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## **CHARACTER OF INM**

1. Indian National Movement (INM) was undoubtedly one of the biggest mass movements modern society has ever seen.
2. It galvanized millions of people of all classes and ideologies
3. broadly practiced Gramscian theoretical perspective of a 'war of position' where state power was not seized in a single historical moment of revolution, but through prolonged popular struggle on a moral, political and ideological level.
4. phases of 'struggle' alternated with 'passive' stages.
5. INM also used the constitutional space of the existing structure without getting co-opted by it.
6. The movement popularized democratic ideas and institutions in India.
7. There was a demand for representative government on the basis of popular elections and adult franchise.
8. It encouraged free expression of opinion.
9. Nationalists also fought for freedoms of the Press and that of expression and association.
10. Congress from 1937-39 greatly extended the scope of civil liberties.
11. The struggle emphasized the need for economic development.
12. pro-poor orientation which was strengthened by Gandhi and the leftists who adopted a socialist outlook
13. It also moved towards a program of radical agrarian reform.
14. The movement was also committed to secularism.

## **PERSPECTIVES TO THE INM:**

### **The imperialist approach:**

1. The imperialist approach emerged in the official pronouncements of the Viceroys, Lords Dufferin, Curzon and Minto. It was theorized for the first time by Bruce T. McCully in 1940.
2. denies the existence of colonialism as an economic, political, social and cultural structure in India.
3. deny the basic contradiction of the interests of the Indian people and of the British colonialists
4. They see the Indian struggle as merely a mock battle.
5. They felt that INM was product of needs and interests of the elite groups who used it to serve either own narrow interests.
6. It denies any active role played by the mass of workers, peasants, lower middle class and women

### **People's or subaltern approach:**

1. The basic contradiction in the society in the colonial epoch was between the elite, both Indian and foreign, on the one hand, and the subaltern groups, on the other, and not between colonialism and the Indian people.
2. The Indian people were never united in a common anti-imperialist struggle
3. Thus, the subalterns bear some resemblance to the imperialists as they too deny the legitimacy of the actual, historical anti-colonial struggle that the Indian people waged.

#### **Nationalist historiography:**

1. Political activists such as Lala Lajpat Rai, A.C.Mazumdar, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Surendranath Banerjea
2. This school shows awareness to the exploitative nature of colonialism.
3. see the national movement as a movement of the people.
4. However, the weakness in this approach is that they tend to ignore the inner contradictions of the Indian society both in terms of class and caste.

#### **Marxist school:**

1. R.Palme Dutt and A.R.Desai primarily led this school.
2. They clearly see the primary contradiction as well as the process of the nation-in-the-making, and unlike the nationalists, they also take note of the inner contradictions of the Indian society.
3. They see the bourgeoisie as playing the dominant role in the movement

#### **THE FIRST MAJOR CHALLENGE: THE REVOLT OF 1857.**

1. 19th Native infantry at Berhampur was disbanded in March as they refused to use the newly introduced Enfield rifle.
2. Mangal Pande, sepoy of 34th native infantry fired at his Sergeant Major; he was executed and his regiment disbanded.
3. 11th May 1857. Sepoys from Meerut crossed the Jamuna, marched to the Red Fort and proclaimed Bahadur Shah II, the Moghul emperor as Shahenshah-e-Hindustan, they then went to capture and take control of the imperial city of Delhi.
4. This was a heroic effort which later on spread to all over North India, as well as Central and Western India.
5. South India remained unaffected; Punjab and Bengal were marginally affected.
6. Nana Saheb at Kanpur; Begum Hazrat Mahal at Lucknow; Khan Bahadur at Bareilly; Kunwar Singh at Bihar; and Rani Lakshmi Bai at Jhansi who was a victim of Dalhousie's Doctrine of Lapse.
7. **Why did the sepoys revolt?**
8. They felt the British tried to destroy the Hindustani army and compel them to convert to Christianity.

9. The conditions of service in the army and cantonments came in conflict with the religious beliefs.
10. The unhappiness was first felt when the regiment at Barrackpur was asked to cross the sea and go to Burma in 1824. Crossing the sea meant loss of caste.
11. Sepoys were unhappy with their emoluments. There was a sense of deprivation when compared to British counterparts.
12. There was also racial discrimination in matters of promotion and privileges.
13. The British policies led to a general disenchantment and opposition to the rule.
14. The Sepoy mutiny was accompanied by a rebellion of the civil population in North Western provinces and Oudh which had a broad social base embracing all sections of the society.
15. The traditional aristocracy lost all their power and privileges and hence seized the opportunity presented by the Sepoy revolt to oppose the British and regain what they lost.
16. British rule added to the misery of the artisans and handicraftsmen as their policy discouraged Indian handicrafts and promoted British goods.
17. attitude and activities of the leaders hardly suggest any planning. For instance on the arrival of sepoys, Bahadur Shah promptly informed the news to Lt. Governor at Agra.
18. the merchants, the intelligentsia and the Indian rulers kept aloof and actively supported the British.
19. Some soldiers sided the British and fought their own countrymen.
20. The rebels were poorly supported by their leaders. They negotiated with the British and secured their safety.
21. first to fall was Delhi on 20th September 1857. Bahadur Shah was captured and deported to Burma. The Rani of Jhansi died fighting. Nana Saheb escaped to Nepal. Kunwar Singh soon died of old age. Tantia Tope was betrayed by a zamindar and was consequently captured and put to death.
22. The sepoys' effort was however a patriotic act and a progressive step.
23. it served a grand purpose: a source of inspiration for the national liberation movement which was later achieved.

### **CIVIL REBELLIONS AND TRIBAL UPRISINGS**

The Revolt of 1857 was not a sudden occurrence. It was the culmination of a century long tradition of fierce popular resistance to British domination.

This popular resistance took three broad forms: Civil Rebellions; Tribal Uprisings and Peasant Movements.

#### **Civil Rebellions:**

1. The rebellions were led by deposed by rajas and nawabs and impoverished zamindars, landlords and poligars.
2. The backbone of the rebellions constituted the rack-rented peasants, ruined artisans and demobilized soldiers.

3. These were sudden, localized and often took place because of local grievances.
4. Between 1763 and 1856, there were hundreds of rebellions.
5. The first to rise were the soldiers of Bengal in the Sanyasi rebellion
6. Other uprisings in the Eastern part were the Chuar uprising in Bengal and Bihar
7. South: Raja of Vizianagram; Poligars of Tamil Nadu; Malabar and coastal Andhra; Dewan Velu Thambi of Travancore;
8. In Western India: Chiefs of Saurashtra; the Kolis of Gujarat. In Maharashtra, there were the Bhil uprisings; the Kittur uprising; Satara uprising and revolt by the Gadkaris.
9. In the North: Western U.P and Haryana; Bundelas of Jabalpur and Khandesh.

#### **Causes:**

1. changes introduced by the British in the economy, administration and the land revenue system.
2. Intensifying demands for land revenue caused widespread suffering.
3. nothing from the collected revenue was utilized to develop agriculture or for the benefit of the cultivator.
4. Zamindars and Poligars lost interest over their land and revenue accruing from it.
5. Peasants: Increasing demand for revenue forced them to sell their lands or were pushed into indebtedness.
6. The new courts and legal system gave a fillip for the rich to oppress the poor.
7. corruption prevailing at lower levels of police, judiciary and administration.
8. Imposition of free trade in India and levy of discriminatory tariffs against Indian goods in Britain
9. The scholarly and priestly lost the patronage that they received from traditional rulers and chiefs

#### **Impact of the rebellions:**

1. The rebellions were backward looking and traditional in outlook.
2. objective was to restore earlier forms of rule and social relations.
3. Further, the scatters, sporadic and disunited uprisings were incapable of overthrowing the British.
4. The British succeeded in pacifying the rebel areas one by one.
5. suppression of civil rebellions was reason why revolt of 1857 did not spread to South India and most of East and West.

#### **Tribal Uprisings:**

1. These uprisings were broad-based, involving thousands of tribals
2. The administration ended their relative isolation and brought them into the mainstream and made the tribal chiefs as zamindars thereby subjecting them to the new land revenue system and taxation.

3. There was an influx of Christian missionaries which was unwelcome.
4. Moneylenders, traders and revenue farmers who were outsiders were introduced as middlemen. The middlemen took possession of their lands and were tools of exploitation.
5. Colonialism transformed their relationship with forest. placed restrictions on access to forest products and forest lands.
6. It also refused shifting cultivation (jhum, podu etc) which was common practice.
7. There was extortion by the policemen and other petty officials.
8. The government agents extended the 'begar' system- make them perform unpaid labor.
9. Whereas the British were a drilled regiment with the latest weapons, the tribals were men and women fighting in bands with primitive weapons such as spears, stones, axes, bows and arrows.
10. Examples: Santhal hool: to expel the dikus or outsiders. Sido and Kanhu, the principal rebel leaders claimed that Thakur (God) had communicated with them and told them to take up arms and fight for independence. Around 60,000 Santhals were mobilized by 1854 forming 1500-2000 bands. The British realizing the scale of the rebellion declared Martial law and mobilized tens of regiments. The rebellion was crushed ruthlessly.
11. The Khols of Chotanagpur rebelled from 1820 to 1837.
12. The Munda tribesmen rebelled with the leadership of BIRSA MUNDA during 1899-1900. Munda declared he was a messenger of God and wanted to establish a Satyug in the place of the current Kalyug

### **PEASANT MOVEMENTS AND UPRISINGS AFTER 1857.**

1. Colonial economic policies, the new land revenue system, the colonial administrative and judicial systems, and the ruin of handicrafts leading to the over-crowding of land, transformed the agrarian structure and impoverished the peasantry
2. zamindars rack-ranted the peasants and made them pay illegal dues. In the ryotwari areas, the Government itself levied heavy land revenue.

#### **indigo Revolt (1859-1860):**

1. militant peasant movement.
2. The main issue lay in the fact that the indigo planters, mostly European, compelled the tenants to grow indigo which was of great loss to the cultivators.
3. peasants were made to take a meager amount as advance and enter into fraudulent contracts; and the price ultimately paid for the indigo was far below the market price.
4. Moreover he also had to pay regular bribes to the local officials.
5. Kidnapping, illegal confinement, looting, burning, demolition of houses were undertaken by armed retainers to force them into contracts.
6. The growing discontent of the indigo growers became blatant in Bengal in 1859 when their case first seemed to get Government support.

7. HEM CHANDRA KAR, Deputy Magistrate of Kalaroa issued a proclamation stating that the ryots shall retain possession over lands and shall grow the crops they like
8. leadership of DIGAMBAR BISWAS and BISHNU BISWAS. The indigo strikes then spread rapidly and by 1860 encompassed all of Bengal.
9. The cultivation of indigo was entirely wiped out.
10. The success of the revolt was in the tremendous initiative, cooperation, organization and discipline of the ryots. Also, there was complete unity among Hindu and Muslim peasants.
11. One of significant features was that the revolt gained strong support from the intelligentsia of Bengal.
12. It carried out a powerful campaign in the form of newspaper campaigns, mass meetings, support in legal battles etc. Hindoo Patriot of HARISH CHANDRA MUKHERJI, DIN BANDHU MITRA's play Neel Darpan
13. The Government ultimately saw the changed temper of the peasantry and appointed a commission to enquire the same. The Commission completely exposed the coercion and corruption underlying the entire system.

## **2) Pabna agrarian leagues:**

1. There was agrarian unrest in East Bengal during 1870s and early 1880s.
2. Zamindars there enhanced rent beyond legal limits and also prevented the peasants from acquiring occupancy rights.
3. A league was formed in Yusufshahi Parganah in Pabna district to resist the demands of the zamindars.
4. The main form of struggle was legal resistance and there was little violence.
5. Government promised to undertake a legislation to protect the tenants and the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885 was passed.
6. The feature of the resistance was the fact that the aims of it were limited to the redressal of the immediate grievances of the peasants and the enforcement of the legal rights and norms. It was not aimed at the zamindari system.
7. There was complete Hindu-Muslim solidarity.
8. A large number of young intellectuals supported the peasants' cause- Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, R.C.Dutt

## **Social boycott movement of Deccan ryots:**

1. A major agrarian outbreak occurred in Poona and Ahmednagar districts of Maharashtra in 1875.
2. As part of Ryotwari system, land revenue was settled directly with peasant who was recognized as owner of his land.
3. peasants got into the clutches of the moneylender and increasingly lost their land. Hence, the cause of the peasant's misery was now the moneylender.

4. A spontaneous protest movement occurred in Kardah village, in Sirur taluq when peasants organized a complete social boycott of the moneylender and was soon transformed into agrarian riots.
5. Systematic attacks on moneylenders' houses and shops were organized where they seized and publicly burnt debt bonds and deeds which were signed pressure, in ignorance.
6. The Government acted soon and repressed the movement. It extended protection against moneylenders through the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act of 1879.
7. Again, the objective of the movement was very limited. There was an absence of anticolonial consciousness.
8. Poona Sarvajanik Sabha led by Justice Ranade held a successful campaign at Poona and Bombay in support of the ryots.

#### **Other movements:**

Mappila outbreaks in Malabar. Ramosi peasant force in Maharashtra led by Vasudev Balwant Phadke. Kuka revolt in Punjab led by Baba Ram Singh.

#### **Nature of peasant movements:**

1. The nature of peasant movements changed after 1857. Since princes, chiefs and landlords were crushed, the peasants now fought directly for their own demands, almost wholly on economic issues and against their immediate enemies being foreign planters, zamindars and moneylenders.
2. specific and limited objectives; and of redressal of particular grievances. Colonialism was not the target.
3. The territorial reach of these movements was also limited.
4. with no mutual communication or linkages.
5. They also lacked continuity of struggle or long-term organization.
6. Consequently they did not threaten British supremacy or even undermine it.
7. The protests were often instinctive and spontaneous.
8. It was result of excessive and unbearable oppression, deprivation and exploitation.
9. The peasant also developed a strong awareness of his legal rights and asserted them.
10. However, a major weakness was the lack of adequate understanding of colonialism, of the colonial economic structure and the colonial state and of the social framework of the movements themselves.

#### **FOUNDATION OF THE CONGRESS:**

1. (INC) was formed in December 1885 by 72 political workers and was the first organized expression of Indian Nationalism on an all-India scale.
2. A.O. Hume, a retired ICS officer played an important role in its formation.
3. The myth of 'the Safety Valve' surrounds the formation of the INC.



4. The myth is that INC was started by A.O. Hume and others under the official direction, guidance and advice of Viceroy Lord Dufferin, to provide a safe, mild, peaceful and constitutional outlet or safety valve for the rising discontent among the masses
5. The core of the myth being that a violent revolution was on the cards at the time and was avoided only by the foundation of the Congress was accepted by many.
6. Lala Lajpat Rai in his Young India published in 1916 used this safety valve theory to attack the moderates.
7. Hume was a lover of liberty and wanted political liberty for India under the aegis of the British crown.
8. Later Palme Dutt in his work India Today said that it was a plan pre-arranged with the Viceroy.
9. Golwalkar, RSS chief used safety valve theory in attacking Congress for its secularism and therefore, anti-nationalism:
10. Despite the widespread popular belief, this myth has little basis in historical fact.
11. It is observed that Lord Dufferin had directed Hume to start a body to discuss politics so that the Government could keep itself informed of the Indian opinion.

#### **FOUNDATION OF THE INC: THE REALITY.**

1. The foundation of INC was not a sudden event. It was the culmination of a process of political awakening that had its beginnings in the 1860s and took a major leap forward in the late 1870s and 1880s.
2. all-India body that was being formed was to be platform, headquarters and symbol of new national spirit and politics.
3. new political thrust between 1875 and 1885 was the creation of radical nationalist intellectuals.
4. In pursuance of this many new associations were being formed.
5. Indian Association , Madras Mahajan Sabha Bombay Presidency Association (1885).
6. A sign of new political life was seen with major nationalist newspapers coming up
7. Other issues such as no reduction of import duties on textile imports; Demand for the Indianization of Government services; Opposition to the Afghan adventure of Lord Lytton; Opposition to the efforts made to disarm Indians through the Arms Act; and agitation in 1883 in favor of the Ilbert Bill which would enable Indian magistrates to try Europeans.
8. a massive effort to raise a National Fund which would be used to promote political agitation; and The demand to join the volunteer Corps which was restricted to the Europeans etc were made.

#### **Basic objectives:**

1. Colonialists asserted that Indians could not be united as they were not a 'nation' but a mere geographical expression
2. Thus the first objective was to weld Indians into a nation.

3. W.C.Banerji pointed, fuller development and consolidation of those sentiments of national unity was a major objective.
4. Thus, in an effort to reach all regions, it was decided to rotate the Congress session among different parts of the country and the President had to belong to a region other than where the session was being held.
5. The second objective was to create a common political platform around which political workers in different parts of the country could gather and conduct their political activities, educating and mobilizing people on an all-India basis.
6. They had to take up grievances which Indians had 'in common' in relation 'to the rulers'. This was the primary reason why the INC did not take up any questions of social reform.
7. The idea was to go beyond the redressal of immediate grievances and organize sustained political activity.
8. There was need for the internalization and indigenization of political democracy
9. It was necessary to evolve an understanding of colonialism as no ready anti-colonial understanding was available. This was required as there could be no national struggle without an ideological struggle clarifying the concept of we as a nation against colonialism as an enemy.
10. The Congress was always conceived as a movement and not as a party.

#### **why did Hume had to be the chief organizer of the INC?**

The conditions of the time were such. Considering the size of the sub-continent, there were very few political persons at that time. persons like Naoroji, Ranade, and Surendranath Banerjea joined hands with Hume as they did not want to arouse official hostility at such early stage of work. The rulers would be less suspicious if the chief organizer was a retired British civil servant. Thus, as Gokhale expressly stated, no Indian could have started the INC. If an Indian had come forward, the officials would not have allowed the movement to come into existence.

#### **SOCIO-RELIGIOUS REFORMS AND THE NATIONAL AWAKENING.**

1. The distinctions of castes introducing innumerable divisions and sub-divisions among them had entirely deprived people of the patriotic feeling, and the multitude of religious rites and ceremonies had totally disqualified them from undertaking difficult enterprise
2. The social base of this quest for change or renaissance as was called was the newly emerging middle class and the western educated intellectuals.
3. It must be noted that the socio-cultural regeneration of 19th century India was occasioned by the colonial presence; and it was not created by it.
4. Beginning with Raja Ram Mohan Roy in Bengal with the formation of Brahma Samaj 1828, the reform movements spread all over India.
5. Hinduism had become a compound of magic, animism and superstition.
6. Priests exercised an overwhelming and unhealthy influence on people. Their monopoly over scriptural

7. Social conditions were equally depressing. The position of women was very distressing.
8. The reform movements sought to create a social climate for modernization.
9. Two important intellectual criteria which informed the reform movements were rationalism and religious universalism.
10. Akshay Kumar apart from adopting a rational approach to tradition also wanted to evaluate the contemporary socio-religious practices from the standpoint of social utility. He sought to replace faith with rationality. For instance medical opinion was cited as a reason against child marriage.
11. For Gopal Hari Deshmukh, 'Lokahitavadi', whether social reforms had the sanction of religion was immaterial. If religion did not sanction these, he advocated that religion itself should be changed as it was made by man
12. Different religions were seen as national embodiments of universal theism. Like Syed Ahmed Khan said, all prophets had the same din (faith) and every country and nation only had different prophets.
13. The reformists at this instance witnessed a cultural-ideological struggle. There was a conflict between the backward elements of traditional culture on the one hand, and the fast hegemonising colonial culture and ideology on the other.
14. It sought to remove idolatry, polytheism and priestly monopoly of religious knowledge and to simplify religious rituals.
15. With translation of scriptures and right granted to interpret texts, there was breach of misinterpreted religious dogmas.
16. The 'chatur varna' system was attacked. Many lower caste movements came up with virulent oppositions. Jyothiba Phule and Shri Narayana Guru were two unrelenting critics of caste system.
17. Narayana Guru gave the call- 'one religion, one caste and one God for mankind'. And his disciple Sahadaran Ayyapan subsequently came up with the idea of 'no religion, no caste and no God for mankind'.
18. There was also a campaign for improvement of the condition and status of women
19. It must be noted that these reform movements did not totally reject tradition. But the reformers were aiming at modernization and not westernization.
20. One of the protests was against the Lex Loci Act which provided the right to inherit ancestral property to Hindu converts to Christianity.

### **AN ECONOMIC CRITIQUE OF COLONIALISM.**

1. The moderates being the early leaders of the INM were the first to develop an economic critique of colonialism.
2. This in fact is the most important contribution to the development of the national movement in India.

3. In the first half of the 19th century, there was a positive attitude towards Britain. There was a hope that Britain, the emerging industrial giant of the world would help modernize India through the introduction of modern sciences and
4. However, the process of disillusionment set in gradually as the reality of social development in India failed to conform to their hopes. It was seen that the overall country was regressing and under-developing.
5. Of those who did an economic analysis of the British rule, Dadabhai Naoroji (Grand Old Man of India), Justice M.G. Ranade and Romesh Chandra Dutt (published Economic History of India) stand out.
6. They raised basic questions regarding the nature and purpose of the British rule and eventually concluded that colonialism was the greatest obstacle to India's economic development.
7. The essence of colonialism lay in the fact that India was transformed into a supplier of food stuffs and raw materials to the metropolis, a market for the metropolitan manufacturers, and a field for the investment of British capital.
8. The nationalist economic agitation started with the assertion that poverty was not seen an inherent and unavoidable.
9. But the nationalists were very clear on one point that, however great the need for industrialization was, it had to be based on Indian capital and not foreign capital.
10. Foreign capital led to the drain of capital from India and further strengthened the British hold over the Indian economy.
11. A major problem area was the progressive decline and ruin of India's traditional handicrafts. This was seen as the deliberate policy of stamping out Indian industries in the interests of British manufacturers.
12. Similarly, it was seen that railways was not coordinated with India's industrial needs. the benefit of railway construction in terms of forward and backward linkages was reaped by Britain and not India.
13. The policy of free trade was another major obstacle to rapid industrial development. It led to ruin of India's handicraft industries on the one hand and also made the infant and underdeveloped modern industries to compete
14. high taxation was also heavily criticized. It overburdened the poor and let the rich go scot-free.
15. On the expenditure side, it was noticed that emphasis was on serving Britain's imperial needs while the developmental and welfare departments in India starved.
16. The drain theory was conceptualized by Dadabhai Naoroji in 1867. It was pointed out a large part of India's wealth was being transferred or 'drained' to Britain in the form of salaries and pensions to British officials working in India, interest on loans taken by Indian government, profits of British capitalists in India, and the expenses of Indian government in Britain. 'No drain' was the slogan which came up.

17. This agitation on economic issues contributed to the undermining of the ideological hegemony of the alien rulers over Indian minds. agitation gradually corroded the popular confidence in the benevolent character of British rule.
18. The corrosion of faith in the British rule inevitably spread to the political field. pro-Indian and developmental policies would be followed only by a regime in which Indians had control over political power was the notion.
19. This led to spreading of national consciousness and the period from 1875-1905 was the prime time on INM. Self-Government or swaraj thus was first declared by Dadabhai in the 1906 congress session at Calcutta.

### **THE FIGHT TO SECURE PRESS FREEDOM**

1. Politically conscious Indians were attracted to modern civil rights especially the Freedom of Press.
2. The Press was the chief instrument of carrying out this task- for arousing, training, mobilizing and consolidating nationalist public opinion.
3. Powerful newspapers emerged during this period: The Hindu and Swadesamitran (G. Subramanya Iyer); Kesari and Mahratta (Tilak); Bengalee (Surendranath Banerjea); Amrita Bazar Patrika (Sisir Kumar Ghosh and Motilal Ghosh); Sudhakar (G.K. Gokhale); Indian Mirror (N.N. Sen); Voice of India (Dadabhai Naoroji) etc.
4. The influence of the Press extended far beyond its literate subscribers, into remote villages.
5. Gradually the 'library movement' sprung up. A local library around a single newspaper was constituted with a table, a bench or two as the capital equipment. The newspaper became a political educator and reading and discussing it became a form of political participation.
6. played the institutional role of opposition to the Government.
7. However, to inculcate nationalism through the Press was no easy task, for there was Section 124A of the IPC.
8. The Indian journalists thus evolved a distinct style of writing to remain outside the reach of law.
9. Invariable every critical writing was combined with sentiments of loyalty to the Government and the Queen.
10. Indian newspapers reached a point during Lytton's administration which was highly inhuman in its approach.
11. In retaliation, the Vernacular Press Act, 1878 was passed directing against Indian language newspapers. It provided for confiscating the printing press, paper and other materials of a newspaper if it published seditious material against the Government. Surendranath Banerjea was the first Indian to go to jail as a journalist.
12. Tilak, the outstanding militant nationalist is popularly associated to the Freedom of Press. He founded Kesari (Marathi) and Mahratta (English). In 1893, he started the practice of traditional Ganapati festival to propagate nationalist ideas through patriotic songs and speeches and in 1896 he started the Shivaji festival to stimulate nationalism in Maharashtra.

13. charged him under Section 124A of the IPC. The title of 'Lokamanya' was given to him.
14. Later, condemned the use of violence but then said, in such an atmosphere 'violence, however deplorable, was inevitable'. He was again arrested and charged for sedition

### **PROPAGANDA IN THE LEGISLATURES**

1. Legislative Councils in India had no real power till 1920.
2. The Indian Councils Act of 1861 enlarged the Governor General's (GG) Executive Council for the purpose of making laws. The GG could now add 6-12 members to his Council. At least, half of these nominations were to be non-officials, Indian or British.
3. However, it possessed no powers at all as Indian members were very few in number.
4. Moreover, only a handful of independent intellectuals were nominated to the Council.
5. Also, the voting record of the Indian nominees was very poor. For instance, When the Vernacular Press Bill came up before the Council, the Indian member Maharaja Jitendra Mohan Tagore voted in favor of it.
6. Hence the nominees were unrepresentative of the Indian opinion.
7. Government made some changes to the Act in 1892 and increased its size to 16 members, few of whom could be elected indirectly through municipal committees, district boards etc
8. They could neither vote on any issue nor make a move to amend it
9. However, the leaders soon transformed the powerless Councils into forums for ventilating popular grievances, exposing the defects of the bureaucracy, opposing every government policy and raising basic economic issues.
10. Prominent national leaders were part of the Councils such as: Surendranath Banerjea, W.C. Banerjee, Tilak, Gokhale
11. Mehta's first major intervention in the Imperial Legislative Council came in 1885 on a Bill for the amendment of the Police Act of 1861 which enhanced the power of the local authorities to hold a punitive police force in an area and recover its cost from selected sections of the inhabitants of the area.
12. Mehta defended the right of the peasant and took an unprecedented step of organizing the first walk out in India's legislative history.
13. Gokhale gained great fame for his budget speeches and his first budget speech in 1902 established him as the greatest parliamentarian that India has ever produced. The keynote of his budget speech was poverty of the people, the drain of wealth from India, the Government neglect of industrial development, taxation of the poor, lack of welfare measures, official measures to curb civil rights, enslavement of Indian laborers in British colonies

### **THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT: 1903-1908.**

1. With Swadeshi Movement, INM took a major leap forward. There was a jump from conservative moderation to political extremism, from petitioning and public speeches to passive resistance and boycott all had their origins in the movement.
2. period also saw a breakthrough in Indian art, literature, music, science and industry.

3. Movement had its genesis in the anti-partition movement which was started to oppose the British decision to partition Bengal. Bengal with a population of 78 million had become administratively unwieldy.
4. real motive for partitioning Bengal was political. Indian nationalism was gaining in strength and partition expected to weaken what was perceived as the nerve centre of nationalism at that time.
5. Bengal united, is power, Bengal divided, will pull several different ways was the notion held.
6. Partition intended to curb the influence by not only placing Bengalis under two different administrations but by reducing them to a minority in Bengal itself as in the new proposal Bengal proper was to have 17 million Bengali and 37 million Oriya and Hindi speaking population.
7. The partition also fostered another kind of division- on the basis of religion. It led to the propping of Muslim communalists as a counter to the Congress and the national movement.
8. Dacca could become new capital of the new Muslim majority province with 18 million Muslims and 12 million Hindus.
9. By December 1903, the partition proposals became publicly known and till 1905 moderate techniques of petitions, public meetings and memoranda held full way. The Government remained unmoved
10. The pledge to boycott foreign goods was first taken at this instance. Boycott Resolution was passed.
11. The day partition came into effect- 16th October 1905 was declared as a day of mourning throughout Bengal.
12. People took out processions, Bande Mataram which became the theme song of the movement was sung in the streets and people tied rachis on each other's hands as a symbol of unity of the two halves of Bengal.
13. The message soon spread throughout the country- Tilak took it to Poona and Bombay; Lala Lajpat Rai to Punjab and other parts of Northern India; and Chidambaram Pillai in Madras Presidency.
14. The INC in the Benaras session of 1905 supported the Swadeshi and Boycott movement of Bengal.
15. However, the militant nationalists led by Lal, Bal, Pal and Aurobindo Ghosh wanted to extend it to carry it beyond just Swadeshi and Boycott to a full fledged political mass struggle.
16. In 1906 INC session at Calcutta Dadabhai Naoroji declared that the goal of INC was Swaraj or self-government.
17. The differences between the moderates and extremists regarding the pace of the movement and the techniques of struggle to be adopted, reached the zenith in the 1907 Surat session where the party split.

18. extremists took a strong hold after 1905 with several new techniques of struggle. Political independence was to be achieved by extending the boycott into a full scale movement of non-cooperation and passive resistance.
19. include apart from boycott of foreign goods, boycott of government schools and colleges, courts, titles and government services and even the organization of strikes.
20. The Corps of Volunteers or samitis were a form of mass mobilization widely used by the Swadeshi movement. The Swadesh Bandhab Samiti set up by Ashwini Kumar Dutt was a well known volunteer organization.
21. The samitis basically carried the message of Swadeshi to villages through magic lantern lectures and Swadeshi songs, gave physical and moral training to its members, did social work during famines, organized schools, and provided training in Swadeshi crafts.
22. Swadeshi period also saw the creative use of traditional popular festivals and melas as a means of reaching out to the masses. Ganapati and Shivaji festivals popularized by Tilak became a medium for Swadeshi propaganda.
23. Traditional folk theatre forms such as jatras were used extensively in disseminating the Swadeshi message.
24. Great emphasis was laid on self-reliance or 'Atmashakti'. Self-reliance in various fields
25. There were campaigns against social evils such as dowry, alcohol consumption, early marriage etc.
26. Many national schools were established and the National Council of Education was set up in 1906. The chief medium of instruction was to be vernacular to enable the widest possible reach.
27. indigenous enterprises- such as textile mills, soap and match factories, tanneries, banks, insurance companies, shops
28. The impact on the cultural sphere was the most- songs were composed by Tagore, Rajni Kanta Sen, Mukunda Das etc. Tagore's Amar Sona Bangla written at this time
29. drew large sections of the society into active participation. The social base of the movement was now extended to include a certain zamindari section, the lower middle class in the cities and small towns and school and college students.
30. It brought women out of their homes.
31. However it did not mobilize much of the peasantry. The reason being, during the phase the peasantry was not organized around any sort of demands and the peasants did not actively participate in any form of struggle.
32. it could not garner the support of the Muslims, especially the peasantry. All India Muslim League was set up with the active guidance and support of the Government.
33. Given this, certain techniques used during the movements such as use of festivals and institutions for mobilizing the masses was misinterpreted by the communalist backed by the State.



34. By 1908, the entire movement faded away because: Firstly, the Government came down with a heavy hand, controls and bans on public meetings, processions and the press and student participants were expelled from colleges.
35. internal squabbles especially the Surat Split in the INC weakened the movement.
36. the rest of the country was not yet ready for the new style and stage of politics.
37. All the major leaders were arrested by 1908 and Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghosh retired from active politics
38. The movement lacked effective organization and party structure and it could not itself sustain endlessly with the pitch of militancy and self-sacrifice. The end of the movement however, led to the rise of revolutionary terrorism.

### **THE SPLIT IN THE CONGRESS AND THE RISE OF REVOLUTIONARY TERRORISM.**

1. By 1907, the moderates had exhausted their historical role.
2. their failures: They did not work with the common people, did not organize any all-India campaigns and with the ideology of using persuasion as a tool they did not achieve anything practically. did not keep in pace with the events.
3. The British were not very hostile to the Congress in the beginning because they felt their activities were mainly academic. when focus of Congress graduated to Indian nationalism, the officials were openly critical of its existence.
4. felt that Congress could be easily finished as it was weak and without popular base. It was to face a peaceful demise.
5. strategy to be adopted was that of 'carrot and stick' which was a three pronged one- "repression-conciliation-suppression". Extremists would be repressed- the Congress would then be given concessions and promises and finally be disassociated from Extremists, thereby isolating them- and finally once Moderates fell in trap, they could be ignored.
6. By the end of 1907 extremists were convinced that the battle for freedom had begun as the people had been provoked. They felt that it was time for the big push and in their view the moderates were a big drag on the movement.
7. The moderates were afraid that the Congress that was built over 20 years would be shattered because of their activities.
8. Both sides were wrong. Neither saw that in a vast country like India ruled by a powerful imperialist nation, only a broad based movement had any chance of success. The Congress finally split on 26th December 1907 at Surat
9. Government launched an immediate attack on the Extremists. Tilak was jailed for six years and Aurobindo Ghose escaped to Pondicherry and took up religion. The extremists newspapers were suppressed.

10. Consequently, the extremists were not able to organize an effective alternative party or to sustain the movement. The moderates lost the respect and support of the political Indians for themselves.

### **Minto Morley Reforms:**

1. In the meantime, the Indian Councils Act of 1909 or the Minto Morley reforms were introduced.
2. number of elected members in the Legislative councils was increased.
3. Members were allowed to introduce resolutions and increased their power to ask questions.
4. But the councils still lacked any real power and remained merely advisory bodies.
5. They also did not introduce an element of democracy or self-government. real purpose was to divide nationalist ranks and to check growing unity among Indians by encouraging Muslim communalism.
6. To achieve this, the Act introduced separate electorates to encourage the notion that the political, economic and cultural interests of the Hindus and Muslims were separate and not common.

### **Revolutionary Terrorism:**

1. 1907 also brought the youth of Bengal to the path of individual heroism and revolutionary extremism
2. were incensed at the 'mendicancy' of the moderates and also took to 'politics of the bomb' because of the extremists' failure to give a positive lead to the people.
3. They failed to find forms through which their ideas could find practical expression.
4. they were willing to make greater sacrifices and undergo greater suffering, but they did not know how to go beyond more vigorous agitation. They were unable to put before people new forms of political struggle or mass movements.
5. As a result, they came to a political dead end by the end of 1907.
6. However, in the short time of their presence, the belief they held was 'force must be stopped by force'. As a result, the form of resistance that they put up was that of the Irish nationalists and Russian nihilists.
7. They decided to organize the assassination of the unpopular British officials, strike a terror into the hearts of the rulers, arouse patriotism in the people, inspire them and remove the fear of authority from their minds
8. extremists failed in sense that they did not provide positive outlet for their revolutionary energies and to educate them on the political difference between revolution based on activity of masses and a revolution based on individual action
9. Abhinav Bharat was organized by V.D. Savarkar as a secret society of revolutionaries.
10. Many newspapers openly began to advocate revolutionary terrorism.
11. Prafulla Chaki and Khudiram Bose threw a bomb at a carriage thinking it was occupied by Kingsford

12. Anushilan Samiti & Jugantar were other societies that came up. Their activities basically took 2 forms- assassination of oppressive officials and informers and traitors from their own ranks' and committing dacoity to raise funds, buy bombs
13. Ultimately, between the years 1908-1918, 186 revolutionaries were killed or convicted. They gradually petered out However, they did make a valuable contribution as, 'they gave us back the pride of our manhood'.

### **WORLD WAR I AND INDIAN NATIONALISM: THE GHADAR**

1. The outbreak of World War I was good news for the INM as 'Britain's difficulty was India's opportunity'.
2. This opportunity was seized in different ways- by the Ghadar revolutionaries and by the Home Rule Leagues.

### **Rise of Ghadar Revolutionaries:**

1. The West coast of North America had since 1904 become home to steadily increasing number of Punjabi immigrants.
2. Pushed out of homes due to economic hardship and lured by the prospect of building a new life,
3. Canada and USA which were the more popular spots did not however welcome them with open hands.
4. restrictions were urged by the Secretary of State for India as he believed that the terms of close familiarity of Indians with Whites in America was not good for British prestige.
5. He was also worried that the immigrants would get contaminated by socialist ideas and the racial discrimination that they were bound to be subjected would become the source of nationalist agitation in India.
6. As was expected, the discriminatory policies of the host countries soon resulted in a flurry of political activity among the Indian nationalists abroad.
7. Sitting far away from India Tarak Nath Das in Vancouver started the Free Hindustan; G.D. Kumar set up a Swadesh Sevak Home in Vancouver on the lines of India House in London where political education was carried out
8. result was the creation of a national consciousness and a feeling of solidarity among immigrant Indians. However their discontent blossomed into a revolutionary movement.
9. Bhagwan Singh, a Sikh priest who openly preached the violent overthrow of the British rule.
10. Lala Har Dayal, a political exile from India showed himself willing to play an active political role.
11. Soon the Hindi Association was set up in Portland in 1913.
12. weekly paper called The Ghadar, for free circulation, and to set up a headquarters called Yugantar Ashram in San Francisco. The Ghadar movement had thus begun
13. The publication which was meant for wide distribution enumerated the harmful effects of the British rule- drain of wealth, low per capita income of the Indians, high land tax, low

expenditure on health, destruction of Indian arts and industries etc. The most powerful impact was made by the poems which appeared in The Ghadar which was soon collected and published as Ghadar Ki Goonj.

14. The year 1914 influenced the course of Ghadar movement through three events:
15. **The arrest and escape of Har Dayal:** When he was released on bail, he used the opportunity to slip out the country. With this, his active association with the Ghadar movement came to an abrupt end.
16. **Komagata Maru Incident:** in November 1913, the SC allowed entry of 35 Indians who had not made a continuous journey. Being encouraged by this, 376 Indian passengers decided to make their voyage to Canada on the ship Komagata Maru. In the meanwhile Canada alerted people of 'Oriental Invasion' When the ship arrived in Vancouver, it was not allowed inside the port.
17. Before it reached Yokohama, World War I broke out and the British government passed an order that no passenger be allowed to disembark anywhere on the way, even at places where they joined the ship, but only at Calcutta.
18. when the ship finally reached Budge Budge near Calcutta the irate passengers resisted the police which led to a clash and 18 passengers were killed and 202 arrested.
19. **Outbreak of the First World War:** The Ghadar revolutionaries wanted to seize the opportunity of the outbreak of World War I. The lack of arms was to be overcome by going to India and winning over the Indian soldiers to their cause. The Ailan-e-Jung or War of the Ghadar party was issued. Leaders were sent to Japan, Philippines, China, Hong Kong, Singapore and Burma to persuade Indians.
20. **The Outcome:** The Government was fully aware of the plan and waited for the returning emigrants. On arrival all the dangerous ones were arrested
21. Moreover, the civil population of Punjab did not show response that was expected by the Ghadarites. Frustrated with the civil population they turned their attention to the army. But the lack of organized leadership failed these efforts as well.
22. They then wanted a leader desperately and Rash Bihari Bose, the Bengali revolutionary who had made an attack on Lord Hardinge arrived in Punjab and assumed leadership.
23. Sort of an organization was established and information was sent to army units of the date of a mutiny. However the CID succeeded in getting all the information and promptly arrested all those involved.
24. **Evaluation of the Ghadar:** deepening the national consciousness, testing new strategies and methods of struggle, creating the tradition of resistance, ideas of democracy and egalitarianism.
25. The success of Ghadar was greatest in the realm of ideology.
26. Through its papers it carried the nationalist critique of colonialism in a simple and powerful form.
27. The huge propaganda motivated an entire generation.
28. The Ghadarites also created the secular consciousness among the Punjabis.

29. They also had non-chauvinist international outlook. Most of articles had reference to Irish and Russian revolutionaries.
30. **The major weakness** was that they completely under-estimated the extent and amount of preparation at every level- organizational, ideological, financial etc.- which was necessary before any armed revolt.
31. They under-estimated the strength of the British in India, both their armed and organizational might.
32. They failed to generate an effective and sustained leadership that could integrate all aspects of the movement.
33. Lack of organizational structure was another major weakness.

### **THE HOME RULE MOVEMENT AND ITS FALLOUT**

1. led by Tilak and Annie Besant.
2. Tilak was released from prison in 1914 and he was seeking readmission for himself and other extremists in the INC as he realized that it was necessary for the success of any political action.
3. Annie Besant who was a proponent of free thought, radicalism and theosophy came to India in 1893
4. she decided to enlarge the sphere of her activities to include the building of a movement for Home Rule on the lines of the Irish Home Rule League.
5. Congress session in 1914 decided to continue keeping the extremists out. Hence Tilak and Besant decided to revive the political activity on their own.
6. In 1915, Besant launched a campaign through her two papers New India and Commonwealth, organized public meetings and conferences to demand self-government for India. Tilak also began his political activities.
7. However in order not to irate the moderates, it was a very passive phase. He and his followers organized themselves to enlighten villages about the work of the Congress.
8. Tilak and Besant's efforts were met with success in the December 1915 session of the Congress when extremists were allowed to rejoin the Congress.
9. Tilak set up the Home Rule League at the Bombay Provincial Conference held in Bengal in April 1916. His league was to work in Maharashtra (excluding Bombay), Karnataka, the Central Provinces and Berar.
10. Besant formed her own Home Rule League in September 1916 along with George Arundale. Her league was given charge over rest of India.
11. He also linked the issue of swaraj with the demand for formation of linguistic states and education in the vernacular. Tilak was non-casteist and secular in his appeal.
12. Members were advised to promote political discussions, establish libraries containing material on national politics, organize classes for students on politics, circulate pamphlets, collect funds, arrange political movements etc.

13. By then, many moderates who were dissatisfied with the inactivity of the Congress joined the Home Rule agitation.

#### **The Lucknow Pact:**

1. Tilak and his men were welcomed back into the Congress by the moderate President, Ambika Charan Mazumdar in the Lucknow session of the Congress in December 1916
2. Lucknow session was significant for the famous Congress League Pact, popularly known as the Lucknow Pact. The agreement was made between the League and the Congress.
3. Separate electorates for the Muslims was accepted via this agreement even though it was the most controversial decision. It was however motivated with a sincere desire to remove minority fears about the majority domination.
4. They also demanded a further dose of constitutional reforms as a step towards selfgovernment.

#### **Government's response:**

1. The increasing popularity of the Home Rule Movement soon attracted the wrath of the Government.
2. Government of Madras arrested Mrs. Besant and her associates, Mr. Wadia and Arundale in June 1917.
3. Tilak decided to follow passive resistance or civil disobedience if government did not release them.
4. The new Secretary of State, Montague made the historic MONTAGUE DECLARATION in 1917 – The policy of the Government is to increase association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of selfgoverning institutions, with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British empire. The importance of this declaration lies in the fact that after this, the demand for Home Rule or self-government could no longer be treated as seditious.

#### **Gradual dissolution of Home Rule League:**

1. The moderates who had joined the movement got pacified with the promises made and with Besant's release.
2. As the talk of civil disobedience came up, they pulled out.
3. Besant indulged in a lot of vacillation when the point of civil disobedience came up.
4. Tilak had to leave to London on some libel case and was unavailable during the most critical months
5. Movement created a generation of ardent nationalists who formed the backbone of the INM in the coming years.

### **GANDHIJI'S EARLY CAREER AND ACTIVISM**

#### **Experience in South Africa:**

1. landed in Durban in 1893 on a one year contract to sort out certain legal issues of a merchant
2. series of racial humiliations including famous incident where he was bundled out of first class compartment
3. at Pretoria, he first convened a meeting of all the Indians there and offered to teach English to anybody who wanted
4. he raised the issue of the bill to disenfranchise Indians which was in the process of being passed.
5. 1894-1906 may be described as the moderate phase of struggle for Indians in South Africa headed by Gandhi. He sent petitions and memorials to South African legislatures
6. he set up the Natal Indian Congress and started a paper called as the Indian Opinion.
7. The second phase of struggle began in 1906 and was characterized by passive resistance or civil disobedience which he termed as Satyagraha. It was first used when the Government enacted legislation making it compulsory for Indians to have certificates of registration with their finger prints on them and which they had to carry on them at all times.
8. The Government then came up with a legislation which restricted Indian immigration.
9. The funds for supporting the families of the Satyagrahis was soon running out and at this point, Gandhi set up the Tolstoy Farm to house the families of the Satyagrahis.
10. A SC judgment invalidated all marriages that was not conducted according to Christian rites and registered by the Registrar of Marriages. This implied, Hindu, Muslim and Parsee marriages were illegal
11. Eventually, an agreement was reached by which the government of South Africa conceded the major Indian demands relating to the poll tax, registration certificates and marriages solemnized according to Indian rites.
12. Thus, non-violent civil disobedience had succeeded in forcing the opponents to the negotiating table

**Lessons learnt:**

1. prepared Gandhi for leadership of the Indian national struggle.
2. South Africa built his faith in the capacity of the Indian masses to participate in
3. had the opportunity of leading Indians belonging to different- religions, regions and social classes.
4. He learnt that leading a movement involved facing the ire of not only his enemy but also of one's followers.
5. opportunity of evolving his own style of politics and leadership and for trying out new techniques of struggle.
6. Gandhian phase and knew the strengths and weaknesses of it and was convinced that it was the best method around.

**Gandhiji and India:**

1. arrived in India in January 1915. He spent the first two years traveling around the country
2. was convinced that the only method of political struggle that could be effective in India was non-violent Satyagraha.
3. In the meantime, during 1917 and 1918, he was involved in three significant struggles: in Champaran in Bihar, Kheda and Ahmedabad in Gujarat. They were all related to specific local issues and were fought for the economic demands
4. These three struggles in fact demonstrated Gandhiji's style of politics to the country at large.
5. It also helped him understand the problems of the people at close quarters.
6. He also earned the respect and commitment of many political workers.

**Champaran:**

1. European planters had involved cultivators in agreements that forced them to cultivate indigo on 3/20th of their holdings. This was known as the tinkathia system.
2. Towards the end of the 19th century German synthetic dyes made entry and indigo was forced out of the market.
3. Raj Kumar Shukla, a local resident invited Gandhiji to investigate the problem.
4. Passive resistance or civil disobedience was offered to the unjust order.
5. Government also appointed a Commission of Enquiry to go into the issue with Gandhiji as one of its members.
6. With evidence collected from 8,000 peasants, he convinced Commission that tinkathia system had to be abolished.

**Ahmedabad:**

1. There was a dispute going on between the mill owners and the workers over a certain plague bonus
2. workers insisted that it stayed as the cost of living had gone up since the World War.
3. Gandhiji persuaded the mill owners and workers to agree to arbitration by a tribunal but the mill owners withdrew from the agreement later on.
4. After a thorough study he found out that the workers were justified in asking for the 35% rise in the wages.
5. The strike began and he persuaded the workers not to use violence.
6. It had the effect of having the mill owners submit the whole issue to a tribunal. The strike was withdrawn and the tribunal ordered the 35% rise which was demanded.

**Kheda:**

1. The peasants of Kheda district were in extreme distress due to a failure of crops and their appeals for the remission of land revenue were being ignored by the Government.



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2. Under the Revenue Code, if the crops were less than 1/4th of the normal yield, they were entitled to a total remission of the land revenue.
3. Appeals and petitions failed and decision was taken to fight unto death
4. Gandhiji was joined by Vallabhai Patel, a young lawyer in touring the villages.
5. The cultivators were asked to take a solemn pledge that they would not pay the revenue
6. protest resulted in the Government issuing secret instructions directing that revenue was to be paid only by those peasants who could pay.

### **Gandhiji's first attempt at leading a nation-wide struggle: Rowlatt Bills.**

1. Gandhi called for nation-wide protest in 1919 against unpopular legislation that British were threatening to introduce.
2. 2 bills, known as Rowlatt Bills aimed at severely curtailing civil liberties of Indians in name of curbing terrorist violence.
3. insult to the Indians who expected substantial constitutional concessions as it came at the end of the war.
4. Gandhiji stepped in and suggested a Satyagraha. A Satyagraha Sabha was formed
5. decided to observe a nation-wide hartal (strike) accompanied by fasting and prayer.
6. Civil disobedience was offered against specific laws.

### **Jallianwalabagh tragedy:**

1. The arrest of two leaders on 10th April in Amritsar led to protest by the locals.
2. city was handed over to General Dyer who issued an order prohibiting public meetings and assemblies.
3. On 13th April, large crowd of people gathered at the Jallianwalabagh to attend a public meeting.
4. General Dyer ordered his troops to open fire upon the unarmed crowd.
5. 379 people were reported dead. Punjab was placed under martial law.
6. Gandhiji overwhelmed by the whole atmosphere withdrew the movement on 18th April.

### **THE NON- COOPERATION MOVEMENT (1920- 22)**

1. British were opposed through two mass movements- The Khilafat and Non- Cooperation.
2. Though the two movements emerged from separate issues, they adopted a common programme of action- That of Non- violent non- cooperation.
3. The reasons for launching the two movements were very much similar- the series of events after the First World War:
4. The economic situation of the country in the post- War years had become alarming with the rise in prices of commodities, decrease in production of Indian Industries, increase in burden of taxes and rents, The Rowlatt Act, the Jallianwalabagh Bagh massacre and martial law in Punjab

5. The Montague- Chelmsford Reforms, announced towards the end of 1919, with their illconsidered scheme of dyarchy failed to satisfy the demand of the Indians for Selfgovernment.
6. The Indian Muslims were incensed when they discovered that their loyalty had been purchased during the War by assurances of generous treatment of Turkey after the War- a promise British statesman had no intention of fulfilling.
7. The Muslims regarded the Caliph of Turkey as their spiritual head
8. The Hunter Committee appointed by the Government to enquire into the Punjab disturbances was an eye wash.
9. The post- First World War period also saw The Lucknow Pact (1916); The Rowlatt Act agitation brought Hindus and Muslims, and also other section of the society, together;
10. Radical nationalist Muslims like Mohammad Ali, Abdul Kalam Azad, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Hasan Imam had now become more influential than the conservative Aligarh school elements who had dominated the League earlier
11. The Khilafat issue paved the way for the consolidation of the emergence of a radical nationalist trend

### **The Khilafat Issue:**

1. Turkey was dismembered and the Khalifa removed from power.
2. Muslims in India demanded from the British the: That the Khalifa's control over Muslim sacred places should be retained; and the Khalifa should be left with sufficient territories after territorial arrangements.
3. In early 1919, a Khilafat Committee was formed under the leadership of the Ali brothers (Shaukat Ali and Muhammad Ali), Maulana Azad, Ajmal Khan and Hasrat Mohani, to force the British Government to change its attitude to Turkey.
4. At the All India Khilafat Conference held in Delhi in November 1919, a call was made for boycott of British goods.
5. Gandhi, who was the president of the All India Khilafat Committee, saw in the issue a platform from which mass and united non-cooperation could be declared against the Government.
6. Gandhi was able to get the approval of the Congress for his programme of political action and the Congress felt inclined to support a non-cooperation programme
7. different sections of society- Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, peasants, artisans, capitalists, tribals, women, students- could come into the national movement by fighting for their own rights
8. The Congress was aware that the masses were eager to give expression to their discontent, as to swallow these insults appeared dishonourable and cowardly. Muslim League also decided to give full support to the

9. In the towns, the workers and artisans, the lower middle class and the middle class had been hit by high prices, and shortage of food and essential commodities. The rural poor and peasants were in addition victims of widespread drought
10. Non- cooperation Movement by Khilafat August 1, 1920- Tilak had, incidentally, breathed his last on August 1, 1920
11. programme was to include Boycott of government schools and colleges; law courts and dispensation of justice through panchayats instead; Legislative Councils; foreign cloth and use of khadi instead; also practice of hand-spinning; Renunciation of government honours; resignation from government service, and non-payment of taxes.
12. participants were supposed to work for Hindu-Muslim unity, removal of untouchability, all the time non-violent.
13. instead of having the attainment of self-government through constitutional means as its goal, Congress decided to have attainment of Swaraj through peaceful, legitimate means, thus committing itself to extra-constitutional mass struggle;
14. Some important organizational changes were made- a Congress Working Committee (CWC) of 15 members was set up to lead the Congress from now onwards;
15. Provincial Congress Committees on linguistic basis were organized; ward committees was organized;
16. Many groups of revolutionary terrorists, especially those from Bengal, also pledged support
17. some leaders like Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Annie Besant, G.S. Kharpade and B.C. Pal left the Congress as they believed in a constitutional and lawful struggle while some others like Surendranath Banerjea founded the Indian National Liberal Federation and played a minor role in national politics henceforward.

### **Spread of the Movement:**

1. a nation-wide tour during which he addressed hundreds of meetings and met a large number of political workers.
2. thousands of students left schools and colleges and joined more than 800 national schools and colleges that had sprung up all over the country. The National Schools and Colleges were organized under the leadership of Acharya Narendra Dev, CR Das, Lala Lajpat Rai, Zakir Hussain, Subhas Bose
3. The educational boycott was particularly successful in Bengal, Punjab
4. The boycott of law courts by lawyers was not as successful as the educational boycott. Many leading lawyers of the country, like C.R. Das, Motilal Nehru, M.R. Jayakar, Saifuddin Kitchlew, Vallabhbhai Patel gave up lucrative practices.
5. In numbers again Bengal led, followed by Andhra Pradesh, U.P., Karnataka and Punjab.
6. the most successful item of the programme was the boycott of foreign cloth. Picketing of shops selling foreign cloth was also a major form of the boycott.
7. Another feature of the movement which acquired great popularity in many parts of the country, even though it was not part of the original plan, was the picketing of toddy shops.

8. Membership Drive At Vijayawada session in March 1921, Congressmen were directed to concentrate on: collection of funds, enrolment of members, and distribution of charkhas. vigorous membership drive was launched and though the target of one crore members was not achieved, Congress membership reached a figure roughly of 50 lakhs.
9. The Tilak Swaraj Fund was oversubscribed, exceeding the target of rupees one crore.
10. The Congress Volunteer Corps emerged as a powerful parallel police
11. Gandhiji, issued a manifesto that every civilian and member of the armed forces should sever connections with the repressive Government and a the Congress Working Committee passed a similar resolution on the following day and was accepted all over the country.
12. Non- Payment of Taxes: Midnapur district in Bengal, Chirala- Pjrala and Pedanandipadu taluqa in Andhra
13. When the Prince of Wales landed in Bombay, there were strikes all over and hartal was observed all over the country.
14. Local labor strikes: In the Avadh area of UP, the kisan sabhas and a kisan movement took active part In Malabar, In Assam, labourers on tea plantations, steamer services, Assam-Bengal Railway, went on strike.
15. Defiance of forest laws became popular in Andhra.
16. In Punjab, the Akali Movement for wresting control of the gurdwaras from the corrupt mahants

#### **Government Response:**

1. Gandhi- Reading talks, to persuade Gandhiji to ask the Ali brothers to withdraw from their speeches those passages that contained suggestions of violence; this was an attempt to drive a wedge
2. Government came down heavily on the protestors Volunteer Corps were declared illegal, Public meetings were banned, The press was gagged and Most of the leaders barring Gandhi were arrested

#### **The Last Phase of the Movement:**

1. Gandhiji had been under considerable pressure from the Congress rank to start the phase of mass civil disobedience.
2. Gandhiji on February 1, 1922, announced that the mass civil disobedience would begin in Bardoli
3. other parts of the country should cooperate by maintaining total discipline and quiet so that the entire attention of the movement could be concentrated on Bardoli.
4. **Chauri Chaura Incident:** On February 5, 1922, a procession at Chauri Chaura, containing members of Congress and Khilafat, irritated by the behaviour of some policemen, a Section of the procession attacked them-
5. The police opened fire. At this, the entire procession attacked the police, set fire to the building.

6. Gandhiji decided to withdraw the movement.
7. further, provided to get down to constructive work- which was to include popularization of Khadi, National Schools; campaigning for temperance for Hindu- Muslim unity and against untouchability
8. **Response to the withdrawal:** Most of the nationalist leaders including Motilal Nehru, C.R. Das, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Bose, and many others have recorded their utter bewilderment on hearing the news.
9. In March, 1922, Gandhi was arrested and sentenced to six years in jail

### **The Actual Reason:**

1. Gandhi felt that people had not learnt or fully understood the method of nonviolence.
2. Incidents like Chauri-Chaura could lead to excitement and fervour turning the movement generally violent.
3. A violent movement could be easily suppressed by the colonial regime who could use the incidents of violence as an excuse to use the armed might
4. Gandhiji was protecting the movement from likely repression, and the people from demoralization.
5. if only Gandhiji had not withdrawn the movement, it would have surged forward, than to see it crushed and come to the conclusion that it was not possible for a mass movement to succeed in the face of government repression.
6. The movement was also showing signs of fatigue.
7. The Government seemed to be in no mood for negotiations.
8. Students had started drifting back to schools and colleges, lawyers and litigants to law courts, the commercial classes showed signs of weariness and worry at the accumulating stocks of foreign cloth
9. attendance at meetings and rallies had dwindled, both in the urban and rural areas.
10. Chauri Chaura presented an opportunity to retreat with honour, before the internal weaknesses of the movement became apparent enough to force a surrender or make the retreat look like a rout.
11. Also the central theme of the agitation- the Khilafat question- also dissipated soon. In November 1922, the people of Turkey rose under Mustafa Kamal Pasha and deprived the Sultan of political power.

### **The Non-Cooperation Movement had in fact succeeded on many counts:**

1. **Microscopic Minority:** It certainly demonstrated that the Indian National Congress commanded the support and sympathy of vast sections of the Indian people.
2. After Non-cooperation, the charge of representing a 'microscopic minority,' made by the Viceroy, Dufferin, in 1888, could never again be hurled
3. it politicized every strata of population- Indian peasants, workers, artisans, shopkeepers, traders, professionals

4. The myth that the British were invincible was challenged by the Satyagraha through the mass struggle.
5. **Poor Dumb Millions:** The capacity of the 'poor dumb millions' of India to take part in modern nationalist politics was also demonstrated. they dispelled the notion that desire for national freedom was preserve of the educated and rich
6. This was the first time that nationalists from the towns, students from schools and colleges or even the educated and politically aware in the villages had made a serious attempt to bring the ideology and the movement into their midst.
7. **Communal Unity:** The tremendous participation of Muslims in the movement, and the maintenance of communal unity, unfortunate that this most positive feature of the movement was not to be repeated in later years

## PEASANT MOVEMENTS AND NATIONALISM IN THE 1920'S

in the twentieth century, the movements that emerged out of this discontent were marked by a new feature: they were deeply influenced by and in their turn had a marked impact on the ongoing struggle for national freedom

### THE KISAN SABHA Background:

1. After the 1857 revolt, the Awadh taluqdars had got back their lands annexed in 1856. This strengthened the hold of the taluqdars or big landlords over the agrarian society of the province.
2. The majority of the cultivators were subjected to exorbitant rents, illegal levies, renewal fees or nazrana, and arbitrary ejections or bedakhli had made life miserable for the majority of the cultivators.
3. Mainly due to the efforts of the Home Rule League members in UP kisan sabhas were organized in UP.
4. The U.P. Kisan Sabha was set up in February 1918 through the efforts of Gauri Shankar Misra and Indra Narain Dwivedi, and with the support of Madan Mohan Malaviya.
5. In June 1920, Baba Ramchandra met Gauri Shankar Misra and Jawaharlal Nehru at Allahabad and asked them to visit the villages to see for themselves the living conditions of the tenants.
6. In October, 1920, Awadh Kisan Sabha came into existence at Pratapharh because of differences in Nationalist ranks
7. It succeeded in integrating under its banner all the grassroots kisan sabhas that had emerged in the districts of Awadh.
8. The Awadh Kisan Sabha asked the kisans to refuse to till bedakhli land, not to offer han and begar (forms of unpaid labour), to boycott those who did not accept these conditions and to solve their disputes through panchayats.
9. the patterns of activity changed rapidly in January 1921, to looting of bazaars, houses, granaries,

10. The movement declined soon, partly due to government repression which had little difficulty in suppressing these outbreaks of violence. In March, the Seditious Meetings Act was brought in to cover the affected districts and all political activity came to a standstill
11. **Eka Movement:** Towards the end of the year 1921, peasant discontent surfaced again in some northern districts of the United provinces (Awadh) - Hardoi, Bahraich, and Sitapur.
12. initial thrust was provided by Congress and Khilafat leaders and grew under the name of the Eka or Unity movement.
13. The main grievances here related to high rents- 50 per cent higher than the recorded rent, the oppression of thekedars incharge revenue collection and the practice of share-rents.
14. The Eka meetings involved a symbolic religious ritual in which the assembled peasants vowed that they would pay only the recorded rent but pay it on time, would not leave when ejected, would refuse to do forced labour, would give no help to criminals and abide by the panchayat decisions.
15. leadership of the Eka Movement came from Madari Pansi and other lowcaste leaders

### **Mapilla Revolt:**

1. Mappila were the Muslim tenants inhabiting the Malabar region where most of the landlords were Hindus.
2. The Mappilas had expressed their resentment against the oppression of landlords during the nineteenth century also.
3. Their grievances related to lack of any security of tenure, renewal fees, high rents, and other
4. Malabar Conference, held at Manjeri in 1920, for a government legislation regulating tenant-Landlord relations.
5. The Manjeri conference was followed by the formation of a tenants' association
6. Mappila movement merged with the ongoing Khilafat agitation- The leaders of the Khilafat – Non- Cooperation Movement like Gandhiji, Shaukat Ali, and Maulana Azad, addressed Mappila meetings.
7. Khilafat and Congress leaders were arrested. resulted in leadership passing into hands of the local Mappila leaders.
8. However, things took a turn for the worse in August 1921, when the arrest of a respected priest leader, Ali Musaliar, a Khilafat leader, sparked large scale riots
9. once the British declared martial law and repression began in earnest, the character of the rebellion underwent a definite change. Many Hindus were seen by the Mappilas to be helping the authorities
10. What began as an anti- government and anti- landlord affair acquired communal overtones.
11. communalization of rebellion completed isolation of the Mappilas from the Khilafat- Non- Cooperation Movement.
12. British repression did the rest and by December 1921 all resistance had come to a stop.
13. From then onwards, the militant Mappilas were so completely crushed and demoralized that till independence their participation in any form of politics was almost nil



14. peasant movements in UP and Malabar were thus closely linked with the politics at the national level. In UP, the impetus had come from the Home Rule Leagues and, later, from the NonCooperation and Khilafat movement
15. In Malabar, the Khilafat and tenants meetings merged into one.
16. But in both places, the recourse to violence by the peasants created a distance between them and the national movement and led to appeals by the nationalist leaders to the peasants that they should not indulge in violence.
17. can be interpreted as a sign of the fear of the middle class or bourgeois leadership that the movement would go out of its own 'safe' hands into that of supposedly more radical and militant leaders of the people.
18. Such concern could possibly be because of the desire to protect the peasants from the consequences of violent revolt.

### **Bardoli Satyagraha:**

1. The no tax movement that was launched in Bardoli taluq of Surat district in Gujarat in 1928
2. The movement sparked off in January 1926, when the authorities decided to increase the land revenue by 30 percent.
3. Bardoli Inquiry Committee was set up to go into the issue- It found the increase to be unjustified.
4. This was followed by a campaign in the Press, the lead being taken by Young India and Navjivan edited by Gandhiji
5. Patel was ideally suited for leading the campaign. A veteran of the Kheda Satyagraha, the Nagpur Flag Satyagraha, and the Borsad Punitive Tax Satyagraha, he had emerged as a leader of Gujarat who was second only to Gandhiji.
6. His capacities as an organizer, speaker, indefatigable campaigner, inspirer of ordinary men and women were already known, but it was the women of Bardoli who gave him the title of Sardar.
7. Under Patel the peasants resolved to refuse payments of the revised assessment
8. Patel set up 13 chhavanis or workers camps in the taluqa.
9. Bardoli Satyagraha Patrika was brought out to mobilize public opinion.
10. An intelligence wing was set up to make sure all the tenants followed the movement's resolutions.
11. Special emphasis was placed on the mobilization of women. As a result, women often outnumbered men –
12. Students were another special target and they were asked to persuade their families to remain firm.
13. The enquiry, conducted by a judicial officer, Broomfield, and a revenue officer, Maxwell, came to the conclusion that the increase had been unjustified, and reduced the enhancement to 6.03 per cent.

14. during the 1930's, the peasant awakening was influenced by the Great Depression in the Industrialized countries and the Civil Disobedience Movement which took the form of no-rent, no-revenue movement in many areas.
15. Also, after the decline of the active phase movement (1932) many new entrants to active politics started looking for suitable outlets for the release of their energies and took to organization of peasants.

### **THE INDIAN WORKING CLASS AND THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT**

1. The beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century heralded the entry of modern industry into India.
2. The thousands of hands employed in construction of railways were harbingers of the modern Indian working class.
3. The coal industry developed fast and employed a large working force.
4. Then came the cotton and the jute industries.
5. The Indian working class suffered from the same kind of exploitation witnessed during the industrialization of Europe and the rest of the West, such as low wages, long working hours, unhygienic and hazardous working conditions, employment of child labour and the absence of basic amenities.
6. The presence of colonialism in India gave a distinctive touch to the Indian working class movement.
7. The Indian working class had to face two basic antagonistic forces- an imperialist political rule and economic exploitation at the hands of both foreign and native capitalist classes.
8. Under the circumstances, inevitably, the Indian working class movement became intertwined with the political struggle for national emancipation.
9. The early nationalists, especially the Moderates, were indifferent to the labour's cause; differentiated between the labour in the Indian-owned factories and those in the British owned factories.
10. They actively opposed the Factories Act of 1881 and 1891
11. The Nationalists were unwilling to take up the question of labour versus the indigenous employer
12. Further, the early nationalists saw rapid industrialization as the panacea for the problems of Indian poverty and degradation and were unwilling to countenance any measure which would impede this process.
13. Thus, earlier attempts to improve the economic conditions of the workers were in the nature of the philanthropic efforts which were isolated, sporadic
14. In Bengal, Sasipada Banerjee, a Brahmo Social reformer, set up a Workingmen's Club in 1870 and brought out a monthly journal called Bharat Sramjeebi (Indian Labour), with the primary idea of educating the workers.
15. In 1878, Sorabjee Shapoorji Bengalee tried unsuccessfully to introduce a Bill in the Bombay Legislative Council to limit the working hours for labour.

16. In 1880- Bombay, Narayan Meghajee Lokhanday brought out an Anglo-Marathi weekly called Dina Bandhu (Friend of the Poor) in 1880, and started the Bombay Mill and Milihands' Association in 1890.
17. scenario completely altered when the question was of Indian labour employed in British-owned enterprises.
18. Swadeshi upsurge of 1903-8 was a distinct landmark in the history of the labour movement. rise of the 'professional agitator' and the 'power of organization' of labour into industrial strikes as the two distinct features of this period.
19. These strikes were organized in government press, railways and the jute industry.
20. The differential attitude towards workers employed in European enterprises and those in Indian ones, however, persisted throughout this period.
21. The most important feature of the labour movement during the Swadeshi days was the shift from agitations and struggles on purely economic questions to the involvement of the worker with the wider political issues of the day.
22. The Swadeshi period was also to see the faint beginnings of a socialist tinge among some of the radical nationalist leaders who were exposed to the contemporary Marxist and social democratic forces in Europe.
23. With the decline in the Nationalist mass upsurge after 1908, the labour movement also suffered an eclipse.

#### **During The First World War and After:**

1. **The War** and its aftermath brought a rise in **exports**, soaring prices, massive profiteering opportunities for the industrialists but very low wages for the workers. This led to discontent among workers.
2. A need was felt for the organization of the workers in trade unions.
3. International events like the establishment of a socialist republic in the Soviet Union, formation of the COM- intern and setting up of International Labour Organisation (ILO) lent a new dimension to the movement of working class in India.
4. The most important development was the formation of the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) in 1920.
5. Lala Lajpat Rai, was elected as the first president of AITUC and Dewan Chaman Lal as the first general secretary.
6. Lajpat Rai was first to link capitalism with imperialism-" imperialism and militarism are twin children of capitalism".
7. Swarajists leader C.R. Das advocated that the Congress should take up the workers' and peasants' cause and incorporate them in the struggle for swaraj or else they would get isolated from the movement.
8. In the beginning, the AITUC was influenced by social democratic ideas of the British Labour Party.

9. The Gandhian philosophy of **non-violence**, **trusteeship** and **class-collaboration** had great influence on the movement. Gandhi helped organise the Ahmedabad Textile Labour Association (1918)
10. The Trade Union Act, 1926 recognised trade unions as legal associations; laid down conditions for registration and regulation of trade union activities; put some restrictions on their political activities.
11. After 1922, there was again a lull in the working class movement,
12. The next wave of working class activity came towards the end of the 1920s, this time spurred by the emergence of a powerful and clearly defined Left Bloc in the national movement
13. Various Communist groups in different parts of India had by early 1927 organized themselves into Workers' and Peasants' Parties (WPP), under leadership of people like S.A. Dange, Muzaffar Ahmed, P.C. Joshi
14. Communist influence also spread to workers in the railways, jute mills, municipalities, paper mills, etc.,
15. Govt adopted a two- pronged attack on the labour movement. On the one hand, it enacted repressive laws like the Public Safety Act (1929) and Trade Disputes Acts, 1929 and arrested in one swoop virtually the entire radical leadership of the labour movement and launched the famous Meerut Conspiracy Case against them.
16. On the other hand, it attempted to wean away through concessions (for example the appointment of the Royal Commission on Labour in 1929) a substantial section of the labour movement

#### **The TDA, 1929:**

1. made compulsory the appointment of Courts of Inquiry and Consultation Boards for settling industrial disputes;
2. made illegal the strikes in public utility services like posts, railways, water and electricity, unless each individual worker planning to go on strike gave an advance notice of one month to the administration;
3. forbade trade union activity of coercive or purely political nature and even sympathetic strikes.

#### **Meerut Conspiracy Case (1929):**

1. In March 1929, the Government arrested 31 labour leaders Muzaffar Ahmed, S.A. Dange, Joglekar, Philip Spratt, Ben Bradley, Shaukat Usmani and others.
2. weakened the working class movement.
3. Communist-led wing of the movement from about the end of 1928- reversed their policy of aligning themselves with and working within the mainstream of the national movement.

4. This led to isolation of Communists from national movement and greatly reduced their hold over even working class.
5. NM Joshi broke away from the AITUC to set up the All India Trade Union Federation.
6. The Communists had, in the meantime, abandoned their suicidal sectarian policies and since 1934 re-enacted the mainstream of nationalist politics. They also rejoined the AITUC in 1935.
7. next wave of working class activity came with provincial autonomy and formation of popular ministries during 37-39.
8. During the tenure of the Congress Provincial Governments the trade union movement showed a phenomenal rise- One of the principal factors which gave a fillip to the trade union movement in this period was the increased civil liberties under the Congress Governments and the pro-labour attitude of many of the Congress ministries.

#### **During and After the Second World War:**

1. Initially, the workers opposed the War but after 1941 when Russia joined the war on behalf of the Allies, the communists described the war as a “peoples’ war” and supported it.
2. Because of this shift in policy, the Communist Party dissociated themselves from the Quit India Movement.
3. They followed policy of industrial peace with employers so that production, war-effort would not be hampered.

#### **In the period 1945 to 1947:**

1. Workers in large numbers participated in the post-war political upsurge.the issue of the INA trials.
2. Towards the end of 1945, the Bombay and Calcutta dock workers refused to load ships going to Indonesia with supplies for troops meant to suppress the national liberation struggles of South-East Asia.
3. During 1946, the workers went on strike in support of the Naval Ratings.

#### **After Independence:**

1. The working class movement got polarized on the basis of political ideologies.

#### **THE STRUGGLES FOR GURUDWARA REFORM AND TEMPLE ENTRY**

1. struggle to reform Indian society tended to merge with the anti-imperialist struggle.
2. This was in part the result of the fact that as the national movement advanced, the social base of colonialism was narrowed and the colonial authorities began to seek the support of the socially, culturally and economically reactionary sections of Indian society. This aspect of the national movement is well illustrated by the Akali Movement in Punjab and the Temple Entry Movement in Kerala.

#### **The Akali Movement:**

1. Akali Movement developed on a purely religious issue but ended up as a powerful episode of India's freedom struggle.
2. movement arose with objective of freeing Gurdwaras from the control of ignorant and corrupt mahants (priests).
3. The Gurdwaras had been heavily endowed with revenue-free land and money by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Sikh chieftains and other devout Sikhs during the 18th and 19th centuries.
4. During the 18th Century these shrines were managed by Udasi Sikh mahants who in an effort to escape the wrath of Mughal authorities did not wear their hair long- Many people ignorant of this believed that these mahants were Hindus.
5. In time corruption spread among these mahants.
6. The Government extended full support to the mahants as they were used to preach loyalism to the Sikhs and to keep them away from the rising nationalist movement.
7. A massive agitation against the mahants was seen when the priests of the Golden Temple at Amritsar issued a Hukamnama against the Ghadarites and then honouring General Dyer declared him to be a Sikh.
8. the reformers organized groups of volunteers known as jathas to compel the mahants and the Government-appointed managers to hand over control of the Gurdwaras to the local devotees.
9. The Shiromani Gurdwara Prabhandak Committee (SGPC)- a elected committee consisting of 175 member, was given the responsibility to control and manage the Golden Temple, the Akal Takht and other Gurdwaras
10. the Shiromani Akali Dal was established- a Central body, to organize struggle on a more systematic basis

#### **Governments Reaction:**

1. Seeing the emerging integration of the Akali movement with the national movement, the government changed its strategy- it decided to follow a two-pronged policy.
2. To win over or neutralize the Moderates and those concerned purely with religious reforms, it promised and started working for legislation which would satisfy them.
3. It decided to suppress extremist or the anti-imperialist section of the Akalis in the name of maintaining law and order.
4. However, the Akalis, too, changed their policy- they extended the scope of their movement to completely root out Govt. interference in their religious places and began to see their movement as an integral part of national struggle.
5. SGPC passed a resolution in favour of non-cooperation

#### **Keys Affair:**

1. A major victory was won by the Akalis in the 'Keys Affair' in October 1921.

2. The Government made an effort to keep possession of the keys of the Toshakhana of the Golden Temple. The Akalis immediately reacted, and organized massive protest meetings;
3. The Government retaliated by arresting the prominent, militant nationalist leaders of the SGPC like Baba Kharak Singh and Master Tars Singh.
4. But, instead of dying down, the movement began to spread to the remotest rural areas and the army.
5. The Non-Cooperation Movement was at its height in the rest of the country forcing the Government not to confront Sikhs on a religious issue- It released all those arrested in the 'Keys Affair' and surrendered the keys of the Toshakhana to Baba Kharak Singh.
6. Akali Movement made a massive contribution to political development of Punjab. It awakened the Punjab peasantry.
7. The movement encouraged a certain religiosity which would be later utilized by communalism.
8. Once the Gurdwara reform had taken place the Akali Movement got divided into three streams: Moderate pro- Government men- went back to loyalist politics and became a part of the Unionist Party. Nationalist persons who joined the mainstream nationalist movement, becoming a part of the Gandhian. The third stream, which kept the title of Akali, used the prestige of the movement among the rural masses, and became the political organ of Sikh communalism, mixing religion and politics and inculcating the ideology of political separation from Hindus and Muslims.

#### **Temple Entry:**

1. Indian National Congress, in 1917, passed a resolution urging upon the people of removing all disabilities imposed by custom upon the depressed classes.
2. Initially only Tilak and Gandhi gave top priority to the removal of Untouchability
3. It was not until 1923, that the Congress took any active steps towards the eradication of untouchability- they adopted a basic strategy of educating and mobilizing opinion among caste Hindus on the question.

#### **In Kerala:**

1. Satyagraha was used to fight the social disabilities prevalent. A beginning was made in Vaikom
2. an intense campaign to arouse the conscience of savarnas (caste Hindus) and mobilize their active support of many savarna organizations such as Kerala Hindu Sabha.
3. Vaikom Satyagraha created enthusiasm all over the country and volunteers began to arrive from different parts of India.
4. After 1924, the struggle against untouchability and for the social and economic uplift of the depressed classes continued all over India as a part of the Gandhian constructive programme.
5. In 1931 a temple entry Satyagraha at Guruvayur was organized by K Kelappa when the CDM was suspended.

6. march was led by the poet Subramanian Tirumambu, who became famous as the ‘Singing Sword of Kerala.’
7. Kelappan went on a fast unto death before the temple until it was opened to the depressed classes
8. Caste Hindus from Kerala as well as rest of India made appeals to the Zamorin of Calicut, custodian of the temple, to throw open the temples to all Hindus; but without any success.
9. movement had created an impetus for social change throughout the country. It led to a transformation everywhere.
10. In November 1936, the Maharaja of Travancore issued a proclamation throwing open all Government-controlled temples to all Hindus irrespective of caste. Madras followed suit in 1938
11. The main weakness of the temple entry movement and the Gandhian or nationalist approach in fighting caste oppression was that even while arousing the people against untouchability they lacked a strategy for ending the caste system itself

### **THE YEARS OF STAGNATION - SWARAJISTS, NO- CHANGERS AND GANDHI**

1. withdrawal of the Non-Cooperation Movement in February 1922 was followed by the arrest of Gandhiji in March and his conviction and imprisonment for six years for the crime of spreading disaffection against the Government.
2. resulted in the spread of disintegration, disorganization and demoralization in the nationalist ranks.
3. A new line of political activity was advocated by C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru- who chalked out the programme of ‘either mending or ending’ the councils at the Gaya session, 1922
4. They suggested that the nationalists should end the boycott of the legislative councils, enter them, expose them as ‘sham parliaments’ and as ‘a mask which the bureaucracy has put on,’ and obstruct ‘every work of the council.’
5. council work would serve to enthuse the masses and keep up their morale
6. would deter the Government from stuffing the councils with undesirable elements who may be used to provide legitimacy to government measures
7. Another section of the Congress, headed by Patel, Prasad and C. Rajagopalachari were opposed to Council entry.
8. They argued that Parliamentary work would lead to neglect of constructive work, loss of revolutionary zeal, corruption
9. Das and Motilal announced the formation of the Congress- Khilafat Swaraj party better known as the Swaraj Party
10. adherents of the council- entry programme came to be popularly known as ‘pro-changers’ and those still advocating boycott of the councils as ‘no-changers.’
11. However, both the sides wanted to avoid a 1907 type split and also realized the significance of putting up a united front to get a mass movement to force the Government to introduce



reforms, and both sides accepted the necessity of Gandhi's leadership of a United Nationalist Front.

12. Congress suspended all propaganda against council- entry and permitted Congressmen to stand as candidates and exercise their franchise in forthcoming elections. Swarajists accepted the Congress programme with only one difference- that they would join Legislative Councils.

### **The Swarajists Manifesto for Elections:**

1. manifesto took a strong anti- imperialist line.
2. demand of self- government in councils
3. they would adopt a policy of uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction within the councils to make governance through councils impossible Councils would thus be wrecked from within by creating deadlocks

### **Gandhi's Attitude:**

1. initially opposed to the Swarajists proposal of council entry, but gradually moved towards a reconciliation with Swarajists because Gandhiji felt that council entry had already occurred and now to withdraw would be 'disastrous' and would be 'misunderstood' by the Government and the people 'as a rout and weakness.'
2. The courageous and uncompromising manner in which the Swarajists had functioned in the councils convinced Gandhiji that, however politically wrong, they would certainly not become just another limb of Colonial administration.
3. There was a Government crackdown on revolutionary terrorists and the Swarajists towards the end of 1924; this angered Gandhi and he expressed his solidarity with the Swarajists
4. swarajists won forty-two out of 101 elected seats in the Central Legislative Assembly
5. clear majority in the Central Provinces; they were the largest party in Bengal; and they fared quite well in Bombay and U.P., They did not fare well in Madras and Punjab because of strong casteist and communal currents.

### **Swarajists Activity in Councils:**

1. By 1924, the Swarajists position had weakened because of wide- spread communal riots, split among Swarajists themselves on communal and Responsivist, Non- Responsivist lines and death of CR Das in 1925, weakened it further
2. The Responsivists among Swarajists- Lala Lajpat Rai, Madan Mohan Malaviya and NC Kelkar- advocated co- operation with the Government and holding of office wherever possible to protect the so- called Hindu interest
3. To prevent further dissolution and disintegration of the party the main leadership of the party reiterated its faith in mass civil disobedience and decided to withdraw from the legislatures in March 1926.
4. Gandhiji, too, had resumed his critique of council-entry.

5. While another section of Swarajists went into the 1926 elections as a party in disarray, and did not fare well
6. the Swarajists finally walked out as a result of the Lahore Congress resolution on Purna Swaraj and the beginning of the Civil Disobedience Movement (1930-34).

### **Achievements of the Swarajists:**

1. out- voted the Government several times, even on matters relating to budgetary gains In the very first session
2. Motilal Nehru put forward demand for the framing of a new constitution. This demand was passed by 64 votes to 48
3. exposed the hollowness of the Montford scheme-
4. they succeeded in electing Vithalbhai Patel, a leading Swarajist, as the President of the Central Legislative Assembly.
5. They agitated through powerful speeches on Self- government, civil liberties release of political prisoners, and repeal of repressive laws; and Industrialization- development of Indigenous Industries.
6. A noteworthy achievement was the defeat of the Public Safety Bill in 1928 which was aimed at empowering the Government to deport undesirable and subversive foreigners (because the Government was alarmed by the spread of Socialist and Communist ideas and believed that a crucial role was being played by the British and other foreign activists being sent by the Comintern)
7. filled the political vacuum at a time when the national movement was recouping its strength

### **Their Drawbacks:**

1. The Swarajists lacked a policy to coordinate their militancy inside legislatures with the mass struggle outside.
2. They relied totally on newspaper reporting to communicate with the public.
3. An obstructionist strategy had its limitations.
4. They could not carry on with their coalition partners very far because of conflicting ideas
5. They failed to resist the perks and privileges of power and office.
6. They failed to support the peasants' cause in Bengal and lost support among Muslim members who were pro- peasant

### **Constructive Work by No-Changers:**

1. Without the uplift of the lower castes and Adivasis there could be no united struggle against colonialism
2. Ashrams sprang up where young men and women worked among tribals and lower castes
3. popularized charkha and khadi. National schools and colleges were set up, Hindu-Muslim unity, removing untouchability, boycott of foreign cloth and liquor, and for flood relief.

4. Constructive workers were to act as the steelframe of the nationalist movement in its active saryagraha phase.
5. Gandhian ashrams' inmates served as the backbone of the CDM both as organizers and as active Satyagrahis.
6. As a whole, constructive work was a major channel for the recruitment of the soldiers of freedom

#### **A Critique of Constructive Work:**

1. National education benefited the urban lower middle classes and the rich peasants only
2. lure of degrees and jobs took the students to official schools and colleges.
3. Popularization of khadi was an uphill task since it was costlier than the imported cloth.
4. no emphasis was laid on the economic grievances of the landless and agricultural labourers
5. Although the Swarajists and the No-changers worked in their separate ways, they kept on best of terms with one another and were able to unite whenever the time was ripe for a new political struggle.
6. there simultaneously prevailed virulent factionalism and indiscipline in both the camps. By 1927, on the whole, an atmosphere of apathy and frustration had begun to prevail.

#### **BHAGAT SINGH, SURYA SEN AND THE REVOLUTIONARY TERRORISTS**

1. revolutionary terrorists were severely suppressed during World War 1, with most of their leaders in jail or absconding.
2. to create a more harmonious atmosphere for the MontaguChelmsford reforms, the Government released most of them under a general amnesty in early 1920.
3. Soon after, the National Congress launched the NCM revolutionary terrorists either joined the movement or suspended their own activities in order to give the Gandhian mass movement a chance.
4. But the sudden suspension of the Non-Cooperation Movement shattered the high hopes raised earlier
5. Many young people began to question the very basic strategy of the national leadership and its emphasis on nonviolence
6. They were not attracted by the parliamentary politics of the Swarajists or the patient and undramatic constructive work of the "no-changers".
7. idea that violent methods alone would free India and therefore Revolutionary terrorism again became attractive.
8. included Jogesh Chandra Chatterjee, Surya Sen, Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev, Chandrasekhar Azad
9. 2 strands of revolutionary terrorist groups emerged - one operating in Punjab- UP-Bihar and the other in Bengal. Major

#### **Influences:**

1. Upsurge of working class trade unionism after the War
2. Russian Revolution (1917) and the success of the young Soviet state in consolidating itself.
3. Newly sprouting communist groups with their emphasis on Marxism, socialism and the proletariat.
4. Journals publishing memoirs and articles extolling the self- sacrifice of revolutionaries
5. The revolutionaries in northern India were the first to emerge out of the mood of frustration and reorganize under the leadership of the old veterans, Ramprasad Bismil, Jogesh Chatterjea and Sachindranath Sanyal whose *Bandi Jiwan* served as a textbook to the revolutionary movement.
6. founded the Hindustan Republican Association (or Army) – (later renamed Hindustan Socialist Republic Association to organize armed revolution to overthrow colonial rule and establish Federal Republic of the United States of India
7. The most important ‘action’ of the HRA was the Kakori Robbery.

#### **Kakori Robbery (9th August, 1925):**

1. Ten men held up the 8-Down train at Kakori and looted its official railway cash.
2. The Government reaction was quick and hard- It arrested a large number of young men and tried them in the Kakori Conspiracy Case. Ashfaqulla Khan, Ramprasad Bismil, Roshan Singh and Rajendra Lahii were hanged
3. was a major setback to the revolutionaries of northern India; but it was not a fatal blow.
4. **The HSRA:** determined to overcome the Kakori setback, the younger revolutionaries, inspired by socialist ideas, set out to reorganize Hindustan Republic Association
5. included Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev, Bhagwaticharan Vohra from Punjab
6. adopted socialism as its official goal.

#### **Saunders’ Murder (Lahore, December 1928):**

1. Just when the HSRA revolutionaries had begun to move away from individual heroic action and terrorism, the death of Sher-i-Punjab Lala Lajpat Rai due to lathi blows received during a lathicharge on an anti-Simon Commission procession (October 1928) led them once again to take to individual assassination.
2. Bhagat Singh, Azad and Rajguru shot dead Saunders, the police official responsible for the lathicharge

#### **Bomb in the Central Legislative:**

1. HSRA now decided to let the people know about its changed objectives and the need for a revolution by the masses.
2. Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutt were asked to throw a bomb in the Central Legislative Assembly against the passage of the Public Safety Bill and Trade Disputes Bill
3. The bombs had been deliberately made harmless and were aimed at making ‘the deaf hear’.
4. The objective was to get arrested and to use the trial court as a forum for propaganda
5. Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru were tried in the Lahore conspiracy case.

6. In jail, these revolutionaries protested against the horrible conditions through a fast, and demanded honourable and decent treatment as political prisoners. Jatin Das became the first martyr on the 64th day of his fast.
7. Defence of these young revolutionaries was organised by Congress leaders.
8. slogans 'Inquilab Zindabad,' 'Down, Down with Imperialism.' 'Long Live the Proletariat' and singing songs such as 'Sarfaroshi ki tamanna ab hamare dil mei hai' and 'Mera rang de basanti chola'
9. Azad was involved in a bid to blow up Viceroy Irwin's train near Delhi in December 1929. was killed in a police encounter in a park in Allahabad in February 1931.
10. Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru were hanged on March 23, 1931.

### **In Bengal:**

1. After Das's death (1925), the Bengal Congress broke up into two factions- one led by J.M. Sengupta (Anushilan group joined forces with him) and the other led by Subhash Bose (Yugantar group backed him).
2. assassination attempt on the notorious Calcutta Police Commissioner, Charles Tegart by Gopinath Saha in 1924.
3. The Government came down heavily on revolutionaries. Many including Subhash Bose were arrested. Gopinath Saha was hanged. The revolutionary activity suffered a severe setback
4. factionalism among the revolutionaries especially the Yugantar and Anushilan rivalry
5. but soon many of them started regrouping- Among the new "Revolt Groups", the most active and famous was the **Chittagong group under Surya Sen**. Surya Sen had actively participated in the NCM
6. Surya Sen decided to organize an armed rebellion along with his associates- Anant Singh, Ganesh Ghosh and Lokenath Baul- to show that it was possible to challenge the armed might of the mighty British Empire.
7. They had planned to occupy two main armoureds in Chittagong to seize and supply arms to the revolutionaries to destroy telephone and telegraph lines and to dislocate the railway link of Chittagong with the rest of Bengal.
8. The raid was conducted under the banner of Indian Republican Army- Chittagong Branch.
9. The raid was quite successful; Sen hoisted the national flag, took salute and proclaimed a provisional government.
10. Surya Sen was arrested in February 1933 and hanged in January 1934
11. Chittagong raid fired the imagination of the revolutionary-minded youth
12. **Official Reaction to Chittagong raid:** There was panic at first and then severe government repression. Armed with 20 repressive Acts, the Government let loose the police on the revolutionaries. Jawaharlal Nehru was arrested for sedition and given two years' sentence because he had condemned imperialism and praised the heroism of the revolutionaries.

### **Ideological Rethinking:**

1. A real breakthrough was made by Bhagat Singh and his comrades in terms of revolutionary ideology, forms of revolutionary struggle and the goals of revolution.
2. HRA stood for abolition of all systems which made exploitation of man by man possible”.
3. HRA’s main organ, The Revolutionary, had proposed nationalization of railways and other means of transport and of heavy industries such as ship building and steel.
4. HRA had also decided to start labour and peasant organisations
5. During their last days (late 1920s), these revolutionaries had started moving away from individual heroic action and terrorism towards mass politics
6. Bismil appealed to the youth to give up pistols and revolvers, not to work in revolutionary conspiracies and instead work in an open movement. He urged the youth to strengthen Hindu-Muslim unity
7. revolutionary position is contained in the book The Philosophy of the Bomb written by Bhagwati charan Vohra
8. Bhagat Singh had moved away from belief in terrorism and individual heroic action to Marxism and the belief that a popular broad-based movement alone could lead to a successful revolution.
9. That is why Bhagat Singh helped establish the Punjab Naujawan Bharat Sabha (1926) as an open wing of revolutionaries to carry out political work among the youth, peasants and workers
10. **Then why did Bhagat Singh and his comrades still take recourse to individual heroic action:** effective acquisition of new ideology is a prolonged and historical process. young intellectuals faced the classic dilemma of how to mobilize people and recruit them. Here, they decided to opt for ‘propaganda by deed,’
11. He also said, “The struggle in India will continue, so long as a handful of exploiters continue to exploit labour of common people to further their own interests. It matters little whether these exploiters are British capitalists, British and Indian capitalists in alliance, or even purely Indians.”
12. He defined socialism scientifically as abolition of capitalism and class domination.

#### **Aspects of the New Phase of Terrorist Movement in Bengal:**

1. There was a large-scale participation of young women especially under Surya Sen.
2. Pritilata Waddedar, who died conducting a raid; Kalpana Dutt who was arrested and tried along with Surya Sen and given a life sentence; Santi Ghosh and Suniti Chandheri, school girls of Comilla, who shot dead the district magistrate. (December 1931), and Bina Das who fired point blank at the Governor while receiving her degree at the convocation.
3. There ‘was an emphasis on group action aimed at organs of the colonial state, instead of individual action.
4. Some of the earlier ‘Hindu religiosity was shed, and there were no more rituals like oathtaking

5. **Some Drawbacks:** The movement retained some conservative elements. There was not a mass movement- they could not even establish contact with the masses. It failed to evolve broader socio-economic goals. Those working with Swarajists failed to support the cause of Muslim peasantry
6. **Achievements:** They made an abiding contribution to the national freedom movement- their deep patriotism, courage and determination, and sense of sacrifice stirred the Indian people. They helped spread nationalist consciousness
7. **Fade away:** Government action gradually decimated the revolutionary terrorist ranks Punjab, UP and Bihar- with the death of Chandrashekhar Azad Bengal- Surya Sen's martyrdom
8. After the revolutionary movement faded out, a large number of the revolutionaries turned to Marxism and to the idea of a socialist revolution by the masses and accordingly they joined Left parties and Gandhian wing

### **THE GATHERING STORM 1927- 1929**

1. years following the end of the Non-Cooperation Movement in 1922, Gandhian constructive work, Swarajists, Koya tribals in Andhra, Akalis in Punjab, by the Satyagrahis in Nagpur in 1923
2. from the latter part of 1927 that the curve of the mass anti-imperialist upsurge began to take a marked upward turn- with the announcement on 8 November 1927 of an all-White commission to recommend whether India was ready for further constitutional progress and on which lines.
3. Secretary of State, Lord Birkenhead, who constantly talked of the inability of Indians to formulate a concrete scheme of constitutional reforms, was responsible for the appointment of the Simon Commission
4. Conservative Government of Britain, faced with the prospect of electoral defeat at the hands of the Labour Party, suddenly decided it could not leave an issue
5. Indian Statutory Commission, popularly known as the Simon Commission after its Chairman, was appointed.

### **Anti- Simon Commission Upsurge:**

1. What angered Indians most was the exclusion of Indians from the commission
2. foreigners would discuss and decide upon India's fitness for self- government- this notion was seen as a violation of the principle of selfdetermination, and a deliberate insult to the self- respect of Indians
3. **Congress Response:** turned the boycott into a popular movement. declaring complete independence as the goal
4. Those who decided to support the Congress call of boycott included the Liberals of the Hindu Mahasabha and the majority faction of the Muslim League under Jinnah Amongst those who decided not to boycott included Unionists in Punjab and the Justice Party in the south Public Response:

5. Wherever the commission went- Calcutta, Lahore, Lucknow, Vijayawada, Poona- there were black flag demonstrations, hartals and slogans of 'Simon Go Back'.
6. A significant feature of this upsurge was that a new generation of youth got their first taste of political action.
7. Though a youth movement had begun earlier, it was the participation in the Simon agitation that gave the youth leagues and conferences a real fillip. Nehru and Subhash emerged as leaders of this new wave
8. Jawahar visited the Soviet Union, while he was returning from Europe in 1927 after representing the INC at the Brussels Congress of the League against Imperialism
9. emergence of groups such as the Punjab Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Workers' and Peasants' Parties
10. **Police Repression:** there were lathicharges. Jawaharlal Nehru and G Ballabh Pant were beaten up in Lucknow. At Lahore, Lala received severe blows on his chest in October 1928 which proved fatal and he died on November 17, 1928.

#### **Impact of Appointment of Simon Commission:**

1. gave stimulus to radicals demanding not just complete independence but major socio-economic reforms on socialist lines.
2. The challenge of Lord Birkenhead to Indian politicians to produce an agreed constitution was accepted by various political sections, and thus prospects for Indian unity seemed bright at that point of time.
3. **NEHRU REPORT:** As an answer to Lord Birkenhead's challenge, an All Parties Conference met in February 1928 and appointed a subcommittee under the chairmanship of Motilal Nehru to draft a constitution.
4. The committee included Tej Bahadur Sapru, Subhash Bose, M.S. Aney, Mangal Singh, Ali Imam,
5. The report was finalised by August 1928.
6. The recommendations of the Nehru Committee were unanimous except in one respect while the majority favoured the "dominion status" as the basis of the Constitution, a section of it wanted "complete independence."

#### **Main Recommendations:**

1. confined itself to British India, as it envisaged future link-up of British India with the princely states on a federal basis.
2. Dominion status on lines of self-governing dominions as the form of government desired by Indians
3. Rejection of separate electorates which had been the basis of constitutional reforms so far; instead, a demand for joint electorates with reservation of seats for Muslims at the centre and in provinces where they were in minority in proportion to the Muslim population there with right to contest additional seats.



4. Linguistic provinces.
5. Nineteen fundamental rights including equal rights for women, right to form unions, and universal adult suffrage.
6. Responsible government at the centre and in provinces
7. Central Government to be headed by a Governor- General, appointed by the British Government but paid out of Indian revenues, who would act on the advice of the central executive council responsible to the Parliament.
8. Full protection to cultural and religious interests of Muslims.
9. Complete dissociation of state from religion.

### **The Muslim and Hindu Communal Responses:**

1. Nehru Report got involved in controversies over the issue of communal representation.
2. In December 1927, a large number of Muslim leaders had met at Delhi at the Muslim League session and evolved four proposals for Muslim demands. These proposals which were accepted by the Madras session of the Congress (December 1927), came to be known as the '**Delhi Proposals**'.
3. **These were:** joint electorates in place of separate electorates with reserved seats for Muslims; one-third representation to Muslims in Central Legislative Assembly; representation to Muslims in Punjab and Bengal in proportion to their population; formation of three new Muslim majority provinces- Sindh, Baluchistan and North-West Frontier Province.
4. However, the Hindu Mahasabha was vehemently opposed. It also demanded a strictly unitary structure
5. Muslim League dissociated itself and stuck to its demand for reservation of seats for Muslims, especially in the Central Legislature and in Muslim majority provinces.
6. **concessions made in the Nehru Report to Hindu communalists** included the following: Joint electorates proposed everywhere but reservation for Muslims only where in minority; Sindh to be detached from Bombay only after dominion status was granted and subject to weightage to Hindu minority in Sindh; Political structure proposed was broadly unitary, residual powers rested with the centre.
7. **Amendments Proposed by Jinnah:** One-third representation to Muslims in the Central Legislature, Reservation to Muslims in Bengal and Punjab legislatures proportionate to their population, Residual powers to provinces.
8. These demands not being accommodated, Jinnah went back to the Shafi faction of the Muslim League and in March 1929 gave **fourteen points** which were to become the basis all future propaganda of the Muslim League.

### **Jinnah's Fourteen Demands:**

1. Federal Constitution with residual powers to provinces.

2. No constitutional amendment by the centre without the concurrence of the states constituting the Indian federation.
3. All legislatures and elected bodies to have adequate representation of Muslims
4. Adequate representation to Muslims in the services and in self-governing bodies.
5. One-third Muslim representation in the Central Legislature.
6. Separate electorates and Provincial autonomy.
7. No bill or resolution in any legislature to be passed if three-fourths of a minority community consider such a bill or resolution to be against their interests.
8. Any territorial redistribution not to affect the Muslim majority in Punjab, Bengal and NWFP.
9. Separation of Sindh from Bombay. Constitutional reforms in the NWFP and Baluchistan.

Not only were the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Sikh communalists unhappy about the Nehru Report, but the younger section of the Congress led by Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhash Bose were also angered.

Nehru, Bose and Satyamurthi, backed by a large number of delegates, pressed for the acceptance of 'Purna Swaraj' or Complete Independence as the goal of the Congress. Gandhi, Motilal Nehru and many other older leaders felt that the national consensus achieved with such great difficulty on Dominion Status should not be abandoned in such haste. Congress' modified goal that if the Government did not accept a constitution based on Dominion States by the end of the year, the Congress would not only adopt Complete Independence as its goal, but it would also launch a CDM to attain that goal.

Nehru and Bose jointly set up the Independence for India League.

### **THE RUN-UP TO CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT:**

1. Since Gandhiji's release from Jail in 1924 he had been traveling incessantly through the country to prepare the masses
2. Gandhi emphasised on constructive programmes Khadi, Hindu- Muslim Unity and the removal of untouchability
3. During 1929, he began to prepare the people for direct political action.
4. In Sindh, he told the youth to prepare for 'the fiery ordeal,'
5. The Congress Working Committee (CWC) organized a Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee to propagate an aggressive programme of foreign cloth boycott and public burning of foreign cloth.
6. **Meerut Conspiracy Case (March)**- The government arrested 31 labour leaders, most of them Communists, and marched them off to Meerut in UP for trial
7. bomb explosion in Central Legislative Assembly by Bhagat Singh and Batukeswar of HSRA
8. In jail, the members of HSRA went on a prolonged hunger strike
9. The coming to power of the Labour Government led by Ramsay MacDonald in England in May, 1929-

10. announcement was made by Irwin that the natural issue of India's progress, as contemplated in the Montague Declaration of 1917, was the attainment of dominion status. He also promised a RTC when the Simon Commission submitted its report.

### **Delhi Manifesto: On November 2, 1929**

1. purpose of the (RTC) should be to formulate a scheme for implementation of the dominion
2. the Congress should have majority representation at the conference
3. Amnesty and a general policy of conciliation. Viceroy Irwin rejected these demands

### **Lahore Congress (1929) and Purna Swaraj:**

1. At the Lahore session of the Congress, Purna Swaraj, was declared as the only honourable goal the Indians should strive for.
2. Jawaharlal Nehru, was nominated the president for the Lahore session mainly due to Gandhi's backing.
3. he was in favour of a mass movement, which must essentially be peaceful, except in times of organized revolt.
4. following decisions were taken at Lahore Session: RTC to be boycotted; complete independence declared as the aim of Congress; - CWC authorized to launch a programme of civil disobedience including non-payment of taxes and all members of legislatures asked to resign their seats; January 26, 1930 fixed as first Independence Day, to be celebrated everywhere.
5. On December 31, 1929: At midnight on the banks of River Ravi, the newly adopted tricolour flag of freedom was hoisted

### **CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE 1930- 1931**

#### **Gandhi's Eleven Demands:**

1. To carry forward the mandate given by the Lahore Congress, Gandhi presented eleven demands to the Government and gave an ultimatum of January 31, 1930 to accept or reject these demands.
  2. Issues of General Interest Reduce expenditure on Army and civil services by 50 per cent.
  3. Carry out reforms in Criminal Investigation Department (CID).
  4. Change Arms Act allowing popular control of issue of firearms licences.
  5. Release political prisoners. Accept Postal Reservation Bill. Reserve coastal shipping for Indians.
  6. Specific Peasant Demands Reduce land revenue by 50 per cent.
  7. Abolish salt tax and government's salt monopoly.
- With no positive response forthcoming from the Government on these demands, the Congress Working Committee invested Gandhi with full powers to launch the (CDM) at a time and place of his choice.

- By February-end, Gandhi had decided to make salt the central formula for the CDM. Why Salt? As Gandhi said, “There is no other article like salt, outside water, by taxing which the Government can reach the starving millions, the sick.
- Like khadi, again, it offered to the urban adherents the opportunity of a symbolic identification with mass suffering.

### **Dandi March (March 12- April 6, 1930):**

1. Gandhi, along with a band of seventy- eight members of Sabarmati Ashram, was to March from his headquarters in Ahmedabad through the villages of Gujarat for 240 miles.
2. On reaching the coast at Dandi, the salt law was to be violated by collecting salt from the beach.
3. **Gandhi gave the following directions:** Wherever possible civil disobedience of the salt law should be started. Foreign liquor and cloth shops can be picketed. refuse to pay taxes. Lawyers give up practice. boycott law courts by refraining from litigation. Government servants can resign from their posts. All these should be subject to one condition- truth and non-violence as means to attain Swaraj should be faithfully adhered to. Local leaders should be obeyed after Gandhi’s arrest.
4. Gandhi broke the salt law by picking up a handful of salt at Dandi on April 6.
5. violation of the law was seen as a symbol of Indian people’s resolve not to live under British
6. While Gandhiji was marching to Dandi, Congress leaders engaged themselves in grassroot level organizational tasks.
7. **Spread of Salt Disobedience:** Tamil Nadu- C Rajagopalachari, Malabar- K Kelappan, In Assam- Satyagrahis, Andhra- a number of Sibirams (camps) came up in different districts as headquarters of Salt Satyagraha.
8. The Government’s failure to arrest Gandhiji for breaking the salt law was used by the local leaders to impress upon the people that, ‘the Government is afraid of persons like ourselves
9. Gandhi was arrested on May 4, 1930 when he had announced that he would lead a raid on Dharsana Salt Works on the west coast. Gandhi’s arrest was followed by massive protests in Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta and in Sholapur,
10. After Gandhi’s arrest, the CWC sanctioned: Non- payment of revenue in Ryotwari areas; No- chowkidara- Tax campaign in zamindari areas; and Violation of forest laws in the Central Provinces.
11. March towards Dharsana Salt Works: On May 21, with Sarojini Naidu, and Imam Saheb, and Gandhiji’s son

### **OTHER FORMS OF UPSURGE:**

1. **Bihar and Bengal:** Eastern India became the scene of a new kind of no-tax campaign refusal to pay the **chowkidara tax**.

2. Chowkidars, paid out of the tax levied specially on the villages, were guards who supplemented the small police force in the rural areas in this region. they acted as spies for the Government
3. as salt agitation had not much scope due to the land-locked nature of the province.
4. The Government retaliated by confiscation of property worth hundreds and thousands in lieu of a few rupees of tax
5. **Gujarat:** In Kheda district a determined no-tax movement was in progress- refusal to pay the land revenue.
6. **Maharashtra, Karnataka and Central Provinces:** defiance of forest laws, especially in tribal areas.
7. **Assam:** A powerful agitation led by students was launched against the infamous 'Cunningham circular' which forced students and their guardians to furnish assurances of good behaviour.
8. **National Flag Resistance:** Attempts to defend the honour of the national flag in the face of severe brutalities often turned into heroism of the most spectacular variety. At Bundur, on the Andhra Coast- Tota Narasaiah Naidu preferred to be beaten unconscious by a fifteen-member police force rather than give up the national flag. In Calicut, In Surat
9. **United Provinces:** A no-revenue, no-rent campaign was taken up. The no-revenue part- was a call to the zamindars to refuse to pay revenue to the Government, The no-rent- a call to the tenants not to pay rent to the zamindars.
10. **Peshawar:** Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan's educational and social reform work among Pathans had politicized them. called Badshah Khan, Frontier Gandhi, had started first Pushto political monthly Pukhtoon and had organised a volunteer brigade 'Khudai Khidmatgars', popularly known as the 'Red-Shirts'. It was here that a section of Garhwal Rifles soldiers refused to fire on an unarmed crowd. This upsurge in a province with 92 % Muslim population left the British Government nervous.
11. **Manipur and Nagaland:** These areas took a brave part in the movement. At the young age of thirteen, Rani Gaidirthu of Nagland raised the banner of revolt against foreign rule. She was captured in 1932 and sentenced to life imprisonment.
12. **Mobilization of masses: Prabhatpheris**, in which bands of men, women and children went around, **Patrikas**, or illegal news-sheets. **Magic lanterns** were used to take the nationalist message to the villages. **Incessant tours** by individual leaders and workers, and by groups of men and women, Holding of public **meetings**. **Children** were organized into vanar senas or monkey armies and at least at one place the girls decided they wanted their own separate manjari sena or cat army
13. **Extent of Participation:** This new form of salt Satyagraha was eagerly adopted by the people,
14. **Women:** Gandhi had specially asked women to play a leading part in the movement. became a familiar sight, picketing outside liquor shops, opium dens and shops selling foreign cloth.

For Indian women, the movement was the most liberating experience and can truly be said to have marked their entry into the public sphere.

15. **Students:** part in boycott of foreign cloth and liquor. Muslims:
16. **The Muslim participation** was nowhere near the 1920-22 level because of appeals by Muslim leaders to Muslim masses to stay away from the movement and because of active government encouragement to communal dissension
17. still, some areas such as **NWFP** saw an overwhelming participation. **Middle class Muslim** participation was quite significant in Senhatta, Tripura, and Noakhali. In **Dacca**, Muslim leaders, shopkeepers, lower class people and upper class women were active. The Muslim weaving community in Bihar, Delhi and Lucknow were also effectively mobilized
18. **Merchants and Petty Traders:** Traders' associations and commercial bodies were active in implementing the boycott, especially in Tamil Nadu and Punjab.
19. **Tribals:** Were active participants in Central Provinces, Maharashtra and Karnataka.
20. **Workers:** The workers participated in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Sholapur, etc.
21. **Peasants:** Were active in UP, Bihar and Gujarat.

#### **Impact of Agitation:**

1. Imports of foreign cloth and other items fell.
2. Government income from liquor, excise and land revenue fell.
3. Elections to Legislative Assembly were largely boycotted.
4. The Government's attitude throughout 1930 was marked by ambivalence- it was puzzled and perplexed. It was faced with the classic dilemma of 'damned if you do, damned if you don't
5. But once the repression began, the ordinances banning civil liberties were freely used, including gagging of the press
6. several killed and wounded, while 90,000 satyagrahis including Gandhi and other Congress leaders were imprisoned.
7. The government repression and publication of the Simon Commission Report, which contained no mention of dominion status further upset even moderate political opinion.
8. In July 1930 the viceroy, as a conciliatory gesture, suggested a Round Table conference (RTC) and reiterated the goal of dominion status. He also accepted the suggestion that Tej Bahadur Sapru and M.R. Jayakar be allowed to explore the possibility of peace between the Congress and the Government.

#### **First Round Table Conference:**

1. the first ever conducted between the British and Indians as equals
2. While the Congress and most business leaders boycotted the First RTC, the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Liberals and princes attended it
3. constitutional discussion to which the Congress was not a party was a meaningless exercise
4. Viceroy announced the unconditional release of Gandhiji and all the other members of the Congress Working Committee,

### **GANDHI- IRWIN PACT:**

1. was variously described as a 'truce' and a 'provisional settlement.'
2. it placed the Congress on an equal footing with the Government.
3. Government agreed on immediate release of all political prisoners not convicted for violence; the remission of all fines not yet collected; the return of confiscated lands not yet sold to third parties; lenient treatment for those government employees who had resigned; The right to make salt for consumption to villages along the coast; as also the right to peaceful and non-aggressive picketing; and withdrawal of emergency ordinances
4. The Viceroy however, turned down two of Gandhi's demands: A public inquiry into police excesses and Commutation of Bhagat Singh and his comrades death sentence to Life Imprisonment
5. Gandhi agreed to to discontinue the Civil Disobedience Movement; and participate in the next Round Table Conference.

### **EVALUATION OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT:**

1. **Was Gandhi-Irwin Pact a Retreat?** Gandhi's decision to suspend the civil disobedience movement as agreed under the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was not a retreat, because: mass movements are necessarily short-lived; capacity of the masses to make sacrifices is limited; and there were signs of exhaustion after September 1930, especially among shopkeepers and merchants, who had participated so enthusiastically.
2. It has been cited as evidence of Gandhiji's and the Indian bourgeoisie's fear of the mass movement taking a radical turn
3. But vast masses of people were jubilant that the Government had to regard their movement as significant and treat their leader as an equal, and sign a pact with him.
4. The political prisoners when released from jails were given a hero's welcome.

### **Compared to Non-Cooperation Movement:**

1. The stated objective this time was complete independence and not just remedying specific wrongs and Swaraj
2. The methods involved violation of law from the very beginning and not just noncooperation with foreign rule.
3. There was a decline in forms of protests involving the intelligentsia, such as lawyers giving up practice, students giving up government schools to join national schools and colleges.
4. Muslim participation was nowhere near the Non- Cooperation Movement level.
5. No major labour upsurge coincided with the movement.
6. But massive participation of peasants and business groups compensated for decline of other features.
7. The Congress was organizationally stronger.

## **THE YEARS FROM 1932- 1934**

1. 1931 special session of the Congress was held at Karachi to endorse the Gandhi-Irwin or Delhi Pact.
2. Six days before the session (which was held on March 29) Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru had been executed.
3. Throughout Gandhi's route to Karachi, he was greeted with black flag demonstrations by the Punjab Naujawan Bharat Sabha, in protest against his failure to secure commutation
4. The goal of Purna Swaraj was reiterated. Two resolutions were adopted: FR and National Economic Programme
5. **The resolution on Fundamental Rights** speech, press, associations, assemble, universal adult franchise, equal legal rights irrespective of caste, creed and sex, neutrality of state in religious matters, free and compulsory primary education, protection to culture, language, script of minorities and linguistic groups
6. **The resolution on National Economic Programme** included substantial reduction in rent and revenue exemption from rent for uneconomic holdings, relief from agricultural indebtedness, limited hours of work and protection of women workers

## **SECOND RTC AND SECOND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT:**

1. Not much was expected from the conference because of the following reasons.
2. The Imperialist political and financial forces, which ultimately controlled the British Government in London, were opposed to any political or economic concessions being given to India
3. The Right Wing in Britain led by Churchill strongly objected to the British Government negotiating with the Congress
4. The Labour Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald headed a Conservative dominated cabinet with a weak and reactionary secretary of state, Samuel Hoare.
5. An overwhelming majority of RTC delegates, hand-picked by the government, were conservative, loyalist,
6. session soon got deadlocked on the question of the minorities. Separate electorates were being demanded by the Muslims, depressed classes, Christians and Anglo-Indians. All these came together in a "Minorities' Pact".
7. session ended with MacDonald's announcement of: two Muslim majority provinces- NWFP and Sindh
8. the setting up of Indian Consultative Committee; three expert committees- finance, franchise and states; and the prospect of a unilateral British Communal Award if Indians failed to agree.
9. CWC decided to resume the civil disobedience movement.

## **During Truce Period (March-December 1931):**

1. Some activity during this period kept alive the spirit of defiance.



2. In the United Provinces, the Congress had been leading a movement for rent reduction
3. In the NWFP, severe repression had been unleashed against the non- violent Khudai Khidmatgars (Servants of God), also known as Red Shirts [because of the colour of their shirts] and the peasants led by them who were agitating against the brutal methods of tax collection by the Government.
4. In Bengal, draconian ordinances and mass detentions had been used in the name of fighting terrorism. In September 1931, there was a firing incident on political prisoners in Hijli Jail.

### **Changed Government Attitude:**

1. No- pact, no truce, no Gandhi- Viceroy meetings, no ‘quarter for the enemy’ became the watchwords
2. **three main considerations in British policy:** Gandhi would not be permitted to build up the tempo for a mass movement again. Goodwill of the Congress was not required, but the confidence of those who supported the British against the Congress- government functionaries, loyalists, etc- was very essential. The national movement would not be allowed to consolidate itself in rural areas. Gandhi was arrested.
3. **Government Action:** It decided to launch ‘**a hard and immediate blow**’ against any revival of the movement and accordingly a series of repressive ordinances were issued
4. Congress organisations at all levels were banned; arrests were made
5. Repression was particularly harsh on women- with the idea of scaring away women from the satyagraha
6. Press was gagged and nationalist literature- poems, stories and novels were banned.
7. **Popular Response:** People responded with anger- protest included picketing of shops selling liquor and foreign cloth, illegal gatherings, non-violent demonstrations, celebrations of national days, symbolic hoisting of national flag, non-payment of chowkidara tax, salt satyagraha, forest law violations and installation of a secret radio transmitter
8. was crushed in a few months. Gandhi decided to withdraw the civil disobedience movement.
9. Withdrawal of the movement did not mean defeat or loss of mass support- Dr Ansari put it as, to fight another day a bigger battle with greater and better organized force
10. The British policy of ‘Divide and Rule’ found another expression in the announcement of the communal Award

### **COMMUNAL AWARD AND POONA PACT:**

1. Communal Award declared the depressed classes also to be minorities [thereby separated them from the rest of the Hindus] and entitled them to separate electorates-
2. That is Muslims would be elected only by Muslims, and Sikhs only by Sikhs and so on
3. Congress was opposed to a separate electorate for Muslims, Sikhs and Christians as it encouraged the communal notion that they formed separate groups or communities having different interests from the general body of Indians but the idea of separate electorate for Muslims has been accepted by the Congress as far back as 1916

4. Congress took the position that though it was opposed to separate electorates, it was not in favour of changing the Award without the consent of the minorities- Thus decided neither to accept it nor to reject it.
5. Gandhi saw the Communal Award as an attack on Indian unity and nationalism.
6. Once the depressed classes were treated as a separate political entity, he argued, the question of abolishing untouchability would get undermined, Separate electorates would ensure that the untouchables remained untouchables in perpetuity.
7. what was required was root and branch eradication of untouchability.
8. he went on an indefinite fast on September 20, 1932. Now leaders of various persuasions, including B.R. Ambedkar, M.C. Rajah and Madan Mohan Malaviya got together to hammer out a compromise contained in the Poona Pact.
9. **Poona Pact:** Signed by BR Ambedkar on behalf of the depressed classes in September 1932, the Pact abandoned separate electorates for the depressed classes. But the seats reserved for the depressed classes were increased Provincial Legislatures- from 71 to 147; and Central Legislature- 18 per cent of the total

#### **GANDHI'S HARIJAN CAMPAIGN:**

1. Determined to undo the divisive intentions of the Government's divide and rule policy, Gandhi gave up all his other pre-occupations and launched a whirlwind campaign against untouchability
2. While in jail, he had set up the All India Anti- Untouchability League and had started the weekly Harijan
3. After his release, he shifted to the Satyagraha Ashram in Wardha as he had vowed in 1930 not to return to Sabarmati Ashram unless Swaraj was won.
4. Conducted a Harijan tour of the country covering 20,000 km, collecting money for his newly set up Harijan Sevak Sangh, and propagating removal of untouchability in all its forms.
5. urged political workers to go to villages and work for social, economic, political and cultural upliftment of the Harijans.
6. Throughout his campaign, Gandhi was attacked by orthodox and reactionary elements. These elements disrupted his meetings, held black flag demonstrations against him and accused him of attacking Hinduism.
7. he also argued that untouchability, as practiced at present, had no sanction in the Hindu Shastras
8. he distinguished between abolition of untouchability and abolition of caste system as such. On this point he differed from Ambedkar who advocated annihilation of the caste system to remove untouchability.
9. Gandhi's Harijan campaign further included a programme of internal reform by Harijans covering education, cleanliness, hygiene, giving up eating of beef and carrion and consumption of liquor, and removing untouchability among themselves.

10. **Impact of the Campaign:** Not only did Harijan work, along with other items of constructive work, enable the Congress cadre to keep busy in its non- mass movement phases, it also gradually carried the message of nationalism to Harijans who also happened to be the agricultural labourers in most parts of the country, leading to their increasing participation in the national and peasant movements.

### **THE RISE OF THE LEFT WING**

1. in the late 1920s and 1930s contributing to the radicalization of the national movement.
2. stream of National struggle for independence and the stream of the struggle for social and economic emancipation of the suppressed and the exploited began to come together.
3. the Communist Party of India (CPI) and the Congress Socialist Party (CSP).
4. **Reasons:** The impact of the Russian Revolution.
5. Also, Socialist ideas, during the late 1920's, began to spread rapidly especially because many young persons who had participated actively in the Non-Cooperation Movement were unhappy with its outcome and were dissatisfied with Gandhian policies and ideas as well as the alternative Swarajist programme.
6. Socialist ideas became even more popular during the 1930s as the world was engulfed by the great economic depression.
7. Unemployment soared all over the capitalist world.
8. Within the Congress the left-wing tendency found reflection in the election of Jawaharlal Nehru as president for 1936 and 1937 and of Subhas Bose for 1938 and 1939 and in the formation of the Congress Socialist Party.
9. In Bombay. SA Dange published a pamphlet Gandhi and Lenin and started the first socialist weekly, The Socialist;
10. In Bengal, Muzaffar Ahmed brought out Navayug
11. In Punjab, Ghulam Hussain and others published Inquilab
12. Student and youth associations were organized all over the country from 1927 onwards
13. Revolutionary Terrorists led by Chandra Shekhar Azad and Bhagat Singh also turned to socialism.
14. Trade union and peasant movements grew rapidly throughout the 1920's.

### **Role of Jawaharlal Nehru**

1. imparted a socialist vision to the national movement
2. Nehru developed an interest in economic questions when he came in touch with peasant movement in UP in 1920- 21
3. He also read widely on the history of the Russian revolution and other revolution
4. attended the International Congress against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism, held at Brussels, and came into contact with communists and anti-colonial fighters from all over the world.
5. In 1927, he visited the Soviet Union

6. joined hands with Subhas to organize the Independence for India League to fight for complete independence
7. he never intended or favoured the creation of an organization independent of or separate from the Congress or making a break with Gandhiji and the right-wing of the Congress.
8. He basically tried to influence and transform the Congress as a whole in a socialist direction.

### **Communist Party of India**

1. Attracted by the Soviet Union and its revolutionary commitment, a large number of Indian revolutionaries and exiles abroad made their way there
2. MN Roy along with Lenin, evolved the Communist International's policy towards the colonies.
3. Roy set up a Communist Party of India
4. all-India organization under the name the Communist Party of India (CPI).
5. CPI called upon all its members to enroll themselves as members of the Congress, form a strong left-wing in all its organs, cooperate with all other radical nationalists, and make an effort to transform the Congress

### **Workers and Peasants Party (WPP)**

1. Labour-Swaraj Party of the Indian National Congress organized by Muzaffar Ahmed, Qazi Nazrul Islam, Hemanta Kumar Sarkar, and others in Bengal
2. Congress Labour Party was formed in Bombay and a Kirti-Kisan Party in Punjab.
3. By 1928 all of these provincial organizations had been renamed the Workers' and Peasants' Party (WPP) and knit into an all- India party, whose units were also set up in Rajasthan, UP and Delhi.
4. basic objective of the WPP's was to work within the Congress to give it a more radical orientation and make it 'the party of the people' and independently organize workers and peasants in class organizations, to enable first the achievement of complete independence and ultimately of socialism.
5. played a decisive role in the resurgence of working class struggles during 1927-29
6. played an important role in creating a strong left-wing within the

**Decline of the Communist and WPP:** virtually wiped out during 1929 by two developments

### **Repression by the British**

1. In 1922-24 itself Communists trying to enter India from the Soviet Union were tried
2. Government did the same when it tried SA Dange, Muzaffar Ahmed, Nalini Gupta and Shaukat Usmani in the Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy Case- in an effort to cripple the nascent movement
3. it arrested thirty-two radical political and trade union activists, including three British Communists Philip Spratt, Ben Bradley and Lester Hutchinson- who had come to India to help organize trade union movement- Meerut Conspiracy Case.

4. The Government design to isolate the Communists from the mainstream of the national movement not only miscarried but had the very opposite consequence.
5. It did, however, succeed in one respect. The growing working class movement was deprived of its leadership

### **Leftist Deviation**

1. Communists inflicted a more deadly blow on themselves by taking a sudden lurch towards what is described in leftist terminology as sectarian politics or 'leftist deviation'
2. Communists broke their connection with the National Congress
3. Nehru and Bose were described as 'agents of the bourgeoisie within the national movement'
4. Gandhi-Irwin Pact was described as a proof of the Congress betrayal of nationalism
5. Finally, the Workers' and Peasants' Party was also dissolved on the ground that it was unadvisable to form a two-class (workers' and peasants') party for it was likely to fall prey to petty bourgeois influences.
6. The result was their isolation from the national movement
7. Further, when the Communists split into several splinter groups, the Government took further advantage of this situation and, in 1934, declared the CPI illegal.

### **Revival of the Communist Movement**

1. Many of the Communists refused to stand apart from the (CDM) and participated actively in it
2. The socialist and communist ideas continued to spread in the country.
3. As a result, many young persons who participated in the CDM or in Revolutionary Terrorist organizations were attracted by socialism, Marxism and the Soviet Union, and joined the CPI after 1934.
4. The situation underwent a radical change in 1935 when the Communist Party was reorganized under leadership of PC Joshi.
5. The theoretical and political basis for the change in communist politics in India was laid in early 1936 by a document popularly known as the **Dutt-Bradley Thesis**.
6. According to this, Indian National Congress could play 'a great part in work of realizing the anti-imperialist people's front.
7. The Communist Party now began to call upon its members to join the
8. At the same time, the party remained committed to the objective of bringing the national movement under the hegemony of the working class, that is, the Communist Party. Communists now worked hard inside the Congress.
9. they built up powerful peasant movements in Kerala, Andhra, Bengal and Punjab.

### **Congress Socialist Party (CSP)**

1. by a group of young Congressmen who were disenchanted with Gandhian strategy and leadership
2. Attracted by Marxism, communism and Soviet Union

3. leadership of Jayaprakash Narayan, Acharya Narendra Dev and Minoo Masani.
4. agreed upon four basic propositions that the primary struggle in India was the national struggle for freedom and that nationalism was a necessary stage on the way to socialism; that socialists must work inside the National Congress because it was the primary body leading the national struggle; that they must give the Congress and the national movement a socialist direction; and that to achieve the objective they must organize the workers and peasants
5. The task of transforming the Congress was understood in two senses.
6. Ideologically, Congressmen were to be gradually persuaded to adopt a socialist vision, more pro-labour and pro-peasant
7. Organizational transformation in terms of changes in its leadership at the top.
8. it realized that splitting the Congress on a Left- Right basis would only weaken the national Movement
9. From the beginning the CSP leaders were divided into three broad ideological currents: the Marxian, the Fabian and the current influenced by Gandhiji. Despite the ideological diversity among the leaders, the CSP as a whole accepted a basic identification of socialism with Marxism.
10. Gradually, however large doses of Gandhian and liberal democratic thought become basic elements of the CSP

Subhas Bose and his left-wing followers founded the Forward Bloc in 1939 after Bose was compelled to resign from the Presidentship of the Congress. The Hindustan Socialist Republican Association, the Revolutionary Socialist Party, and various Trotskyist groups also functioned during the 1930s.

### **Contribution of the parties towards Socialism**

1. The CPI, the CSP and Nehru, Subhas Bose and other Left groups and leaders all shared a common political programme which enabled them to work together after 1935.
2. The Left failed in the basic task it had taken upon itself- to establish the hegemony of socialist ideas and parties over the national movement. The reasons being that the Left invariably fought the dominant Congress leadership on wrong issues
3. failed to show ideological and tactical flexibility.
4. It chose to fight not on questions of ideology but on methods of struggle and on tactics.
5. In 1936-37, the Left fought the Right within the Congress on the issue of elections and office acceptance which was seen as a compromise with imperialism.
6. Left saw the dominant Congress leadership as bourgeois, its policy of negotiations as working towards a 'compromise' with imperialism, any resort to constitutional work as a step towards the 'abandonment of the struggle for independence.'
7. It constantly overestimated its support among the people.
8. Above all, the Left failed to grasp the Gandhian strategy of struggle.

9. weakness of the Left was failure of different Left parties, groups and individuals to work unitedly except for short periods.
10. The Left did succeed in making a basic impact on Indian society and politics.
11. The most important contribution was the organization of workers and peasants.
12. The impact of the Left on the national movement was reflected in the resolutions on Fundamental Rights and Economic Policy passed by the Karachi session of the Congress in 1931

### **STRATEGIC DEBATE (1934- 1937)**

1. Following the withdrawal of the CDM, there was a two-stage debate on the future strategy of the nationalists
2. Firstly, what course the national movement should take in the immediate future,
3. Secondly, in 1937, over the question of office acceptance in the context of provincial elections

### **THE FIRST STAGE DEBATE:**

1. At this stage three perspectives were put forward. The first two were traditional responses, while the third one represented the rise of a strong leftist trend within the Congress.
2. constructive work on Gandhian lines, constitutional struggle and participation in elections to the Central Legislature (due in 1934) as advocated by M.A. Ansari, Asaf Ali, Bhulabhai Desai, S. Satyamurthy and B.C. Roy among others.
3. They argued that elections and council work could be utilized to keep up the political interest and morale of the people
4. But unlike in the 1920's, a **third tactical perspective**, based on an alternative strategy, made its appearance at this time- A strong leftist trend within the Congress represented by Nehru was critical of both constructive work and council entry in place of the suspended civil disobedience movement- as that would sidetrack political mass action and divert attention from the main issue of struggle against colonialism.
5. favoured resumption and continuation of non- constitutionalist mass struggle because the situation was still revolutionary
6. He considered the withdrawal of the civil disobedience movement and council entry “a spiritual defeat”, “
7. According to him, there could be no genuine anti-imperialist struggle, without incorporating class struggle of the masses.

### **‘Struggle-Truce-Struggle’ Strategy:**

1. A large number of Congressmen led by Gandhi believed that a mass phase of movement (struggle phase) had to be followed by a phase of reprieve (truce phase) before the next stage of mass struggle could be taken up.

2. would enable the masses to recoup their strength to fight and also give the Government a chance to respond to the demands
3. If the Government did not respond positively, the movement could be resumed again
4. Criticizing the S-T-S strategy, Nehru argued that the Indian national movement had reached a stage, after the Lahore Congress call for Purna Swaraj programme, in which there should be a continuous confrontation and conflict with imperialism till it was overthrown.
5. He accepted that the struggle had to go through setbacks and phases of upswing and downswing; but these should not lead to a passive phase or a stage of compromise or cooperation with the colonial framework
6. suggested a **Struggle-Victory (S-V) strategy** or a permanent waging of mass struggle till victory was won.

### **Finally, Yes to Council Entry:**

1. Gandhi conciliated the proponents of council entry by acceding to their basic demand of permission to enter the legislatures.
2. He said, "Parliamentary politics cannot lead to freedom but those Congressmen who could not, for some reason; offer satyagraha or devote themselves to constructive work should not remain unoccupied
3. Assuring the leftist's Gandhi said that the withdrawal of the CDM did not mean bowing down before opportunists or compromising with imperialism-
4. A large section of the intelligentsia favoured parliamentary politics with which he was in fundamental disagreement. Another section was estranged from the Congress because of Gandhi's emphasis on the spinning wheel as the "second lung of the nation" on Harijan work and other constructive programmes
5. The Socialists led by Nehru also had differences with Gandhi.
6. In October 1934, Gandhi announced his resignation from the Congress to serve it better in thought, word and deed.
7. In the elections to the Central Legislative Assembly held in November 1934, the Congress captured 45 out of 75 seats

### **GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1935:**

1. Third RTC was held in November, again without Congress participation.
2. discussions led to the formulation of the Act of 1935
3. **An All India Federation:** It was to comprise all British Indian provinces, chief commissioner's provinces and Indian states.
4. federation's formation was conditional on the fulfilment of two conditions, states with allotment of 52 seats in the proposed Council of States should agree to join the federation; aggregate population of states in the above category should be 50 per cent of the total population of all Indian states.
5. Since these conditions were not fulfilled, the proposed federation never came up



6. **Federal Level:** Executive Governor-general was the pivot of the entire Constitution.
7. Subjects to be administered were divided into reserved and transferred subjects.
8. Reserved subjects- foreign affairs, defence, tribal areas and ecclesiastical affairs were to be exclusively administered by the Governor- General on the advice of executive councilors
9. Transferred subjects included all other subjects
10. bicameral legislature was to have an upper house (Council of States) and a lower house (Federal Assembly).
11. The three lists for legislation purposes were to be federal, provincial and concurrent.
12. Members of Federal Assembly could move a vote of no-confidence against ministers.
13. Provincial autonomy replaced dyarchy. Provinces were granted autonomy and separate legal identity
14. Provinces henceforth derived their legal authority directly from the British Crown. Provinces were given independent financial powers and resources.
15. Separate electorates based on Communal Award were to be made operational.
16. Franchise was extended; women got the right on the same basis as men.
17. **Evaluation of the Act:** Numerous 'safeguards' and 'special responsibilities' of the governor-general worked as brakes in proper functioning of the Act.
18. Act enfranchised 14 per cent of British Indian population.
19. extension of the system of communal electorates and representation of various interests promoted separatist tendencies
20. provided a rigid Constitution with no possibility of internal growth.
21. In the long run, the strategy was to weaken the movement and integrate large segments of the movement into colonial, constitutional and administrative structure.
22. Repression earlier and reforms now would convince Congressmen of ineffectiveness of extra-legal struggle.
23. Once Congressmen tasted power, they would be reluctant to go back to politics of sacrifice.
24. Provincial autonomy would create powerful provincial leaders who would gradually become autonomous centres of political power. Congress would thus be provincialised
25. Act was condemned by nearly all sections and unanimously rejected by the Congress. The Congress demanded, instead, convening of a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise to frame a Constitution for independent India.

#### **THE SECOND STAGE DEBATE:**

1. In early 1937, elections to provincial assemblies were announced and once again the debate on the future strategy to be adopted began. Everyone agreed that the 1935 Act was to be opposed
2. There was full agreement that the Congress should fight these elections on the basis of a detailed political and economic programme, thus deepening the anti-imperialist consciousness of the people.

3. But what to do after the elections was not yet clear. If the Congress got majority in a province, was it to agree to form a government? Nehru, Subhash, Congress socialists and communists: were opposed to office acceptance. It would be like assuming responsibility without power.
4. leftists proposed entry into the councils with an aim to create deadlocks, thus making the working of the Act impossible
5. they advocated an increased reliance on workers and peasants, integration of their class organisations into the Congress
6. The proponents argued that they were equally committed to combating the 1935 Act, but work in legislatures was to be only a short-term tactic since option of a mass movement was not available at the time.
7. they argued that the administrative field should not be left open to proGovernment reactionary forces
8. Congress won 716 out of 1161 seats it contested. It got a majority in all provinces, except in Bengal, Assam, Punjab, Sindh and NWFP, It emerged as the largest party in Bengal, Assam and NWFP.
9. prestige of the Congress rose and Nehru reconciled to the dominant strategy of S-T-S.

### **28 MONTHS OF CONGRESS RULE IN PROVINCES**

1. ministries formed in Bombay, Madras, Central Provinces, Orissa, United Provinces, Bihar and later in NWFP and Assam
2. to ensure that the British hopes of the provincialization of the Congress did not materialize, a central control board known as the Parliamentary Sub- Committee was formed, with Sardar Patel, Maulana Abdul Kalam and Rajendra Prasad
3. The Congress was now to function both as a government in the provinces and as the opposition vis-à-vis the Central Government where effective state power lay
4. Gandhi advised Congressmen to hold these offices lightly and not tightly. The offices were to be seen as 'crowns of thorns' which had been accepted to see if they quickened the pace towards the nationalist goal.
5. formation of the Ministries by the Congress changed the entire psychological atmosphere in the country
6. Congress ministries had some basic limitations: they could not, through their administration, change the basic imperialist character of the system and could not introduce a radical era.

### **Work under Congress Ministries:**

#### **Civil Liberties:**

1. Laws giving emergency powers were repealed.
2. Ban on illegal organisations, such as Hindustan Seva Dal and Youth Leagues, and on certain books and journals was lifted.
3. Press restrictions were lifted. Newspapers were taken out of black lists.

4. Confiscated arms and arms licenses were restored.
5. Police powers were curbed and CID stopped shadowing politicians.
6. Political prisoners and revolutionaries were released
7. lands confiscated during the civil disobedience movement were restored.
8. But there were certain blemishes in the performance of the Congress ministries regarding civil liberties. Yusuf Maheraly, S.S. Batliwala, socialists, were arrested. K.M. Munshi, Bombay Home Minister, used CID against communists and leftists.

### **Agrarian Reforms**

1. Under the constitutional structure of the 1935 Act, the ministries did not have adequate powers.
2. There were inadequate financial resources as a lion's share was appropriated by the Government of India.
3. They could also not touch the existing administrative structure, as it was guarded by the Viceroy and Governor
4. Strategy of class adjustments was another hurdle since zamindars, etc. had to be conciliated and neutralized
5. There was constraint of time since the logic of Congress politics was confrontation and not cooperation with colonialism.
6. reactionary second chamber (Legislative Council) dominated by landlords, moneylenders and capitalists in United Provinces, Bihar, Bombay, Madras and Assam had to be conciliated
7. Agrarian legislation by the Ministries differed from province to province
8. The landlord's power to realize rent was greatly reduced- Landlords were forbidden from charging illegal dues
9. Occupancy tenants could no longer be ejected from their holdings for nonpayment of rent.
10. illegal exactions such as nazrana (forced gifts) and begar (forced unpaid labour) were abolished.
11. basic system of landlordism was, of course, not affected. Furthermore, most of these benefits went to statutory and occupancy tenants while subtenants did not gain much

### **Attitude towards Labour**

1. The Congress Ministers adopted, in general, a pro- Labour stance
2. approach was to advance workers' interests while promoting industrial peace
3. This was sought to be achieved by reducing strikes as far as possible. Accordingly the Industrial Disputes Act was passed in 1938- The Act advocated compulsory arbitration prior to striking
4. Generally, the ministries took recourse to Section 144 and arrested the leaders.
5. Nehru was unhappy about these repressive measures, but in public supported ministries to protect them from criticism.

6. **Industrial Disputes Act, 1938:** The act was based on the philosophy of 'class collaboration and not class conflict
7. The emphasis in the Act was on conciliation, arbitration and negotiations in place of direct action. empowered the Government to refer an industrial dispute to the Court of Industrial Arbitration. No strike or lock-out could occur for an interim period of four months during which the Court would give its award.
8. Act was strongly opposed by Left Congressmen, including Communists and Congress Socialists, for restricting the freedom to strike and for laying down a new complicated procedure for registration of trade unions

### **Social Welfare Reforms**

1. welfare of untouchables or Harijans (children of God), as Gandhiji called them, taken-temple entry, use of public facilities of water such as wells, ponds, roads, means of transport,
2. Their numbers were also increased in government service and police, etc.
3. Attention given to primary, technical and higher education and to public health and sanitation.
4. Encouragement give to khadi through subsidies and other measures.
5. Prison reforms undertaken.
6. Encouragement given to indigenous enterprises.
7. Efforts taken to develop planning through National Planning Committee

### **Evaluation**

1. by 1939 internal strife's, opportunism and hunger for power had started surfacing among Congressmen
2. practice of bogus membership made its appearance and began to grow
3. There was a scramble for jobs and positions of personal advantage
4. Many Congressmen began to give way to casteism in their search for power
5. Gandhi's reaction: Gandhi warned the Congressmen that if the Congress isn't purged of illegalities and irregularities, it will cease to be the power it is. However, Gandhiji saw that this slackening of the movement and weakening of the moral fibre was in part inevitable in a phase of non- mass struggle.
6. He therefore, advised giving up of offices and starting preparation for another phase of Satyagraha
7. Congress ministries resigned in October 1939 after the outbreak of the Second World War.
8. it brought Left and Right in the Congress closer because of the common policy on the question of participation in the war

### **The 28-month Congress rule was also significant for the following reasons.**

1. The contention that Indian self-government was necessary for radical social transformation got confirmed.

2. Congressmen demonstrated that a movement could use state power to further its ends without being co-opted.
3. The ministries were able to control communal riots.
4. The morale of the bureaucracy came down.
5. Council work helped neutralise many erstwhile hostile elements (landlords, etc
6. Administrative work by Indians further weakened the myth that Indians were not fit to rule.
7. When an all-India political crisis occurred and the central Congress leadership wanted it, the Ministers promptly resigned.
8. Finally: Above all, the Congress gained by influencing all sections of the people.

### **PEASANT MOVEMENT IN THE 1930'S AND 40'S**

1. largely a result of the combination of particular economic and political developments the great Depression that began to hit India from 1929-30 and the new phase of mass struggle launched by the Indian National Congress in 1930

#### **The Great Depression**

1. The Depression brought agricultural prices crashing down to half or less
2. peasants burdened with high taxes and rents.
3. The Government was adamant in refusing to reduce the rates of taxation or in asking zamindars to bring down their rents.
4. The prices of manufactured goods, too, didn't decrease much.

#### **Civil Disobedience Movement**

1. no-tax and no-rent campaign. Peasants joined the protest in large numbers.
2. With the decline of the Civil Disobedience Movement, these men and women began to search for an outlet of their political energies and many of them found the answer in organizing the peasants.
3. consolidation of the Left acted as a spur to the formation of an all-India body to coordinate the kisan movement
4. All-India Kisan Congress, was thus established, in Lucknow in April 1936.
5. **Kisan Manifesto:** It was finalized at the All-India Kisan Committee and influenced the agrarian programme adopted by the Congress at its Faizpur session, which included demands for fifty per cent reduction in land revenue and rent, a moratorium on debts, the abolition of feudal levies, security of tenure for tenants
6. formation of Congress Ministries in a majority of the provinces in early 1937 marked the beginning of a new phase in the growth of the peasant movement.
7. chief form of mobilization was through the holding of kisan conferences or meetings at the thana, taluqa, district and provincial levels These conferences would be addressed by local, provincial and all-India leaders.

### **PEASANT ACTIVITY IN PROVINCES:**

1. **In Malabar**, a powerful peasant movement developed as the result of the efforts mainly of CSP
2. demands were abolition of feudal levies, renewal fees, advance rent; and the stopping of eviction of tenants by landlords
3. **In coastal Andhra**, too, the mobilization of peasants proceeded on an unprecedented scale. They were mobilized with the efforts of Andhra Provincial Ryots Association and the Andhra Zamin Ryots Association, Acharya NG Ranga
4. **Bihar** was another major area of peasant mobilization in this period. Swami Sahajanand Saraswathi
5. The slogan of Zamindari abolition, adopted in 1935 Other demands included the stopping of illegal levies, the prevention of eviction of tenants and the return of bakasht lands. Bakasht lands were those which the occupancy tenants had lost to zamindars, mostly during the Depression years, by virtue of non-payment of rent
6. **Punjab** was another centre of kisan activity. Here, too, the kisan sabhas that had emerged in the early 1930s, through the efforts of Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Kirti Kisan, Congress and Akali activists.
7. **In Bengal**, under the leadership of Bankim Mukherji, the peasants of Burdwan agitated against the enhancement of the canal tax on the Damodar canal and secured major concessions.
8. **In Surma Valley, in Assam**, a no-rent struggle continued for six months against zamindari oppression
9. **During the War:** kisan sabha continued to play an important role in various kinds of relief work, as for example in the Bengal Famine of 1943, and helped to lessen the rigour of shortages of essential goods, rationing and the like.
10. **Post War Phase:** negotiations for transfer of power and anticipation of freedom, marked a qualitatively new stage in the development of then peasant movement.
11. **Tebhaga Movement:** In 1946, the share-croppers (bargadars) of Bengal began to assert that they would no longer pay a half share of their crop to the jotedars but only one-third and that before division the crop would be stored in their Khamars (godowns) and not that of the jotedars.
12. The Bengal Land Revenue Commission, popularly known as the Floud Commission, had already made this recommendation in its report to the government.
13. led by the Bengal Provincial Kisan Sabha, soon developed into a clash between jotedars and bargadars with the bargadars insisting on storing the crop in their own khamars.
14. The communist cadres, including many urban student militias went to the country side to organise the bargadars
15. The central slogan was “nij khamare dhan tolo”- that is, sharecroppers taking the paddy to their own threshing floor and not to the jotedars house, as before, so as to enforce tebhaga
16. Muslims also participated in large numbers.

17. movement dissipated soon, because of the Muslim League ministry's sop of the Bargardari Bill, and intensified repression, the popularization of the Hindu Mahasabha's agitation for a separate Bengal and renewed riots in Calcutta

#### **Balance sheet of peasant movement:**

1. Perhaps the most important contribution was that even when they did not register immediate successes, they created the climate which necessitated the post-Independence agrarian reforms. For example, the Zamindari abolition
2. The struggles based on demands were clearly not aimed at the overthrow of the existing agrarian structure but towards alleviating its most oppressive aspects.
3. They eroded the power of the landed class, thus adding to the transformation of the agrarian structure
4. The relationship of the peasant movement with the national movement continued to be one of a vital and integral nature.

#### **THE FREEDOM IN PRINCELY INDIA**

1. recognized paramountcy of Br. Govt.. in return, were guaranteed against any threat to their power, internal or external.
2. As the national movement grew in strength, the Princess were called upon to play the role of 'bulwarks of reaction'.
3. Any sympathy with nationalism, such as that expressed by Maharaja of Baroda was looked upon with extreme disfavour.
4. The runaway terrorists from Br. India seeking shelter in the States became agents of politicization.
5. policy of (INC) towards States was first enunciated in 1920 in Nagpur when a resolution was passed calling Princes to grant full responsible government in their respective States.
6. though Congress allowed the residents of these States to become the members of INC, it was made clear that it would follow the policy of non-intervention meaning, no political activity could be initiated in the States in the name of Congress, but only as members of local political organizations. This was due to the differences in political conditions between Br. India and the States. The main emphasis was that people of the States should build up their own strength
7. GOI Act of 1935 introduced federation wherein States would be brought into direct constitutional relationship with Br. India and States would be represented through their nominated representatives in the Federal Legislature.
8. Congress started to change its attitude of non-intervention and in Tripuri in March 1939 Congress passed a resolution relaxing its restraint policy and increasing the identification of the Congress with the States' people.

#### **INDIAN CAPITALISTS AND NATIONAL MOVEMENT**

- the class grew from mid 19th c as an independent capital base and not as junior partners of foreign capitals.
- it was not subservient to pro-imperialist feudal interests wether economically or politically.
- in the period of 1914-1947, the capitalist class grew rapidly, increasing its strength and self-confidence. This was achieved through import substitution, encroaching upon areas of European domination.
- it was achieved in spite of and in opposition to colonialism by waggng a constant struggle against colonialism.
- It was only apprehensive about path chosen for opposing imperialism i.e one which would not undermine capitalism itself.
- **Emergence of the class as political entity**- formation of (FICCI) was seen as a body representing dominant opinion of Indian capitalist class. It was recognized by both Br. Govt. and Indian public.
- It also felt the need to effectively intervene in politics and become integral part of national movement.
- **Attitude towards CDM** - as stated earlier class generally preferred constitutional forms of struggle for following **reasons :-**
  1. The fear that it would turn into revolutionary movement which would threaten capitalism itself.
  2. Prolonged hostility to the then government would affect their day-to-day business and threaten the very existence
  3. saw constitutional forms as checks against the measures which would be passed without opposition and could affect the Indian economy and capitalist class.
  4. Hence the participation in assemblies, conferences etc were seen as forums for effective opposition.
  5. Further, they clearly recognized that without the support of Congress their efforts would be futile.
  6. This makes the attitude of the class towards MCD very complex. This is evident from the attitude of the class during 1905-08 where the class remained opposed to the boycott agitation during Swadeshi Movement and Non-Cooperation Movement. However, during 1930s' Civil Disobedience Movement, and Quit India Movement, the class largely supported it.
  7. capitalists by using their funds were able to exercise a decisive influence over political course taken by Congress. The examples given are withdrawal of civil disobedience in 1931 with Gandhi-Irwin Pact and the non-launching of another movement between 1945-47. the author argues that this was not real for the following reasons:-
  8. The demands for protection, fiscal and monetary autonomy etc did not represent the interest of the capitalist class alone; it represented the interest of the nation as a whole. Even Leftists, Communists and Socialists fought for these demands.



9. The concept of economic nationalism came up much before the constitution of capitalists as a class
10. there is no evidence to show that through these funds the community was able to influence the policies of the Congress
11. though they were opposed to Socialist attitude they were aware that a purely capitalist organization could not put up an effective fight against communalism.
12. Hence in 1942 a 'Post War Economic Development Committee' was set up which drafted the Bombay Plan. Its objective was to see how far socialist demands could be accommodated without capitalism surrendering any of its essential features.

### **THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONALIST FOREIGN POLICY**

1. From 1878 onwards, the British Govt undertook a number of large-scale military expeditions outside. The nationalist leaders from the beginning condemned India's involvement in each of these wars
2. **Three other major themes** in the area of nationalist foreign policy emerged during period 1880-1914 :-
3. Sympathy and support for people fighting for their independence and liberation
4. Asia-consciousness. For the first time in 1885 during the opposition to Burma war the Asian identity emerged.
5. Economic rationale including role of foreign capital exports behind the resurgence of imperialism came to be understood. from now on the author gives various instance which showed the foreign policy of nationalists:-
6. at its Calcutta session in 1920, Congress asked people not join the army to fight in West Asia;
7. in 1921, Congress congratulated Burmese people on their struggle for freedom and in 1924 asked the Indian settlers in Burma to demand no separate rights at the cost of Burmese people;
8. in 1926-27 Nehru visited Europe and participated as a representative of Congress in International Congress
9. Congress strongly condemned Fascism and extended full support to people of Ethiopia, Spain, China in their struggle against fascist aggression.
10. The Congress passed a resolution condemning Japan and calling upon Indian people to boycott Japanese goods as a mark of sympathy with Chinese.
11. Most of the leaders reacted favourably to Russian Revolution during 1917-18

### **RISE AND GROWTH OF COMMUNALISM**

1. Communalism consists of three basic elements or stages, one following the other.
2. First, it is the belief that people who follow the same religion have common secular interests that is political, economic

3. Second element rests on the notion that in a multi-religious society like India, the secular interests of the followers of one religion are dissimilar and divergent from the followers of another religion.
4. third stage is reached when interests of the followers of different religions are seen to be mutually incompatible and hostile.
5. second stage can be described as liberal communalism or moderate communalism. A liberal communalist was basically a believer in and practitioner of communal politics; but he still upheld certain liberal, democratic, nationalist views.
6. Extreme Communalism is the third stage. It is based on fear and hatred, and had a tendency to use violence of language
7. British rule and its policy of Divide and Rule bore special responsibility for the growth of communalism in modern India
8. It encouraged and nurtured communalism through different ways.
9. consistently treating Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs as separate communities, India was said was neither a nation
10. official favour and patronage were extended to the communalists.
11. communal Press and persons and agitations were shown extraordinary tolerance.
12. communal demands were readily accepted. accepted communal leaders as spokesperson for their 'communities'
13. separate electorates served as an important instrument for the development of communal politics
14. colonial Govt encouraged communalism through a policy of non-action against it.
15. Another strong contributory factor in the growth of communalism was the Hindu tinge in the nationalist thought.

### **COMMUNALISM- LIBERAL PHASE**

1. Badruddin Tyabji, R.M.Sayani, A.Bhimji, Hamid Ali Khan and others joined Congress and gave active support to Swadeshi agitation against partition of Bengal.
2. This made the Muslim communalists to enter political arena and in 1907 All India Muslim League was founded. T
3. League supported partition of Bengal, separate Muslim interests, separate electorates, reservations in Govt jobs and so on.
4. Simultaneously, Hindu communalism was also being born. They talked of 'tyrannical' Muslim rule in the medieval period
5. Lucknow Pact accepted separate electorates and reservation for minorities in legislature. Though Pact was a step forward in many ways it was also step backward. Congress accepted separate electorates and formally recognized communal politics.
6. nationalist movement and Hindu-Muslim unity took giant steps forward after World War I during agitation against Rowlatt Acts, and the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movements.

### **What was the line of action adopted by Congress to oppose communal forces and why did it fail?**

1. The Congress leaders tried to act as mediators between the different communal leaders to bring about unity at the top so that, some sort of compromise could be arrived at on questions of 'protection' and 'safeguard' to the minorities.
2. One such effort was made during 1928 called as 'Delhi Proposals'.
3. The Congress also came up with its proposals in the form of Nehru Report.
4. Jinnah came up with Jinnah's Fourteen Points which formed the basis of all future communal propaganda.
5. British announced the Communal Award which accepted virtually all the Muslim communal demands embodied in the Delhi Proposals, Jinnah's Fourteen Points. This further damaged the efforts of the nationalists on Hindu-Muslim unity.
6. real answer was all-out opposition to communalism in all areas- ideological, cultural, social and political. this was not done.

### **JINNAH, GOLWALKAR AND EXTREME COMMUNALISM**

1. Communalism after 1937 was transformed from liberal phase to extremist phase for the following reasons:-
2. Congress emerged as a dominant force after Civil Disobedience Movement 1930-34 and 1937 elections
3. landlords finding that open defence of landlords' interests was no longer feasible, now switched to extremist communalism
4. World War II in 1939 strengthened reliance on communal card because Congress withdrew its ministries and demanded that British make a declaration that India would get complete freedom after the War. For countering this demand the British relied on Muslim League whose demands were counterposed to nationalists.
5. communalists now realized that they would gradually wither away if they did not take to militant politics.
6. M.A.Jinnah joined Congress and was an opponent of Muslim League in the beginning. He was even given the title 'Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity'. In 1913 when he joined the Muslim League he became a communal nationalist.
7. after the Communal Award and 1937 elections he could not continue with his liberal communalist views hence he turned towards extreme communalism.
8. Hindu communalism did not lag behind. two main liberal communal leaders were Lajpat Rai and Madan Mohan Malaviya.
9. The RSS (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh) headed by M.S. Golwalkar became the chief ideologue and propagator of extreme communalism. the Hindu communalists also tried to raise the cries of 'Hinduism in danger'.

10. communal riots of August 1946 in Calcutta where over 5,000 lost their lives within five days, in the butchery of Hindus at Noakhali in Bengal and of Muslims in Bihar, the carnage of partition riots and the assassination of Gandhi.

### **QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT AND INA**

1. Also called as 'August Revolution'. The common people demonstrated an unparalleled heroism and militancy and the repression they faced was the most brutal that had ever been used against the national movement
2. Failure of Cripps Mission in April made clear that Britain was determined to continue India's unwilling partnership in War
3. Popular discontent, a product of rising prices and war-time shortages was mounting
4. news of Allied reverses and British withdrawals from South-East Asia and Burma affirmed an imminent British collapse.
5. at the All-India Congress Committee at Gowalia Tank in Bombay the decision was ratified.
6. This is where he gave the mantra 'Do or Die'.
7. On Aug 9 all the top leaders were arrested this resulted in instantaneous reaction among the people leading to hartals, public demonstrations and processions in defiance of the law. The reaction was most intense in Bihar and Eastern U.P.
8. The important aspect of this movement was the emergence of underground networks in various parts of the country with prominent members like Achyut Patwardhan, Aruna Asaf Ali, Ram Manohar Lohia, Sucheta Kripalani, Biju Patnaik, R.P.Goenka, Jayaprakash Narayan was formed.
9. The role of this was of keeping up popular morale by continuing to provide a line of command
10. Gandhiji commenced a fast on 10 Feb in jail. provided a new burst of political activity
11. A significant feature of QIM was the emergence of parallel governments. The first one was proclaimed in Ballia, in East U.P under leadership of Chittu Pande. In Tamluk in Midnapur district of Bengal, the Jatiya Sarkar. Satara, in Maharashtra was the long lasting one. Prati Sarkar was set up under Nani Patil.
12. It organized attacks on Govt. collaborators, informers.
13. QIM marked a new high in terms of popular participation. The youth were in forefront, students from schools and colleges
14. Women also were active. Aruna Asaf Ali and Sucheta Kripalani were two major women organizers of the underground, and Usha Mehta an important member of the Congress group that ran Congress Radio.
15. Peasants and zamindars of all strata participated.
16. Government officials especially at the lower rung supported the movement. This erosion of loyalty of its own officers was one of the most striking aspects of QIM.

17. Though Muslim mass participation was not high, Muslim League supported indirectly by providing shelter to underground workers and did not act as informers. Also there was total absence of any communal clashes.
18. The element of spontaneity in 1942 movement was certainly larger than in earlier movements. This was deliberate on the part of the leadership itself. The resolution clearly stated that a time may come when it may not be possible to issue instructions and that every individual had to act within the general instructions issued.
19. Gandhi refused to condemn violence because he saw it as a reaction to the much bigger violence of the state.
20. it placed the demand for independence on the immediate agenda of movement.

### **A brief look at the Indian National Army –**

1. idea first conceived in Malaya by Mohan Singh, an Indian officer of British Indian Army who instead of joining retreating British army went to Japanese for help.
2. Indian prisoners of war were handed over by Japanese to Mohan Singh who recruited them to INA.
3. The outbreak of QIM gave a fillip to INA.
4. But, by Dec 1942, serious differences emerged between Japanese and INA officers over the role that INA was to play.
5. The Japanese wanted only a token force of 2,000 men while the leaders of INA wanted 20,000
6. 2 nd phase of INA started when Subhas Chandra Bose was brought to Singapore in 1943. he set up Provincial Government of Free India which later declared war on Britain and U.S.
7. one INA battalion commanded by Shah Nawaz was sent to IndoBurma along with Japanese Army for Imphal campaign.
8. However, the failure of campaign quashed any hopes of the INA liberating the nation.
9. when INA men were brought back home and threatened with serious punishment, powerful movement emerged

### **POST-WAR NATIONAL UPSURGE**

1. Famine, inflation, scarcity and so had become rampant.
2. The Labour Party, in Britain after the War was in a hurry to settle the Indian problem.
3. **(INA)issue:** Nehru raised the demand for leniency hailing them as patriots, albeit misguided,
4. announcement was made by the Govt., limiting the trial of INA personnel to those guilty of brutality or active complicity.
5. The high intensity at which campaign for release of INA prisoners was conducted was unprecedented. This was evident from the press coverage and other publicity it got.
6. Its wide geographical reach and the participation of diverse social groups and political parties. spread of pro-INA sentiment to social groups hitherto outside the nationalist pale.

7. Participation was many kinds- some contributed funds, others attended or organized meetings, shopkeepers downed shutters and political parties and organizations raised the demand for the release of the prisoners.
8. sections of Govt. employees, loyalist sections and even armed forces were submerged in the tide of pro-INA sentiment.
9. **there were three upsurges:-** in Calcutta over the INA trials; in Calcutta to protest against the seven year sentence given to an INA officer, Rashid Ali; and in Bombay when the ratings of the Royal Indian Navy (RIN) went on strike.
10. at initial stage a group (such as students or ratings) defied authority and was repressed, a second stage when people in the city joined in, and finally a third stage when people in other parts of the country expressed sympathy and solidarity.
11. The RIN revolt started on 18 Feb when 1100 naval ratings of HMIS Talwar struck work at Bombay to protest against the treatment meted out to them, racial discrimination, unpalatable food and abuses to boot.
12. The arrest of B.C.Dutta, a rating, for scrawling 'Quit India' was resented.
13. joining in of the people in the city: Meetings and processions with strikes and hartals , burning of police stations, shops
14. The third stage was characterized by a display of solidarity by people in other parts of the country. Sympathetic token strikes took place in military establishments in Madras, Vishakapatnam, Calcutta, Delhi,
15. A revolt in the armed forces, even if soon suppressed, had a great liberating effect on the minds of people.
16. the extreme form they took, direct and violent conflict with authority, had certain limitations.
17. First, only the most militant sections of society could participate, there was no place for liberal and conservative groups which had rallied to the INA cause earlier;
18. upsurges were short-lived, confined to a few urban centers, while general INA agitation reached the remotest villages.
19. form of articulation of protest was different. They took the form of a violent

## **FREEDOM AND PARTITION**

1. The Independence-Partition duality reflects the success-failure dichotomy of the antiimperialist national movement
2. While the Congress succeeded in building up a nationalist consciousness sufficient to exert pressure on British to quit India, it could not complete the task of welding that nation and integrate the Muslims into thus nation.
3. On the other hand the British started loosing their grip due to demoralization of British officials and the changing loyalties of Indian officials. when loyalists began to disappear it was realized that the legitimacy which they claimed was also sinking. Thus paucity of European recruits to ICS and policy of Indianization ended British domination of ICS
4. Added to this were the economic worries which had set in due to inflation.

5. British had relied over the years on a twin policy of conciliation and repression. But after the Cripps Offer of 1942, there was little left to offer as concession except transfer of power-full freedom.
6. British finally decided to effect a settlement for good future relations between India and Britain
7. Cabinet Mission was sent to India in 1946 to negotiate setting up of national government and machinery for transfer of power. The British preferred a united India, in sharp contrast to earlier declarations.
8. Congress and League interpreted the Plan in their own way both seeing it as a confirmation of their own stand.
9. Congress maintained that it was against Pak, that League's veto was gone and that 1 Constituent Assembly was envisaged.
10. On the other hand, League maintained that, Pakistan was accepted by the Plan by virtue of compulsory grouping.
11. Jinnah withdrew the League's acceptance of Mission Plan
12. Interim Govt was formed on 2 nd Sept 1946 with only Congress members
13. To this Jinnah reacted with Direct Action which resulted in communal frenzy in Calcutta on 16 Aug 1946.
14. Wavell, Viceroy quietly brought the League into the Interim Govt.
15. League members refused to cooperate with the Congress men and often disrupted its proceedings.
16. This developing crisis was temporarily diffused by Attlee when he declared the date for British withdrawal from India was fixed as 30 June 1948 and appointment of new Viceroy, Mountbatten. This was welcomed by the Congress.
17. Partition of the country was implied in the proviso that if Constituent Assembly was not fully representative power would be transferred to more than one central govt.
18. Mountbatten came to India, by now he was clear that Cabinet Mission Plan was a dead horse. Jinnah was adamant that Muslims would settle for nothing less than a sovereign state.
19. Finally Mountbatten decided to divide India and came up with The Mountbatten Plan on 3 rd June, 1947 which sought to affect an early transfer of power on the basis of Dominion Status to India and Pakistan. The rationale for the early date for transfer of power, 15th Aug 1947, was securing Congress to Dominion Status.
20. The additional benefit was that the British could escape responsibility for the rapidly deteriorating communal situation.
21. acceptance of partition had become inevitable because of the long-term failure of the Congress to draw in Muslim masses and overcome the Muslim communalism particularly after 1937.
22. the failure was revealed more clearly by the 1936 elections in which the League won 90% Muslim seats.
23. collapse of interim government also made Pakistan unavoidable reality

24. prospect of balkanization was ruled out. provinces and princes were only left with option of joining one or other dominion.
25. Partition was accepted on the basis of few unreal hopes they were:- once the British left, differences would be patched up and free India would be built; that Partition was temporary – it had become unavoidable because of present psyche of Hindus and Muslims but, was reversible once communal passions subsided;
26. The Partition would be peaceful however; this was the most unreal belief

### **LONG TERM STRATEGY OF NATIONAL MOVEMENT**

1. Mainly evolved during Moderate and Extremist phases; structured and implemented during Gandhian phase.
2. Strategy based on specific nature and character of Br. rule and colonial state.
3. Basic strategy was to wage a long-drawn out hegemonic struggle or what is called a war of position.
4. a struggle for the minds and hearts of people so that the nationalist influence would continuously grow among them through different channels and phases of the movement with the objective of wresting power from the colonial rulers.
5. to erode the hegemony or ideological influence of the colonial rulers in every area of life.
6. The notion of benevolence was undermined by the works of nationalists like Dadabhai Naoroji
7. notion of invincibility was undermined by independent newspapers, works of extremists, death-defying deeds of Revolutionary Terrorists and law-breaking movements of post-1918 period.
8. Third objective was to undermine the hold of colonial state on the members of its own apparatuses- members of civil services, police and armed forces. virtual disappearance of loyalty after 1945 and consequent disarray of the Br. administrative structure were major reasons for Br. to finally quit India.
9. Fourth objective was to constantly expand semi-democratic political space. In order to achieve the above objectives they followed a strategy called Struggle-TruceStruggle or S-T-S
10. Another strategy was Constitutional reforms and legislative councils that would upset imperialist calculations and advance nationalist cause. These avenues were used to promote reforms
11. Non-violence was yet another essential component of overall strategy. This enabled the participation of mass of people who could not have participated in violent forms. This was particularly true of women agitators.
12. these objectives were progressively achieved through successive waves of mass movements alternating with phases of truce. Even when mass movements were suppressed (1932, 1942), withdrawn (1922), ignored and suppressed (1940-41) or ended in compromise (1930-31) these movements were great successes