

## **INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT – III**

### **EARLY LEADERSHIP OF THE CONGRESS**

#### **ASPECT-I-IDEOLOGY & PROGRAMME OF THE EARLY NATIONALISTS / MODERATES**

1. The moderates stood for harmonizing political progress with order. They stood for constitutional agitation and bringing about changes through the action of the constituted authority. They worked for a political programme under which political rights should grow slowly but steadily and from precedent to precedent. There was the struggle in which direct action and elements of radicalism were conspicuously absent.
2. They did not contemplate over revolutionary upsurge, seizure of power or expulsion of the British. Even the demand for Swarajya became the part of their political agenda in later phases. There was not the struggle for political liberation but for political changes in consonance with the larger interests of the people and the country as a whole.
3. Political moderation was the hallmark of their entire strategy. Political methods basic to constitutional politics formed this strategy. They took recourse to making earnest appeal, sending applications and petitions, holding meetings, organizing public opinion, propaganda through press etc.
4. The principal aspect of the entire strategy was formulation of popular demands, their presentation to the government and putting pressure on the government to meet them by convincing the government of the justness of the demands. And this pressure was created through constitutional methods. The central idea was to transform the government gradually in tune with the popular demands.
5. The Moderates worked for the political unity of the country, for welding diverse people into a nation. They kept all issues and demands which could bring one class into conflict with another out of their political agenda. They had little in their programme to arouse peasants or workers, for this would provoke antagonism among classes and create cleavage in ranks and file of the organization,
6. Masses were not assigned any important role in the political struggle this was confined to the stratum of the educated. And this was because of the reason that masses were not politically aware, organized and united time was not ripe for the mass struggle. This was also because they were not ready to throw an open challenge to the British for fear of premature suppression of the infant political movement. Consequently they could not impart the political struggle the character of a mass struggle.
7. Social Reforms too were not the part of their agenda. Their work was principally confined to the issues in which the entire nation has a direct participation. They showed indifference to taking up the social issues. Congress to them, was a political body to represent political aspirations of the Indian people as a whole and not a platform to discuss social reform. This too was an attempt to build up national unity
8. The moderates as group and their working exhibits a distinct bourgeois ideological hegemony. They believed in bourgeois path of socio-economic political development. They aimed at creation of modern bourgeois state, economy and society and their programme reflected the interests of all classes conflicting with forces of imperialism.

### **ASPECT – VIII – MODERATES & MILITANTS – A COMPARISON**

- A. Moderates had a deep faith in the mission of the British to uplift the Indians to a high level of progressive social, economic and political existence. They had faith in their generosity, benevolence and goodwill.
  - B. They glorified Western Culture. They took inspiration from it.
  - C. Their goal was not liberation from the British rule but the transformation of the government. They were satisfied with the demands of certain political and administrative reforms.
  - D. They pursued the principles of constitutional agitation and earnest appeal to the British.  
The principal methods remained confined to presenting demands, organising public opinion, holding meetings and criticising through press.
  - E. They fully relied on the British favour for political freedom.
  - F. Though they promoted national consciousness, yet they failed to instill the feelings of self - confidence into Indian minds.
  - G. They had the impression that the British could be persuaded to concede demands.
  - H. They did not assign any role to the masses. To them, time was not opportune to wage a mass struggle; for they were not politicized, organized and united.
  - I. They were mainly concerned with the political unity of the people. they aimed at strengthening the process of India a nation-in-the-making.
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- A. Extremists interpreted the British rule as one of exploitation and political subjugation.
  - B. Idealized the ancient Indian culture and desired to resuscitate it. They sought cultural identity in it. It was a source of inspiration for them to plunge into action.
  - C. Set forth the goal of self-government. They wanted to free India from the British.
  - D. Stood for organizing extra parliamentary pressure on the government such as boycott, Swadeshi passive resistance, relentless boycott etc.
  - E. Relied on their own strength, and worked out the principle of attainment of political freedom by fight.
  - F. Successfully fostered the idea of nationalism, self-respect and self-confidence among the people.
  - G. They believed that British could not permit free and unfettered development of india; for the pursuence of this principle would stand in sharp contrast to the ideology of imperialism in India.
  - H. They showed faith in the strength of the masses. In their capacity to fight and sacrifice.
  - I. They advocated for the rise of Indians from degraded position, removal of weakness and fear, opposition to injustice.

## **INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT – V**

### **RISE OF REVOLUTIONARY TERRORISM**

#### **ASPECT-I- EMERGENCE OF REVOLUTIONARY TERRORISM**

1. Emergence of the Revolutionary Terrorists should be conceived in terms of the rise of an alternative political trend and line of action. This was an alternative for Moderates, politics of constitutional agitation and Militant's strategy of mass struggle and direct action.
2. Moderate's politics had already lost relevance as effective political strategy. It had already come under heavy criticism by the Extremists. On the other hand the Extremists too had come to a political dead end by the end of 1907. Their political programme could not find practical expressions, their aims and objectives remained unfulfilled. Their ideology which appeared initially very promising and inspiring remained only in the ideas. They could not give a positive lead to the movement.
3. On the other hand we find that official arrogance and repression continued unabated. The British attitude did not undergo any change. Chances of fulfillment of demands seemed remote. Partition of Bengal, even after a prolonged protest movement was not revoked.
4. The tendency towards use of force to stop force was at work. This was stimulated by certain elements like direct action, Tight, radicalism, self-sacrifice by youth: inherent in militant ideology.
5. The background of the emergence of the new generation revolutionaries in 1920's was prepared by the early Revolutionary Terrorists Secret societies, anti-establishment journals and their heroic actions build up a platform on which the movement of 1920's could grow.
6. More immediately it was the outcome of the Non-cooperation Movement and its impact. Almost all important members of the revolutionary movement had participated in the Non-cooperation Movement and shared immense exhilaration generated by the unprecedented popular upsurge and high hopes raised by Gandhi's promise of attaining independence within one year. But the way its abrupt suspension came as a shock and surprise to them. The idealist and radical youth could not find anything wrong with chauri-chaura nor could they appreciate the conception of integration of politics and morality adhered to by Gandhi which led the movement to a standstill. Their reaction found expression in a deep dissatisfaction and disillusionment. Their sense of gloom was heightened by disintegration of the Hindu-Muslim unity as well.
7. The alternative political action, the parliamentary politics put forward by the Swarajists and Constructive Programme under Gandhian leadership did not make appeal to them. Deepening sense of pessimism and despair led them to seek an alternative - eventually it led them to socialism on the one hand and revolutionary terrorism on the other. They accepted both. And the revolutionary terrorism with a distinct socialist tinge emerged.
8. A major influence in this connexion was of the Russian Revolution. The Russian Revolution marked the triumph of socialistic ideas. It gave birth to a new political system along socialistic lines. And in the new political order created, we find the consolidation of socialism. Moreover it stood for the victory of revolution by masses against heavy internal odds. It set an example for the success of revolution against powerful enemy. The impact on Indian minds was tremendous. The Russian Revolution acted as a great source of Inspiration for them. It stirred the youth into action.

9. One more event to influence the Revolutionary Terrorists though very vaguely, was the upsurge of the working class. The revolutionaries could see the revolutionary potentialities of this new class and wished to harness it to the national revolution.

## **INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT – VI**

### **RISE OF GANIDHIAN LEADERSHIP**

#### **ASPECT-I-RISE OF GANDHI TO NATIONAL LEADERSHIP**

**Gandhi's personal traits, his great organising capacity, his concern for masses, novel political Ideology and methods and his extensive political-social outlook all combined to produce a powerful and enduring impact on people's minds and the course of the freedom struggle. The Cumulative effect was his emergence to national leadership and establishment of his Ideological hegemony over the entire course of the national movement till attainment of independence.**

1. South African experiment of Gandhi contributed to his rise in manifold ways. His heroic and prolonged struggle for the rights of Indians had brought to the fore his great organising capacity and his capacity to work for the larger interests of the people. The struggle had added his popularity as a leader.
2. The impressions people gathered about him was varied. He came to be looked as a miracle worker, a saviour etc. This helped in the arousal of hopes of people and contributed in a way, in his acceptance by the people.
3. In addition for Gandhi, the South African Experiment proved to be a phase of gaining political experience. To him, this was a phase of evolution and consummation of his political methods. This offered an opportunity for a trial of his strategies. And their success infused in him the confidence in their strength and efficacy. The significance of this lies in their effective and successful use In India.
4. Indian masses had mixed feelings about the working and successfulness of ideologies and methods of various political groups operating in the Indian political scene during the time Gandhi came to India. They had already witnessed the ups and downs in the national politics, the repeated failures of various groups and ideologies. It had caused a sense of disillusionment with these groups. Gandhi appeared as a leader subscribing to neither the Moderate nor the Militant bias. His name was not associated with any existing political group. The effect was a healthy one -he could make a fresh start and could receive an all – India welcome.
5. Gandhi, when he began his political work in India was relieved of the great task of building a political platform and Indian National Congress as a pan-Indian forum was already in existence and it had some political work and achievements to its credit. Nationalist and anti-imperialistic sentiments had long begun to permeate Indian masses and made impact. The overall political situation was ripe for a leader of some sense of political sagacity and capacity to work and to exploit. Gandhi could harness the existing political situation to the benefits of the country and the people.
6. From the very beginning of his political career in India he met success after success – Champaran, Kheda, Ahmedabad Satyagraha bears testimony to this fact. The result of his initial success was recognition of his organizing capacity & political ability, acceptance by the people, and massive following. And this was from this following that he drew immense strength and which made him stand atop.
7. Gandhi's deep concern for the masses, his total identification with masses, his being firmly rooted in Indian soil was one significant factor in his rise. He was closely associated with the things which were already the parts of the consciousness and psyche of the Indian people.

His ideals of non-violence, celibacy, strengthening of spiritual stamina, attainment of extraordinary super-physical powers, invocation of traditional methods & symbols had great appeal to the masses. His use of vernacular, wearing of loin cloth, discarding sacred thread as a token of protest against discrimination against Shudras brought him closer to people, he became one among them - a symbol of India's poverty and hardship of common people.

8. To all these, were added his simplicity, austere habits and saintly grace. This became the real strength of Gandhi as a leader and he came to be a popular leader, the leader of masses.

## **ASPECT - II - IDEOLOGY & POLITICAL METHODS OF GANDHI**

**Gandhian political Ideology is a perfect blend of politics and morality. His political struggle was in essence, a struggle of the people and for the people. His philosophy of action was Satyagraha. His political activities transcended political confines and enter social realm as well His entire political outlook was humanistic and imbued with spiritual principles.**

1. The hallmark of Gandhian political strategy and methods was 'satyagraha'. This was his philosophy of political action. Two basic components of it were truth and non-violence. Satyagraha was vindication of truth believed in a constant beneficent interaction without hatred or malice without falsehood or cowardice between contestants with a view to the ultimate reconciliation. Violence insult or heated emotional propaganda he believed, impeded the progress towards this end.
2. The principles of Satyagraha are opposed to wrongs and injustice-a Satyagrahi was not to compromise with evil, injustice or wrong, he was to non-cooperate with them. Besides what was the truth was to be established and this was to be achieved by arousing the conscience of the opponent, by inflicting of suffering on oneself, the opponent was to be weaned away from error, by patience and sympathy: a change of heart was to be brought about and he was to be drawn to the point of acceptance of the wrongs. It was not a method of forceful conversion, it was to be non-violent, there was no room for retaliation or elements of vindictiveness in it. It was return of good for evil until the evildoer was tired of doing evil.
3. To him, Satyagraha was the weapon of the brave. It was a struggle without fear and cowardice. A satyagrahi must be fearless. And thus he talked about soul force and about making efforts to strengthen. He talked about strength emanating from one's spiritual stamina - this was the process of strengthening oneself from within.
4. The novelty value of his political methods is of great significance, Gandhian programme incorporates an array of novel methods which could be used effectively and to a great extent successfully. They became an indispensable part of the overall nationalist programme and strategy. Some important being civil disobedience both mass and Individual, non-cooperation, court arrest, hartal, hunger strike, marches besides the satyagraha, the greatest weapon.
5. Gandhi recognized the basic role of the masses in the political struggle, and had immense faith in their capacity to wage this struggle. He based his entire politics on their militancy and self-sacrificing spirit. To him a mass movement could not be sustained only by the highly motivated cadre or the standing army. Two significant components of the strategy were active participation by the mass of people and expression of sympathy and support from an aroused public opinion, the cadre's role being in the main confined to the activation, mobilization

and organization of the people He believed in inculcating anti-imperialistic sentiments among them, arousing them to political activity and stirring them into action Gandhian movement is popularly known as People's movement.

6. Gandhi's concern and activities transcended political confines. He exhibited a deep concern for social transformation as well his political outlook subsumed a deep social content. His concern for Hindu - Muslim unity, for the upliftment of the Harijan, for raising the status of women in the society etc. are expressions of his this outlook.
7. Gandhi's ultimate aim was not political freedom alone but a life of dignity for the masses. The mere substitution of the British by Indian rulers, he believed, would amount to nothing more than 'English rule without the Englishmen'. The real enemy, to him, was the entire forces of imperialism and colonialism which gave sustenance to exploitation of the poor by the rich' To him British rule in India was just a manifestation of that. His political struggle was directed against those forces.
8. A significant aspect of Gandhian strategy was Constructive Work It was associated with development of cottage industries, khadi, spinning. Hindu-Muslim unity, upliftment of Harijans, national education and boycott of foreign cloth and liquor, It involved great numbers even those who did not have aptitude and taste for political and parliamentary activity It became symbolic of rendering one's contribution to the cause of the country Gandhian constructive work had a great significance in sustaining a sense of political activism during the passive phases of mass movements. Social and economic uplift of depressed classes filled them with hope and exhilaration and paved way for their own social and economic advancement as well as participation in freedom movement.
9. Gandhi believed in Swadeshi. Swadeshi, to him, was manual labour, labour for livelihood to him this implied use of the things which were found in our surroundings and boycott of the things which belonged to distant and remote.
10. Gandhian struggle was in essence a moral battle, it was a contest moral force. He believed in taking up the struggle around strong moral issues in order to give it moral legitimacy and supremacy.
11. An important aspect of Gandhian programme was alteration of the political movement between the active and non - active phases. He was of view that exhilaration of the masses subsided with lapse of time and the movement lost strength. He clearly recognized the capacity of the masses to work for a movement.
12. Gandhi showed a reconciliatory approach and compromising attitude-compelling the enemy to negotiate and concede demands, that is keeping the door open to negotiations became the key aspect of his political strategy. This can rightly be summarised as a strategy of pressure and compromise. There are manifold Instances which are indicative of his accepting whatever was offered and then working for what was not. Such an approach was of crucial significance in the entire course of the national movement.

## **ASPECT - GANDHI - EARLY POLITICAL ACTIVITIES South Africa**

### **South Africa**

1. Gandhi's political career began in South Africa. It was the transformation of a lawyer into a political activist. In South Africa, he was deeply shocked by the political and social disabilities which were imposed by law, administrative measures and social usages of the Europeans upon the Indian residents. But he remained loyal to British rule, organized voluntary service to the British Government during the Zulu rebellion (in Natal) in 1906, and declared that the British Empire existed for the welfare of the world. However, he founded a political association known as the Natal Indian Congress, as also a newspaper called Indian Opinion with a view to educating Indians in political matters and giving publicity to the grievances.
2. In 1906 a law was passed in the Transvaal requiring Indians to register themselves and to carry passes. Gandhi offered resistance to this humiliating law and used for the first time the weapon of non-violent resistance which came to be known later as Satyagraha. The same political strategy was adopted against a law passed in 1907, preventing Indians from entering into the Transvaal. In 1913 a judicial decision made illegal Indian marriages in South Africa which were not registered and performed in accordance with Christian rites. Satyagraha was offered. Gandhi was arrested and sentenced to imprisonment for nine months. The Government offered compromise. The Indian Relief Act was passed in 1914.
3. Gandhi's activities in South Africa transformed him from a shy and youthful pleader with no experience of public life into a mature idealist and leader. Through co-operation with the Muslims he realized the political importance of Hindu-Muslim unity. Contact with the low-caste Hindus taught him that untouchability was a social and political evil.

### **Early Activities in India**

1. On receipt of instructions from G.K. Gokhale, Gandhi returned to India from South Africa in January 1915. Instead of immediately entering Indian politics, he spent 1915 and much of 1916 touring India, visiting places as far apart as Sind and Rangoon, Benares and Madras in order to get to know his homeland and to make himself known to his countrymen. His only excursion into politics was his demand (October 1915) for the abolition of the system of indentured labour for manual work outside India. No Satyagraha was started because the Government of India abolished the system before the date fixed by him (31 July 1917).
2. His constructive work began with the foundation of the Sabarmati Ashram at Ahmedabad in May 1915. At that stage he did not lay so much store by agitation as by working for the moral, material and economic regeneration of his countrymen. He believed that once people made themselves fit by character and capacity the grant of privileges would follow as a matter of course. Till the beginning of 1917 Gandhi was more of a freelance preacher and social worker than a recognized politician. Gokhale was his closet ally; after his death (February 1915) he was refused admission to the Servants of India Society which Gokhale had founded in 1905 to educate the backward and to organize political work. B.G. Tilak opposed him because he did not publicly support the Home Rule League.



## **INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT – VIII**

### **RISE OF LEFT**

#### **FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GROWTH OF THE LEFT**

1. British colonial rule and exploitation of Indian economy and various sections of socio-economic structure made some patriotic Intellectuals drift towards Leftist Ideologies (particularly those who lived in west had links with it).
2. As a result of the development of modern industries large and concentrated working population came into existence and growth of trade unionism prepared the ground for the formation of the leftist movement.
3. Early leaders of the congress had socialist links to some degree they were not quite unaware of socialism, many of them were favourably disposed towards socialism.
4. The aftermath of the Non - cooperation movement was one of disillusionment Those who did not appreciate the Gandhian Constructive Programme as well as the parliamentary politics of the Swarajists, sought for an alternative ideology as guiding spirit. Leftist ideologies was born out of this quest.
5. Efforts of the leaders like Nehru, Subhash, Dange etc. also became instrumental in giving rise to Leftist ideologies. These loaders emerged as great populariser and publicist of the Socialist idea. They became exponents of radical solutions of socio-economic, political ills on socialist lines. Their efforts made vigorous appeal to the masses, the youth and the student. Socialist ideas began to gather momentum through their efforts.
6. One significant influence was of the Russian Revolution, formation of a Socialist state, spectacular success of the revolution and exciting results of Soviet planning. The Russian revolution stood for the triumph of the power and struggle of the people and it set an example for the anti-imperialist struggle in India.
7. The great depression of 1929 exposed the weaknesses of the capitalist economy. It brought the capitalist system into disrepute. It worsened the plight of the peasants and the workers, production declined sharply. On the other hand the slump had no adverse effect on Russia. It had witnessed the successful completion of two five-year plans. The event drew the attention towards Leftist ideologies
8. Suspension of the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1934 generated a sense of despair. Expectations and aspirations of the people remained unfulfilled. The simmering discontent of the people and leaders took them to the path of Leftist ideologies.
9. Certain important world events also drew the attention of the people towards Leftist ideologies. The capitalistic system stood affected by the crisis of overproduction. It bred ideology like Nazism which was antagonistic to the principles of democratic ideals and human rights and antagonistic to socialist ideas.