on the Indian soil beseizing Imphal along with the Japanese troops in a campaign which ended in total failure.

The Japanese collapse in the war during 1944-45 made the INA men prisoners again. Netaji was killed in an air-crash on his way to Tokyo, which some still believe to have been a fake.

Even though his strategy of winning freedom in co-operation with the fascist powers was criticized at the time by most Indian nationalists, by organizing the INA, Netaji set an inspiring example of patriotism before the Indian people and the Indian army.

When the INA men, after the final surrender to the British in South-East Asia were brought back to India and threatened with serious punishment, a powerful movement was to emerge in their defence. The Govt. decided to hold public trials of several hundreds of the 20,000 INA prisoners. The first trial in the Red Fort at Delhi in November 1945 included a Muslim, Shahawaz Khan, a Sikh, Gurdial Singh Dhillon and a Hindu, Prem Sehgal—officers of INA, who had earlier been officers in the British Indian Army. They were accused of having broken the oath of loyalty to the British Crown and thus having become traitors. On the other hand, the people welcomed them as national heroes. Bhulabhai Desai, Tej Bahadur Sapru, Asaf Ali and Jawahar Lal Nehru appeared for the defence. The entire country now seethed with excitement and confidence that this time the struggle would be won. They would not let these heroes be punished. On this issue, all Indians were united. The Muslim league also joined the country-wide protest. There was not the slightest feeling among them of Hindu and Muslim.

The British Govt. was this time in no position to ignore the Indian opinion. Even though the court martial held them guilty, the Govt., felt it expedient to set them free. The Punjab Governor reported that the Lahore reception for the released INA prisoners was attended by Indian soldiers in uniform.

(B) The Royal Indian Naval (or RIN) Mutiny of 1946

The INA had shown that patriotic ideas had entered the ranks of the professional Indian army, the chief instrument of the British rule in India. Another straw in the wind was the famous heroic and unforgotten revolt of the Royal Indian Naval rating in Bombay on 18-23 February 1946.

The RIN revolt started on 18th February, when 1,100 naval ratings of HMS 'Talwar' went on hunger strike against bad food and racist insult etc. The next day, the strike was joined by the crews of all 20 war ships. The ratings elected a naval central strike committee, headed by M. S. Khan and formulated demands, which combined issues of better food, equal pay for white and Indian sailors etc. with the national political slogans of release of INA and other political prisoners

and withdrawal of Indian Troops from Indonesia. Next day the strikers organized a demonstration in Bombay. This demonstration was united under the banner of the Congress, the Muslim league and the Communist party.

Fire was exchanged between British troops and the strikers. The ratings had brought on a seven hour battle with the army and navy and had surrendered only when asked to do so by the national leaders. News of this mutiny spread quickly throughout the country. Naval ratings came out in support of the strikers in Karachi, Calcutta, Madras and Vishakhapatnam. It appeared that the mutiny might spread throughout the Royal Indian Navy. The situation was further complicated by the fact that the Air Force pilots and Aerodrome personnels in Bombay were on strike. A call was given by the communist party leading to a general strike, demonstrations and mass rallies.

The RIN ratings of February 1946, in sharp contrast to the men of the Azad Hind Fauj have never been given the status of national heroes, though their action involved much greater risk in some ways than joining the INA as an alternative to an arduous life in Japanese prisoners-of-war camps. The last message of the naval central strike committee deserves to be remembered far better than it usually is : Our strike has been a historic event in the life of our nation. For the first time the blood of men in the services and those in the streets flowed together for a common cause. We in the services will never forget this. We know also that you our brothers and sisters, will not forget. Long live our great people '!Jia Hing!'

This action within the Indian Armed Forces made it clear that a revolutionary trend was taking shape in India.

(C) The Rajgopalachari Formula of March, 1944

The Muslim league declared that creation of Pakistan was the final goal of the Indian Muslims and observed the 'Pakistan Day' on March 23, 1943. There was an urgent need of some sort of compromise between the Congress and the Muslim league parties. In March 1944 Chakravarti Rajgopalachari evolved a formula with the concurrence of Mahatma Gandhi which made the following proposals—

- (i) The League should co-operate with the Congress in its demand of complete Independence.
- (ii) After the close of the war, a plebiscite would be held in the Muslim majority provinces to decide whether or not they should form a separate state.
- (iii) In the event of separation, the two states would make an agreement concerning defence, communication and other matters of common concern.
- (iv) The scheme would be put into practice only when India was given complete Independence.

The scheme, however, was rejected by Mr. Jinnah.

(D) The Desai—Liaqat Pact

After the rejection of the Rajgopalachari formula by the League, another attempt for

compromise between the Congress and the Muslim League was made by Mr. Bhula Bhai Desai, the Congress leader in the Central legislative Assembly, who met Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan, the Muslim League deputy leader in the Assembly and proposed that an interim Government should be formed at the centre consisting of equal member of persons nominated by the Congress and the League in the Central legislature. This scheme was also rejected by the Muslim League.

(E) The Simla Conference and the Wavell Plan 1945

Mahatma Gandhi was released from prison on grounds of health on 6th May, 1944. He held a series of discussions with Mr. Jinnah but no agreement was reached. On the other hand, the situation inside and outside the country was worsening day by day as a result of deterioration economic conditions famine and the threat of war on the eastern border, India's goodwill, however, was needed. Lord Wavell who succeeded Lord Linlithgow as governor-general in October 1943 flew to London in March 1945 to find out some solution and come back with the proposal that the members of his Council with the exception of the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, should be Indians selected from among the leaders of Indian political parties, on a basis of parity between Muslims and the so called Caste Hindus. He called an all-party conference at Simla on 25th June, 1945 and proposed his plan known as Wavell Plan. The Congress nominated Maulana Azad as one of its representatives in the proposed interim Government. Mr. Jinnah refused to accept it because he claimed that the Muslim League alone represented the Indian Muslims. The Congress also remained adamant on its nomination. Therefore, the Wavell Plan failed.

(F) The Elections to Provincial and Central Assemblies, 1946

Not long after this, the Labour Party came into power in Britain. The new British government made an earnest effort to end the political deadlock in India decided to hold fresh elections to Indian Assemblies both central and provincial to reconstitute the Viceroy's Executive Council, immediately after the elections, with Indian members as proposed in March, and to summon a constitution-making body as soon as possible. The elections were held all over India at the beginning of 1946. The Congress captured all general seats and the Muslim League captured all Muslim seats. Only in the North-West Frontier Province, the Congress captured Muslim seats as well. The Congress and the League formed ministries in their respective majority gained provinces. Lord Wavell declared that a Constituent Assembly would also be formed soon and the central executive would be reconstituted.

(G) The Cabinet Mission (March-June, 1946)

In March 1946, Mr. Atlee, the British Prime Minister sent a Cabinet Mission consisting of Lord Pathick Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. A. V. Alexander to negotiate with the Indian leaders the terms for the transfer of power to Indians. The Mission held talks with the leaders of all prominent political parties in India. As no agreement was possible between them the Mission issued a statement on 16th May, 1946 giving a broad outline. Their idea of the future government of India and laying down the procedure for framing a detailed constitution.

The Cabinet Mission, however, proposed a two tier federal plan which was expected to maintain national unity while conceding the largest measure of regional autonomy. There was to

be a federation of the provinces and the states, with the federal centre controlling only defence foreign affairs and communications. At the same time, individual provinces could form regional unions to which they could surrender by mutual agreement some of their powers. Both the Congress and Muslim League accepted this plan. But the two could not agree on the plan for an interim government which would convene a constituent assembly to frame a constitution for the free, federal India. The two also put differing interpretations on the Cabinet Mission scheme to which they agreed earlier. In the end in September 1946, an interim cabinet headed by Jawahar Lal Nehru, was formed by the Congress. The Muslim League joined the Cabinet in October after some hesitation.

The Cabinet Plan was criticized by all the political parties in the beginning, but afterwards all gave their consent to it. The election to the Constituent Assembly, then took place on the communal basis. The Congress captured 199 seats out of 210 seats and the Muslim League 73 seats out of 78 seats, but it decided to boycott the Constituent Assembly. The Cabinet Mission left India on 29 June, 1946.

The elation of coming independence was marred by the large-scale communal riots during and after August 1946. The league fixed August 16, 1946 as the 'Direct Action Day' to attain Pakistan. It resulted in wide-spread communal riots in different parts of India, Punjab, East Bengal, Bihar and Tripura were the main centres of these riots. The Hindu and Muslim communalists blamed each other for stating the heinous killings and competed with each other in cruelty. These riots continued to disturb the life of Indians. In such circumstances Mr. Atlee announced on February 20, 1947 that the British would leave India before June, 1948 in every case and appointed Lord Mountbatten as the Viceroy of India to arrange the transfer of authority from the British to the Indian hands.

(H) The Mountbatten Plan and the Partition of India (August, 1947)

The British proclamation to quit India evoked a hearty enthusiasm all over India, save in the ranks of Muslim League, which once more resorted to 'Direct Action'. Riots broke out all over the Punjab Frontier province and lootings, arson, murder and violence occurred on a large scale over a wide area. These successive communal outbreaks had a very unfortunate consequence. The Hindus and Sikhs who had hitherto been strongly in favour of a united India, now gradually came to realise its impracticability and demanded partition of the Punjab and Bengal if the Muslims refused to join the Constituent Assembly.

Lord Mountbatten, who assumed his office on 24th March, 1947 as viceroy worked out a compromise after long discussions with the leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League. He put up his plan on 3rd June 1947. The main points of the plan may be summed up as follows.

- (a) If the areas with a majority of Muslim population so desired, they should be allowed to form a separate Dominion, and a new Constituent Assembly would be set up for that purpose. But in that case there would be a partition of Bengal and Punjab if the representatives of the Hindu majority districts in the legislatures of those provinces so desired.

- (b) A referendum would be taken in the North-West Frontier province to ascertain whether it should join Pakistan or not.
- (c) The district of Sylhet would be joined to the Muslim area in Bengal after the views of the people had been ascertained by a referendum.
- (d) Boundary commissions would be set up to define the boundaries of the Hindu and Muslim provinces in Bengal and the Punjab.
- (e) Legislation would be introduced in the current session of the Parliament for immediately conferring Dominion status on India without any prejudice to the final decision of the Constituent Assembly in this respect.

This historic pronouncement was received with mixed feelings by the public. The Hindus and nationalists of all persuasions deplored the vivi-section of India, while the Muslims of the League were not fully satisfied with the truncated and moth eaten Pakistan, as Mr. Md. Ali Jinnah once described it.

It was, however, generally agreed that the new scheme offered the best practicable solution of the Indian problem, as far as it could be envisaged at that moment. Accordingly both the Congress and the league accepted it, and the partition of the Punjab and Bengal was affected by two Commissions appointed by the British Government, with Sir Cyril Radclif as Chirman of both. The India Independence Bill passed by the British Parliament on 1st July, 1947 without any dissent fixed upon 15th August, 1947 as the date of the transfer of authority. Accordingly, at mid-night on 14-15 August a special session of the Constituent Assembly was held in Delhi. It solemnly declared the independence of India as a part of the British Commonwealth and appointed Lord Mountbatten, the Governor General of the Indian Dominion.

Mr. Md. Ali Jinnah was chosen as the first Governor-General of Pakistan, which soon took steps to summon its own Constituent Assembly.

15th August, 1947, which saw the end of long-drawn national struggle against British rule is a memorable day in the history of India.

Suggested Readings

1. Bipin Chandra—India's Stuggle for Freedom
2. Bipin Chandra—Modern India
3. Sumit Sarkar—Modern India 1885—1947.
4. Sarkar, Raichoudhary and Dutta—An Advanced History of India Vol. III
5. Tara Chand—History of freedom Movement in India
6. R. C. Majumdar—History of Freedom Movement in India
7. V. P. Menon—Transfer of Power.



General Studies (Science Group B)

Lesson—1

What is Life ?

No one has yet been able to define in clear words what life is. Life is easier to recognise than to define.

Life is the result of a certain organization and activities of chemical substances which constitute all living or non-living organisms.

When this organization and activities of chemical substances are irreversibly destroyed, the life is destroyed.

The chemical substances once termed as protoplasm by Purkinie (1840) and this is the 'physical basis of life' (Huxley 1868). All living forms are made and provided with protoplasm in its unit structure.

The chemical activities of life are called life processes which is expressed as growth, development, locomotion, nutrition, respiration, excretion, reproduction and adaptation in living form.

Properties of living form or things

We see around us three kinds of thing—living, non-living and dead.

Living things include all kinds of plants, animals and micro-organisms. All living forms have life within them. Thus they are made up of 'Protoplasm', and to continue their life they have to perform the various life-processes or activities of life. Thus various life-processes are also called the properties of living form,

A non-living object is not provided with properties of life, whereas dead things are those which were once living but are dead because they do not perform the various life-processes.

The characteristics of life-sustaining activities of a living form are as follows—

1. Definite shape and size—Each living thing possesses a characteristic form and size which may change within a narrow range. For example, there may be different kinds of horses which may slightly vary in height and other features but a horse always has a form different from a donkey. A papaya tree is different from a coconut tree.

2. Specific Organization—Living forms represent characteristic levels of tissues, organs and organ systems.

As for example, animals are provided with organs of vision, of actions, and other morphological structures such as legs, hands, tails etc. Similarly, plants are also provided with roots, stems, leaves flowers, and other structures.

3. Movement—Movement is the main characteristic of life. Two types of movement prevail among the living forms—

- (a) **Spontaneous movement**—Animals move from place to place with the help of locomotory organs. Thus animals move by their own desire. Some lower plants also move spontaneously e.g. volvox, chlamydomonas, etc.
- (b) **Induced movement**—Plants are fixed but their parts show movements such as bending of their stems and roots in response to light and water. In legumes, the leaflets fold after sunset and open after sunrise. These movements are induced by external environment.

4. Nutrition—All organisms need food to continue their life. Animals eat food and drink water. This food may be in the form of complex substances (carbohydrates, proteins and fats) prepared by the green plants or in the form of flesh of other animals which in turn food on plants. Useful substances from such foods are digested and absorbed into the body: Absorbed food is either transported to form new living substance (protoplasm) in growth or is burnt to release energy for carrying various functions.

Green plant don't take ready made food. They synthesize their own food in the form of carbohydrate during photosynthesis. Plants absorb water and mineral salts from the soil and CO_2 from the atmosphere, and with the help of chlorophyll and sunlight synthesize carbohydrates.

5. Respiration—All living forms take in oxygen from their environment and use it to oxidize food substances in order to obtain energy for their body activities. Simultaneously, the carbon dioxide and water, which are by-products of this oxidation are given out. Animals have developed definite respiratory and circulatory organs to breathe air in and out. Aquatic animals such as fish absorb the oxygen from the air dissolved in water through their gills. But plants have no definite respiratory organs. They directly absorb oxygen from the air.

6. Excretion—Body activities of all living forms produce certain waste substances of both non-volatile and volatile. Volatile substances include water and CO_2 , which are expelled out during respiration and sweating whereas non-volatile includes nitrogenous waste such as ammonia, uric acid and urea which are expelled out by excretory-organ system.

Excess of water and CO_2 volatile substances include nitrogenous substances such as excretion.

7. Metabolism—Above mentioned three phenomena such as nutrition, respiration and excretion are grouped together in a common term metabolism. Thus metabolism can be defined as the sum total of all biochemical reactions involving the release and utilization of energy. The metabolic processes are responsible for growth, development, maintenance and repair of body tissues and cells.

The metabolic processes include two types of changes—

- (a) Anabolism and
- (b) Catabolism.

- (a) Anabolism is the constructive process in which complex living matter such as proteins are built from simple amino acid eventually forming new protoplasm.
- (b) Catabolism is the destructive process in which complex organic molecules break down into simple substances to release energy.

8. Growth—Growth is an increase in the size of living beings accompanied which takes place as a result of conversion of food into living matter or due to anabolic activities. New protoplasm is made in the body, due to which new cells are being formed and body grows in length and weight.

In living forms growth is internal and in animals growth takes for a limited period whereas plants continue to grow throughout their life.

Non-living things do not grow.

9. Response to stimuli—Irritability or responsiveness is the power of response to stimuli. An stimulus is a change in the external or internal environment that elicit, a change in the behaviour of an organism. All living beings have ability to respond to stimuli. The responsiveness help the organism in avoiding harmful stimuli and respond favourably towards useful stimuli e.g. closing of eyelids in excessive light, mouth becomes watery when smell of food is good, etc.

10. Reproduction—Living forms are able to produce individuals of their own kinds. This may be achieved by simple splitting of one organisms into two as in bacteria, protozoas and unicellular algae. This is called fission. Some plants and animals reproduce by buds which grow into a complete organis or form resistant bodies, the spores. Majority of plants and animals reproduce by the fusion of sex cells or gametes. This is called sexual reproduction.

This is how the continuity of every living race is maintained.

11. Adaptation—Any structural, physiological or behavioural change in an organism that contributes to its survival in its environment is called adaptation. The organism that are better adapted to their environment, produce more offsprings and live longer.

Adaptations are of two basic types temporary or short-term adaptatlions. These adaptations develop due to a temporary change in the environment and are not inherited such as hibernation animals as well as dormant seeds suspend all their activities until favourable conditions of environment become available.

Secondly, long-term adaptations or permanent type—When changes are permanent and heritable from generation to generation.

12. Life span and death—All living forms have a certain life-span which means they are born, they live for some time and after bearing some offspring they die and perish in course of time.

Protoplasm and levels of organization—The smallest structural units of living matter are sub-atomic particles—mainly electrons, protons and neutrons; all these units to form next larger units 'atoms' which in turn form still more complex chemical compounds, are these compounds are variously joined together into even more elaborate units or complexes of compounds. Such complexes of compounds and all structural levels below them are encountered both in the living and non-living. In living matter, complexes of compounds often occur as microscopic and sub-microscopic bodies organ cells—

To reach the level of life—The complexes of compound reach to next higher level, namely level of the cell. A cell thus represents the smallest known structure that can be considered full alive. It suggests that a living organism must consist of at least one cell which is filled with the sub-microscopic organ cell together constituting the protoplasm—living matter of the cell.

A group of cells, structurally different, constitute tissue and one or more unit of tissues form organs. The various organs in the body perform their particular functions and act in a co-ordinated manner to form particular organ system, Such co-ordination is called organization. A living form units of such organisation is termed as organism.

Conclusion—Briefly, it can be concluded that life is unique and essence of living form evidently lies in particular activities, processes or functions. A living organisms, therefore, is so called because of its functions and structures its functions endow it with the property of life and its structures permits the execution of life sustaining functions.

Elementary idea of Bacteria and Viruses :

Bacteria and viruses are tiny creatures invisible to the human naked eye. These are studied under microscope and thus termed as micro-organisms. Their study is termed as micrology.

Introduction and structural organisation of Bacteria.

Bacteria are the most ancient, morphologically simplest and most abundant organisms. Their fossils were obtained from rocks, about 3.5 billion years old. About 2,500 different kinds of bacteria are currently recognised, but these are doubtless, many thousands more awaiting proper description.

Occurrence—Bacteria are found almost every where, inside the human body, in soil, in water as well as in air. Bacteria are free-living, saprophytic and parasitic in nature. While some bacteria, such as the nitrogen fixing bacteria present in the root nodules of leguminous plants are extremely useful. There are others which cause deadly diseases.

Structurea organisation of bacteria :

Structure—Bacteria are single-celled organism having prokaryotic cell organisation, that is cell without an organised nucleus and cytoplasmic organ cells. Nuclear area is represented only by a single circular molecule of DNA (Deoryribonucleic acid—the hereditary material) and without a nuclear membrane.

In general, a bacterial cell consists of a compound membrane consisting of three layers—

- (a) Cytoplasm surrounded by a very thin cell membrane or plasma—membrane.
- (b) Cell-membrane in turn is surrounded by a rigid cell-wall which gives them the characteristic shape and in being able to synthesise vitamins.
- (c) Amucilaginon outer layer termed as capsule.

The cytoplasm contains vacules, granules and few scattered ribosomes and in very few cases there are some layered membranes called thylakolds containing green pigments for photosynthesis.

Shape and size—Bacteria are microscopic measuring 0.2 (microns) long to 05 // to / thick ($\mu = 1,000 \text{ m}$)

Shapewise, the bacteria are usually of three kinds.

- (a) Cocci (spherical bacteria)
- (b) bacilli (rod shaped bacteria)
- (c) Spirilla (spiral or twisted bacteria)

Many bacteria live singly but some in pairs (diplococci) or in long chains (streptococci) or in clusters (staphylococci).

Movement—The bacteria may be mobile or non-mobile. Mobile bacteria move with the help of flexible whip-like flagella which pierce out through the cell-wall and capsule. Some one have only one flagellum others have two or even more.

Nutrition—Depending upon their modes of nutrition, bacteria may be autotrophic or heterotrophic.

- (a) **Heterotrophic**—Most bacteria are heterotrophic i.e., they are unable to synthesise organic compounds (glucose or carbohydrates) as manufactures by plants or other organisms which have chlorophyll. Such bacterial lack green pigments. They are either saprophytic (drawing nourishment from decaying dead organisms) or parasitic. (drawing nourishment from the living tissues or body of their hosts).
- (b) **Autotrophic bacteria**—In some bacteria, cytoplasm contains green pigments or chlorophyll and can manufacture their own food for cyano bacteria, the green-sulphur bacteria and the purple-non-sulphur bacteria etc.

Respiration—Bacteria can respire like other organisms. Some respire by absorbing atmospheric oxygen termed as acrobic bacteria, there are others which need no free oxygen termed anacrobic and they are killed if exposed to air.

Reproduction—Bacteria can reproduce by following methods—

- (a) **A sexual reproduction**—A sexual reproduction is done by means of binary fission—In this a full grown bacterial cell divides into two identical daughter cells by forming a wall through the middle.

Binary fissions occur during favourable conditions.

- (b) **Spore-formation**—During unfavourable conditions such as drought, high acidity or alkalinity, high temperature etc, bacteria form thick-walled non-mobile

resistant bodies called the spores or endospores. Under favourable condition, the spore is freed as new individual.

(B) Sexual reproduction is called conjugation in which two bacteria of same nature fuse together to form one new individual which then divides and re-divides in usual manner.

Economic importance—Bacteria are both useful and harmful. They carry a large number of communicable diseases but play an important role in agriculture, medicine industry and maintaining environment clean. Its prokaryotic type of cells, fast reproduction and easy culture in the laboratory have helped the mankind a lot by its use in genetic engineering.

Virus

Introduction :

Viruses are much smaller than bacteria, and they are not complete cells. They are the particles exhibiting the simplest form of life. There is often a doubt whether viruses are living at all. This is because some viruses can be crystallised, which is a characteristic of the non-living. In this form, they appear lifeless. But when introduced into living cells, the crystal breaks up into units, which multiply, a characteristic of living beings. At this level, our usual concepts of living and self-reproducing becomes inapplicable since viruses are on the border line of non-living and living.

A virus has a central core of nucleic acid, DNA or RNA enclosed in protein-covering. These do not have their own enzymes system and depend on the enzyme system of host cell for their metabolic activities. For this reason, viruses can multiply only inside the living cells and are called "obligatory parasites".

During infection only the nucleic acid of viruses enters the host cell and takes the command of synthetic machinery of host cells. The host cell now starts synthesizing viral nucleic acid and viral proteins which form new viral molecules.

Discover of virus—Viruses were discovered by Russian Scientist Ivanovsky (1892) while studying the mosaic disease of Tobacco. He found that the extract of diseased leaves caused "Mosaic" disease in healthy tobacco leaves, though the extract was filtered through porcelain filter which does not allow to even bacteria to pass through. Later on such tiny particles were found to cause many diseases in man and other animals and plants. These were called viruses (Latin virus mean poison).

Occurrence—Viruses occur either as inert particles in air, water or soil, or as parasite, in the cells of animals, plants and bacteria, viruses, are almost highly specific in the host. They infect and do not reproduce anywhere else.

According to their occurrence viruses are classified into

- (a) Plant viruses
- (b) Animal viruses and
- (c) Bacterial viruses or bacteriophages.

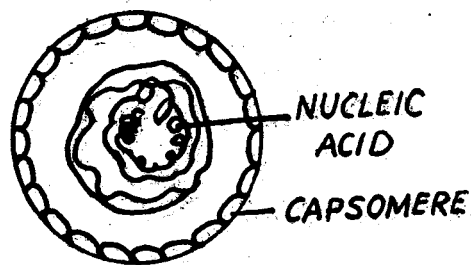
Structure—Structural characteristic of viruses can be summarised as follows—

1. Viruses are extremely small, can be seen only under electron microscope. Their size varies from 20-300 n. m. (nanometer or millimicron-1 nanometer = 1×10^{-9} meters or .00001 m. m.)

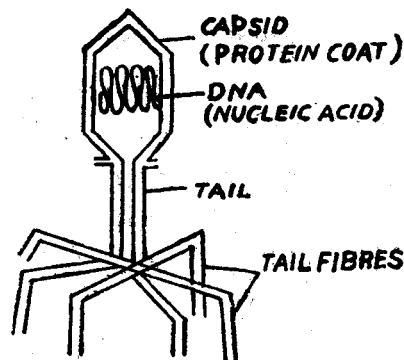
2. Viruses may be spherical, hexagonal, polyhedral or rod-like.
3. A virus unit is known as virion. It consists of a central core of nucleic acid surrounded by a capsid which is made up of different protein molecules.
4. Viruses have only one type of nucleic acid (DNA in animal viruses and bacteriophages and RNA in plant viruses). It acts as hereditary material. But no virus has both kinds of nucleic acids.
5. Viruses are devoid of cell membrane, cytoplasm and cytoplasmic organelle.
6. Viruses lack ribosomes as well as all of the enzymes necessary for protein synthesis and energy production. They use the host cell for these purposes. Viruses feed, respire or excrete.

Reproduction—Viruses multiply only inside the living cells. Having entered the host cell, the nuclear material of virus is injected into the host-cell, while the protein coat is left outside. The inserted viral nucleic acid redirects the host metabolism to make new molecules of DNA and protein which make up new viral particles. Within 20-30 minutes, the host cell gets filled with new viral particles. These are set free by the rupture of host cell.

Virus and diseases—Viruses are obligatory parasites so most of them are pathogenic. They cause influenza, common cold, measles, mumps, viral encephalitis in man and a number of dangerous diseases in man.



SPHERICAL VIRUS



STRUCTURE OF A BACTERIOPHAGE

Important diseases caused by micro-organisms—

Several diseases of human beings are caused by micro-organisms such as bacteria, viruses, protozoas and fungi, moulds etc.

Disease caused by Bacteria—

The important bacterial diseases to be discussed here are as follows—

1. **Cholera**—Disease attacks the intestinal tract.

It is caused by a special bacterium

Causative agents are—

Vibrio Cholerae—The incubation period that is the period between the entry of the bacterium inside the body and the appearance of the symptom generally varies from a few hours to two or three days.

Symptoms—Symptoms include vomiting, acute diarrhoea and muscular cramps, resulting in dehydration, loss of minerals, little urination, and urea accumulates in the body. The patient may die if not treated properly and promptly.

Transmission—Cholera germs are transmitted through contaminated food and water. The contamination results, due to dust and by direct transport through flies.

Prevention measures—It includes goods sanitation, killing flies, boiling water for drinking immunization by taking anti-cholera injections.

2. **Diphtheria**—This dangerous disease strikes children.

Caused by the bacterium corynebacterium dipberiae, which affects the throat and grows very rapidly often taking life of the patient.

The germ is spread by discharge from the throat of infected persons by sneezing coughing etc. The incubation period is from 2 to 5 days.

Diphtheria antitoxin, when given within the first 12 to 24 hrs of the appearance of symptoms completely neutralizes the toxin produced and saves the patient from serious danger. If given after 24 hours, even the largest dose may not save the patient from severe illness or even death.

3. **Tetanus**—Popularly called lockjaw, because in its last phase, the patient's jaws are tightly closed. Death results in most cases.

Caused by—the bactrium clostridium titani present in dust, cowdung, horse dung etc. Incubation period—4days to 3 weeks.

Transmission—The germ enters the body through deep wound. Any cut in the skin due to fall on the ground can be a source of tetanus infection.

Symptoms include painful contraction of muscles, usually of the neck and jaw followed by paralysis of thoracic muscles.

Prevention—It is advisable to have anti-tetanus toxiod i ection in the case of an injury in a road accident or out contaminated with soiled objects like street dust or animal dung matter.

4. Whooping cough (Pertusis)—

It primarily occurs in children. Caused by a bacillus **Haemophilus pertusis**. It is spread by discharges from the throat of the infected person. Incubation period is from 10-15 days.

It is now a common practice to immunize the infant against tetanus, diphtheria and whooping cough. Reimmunization is necessary after every three to five years.

5. Pneumonia—

It is a serious disease of lungs. Incubation period 1-3 days. It is caused by **Diplococcus pneumoniae** by contact or by air.

Antibiotics like penicillin are very effective in curing it.

6. Tuberculosis—This is usually a disease of lungs although other parts may also be affected. It is caused by a small rod-shaped **Mycobacterium tuberculosis** and spread by sputum from the infected persons. The germs may be carried by air or dust.

The symptoms of pulmonary tuberculosis are fever, cough, sputum containing blood, pain in the chest and loss of body weight. If the body resistance is low, the disease becomes severe.

An antibiotic streptomycin is a very effective drug in curing it. B. C. G. vaccination gives considerable protection against tuberculosis.

7. Leprosy—It is a chronic communicable disease caused by leprosy bacillus **Mycobacterium leprae**. The disease is characterised by skin lesions, involvement of peripheral nerves so that the infected becomes benumbed. The other symptoms include ulcer, nodules, scaly scabs, deformity of fingers, and toes and wasting of body parts.

The disease is communicated only by prolonged contact with the diseased parts.

8. Typhoid—Typhoid is characterized by a continued fever often with delirium slow pulse, abdominal tenderness, and a rose-coloured eruption or rash. Causative germ is a flagellated bacterium **Salmonella typhi**.

The patient passes out the germs in his excretas, flies and direct contamination of food, water and milk spread the disease.

Chloromycetin is a very effective antibiotic in treating the disease. Relapse is not uncommon.

Important diseases caused by viruses

1. Common cold—It is very common infectious disease.

The virus is spread in moisture droplets carried in wind when we sneeze and cough.

Contact with articles like the towels and handkerchiefs that are soiled by the nasal discharges of a person suffering from cold may also spread the infection.

Cold are very common in winter chilling and fatigue reduce the resistance of the body to the disease germs.

Prevention—Rest and avoiding chilling. Mouth & nose must be covered when coughing and sneezing.

2. Influenza—It has all the usual symptoms of common cold, plus fever chills and great weakness. It is caused by the virus *Tardevia* (&). The virus is spread by discharges from nose and throat. The incubation period is 24-72 hours. It tends to occur epidemic form.

3. Mumps—Mumps is caused by the virus *Rabula inflans*. Disease is marked by a very painful swelling in the neck below the ears, where it affects the parotid salivary glands. The incubation period is 12-16 days.

4. Chicken-pox—Chicken-pox is caused by a virus *Briareus aricellae* and usually transmitted directly from person to person or by contact with clothing or other articles soiled with discharges from an infected person. As infected person may transmit chicken-pox about two days before the rash appears and up to 14 days afterwards.

Skin eruptions appear first. All the eruptions do not appear at once, but in stages. In severe cases almost whole body may be covered.

The preventing measures include isolating the patient, and all crusts have fallen off. The patient, his bed, and clothing should be kept clean.

5. Measles or Rubeola—It is characterized by fever, inflammation of the respiratory mucus membrane, sensitivity of the eyes to light, loss of appetite, and a rash or eruption of the skin.

One of the preventive measures is inoculation of gamma globulin, which gives passive immunity for about three weeks.

Virus name is *Briareus morbillorum*.

6. Poliomyelitis (Polio)—It is primarily a disease of children. Virus name is *Legodebilitans*. Although inflammation of the various parts of the nervous system occurs, the large motor cells in the spinal chord are more susceptible to damage. There is paralysis of the voluntary muscles such as legs, hands etc.

The virus is spread by secretion from nose, throat and also the intestinal wastes.

An effective vaccine called Salk's vaccine has been developed from dead virus. Children having received the vaccine are absolutely safe.

7. Rabies (Hydrophobia)—It is a viral disease transmitted to man by the bite of rabid (mad) animals particularly dogs. The incubation period varies from ten days to several months virus is *Formlio Inexorabilis*.

The symptoms include severe headache, high fever, with alternating stages of excitement and depression, patients have difficulty in swallowing even liquid and have severe muscular spasm in the throat and chest. Patient die very painful death.