

## 1. Why did Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy and political programme had a wide popular appeal? Analyse.

### Introduction

Mahatma Gandhi entry into to the Indian national movement was a decisive turn towards a broad-based popular struggle. Gandhi's philosophy was well accepted by both the masses and the nationalist leaders and his political programme was well received and saw wide-spread participation across India.

### Body

#### Reasons for Acceptance of Gandhi's philosophy and political programme:

- Demonstrated results in Africa:
  - Gandhiji, by the use of satyagraha and ahimsa as tools was able to secure major demands relating to poll tax, registration certificates etc., from the British government.
  - Tolstoy farm illustrated the peace time utility of ashramas in helping the masses through constructive work and prepare them for popular struggle.
- Early successes in India: Through Champaran satyagraha, Ahmedabad mill strike and Kheda satyagraha – he demonstrated the utility of satyagraha and non-violent struggle.
- Practical philosophy and political programmes: tools like Satyagraha and ahimsa could have been used by every section of the society especially the masses. The methods like petitions, constitutional struggle hitherto used were not possible to be followed by masses.
- Belief in masses:
  - Gandhiji used to say, India live in the villages and it is only through masses the freedom can be achieved. This was not the case with earlier nationalist leaders including moderates and extremists who involved masses on a limited scale.
  - He held all India public meetings focused mainly on the participation of masses.
- Identification with masses:
  - Gandhian followed the philosophy of 'practice what you preach'. For instance, he popularized charkha by using it personally to weave his clothes. He shunned his elite clothes and wore a dhoti to identify himself with the masses.
  - As Ramachandra Guha noted – he dressed like them, walked among them and a sense of belongingness was developed among the masses. Hence, they followed him.
- Secular leadership: every strategy and programmes of Gandhiji was secular and he incorporated members of all the religions without any skepticism or discrimination. He took up the issues of all the factions. For instance, he

- supported Ali brothers in Khilafat movement, supported Akali movement, Temple entry movement etc.,
- Social issues included in political programmes:
    - The political programmes of Gandhiji included Dalit upliftment, women emancipation and hence found widespread participation of these sections.
    - Further, the philosophy of Sarvodaya, Antyodaya etc., tried to address the prevailing issues including inequality, rural poverty, food insecurity etc., and hence was widely supported.
  - Peace time constructive work:
    - Ashramas provided a way help those who participated in struggle and build momentum garnering public support.
    - Programmes like promotion of Khadi helped Indian producers and hence found support.
    - Establishing local schools provided alternatives to students who left British schools for participating in freedom struggle.
  - Supporting local issues like demand of linguistic provinces, Vaikom satyagraha, Malabar Muslim protest etc.,
  - Effective use of Newspaper and journals: Gandhiji popularized his philosophy through Harijan and the use of local dialects helped in spreading of his message to large number of people especially in rural areas.
  - Home rule movement: under Tilak and Annie Besant prepared a base for Gandhiji demonstrating self-rule which found its resonance in Gandhian philosophy of Swaraj.

### Conclusion

Thus, Gandhian way of struggle was not limited to any section of the freedom fighters. He was able to unite different factions (religious, social etc.,) and more importantly was instrumental in finding wide appeal among masses.

### 2. What do you understand by the instrument of 'Satyagraha'? When and how did Mahatma Gandhi use this tool against the British. Was it effective? Critically comment.

#### Introduction

Satyagraha is a technique developed by Gandhiji to oppose the exploitative policies of British. It was based on Truth and Non-violence. It was based on the philosophy that evil could best be countered by non-violent resistance. It is a technique to of resisting adversaries without violence.

#### Body

Gandhiji in South Africa after the Pietermaritzburg incident took up the cause of African Indians. he witnessed the ugly face of white racism and the humiliation and

contempt to Asians who had gone as labourers were subjected. It was then he first used the tool of satyagraha to organise the Indian workers to enable them to fight for their rights.

He used it during the phase of passive resistance in 1906 to oppose exploitative British policies of the time in South Africa.

Satyagraha being effective:

In Africa:

- Against registration certificates (1906): Gandhiji formed passive resistance Association to conduct the campaign of defying the law and suffering all the penalties resulting from such a defiance. Gandhiji and his followers publicly burnt registration certificates. In the end, there was a compromise settlement.
- Restrictions on Indian Migration: was defied by crossing over from one province to another and by refusing to produce licences though they knew they would be jailed.
- Protest against Transvaal Immigration Act by illegally migrating from Natal into Transvaal.

Gandhiji was successful in bringing the British to the negotiating table who conceded to the conceded the major Indian demands.

In India:

- Champaran Satyagraha: Gandhiji defied the order of by the authorities to leave the town and prepared to face punishment. After the enquiry and negotiations, he was successful in partial compensation to peasants under tinkathia system.
- Similarly, in Kheda Satyagraha, Gandhiji defied the British by uniting peasants against paying taxed and finally was able to strike a deal to return all confiscated property and reduce the increase in rate.
- It was again used during Non-cooperation movement, salt satyagraha, quit India movement and it saw partial successes like participation in 2<sup>nd</sup> RTC, negotiations under August offer-Cripps mission-Cabinet mission, INA trials (popular pressure) and so on.

Satyagraha being Ineffective:

- Even where satyagraha was successful, it was only partial. The British always found ways to concede to limited demands be it be in Champaran, Kheda etc.,
- Satyagraha had limitations:
  - Maintaining non-violence was a challenge. For instance, Gandhiji had to withdraw non-cooperation movement in 1922 after the Chauri-Chaura incident.
  - Sustaining satyagraha for long time was difficult. It was natural as it is not possible to sustain any movement at a high pitch for very long. For e.g. Gandhiji had to withdraw the civil disobedience movement in 1934 as the movement was showing fatigue.

- The capacity of masses was limited and they faced practical difficulties while adhering to principles of satyagraha. E.g. Khadi being costly, students leaving colleges facing unemployment etc.,
- British defied Gandhiji's demand many a times as sometimes satyagraha seemed harmless. E.g. Even though Gandhiji secured concession from Lord Irwin and participated in 2<sup>nd</sup> RTC, the subsequent viceroy (Birkinhead) denied any further role to Congress after understanding the limitations of satyagraha.
- Opposition among Indians themselves against satyagraha made it ineffective several times. For E.g during the negotiations of Cripps mission etc., Muslim league did not head to satyagrahas of Gandhiji. Even among congress leaders like Subhash Chandra Bose were skeptical of satyagraha as effective tool and did not support it.
- In spite of several fast unto death satyagrahas by Gandhiji, the communal holocaust could not be prevented on the eve of partition.

### Conclusion

Satyagraha was a novel and an ideal way of struggle introduced by Gandhiji. It gave the Indian National Movement, a moral strength to oppose the British. As Subhash Kashyap observes – though the technique of satyagraha might have delayed the freedom for India, it ensured that the freedom is won the right way.

### Additional information:

Basic tenets of Satyagraha:

- A satyagrahi was not to submit to what he considered as wrong, but was to always remain truthful, non-violent and fearless.
- A satyagrahi works on the principles of withdrawal of cooperation and boycott.
- Methods of satyagraha include non-payment of taxes, and declining honors and positions of authority.
- A satyagrahi should be ready to accept suffering in his struggle against the wrong-doer. This suffering was to be a part of his love for truth.
- Even while carrying out his struggle against the wrong-doer, a true satyagrahi would have no ill feeling for the wrong-doer; hatred would be alien to his nature.
- A true satyagrahi would never bow before the evil, whatever the consequence.
- Only the brave and strong could practise satyagraha. It was not for the weak and cowardly. Thought was never to be separated from practice.

### 3. What was the response of the nationalist leaders towards World War I? Did their views change during World War II? Elaborate.

#### Introduction

When the First World War broke out, British Government, appealed to the Indian leaders to join hands with them, although the leaders agreed but they forwarded their own terms and conditions. When the war was over, British Government did not

fulfil its promises. This led to change the views of nationalist leaders in the Second World War.

## Body

### The response of the nationalist leaders towards World War I

- During the war years, political unrest was growing within India and Leaders such as Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Annie Besant launched the Home Rule League in 1916 and used India's war contributions to demand self-government within the empire.
- Political moderates such as Surendranath Banerjee and Bhupendranath Basu, pledged their whole-hearted support to the Allies.
- Different political parties and communities such as the All India Muslim League, Madras Provincial Congress, Hindus of Punjab and the Parsee community of Bombay supported the Allies and fund-raising was organized, meetings were held in cities such as Calcutta, Bombay, Lahore and Allahabad.
- Mahatma Gandhi thought that England's need should not be turned into our opportunity, and he argued that we should send our men to France and Mesopotamia.
- Moderate and extremist groups within the Congress submerged their differences in order to stand as a unified front and argued their enormous services to the British Empire during the war, demanded a reward and demonstrated the Indian capacity for self-rule thus the pre-war nationalist movement had revived.
- Lucknow Pact of 1916, was an alliance between Muslim League and Congress, which led to some sort of consensus over the issue of devolution of political power.

### Response of Revolutionaries

- The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 gave a new lease of life to the nationalist movement since Britain's difficulty was seen as India's opportunity by the revolutionaries as well as other nationalists. This opportunity was seized, in different ways and with varying success, by the Ghadar revolutionaries based in North America.
- The Ghadarites attempted a violent overthrow of British rule. After the outbreak of World War 1, Ghadarites conducted revolutionary activities in central Punjab and organized uprisings. This way the Ghadar party proved to be the stepping stone for future Indian revolutionary movements.

### Nationalist leaders views during World War II

- On 1 September 1939, 2nd World War broke out. The British Government without consulting the people of India involved the country in the war. The Congress vehemently opposed it.

As a mark of protest the Congress Ministries resigned in all the seven Provinces on 12 December 1939

- The Indian National Congress, led by Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Maulana Azad, denounced Nazi Germany but would not fight it or anyone else until India was independent.
- Congress launched the Quit India Movement in August 1942, refusing to cooperate in any way with the government until independence was granted.
- In Singapore, Bose formed the Azad Hind Fauj (Indian National Army or INA) to conduct a military campaign for the liberation of India.

### Conclusion

Unfulfilled promises by British in the World War I made Indians not to trust British anymore, this led to Indian nationalists change their strategies. After World War II, movement like quit India launched by the Indian leaders eventually culminated in India's independence in 1947, Two years after the end of the second world war.

**4. In the overall discourse of India's freedom struggle, what status do princely states have? Was an active attempt made by the nationalist leaders to integrate the subjects in princely states with the masses elsewhere? Examine.**

### Introduction

The struggle for freedom in the Indian Princely States was an inseparable part of the Indian struggle for freedom from the British colonial dominance. The movement for freedom in the Princely States, therefore, aimed at a number of objectives, which included the emancipation of the State's people from foreign rule, the realization of Indian unity, and the achievement of self-rule for the people in the Indian States.

### Body

#### Status of Princely states in the overall discourse of India's freedom struggle.

- Time and again, at critical junctures, the princes showed themselves as loyal and useful friends of the British Raj such as in the Revolt of 1857, during the anti-partition agitation of 1905, in the war crisis of 1914 and 1939, and during the Quit India movement of 1942.
- Some of the princely States, like, Hyderabad, Gwalior, Rampur, Patiala, gave valuable military aid to the Company's Government in 1857-58 which helped the British Government to limit and suppress the revolt.
- In 1858 Viceroy Canning issued to mark the transfer of the East India Company's possessions to the crown. Thereby he ensured that almost 600 royal houses in India became bound up with the reputation of the crown in England.
- 1877 the States were gradually deprived of civil and criminal jurisdiction over broad-gauge railways passing through their territory.

- In 1909 the princes were called in to service by the British to deal with the nationalist challenge. The princes responded very quickly and positively, and in a true loyalist tune. Most of them banned any public meetings, clamped down on the nationalist newspapers and any sort of anti-imperialist activity was banned in their territories.
- World War One forced the Government of India to make the structural changes which the princes were demanding. The princes stood out in their support for the British war effort. The princes received the rewards for their help in the war effort in the form of titles and enhancement in their gun-salutes.
- The princes were feeling marginalized in decision-making after the 1919 Constitutional reforms were introduced as now the Legislature had elected Indians—the princes were unrepresented—which made policy-making more tilted towards provinces.
- After 1931 Round table Conference, the representative princes found it difficult to rally the fellow princes around the idea of the federation. Gulab Singh of Rewa, Udaibhan Singh of Dholpur and many like-minded rulers did not want to be associated, even marginally, with democracy, and believed that federation result in the subordination of the States.
- The absence of the "protection of the treaty rights of the States" in the Government of India Act 1935, the differences among the princes, the changed attitude of the Congress towards the States, the political unrest in the States, and the shift in the governments' policy finally made the States not to join the federation.
- The outbreak of the Second World War provided the princes with the much needed opportunity to repair the damage done to the relationship between the States and the government by the federation debacle. The States generously helped in the British war efforts and altogether.
- The princes welcomed the Cabinet Mission Plan as it appeared that the Plan assured them the independence after the lapse of British paramountcy in India. In regard to the selection of the delegates to the Constituent assembly, the Chamber of Princes rejected the mechanism of popular election.

#### **Attempts made by the nationalist leaders to integrate the subjects in princely states with the masses elsewhere**

- Till the 1920's the Congress remained somewhat aloof from the political activity in the princely states on the ground that a confrontation with the Indian princely states was likely to weaken the Congress in conducting its main struggle against foreign rulers.
- In the early part of the 20th century the educated middle class subjects of the princely states had formed Prajamandals (Peoples' Organization) Lokparishadas (Peoples' Conferences). The first such association was formed in Mysore in 1917. By the turn of the decade however, similar associations were formed in the states of Gujarat and central India, including Baroda and Indore.

- In 1938 Patel in the altered circumstances agreed to lead the Baroda Prajamandal and resolved to undertake Civil Disobedience in the state unless taxes were reduced. The Satyagraha did not take place since the Baroda court decided to reduce the taxes and promised to enlarge the Legislative Assembly.
- Gandhi decided to intervene in Rajkot in favour of the Rajkot Prajamandal constitutional demands through mass civil disobedience.
- Provoked by the repressive measures of the Mysore rulers, the non-Brahmin rural leadership decided to merge with the Congress movement. In 1941 the Mysore state permitted labour unions. The Congress in its turn started extending its influence among the workers as well.

### Conclusion

Princely states acted as path breakers in the extension of the national movement into the princely domains. While the State People's Conference was an example of successful forging of ties between the Congress and the Prajamandal. Finally efforts of Vallabhbhai Patel settled the problem of the States. Sooner States signed the Instruments of Accession and integrated to Union of India.

### 5. What role did the business class play for India's freedom struggle? Discuss. What role did Mahatma Gandhi envisage for the business community? Elaborate.

#### Introduction

The business class emerged in late 19<sup>th</sup> century played major role in freedom struggle supporting the nationalist cause by supporting the swadeshi movement and took major part realization of congress policies. The Business class participation remained minimal till the entry of Gandhiji. They played active role in Non-cooperation movement, civil disobedience movement and quit India movement.

#### Body

##### Background:

Capitalists suffered by the economic policies of British stood with Congress and lobbied for favorable economic policies. Most of the industrialists saw the colonial policies of restricting business activity as oppressive and wanted them to be removed so that trade and industry could flourish, thus, contributing to the growth of Indian economy.

##### Role played by Business class:

- Criticism of British economic policies: Purshotamdas, Thakurdas and G.D Birla attacked colonial control over the Indian economy and supported the Civil Disobedience Movement.



- Financial assistance and support:
  - Policy support: FICCI refuse to negotiate with British in economic or political issues without the participation or approval of Congress.
  - Funding the Indian National Congress in organizing protests, conferences.  
e.g. Chidambaram Pillai funded the INC branch of Madras state.
- Swadeshi enterprises: they established industries and produced swadeshi goods which provided alternatives after boycotting foreign goods.  
e.g. Swadeshi textile mills, soap and match factories, tanneries, banks, insurance companies etc.,
- Self-reliance: indigenous enterprises helped in self-sustenance of Indian economy. It provided employment opportunities to those who quit British industries after protesting to support the freedom struggle.
- Lobbying: they lobbied for favorable economic policies which would promote indigenous enterprises. Per se, they advocated import protection and tax benefits for Indian enterprises.
  - FICCI was formed as an interest group which played major role in economic policies negotiations.
  - Indian Industries and Commercial Congress was formed in 1920 which became a discussion body and put forth the demands of Industrialists.
- Economic Planning: in 1944 and 1945, Bombay plan was formulated by a small group of influential business leaders in Bombay for the development of the post-independence economy of India. These were in lines of philosophy of Indian freedom struggle.

### **Role envisaged by Gandhiji:**

Gandhiji envisaged a role for business community more than in the economic sphere.

- Critical role against British policies: The business community must resist the small term economic benefits provided by the British and struggle for long term sustainable economic policies which would help India and the Indians.
- Swadeshi promotion: Gandhiji viewed business community participation as vital in success of swadeshi idea of struggle. Business class has major role to play in promotion of Indian and traditional products like Khadi and so on.
- Trusteeship: the business community has the social responsibility alongside profit and must help in sarvodaya and antyodaya. Further,
  - A long-term vision beyond one generation making the business sustainable.
  - Fostering trust and build reputation will all the sections of the society. Thus, create a value for community.
- Employment: Gandhiji was against blind mechanization to be imitated by the business community. This would result in the loss of jobs. Thus, he

recommended business community to invest in labour intensive industries.

- Rural development: Gandhiji believed that the real India lives in villages and therefore it is also the responsibility of the Business community in ensuring village development.

### Conclusion

Though most of business class community supported the freedom struggle, they were skeptical of the unconstitutional means to carry it. So, they advocated legal methods and followed negotiations to pursue freedom struggle. But it goes without saying that they actively helped Indian freedom struggle. Industrialists like Tata, Chidambaram Pillai and others played the role of trustees as envisaged by Gandhiji as well.

