

FOUNDING OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Factors responsible for the growth of nationalism till the emergence of the Indian National Congress

- The memory of 1857 struggle
- The tribal and peasant movement (Indigo revolt, santhal rebellion, Kuka movement, etc.)
- Economic exploitation by the British
- Impoverishment of the peasantry (land revenue policy, greed of money lenders, breakdown of self-sufficient village economy)
- Industrial stagnation
- British apathy to famines
- Influence of Western education (inseminating a rational, secular, democratic and national outlook)
- Administrative and economics unification of the country
- Racial pride of the rulers and the policy of discrimination
- Modern means of transport and communication (railways, roads postal services, telegraph, etc.)
- The role of the press and Indian literature (in critic sing Govt.policies,fostering political ideas and patriotic sentiments among the Indians, the Vernacular Press Act)
- Rediscovery of India's past
- Rise of the educated middle class
- Reform movements
- The immediate context (Lytton's Viceroyalty –ICS age limit Vernacular Press Act, Indian Arms Act,) Ilbert Bill Controversy.

Early Associations

Prior to the founding of INC, the following Associations were founded:

1. The Landholders Society 1837 – to safeguard the interest of the landlords of Bengal, Bihar, Orrisa.

2. The Bengal British India Society 1843 – to protect the interest of the general public.
3. The British India Association of Bengal 1851 – the two previous associations (the Landholder's Society and the Bengal British India Society) were merged.
4. The Bombay Association and The Madras native Association 1852 – to make reform in administration and to encourage educational activities.
5. Poona Sarvajanik Sabha 1870 – founded by Justice Ranade – to arouse public opinion and focus the attention of the Government on the economic hardships of the people.
6. India League 1875 – to promote all India nationalism.
7. Indian Association of Calcutta 1876 – founded by Surendranath Bannerjee – first party to express Indian disillusionment with the British administration. Its main demands were:
 - A. Reform the Indian Civil Services Examination
 - B. Repeal of Arms Act
 - C. Repeal of Vernacular Press Act
 - D. Protection of the rights of tenants against landholders and British Planters.
8. All India National Conference 1883 – founded by Surendranath Bannerjee.
9. The Indian National Union 1884 – founded by A.O.Hume – conference of this union was held at Pune on 25th Dec. 1885. But later Plague broke out in Pune. So the meeting of the Union was held at Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College, Bombay from 28 Dec. to 31st Dec. 1885. The meeting was presided by W.C. Banerjee. On the suggestion of Dadabhai Naoroji the name of Indian national Union was changed to Indian National Congress. Later All India National Conference was merged into the Indian National Congress in 1886.

Indian National Congress 1885

Educated Indians all over the country felt the need for an all-India political party to fight for the rights of the Indians. Even liberal British officers *supported Indians on this issue*. One of such liberals was A.O.Hume (Allan Octavian Hume), a retired civil servant, who floated the idea of organizing an all-India party. He circulated a letter addressed to the graduates of Calcutta University on 1st March, 1883 regarding the formation of an organization.

Hume even asked for the support of the government and of Lord Dufferin, who was then the viceroy of India. They encouraged Hume to form such an organization. Prominent Indian leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji, Badruddin Tayabhai, and Ferozeshah Mehta too agreed to the proposed idea of forming such an organization.

In 1916 Lala Lajpat Roy wrote on INC – 'it is a brainchild of Lord Dufferin'. The first session of INC was held in Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College, Mumbai on 28th Dec. 1885. It was presided over by W.C. Bannerjee. There were 72 members in the session. Chief among them were Dadabhai Naoroji, Ferozeshah Mehta, Justice K.T. Telang, Dinshaw Wanchha, G.K.Gokhale etc.

A.O. Hume, Sir Waderburn, Henry Cotton were also present. Two Muslim representatives were R.M.Sayani and A.M.Dharamsi.

In 1884, Hume laid the foundation of the Indian National Union. A conference of this Union was to be held in be on 25th December, 1885, *Pune*. This conference was to be attended by representatives of different regions in India. However, a plague broke *out in Pune* and the *venue of meeting of this Union was transferred to Gokaldas Tejpal Sanskrit College, Bombay* from December-28-31, 1885. The meeting was presided over by W.C. Banerjee who was a prominent barrister from Bengal. Seventy-two members attended this meeting. At the *meeting* suggestion made by Dadabhai Naoroji, the name of the Union was changed to Indian National Congress.

While the Congress was holding its meeting in Bombay, the All-India National Conference too held its meeting in Kolkata. Both these organizations had the same objective. Therefore; the All-India National Conference was merged with the Indian National Congress in 1886.

Aims and Objectives of the Indian National Congress:

The Congress had been formed as an organization of educated *persons*. Its main aim in the beginning was

1. to get the Indians recruited in higher civil services in the British administration. It was then a non-political association of Indians who wanted to get some concessions from the British rulers (by petitioning and drawing attention to grievances by public discussions).

The main aims and objectives of the Congress, as enumerated by its president W.C.Bonnerjee, were:

1. Promotion of close relations between nationalistic workers from different parts of the country.
2. Development and consolidation of a feeling of national unity, irrespective of caste, religion or province.
3. Formulation of popular demands and their presentation before the Government.
4. Training and organization of public opinion in the country.

.The second session of the Congress was held in Calcutta under the president ship of Dadabhai Naoroji. Badruddin Tyabji was the president during its third session in Madras. The number of delegates in the fourth session of the Congress held in Ahmedabad rose to 1248.

Important Sessions and Resolutions:

1. Calcutta (1906) – Swarajya
2. Surat (1907) – Split in Congress
3. Lucknow (1916) – Hindu Muslim Pact
4. Calcutta (1920) – Resolution of Non-cooperative Movement
5. Lahore (1929) – Poorna Swarajaya
6. Karachi (1931) – Resolution of Fundamental Rights

Sessions of Congress

1. 1885 – Mumbai - W.C.Bannerjee
2. 1886 – Calcutta - Dadabhai Nauroji
3. 1887 – Madras - Badruddin Tyabji
4. 1888 – Allahabad – George Yule
5. 1889 – Mumbai - Sir William Waderburn
6. 1890 - Calcutta – Ferozshah Mehta
7. 1891 – Nagpur - Anand charlu
8. 1892 - Allahabad - W.C.Banerjee
9. 1893 – Lahore - Dadabhai Nauroji
10. 1894 - Madras - Alfred Web
11. 1895 - Amravati - Shankaran Nayar
12. 1896 - Calcutta – Rahimtullah Sayani
13. 1897 – Amravati - Shankaran Nayar
14. 1898 – Madras - Anand Mohan Bose
15. 1899 – Lucknow - Ramesh Chandra Dutta
16. 1900 - Lahore - Narayan Ganesh Chandawarkar
17. 1901 – Calcutta - Dinshaw A Wachha
18. 1902 – Ahmadabad - Surendra nath Banerjee
19. 1903 - Madras – Lal Mohan Ghosh
20. 1904 – Mumbai – Sir Henry Cotton
21. 1905 - Banaras – G.K.Gokhale
22. 1906 - Calcutta - Dadabhai Nauroji
23. 1907 – Surat – Ras Behai Bose
24. 1908 - Madras - Ras Behari Bose
25. 1909 - Lahore - Madan Mohan Malviya
26. 1910 – Allahabad – William Waderburn
27. 1911 - Calcutta - Vishan Narayan Dhar
28. 1912 – Bankipur (Patna) – R.N. Mulodhkar

29. 1913 – Karachi - Sayad Mahanmad Bahadur
30. 1914 – Madras – Bhupendra Nath Basu
31. 1915 – Mumbai - Satyendra Prasanna Singh
32. 1916 – Lucknow - Ambika charan Mazumdar
33. 1917 – Cacutta - Annie Bessant
34. 1918 – Mumbai - Hasan Inam
35. 1919 – Amrutsar - Motilal Nehru
36. 1920 - Calcutta - Lal Lajpat Roy
37. 1921 – Nagpur - Vijay Raghavacharya
38. 1922 -Gaya - Chitaranjan Das
39. 1923 - Delhi – Abul Kalam Azad
40. 1924 – Kakinada – Mohd Ali
41. 1924 – Belgaon – Mahatama Gandhi
42. 1925 – Kanpur - Sarojini Naidu
43. 1926 – Guwahati - Srinivas Ayyangar
44. 1927 – Madras – M.A.Amsari
45. 1928 – Calcutta – Motilal Nehru
46. 1929 – Lahore - J.L.Nehru
47. 1931 – Karachi – Sardar patel
48. 1932 – Delhi 9Special Session) – Bapuji Ane
49. 1933 – Cacutta – Nilisen Gupta
50. 1934 – Mumbai – Rajendra Prasad
51. 1936 - Lucknow – J.L.Nehru
52. 1936 – Faizpur – J.L.Nehru
53. 1938 - Haripur – S.C.Bose
54. 1939 – Tripuri – S.C.Bose
55. 1940 – Ramgarh – Abul Kalam Azad
56. 1942 – Mumbai – Abul Kalam Azad
57. 1946 - Mirat – J.B.Kriplani

In the beginning, the programme of the Congress was rather modest. It was mainly confined to the demands of administrative reforms which, in the form of resolutions, were submitted to the Government for consideration. Moreover, the speeches were marked by moderation, earnestness and expressions of loyalty to the Crown. Such demands were in respect of the following:

1. Appointment of a Royal Commission to enquire into the working of the Indian administration
2. Simultaneous examinations in India and England for the Indian Civil Service.
3. The right to carry arms.
4. Provision of more facilities for education.

5. Employment of more Indians at higher posts.
6. Appointment of Indians to the Executive Council.
7. Reduction of military expenditure.
8. Expansion of the Provincial and Central Legislative Assemblies.

In the initial stages, the British Government was friendly with the Congress as the goal the Congress was self-government within the empire. Besides, Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy, thought that the foundation of the Congress would act as a safety valve for popular discontent. But, gradually, the British began to distrust the Congress as its hold on the masses increased year by year.

Moderate Phase of INC (1885 -1905)

1. **Moderates:** Moderates dominated the congress from 1885 to 1905. They had faith in constitutional methods. They believed in British government's honesty. They believed in freedom without violence.
2. **Basic beliefs of the moderates:** Constitutionalism, gradualism and liberalism.
3. **Objectives/Demands/ Programmed of Moderates:**
 - (a) **Constitutional Reforms:** Expansion of legislative Councils---direct election to the councils - separation between the executive and the judiciary---dominion status.
 - (b) **Economic Reforms:** Protection to Indian industries--- reduction of land revenue--- reduction of administrative expenditure---abolition of salt-tax---welfare of Indians.
 - (c) **Administrative Reforms:** Indianization of civil services---repeal of the Arms Act.
4. **Methods:** Constitutional means---petitions, resolution, memorandums.
5. **Achievements:** Established the congress---popularized the ideas of democracy and civil liberties exposed the truth about the British intentions--- laid foundation of the National Movement.
6. **Dadabhai Naoroji:** Founder of the London Indian Society---East India Association--- elected to British House of commons---president of the Congress thrice.
7. **Gopal Krishna Gokhale:** Founder of the servants of India Society ---advocated local industries---abolition of feudalism.
8. **Surendranath Banerjee:** Demanded equal treatment for Indians---criticized the wrong policies of the British---Swadeshi and Boycott concepts.

Moderates were the early nationalists who sowed the seed of nationalism well. They developed and consolidated the feeling for national unity among Indians. In short, they popularized the ideals of democracy and civil liberties among the people.

The Moderates approached the imperial Government with gentleness and patience. The British refused to yield to their pleas.

The Moderates were prudent in handling the British rulers. They used constitutional and peaceful methods. Their critics accused them of using methods of beggary through prayers and petitions.

The Moderates worked effectively on two fronts. First of all, they criticized the bad policies of the British through their speeches and writings. Then they requested the British to make reforms which could benefit Indians. They also exposed the British hypocrisy to all people. The moderates instilled self- confidence among their countrymen and laid down the foundation for a national movement through which finally India could achieve freedom.

CRITICISM OF THE MODERATES

The critics of the Moderates accused them of using half-hearted measures which was met with contempt by the British.

In this regard, lala lajpat Rai said, " After more than 20 years of more or less futile agitation for concessions and redress of grievances, they had received stones in place of bread."

The Moderates were accused of failing in their mission as the movement was not rooted among the masses. It is said that they moved with intellectuals who represented a small section of people. Thus they were not the leaders who could mobilize the Indian masses.

V.D.Mahajan writes:

"The basic weakness of the Moderates lay in their narrow social base. Their movement did not have wide appeal. The area of their influences was limited to urban community. As they did not have the support of the masses, they declared that the time was not ripe for throwing out a challenge to the foreign rulers. That was likely to invite premature repression. 'V.D.Mahajan.

The methods used by the moderates have been criticized as those of beggary and speech making without the support of firm determination and follow-up action.

Prominent Moderate Leaders were:

1. Dadabhai Naoroji
2. Gopal Krishna Gokhale
3. Surendra Nath Bannerjee

DADABHAI NAOROJI

Dadabhai Naoroji, popularly known as the 'Grand old man of India', was one of the first leaders of the national Movement. He was born into a parsee family of Bombay in 1825. After studying and teaching Mathematics in Elphinstone College for ten years in India, he went to England. In order to win the sympathies of the British for Indians in England and in India, he started the East India Association in 1866.

The main aim of the East India Association was to foster closer relations between the Indians and the British. The Association defended equality of Asians and Europeans. The Association became so popular that its branches were set up in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. Through this association, he opposed the vernacular press Act. He also condemned atrocities committed by Zamindars on the poor peasants and took an active part in the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885, and guided its affairs till his death. He commanded respect among congress men. He was elected president of the congress thrice (1886, 1893 and 1906).

Dadabhai Naoroji wrote *Poverty and unBritish Rule in India*. In this book he exposed the economic exploitation of India by the British. It explained the fact that India could not progress because the British drained off its wealth. This concept is well-known as **Drain of Wealth** theory.

Dadabhai Naoroji was elected to the British House of commons in 1892 on a Liberal party ticket. He championed the cause of Indians in the British Parliament. As a member of parliament, he brought to the notice of the House the problems affecting India and its people. He raised his voice for appointing educated Indians to high posts. It was due to his efforts that **the house of commons passed a bill in 1903 to hold the Indian civil service Examination simultaneously in England and in India.**

Dadabhai Naoroji was thrice elected the President of Indian National Congress. The presidentship of Dadabhai Naoroji of the Indian national congress in 1906 is most memorable. The country was in a turmoil over the partition of Bengal. The nationalists had strongly reacted to the partition of Bengal. Talk of the Swadeshi Movement as well as the boycott of British goods and the British Indian administration was on in the country. The radical wing of the Indian National Congress appeared to be carrying the day. There were differences between Moderates and Radicals. But Dadabhai Naoroji became the president of the Indian National Congress in 1906.

Very important decisions were taken under his president ship.

- a. The resolution of Swaraj, Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education were passed in the annual session of the Congress in 1906.
- b. A split between the Moderates and the Radicals was averted.
- c. The president in his address said, 'We do not ask for favors. We want only justice. Instead of going into further divisions of details of our rights as British citizens, the whole matter can be comprised in one word 'self-government' or Swaraj, like that of the united Kingdom or the colonies.'

As an economic thinker, he said that the British rule and its administration was a drain on the resources of India. The basic cause for the economic ills and poverty of India was the exploitation of Indians by the British.

Dadabhai Naoroji died in 1917 at the age of 92. His two notable contributions were:

1. Exposing the economic implications of the British imperial rule in India through his famous 'drain theory'.
2. Averting a split in Congress ranks by declaring 'swaraj' (self-government) to be the national goal when moderate politics was increasingly coming under attack by the upcoming Radicals.

GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE

"Gokhale was one of the noblest and the best workers and his patriotism was of the highest and the noblest type," said Lala Lajpat Rai about Gokhale.

He was an educationist who later turned into a politician.

Gokhale was born in Kolhapur in Maharashtra in 1866. After his graduation, he started his career as a teacher. He joined the Deccan Education Society and later on became the Principal of Fergusson College.

Later on, he became a member of the Governor-General's Legislative Council. Being a champion of the educational cause, he introduced a bill to make primary education compulsory. But he could not achieve much success. He was elected general secretary of the Congress in 1897. He was the president of the annual session of the Congress at Banaras (now Varanasi) in 1905.

In 1906, Gokhale founded the **servants of India Society**. The aim of this Society was to train nationalist missionaries for the service of India. And to promote, by all constitutional means, the true interests of the Indian people. The members served the country with such devotion that it almost has a religious fervor to it. Many important personalities became members of the society.

He favoured the use of constitutional means to achieve his aim. He opposed the policies of the imperial regime whenever he found them to be defective. He wanted the government to repeal the salt tax because it affected adversely the poor people. He also criticized the British for adopting a policy of racial discrimination in appointment to higher administrative posts.

Having a sound knowledge of the country's economy, he blamed the British for India's poverty. He impressed upon the Government to reduce the land revenue and also to repeal the production tax on cotton, as both of these affected the farming community.

Gokhale played an important role in the passage of Minto-Morley reforms or the Indian Councils Act, 1909. It was due to his untiring efforts that the toll tax was reduced and more Indians were appointed to high posts.

Gokhale opposed Lord Curzon for dividing Bengal and establishing Government control over universities.

Tilak, once a bitter critic of Gokhale, speaks thus of him; "He was a diamond of India, the Jewel of Maharashtra and the prince of workers."

His two notable contributions were:

1. Founding of the servants of India Society in 1905 for the upliftment of the poor.
2. Handing down to Mahatma Gandhi the legacy of 'spartanisation of public life, unity of means and ends, secularism, a deep rooted sense of national mission and faith in peace, justice conciliation and progress'

Gandhi wrote, "I was in quest of a really truthful hero in India and I found him in Gokhale." He was supposed to be the political Guru of Mahatma Gandhi.

SURENDRANATH BANERJEE

Surenranath Banerjea has been called the father of the nationalist movement in India.

He was born in 1848. After completing his education, he appeared in the Indian Civil Service examination. He qualified the examination. Surendranath Banerjea was the first Indian to pass the Indian Civil Service examination. But his appointment in the civil service was held back on flimsy grounds. In order to fight against injustice, he founded the Indian Association which demanded equal treatment for both the Indians and the Europeans while being recruited to the Indian Civil Service.

He was the editor of the newspaper called *The Bengali*. He also set up the Ripon College. He was a member of the Bengal Legislative Council and was elected president of the Indian National Congress twice (1898 and 1902). He was very much influenced by western literature and culture and was a leader who believed in cooperating with the British rather than confronts them.

He advocated constitutional means for attaining his political goals. He too believed in the basic goodness of the British. He thought that if the British were to understand the difficulties faced by Indians, they would try to solve them.

His association protested against the repressive measures of the British rule like the Vernacular press Act, the Arms Act and the inhuman meted out to the Indian workers in tea and indigo plantation owned by the British.

Surendranath Banerjea felt the need to have an organization of an all-India character which could sort out all sorts of political problems. The Indian National Conference, which was founded in 1883, was the first all-India political organization. It was the direct precursor of the Indian National Congress. Both these organizations had similar aims and objectives. Therefore, they merged together in 1886, under the name Indian National Congress.

Surendranath Banerjea was a great leader of the Moderates. He criticized the wrong policies of the British but was grateful to them for the modern outlook that they had brought to India.

Regarding the British rule in India, he said: "Opposition where necessary. Cooperation where possible."

He aimed at the establishment of self-government in India. He was one of the proponents of the idea of boycotting foreign goods and of using **Swadeshi**. This idea was endorsed by the Congress and later on popularized by Mahatma Gandhi. Surendranath Banerjea died on 6th August, 1925.

Surendranath Banerjea was a great nationalist. He believed that all economic problems of India emanated from the faulty policies of the imperial regime. They crippled our industries, deprived livelihood of our artisans, and impoverished our peasants. Besides, the sale of foreign goods was harmful to our trade and commerce. This made him preach the use of Swadeshi and boycott of imported goods.

His two notable contributions were:

1. Protesting against the repressive measures of the British rule like vernacular press Act the Arms Act, etc. through Indian Association.
2. Founding of the first political organization of all-India character in 1883 in the form of the Indian national Conference. This organization is hailed as the direct precursor of the Indian national Congress.

Achievement of the Moderates;

Passing of the Indian Councils Act 1892 – the Act provided for nominated members to the Governor General's Legislature. The function of the council was enlarged. Though the official majority remained in the Legislature, the Act marked a notable step forward in the participation of the Indians in the Government function.

Radicals or Extremists (1905 – 1914)

1. **Beliefs, objectives and Methods** :Total independence--- exposed the hypocrisy of the British---use of Swadeshi, Boycott and Non-co-operation---mass struggle.
2. **Achievements** : Broadened the social base of the movement---made total independence as the goal---instilled self-confidence and self reliance—propagated Swadeshi and boycott movements--- crippled administration by non-cooperation---militant methods for political struggle.
3. **Split in the congress** :In 1907 at surat--- differences in aims and methods—bal, pal and Lal, the radical trio.
4. **Bal Gangadhar Tilak** :Founder of the newspapers, The Marathas and Kesari to spread the ideas of nationalism—celebration of Indian festivals---Home rule movement—a fearless fighter.
5. **Bipin Chandra Pal** :Supporter of national education—excellent orator—advocated methods of agitations, sacrifices and hardships—use of Swadeshi and boycott.
6. **Lala Lajpat Rai** :Advocated militant nationalism—started the newspaper The Young India—service the field of education—social service---courage and patriotism.

Prominent Leaders of Radical Group were:

1. Bal Gangadhar Tilak
2. Bipin Chandra Pal
3. Lala Lajpat Rai

The period between 1905 and 1914 saw the rise of radical Nationalism in the freedom struggle, like the Moderates, the Extremists or Radical Nationalists also had Swaraj as their Objective, but their demands were stated more aggressively, Their strategy was predicated on assertion rather than mendicancy and petitioning.

The radical phase had Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal gangadhar Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal, as its leaders (hence, the trio—Lal, bal, pal). The radicals began to rediscover pride in India's own past and expand social base beyond urban intelligentsia.

Since the the rise of this radical trend was not a sudden event. Its evolution was rooted in number of preceding events. One of them was partition of Bengal.

Partition of Bengal: In 1905, Lord Curzon announced the partition of Bengal. He declared that the aim of the partition was to introduce efficiency into the administration of the province of Bengal. But the real intention of the British was to introduce communalism by creating a gulf between the Muslims and the Hindus. The British wanted to adopt the policy of DIVIDE AND Rule'. This action of Lord Curzon was resisted by all patriotic Indians as it hurt their national feelings. People in protest launched the Swadeshi and Boycott movement.

THE BELIEFS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE RADICALS

The Moderates believed in petitions, appeals and memoranda because they had faith in the goodness of the British. But the Radicals exposed their hypocrisy and hated their policies. They wanted to oust the imperial regime by means of the mass struggle as they felt that

“ the old mendicancy (begging) could not prove effective; appeals and memoranda fell on deaf ears and the speeches and resolutions hardly mattered.” The main objective of the Radicals was to gain total independence of India which was best articulated by Tilak’s statement, “ Swaraj is my birth right and I will have it.”

The Radicals aimed to broaden the base of the national Movement. It sought to derive strength and power from the masses of Indians.

Lala Lajpat Rai said;

“We desire to turn our faces away from the Government houses and turn them to the huts of the people. We want to stop our mouth so far as an appeal to the government is concerned and open our mouth with a new appeal to the masses of our people.”

The Radicals used self-reliance and self-sacrifice, suffering and hardship for achieving their aim. A quotation from Bipin Chandra Pal conveys the philosophy of Radicals for obtaining freedom. The quotation reads;

“If the Government were to come and tell me today, take Swaraj, I would say, Thank you for the gift but I will not have that which I cannot acquire by my own hands.”

The Radicals proposed three methods for attaining of independence---- Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education.

They asked the people to use Swadeshi goods manufactured in India. They were discouraged from using goods made in England, so as to give a direct blow to the commercial interest of the British which alone kept them in India for so long. Students were called upon to boycott schools and colleges run by the Government. Special institutions were established to impart education according to the needs of the nation. Many revolutionary nationalists like Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and B.K. Dutt were the products of such institutions.

SPLIT IN THE CONGRESS (1907)

The Moderates dominated the Congress from the beginning till 1905. They expressed loyalty to the British regime. However, the Moderates denounced the repressive policy of Lord Curzon and the partition of Bengal at the annual session of the Congress held at Banaras in 1905. They began Swadeshi Movement in Bengal but stuck to their original constitutional methods.

The Indian National Congress laid down its aim of achieving Swaraj or self-government at its annual session held in Kolkata in 1906.

But there was a difference of opinion with regard to the nature of Swaraj among its members. A section of the Congress led by Gopal Krishna Gokhale wanted to achieve Dominion status, that is, self-government under the Crown. They did not want to sever their connections with Britain since they had faith in the British rule.

However, another section of the Congress led by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai wanted to achieve full freedom and were in favor of using even force to turn the British out of India. This section of the Congress was the Radical section.

The next annual session of the Congress was held at Surat in 1907. The Moderates did not approve fully the resolutions passed in 1906. They were against the principle of adopting revolutionary methods. They wanted to undo what had happened at the Kolkata session. The Radicals did not allow this to happen. The quarrel started on the election of the president. The Radicals wanted to have a president of their own choice. Dr. Ras Behari Ghosh was elected the President of INC. When Ghose began to address the audience, Tilak came on the platform and wanted to speak. The public hurled a shoe at Tilak which instead hit Ferozshah Mehta. There was complete pandemonium in the meeting, resulting in a split of the Congress.

The Moderates met separately and adopted the constitution of the Congress and closed the doors of the party to those who did not believe in constitutional methods.

RADICAL LEADERS

The Radicals, led by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal believed in a radical programme which would entail a long drawn struggle for political freedom in India. With their efforts the National Movement assumed a more active character.

BAL GANGADHAR TILAK (1856-1920)

Tilak, popularly known as Lokmanya, was born in 1856 in Maharashtra. He was a lawyer by profession and believed that education could bring about a social change in India. He started two papers—**Kesari** and **The Maratha**—in order to spread the idea of nationalism, courage and self-confidence for the freedom of the country. He celebrated Ganapati festival and honored Shivaji to spread the spirit of nationalism.

The British rulers called him 'the leader of Indian unrest'. He is remembered in Maharashtra for organizing Akharas and Lathi clubs to make the youth brave and to enable them fight for the freedom of their country. Tilak was a man of courage. When famine and plague broke out in various parts of the country in 1896-97, Tilak criticized the authorities for not helping the

people. He burst out, "Has the Government lost its head. To rule is not to take vengeance." As a result, he was sentenced to 18 months of rigorous imprisonment.

Tilak was the leader of the radical section in the congress. He insisted that the aim of the Congress should be **Swaraj** and coined the famous slogan, "**swaraj** is my birthright and I will have it". It was because of him that the Congress adopted a resolution making **Swaraj** the aim of the congress at its session of 1906.

Tilak was a fearless fighter. He had no faith in the good intentions of the British and felt that all evils in India could be removed with the ouster of the British. He felt that the British conquered India by force and by force could they be pushed out from India. He was imprisoned many times for his views against the British.

Tilak was deported to Mandalay to serve his period of imprisonment on the charges of sedition. In the jail he wrote Geeta Rahasya. When he was released in 1912 his friends advised him to avoid active politics. But Tilak replied:

"How can I be a silent spectator when Mother India is in shackles of slavery? I am destined to die as a politician and I have ungrudgingly accepted the decree of my fate."

Tilak worked untiringly for the freedom movement. At the 1916 session of the congress at Lucknow, Tilak was instrumental in formulating the famous 'Lucknow pact' It was at this session that all the Indian forces of nationalism joined together to press for freedom from foreign rule.

Tilak left the Indian National Congress at the Surat session of the Congress held in 1907 and organized his own party of radicals with the help of Lala Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal. He rejoined the congress later and supported the Home rule Movement.

Two notable contributions of Tilak were:

1. Tilak had talked about 'Swaraj' as early as 1897. His statement "Swaraj is my birth Right and I will have it" went on to become the battle-cry of the new aggressive nationalist.
2. Tilak employed new means to expose administration, mobilize masses and arouse nationalistic passions. Though the Ganapati festival that he started in 1893 and revival of Shivaji festival in 1895 in Maharashtra he instilled in the masses a spirit of glory and patriotism. His no-rent campaign in 1896 exposed the misrule of the British in India.

Tilak was the forerunner of Gandhiji. No-rent campaign, boycott of government service, prohibition and Swadeshi principles were preached and practiced by him. He had talked of complete independence in 1897. He died in 1920.

BIPIN CHANDRA PAL (1858-1932)

Bipin Chandra pal was born in 1858 at Sylhet, now in Bangladesh. He joined the Brahmo Samaj against the wishes of his father, because of which he had to leave his house. Later he became

the editor of **New India**. In 1887, he joined the Congress. In the congress, he took sides with the Radicals and joined Tilak and Lala Lajpat Rai in demanding Swaraj as the aim of the Congress.

In one of his writing, he said,

“India must attain absolute autonomy free from foreign control .”

He was also a great supporter of national education. He wanted the young students to appreciate their own cultural heritage and derive strength and unity from it. He had earlier left the company of the Moderates because he found that their constitutional methods were not producing results.

He spread his patriotism through articles and speeches. He was one of the main leaders of Bengal who opposed the partition of Bengal. He took part and encouraged others to take part in the boycott and Swadeshi movements.

Bipin Chandra pal was an excellent orator. He believed that the Indians should have the right to mould their own destiny. He did not like to use the constitutional methods of petitions and appeals for the attainment of freedom. He advocated the use of stiffer methods of agitations, sacrifices and hardships. He said that nothing short of complete independence was good for India. The goal, he said, was noble. Therefore, he said that one had to pay the price for achieving such a goal.

He realized that the economy of India was in bad shape. The only remedy for eradicating poverty and unemployment was to make use of Swadeshi and the boycott of foreign goods. He advocated national education because he felt that through it the Indians could remove social evils from the society. Besides, national education he roused the feelings of patriotism. He was not in favor of the Non-cooperation Movement. launched by Gandhiji in 1920. During the last six years of his life, he drifted towards orthodox religious views and lived a secluded life. He died in 1932.

His two notable contributions were:

1. Through his extraordinary oratory and journalistic skills he spread the message of Boycott, **Swadeshi** and national education very effectively. His speeches and articles played a pivotal role in awakening national consciousness in India.
2. In the realm of social reform, Bipin Chandra pal championed the cause of women education, opposed caste system and lent all his support to the Age Consent Bill in 1891.

LALA LAJPAT RAI (1865-1928)

Lala Lajpat Rai was a fearless nationalist who championed the cause of radical nationalism. He was born in 1865 in Jagraon in Punjab. He was a lawyer by profession. He joined the Congress in 1888. When there was a split in the congress in 1907, he Joined the Radicals. He was influenced

by Tilak's philosophy. He was one of the leaders who called for action against the British rule rather than prayers and petition. Because of his speeches and open defiance of the British rule, he was persecuted. In 1908, when Tilak was arrested, Lajpat Rai went abroad for a short while. But later he was arrested and deported to the Andaman Islands where other leaders of the nationalist movement were also imprisoned. He was released after six months.

Lajpat Rai started a newspaper called *The Young India*. He used it as a channel to propagate his ideas of radical nationalism. When he was in America in 1914, he joined the Ghadar party there. He familiarized the Americans about the condition of people in India. He also wrote books such as **The Arya Samaj** and **England's Debt to India**.

He co-operated with Gandhiji during the Non-cooperation Movement. However, he disagreed with the programme suggested by Gandhiji. The reason for disagreement in the words of Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya, was that Lajpat Rai was a fighter but not a satyagrahi.

Lajpat Rai was a great Visionary. He was a great lover of Indian culture and religion. He was an active member of the Arya Samaj and laid the foundation of DAV College, Lahore, and various other educational institutions. Furthermore, he joined hands with Madan Mohan Malaviya (founder of Banaras Hindu University in Varanasi) in organizing **the Nationalist party** and the **Hindu Sangathan Movement** for the protection of the interests of the majority community. He was not a communalist; rather he believed in Hindu Muslim unity, but not at the cost of the interest of either of them. He said that such unity should be based on mutual respect for each other.

In 1928, the Simon Commission was in India. Lajpat Rai organized and took part in non-violent demonstrations against the Simon Commission. During the demonstration in Lahore, he was struck and injured in a lathi charge. On 17th November, 1928, he died of his injuries. Before dying, he said, "lathi blows inflicted on me would prove one day as nails in the coffin of the British Empire."

His courage and determination has earned him the title of *she-ri-punjab*, i.e. the lion of Punjab.

Lala Lajpat Rai is remembered for his patriotism, courage and revolutionary ideas. His death did not put an end to his mission. Congressmen furthered his cause of gaining freedom to India. At the death of Lajpat Rai, it was Gandhiji who said, "Men like Lalaji cannot die so long as the moon shines in the Indian sky."

His two notable contributions were:

1. An aggressive nationalist that he was, Lala Lajpat Rai exhorted people to fight repression with full strength during the anti-partition agitation. During 1907 he was convicted for seditious speeches and was deported to Mandalay prison for six months.
2. Lajpat Rai was assaulted by a British sergeant while demonstrating against the Simon Commission in Lahore in 1928. He ultimately succumbed to the injuries sustained. This incident fuelled anti-British passion and enraged even revolutionaries like Bhagat Singh.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE RADICALS

The Radicals played an important role in the freedom movement of India.

1. The social base of the movement was broadened under their leadership. It moved beyond the confines of urban intelligentsia.
2. The Radicals specified the goal of the national struggle as achieving total independence.
3. They instilled self-confidence and self reliance among the people. They taught the people that they could live better with India made goods and there was no need to spend scarce resources of India on buying imported items.
4. They helped to revive cottage industries by propagating the use of Swadeshi and the boycott of imported goods.
5. They tried to cripple the administration by using methods of non-cooperation and boycott.
6. They, through their speeches and writing, infused among the people courage to challenge the imperial regime in India. Newspapers like Kesari and The Maratha helped to spread the spirit of radical nationalism.
7. Young men were fired with zeal to free their country with extreme sacrifices. The radicals' philosophy produced such revolutionaries as Bhagat Singh, Chandra Shekhar Azad, Ram Prasad Bismil and Veer Savarkar.

The sacrifices of these men were not in vain. Their death gave a new impetus to the national movement.

The British wanted to stifle their voice of protests by putting an end to the life of revolutionaries. Instead, their death shook the foundations of the imperial rule and made the British realize that their days in India were numbered.

8. They forced the British government to withdraw many unjust laws and grant many reforms. The British did these to keep the influence of the radicals under check. The Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 and cancellation of partition of Bengal in 1911 can be cited as examples.

The achievements of the Radicals are summarized by Bipin Chandra as follows:

“They added a glorious chapter to the history of the National movement. They had cleared its objectives. They had the people's self-confidence and self-reliance. They had prepared the social base of the movement by including the lower middle class, students, youth and women. They had introduced new methods and new modes of waging political struggles.”

PARTITION OF BENGAL

The major events that led to the partition of Bengal were:

1. By the last decade of the 19th century, the Moderate leaders' influence on the people as well as the government was on the wane.

2. Personalities like Gladstone in Britain and Lord Ripon in India, who realized the importance of the educated Indians and sympathized with their aspirations, were no longer at the helm of affairs.
3. Men who had little faith in the Indians and their sensibility, and who disliked any relaxation of Britain's imperialist hold over India, were in charge of the governance of India.
4. The measures taken by Lord Curzon during his viceroyalty from 1898 to 1905 paved the way for partition.
5. As early as in 1899, Curzon reduced the number of elected members in the Calcutta Corporation.
6. In 1904, he passed the universities Act which cut down the number of elected senate members (mostly Indians) and passed on key financial powers to British Government officials.
7. The Official's Secrets Act of 1904 meant curtailment of freedom of the press.
8. The Moderates idea of earning concessions from the British authorities had got discredited.

Finally, in July 1905 Curzon announced the Partition of Bengal.

REASONS FOR PARTITION OF BENGAL

1. Too large an area to be administered: The province of Bengal was a huge and unwieldy territory of diverse population, using various languages and dialects and widely different in terms of economic development. Apart from Bengali-speaking western and eastern Bengal, it originally comprised the whole Bihar, Orissa and Assam. It extended over an area of 4,89,500 sq km. It had a huge population of over 78 million people. Curzon, in 1902, had written, "Bengal is ungovernably too large a charge for any single man." Thus with the stated objective of administrative convenience, Curzon wanted to divide Bengal.
2. Curzon's proposals for the division of Bengal received Royal assent on 1 st September, 1905. Accordingly, a new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam was constituted by amalgamating Assam and Chittagong with fifteen districts of old Bengal. The new province was to have an area of about 2,74,540 sq km with a population of about 31 million.
3. Early in his tenure of office, Curzon wrote, "The Congress is tottering to its fall and one of my ambitions, while in India, is to assist it to a peaceful demise." Against this background, one can infer the real motives of Curzon for the partition of Bengal.
4. To deal a crushing blow to the nationalist sentiment of Bengal leaders, Bengal was divided into two parts. One was put together with Bihar and Orissa and the other with Assam.
5. With the division, Curzon hoped to obtain a double advantage: One was split up and thus weaken the Nationalist Movement; the other was to set the Muslims and Hindus against each other.

6. It was clear from the partition that the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam was specially set up so that Muslims would be in a majority in that area with Dacca as a parallel political center to the nationalistically oriented Calcutta.
7. Further, Bengal had taken to western, liberal education quite early and by the end of the 19th century Calcutta had already become the nerve centre of Bengali consciousness. People of Bengal were politically more conscious.
8. Bangalis from East or West Bengal shared a common language, culture and tradition. They appeared to be more united and as such they would strengthen the nationalist movement.

THE ANTI-PARTITION MOVEMENT

16TH OCTOBER, 1905, The effective day for partition, was observed by people as a day of mourning. There were protests everywhere. People fasted, walked barefoot to the Ganges, singing patriotic songs such as the 'bande matram' of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee. Rabindranath Tagore composed a national song for this occasion and on his suggestion, 16th October was observed as Raksha Bandhan Day, signifying brotherhood between people of East and West Bengal. The people of Bengal were charged with emotion. They felt that meetings, resolutions and demonstrations were insufficient to move the British rulers. So they embarked on **Swadeshi** and Boycott Movements.

BOYCOTT AND SWADESHI MOVEMENTS

Initially the partition was opposed on the conventional Moderate lines---through press campaign and petitions. However, soon the evident failure of these methods led to a search for new techniques and resulted in the discovery of the boycott of British goods as an effective weapon. The suggestion of the boycott first came from Krishnakumar Mitra's Sanjivani on 3 July, 1905 which was later accepted by all prominent public men at the town Hall meeting of 7 August, 1905. Subsequently, Rabindranath Tagore and Ramendra Sunder Trivedi, respectively, called for the observance of Raksha bandhan (the tying of thread wristlets on each other's hands as a symbol of the hearth unlit at all homes as a sign of mourning) on the day the partition was put into effect.

The boycott was complimented by another novel methods of protest and resistance- **Swadeshi**. The term **Swadeshi** means 'of one's own country and it implies that people should use goods produced within the country. It also has the implication of self-help and self-reliance (or Atmashakti, according to Rabindranath Tagore).

The concept received a new force from the Bengal anti-partition movement. Large crowds of meeting took the oath of **Swadeshi**. Led by Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Lajpat Rai, the movement received the support of the youth who were ready to make sacrifices for the freedom of their country. **Swadeshi** brought into politics a new class of people without any distinction of class or creed. It taught the press to be fearless; Hindus and Muslims to cooperate; students to defy unjust authority and to make sacrifices even of their lives for the sake of their country.

Spread of the movement

The call for Boycott and **Swadeshi** was given at thousands of public meetings all over Bengal and in other states and cities. Under Tilak's inspiring leadership, the movement gained momentum. The youth of Bengal marched in organized processions protesting against the partition of Bengal. British goods were burnt at public places; shops selling such goods were not allowed to sell them. Confectioners stopped using foreign sugar, washer men stopped washing foreign clothes, and women stopped wearing foreign bangles and gave up the use of glass utensils. Students refused to use foreign paper. Even doctors refused to patronize dealers of British goods. Picketing was combined with social ostracism.

Most of the Zealous workers of propagating the **Swadeshi** movement were students from schools and colleges. They organized voluntary associations to further their cause. Women also took active part in organizing processions and picketing. Large sums of money were collected to help this movement. Textile mills, soap and match factories, national banks and insurance companies were set up to help the people. Shops for selling Swadeshi goods were opened. Those who did not take part in this movement faced social boycott. The newspapers and magazines carried reports and articles on this topic and thus helped in making the movement successful. The entire country followed the events in Bengal and soon the **Swadeshi** movement acquired national dimensions. The movement generated response in UP, Central provinces, Bombay, Punjab and Madras. Spurred by the idea of national industries Bombay and Ahmedabad Mills produced 1,00,000 bales of cloth to meet the growing demands. The idea of national education also made good progress in Berar, Mumbai and Chennai. Gokhale, who presided over the congress session in 1905, extended his blessings to the movement and exhorted the nationalist forces to join hands to fight the reactionary British regime.

REACTION OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT

The British Government was shaken but it reacted sharply. During 1905 to 1909, thousands of people were arrested and sent to jails. Peaceful and non-violent processionists were subjected to lathi charges. Schools and colleges were warned and grants to private institution, suspected of participating in the **Swadeshi** movement, were discontinued. The British invoked the regulation of 1818 to suppress the movement and arrested and deported several leaders. In 1907, Lala Lajpat Rai and Sardar Ajit Singh were arrested and deported. Tilak was tried and sentenced to six years rigorous imprisonment in 1908. With the arrest and imprisonment of leaders, the movement lost its momentum. By 1909, the British had reasserted their authority.

Side by side with repression, the British also conceded some of the Indian demands. In order to win over the moderates section of the Congress, they instituted the Minto-Morley Reforms.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MOVEMENT

The Swadeshi and boycott movements ignited by the partition of Bengal had far-reaching consequences on the struggle for independence.

Strength to the National Movement

Lord Curzon intended to weaken the national movement in Bengal by using the policy of Divide and Rule. On the contrary, the partition of Bengal united the people of India. It mobilized them to a wave of nationalistic feeling that united the whole country in its fight for freedom from foreign rule. It became mass movement--- even women and students took on the mantle of leadership in its activities. The Swadeshi and boycott movements encouraged nationalism and patriotism. As a result, great Indian writers such as Tagore and Mukunda Dass wrote new nationalist poetry and prose embodying patriotism. It gave Indian nationalism a new imaginative direction in raising the state of nationalist unrest to the high plane of bitter anti-imperialist struggles.

Stimulus to Native Industries

The positive side of the movement gave stimulus to cottage industries and even to large-scale enterprises of different types. Swadeshi textile mills, match and soap factories, tanneries and potteries sprang up everywhere. Acharya P.C. Ray set up his Bengal Chemicals Factory, which soon became famous. Ribindranath Tagore also helped in setting up a Swadeshi store. The whole capital of Tata Iron and steel Company, which refused all foreign and government help, was subscribed to by Indians within three months

Many Zamindars and Merchants joined hands with political leaders to form banks and insurance companies. Steamship concerns were also floated.

Stimulus to Culture

The Swadeshi movement also affected culture. A new type of nationalist poetry, prose and journalism charged with passion and idealism was born. The patriotic songs composed at that time by the poets, such as Rabindranath Tagore, Mukunda Dass and Rajani Kanta Sen, were not only effective but also had a literary quality of permanent value. These songs are sung in Bengal even to this day. Political journalism that resulted from the Swadeshi and national movement gave impetus to freedom, liberty and self-reliance.

Stimulus to Education

The spirit of Swadeshi wanted people to educate themselves on national lines. A scheme of national education was formulated by Satish Chandra Mukerjee, the editor of **Down**, in 1898. National educational institutions were opened for imparting literary, technical and physical education. One such instance being the International University at Shantiniketan, Founded by Tagore in Bengal.

People's sacrifice and New Mode of Protest

The British government tried to suppress the boycott agitation with a heavy hand. Meetings were banned and political leaders insulted and threatened. During 1905 to 1909, thousands of people were arrested and sent to jails. Peaceful processions were subjected to lathi charges.

Schools and colleges were warned and grants were suspended to private schools suspected of participating in the Swadeshi movement. The British tried to suppress the movement and many leaders were arrested and deported. Significantly, however, the modus operandi of the protesters like hartals, picketing, demonstration on roads, boycott of goods and institutions, etc. which characterized the movement went on to become part and parcel of the Indian national movement in times to come. The Philosophy of Swadeshi and boycott movements also became a part of the national movement.

THE SURAT SPLIT OF 1907

The Swadeshi movement did not produce immediately the intended result of destabilizing the British rule nor in unifying the partitioned Bengal.

This movement affected negatively the unity of the Indian Congress. The disagreement over methods of agitation in Bengal led to a dispute in the congress. This brought about a clash at the congress session at Surat in December 1907. The radicals were excluded from the Congress for about a decade. The British Government too tried to win the favor of the Moderates in order to put down the activities of the radicals. The Moderates fell victim to the temptation of the Minto-Marley Reforms and did not lend their whole-hearted support to the Radicals. For the next ten years, the congress was split into two major factions. It was only in 1916 that the two wings of the Congress united at the Lucknow session and the congress regained its unity.

and declared independence on March 26, 1971 under the leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. But during the year prior to that, to suppress the unrest in East Pakistan, the Pakistani government sent troops to East Pakistan and unleashed a massacre. And thus, the war for liberation commenced.

FORMATION AND OBJECTIVES OF THE MUSLIMS LEAGUE

The All-India Muslim League was formed at Dacca in December 1906. While the 1857 war of independence exemplified Hindu-Muslim unity against a common enemy, Nearly half a century of British rule and the persistently pursued policy of 'Divide and Rule' by the British since then had led to a situation where Muslims were beginning to see their interest as something different from that of the Hindus.

FACTORS PROMOTING THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

Change in British Attitude towards Muslims

With the nationalist struggle gaining momentum, the British increasingly gave up their earlier attitude of indifference to the Muslims. The British tried to divide the people and encouraged communal and separatist attitudes in Indian politics.

They tried to win over the Muslim minority and went out of their way to do so. The British talked of Bengali domination and encouraged provincialism. They exploited the caste structure of the Indian society by playing the non-Brahmins against Brahmins. Social and communal bitterness arose among the Hindus and the Muslims regarding replacement of Urdu by Hindi in law courts.

It is interesting to note how Lord Curzon tried to play one community against the other when he divided Bengal. Bengal was partitioned in such a way that one part was dominated by the Hindus and the other by the Muslims. This was done to divide the country on communal lines by applying the principle of divide and rule. As a result, although the Congress did not support the partition of Bengal, many Muslim leaders supported it.

Lack of education

In the beginning, some of the Muslims kept themselves aloof from the wave of nationalism led by the educated middle class because of the following reasons:

First, there was an innate antipathy to western education among the Muslims as a result of which they remained fairly backward in the fields of education, commerce and industry. Many of them did not have government jobs, whereas many Hindus who were educated had government jobs.

Secondly, the Muslims had to recover from the shock of the loss of power after the last Mughal Emperor was dethroned in 1857.

Furthermore, the crippling of arts and crafts in villages also led to poverty among the Muslims.

On the whole, the economic condition of the Muslims had certainly deteriorated. They held the British responsible for their bad lot and kept themselves aloof. On the other hand, the Muslim population continued to be under the influence of the Muslim upper class of Zamindars and Aristocrats who were loyal to the British rulers in order to win favors from them. The British officials and other interested classes found it easy to keep aloof Muslims from the educated Hindus.

Loss of Sovereignty by the Muslims

Before the arrival of the British, many rulers in India had been the followers of Islam. The British established their rule after dethroning the Mughal kings in India. This made the Muslims bitter

towards the imperial rule. After the revolt of 1857, the British considered the Muslim community dangerous in the sense that the latter could take revenge against them at any time for snatching power from their kings. On the other hand, the British tried to win over the Hindus.

The Communal Tone in History writing

The way history of India was written in the colonial period by the British administrative historians and even some of the Indian historians created a wedge as they used classificatory categories like Hindu period, Muslim period, etc. In Hindu period, they referred to the Muslims as foreign invaders. In Muslim period, the Muslims were designated the rulers while the Hindus, their subjects. By generalizing the evil policies of one ruler, historians tried to spread distrust among the two Indians communities. Thus, both the communities became suspicious of each other.

Religious tone in Expression

Some of the radical nationalists, in their effort to glorify India's past, presented a one-sided picture of our composite culture. They referred to the ancient Indian culture to the exclusion of medieval Indian culture. They praised Shivaji and Rana Pratap, while they remained silent on Akber and Sher Shah Suri. Tilak, for instance, organized Ganapati and Shivaji festivals. This was misinterpreted by some people to mean that India was identified with Hindu culture and religion. Muslim rule in Indian history was apparently ignored. The British took full advantage of this situation. As a result, some Muslims remained aloof and were even against the national movement.

Economic Backwardness of India.

The British had kept India as an impoverished nation. In the absence of industrialization, there was an acute unemployment problem. There were too many people trying to get so few jobs. This tempted people to ask for reservation in jobs on the basis of caste, creed, or religion. Both the Hindu and the Muslim communities failed to understand that the British were responsible for the acute shortage of jobs, because it was they who imposed their economic policy for their selfish ends.

EVENTS LEADING TO FOUNDATION OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

From 1857 to 1870, the British tried to maintain good relationship with the Hindus. Then they realized that the Muslims had become weak and so they could not revolt against the British. In order to curb the influence of the congress, the imperial regime encouraged separatist tendencies among the Muslims. The Englishmen believed in the policy of Divide and Rule. They realized that if both the communities fight one against the other, the British could go on ruling India. William Hunter remarked regarding the British policy towards the Muslims, "The muslims are too weak for rebellion. It is expedient now to take them into alliance rather than continue antagonize them."

The separatist tendency among some of the Muslims can be traced back to 1883 when they asked for a separate representation in Municipal bodies.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan

Born on October 17, 1817 in Delhi Sir Sayyed Ahmed Khan started his career as a civil servant.

The 1857 revolt was one of the turning points of Syed Ahmed's life. He felt the need for the Muslims to acquire proficiency in the English language and modern sciences if the community were to maintain its social and political identity, particularly in Northern India.

He instituted

1. Scientific Society in 1863 to create a scientific temperament among the Muslims and to make the Western knowledge available to Indians in their own language.
2. The Aligarh Institute Gazette, an organ of the Scientific Society was started in March 1866 and succeeded in transforming the minds in the traditional Muslim Society.
3. He published journal 'Tehzibul Akhlaq' which was rightly named in English as 'Mohammedan Social Reformer'.
4. In 1875, Sir Syed founded the Madarsatul Uloom in Aligarh
5. Founded Mohammedan Anglo Oriental College in 1877.
6. He patterned the MAO College after Oxford and Cambridge universities that he visited on a trip to London in 1869. His objective was to build a college in tune with the British education system but without compromising its Islamic values. He wanted this College to act as a bridge between the old and the new, the East and the West.
7. He instituted All India Muslim Educational Conference in 1886 that revived the spirit of Muslims at national level.

The Aligarh Movement motivated the Muslims to help open a number of educational institutions. It was the first of its kind of such Muslim NGO in India, which awakened the Muslims from their deep slumber and infused social and political awareness among them.

Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan - An Architect of Modern India

In the aftermath of 1857 revolt against British colonialism was widespread. Sir Saiyad tried and motivated Indian Muslims to wake up against the British. Sir Saiyad said : "After the Revolt of 1857, I was grieved neither on account of the plunder of my house nor on account of the loss of property that I had suffered. What saddened my heart was the misery and destruction of people. Mr. Shakespeare offered to me the Taluqa of Jehanabad, which originally belonged to a distinguished Saiyad family, and yielded an annual rental of more than lac rupees, as a reward of my services, my heart was deeply hurt. I said to myself, how can I accept this jagir and become the Taluqdar while all the people are in distress. I refused to accept it."

In 1836 Sir Saiyad got married to Parsa Begum (Mubarak) and had two sons, Hamid (born in 1849) and Mahmood (born in 1850) and a daughter Amina. His elder brother Saiyad Muhammad started a weekly newspaper in 1837 and out of love of his younger brother Saiyad

Ahmad (also known as Saiyad in his youth), named the newspaper Saiyadul-Akhbar. After Saiyad Muhammad's death in 1845, Sir Saiyad Ahmad started managing Saiyadul-Akhbar.

Sir Saiyad was a great champion of Hindu-Muslim Unity. Addressing a big gathering at Gurudaspur on Jan. 27, 1884 He said: "Hindus and Muslims! Do you belong to a country other than India? Don't you live on this soil and are you not buried under it or cremated on its Ghats? If you live and die on this land, then bear in mind, that Hindus and Muslims is but a religious word; all the Hindus, Muslims and Christians who live in this country are one nation." Sir Saiyad was a prophet of education " (Mahatma Gandhi)

"Sir Saiyad was an ardent reformer and he wanted to reconcile modern scientific thought with religion by rationalistic interpretations and not by attacking basic belief. He was anxious to push new education. He was in no way communally separatist. Repeatedly he emphasized that religious differences should have no political and national significance," wrote Jawaharlal Nehru

Father of Aligarh movement

This most respected and important educational centre for Indian Muslims was initially founded as Mohammedan Anglo Oriental College (MAOC) at Aligarh in 1875 by Sir Saiyad Ahmed Khan and subsequently raised to the status of Aligarh Muslim University (AMU) in 1920. Aligarh Muslim University (AMU), known more as a movement than an academic institution is one of the most important chapters of Indian history as far as the sociology of Hindu-Muslim relation is concerned.

Sir Saiyad said: "This is the first time in the history of Mohammedans of India, that a college owes it not to the charity or love of learning of an individual, nor to the spending patronage of a monarch, but to the combined wishes and the united efforts of a whole community. It has its own origin in course which the history of this county has never witnessed before. It is based on principles of toleration and progress such as find no parallel in the annals of the east." Sir Saiyad' famous speech which he made while foundation of MAO College was laid down by Lord Lytton on 18th January, 1877 is the soul of Aligarh Movement.

Sir Saiyad's educational vision has two strong points;

- 1. Adoption of Modern education**
- 2. Moral Education**

From the beginning, Madarsatul-Uloom, later MAO College was equipped with the above philosophy.

Tarbiyat of the students living in Hostels were part of the duties of Principal and Manager of Hostels.

For Islamic and moral education, Sir Saiyad created a position of Nazim-e-Diniyaat for MAO College who was responsible for Islamic and moral education of the students. Dars-e-Quran was part of curriculum of the college and every morning before the start of the class, Allama Shibli Nomani used to give Dars-e-Quran for about half hour from 1887 to 1895 and later on the responsibility was handed over to Maulana Abdullah Ansari, the founder Nazim-e-Diniyaat.

Sir Saiyad breathed his last on Sunday, 27th March 1898.

Maulana Altaf Hussain Haali- writer of Sir Saiyad's biography, HAYAAT-E-JAVED;

"After Sir Saiyad's death, it was not only by words but also by actions that the people proved their love and respect for his high ideals. Almost at once, some people began to press for the foundation of Muslim University. The movement spread all over India and abroad and people started raising money for Sir Saiyad's finest memorial.. Even in England students raised money for the Muslim University. People were surprised to see the interest of Englishmen and their efforts to collect money to fulfill the dream of Sir Saiyad to make MAO College as Muslim University.

A great religious and educational reformer, sir Syed Ahmed Khan brought new life into Muslims. He realized that the reason for Muslim backwardness was their lack of education. He tried to bring the teachings of the Quran in line with modern ideas and stressed the value of service. In 1893 he organized Mohammedan Defence Association with Beck as its Secretary. The purpose of the Association was to prevent the Muslims from joining Congress.

In the beginning, Sir Syed Ahmed believed in the cooperation of Muslims and Hindus. He established the Mohammedan Anglo-oriental College at Aligarh in 1875. The Aligarh college played an important role in revitalizing the Muslims. Sir Syed declared that the interests of Muslims and Hindus were different. He opposed the policies of the Indian National congress and organized a counter-movement. He was afraid that if the British withdrew, The Hindu majority would rule and it would be unfair to the Muslims.

Influences of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan

Sir, Syed, under the influence of Beck, the Principal of Mohammedan Anglo-oriental College, Aligarh, had advised Muslims to remain loyal to the British and support their rule in India. He also advised them not to identify themselves with the Hindus and the congress. Sir Syed feared that the Muslim Community would be dominated by the Hindus if the Congress were to come to power.

In 1893, under the influenced of the principal of the M.A.O. College in Aligarh, the Mohammedan Anglo-oriental Defense Association was founded in order to counter the growing influence of the congress. The British, through this Association, wanted to dissuade Muslims from joining the Congress.

Hindu-Urdu Controversy (1900)

In Uttar Pradesh, Urdu had been the court language. All petitions had to be written in Urdu. However, many people, from the Hindu community, protested demanding they should be allowed to submit petitions in Hindi in Devnagri script, and the court summons and official announcements should be issued in Hindi and Urdu. The government granted their request. This was resented by some Muslims. This controversy strained the relations further between the two communities.

Partition of Bengal (1905) and use of Hindu Religious Idioms

The partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon in 1905 contributed to the formation of the Muslim League. One of the professed aims of Lord Curzon in dividing Bengal was to set the Hindus and the Muslims at odds with each other. It was the application of the general British policy of divide and Rule. The partition of Bengal was meant to deal a crushing blow to the growing influence of the Congress. The Congress endorsed the boycott and Swadeshi movements in protest against the Government's decision to divide Bengal. Some Muslim leaders did not join in the protest. They strongly supported the partition, because Eastern Bengal and Assam, with Dacca as its capital, gave them a majority. They thought that this newly created province with Muslim majority could be a source of strength and a centre for their political activity.

Deputation to Lord Minto (1906)

Lord Minto, the then Viceroy of India, planned to detach an important section of the Muslim community from the danger of joining the Congress. He made the best use of the fear of the Muslims and kept them away from the Congress by promising concessions to them. In 1906, Morley, the secretary of state for India, announced that the Viceroy would appoint a small committee to consider the question of extending the representative elements in the Legislative Council. An Aligarh official, Mahsinul-Mulk, led a delegation headed by the Aga Khan to the Viceroy.

Archibald, the then principal of M.A.O. College, Aligarh, gave a solemn assurance of loyalty to the British rulers. He said:

“Our apprehensions should be expressed that the principle of election, if introduced, would prove detrimental to the interests of the Muslim minority. It should respectfully be suggested that nomination or representation by religion be introduced to meet Muslim opinion. We should also say that in a country like India, due weight must be given to Zamindars.”

Accordingly, the deputation led by the Agha Khan submitted the following demands to the Viceroy:

1. The Muslims should be granted a representation in the councils.
2. Their representation should be determined not on the basis of their numerical strength, but on the basis of their political importance and the services rendered by them to the British Empire.
3. Some right should be given to the popularly elected representatives.
4. Special favours should be granted to the Muslims in appointment to Government services and to membership of central and provincial Councils.

The Viceroy gave a favourable reply to the delegation, and separate electorates became part of the Indian Council Act of 1909, popularly known as the Minto-Morley Reforms. Separate electorates implied that elections were to be held on the basis of communal representation. That is to say, the Muslims could vote for a Muslim candidate and the Hindus for a Hindu candidate. Thus, the Muslim community would be represented as a community in the councils.

The system of separate electorates sowed the seed of communalism in the country and created a gulf between the two communities.

THE MUSLIM LEAGUE AND ITS OBJECTIVES

The success of the meeting of Muslim delegates with the Viceroy filled them with a new zeal which quickened their political consciousness. They felt the need then to form a permanent political association of the Muslims as a whole. In December 1906, there was a big gathering of eminent Muslim leaders at Dacca in connection with the Mohammedan Educational Conference. Nawab Salimullah of Dacca arranged a meeting and mooted the idea of establishing a central Mohammedan association to look after the interest of the Muslims. Accordingly, on 30th December, 1906, the All-India League was founded.

Aims and objectives of the League

1. To promote, among the Muslims of India, feelings of loyalty to the British Government and to remove any misconception that may arise as to the intentions of the Government with regard to Indian Muslims.
2. To protect and advance the political right of the Muslims of India and to represent their needs and aspirations to the Government.
3. To prevent the rise, among the Muslims of India, of any feelings of hostility towards other communities without prejudice to the aforesaid object of the league.

The League was dominated by the vested interests of the Nawabs, Zamindars and the old Mughal nobility. The British gave their blessings and exploited it to pursue the policy of divide and Rule. The British gave full support to their demands and sowed the seeds of discontent in the political life of the country.

A small group of educated and modern Muslim Young men were attracted towards radical and nationalists ideas and asked the Muslims to join the Congress.

Leaders such as Maulana Mohammad Ali, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Mazhar-ul-Haq started the Ahrar Movement which was militant and national. Traditional Muslim scholars, inspired by patriotism, began to take part in politics. Abdul kalam Azad was one of such prominent leaders.

In the First World War (1914—18), the British were fighting against Turkey, a strong Muslim power. When the safety of Turkey was threatened, Indians reacted. Anti-British sentiments started to grow among the Muslims. As a result, radical young Muslims joined the nationalists.

Now, the Muslims and the Hindus had a common cause. The two joined together and put forward a common demand.

A new dimension to the national struggle was the signing of the Lucknow Pact in 1916. The pact was an important step in achieving Hindu-Muslim unity. The league was no longer dominated by the Aligarh school but the leadership had now gone into nationalist Muslim hands. Both the Congress and the League passed resolutions demanding self-government.

The British Government was, for the first time, faced with a definite united demand by two major political parties in the country. Montagu, the Secretary of state, announced in the parliament, on 20th August, 1917, that they would associate more Indians with self-governing institutions and establish self-government by stages in India.

In actual practice, the British would wield power. The reforms were just to placate the moderate's nationalist opinion and to separate them from radical nationalists. On the one hand, the government promised reforms and, on the other, it prepared to suppress the forces of anti-imperialistic struggle.

The **Criminal Law Amendment Act** made conspiracy a criminal offence and the Government could institute trials by special tribunals. Suppression of the rules by the rulers continued and the struggle for freedom continued.

GOVERNMENT REPRESSION

The government reached sharply. Lathi-charges, mass arrests and firing transformed the country into a police state. Punitive Fines and summary sentences become the order of the day. The revolt was intense but short-lived. The oppressive measures used by the Government killed more than ten thousand people and injured many more. In Delhi, the police opened fire on unarmed crowds and killed 78 people in two days besides wounding and crippling a large number of innocent people. The Congress leaders who were present at the meeting in Bombay were arrested and hustled away from Mumbai in a special train. Gandhiji was detained at the Aga Khan palace in Pune; the other leaders were sent to jail in Ahmednagar fort.

Widespread incidents of machine gunning of mobs from the air was reported in many places like Patna, Bhagalpur, Munger, Nadia and Talchar city. It was said that 4,000 to 10,000 people were killed and 60,000 people were arrested up to the end of 1942. Many people were convicted under the Defense of India Rules.

SIGNIFICANCE/IMPACT OF THE MOVEMENT

The Government's suppression of the movement was cruel and it was crushed within two months. The revolt of 1942, as it has been termed, was therefore short-lived, but it had a lasting impact on the freedom struggle:

It Displayed Depth of national Feelings

The Quit India Movement was the last mass uprising against the British rule in India. It was a mass revolt in which people from all walks of life—the Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians and Parsis—took part. People from the British provinces and from the princely states opposed the British rule. The revolt was not confined to one region—it was universal. It thus demonstrated the depth of people's national feeling, collective heroism and enthusiasm for the freedom of their motherland.

People Acquired Great capacity for struggle and sacrifice

The British viewed the situation as a challenge and used force to suppress the movement. Mobs were dispersed with lathi-charge, rifles, pistols and machine guns. Yet the people were not disheartened. The show of such extreme courage and sacrifices of the Indians made the foreign imperialists conclude that they must be prepared to quit India in the near future. The Viceroy confided to the British prime minister that it was “ the most serious rebellion since that of 1857, the gravity and extent of which we have so far concealed from the world for reasons of military security.”

It made British Realize that their Days were Numbered

The Quit India movement, though short-lived gave the signal that the British rule was not wanted in India. There was nothing to stop Indians from attaining their freedom. The signs of firm determination of the people to free India from the British hastened the British decision to Quit. Thus the Quit India Movement marked the culmination of the Indian freedom movement which had begun in 1857.

The violent mass upsurge of 1942 left no doubt that the freedom battle in India had reached its flashpoint and the day had dawned for the British to Quit.

SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE AND THE INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY

After suppression of the Quit India Movement there was hardly any political activity in India till the end of the war in 1945. However, the National movement found a new expression outside India. The leader of this movement during the second World War, was Subhash Chandra Bose. His ideals and plans for the liberation of India from the British rule are given below.

Background of Subhash Chandra Bose

Subhash Chandra Bose was born on 23rd January, 1897, in a Bengali family settled at Cuttack in Orissa. After completing his early education, he joined Presidency College at Kolkata. He went to England for higher studies and passed the Indian Civil Services examination in 1920. He did not like to work as a bureaucrat in the service of the British. So he joined the freedom Movement. He did not agree with Gandhiji's policies and programmes; yet he took an active part in the Non-cooperation Movement launched by Gandhiji. He criticized Gandhiji when he withdrew the Movement in 1922. Bose also participated in the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930. He was filled with socialist ideas. He was elected president of the Congress with the support of the younger elements in the Congress. His differences with Gandhiji reached the Zenith in 1939. In spite of Gandhiji's opposition, he was again elected president of the Congress

in 1939. Because of the differences of opinion with Gandhiji, he resigned the post of the president and founded the forward bloc in 1939 to carry on the freedom struggle.

Forward Bloc

Subhash Chandra Bose founded a new party known as the forward Bloc on 3rd May, 1939. This party wanted to unite members of the left wing under one banner. The aim of the Forward Bloc was to rally all progressive, radical and anti-imperialist elements in the congress for struggle, for immediate liberation of India from the British. After attaining independence, the forward Bloc wanted to work for a new phase of Socialist life and activity among Indians. Bose was convinced that only a free India could effectively fight against imperialism. Therefore, He left India with the aim of freeing India from outside.

The Forward Bloc worked for rebuilding for rebuilding India on socialist fair and equitable lines. It worked with the support of workers, peasants, employees, students and youths. In the domain of foreign policy, It stood for world peace, disarmament, friendly relation with socialist countries, non alignment and a new economic order.

Arrest of subhash Chandra Bose.

Subhash Chandra Bose was arrested and imprisoned in July, 1940 for his views and actions against British Government under the defense of India Rules. He went on a hunger strike and wrote to the Governor of Bengal, "The individual must die so that the nation may live. Today I must die so that India may win freedom and glory." Because of his poor health, he was released from jail and was kept under house arrest in Kolkata. Disguising himself as a Pathan, He managed to reach Russia and then Germany. He met Adolf Hitler, the dictator of Germany, and apprised him of India's struggle for independence.

His work in South-East Asia

By 1942, Japanese forces had occupied the British colonies of Singapore, Malaya and Myanmar. People living in the territories, freed from European domination, started some association with the objective of working for the liberation of India and of serving Indians abroad during the transition Period. The Indian Independence league was born from these associations and it took a definite shape because of the guidance given to it by Ras Bihari Bose, an Indian revolutionary who had escaped to Japan in 1915. It was through his efforts that a conference was held at Tokyo in March, 1942 to discuss political issues.

Formation of Indian National Army

The Tokyo Conference passed a resolution:

1. To form an Indian National Army (INA).
2. To establish provisionally an Indian Independence League of overseas Indians in all Asian Countries controlled by Japan.
3. To hold a conference of the representatives of Indians at Bangkok in June, 1942.

The Bangkok Conference was attended by representatives from East Asian countries. Indian prisoners of war under Japan Volunteered to fight for the freedom of India. Ras Bihari Bose was

elected president of the conference. He hoisted the Tri-Color flag and formally inaugurated the Indian Independence League which had as its objective the attainment of complete and immediate independence of India.

The conferences endorsed the plan to form the Indian National Army comprising Indian troops in East Asia. On 1st September, 1942, the Indian National Army was formally established. Capt. Mohan Singh was its Commander-in-Chief. The Bangkok conference invited Subhash Chandra Bose to lead the Movement. It was decided that the Indian Independence League would make arrangement for the supply of men, material and money required by the Indian National Army and would request the Japanese government to supply the necessary arms and equipment. A Council of action was also established for carrying out all necessary action in connection with the independence movement.

Subhash Chandra Bose accepted the invitation to the Bangkok Conference and reached Tokyo and Singapore in June, 1943. Ras Bihari Bose handed over the leadership of the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia to him. Subhash Chandra Bose took over the presidency of the Indian independence League and the supreme command of the Indian National Army. He was fondly called Netaji by people.

The INA (Indian National Army or Azad Hind Fauz) had large numbers of Indians living in south-East Asia and Indian soldiers and officers captured by the Japanese forces in Myanmar, Malaya and Singapore. He gave the call to his Soldiers 'Give me blood and I shall get you freedom.' His battle cry was, 'Delhi Chalo.' He set up recruitment and training departments to strengthen the army. Fighting brigades came up named after Gandhiji, Azad, Nehru, Subhash. An exclusive women-brigade was named after Rani Jhansi. He also founded the provisional Government of free India at Singapore on 21st October, 1943. The government was recognized by nine world powers including Germany, Italy, Japan and Myanmar. As the head of the provisional Government, he declared war against Britain and the USA. He also decided to lead the Indian National Army towards India.

Netaji's Provisional Government acquired its first stretch of territory of free India when Japan handed over the Andaman and Nicobar Islands to it on 6th November, 1943. Netaji named them Shahid and Swaraj islands, respectively. Then in 1944, the Indian National Army (INA) entered Indian territory and captured Mowdok, a place near Chittagong. Then it marched towards Kohima in Nagaland. The main objective of the INA was to capture Imphal, the capital city of Manipur. By this time, the INA had marched 200 kilometres inside India and had captured many posts from the British. When they were nearing Imphal. The Japanese had to withdraw their forces and aero planes from the Indo-Myanmar border because of their confrontation with the Americans in the Pacific Ocean. Besides, the onset of heavy rains in the area prevented the INA from seizing Imphal. The INA then withdrew towards Myanmar. The bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki forced Japan to surrender in 1945; the Japanese retreated leaving Rangoon, the capital of Myanmar, in the control of the INA. In May, 1945, the British army overpowered the INA and took control of Rangoon. It was believed that Netaji was killed in an aero plane accident on his way to Tokyo.

After the war, the British government in India decided to prosecute some of the INA officers such as Sehgal, Dhillon and Shahnawaz for treason. This gave rise to a wave of anger and protests among Indians. There were demonstrations all over the country. The court- Martial held the accused guilty and they were to be convicted. However, the government had to yield before public opinion. As a result these officers were set free.

The INA did not succeed fully in achieving its objective but it set an inspiring example of patriotism and sacrifice before the Indian people. The heroic deeds and sacrifices of the soldiers of INA led to heightened political consciousness among the Indian forces. The struggles of the INA demonstrated that those who waged an armed struggle against the British were not at all affected by communal division. There were Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs in the INA who had fought as Indians. The British had now realized that they could no longer depend on the loyalty of Indian soldiers and treat them as mercenaries. Thus the INA played an important role in the final decision of the British to quit India.