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Reasons for rise of Extremists

- 1) Failure of moderates (****failures in anti Br struggle led to stronger anti Br struggle. Pre 1857 revolts failures -->to 1857 revolt whose failure →to modern INM where failure of conservatives →to pre INC regional organisations of Western Educated Middle Class (*WEMC) & their failure →to setting up of INC under Moderates (*were from WEMC) whose failure →to extremists whose failure →to Revolutionaries & their all's failure →to Gandhi*)
- 2) Extremists had greater support of religious masses since they believed in mass movement & hence used cultural nationalism for development of political nationalism among masses (*e.g. Ganapati Festival 1893, Shivaji Festival 1896 by Tilak)
- 3) Authoritarianism of Curzon9905 (1899-1905) that led to anger among masses & hence strengthened Extremists.

Swadeshi Movement 1905-11 (Swadeshi0511)

1) Administration of Curzon9905 (1899-1905):

- a) **Calcutta Municipal Corporation Amendment Act 1899** – decreased no. of elected members in municipalities.
- b) **Indian Universities Act 1904** – brought universities under government control as Curzon9905 believed they are becoming factories of sedition (**refer also to education reform Handouts).
- c) **Indian Official Secrets Amendment Act 1904** -reduced freedom of press as

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- i) Gave govt - power to censor & confiscate any publication that hurt interests of the Br Empire.
- ii) Made it a criminal offence to communicate any official secret
- iii) Official secret defined as any information relating to affairs of the state or any matter specially notified by govt.
- iv) Remained in force until Indian Official Secrets Act 1923 (*more strict)

2) Bengal Partition [Oct 1905]

- a) To create EBA (East Bengal & Assam) as a new Muslim Majority Province (*MMP)
 - i) *Territorial & Administrative Reorganization of Bengal, Orissa, Bihar, Assam
 - (1) 1765: Br got Diwani of Bengal Suba (Bengal, Orissa, Bihar) & 1775 annexed Benaras which they ruled as part of Bengal Presidency
 - (2) 1801: Half of Awadh into Bengal Presidency
 - (3) 1826: Assam annexed @1st Anglo Burma War 1824-28 + added to Bengal Presidency
 - (4) 1836: Half of Awadh separated from Bengal Presidency by creating North West Provinces (NWP1836)
 - (5) 1874: Assam made a Chief Commissioner Province (*CC Province=UT) by separating it from Bengal
 - (6) 1874-1905: Bengal Presidency [*=Bengal + Orissa + Bihar] + Assam (CC province)
 - (7) 1905: West Bengal [*=WB + Bihar + Orissa] + EBA (*=EB + Assam)
 - (8) 1911: Bengal [*=WB + EB]; Assam; "Bihar & Orissa"
 - (9) 1936: Bihar; Orissa also made full provinces.

b) British justification of Bengal Partition:

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- i) Better administration (*admin) as **undivided Bengal had highest population** & huge area.
- ii) size of Assam would increase & as part of a LG province it would have its **own civil services cadre** improving admin in Assam.
- iii) **Assam-Bengal Railways** would come under single admin of EBA.
- iv) Cheaper maritime outlet via **Chittagong port for Assam Tea Gardens**.
- c) **Indian stand** : Best admin decision would have been linguistic reorganization instead of dividing Bengal on religious lines & therefore Br goal is **to Divide & Rule (*DnR) & weaken INM in Bengal** by
 - i) dividing Bengalis into 2 provinces to hurt their unity + Bengalese would be minority in West Bengal & Hindus a minority in new EBA. INM in Bengal was led by Bengali Bhadrak (Upper Caste Hindus (*UC)). Hence their support base would shrink in both provinces.
 - ii) dividing Indians on basis of religion & appeasing elite Muslims to counter rising Hindu nationalism (*e.g. Bankim wrote Anandamath (1882) that gave concept of Bharat Mata; Swami Dayanand Saraswati (died 1883) & Swami Vivekananda were raising Cultural Nationalism; Ganapati Festival 1893; Shivaji Festival 1896;)

3) Events in Swadeshi Movement

- a) **Risley Papers 1903**(*Risley = home secretary) had Curzon's **Minute on Territorial Re-distribution** that had details of plan of partition. Hence we came to know about partition plan in 1903.
- b) **1903-05**: Moderate methods against partition e.g. Surendranath Bannerjee (*SNB), C.R. Das did press campaign in Bengalee, Sanjibani, Hitabadi; + mobilization at

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village level via **Constructive Swadeshi** e.g. by ShantiNiketan Ashram 1901 of Rabindra Nath Tagore

- c) These methods failed as Partition announced in Oct 1905
- d) In **Aug 1905** itself moderates like SNB, KK Mitra, Anand Mohan Bose, P.C. Ray passed a **resolution for boycott** of British goods & institutions at **Calcutta Town Hall**.
- e) **Extremists began Swadeshi movement by giving goal of Swaraj** in addition to annulment of Bengal partition + advocated method of PR (passive resistance i.e. Boycott & Swadeshi) & spreading the movement outside Bengal.
- f) **Leaders-** C.R. Das & B.C. Pal in Bengal, **Tilak** in Bombay; **Syed Haidar Raza** in Delhi; **L.L. Rai & Ajit Singh** in Punjab; **Chidambaram Pillai** in Madras;
- g) **April 1906 Barisal Conference-** Here SNB & Aurobindo Ghosh distributed **badges of Bande Mataram**. Repressed by police before procession could begin.
(* **Bankim Chandra Chatterjee 1838-94**-in novel **AnandaMath 1882** gave idea of **Bharat Mata** + composed **Bande Mataram**) (*notice Hindu Nationalism in late 1880s)
- h) **Methods of Extremists**
 - i) Gave call for Non Cooperation (**NC**) i.e. **boycott** of British institutions & goods and adoption of **Swadeshi** + **Civil Disobedience (CD)** i.e. violation of unjust laws + **Violent Agitations** if police repression
 - ii) continuation of Constructive Work (***CW**) for awareness & mass mobilization.
 - iii) **National education** was promoted e.g. **Bengal National College** setup with Aurobindo as principal + **National Council of Education** (*Like NCERT) + **Bengal Technical Institute**
 - iv) **Swadeshi Enterprises** were set up e.g. soap, matches, chemical, steel factories e.g. Tata Iron & Steel Company (TISCO) by Jamsetji Tata, Bengal Chemicals &

Pharmaceuticals (BCPL) by P.C. Ray, Bombay Swadeshi Stores (BSS) by Tilak & others; Indian National Bank (INB) by L.L. Rai (*merged with PNB in 1928)

v) **Picketing** of liquor shops & shops selling British goods (*i.e. preventing sale).

This also led to women participation.

vi) **Samitis/Volunteer Corps** setup for mobilizing masses. They also did CW therefore raised awareness, cultural nationalism. E.g. **Swadesh Bandhab Samiti(1905)** of **Ashwini Kumar Dutt** in Barisal did CW among Muslim ryots contributing to Muslim participation. It organised Barisal Conference 1906. *(*notice that INC under moderates had no organizational structure on ground & this gap filled by Samitis)*

vii) **Jatras** i.e. plays/theaters to increase awareness.

viii) **high use of religion** for mobilizing masses- Religious Processions e.g. **Prabhat Pheris** (morning worships) + **applying Tilaks + religious pledges + Kali worship**. In MH, Tilak organized **Ganpati & Shivaji Festival** (* started in 1893, 1896)

ix) CR Das, Liaquat Hussain & BC Pal led **workers strikes** in foreign owned enterprises (**to hurt supply of British goods & not just demand)

4) **Result** -Extremists failed to start a proper mass movement because of –

a) **Costly swadeshi goods** as not enough Swadeshi enterprises- led to low participation by poor e.g.-Muslim ryots, Lower Castes (*LC), blue-collar workers.

b) Use of **force & social boycott against LC & Muslims** to make them participate

c) Low **no. of swadeshi institutions** (**arbitration courts, education, enterprises).

d) **Low Muslim participation because**

i) **Jatras** depicted Muslims & Br as collaborators leading to communal violence & low Muslim participation.

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- ii) **Muslim League 1906** (ML1906) of elite Muslims supported partition e.g. Nawab Salimullah of Dacca + ML1906 partnered with **Ulamas** who controlled muslim masses hurting participation.
- iii) High use of **Hindu religious symbolism** alienated Muslims.
- e) **UC leadership** led to low LC participation (*notice same issue in -ves of Social reformers, Moderates, & also here)
- f) **Extremists focused more on capturing INC** than on mass movt. (*i.e. factionalism hurt the movement)
- g) therefore, overall mass mobilization failed & import of British goods not impacted therefore boycott failed.
- h) **After Surat Split (*of INC) 1907 (*discussed later)**, extremists were repressed making **movt leaderless** e.g. Tilak deported to Mandalay (Burma) (1908-14) + Aurobindo had to retire from politics, BC Pal had to retire temporarily, LL Rai had to go abroad (1914-20 stayed initially in London & then US where he setup "Indian Home Rule League of America").
- i) Therefore, now from, **1908-11**: there was **rise of revolutionaries** due to failure of mass politics by 1908.

Surat Split 1907

1. Bombay moderates opposed extremist methods, but **1906 INC session held in Calcutta where-**
 - a. Dadabhai Naoroji was President- respected by both Moderates & Extremists
 - b. Extremists successful in getting **4 resolutions** passed on-
 - i. Swaraj (Goal) + (3 methods) Boycott, Swadeshi, National Education
 - c. Also separately, Bengal partition was condemned.

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- d. Tilak setup **Extremist/Nationalist party within INC** with goal of changing INC from within into extremist organization.
- 2. In 1907, session was to be held in Poona or Nagpur - strongholds of extremists therefore moderates shifted venue to Surat.
 - a. Morley's Budget speech of 1906 (*SoSforIndia) hinted at council reforms thus Br deployed DnR tactics to divide moderates & extremists. Moderates now wanted to show the British that INC is in favor of truce.
 - b. **at Surat**, fight over presidency between LL Rai & Rash Behari Ghosh(*moderate).
 - c. L.L. Rai withdrew to prevent split but extremists demanded re-adoption of 4 Calcutta resolutions.
 - d. Finally, even shoes were hurled & chairs broken leading to split & expulsion of extremists from INC.
- 3. **In 1908 Allahabad Convention/Mehta Congress**-INC declared –“we are loyal to Raj (*i.e. Br)” (*1908 INC Session in Madras with Rash Behari Ghosh as President; Session, held in December annually, is full meeting of all INC members while Convention is a small meeting of important leaders)
- 4. INC stayed divided until 1920 when MG united moderates & extremist (**re-entry of extremist to INC in 1916 but re-entry is not equal to agreement on methods)