THE INDIAN STRUGGLE 1920-42

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

| Berlin 1942

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Compiled by the
Netaji Research Bureau
Calcutta

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Editor's Note

THIS is the most important and comprehensive single volume of Netaji's works yet published.

The book is in two parts. The first is Netaji's narrative of the Indian struggle from 1920 to 1942. The second consists of a collection of writings, speeches and other documentary material covering the decade that ended with the Quit India Movement. As to Netaji's original narrative of the twenty-two years, — from the birth of Non-co-operation to the August Revolution — any commentary is superfluous. The material provided in the second part, many of them so far unpublished, are complementary to the foregoing narrative. They will undoubtedly contribute to a fuller understanding of the author, his ideology and technique of struggle.

Netaji wrote the first part of the narrative (1920-1934) as an exile in Europe and the book was first published in London on the 17th January 1935. It was particularly well reviewed in the British press and warmly welcomed in European literary and political circles. The British Government in India, however, lost no time in prohibiting its entry into India on the plea that the book tended generally to encourage methods of terrorism and direct action. The latter part of the narrative (1935-1942) was also written in Europe — eight years later — during World War II. The manuscript was obtained from Vienna after the war. A reprint of the London publication was issued in India in 1948 and the history of the period 1935-1942 published separately in 1952. Both of these have unfortunately been out of print for years.

It is known that a German translation of the entire narrative had been in preparation during Netaji's last sojourn in Europe in 1941-43 but it never saw the light of day. An Italian edition was, however, published in 1942 under the auspices of the Italian Institute of Middle and Far Eastern Affairs.

In presenting the narrative in its entirety, minor changes in title and arrangement have been made in the interest of the reader. The appendix in the original London edition appears in this book as "Epilogue 1934" and it precedes instead of following, the

chapter entitled "A Glimpse of the Future". It may be mentioned also that the preface, being from the original London edition, relates to the narrative up to 1934. Netaji's draft preface to the proposed German edition is available but is not relevant in the present context.

Part two opens with the provocative Bose-Patel Manifesto to which the author has referred in Chapter 14, p. 261. It is followed logically by Netaji's presidential speech at the London Political Conference (Chapter 24) of June 1933 which was the first, forthright and detailed enunciation of his alternative ideology and plan of action.

The two articles that follow (Chapters 25-26) are important in that they reflect Netaji's early but already mature views on internal and foreign policy and on the nature, scope and future of Socialist movement in India. Netaji's report on his interview with Romain Rolland (Chapter 27) is a most stimulating exercise in fundamental ideological questions then facing the Indian leftist movement. The report of an interview with Netaji in London in 1938 (Chapter 28) embodies his clarifications in regard to the references to Fascism and Communism in his original narrative (Chapter 19, pp. 312-14) and therefore useful in any ideological evaluation of Subhas Chandra Bose.

For other important and additional material covering the events of 1938-1940, the reader is advised to use *Crossroads* (The Works of Subhas Chandra Bose 1938-1940, Asia Publishing House, Calcutta, 1962) as a companion volume to the present work.

Chapters 29 to 38 relate to the period that began with Netaji's secret departure from India (pp. 345-46) and ended with the even more hazardous voyage by submarine from Europe to East Asia early in 1943. The thesis on "Forward Bloc and its justification" was among the documents delivered to Sarat Chandra Bose in Calcutta on the last day of March 1941 by Bhagat Ram Talwar, Netaji's companion during his secret journey from Peshawar to Kabul. The report of the then Italian Minister in Kabul (Chapter 30) on his talks with Netaji reveals clearly the latter's objectives in going abroad and the nature of the arrangement that he sought with powers then at war with the British Empire. His memoranda to the German Government (Chapters 31-32) further clarify the position and demonstrate that Netaji was acting not only as the

spokesman of Free India but also as an educator in Asian and colonial affairs.

The Secret Message to comrades in India (Chapter 33) sent through 'Rahamat Khan', the assumed name of Bhagat Ram Talwar, will, we hope, stimulate on organised enquiry and research into the generally unknown but heroic exploits of revolutionaries inside India during World War II.

No definite record has so far been available as regards the impact of the Soviet-German War on the movement that Netaji was building in Europe and the reactions of Netaji himself to this major turn in the world situation. The Woermann report (Chapter 34) will therefore be read with the greatest interest by all students of history and politics. In studying the report, one should bear in mind that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was expressing himself in the way he did in Berlin and at a time when the Third Reich appeared to have reached the zenith of its power.

Netaji's first radio broadcast to India (Chapter 35) has been included not merely for the purpose of record but also as the first declaration of the war aims of the Azad Hind Movement.

In order to help the reader appreciate Netaji's discussion of the genesis and vicissitudes of the Quit India resolution (pp. 348-52), full texts of Mahatma Gandhi's draft and as it was ultimately adopted by the Indian National Congress have been given in Chapter 36.

The article entitled "Free India and Her Problems" (Chapter 37) was originally written by Netaji for the foreign reader twenty-one years ago. Much of what he said then will appear to be of current interest and application, sixteen years after independence.

The concluding chapter of this volume consists of two historic letters of Netaji to the then German Foreign Minister. They speak for themselves. They mark the end of the first act of a great drama and the beginning of its next and the more spectacular finale in East Asia. Work on that story is now in progress.

Netaji Research Bureau is indebted to a number of friends who have helped to make this publication possible. Our thanks are due to Netaji's wife for the narrative of the period 1935-1942, Dr. U. S. Sarkar for arranging important material from England, Mr. Amiya Nath Bose for obtaining German and Italian diplomatic documents and providing a number of old writings, Mr. Bhagat Ram Talwar for most valuable but hitherto unknown

information, Dr. M. R. Vyas and Miss Ines von Beőczy for help with translations from German and to Dr. Asoke Nath Bose for the Haripura Congress photograph. We desire to acknowledge with gratitude the tireless work of Mr. Benode Chandra Chaudhuri and his colleagues throughout the actual processing of the book and the services of Mr. Sankar Nath Chatterjee in the preparation of the manuscript. We are obliged to Messrs Asia Publishing House for having accepted and carried out the task of bringing the book out in record time.

Netaji Research Bureau
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January 23, 1964

SISIR KUMAR BOSE

Preface to the First Edition

MANY are the defects that will be found in this book. It was written in great haste and at a time when my health was far from satisfactory. As a matter of fact, owing to reasons of ill-health, the completion of the manuscript was delayed beyond all anticipation.

Difficulty in getting necessary papers and books of reference was a serious handicap to me. If I had been in India or even in England, at the time of writing, my task would have been much easier. In the circumstances, I had no option but to draw largely from my memory. After the completion of the manuscript some interesting developments have taken place — for example, the meeting of the plenary Session of the Congress at Bombay towards the end of October, 1934, elections to the Indian Legislative Assembly, the publication of the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, etc. While revising the proofs, I have attempted to make certain additions, with a view to bringing the book up to date.

A further misfortune has been that even the finishing touches to the book could not be given at leisure. While engaged in this task I have had to rush through my work in order to start for India at once, owing to urgent private reasons.

This book has been written by one who has played an intimate part in the struggle which he has narrated and who is expected to continue the same work. It is therefore to be hoped that the narrative will prove to be interesting and will incidentally help to interpret the Indian struggle to the foreign observer. If this purpose is achieved in however small a measure, my labours will not prove to be in vain.

In conclusion, I have to express my thanks to Fraülein E. Schenkl, who assisted me in writing this book and to all those friends who have been of help to me in many ways.

Hotel de France
Vienna
November 29th, 1934

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

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PART I

Introduction

I. The Background of Indian Polity

It is only during the last three decades that attempts have been made to give a true picture of the history of India since the earliest times. Prior to that it was customary for British historians to ignore the pre-British era of Indian history. Since they were the first to interpret political India to modern Europe, it was but natural that modern Europe should think of India as a land where independent ruling chiefs had been fighting perpetually among themselves until the British arrived and after conquering the land, proceeded to establish peace and order and bring the country under one political administration.

In order to understand India, however, it is essential to bear in mind at the outset two important facts. Firstly, the history of India has to be reckoned not in decades or in centuries, but in thousands of years. Secondly, it is only under British rule that India for the first time in her history has begun to feel that she has been conquered. Owing to her long history and to the vastness of her territory, India has passed through various vicissitudes of fortune. Neither for the individual nor for the nation is it possible to have an uninterrupted career of progress and prosperity. Consequently there have been in the course of India's history periods of progress and prosperity followed by intervals of decay and even chaos and the former have been always characterised by a very high level of culture and civilisation. Only through ignorance or through prejudice could one assert that under British rule India began to experience for the first time what political unity was. As a matter of fact, though for reasons of expediency India has been brought under one political administration by Great Britain and English has been enforced on the people everywhere as the state language,

no pains have been spared to divide the people more and more. If there is nevertheless a powerful nationalist movement in the country today and a strong sense of unity, it is due entirely to the fact that the people have for the first time in their history begun to feel that they have been conquered and simultaneously they have begun to realise the deplorable effects—both cultural and material —which follow in the wake of political servitude.

Though geographically, ethnologically and historically India presents an endless diversity to any observer—there is none the less a fundamental unity underlying this diversity. But as Mr. Vincent A. Smith has said : 'European writers as a rule have been more conscious of the diversity than of the unity of India. . . . India beyond all doubt possesses a deep underlying fundamental unity, far more profound than that produced either by geographical isolation or by political suzerainty. That unity transcends the innumerable diversities of blood, colour, language, dress, manners and sect.'[1] Geographically, India seems to be cut out from the rest of the world as a self-contained unit. Bounded on the north by the mighty Himalayas and surrounded on both sides by the endless ocean, India affords the best example of a geographical unit. The ethnic diversity of India has never been a problem—for throughout her history she has been able to absorb different races and impose on them one common culture and tradition. The most important cementing factor has been the Hindu religion. North or South, East or West, wherever you may travel, you will find the same religious ideas, the same culture and the same tradition. All Hindus look upon India as the Holy Land. The sacred rivers like the sacred cities are distributed all over the country.[2] If as a pious Hindu you have to complete your round of pilgrimage, you will have to travel to Setubandha-Rameswara in the extreme south and to Badrinath in the bosom of the snow-capped Himalayas in the north. The great teachers who wanted to convert the country to their faith had always to tour the whole of India and one of the greatest of them, Shankaracharya, who flourished in the eighth century A.D., built four 'Ashramas' (monasteries) in four corners of India, which flourish to this day. Everywhere the same scriptures are read and followed and the epics, the *Mahabharata*

[1] Vincent A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, Introduction p. 10.

[2] These and other facts and arguments will be found in Prof. Radha Kumud Mookherji's *The Fundamental Unity of India* (Longmans, 1914).

and the *Ramayana,* are equally popular wherever you may travel. With the advent of the Mohammedans, a new synthesis was gradually worked out. Though they did not accept the religion of the Hindus, they made India their home and shared in the common social life of the people—their joys and their sorrows. Through mutual co-operation, a new art and a new culture was evolved which was different from the old but which nevertheless was distinctly Indian. In architecture, painting, music—new creations were made which represented the happy blending of the two streams of culture. Moreover, the administration of the Mohammedan rulers left untouched the daily life of the people and did not interfere with local self-government based on the old system of village communities. With British rule, however, there came a new religion, a new culture and a new civilisation which did not want to blend with the old but desired to dominate the country completely. The British people, unlike the invaders of old, did not make India their home. They regarded themselves as birds of passage and looked upon India as the source of raw materials and as the market for finished goods. Moreover, they endeavoured to imitate the autocracy of the Mohammedan rulers without following their wise policy of complete non-interference in local affairs. The result of this was that the Indian people began to feel for the first time in their history that they were being dominated culturally, politically and economically by a people who were quite alien to them and with whom they had nothing whatsoever in common. Hence the magnitude of the revolt against the British domination of India.

In order to study the present political movement in India with the proper perspective, it is necessary to make a brief survey of the development of political thought and of political institutions in the past. The civilisation of India dates back to 3000 B.C., if not earlier, and since then, there has been on the whole a remarkable continuity of culture and civilisation. This undisturbed continuity is the most significant feature of Indian history and it incidentally explains the vitality of the people and of their culture and civilisation. The latest archæological excavations at Mohenjodaro and Harappa in North-Western India prove unmistakably that India had reached a high level of civilisation as early as 3000 B.C., if not earlier. This was probably before the Aryan conquest of India. It is too early to say what light these excavations throw on contemporary political history, but since the Aryan conquest of India,

more facts and historical materials are available. In the earliest Vedic literature there is reference to non-monarchical forms of government. Where these existed, tribal democracy prevailed. In those days, 'Grama' (or village) was the smallest and 'Jana' (or tribe) was the highest social and political organisation among the Vedic communities.[1] In the later Epic literature, the *Mahabharata* for example, there is clear reference to republican forms of government.[2] There is also evidence that since the earliest times popular assemblies used to be held in connection with public administration. Throughout the Vedic literature one finds reference to two kinds of assembly—the Sabha and the Samiti (also called Samgati or Samgrama). The 'Sabha' has been interpreted to mean the advisory council of the selected few, while 'Samiti' has been interpreted as a gathering of the entire community. The 'Samiti' met on important occasions like royal coronations, times of war or national calamity, etc.[3]

In the next stage of political development one notices a distinct tendency towards the growth of monarchical power following the expansion of Aryan influence and domination in India. At this time there would be frequent wars between the independent states flourishing in Northern India, with a view to obtaining supremacy. The issue of these wars would be not political annexation but acceptance of the overlordship of the victor by the vanquished parties. The victorious king would be called 'Chakravartin' or 'Mandaleswara,' and elaborate ceremonies—'Rajasuya' or 'Vajapeya' or 'Aswamedha'—would be held to celebrate such victories. This tendency towards the centralisation of authority grew stronger during the *Vedic* and *Epic* periods of Indian history till from the sixth century B.C. the movement for the political unification of India took definite shape. This movement reached its fulfilment during the next era—namely the Buddhistic or Maurya period—when the Maurya emperors were able to unify India politically for the first time and establish an empire.

After the retreat of Alexander the Great from India, Chandragupta Maurya founded his empire in 322 B.C. About this time and

[1] *Development of Hindu Polity and Political Theories* by Narayan Chandra Bandyopadhyaya, p. 60, published by Chuckerverty Chatterjee & Co. Ltd., 15 College Square, Calcutta.

[2] K. P. Jayaswal, *Republics in the Mahabharata* (J. O. and B. Res. Soc., Vol. I, pp. 173-8).

[3] *Development of Hindu Polity and Political Theories* by Narayan Chandra Bandyopadhyaya, pp. 115-18.

also later on, there were many republics in India. The Malavas, Kshudrakas, Lichchhavis and other tribes had republican constitutions. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in his book *Hindu Polity* gives a long list of such republics. There is no doubt that when India was unified politically under one emperor, these republics continued to flourish as autonomous states recognising the suzerainty of one emperor. Besides, the popular assembly was a well-established institution during this period of Indian history. The greatest of the Maurya emperors was Asoka, the grandson of Chandragupta, who ascended the throne about 273 B.C. Asoka's empire embraced not only modern India but also Afghanistan, Beluchistan and a portion of Persia. Under the Maurya emperors, public administration reached a high level of efficiency. The military organisation was perfect for that age. The government was divided into separate departments under different ministers. The municipal administration of the capital, Pataliputra, near modern Patna, was also creditable. In short, the whole country was politically unified for the first time under one sound administration. And when Asoka accepted Buddhism, the entire state machinery became the handmaid of the Buddhistic faith. Not being contented with political sovereignty or with propagating Buddhism within the limits of his empire, Asoka sent missionaries to all parts of Asia—from Japan on one side to Turkey on the other—to preach the lofty tenets of Buddhism. This period has been regarded by many people as the Golden Age of Indian history, when there was a uniform and all-round progress in every department of life.[1]

After some time decay set in and there was an interval of chaos —religious, cultural and political. Largely because of its exaggerated asceticism, Buddhism lost its hold on the Indian people and there was a revival of Brahmanical Hinduism. On the philosophical side, the Vedanta philosophy which was first propounded in the *Upanishads,* was restored to its pride of place. Socially, there was a revival of the *caste-system* and a new breath of realism took the place of the morbid asceticism of the later-day Buddhists. Political anarchy was ended through the rise of the *Gupta Empire* which flourished in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. The greatest of the Gupta emperors was Samudragupta who ascended the throne in A.D. 330. During the Gupta period, the country was not only uni-

[1] An impartial observer like the Greek Megasthenes bears testimony to the above facts.

fied politically but art, literature and science flourished[1] and once again reached the high-water mark of excellence. This renaissance took place under the influence of Brahmanical Hinduism and this period is therefore regarded by orthodox Hindus as a more glorious age than the preceding Buddhistic period. As under the Maurya emperors, India once again had active contact, both cultural and commercial, with Asia and also with some countries in Europe, like Rome. After the fifth century the political power of the Gupta emperors came to an end but the cultural renaissance continued unabated till once again it reached its peak in A.D. 640, when under King Harsha the country was once again unified politically.

This did not last very long and after some time, once again signs of decline appeared. Then there appeared a new element in Indian history—the Mohammedan invaders. Their raids into the heart of India began as early as the tenth century A.D. but it took them some time to conquer the country.[2] Mohammed Bin Tughlak succeeded for the first time in bringing a large portion of the country under one rule in the fourteenth century but it was reserved for the Moghul kings to unify the country and usher in a new era of all-round progress. During the sixteenth and seventeenth century under the rule of the Moghul emperors, India once again reached the pinnacle of progress and prosperity. The greatest of them was Akbar, who ruled in the latter half of the sixteenth century. The great merit of Akbar was not only the political unification of the country, but what was perhaps more important, the working out of a new cultural synthesis—in order to reconcile the new stream of culture with the old—and evolve a new culture.[3] The state machinery which he built up was also based on the whole-hearted co-operation of the Hindu and Mohammedan communities. The last great emperor among the Moghuls was Aurangzeb who died in 1707 and after his death the empire began slowly to break up.

From the above historical narrative it will be evident that democratic republican forms of government existed in India in the ancient times. They were usually based on a homogeneous tribe

[1] Impartial testimony is borne this time by the Chinese pilgrim and traveller Fa-hien.

[2] Sindh was conquered in the eighth century but this remained as an isolated phenomenon.

[3] Akbar even attempted to bring about a synthesis of religions. He evolved a new religion on an eclectic basis and called it 'Din Ilahi'. He had many supporters during his lifetime but after his death the new religion lost all following.

or caste. In the *Mahabharata* these tribal democracies are known as 'Ganas'.[1] Besides these full-fledged republics, in monarchical states also, the people enjoyed a large measure of liberty, as the king was virtually a constitutional monarch. This fact which has been consistently ignored by British historians has now been fully established through the researches of Indian historians. Besides political matters, in other matters also, the people enjoyed a large measure of liberty.

Indian literature from the earliest times abounds in references to public bodies called 'Paura' and 'Janapada'. The former correspond to our modern municipalities—while the latter probably mean non-urban public bodies of some sort. Moreover, owing to the existence of caste, the people were self-governing in social matters, through a system of caste-democracy under the control of a 'Panchayat'.[2] There were popular 'Panchayats' in India since the oldest times, not only for carrying on the village administration —but also for administering the caste-regulations and maintaining discipline within the caste. Throughout the succeeding Buddhistic period the people enjoyed large self-governing powers. During this period, the 'assembly' and the *'vote'* were popular institutions. The advent of Maurya imperialism did not encroach on these powers nor did it destroy the republics which still continued to flourish. The Empire of the Guptas and of Harsha proceeded on the same lines. Under the Mohammedan rulers, though there was unbridled autocracy, the Central Government rarely interfered in provincial or local affairs. The governor of a 'Suba' or a province was of course appointed by the Emperor, but as long as revenue was regularly sent into the imperial coffers, the provincial administration was not interfered with in any way. Though occasionally a fanatical ruler would attempt proselytisation, on the whole the people enjoyed complete freedom in religious, cultural and social affairs, no matter who occupied the throne at Delhi. British historians are without exception guilty of overlooking this fact and when they loosely talk of despotism to which orientals are accustomed, they forget that behind this cloak of despotism, the people enjoyed a large measure of real liberty, which they have been denied under British rule. Both before and after the Aryan con-

[1] As late as 1927 the writer has personally seen such institutions flourishing among the Khasi tribe in Assam in North-East India.

[2] Panchayat, which literally means a committee of five, is a very ancient institution.

quest of India, autonomous village institutions have been a consistent feature of the public life of India. This is true as much of the Aryan kingdoms of the north of the Tamil kingdoms of the south.[1] But under British rule these institutions have been destroyed and the long arm of the bureaucracy stretches into the remotest villages. There is not one square foot of land where the people feel that they are free to manage their own affairs. With regard to political literature also, ancient India has much to boast of. The *Mahabharata* is a storehouse of knowledge and information for the student of political science. The *Dharma Shastras* also, with a mass of subsidiary literature, are of immense value. But most interesting of all is Arthashastra of Kautilya which probably belongs to the fourth century B.C.

To resume the thread of our narrative, with the gradual disruption of the Moghul Empire, the question arose as to which power would take its place. About this time, two indigenous powers made a bid for supremacy—the Mahratta power from Central India and the Sikh power from the north-west. The Mahratta power was consolidated by Sivaji (1627-80) who was great as a general and great also as a ruler. After his death the Mahratta power flourished till the end of the eighteenth century. Its expansion was checked in A.D. 1761 at the third battle of Panipat, where the Mahrattas were defeated, and it was finally overthrown in 1818 by the British. Though Mahratta rule was based on benevolent despotism it could boast of a highly efficient army and an excellent civil administration. The Sikh power was consolidated by Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780-1839), who during his lifetime built up a fine army and an excellent civil administration. But after his death, no one with equal ability could take his place and when war broke out between the Sikhs and the British, the former were overthrown. Unfortunately for India, while she was going through a period of political anarchy and was attempting to evolve a new social and political order, she became the sport of the European powers. The Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the British came in succession. Each of them, not content with carrying on trade or preaching religion, tried to wrest political power from the warring chieftains. In the long run a lively struggle took place between the French and the British. Luck favoured the latter. Moreover, British dip-

[1] In this connection it is worthwhile studying the Chola Kingdom of South India of the tenth and twelfth century A. D.

lomacy was more astute and their strategy more clever—while their Home Government gave them greater support than did France to her nationals. The French made South India the base of their operations and attempted to dominate India from the south. The British following historical precedent operated from the north, after seizing Bengal, and were more successful than the French.

After going through the pages of Indian history, chapter by chapter, we can draw the following general conclusions :

(1) A period of rise has been followed by a period of decline, to be followed again by a new upheaval.
(2) The decline is the result chiefly of physical and intellectual fatigue.
(3) Progress and fresh consolidation has been brought about by an influx of new ideas and sometimes an infusion of fresh blood.
(4) Every new epoch has been heralded by people possessing greater intellectual power and superior military skill.
(5) Throughout Indian history all foreign elements have always been slowly absorbed by Indian society. The British are the first and the only exception to this.
(6) In spite of changes in the Central Government, the people have all along been accustomed to a large measure of real liberty.

II. Landmarks in British Rule in India

England first obtained her foothold in India through the East India Company. This company received a Royal Charter which conferred large powers in the matter of trade monopoly, acquisition of territory, etc. The East India Company succeeded in establishing itself in India towards the beginning of the seventeenth century as a trading concern. Gradually friction arose between the Company and the local Indian rulers of the day. And this led in some places, as Bengal, to armed conflict. During the course of one of these conflicts the then ruler of Bengal, Nawab Sirajudowla, was defeated by the combined forces of the Company and the Indian renegades who conspired against him. This was practically the beginning of the political conquest of India. A few years later, in 1765, the Emperor Shah Alam of Delhi, who was then the

nominal ruler of India, granted the Dewani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the East India Company. The grant of the Dewani meant that the entire revenue and financial administration of these areas passed into the hands of the Company. Thus the East India Company, while being a trading concern, became an administrative body as well. During the course of the next few years, there were complaints about the corruption and maladministration of the Company's officials. In 1773, therefore, an Act was passed, called Lord North's Regulation Act, which provided for governmental control over the policy and administration of the East India Company. The principal administrative change introduced with the passing of the Act was that the three Presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras, which had been independent of one another, were brought under a Governor-General who with the help of four councillors was to rule over all the territories, his headquarters being in Bengal. There were manifold defects in the new system introduced and in addition to that, there were serious complaints of corruption against the administration of the Governor-General, Warren Hastings. After some time, therefore, another Act called Pitt's India Act was passed in 1784 which provided for a Board of Control. There were cabinet ministers on this board and the entire operations of the East India Company were brought under its control. The appointment of a Board of Control, composed partly of cabinet ministers, eventually led to the establishment of the supremacy of the British Parliament over India.

The East India Company had to renew its charter from time to time. The Charter Act of 1833 introduced a remarkable change in the status and function of the Company. With the passing of this Act, the East India Company ceased to exist as a trading concern and became a purely political and administrative body, governing India on behalf of the British Crown. According to the provisions of the Act, the direction of the entire civil and military administration and the sole power of legislation were vested in the Governor-General in Council. Twenty years later, that is in 1853, when the Charter Act was renewed, the Control of the Government over the Company was further strengthened. The Act required that one-third of the members of the Court of Directors of the Company should be nominated by the Crown. So far as India was concerned, further administrative changes were made. Bengal was made a separate province under a Lieutenant-Governor and the Government

of India was thereby separated from the provincial governments. The Act also provided for a Legislative Council for India consisting of twelve members, all of whom were, however, to be officials. During the discussions in the House of Commons in connection with the renewal of the Charter in 1853, John Bright spoke strongly against the Company's administration, which he said had 'introduced an incredible amount of disorder and corruption into the state and poverty and wretchedness among the people'. He demanded that the Crown should assume direct responsibility for the administration in India. The advice was not heeded and a few years later the revolution (called by English historian the 'Sepoy Mutiny' and by Indian Nationalists the 'First War of Independence') broke out. After the suppression of the revolt, a new Act was passed called the Government of India Act, 1858. By this Act the Crown took over from the East India Company the entire administration of India. With the introduction of this Act, Queen Victoria issued a Royal Proclamation, which was read out by the Governor-General, Lord Canning, on November 1st, 1858, at Allahabad. In view of the responsibility of the British Cabinet to the British Parliament, the latter became the virtual arbiter of India's political destiny.

The next important step was taken in 1861 when the Indian Councils Act was passed. The Act provided for the Governor-General's Legislative Council which was to have not more than twelve and not less than six members, half of whom were to be non-officials. Besides the Central Legislative Council, Provincial Councils consisting partly of non-official members appointed by the Government were also introduced. Thus Bengal got a Provincial Legislative Council in 1862 and the North-West Provinces and Oudh (now called the United Provinces) in 1886.

The failure of the revolution of 1857 was followed by a period of reaction and during this period all anti-British movements in India were ruthlessly suppressed, while the people at large were completely disarmed. By the eighties of the last century the political depression was over and the public began to raise their head once again. This time the policy and the tactics of the liberty-loving and progressive Indians were quite different from those of 1857. An armed revolution being out of the question, constitutional agitation was substituted in its place. Thus in 1885, the Indian National Congress was founded for striving for self-government

for India by constitutional means. The agitation conducted by the Indian National Congress made the Government of India feel that a further political advance was necessary. So in 1892 another Act was passed called the Indian Councils Act of 1892. Under this Act the Legislative Council were given the right to put questions and to discuss the Budget, though voting on the Budget was not allowed. Further, provision was made in the Legislatures for a non-official element to be appointed by the Government. The Governor-General's Legislative Council was also increased by sixteen members.

With the dawn of the present century there was a national awakening in India on a large scale and Bengal, which had suffered longest from the British yoke, was the pioneer in the new movement. In 1905 the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, ordered the partition of that province. The official reason given for this action was one of administrative exigency—but the people felt that the object was to cripple the new renaissance in Bengal. A stormy agitation against the partition was set in motion in Bengal and this was accompanied by a powerful movement all over the country, in the course of which attempts were made to boycott British goods as a retaliatory measure against the Government. The pressure of these events forced the Government to make another meagre concession to popular clamour and so the Morley-Minto Reforms followed. Lord Morley was then the Secretary of State for India and Lord Minto the Viceroy of India. The Morley-Minto scheme of reforms was first announced in December 1906, and was finally passed into law as the Indian Councils Act of 1909. As a result of official inspiration, a few months before the announcement was made, a deputation of Mohammedan leaders led by the Aga Khan waited on the Viceroy on October 1st, 1906. In connection with the impending reforms they demanded that the Mohammedan community should have a certain number of seats reserved for them and that these seats should be voted for, not by the general body of Indian voters, but only by Mohammedan voters. This demand by the Mohammedan leaders of what is known in India as 'separate electorate' was granted in the Indian Councils Act of 1909. This Act provided for enlarged legislative councils both in the provinces as well as at the centre. Additional powers were given to the members in the matter of putting supplementary questions, moving resolutions, discussing the budget, etc. The

method of election was however indirect and the Act was therefore regarded by many Indians as a retrograde measure in some respects, as compared with the Indian Councils Act of 1892. The constituencies were very small, the largest of them having only 650 voters.[1]

After the introduction of the Morley-Minto Reforms, an Indian was for the first time appointed as member of the Viceroy's Executive Council and Sir (later Lord) S. P. Sinha was the first recipient of this honour. This was followed by the visit to India of King George V who was crowned at Delhi as Emperor—following the ancient Indian precedent. It was the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, who was largely responsible for this arrangement, as also for the transfer of the capital of India from Calcutta to Delhi. Lord Hardinge had a wonderful historic sense and he thought that by these measures British rule would be more firmly installed in India. Others, like Lord Curzon, the former Viceroy, were opposed to these innovations and they felt on the contrary that Delhi had been the grave of many empires. However, the visit of the King Emperor in December 1911, and the annulment of the partition helped to assuage public feelings and anti-government agitation subsided to a large extent. Within the Indian National Congress a split had occurred in 1907 leading to the expulsion of the 'Nationalists' (or 'Extremists') from that body. Moreover, many of the leaders of the Congress Left Wing disappeared from the political arena for the time being—through imprisonment, as in the case of Lokamanya B. G. Tilak of Poona, or voluntary exile, as in the case of Sri Aurobindo Ghosh of Bengal. Things were therefore quiet till the Great War broke out, when the revolutionary party which had been born during the first decade of this century became very active. During the Great War public opinion in India demanded an announcement from the British Government regarding the policy of British rule in India. This demand was made all the more because Britain gave out that she was fighting for the freedom of small nations and of suppressed nationalities. To placate Indian opinion an announcement was made on August 20th, 1917, by Mr. E. S. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, that the policy of His Majesty's Government was that of 'the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual deve-

[1] This seems to be the view expressed by Sir Surendranath Bannerji in his book *A Nation in Making*, pp. 123-25.

lopment of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire'. In order to follow up this announcement, Mr. Montagu visited India and a joint report was made by the Secretary of State for India and the then Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, on the question of the Indian constitutional reforms. The reforms proposed in the Montagu-Chelmsford report, were embodied in the Government of India Act, 1919. The most important innovation made in this Act was the system of government, called dyarchy. In the provinces the government was to be composed of two sections, called 'transferred' and 'reserved'. The transferred departments like Education, Agriculture, Excise and Local Self-Government were to be administered by ministers who must be elected members of the Legislative Council and who would be removable by a vote of that council. The reserved departments like Police, Justice and Finance were to be administered by members of the Governor's Executive Council, who would be appointed by His Majesty's Government and who would be independent of the vote of the Legislative Council. The Governor's Cabinet was thus to be composed of ministers administering 'transferred' departments and of members of the Executive Council administering 'reserved' departments. In the Central Government there was to be no dyarchy. All the departments would be administered by members of the Executive Council of the Governor-General, who would be appointed by His Majesty's Government and who would be independent of the vote of the Central Legislatures—the Lower House, called the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Upper House, called the Council of State. The Central Legislatures were to be composed only of representatives from British India and the Indian States ruled by Indian Princes were to be independent of the Central Government with regard to their internal administration, subject to the provisions of the treaties made between them and the British Government. The inadequacy of these reforms, the atrocities committed by the armed forces of the Crown in the Punjab in 1919 and the attempt of the Allied Powers to dismember Turkey—set in motion a powerful movement in India in 1920 under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. But in spite of the unprecedented awakening in the country no further political advance was made by the British Government. The Government of India Act, 1919, contained a provision for the appointment of a Royal Commission, ten years later,

that is in 1929, with the object of determining what further advance, if any, should be made in the direction of self-government. In accordance with this provision a Royal Commission was appointed in 1927 under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon.

The Commission reported in 1930. Thereafter a Round Table Conference of British and Indian representatives, nominated by the British Government, was convened for threshing out the details of the New Constitution. After three sessions of the Round Table Conference, the Government came forward with their own proposals regarding the new Constitution. These proposals were published in March 1933, in a White Paper. The White Paper was duly placed for consideration before a Joint Committee of both Houses of the British Parliament.[1]

III. The New Awakening in India

In considering the political conquest of India by such a small country as England the first point that strikes one is as to how such a feat could be at all possible. But if one knew the Indian temperament and Indian traditions, it would not be difficult to understand. The Indian people had never any feeling against the foreigner. This mentality had been developed partly through the philosophical outlook of the people as a whole and partly through the largeness of the country which made it possible to welcome as many people as could come into the country. In the past, India had been invaded by new tribes and peoples over and over again. But though they came as foreigners they soon settled down and made India their home. The feeling of strangeness disappeared and the foreigners became a part of the body-politic. On the whole, there was no intercommunal friction for any length of time after foreigners came in. An understanding would be soon effected and the foreigners would become members of the great Indian family.

Thus it was that when the European races—Portuguese, Dutch, French and English—first arrived in India they did not excite any suspicion or hostility or animosity. It was not a new phenomenon in the history of India—at least so the people thought. The fact that the majority of the foreigners were either peaceful missionaries

[1] The Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee has been published on November 22nd, 1934. Even the meagre proposals of the White Paper have been further whittled down by the Joint Committee.

or traders further served to disarm opposition. They were given facilities and even allowed to acquire territory for carrying on their peaceful avocation. Even when the foreigners took part in any political strife, they were always careful to side with a section of the people, so that they would never get the entire people against them. In this respect the diplomacy of the British was by far the best. The question crops up here as to why a section of the Indian people sought the help of the foreigners in their own internal disputes. The reply to that has been given already above. As contrasted with India, neighbouring countries like Afghanistan, Tibet and Nepal, have still remained comparatively independent, because people in these countries have been always suspicious of and hostile towards foreigners. Besides their diplomacy there was one other factor which accounted for the success of the Europeans. That was their superior military skill. Unfortunately for India, though up to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries she kept abreast of the modern world in her knowledge of the science and art of warfare, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries she was no longer up to date. Her geographical position had kept her isolated from modern Europe. The wars of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Europe had effected a considerable improvement in the science and art of fighting and this knowledge was at the disposal of the European races, when they went over to the East. The first physical conflict between Indians and Europeans showed that the former were at a disadvantage in the matter of military skill. It is significant that before the British conquest of India, the Indian rulers had Europeans in their service in the army as well as in the navy and many of them occupied high positions.

The first important success of the British in India happened in Bengal. The ruler was a young man, Sirajudowla, who was still in his twenties. Nevertheless, it must be said to his credit that he was the only man in the province who realised what a great menace the British were and he was determined to try his level best to throw them out of the country. If only he had had as much diplomacy as he had patriotism, he might have been able to alter the course of Indian history. In order to overthrow him, the English won over to their side the influential Mir Jaffar, by giving him a promise of the throne, and their combined forces were more than a match for Sirajudowla. It did not however take Mir Jaffar long to realise that he had been used as a tool by the British and that what they were

really aiming at was political mastery for themselves. Sirajudowla was overthrown in 1757 but many decades were to pass before they could extend their supremacy to different parts of the country. In the meantime the rest of India, which was still independent, hardly realised the danger of British conquest. Being practically the first portion of India to come under British rule—the consolidation of British power naturally began first in Bengal. The overthrow of the old regime was naturally followed by a period of disorder and it took the British several years to put things in order. By the end of the eighteenth century, order had been established and the Government then had to face the question of building up their administration on a sound and permanent basis. In order to administer a big country the Government had naturally to educate on their own lines a new class of people who would be able to work as their agents. The British commercial houses also wanted Indians educated and trained on British lines. In the meantime British missionaries had been active in trying to impart their culture and their religion to the Indian people. Out of these different sources there arose a consciousness on the part of the Britisher of a cultural or civilising mission in India. It was this which produced the first revolt among the Indians. As long as the Britishers were merely trading, no one thought of them since they were petty traders. As long as they were merely ruling, people did not care, for Indians had in the past gone through many political vicissitudes and a change in government had never meant a change in their daily life—because no government in the past had interfered with local self-government. Out of the consciousness of a civilising mission there came the attempt on the part of Britain to 'anglicise' every sphere of the life of the Indian people. The missionaries became very active in propagating their religion, and educational institutions on the British model were founded by them, as well as by the state, in different parts of Bengal. The entire educational system was built up on the British model and English was made the medium of instruction, not only in the University but also in the secondary schools. In art and architecture also, British models were imposed on the country. In fact, in inaugurating the new educational system, the Government deliberately stated that their object was to train up a nation who would be English in everything, except in race. In the new schools, students began to think, to talk, to dress and to eat as Englishmen would. The new generation turned out by

these schools was quite different from the old. They were no longer Indians in their equipment but English.

Faced with the menace of being swallowed up by a new religion and a new culture, the soul of the people revolted. The first visible embodiment of this revolt was Raja Ram Mohon Roy and the movement of which he was the father was the Brahmo Samaj movement. Ram Mohon Roy stood out as the apostle of a religious revival. He urged a return to the original principles of Vedantism and for a total rejection of all the religions and social impurities that had crept into Hinduism in later times. He also advocated an all-round regeneration of the social and national life and the acceptance of all that is useful and beneficial in the modern life of Europe. Raja Ram Mohon Roy therefore stands out against the dawn of the new awakening in India as the prophet of the new age. The Raja was succeeded by Debendranath Tagore, father of the poet Rabindranath Tagore, as the head of the Brahmo Samaj. In appreciation of the pure life that he lived, which reminded one of the Rishis or saints of old, Debendranath Tagore was given the title of Maharshi (a great saint) by the people. His successor was Keshav Chandra Sen, one of the most prominent Indian personalities in the latter half of the nineteenth century. During the earlier portion of his life, Keshav Chandra Sen seemed to be inspired more by the sayings and teachings of Christ and in his public life he laid great emphasis on social reform. So vigorous was his personality and so enthusiastic was he in giving effect to his ideas that a split took place in the Brahmo Samaj. The older generation who were less radical called themselves the Adi or original Brahmo Samaj. Among the rest of the members a further split took place. The followers of Keshav Chandra Sen called themselves the Naba Bidhan, or the New Dispensation, while the rest called themselves the Sadharan (or general body) Brahmo Samaj. All branches of the Brahmo Samaj had however some principles in common. They all took their stand on the original doctrines of the Vedanta philosophy. They all condemned the use of images in religious worship and they all advocated the abolition of caste in society. The Brahmo Samaj movement spread all over India and in some places it was known by a different name—for instance, in Bombay Presidency it was known as the Prarthana Samaj.

The Brahmo Samaj had considerable influence on the new generation of English-educated Indians and even those who did

not become converts to the Brahmo Samaj accepted the spirit of reform and progress for which it stood. But the ultra-modern ideas of the Samaj caused a revulsion of feeling among the old-fashioned Pandits, who attempted to justify all that there was in Hindu religion and in Hindu society. But this reactionary movement could not make any appeal to the new generation of youths. About this time, in the eighties of the last century, two prominent religious personalities appeared before the public who were destined to have a great influence on the future course of the new awakening. They were Ramakrishna Paramahansa, the saint, and his disciple Swami Vivekananda. Ramakrishna, the master, was brought up in the orthodox Hindu fashion, but his disciple was a young man educated at the university who was an agnostic before he met the former. Ramakrishna preached the gospel of the unity of all religions and urged the cessation of inter-religious strife. He emphasised the necessity of renunciation, celibacy and asceticism in order to live a truly spiritual life. As against the Brahmo Samaj, he advocated the necessity of symbolism in religious worship and condemned the ultra-modern imitative tendency of the Samaj. Before he died, he charged his disciple with the task of propagating his religious teachings in India and abroad and of bringing about an awakening among his countrymen. Swami Vivekananda therefore founded the Ramakrishna Mission, an order of monks, to live and preach the Hindu religion in its purest form in India and abroad, especially in America, and he took an active part in inspiring every form of healthy national activity. With him religion was the inspirer of nationalism. He tried to infuse into the new generation a sense of pride in India's past, of faith in India's future and a spirit of self-confidence and self-respect. Though the Swami never gave any political message, everyone who came into contact with him or his writings developed a spirit of patriotism and a political mentality. So far at least as Bengal is concerned, Swami Vivekananda may be regarded as the spiritual father of the modern nationalist movement. He died very young in 1902, but since his death his influence has been even greater. About the time that Ramakrishna Paramahansa flourished in Bengal, another prominent religious personality flourished in North-Western India. He was Swami Dayananda Saraswati, the founder of the Arya Samaj. The Arya Samaj movement had the largest following in the

Punjab and the United Provinces. Like the Brahmo Samaj it advocated a return to the early Hindu scriptures and it condemned all later-day accretions and impurities. Like the Brahmo Samaj it also advocated the abolition of the caste-system which did not exist in the oldest times. In short, according to Swami Dayananda Saraswati, people were to go back to the pure Arya religion and live the life of the Aryas of old. His characteristic slogan was: 'Back to the Vedas'. Both the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj attempted proselytisation but the Ramakrishna Mission never made any such attempt, for Ramakrishna was against the creation of a new sect. But while the Brahmo Samaj was influenced to some extent by Western culture and Christianity, the Arya Samaj derived all its inspiration from indigenous sources. None of the three societies had any political mission, nevertheless whoever came under their influence rapidly developed a sense of self-respect and a spirit of patriotism.

The Brahmo Samaj was founded in 1828. By that time British rule in India had spread through a large portion of the country and people had begun to realise slowly that the new invaders were different from the old. They had come not merely to make money or to preach religion, but to conquer and to rule—and unlike the invaders of old they were not going to make India their home but were going to rule as foreigners. The realisation of this national menace quickly roused the masses to a sense of the danger that threatened them. Thus occurred the revolution of 1857. It was by no means merely a revolt of the troops—a sepoy mutiny—as English historians are wont to say—but a real national revolution. It was a revolution in which both Hindus and Mohammedans joined and they all fought under the flag of a Mohammedan. At that moment it looked as if the English would be thrown out of the country. But through sheer luck they won by the skin of their teeth. The failure of the revolution was due among other causes to lack of support from some quarters, viz., the Sikhs of the Punjab and to hostility on the part of the Gurkhas of Nepal. When the revolution was crushed, a reign of terror followed and the country was disarmed from end to end. The reaction lasted for a long time and no one dared to raise his head during that period. By the eighties of the last century a change set in. People began to recover their courage, and armed with the knowledge of the modern world, they began to devise

new means of coping with the foreigners. Thus in 1885 was born the Indian National Congress, the object of which was not to organise another revolution but to fight for Home Rule along constitutional lines.

The renaissance in Western India, unlike that in Northern India, appeared more in the form of a movement for educational and social reform than as a religious movement. The father of this awakening was Justice M. G. Ranade who, later on, found a worthy disciple in Mr. G. K. Gokhale. In 1884, Mr. B. G. Tilak, Mr. G. G. Agarkar and Mr. V. S. Apte, founded the Deccan Education Society. Soon after, Mr. Gokhale joined the Society. Later on there arose differences between Lokamanya Tilak and Mr. Gokhale. The former was not interested in social reform like the latter and he belonged to the 'extremist' school of politics, while the latter was one of the outstanding 'moderate' leaders. In 1905, Mr. Gokhale founded the Servants of India Society, the object of which was to train 'national missionaries for the service of India and to promote by all constitutional means the true interests of the Indian people'. Among the different measures adopted by Lokamanya Tilak to rouse the people was the revival of the Ganapati festival—which was a religious festival given a national interpretation by him—and the Shivaji festival held every year on the birthday anniversary of Shivaji, the great hero of Maharashtra.

In South India the Theosophical Society was founded at Adyar near Madras in 1886 by Madame Blavatsky and Col. Olcott, played an important rôle in social and public life. Mrs. Besant joined the society in India in 1893 and became the President in 1907, which office she continued to hold till her death in 1933. Mrs. Besant became the great champion of Hinduism against all attacks. Even the errors and abuses of Hinduism she would explain away, rather than attack. Thereby she helped to bring back into the hearts of the people faith in their own culture and civilisation which had been badly shaken as a result of the impact of the West. The large following which she managed to gather round herself through her religious and educational work, was of great value and strength to her when in 1916-17 she took an active part in politics and carried on a raging and tearing campaign for demanding Home Rule for India.

By the beginning of the present century, the foreign government

was able to strike its roots deeper into the soil of India. The political administration was no longer a centralised government with autonomy in the branches as in former times. It was a highly-complicated system with its ramifications in every town and village of the country and with a bureaucracy ruling with a firm hand under orders from the centre. People began to feel for the first time in their history what foreign rule really meant. The beginning of the twentieth century found the Boers of South Africa fighting against the British for their freedom, the newly-awakened Japanese fighting the Russians for their existence and safety, and the Russian masses fighting the all-powerful Tsar for their bread and their liberty. About this time the pride and the haughtiness of the rulers reached its limit and signs of serious political unrest appeared in Bengal and in order to nip it in the bud, the then Viceroy, Lord Curzon, ordered the dismemberment of the province. This was the signal for a country-wide revolt and people everywhere began to feel that constitutional agitation was not enough. The partition of Bengal was taken as a challenge by the people and as a reply, for the first time in British Indian history, a movement was launched for the boycott of British goods. The political agitation gave a strong impetus to the growth of national art, national literature and national industry. Simultaneously, institutions were started where national education could be imparted and young men could be trained as scientists and engineers for organising new industries. The Government naturally did not like the new movement and steps were taken to put it down. As a reply to official repression, young men took to the bomb and revolver and the first explosion took place in 1907. This was the beginning of the revolutionary movement of the twentieth century and in order to suppress it the Government issued a notification in 1909, declaring as illegal many of the institutions for imparting physical training to the youths in Bengal. Simultaneously with the appearance of the revolutionary movement, there was a split within the ranks of the Indian National Congress. The Left Wing leaders, Lokamanya Tilak of Poona and Sri Aurobindo Ghosh and Mr. B. C. Pal of Bengal, wanted to adopt the boycott of British goods as a part of the Congress plan, and they were not content with the goal of self-government within the British Empire. The Right Wing leaders, Sir Pherozshah Mehta of Bombay, Mr. G. K. Gokhale of Poona and Mr. (later on Sir)

Surendranath Bannerji of Bengal, stood for a more moderate policy. Lala Lajpat Rai of the Punjab occupied a middle position in this fight. An open rupture took place in the Surat Congress in 1907 when the Left Wing (also called 'Nationalists' or 'Extremists') were defeated and the Congress organisation passed into the hands of the Right Wing (also called 'Moderates' or 'Liberals'). Not long after this, Lokamanya Tilak was sentenced to six year's imprisonment for sedition, Sri Aurobindo Ghosh was forced into exile, while Mr. B. C. Pal gave up extremist politics. Driven out of the Congress, persecuted by the Government and deprived of their leaders, the Left Wingers (or the Extremists) had a bad time upto 1915 and the Moderates were the masters of the show. The Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 which were welcomed by the Moderates and condemned by the Extremists, served as a temporary sop to the political agitators. With the outbreak of the Great War and the return of Lokamanya Tilak from imprisonment, there was a decided improvement in the political situation from the Indian point of view. In 1916 at the Lucknow session of the Indian National Congress, a compromise was effected between the two wings of the Congress and once again Extremists and Moderates appeared on the same platform. A further compromise was effected between the Congress and the All-India Moslem League at Lucknow. The upshot of this rapprochement was that the Congress and the Moslem League put forward the same demand for self-government and agreed about the representation to be given to Moslems in the legislatures under the reformed constitution, on the basis of 'separate electorate'. About this time a new factor appeared in Indian politics in the person of Mr. M. K. Gandhi who had returned to India from South Africa in December 1914, after winning laurels for himself in the passive-resistance movement against the South African Government. After the Lucknow Congress, an intensive campaign was started by Lokamanya Tilak, Mrs. Annie Besant and Mr. M. A. Jinnah for demanding Home Rule for India. Mrs. Besant was interned by the Government in this connection in 1917, but was released some months later, owing to the pressure of public agitation. The Extremists wanted to make Mrs. Besant the President of the next session of the Indian National Congress in Calcutta, but the Moderates were opposed to it. At the eleventh hour an agreement was reached and Mrs. Besant became President

with the support of both parties. That was however the last Congress attended by the Moderates, for, the next year, they broke away and formed a separate organisation of their own, called the All-India Liberal Federation. In 1917, a statement was made by the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Montagu, on behalf of the British Government to the effect that the progressive realisation of responsible government was the goal of British rule in India. Soon after this Mr. Montagu came to India and together with the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, made a report on the coming reforms, called Montagu-Chelmsford report. This report was considered by a special session of the Congress held at Bombay, presided over by the late Mr. Hassan Imam, a distinguished advocate of Patna and ex-Judge of the High Court and was rejected by the Congress as unacceptable. On the basis of the Montagu-Chelmsford report, a new constitution was drawn up and passed by the British Government, called the Government of India Act, 1919. This constitution was regarded as inadequate and unsatisfactory by nationalist opinion in India. While attempts were made on the one hand to put India on the road to self-government, the Government of India forged fresh fetters for the people. A new Act was passed by the Government in the teeth of popular opposition, whereby people could be imprisoned without trial on political grounds for an indefinite period. A country-wide agitation was raised against this Act and it was led by Mahatma Gandhi. In the attempt to suppress the agitation in the Punjab, terrible massacres were committed by the troops in Amritsar under General Dyer. The Amritsar massacre caused an unparalleled indignation not only in India but also among all fair-minded people in England. After the Amritsar incident, two enquiry committees were appointed, one by the Congress and the other by the Government. Both the committees strongly condemned the action of the military, though the Congress Enquiry Committee went much further in its condemnation. But the steps taken by the Government to compensate the sufferers and to punish the wrong-doers were extremely inadequate. The Amritsar Congress, in December 1919, had decided to work the new constitution in spite of its unsatisfactory character, but when the attitude of the Government towards the Amritsar massacre was made known, there was a revulsion of popular feeling. Meanwhile the attempt of the Allied Powers to dismember Turkey produced

discontent and resentment among the Indian Moslems who turned against the Government. In defence of the Sultan of Turkey who was also the 'Kalifa' or head of the Islamic Church, a movement was started by the Indian Moslems under the name of the Khilafat movement. At this stage an alliance was struck between the Khilafat leaders and Mr. Gandhi, the Congress leader. In September 1920, a special session of the Congress was held in Calcutta to determine the attitude of the Congress towards the reforms and particularly towards the elections to be held that year under the new Constitution. At the instance of Mr. Gandhi, the Congress decided to adopt a policy of non-co-operation towards the new Constitution. Three factors accounted for this decision—the atrocities in the Punjab, the attitude of Great Britain towards Turkey, and the inadequacy of the new constitutional reforms.

Lord Irwin, the ex-Viceroy of India, holds the view that every step in England and in the Dominions towards the development of responsible government has been accompanied at a greater or lesser interval by a corresponding advance in India. As examples he has mentioned that the Charter Act of 1833, the Indian Councils Act of 1861, the Indian Councils Act of 1892 and the Indian Councils Act of 1909, have followed popular movements in England or in other parts of the British Empire. There is considerable force in what Lord Irwin says. But one should go further and say that the Indian movement is organically connected with the world movement for liberty. In India, as elsewhere, the beginning of the nineteenth century was an important landmark. The revolution of 1857 followed in the wake of World revolution of 1848. The birth of the Indian National Congress took place at a time when there was a similar upheaval in other parts of the world. The movement of 1905 closely followed the Boer War in South Africa and was contemporaneous with the Russian Revolution of 1905. The attempted revolution during the Great War was a phenomenon visible all over the world, at about the same time. Last but not least, the movement of 1920-21 was contemporaneous with the Sinn Fein Revolution in Ireland, with the fight of the Turks for their independence, and it closely followed revolutions which brought freedom to countries like Poland and Czechoslovakia. There is no doubt, therefore, that the awakening in India is organically connected with the upheaval all over the world during the last and the present century.

IV. Organisations, Parties and Personalities

To understand properly a narrative about the Indian struggle for freedom, it is necessary to have some idea of the different organisations, parties and personalities in India.

The most important party or organisation in India is the Indian National Congress, founded in 1885. It has its branches all over India. There is a central committee for the whole country called the All-India Congress Committee, which consists of about 350 members. This committee elects an executive committee for the year, called the Working Committee. Each province has a Provincial Congress Committee and under this committee there are district, sub-divisional (or tahsil or taluka), union and village Congress Committees. The different Congress Committees are all formed on the elective principle. The aim of the Congress is the 'attainment of complete independence by all peaceful and legitimate means'. The leader[1] of the Congress is Mahatma Gandhi—who is the virtual dictator. The Working Committee since 1929 has been elected according to his dictation and no one can find a place on that committee who is not thoroughly submissive to him and his policy.

Within the Congress there is a strong Left Wing who hold radical views on social and economic questions, i.e. questions relating to caste, to landlord versus peasant and to capital versus labour. This group also advocate a more vigorous and activist policy for the achievement of political freedom. On all such problems, Mahatma Gandhi holds a more compromising position. A few years ago the prominent members of the Left Wing were Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, ex-Advocate-General of Madras and ex-President of the Congress, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru of Allahabad, formerly an advocate by profession and son of the late Pandit Motilal Nehru, Dr. Mohammed Alam, an outstanding Moslem leader of Lahore and an Advocate, and Mr. K. F. Nariman of Bombay, a Parsi gentleman and an Advocate by profession, Dr. S. Kitchlew, a Moslem nationalist leader of Lahore, also an Advocate, and the present writer. But since 1930, Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar

[1] The President of the Congress is not the real leader. Whoever presides at a plenary session of the Congress continues as Congress President till the next session. The Congress President is elected as a result of nomination by the different Provincial Congress Committees.

has retired from the Congress and with the exception of Dr. Kitchlew and the writer,[1] the others have been won over by the Mahatma. Nevertheless, even without many prominent leaders the Left Wing is fairly strong. The position of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in this connection is an interesting one. His ideas and views are of a radical nature and he calls himself a full-blooded socialist—but in practice he is a loyal follower of the Mahatma. It would probably be correct to say that while his brain is with the Left Wingers, his heart is with Mahatma Gandhi.

Among the other leaders, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (popularly called the Frontier Gandhi), a Moslem leader of the Frontier Province, is at present exceedingly popular, but it is too early to describe his exact political complexion. Mr. P. D. Tandon, and other Congress leaders of the United Provinces, are followers of Pandit J. L. Nehru, though they are inclined towards the Left Wing. The Central Provinces leaders, Seth Govindh Das and Pandit Dwarka Prasad Misra, are also inclined towards the Left Wing. Among those who played a prominent part in the National Movement prior to 1920, Lokamanya Tilak of Poona, Mr. B. C. Pal of Calcutta, Sir S. N. Banerjea of Calcutta, Mr. G. K. Gokhale of Poona and Sir Pherozshah Mehta of Bombay, are dead. The first two belonged to the Left Wing, while the rest belonged to the Right Wing. Of those who played an important part since 1920, the following leaders are now dead: Lala Lajpat Rai of Lahore, Deshabandhu C. R. Das of Calcutta, Pandit Motilal Nehru of Allahabad, Mr. J. M. Sengupta of Calcutta and Mr. Vithalbhai Patel of Bombay. Among the prominent leaders who retired from the Congress, but who are still alive, are Sri Aurobindo Ghosh of Calcutta who has been living a religious life in French Pondicherry since 1909, and Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar of Madras who retired from active politics in 1930.

Since May 1934, many of the Left Wingers have combined to form an All-India Congress Socialist Party. This party has so far found the largest support in the United Provinces and Bombay—but support is also forthcoming from all over the country. It is too early to say how this party will grow in future,

[1] Swami Govindanand of Karachi has also consistently taken up a Left Wing position.

because many of those who may play an important rôle are either in prison or out of India at the moment. At present a reshuffling of parties is going on and a realignment in politics will shortly take place.

Within the Indian National Congress there is an important and influential Moslem group and this group has its representatives in the Congress Cabinet—that is, the Working Committee. In this group are Moulana[1] Abul Kalam Azad of Calcutta, Dr. M. A. Ansari of Delhi, and Dr. Mohammed Alam of Lahore[2]. Among the Hindu leaders of the Congress there are some who are more inclined towards the Hindu Mahasabha—for instance Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya of Benares and Mr. M. S. Aney of Berar.

Before 1918, the Congress had two groups—the Extremists (or Nationalists) and the Moderates (or Liberals). In 1907 the Extremists were driven out of the Congress, but in 1916 at the Lucknow Congress, a rapprochement was effected. In 1918, the Moderates being outnumbered by the Extremists, seceded from the Congress and started the All-India Liberal Federation. The present leaders of the Liberal Party are Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru of Allahabad, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and Sir Pheroze Sethna of Bombay, the Right Hon. V. Srinivasa Sastri and Sir Sivaswami Iyer of Madras, Mr. Chintamani of Allahabad, and Mr. J. N. Basu of Calcutta. Among the present-day Congress leaders who are loyal supporters of the Mahatma, are Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel of Gujerat, Dr. M. A. Ansari of Delhi, Dr. Rajendra Prasad of Patna, Dr. Mohammed Alam and Sardar Sardul Singh of Lahore, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru of Allahabad, Mr. Rajagopalachari of Madras, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the celebrated poetess, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad of Calcutta, Mr. Abhyankar of Nagpur, Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram of Karachi and Dr. B. C. Roy of Calcutta. Among them Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's popularity is, by general consent, the highest.

Besides the above political parties comprising members of all communities, there are communal organisations whose avowed

[1] Moulana implies a learned Moslem divine, just as Pandit implies a learned Brahmin. But the word Pandit is used loosely in some parts of India, as Kashmir, in reference to all Brahmins, regardless of their learning.

[2] Mr. Sherwani of Allahabad, Mr. Asaf Ali of Delhi and Mr. Khaliquzzaman of Lucknow also belong to this group. The first two have been elected to the Assembly in the elections of November 1934.

object is to secure the loaves and fishes for members of their own community. Among the Moslems, the All-India Moslem League is the most important organisation, having been started as early as 1906. During 1920 and 1924, the Moslem League was eclipsed by the All-India Khilafat Committee. But after the abolition of the Khalifate in 1924, the Khilafat movement in India collapsed, and the Moslem League regained its former importance. Besides the Moslem League, there are other organisations of recent growth, like the All-India Moslem Conference. The prominent communal Moslem leaders are the Aga Khan, Mr. M. A. Jinnah (who was a Congress leader up to 1920), Sir Mohammed Ikbal of Lahore, Sir Mohammed Yakub of the United Provinces and Mr. Shafi Daudi of Patna. Moulana Shaukat Ali, once a prominent Congress and Khilafat leader, has, on several occasions, identified himself with the communal Mohammedans. Sir Abdur Rahim occupies a position between the communal leaders on the one side and the Nationalist Moslem leaders on the other.

As a counterblast to the All-India Moslem League, the Hindu Mahasabha has come into existence for the avowed object of protecting the rights of the Hindus. It has influential support in some parts of India. Among the prominent leaders are Mr. Ramananda Chatterji of Calcutta (Editor of the *Modern Review*), Dr. B. S. Moonjee of Nagpur, Bhai Parmanand of Lahore, Mr. N. C. Kelkar of Poona. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya though intimately connected with the Congress also plays an important part in the Hindu Mahasabha. Besides the Moslem League and the Hindu Mahasabha there are other communal parties. For instance, the Anglo-Indians, the Indian Christians, the Sikhs (of the Punjab) and the depressed classes among the Hindus have their own parties to safeguard their own interests, that is, to secure as much of the loaves and fishes as possible. Of these parties there is one which has played a comparatively important rôle—namely the Justice Party of Madras. The Justice Party of Madras has till recently been composed of non-Brahmins and its policy is pro-government, as compared with the Indian National Congress. Among the depressed classes, everywhere in India there is a strong nationalist bloc, working hand in hand with the Congress. The Sikhs of the Punjab are on the whole strongly nationalist.

While the political parties we first dealt with have a political programme and carry on some sort of agitation against, or

opposition towards the Government, the communal parties are more concerned with dividing amongst themselves such of the crumbs that are thrown at them from the official tables. In accordance with the time-worn policy of *divide et impera,* the Government greatly encourage these parties—just to spite the Indian Nationalist Congress and try to weaken its influence. This was clearly exhibited in 1930 and later, when the Indian representatives to the Round Table Conference were not selected by a vote of the Indian people—but were nominated by the British Government and in making these nominations, the communal parties, who have no concern with the fight for political freedom, were given exaggerated importance. As a matter of fact, whenever the occasion demands, leaders are created overnight by the British Government and, thanks to the British Press, their names are made known to the whole world. When the Government of India Act, 1919, was under consideration, the late Dr. T. M. Nair of Madras, was made a leader in London, in opposition to the Congress leaders at the time. In 1930 and after, Dr. Ambedkar has had leadership thrust upon him by a benign British Government, because his services were necessary to embarrass the nationalist leaders.

Next in importance to the Indian National Congress are the labour and peasant parties. Labour organisation has, however, made more headway than the peasants' organisation. The All-India Trade Union Congress was first started in 1920 and Mr. N. M. Joshi was one of the founders of that organisation. Since then the Trade Union Congress has had a stormy career. In 1929 at the Nagpur session, presided over by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, a split took place, the Right Wing represented by Mr. N. M. Joshi, Mr. V. V. Giri, Mr. Shiva Rao, Mr. R. R. Bakhale, and others, breaking away from the Congress and starting another body called the Trade Union Federation. The Trade Union Federation now works hand in hand with the British Trades Union Congress and is affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions of Amsterdam. The politics of this body is closely allied to the politics of the Liberal Party. In 1931, at the Calcutta session of the Trade Union Congress, presided over by the writer, a further split took place, as a result of which the extreme section broke away and started the Red Trade Union Congress. This section is alleged to work under the inspiration of the Communist

International, but their organisation has not exhibited much activity ever since its birth. The present Trade Union Congress, to which the writer belongs, holds a middle position between the Trade Union Federation and the Red Trade Union Congress. In other words, it is definitely socialist but is opposed to the policy and tactics of the Third International. But neither is it affiliated to the Second International at Zurich or to the International Federation of Trade Unions at Amsterdam. Unlike the Trade Union Federation, the Trade Union Congress has no faith whatsoever in the British Trades Union Congress and in Indian politics, the Trade Union Congress has more in common with the Indian National Congress than with the Liberal Federation. The President of the Congress now is Pandit Harihar Nath Sastri of Cawnpore and the Secretary is Mr. Shib Nath Bannerji of Calcutta. It is interesting to speculate what part Mr. M. N. Roy, formerly of the Communist International, will play in future in the workers' movement in India and also in the political movement. Though he is still regarded as a communist by many, in view of his past activities, associations and writings—the Communists themselves call him a counter-revolutionary. He is now serving a term of six years' imprisonment in India for his former activities, but meanwhile his followers in the workers' organisations in Bombay are working in the Trade Union Congress and in opposition to the Red Trade Union Congress, which is alleged by many to be a Communist body. Since Mr. M. N. Roy severed his connection with the Communist International, a split has taken place among those workers' leaders who were formerly alleged to be Communists. The group headed by Mr. Dange of Bombay, have declared for Mr. M. N. Roy, while the other group denounce him as a counter-revolutionary.

Since 1920, a peasants' awakening has taken place all over India and the Indian National Congress has been indirectly responsible for its birth. But up till now no All-India organisation has been formed. The peasants' movement is very strong in the United Provinces and has been organised there in the name of the Kishan (Peasant) League. The Left Wing Congressmen of the province are intimately connected with the peasants' movement and their general outlook is radical. In Gujerat, too, where Mahatma Gandhi's influence is greatest, there is a strong peasants' movement—but this movement is entirely under Congress influence

and the right-hand man of the Mahatma, Sardar Patel, is the leader of the peasants. The peasants' movement in Gujerat has not so far been developed on a class-conscious basis, but a radical turn in the movement is bound to come before long. In the Punjab the Kirti (Workers) Kishan (Peasant) Party is influential and some elements in the party seem to be under the influence of communistic ideas. The party would have made more rapid progress if it had a prominent personality at its head. In Bengal, the peasants' movement has made much progress and has been organised under the name of Krishak (Peasant) Samities (Societies)—but it has been handicapped by want of sufficient honest and able leaders. So far, the political movement in Bengal has drawn the best and ablest workers, but in view of the new alignment that is going to take place in Indian politics before long, it is not likely that there will be a dearth of workers in the peasants' movement in future. In Central India, too, the peasants' movements is fairly strong but in South India—in the Madras Presidency—it is rather backward. Only in some parts of the northern portion of Madras Presidency, called Andhra, is the movement strong.

There is an independent movement among the students and also among the youth in India. From time to time, All-India Congresses of students and of youths are held—but there is no permanent All-India Committee to co-ordinate these activities. These two movements are generally conducted on a provincial basis. In Bengal, of all the provinces, the students' movement is the strongest. The last All-India Congress of students was held at Lahore in December 1929. The youth movement is organised in different provinces under different names. In Bengal the name 'Yuba Samity' or 'Tarun Sangha' is popular. In the Punjab and the United Provinces, the name 'Naujawan Bharat Sabha' is more in vogue. The first Congress of Youths was held in Calcutta in December 1928, and was presided over by Mr. Nariman, the Congress leader of Bombay. The second and the last Congress was held in Karachi in March 1931, and was presided over by the writer. The students' and youth organisations work in close co-operation with the Indian National Congress, though they have a more radical outlook and programme.

Last but not least, the women's movement is an important factor in the public life of India today. This movement has advanced by rapid strides during the last fourteen years. One of

the miracles for which the Mahatma is responsible to a very large extent, is this awakening. This movement has been intimately connected with the Indian National Congress, nevertheless, independent women's committees have come into existence all over the country. The movement is, generally speaking, organised on a provincial basis and in many provinces—as in Bengal—provincial Congresses are held from time to time. In all the Congress Committees in India, women now have an honoured place and in the Supreme Executive of the Congress—the Working Committee —there is at least one woman representative. Two of the recent annual sessions of the Indian National Congress have been presided over by women—by Mrs. Besant in 1917 and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the poetess, in 1925.

Besides the political organisations of women referred to above, there are other organisations working solely with social and educational aims. These organisations are conducted on an All-India basis and All-India Conferences are held from time to time. Among these organisations is the All-India Women's Conference which held its last session in Calcutta towards the end of 1933.

To sum up, the most important organisation in India today is the Indian National Congress. It stands for the whole country and for all communities. It strives for political freedom for India —but it also aims for an all-round development of national life and for the amelioration of all social evils. With the exception of the communal parties all the other organisations or parties in the country are on the whole friendly towards the Congress, and work in close co-operation with it. The undisputed leader of the Congress today is Mahatma Gandhi—but within the Congress there is a powerful radical Left Wing.[1] The Mahatma has so far maintained a middle position on all such questions as capital and labour, landlord and peasant, as well as the social question of caste. The Left Wing, however, is working for a more radical and uncompromising policy on social and economic issues and it is not unlikely that before long the Congress will adopt its views.

[1] The present writer belongs to this wing.

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The Clouds Gather (1920)

THE annual session of the Indian National Congress met at Amritsar in the Punjab in December 1919, under the shadow of the atrocities perpetrated there earlier in the year. In spite of the opposition of Mr. C. R. Das, Mr. B. C. Pal and Mr. B. Chakravarti, the Bengal leaders, a resolution was passed in favour of working the New Constitution (called the Government of India Act, 1919) and thanking the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Montagu, who had played so important a part in launching it. Mr. Gandhi, who had been largely responsible for the decision arrived at by the Amritsar Congress, welcomed the Royal proclamation announcing the assent to the Government of India Act, 1919, and in his weekly paper, *Young India,* he wrote on December 31st, 1919: 'The reforms Act coupled with the proclamation is an earnest of the intention of the British people to do justice to India and it ought to remove suspicion on that score.... Our duty therefore is not to subject the Reforms to carping criticism but to settle down quietly to work so as to make them a success.'

But during the next nine months events moved with dramatic suddenness. What actually happened can best be described in the words of Mr. Gandhi himself. When he was tried by a British Judge, Mr. Broomfield, in March 1922, for writing seditious articles in his paper, Mr. Gandhi made a remarkable statement in the course of which he explained why after having co-operated with the British Government all his life, he was ultimately forced to turn against it. Therein he said : 'The first shock came in the shape of Rowlatt Act, a law designed to rob the people of all real freedom. I felt called upon to lead an intensive agitation against it. Then followed the Punjab horrors beginning with the massacre at Jallianwalla Bagh (in Amritsar)