

MODERATES

- 1st 20 years of INC i.e. 1885-1905 = moderate phase of INM.
- Moderates dominated INC until 1920.

Ideology of moderates

- Were influenced by utilitarianism and liberalism
- Had belief in constitutionalism & use of law for reforms.
- **Constitutionalism** implies belief in a Responsible Govt providing Good Governance & Rights of citizens with Rule of Law.
- Believed in **Constitutional methods** i.e. using institutions & mechanisms provided by the State for grievance redressal. (*eg today- fighting elections, using Legislature, using Judiciary, using RTI, CPGRAMS, using Citizen Charter, writing editorials, sending petitions to govt)
- Knew that British rule is exploitative but believed in **Providence of British rule** i.e. if pressurized then British can modernize India.
- Goal was **Limited Self Govt** as believed that Indians were not ready for self-rule (*as no mass western education) & never even thought of full independence.
- Were **secular** & promoted **national unity**.
- Believed in **Capitalism & Industrialization** of India on lines of Britain.

Demands of Moderates

- a) **Abolish India council** so that SoS can function freely (**lobbying 1 SoS easy vs lobbying 15 members of India Council)
- b) **Expand size of ILC** (Imperial Legislative Council) & **PLCs** (Provincial Legislative Councils) with at least **50% indirectly elected members**.
- c) Greater **powers to ILC & PLCs**.
- d) **Indianization of services** via simultaneous exam in India & raising age limit to 23 so - more responsive, less expensive admin + will Reduce drain + Will be a measure against Racism.
- e) Decrease & share **military expenditure** between India & Britain (** because Indian army used for military affairs unrelated to the India.). This demand was met partially but no significant change.
- f) Have a **volunteer army** (**today we have volunteer army i.e. anyone can apply). Not met as Br feared disaffection especially if Marathas & Bengalis join as volunteers.
- g) **Indians at officer rank in military**. Not met as Br couldn't imagine taking orders from Indians (*@1931 after 1st Round Table Conference, appointment of Indians as officers began but Br were extra careful in selection. Only @WW2, Indian Officers were recruited in response to INM demands)
- h) **Trial by Jury + Repeal Arms Act 1878 + Decrease Land Revenue**
- i) Extend **Permanent Settlement outside Bengal** (**Cant increase LR in PS1793+ also a selfish demand as helps Zamindars. Moderates came from landed background).
- j) End exploitation of **indentured laborers of Assam tea plantations**
- k) End **Salt Tax**.
- l) **Result = no demands were met.**

Q) WEAKNESSES OF MODERATES AND INC.

Q) INC was not a TRULY REPRESENTATIVE ORGANIZATION OF INDIANS

① # Uneven Representation & TOTAL EXCLUSION OF non elites.

- Western EDUCATED PROFESSIONALS dominated.
- MIDDLE CLASS DOMINATED : LAWYERS, DOCTORS, MERCHANTS & BANKERS, JOURNALISTS, TEACHERS, REFORMERS & LANDOWNERS
- Most members from 3 PRESIDENCIES while REST OF INDIA highly underrepresented.
- Within PRESIDENCIES BOMBAY overrepresented :
 ~1/2 FROM BOMBAY, then MADRAS
 while BENGAL only 5 members ∴ of Parallel session of INDIAN ASSOCIATION (1876) in CALCUTTA at same time
 ⊕ TOLD them abt INC session at last moment.
- UNTIL 1905 - most members HIGH CASTE HINDUS.
- IMPACT : Claim of Representative of whole nation weak.
 ⊕ Impact on success of INC programmes.

Commitment :

- MODERATE LEADERS WERE PART TIME POLITICIANS
e.g. most HAD LUCRATIVE LEGAL PRACTICES.
- INC WAS ORGANIZATIONALLY WEAK . WAS MORE OF
AN ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF 3 DAYS r/t A POLITICAL PARTY.

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① # GOALS, METHODS & REASONS:

◦ **Limited GOAL** : OF Limited SELF GOVT within Br Rule.

WANTED ONLY Removal OF UNDESIRABLE ASPECTS OF Br Rule i.e not Removal of Br Rule but OF "UnBritish Rule" - words of SURENDRANATH BANERJEA

PROOF : 1st President W.C. BONNERJI "INC IS LOYAL TO Br & WELL WISHERS OF Br"

Reason : Believed that Br Rule can bring modernization

⊕ Indians not Ready FOR SELF GOVT.

∴ ULTIMATE LTM GOAL : SELF GOVT LIKE CANADA, AUSTRALIA. Full Br Citizenship.

- **METHODS** :
- Sending PRAYERS & Petitions, PASSING RESOLUTIONS ;
 - USE OF PRESS OF EXPRESSING OPINIONS ; RICH CULTURE OF DEBATES.
 - BUT NO MASS ACTION, no ACTION on STREETS
 - GRADUALISM i.e. GRADUAL REFORMS NOT RADICAL CHANGE

Called "STRATEGY OF MENDICANCY (BEGGING) by EXTREMISTS"

DEFENCE OF MODERATES :

OTHERWISE Br WONT have allowed formation of INC
SARD GOKHALE in 1913.

CULTURE OF DIRECT CONFRONTATION WITH GOVT
HAD YET NOT DEVELOPED.

IV Social BACKGROUND Alienated Them from masses

(1892-1909): 20% LANDLORDS 40% LAWYERS 15% TRADERS
 i) most from
 LANDED FAMILIES

IMPACT : • DIDNT TAKE ANTI ZAMINDAR STAND

WANTED PS1793 extension ∴ pro Zamindar.

OPPOSED PUNJAB LAND ALIENATION BILL 1890

(Prevent LAND GRAB ∴ of indebtedness)

• DIDNT TAKE PRO WORKING CLASS WHR INDIAN CAPITALIST (e.g. supported workers of Assam Tea Garden ∴ european planters)

E.g. OPPOSED FACTORY REFORMS like **mining Bill**

that put minimum AGE limit for child LABOR & improved working conditions of women & children

STAND that

• ONLY INDIAN CAPITALISM will Remove Poverty!!!

revealed true colors.

(ii) Very Few muslims

except Bombay's BADRUDDIN TYABJI
(1892-1909) govt. Minors, only 6.5% muslims
| Here
40% Brahmins, Rest upper castes

Impact : Decided that no social questions to be
taken up (until 1907)

• 1893 Cow Killing Riots not condemned by INC

↓ to

Dramatically Low muslim PARTICIPATION post 1890s

yet no effort to reach out to muslims

∴ arrogance of no strong muslim party until 1906.