INTRODUCTION

• 1) He is considered as the greatest dalit leader, what Ambedkar achieveed for his community neither any leader before him nor after him could achieve.
INTRODUCTION

• 2) He is critic of Gandhi.
INTRODUCTION

• 3) He is controversial personality and is considered as leader of the community, rather than leader of the nation.
INTRODUCTION

• Ambedkar explicitly stated that between the interest of untouchables and interest of the nation, He will give preference to the interest of untouchable.

• One of the major critic of Ambedkar is Arun Shourie who in his Book- “WORSHIPPING FALSE GODS” calls Ambedkar as anti nationalist”.

Worshipping False Gods
Ambedkar and the facts which have been erased

ARUN SHOURIE
Arun Shourie gives following arguments-

1. He opposed poorna swaraj resolution of 1929.
Arun Shourie gives following arguments-

2. On 8th Aug 1930 in his address to the conference of depressed classes in Nagpur, he held that depressed should appreciate the Britishers.
Arun Shourie gives following arguments-

3. Ambedkar advised Dalits to not join INC. He strongly opposed Gandhi's Quit India movement and called it as mad venture of Gandhi.
Arun Shourie gives following arguments-

4. He joined defense advisory committee and viceroy's executive council which was setup to gain legitimacy for British participation in II world war involving Indians.
Arun Shourie gives following arguments-

5. Ambedkar supported Jinnah's demand for Pakistan.
Arun Shourie gives following arguments-

6. Ambedkar wanted that Britishers should stay in India.
On the other hand, following scholars challenged the view that Ambedkar should be regarded as Anti National.

Christopher Jaffrelot

Arundhati Roy
• According to Christophe Jaffrelot, a person who is representing the majority untouchables, Shudra, Tribals, Labours cannot be regarded as Anti-national.

• Ambedkar like Jyotiba Phule had very practical approach with respect to the Nation.
• Ambedkar was not willing to accept that people divided into so many castes can be regarded as Nation.

• Ambedkar held that nationalism is an ideology which become weapon in the hands of elites to the delegitimize any protest by weaker section.
• However, in his heart Ambedkar had Desire that India should emerge as a nation in his speech to the constituent assembly December 1946

• He held that I know today we are divided politically, economically and socially we are group of warring camps.

• I myself is leader of one such camp.
• However I am convinced that day will come when we will forget these differences and become one Nation.
• Ambedkar rejected that India is a Nation.
• Ambedkar believed that sooner we accept that we are not a nation the more better it is, because at least we will start thinking that how to emerge as a nation.
Life of Ambedkar

1. He belonged to the community of untouchables of Maharastra.
2. He was fortunate enough to get opportunity to gain education even from western universities.
Life of Ambedkar

3. He had earned the degree in law and started practicing in Mumbai.
4. However hardly people approached him because of the stigma attached to its caste.
5. Ambedkar realized that even when Dalits will get education, they will not get life of dignity until and unless Untouchability is not abolished.
6. Hence, He dedicated himself for this task. He started promoting consciousness among Dalits through his magazine “Muknayak And Newspaper Bahishkrit Bharat and Society Bahishkrit Hitkarini Sabha”
7. He also laid the foundation of the all India depressed classes Federation renamed it as Republican party of India.
• Ambedkar initially adopted the method of Satyagraha and He launched Mahad Satyagraha.

• The aim of Satyagraha was to end the restriction imposed on untouchables from taking water from the well used by upper caste.
• He could not get even the support of Gandhi

• Gandhi held that for the time being the use of Satyagraha should be Limited only against foreign rule.

• After his experience, Ambedkar preferred working with the colonial Masters to get concessions in favour of untouchables.
The chief concern of Ambedkar was upliftment of untouchables and his works revolve around these issues.

He tried to understand the scientific origins of untouchability and how it can be abolished.
Ambedkar's view can be studied under following heads:

1) His understanding of caste system
2) His approach to abolish untouchability
3) His criticism of Hinduism
4) His criticism of Gandhi
1. Ambedkar was not satisfied with the explanation related to the origin of caste system found in Vedic texts.

2. He went for anthropological understanding of origin of caste system, origin of shudras and untouchables.
According to Ambedkar originally, there were only 3 Varnas-

- Brahmins
- Kshatriy
- Vaishyas
• Originally Varnas were division of labour and exogamous.
• However later on Varna system became heriditary.
• Regarding the origin of shudras, he held that shudras were Kshatriyas.
• However such Kshatriyas who developed differences with Brahmins.
Brahmins stopped “Upanayan Sanskar” for this group of Kshatriyas.

"Upanayan Sanskar " is the ritual symbolizing purification.

Hence in the absence of upanayan Sanskar, the kshatriyas remained impure.
- It is to be noted that Hinduism is based on the concept of purity and pollution.
- Hindu society is hierarchical.
- Those who are pure are at Higher side of ladder and impure are at lower side.
Hinduism is heaven for those who are higher in the ladder and hell for those who are on the lower side.
• Regarding *untouchables*, Ambedkar believed that they were never part of Hindu society

• Untouchables were originally Buddhist.

• However, untouchables have been coerced to become part of Hindu society.
• He calls untouchables as broken men which symbolize disconnection between caste Hindu and untouchables.

• They have been forced by Brahmins to work for other caste. Since all caste benefited from it and Hence, supported it. Brahmins have imposed the untouchability so that they remain permanently depressed under the other caste and dependence on other castes.
HOW TO ABOLISH UNTOUCHABILITY?

- IN his Book “ANNHILATION OF CASTE” - He suggests to put dynamite on vendas and manusmirits.

- It implies that we cannot end caste system and untouchability without ending Hinduism.
Why to end Hinduism and leave Hinduism?

1) He gives the example of early reformers like Bhakti saints who advocated for the abolition of Untouchability.
2) He also gives example of Gandhi and believes that Gandhi will not be successful in abolishing untouchability.
According to Ambedkar, Gandhi is a political leader and not a spiritual leader, people will respond to his political call and they will not respond to his religious call.
• Bhakti saints and earlier reformers were not successful because as long as any person believes in Hinduism, He cannot end caste system.
According to Ambedkar, Hindus are not bad people but they are “extremely religious”. Hinduism does not allow abolishing caste.
According to Ambedkar, Religion which force poor to remain poor, uneducated to remain Uneducated, which allows man to touch cow dung but not touch fellow human being.
• It is not a religion but Madness, he held that it was not his choice not to be born as Hindu.
• However, it is in his power not to die as Hindu

• Ambedkar converted into Buddhism on 14 November 1956.
• Ambedkar Held that by disowning the religion of his birth.

• He is Reborn, he held that I reject Hinduism, I reject religion which discriminants between man and man and which treats me as inferior.
According to Ambedkar, Hindus are a race of losers, Hindus can never face the challenges of other religious like Islam and Christianity.
Hindus are warring caste, they can never be united and hence will always be defeated.

Ambedkar held that Hinduism is nothing but Brahminism.
• Even the word Hindu is of Foreign Origin.

• The word Hinduism has been adopted for Brahminism to misguide and to establish the hegemony of Brahmin.
According to him the two essential features of Hinduism or Brahminism are

1. Caste system
2. Endogamy
• Brahmanism in order to maintain their exclusiveness started practices like endogamy and rejection of non vegetarian food.

• They have emphasize on the concept of purity.
Both endogamy and vegetarianism is linked to purity of bloods.

Though initially there was no restrictions on eating's beef and wearing outside Varna.
Other caste or Varna also started following Brahminism a process described as Sanskritization by MN Srinivasan.
According to Ambedkar, originally no one can claim to be of pure blood. Intermixing of the blood on the subcontinent have taken place much before the origin of caste system.
• Thus, from Ambedkar's point of view purity and pollution is a discourse of Brahmins.

• According to him the only way to end caste system and untouchability is by rejecting endogamy.
However by rejecting endogamy means ending Humanism/Brahminism because Brahminism is nothing but caste system.

Brahmins will never allow exogamy hence the only way is rejection of Hinduism.
AMBEDKAR'S CRITICISM OF GANDHI
Ambedkar’s criticism of Gandhi

Ambedkar and Gandhi develop debate on

1. Varna system
2. Conversions
3. Method of abolishing untouchability
• Gandhi was supporter of Varna system.

• Gandhi held that varna system is division of Labour.

• It is a feature of all societies including modern societies.
• In every society we have functional specialization.
AMBEDKAR

1) Gandhi's view is textual if Varna is a text, caste is context.

In practice varna system is caste system.

In practice Varna is not the division of labour but division of labour.
• Gandhi's view are far from the reality.

• Gandhi himself does not follow his Varna-Dharma.
2) Gandhi was against conversion, Gandhi believed that if a person is born in particular religion.

- There is a divine will and one should not go against divine will.
• However Gandhi believed that we should be open to accept good things of all religion.

• On the other hand Ambedkar actually converted his religion from Hinduism to Buddhism.
AMBEDKAR

• 3) Ambedkar objected to the use of term Harijan by Gandhi.

• Harijan is a misleading term, In reality untouchable are not the loved one rather depressed sections of society.
Ambedkar had no faith in Gandhi's constructive programme for abolishing untouchability.
Gandhi had established Harijan Sevak Sangh for the upliftment of Harijans.
Ambedkar suggested dalits to stay away from Gandhi's HSS.
Ambedkar compared HSS with putna the mythic character sent to feed milk to Krishna but she was carrying poison.

Ambedkar demanded inclusion of dalit members in the management of HSS which was rejected by Gandhi.
Gandhi tried to convince him by suggesting that HSS is for the purpose that upper caste should serve the Untouchability.
Ambedkar was disappointed with Gandhi because Gandhi kept fast unto death against the demand for separate electorate but Gandhi never kept any fast for abolishing Untouchability.
• Ambedkar was also not in favour of P. Raj proposed by Gandhi.
• He believed that Indian villages are Den of ignorance and where caste system is most entrenched.
• Ambedkar was extremely critical of Gandhian methods of direct action called it grammar of Anarchy.
• Ambedkar framed constitutional methods, he believed that with affirmative action in favors of Dalits, state can play role in there upliftment.

• Ambedkar believe that society can be more oppressive then state.
1. Ambedkar believed in Marxist concept of class and class struggle he even organized working class in India.
Que. Comparison between Ambedkar and Marxism?

2. However, Ambedkar believed that Marxism is not much relevant for India.
• Why- 1. Neither as a Mode of Analysis
• Why-
  • In India the basic structure of society is not economic structure but caste system or Brahminism.
  • Hence, the situation of Dalits will not change with the change in mode of production.

Comparison between Ambedkar and Marxism
2. Ambedkar didn't agree with Marx view of state as an instruments of dominant class, he had faith in affirmative action by State.

Ambedkar was strong believer in democracy including political democracy and would not have supported any sort of dictatorship even if it is dictatorship of prolitariat for the transitional period.

Comparison between Ambedkar and Marxism
• Ambedkar had disagreement with Marxist view that religion is Opium of masses

• Marx must not have studied all religions

• He held that Buddhism cannot be considered as Opium of masses, Buddhism has lot for nourishments of the human soul.

Comparison between Ambedkar and Marxism
INDIAN NATIONALISM
Indian Nationalism

Political strategies of Indian Freedom Struggle
Indian Nationalism

From Constitutionalism of Mass Satyagraha
Indian Nationalism

Non Cooperation
Indian Nationalism

Civil Disobedience
Indian Nationalism

Militant and Revolutionary Movements
Indian Nationalism

Peasants and Worker Movements
Constitutionalism as a Strategy

What is Constitutionalism

What methods come under Constitution Methods?

Why early Nationalist adopted Constitutional Method

Critical Evaluation
Question

• Que. What is Constitutional Methods?
CONSTITUTIONAL METHODS

- Constitutionalism is based on ideology of liberalism.

- According to liberalism human beings are rational, Hence conflicts can be resolved through dialogue, there is no need of any street politics of violent methods.
CONSTITUTIONAL METHODS

• Gokhale in his address to Allahabad session of Indian National Congress 1907 described constitutional methods as method adopted bring Desire changes through the action of constituted authorities.

• It includes bringing resolution in assembly sending Memorial prayers petitions and appeals to justice.
CONSTITUTIONAL METHODS

• On the basis of above, we can say that constitutional methods excludes direct action.

• Example passive resistance, Satyagraha, non cooperation Dharna, Hartal, CDM, boycott, rebellion, mutiny, terrorism, Criminal actions and aiding foreign invasions.
Why early Nationalist adopted Constitutional Methods?

1. Ideological Reasons
2. Historical Reason
1. IDEOLOGICAL REASONS

- Early Nationalists were influenced by liberalism that consider British rule as “Blessing in Disguises”

- They held British rule as divine intervention which would eradicate evils of Misrules of past.
Ranade thanked British for introducing the Rule of Law.
Surendranath Banerjee appealed to introduce institutions that are truly British in character. So that Indians can rejoice in permanent Union with British.
Dadabhai Naroji held that British are justice loving people. Indians have to communicate their demand in a reasonable manner.
Ranade held that British rule is source of inspiration, Hope and confidence and we are fortunate that we are rule by them.
2) HISTORICAL REASONS

- At that time, it would not have been appropriate to go for direct action.
According to Gokhale,
The time is not right because direct action requires immense preparation.
According to C. Y. Chintamani, before introducing Direct methods, we have to address internal unions and disunity.
According to Bipin Chandra,
Such action is possible only when masses are organized.
• Unified and have common consciousness of the common end.
• The objective conditions of the Colonial rule was bringing Indians together but subjective consciousness which was required was missing.
• Moderates were leaders as well as learners, there was no readymade critic of imperialism available. British did introduce some good practices all evil features of the Empire was not on the surface.
Criticism of Constitutional Method

1. Bal Gangadhar Tilak
2. Aurobindo Ghosh
3. Pandit Nehru
According to Tilak, Constitutional method are inadequate because India does not have constitutional government in the words of Tilak constitutionalism infront of alien bureaucracy is a political suicide.
Aurobindo Ghosh called constitutional methods as intellectual bankruptcy of moderates.
Pandit Nehru held that constitutional methods are not possible without constitutional governance.
ASSESSMENT BY BIPIN CHANDRA

• Though moderates did not carry mass struggle but they carried struggle at ideological level.

• They presented the critique of colonialism, they laid the foundation of most spectacular Mass movement.
According to Ranade, that the memorials are not addressed to the British government but they were addressed to Indians.
According to Gokhale, we are at such a stage that our achievements are bound to be shallow and our failures too frequent.

We must content ourself by serving our country by our failure, it is through this failures that the strength will grow.
EXTREMIST DIRECT ACTION METHODS

- The term extremism and militant nationalism is used to denote the young leaders Lal Bal Pal.
WHY THEY WERE CALLED AS EXTREMIST?

• They appeared more militant or extremist in their ideas when compared with the earlier Nationalist who appeared moderates.
• With the exception of Aurobindo Ghosh Who talked about complete freedom rest of the leaders were asking for Dominion status the only difference was pace.

• The young leaders were not satisfied with the extremely slow pace of the political reforms.

Comparison between extremist and moderates?
• Moderates were for the gradual reforms and extremist were getting impatient and wanted it immediately.

• There was Difference in their methods as moderates Believed in constitutionalism whereas extremist believed in direct action.

Comparison between extremist and moderates?
Tilak rejected the method of petition. He asserted Swaraj as the birth right of Indians.

He even held that Indians have the right to resist or PRAJADROH because Britishers have established exploitative governance.

Comparison between extremist and moderates?
Cause of Rise Extremism

1. Foundation was laid down by moderates.
Cause of Rise Extremism

2. No concrete achievement of moderates.
3. British government started ruling back of reforms and representation of India. For example Calcutta Corporation Act, 1899 and Indian University Act 1904.
4. Political sphere was charged with anti British feeling because of the British attitude towards famines and epidemics.
5. Britisher’s actually withdrew relief from effected areas.
6. Partition of Bengal was the final blow to moderators.
7. Indian National Congress officially adopted the program of Swadeshi.
EVALUATION OF EXTREMIST

- It was the next logical steps once moderates fail to make any achievements.
- It was necessary to maintain the credibility of Congress.
- Extremist created the foundation for the launch of Gandhi's mass movement.
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<td>• Compare non cooperation with Civil Disobedience?</td>
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<td>• Do you think Quit India Movement was the most UnGandhian in all movements, substantiate your views?</td>
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According to Bipin Chandra, Indian National Movement is not the only example of mass movement, other examples include French, Russian and Chinese revolution.
• However it was unique mass movement the largest mass movement reaching to its logical end.

• He calls it has most spectacular movement that even today we can feel the warmth of national movement.
Mass Movement can be categorized as:

1. Control and Uncontrolled
2. Protracted over Night Movement
1. CONTROL AND UNCONTROLLED

- French revolution was spontaneous and uncontrolled outburst, whereas Indian, Russian and Chinese revolution have been controlled mass movement.
2. PROTRACTED or OVERNIGHT MOVEMENT

- Russian and Chinese movements were overnight whereas Gandhian movement is protracted fight.
- Gandhi knew that Indians have to fight on two levels
2 Level

A. War of Position
B. War of manoeuvre
WHY TWO STAGE REVOLUTION?

• British established their image in the minds of Indians that they have established rule of order, better law and order, Social reforms, introduction of modern education.

• There was a perception that British rule is better than the rule of native leader.
WHY TWO STAGE REVOLUTION?

• In the meanwhile Gandhi needed time to show the real character of British rule.

• Gandhi was also a great psychologist who knew that masses have limited capacity, hence Gandhi used to called off the movement before the weakness of movement come to the surface.
• According to Bipin Chandra, Gandhi was also a great strategist.
• Gandhi knew when to start the moment and when to call off.
• Gandhi never left the ball in the court of opponent.
• The place and time was always of Gandhi's choice.
Gandhi's movement were not reactive but proactive

- Gandhi movement have active and passive phases which Bipin Chandra called as struggle truce struggle.
- During passive phase Gandhi continued with constructive programs.
Non Cooperation Movement Time (1920 - 1922)

• Significance- it was truly Gandhian All India Movement
Causes

1. Suppression of civil liberties in the name of curbing terrorist violence Rowlatt Act.
Causes

2. Extreme pain with Jallianwala Bagh massacre and the way British Parliament and British public supported General Dyer.
Causes

3. Dissatisfaction with the report of Hunter Commission.
4. Economic distress because of first world war.
Causes

5. Khilafat movement which Gandhi saw as an opportunity to bring Muslims in the national movement though Gandhi was criticized for communalizing otherwise secular movement.
Causes

6. People were looking for action.
<table>
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<th>Strategy of Non Cooperation Movement</th>
<th>• Nagpur session of 1920 approved the program of 'extra constitutional mass struggle' led by Gandhi</th>
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Program of Non Cooperation

1. Surrender of Title and Honors
Program of Non Cooperation

2. Boycott of Government school college and foreign clothes.
3. No Tax Campaign thought it was optional, left on Provincial Government.
Program of Non Cooperation

4. Opening of National School, Colleges, Panchayat Court, Promotion of Khadi, Maintaining Hindu Muslim Unity, giving up Untouchability and observing Strict non violence.
CONGRESS TO REACH MOHALLA LEVEL.

- How Congress describe non cooperation movement?

- Peaceful and legitimate rule for attainment of Swaraj rather than legal and constitutional means.
End of the movement

- Movement was ended abruptly after Chori Chora Incident in February 1922.
ANALYSIS OF GANDHI'S DECISION

- It was socking for everyone even Pandit Nehru who questioned Gandhi.
- M N Roy was extremely critical.

- He held that this shows that Gandhi was fearful of masses.
• Analysis by Bipin Chandra?
• Gandhi was looking for a grateful exit why?
ANALYSIS BY BIPIN CHANDRA?

- Hindu Muslim, solidarity was Breaking Down some violent incident took place like Mappila Revolt in Malwar, masses were also getting tired.

- Gandhi thought that it is better to call of f the movement before it appears on the surface.
ANALYSIS BY BIPIN CHANDRA?

- Government would have retaliated with massive force after *Chori Chora* which world have impacted the future mass movement.
ASSESSMENT

- Movement was failure in terms of promises made by Congress and Gandhi, still Gandhi got what he wanted.
Gandhi got what he wanted

1. He wanted to test the capacity of masses.
2. He wanted to establish that Congress does not represent the microscopic minority, masses responded to the call of the Congress including Muslim.
GANDHI GOT WHAT HE WANTED

3. Movement acquired multiclass character.
4. There was some visible success in form of 'Burning of Foreign Cloth' and boycott of the visit of Prince of Wales.
Gandhi knew that Swaraj was not possible in a year. His promise was just to motivate masses.
CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE (1930-1931)

- Nature-
  - Non Cooperation was directed against the economic base of the Raj.
  - Civil Disobedience was direct challenge to the authority of the government. Non-Cooperation was mild.
CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE (1930-1931)

- It was not cooperating with the government civil disobedience was more offensive.
- It was more opposition of law made by Britishers.
- Gandhi was influenced by Thoreau, who described Civil Disobedience as peaceful protest against unjust LAWS by Civil Society.
CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE (1930-1931)

- Reason-
  - 7 years already passed and Gandhi was looking for New Movement.
  - Gandhi found atmosphere favorable as it was surcharged with anti British feeling because of Simon commission, death of Lala Lajpat Rai and economic depression.
GANDHI PUT FORWARD 11 POINT DEMAND

1. Abolition of Salt Tax.
2. Total Prohibition on Liquor.
GANDHI PUT FORWARD 11 POINT DEMAND

3. Reduction of Land Revenue by Half.
4. Reduction of Military Expenditure by Half.
GANDHI PUT FORWARD 11 POINT DEMAND

GANDHI PUT FORWARD 11 POINT DEMAND

GANDHI PUT FORWARD 11 POINT DEMAND

8. Abolition of CID.
9. License to use fire arms in Self-defense.
GANDHI PUT FORWARD 11 POINT DEMAND

10. Rationalization of rupees- pound sterling ratio.
GANDHI PUT FORWARD 11 POINT DEMAND

11. Coastal Tariff Regulation Bill.
ANALYSIS OF STRATEGY

- It was more offensive and strategic in nature.
- It has put government in dilemma.
- If government use force on non violent protesters it will explod the myth of benevolent despotism.
ANALYSIS OF STRATEGY

• If it does not use force, it was a direct challenge to government, government took a unnecessary long time in arresting Gandhi.

• Gandhi could complete his March once Gandhi completed the March.
ANALYSIS OF STRATEGY

• Similar marches started throughout the country making it more difficult, government had no option but to arrest Gandhi.

• Arrest led to more rigorous protest.
• Ultimately government has no option but to release Gandhi.
ANALYSIS OF STRATEGY

- Gandhi was released which led to the “Gandhi Irwin Pact of 1931”
- Govt. accepted most of the demands of Gandhi, it has strengthened the credibility of INC.
- It had placed Congress with an equal footing with Government.
QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT (1942)

• August Revolution 1942

• Most militant, least controlled and most ungandhian of Gandhian movement.
• Up till now Gandhi was suggesting that his is movement is against evil and not evil doer.
QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT (1942)

- August Revolution 1942
- Now Gandhi's straightway asked Britishers to leave India
- Gandhi allows Arms use for self defence, use of ARMs were justified against the stronger and well equipped aggressor.
QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT (1942)

• Gandhi called for "do or die" but do not remain alive to see the country in the state of slavery.
• He held that nation survive only when people are ready to die for nation.
• Gandhi held that it is the last struggle of his life.
• Any delay in freedom is injurious and humiliating.
QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT (1942)

- He made it clear that he will not call off the moment.
- He even permitted to take control of the police station if needed.
- He refused to condemn the violence by the people.
- He called it as reaction to the bigger violence.
QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT (1942)

- Congress clarified that it is prescribing no restriction as in previous movement.
- Everyone is free to choose his own methods.
- There was no need to bow heads and suffer strokes but pull the strikes and defend yourself.
QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT (1942)

- **Quit India Movement** was most spontaneous, once top leadership was arrested, Grassroot leadership emerged, common man became the leader, this is what Gandhi wanted.

- It was Gandhi's war of movement, why Gandhi permitted to use of violence.
According to Francis Hutchin, Gandhi was after all politician, he was a strategist.
QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT (1942)

• The purpose of using nonviolence was to bring masses within the fold of national movement.

• Once masses joined National Movement, non-violence was no more required.
Response of other groups towards Quit India Movement

- Ambedkar
- Muslim League
- MN Roy
- CR Gopalachari
Ambedkar

Called it, as a mad venture of Gandhi.
Muslim League
Opposed Hindu.
Mahasabha called it injurious to
Hindu cause.
MN Roy

“Indian should support British because Britisher are fighting for Democracy”.
C R Gopalachari

“He was fearful that it will lead to anarchy”.
REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT
DIFFERENCE IN REVOLUTIONARY AND TERRORIST?

• Revolutionary used violence against oppressor. whereas terrorist go for the indiscriminate use of violence.

• The core strategy of terrorism is to kill civilians, innocent person to create terror.
Sources of Influence

- Bankim Chandra Chatterjee
  - Anand Math
- Sachindra Nath Sanyal
  - Bandi Jeevan
- Bhagwati Charan Bohra
  - Philosophy of Bomb
- Irish Nationalist
- Russian Nihilist
- Russian Revolutionary
BOOK – “ANAND MATH”

- Sources of Influence
- Bankim Chandra Chatterjee- Anand Math
BOOK – “BANDI JEEVAN”

• Sources of Influence

• Sachindra Nath Sanyal- Bandi Jeevan
BOOK – “PHILOSOPHY OF BOMB”

- Sources of Influence
- Bhagwati Charan Bohra- Philosophy of Bomb
CONTRIBUTION

• According to Bipin Chandra, Revolutionaries lacked mass base. They were dependent on individual acts of heroism.
• They could not get the support of INC.
• They thought organising mass movement will be an Uphill task.

• Hence they tried to inspire the youth by individual acts
They have awakened the Patriotic Sentiment

- Removed the fear of authority
- Displayed remarkable heroism
- Revived the lost pride of manhood to Indians.
PEASANT MOVEMENT

• Peasantry-
• Peasantry Represent
  • The Poor Subsistence,
  • Farmers,
  • Landless Labours and
  • Bonded Labours.
The history of peasant Movement in India is much older than the history of national movement.

One of the most well-known peasant Revolt was Indigo Revolt of 1860/ Neel Darpan and Deenbadhu.
CAUSES OF PEASANT MOVEMENT

- Britishers have changed the pattern of land use. Britishers have forced change in land relations.

- British Policy of Land Settlement has resulted into the loss of land and concentration of ownership in the hands of the Zamindar.
Peasant Movement

Phase 1 - 1920
Phase 2 - 1930
Phase 3 - Towards 1940
PHASE 1 - 1920

- Initially INC did not take up peasant issue that is why communist called Congress as Bourgeoisie Party.

- With the advent of Gandhi, Congress started taking up the concerns of peasants.
PHASE 1 - 1920

• Gandhi earliest Satyagraha was for the Cause of Peasants.

• Gandhian approach was conciliatory, where is communist approach was based on the protests.
PHASE 2 - 1930

- Congress party started organizing peasantry.
- Kisan Sabha started emerging.
- In 1936 All India Kisan Sabha was formed under the leadership of Swami Sahajanand.

- The main demand of peasants was for land reforms.
PHASE 2- 1930

- Peasant Movement developed autonomous character.
- Though peasant participated in National Movement in larger numbers still they have not got success.
- Land Reforms demands remains unfinish still today.
PHASE 3- TOWARDS 1940

- **Independent Peasant Movement** started developing and it was more dominated by the communist or with leftist ideology started making roads the two Prominent Movement were TEBHAGA and TELEGANA Movement.
OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF PEASANT MOVEMENT

| Peasant movement has not resulted into any concrete gains for the peasants. | Despite constitution commitment for land reforms, it has remained an unfinished agenda for long. | For long present movement remained divided on the lines of caste and religion. | The dissatisfaction with Indian state has given rise to left wing extremism on the ideology of Maoism. |
OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF PEASANT MOVEMENT

Trade union movement even in contemporary India remains very weak movement from the very beginning. Trade Union have been junior partner allied with one or the other political party. neither before nor after independence autonomous trade unions movement have developed. Even Workers remained divided on the lines of caste and religion. there was a lack of leadership.
CHRONOLOGY OF TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

- Modern workers started emerging in the second half of the 19th Century with the introduction of railway Post and Telegraph.
- Initial protest were some sporadic unorganised events.
CHRONOLOGY OF TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

- Organized Labour Movement was started by philanthropic like Bengali and Shashi Parth Banerjee (someone who makes charitable donation for human well being - philanthropist)
The first Labour Organisation was “BOMBAY MILL HANDS ASSOCIATION” formed by K N Lokhande.
Lala Lajpat Rai and Gandhi took special interest in the workers issue. Gandhi led the PROTEST OF AHMEDABAD TEXTILE MILL WORKER.
CHRONOLOGY OF TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

- In 1920 “ALL INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS” come into existence with Lala Lajpat Rai as a first president.

- AITUC was infiltrated by communist.
CHRONOLOGY OF TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

• Later on communists came out of AITUC and formed **RED FLAG TRADE UNION (RFTU)**.

• Communists again joined AITUC.
CHRONOLOGY OF TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

- Communists again join AITUC.
- Again left during Quit India Movement
- Again Joined but this time Congress left and formed its separate union Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC).
PERSPECTIVE OF NATIONAL MOVEMENT
Imperialist historians and administrators like Lord Curzon, Dufferin always challenged the existence of India as a nation and claims of Congress as a representative of nation.
According to them India is nothing more than geographical expression imperialist historian (Cambridge School for example Percival spear, Louis nemier, Anil seal) suggested that the political activity happening on subcontinent between 1857 to 1947 cannot be called as national movement, why?

- Nation has to exist before National Movement.
They call it as communal movement, they call the leader as power brokers.

They were interested in getting British favor for the members of their community.

There was a no Grand ideas.

How do they describe these activities?
• Behind political activities.
• Activities were guided by animal instincts.
• And it was a communal politics and formation of Pakistan is the logical outcome of the communal politics.
• The nature of politics in contemporary India has also not changed.

How do they describe these activities?
NATIONALIST INTERPRETATION

- Nationalist leaders and historians reject the imperialist discourse.
- Early Nationalist like Surendra Nath Banerjee accepted that India was not a nation but also held that India is "Nation in Making"
Cultural Nationalist like Aurobindo Ghosh was not satisfied with the mild and defensive approach of early Nationalists.
He rather established that India is not a nation in making but India was Nation in making but nation from the beginning.

- He combined nationalism and Patriotism to challenge British discourse.
Nationalist Historians

Doctor Tarachandra

R C Mazumdar
Doctor Tarachandra and RC Mazumdar have given the following argument:

1. It is wrong to suggest that India-led movement was not a national movement, it is also wrong to suggest that the agenda of Congress was exclusive.
Doctor Tarachandra and RC Mazumdar have given the following argument:

2. It is wrong to suggest that no grand idea was inspiring the political leaders at that time. There was a definite desire among Indians to emerge as a Nation.
Doctor Tarachandra and RC Mazumdar have given the following argument:

Congress was a national party and its leadership was Nationalist.
Doctor Tarachandra and RC Mazumdar have given the following argument:

Survival of India as a nation against all norms and enormous external or internal challenges suggest that we cannot dismiss the existence of India as a Nation.
MARXISM
According to Benedict Anderson, Nationalism is invented tradition. nationalism is a instrument of the Bourgeoisie Class.
• Marx himself has analyzed the Revolt of 1857.

• Unlike Savarkar who established Revolt of 1857 as the first war of independence.

• Karl Marx has suggested that it was the revolt by feudal elements.
M N Roy in his book "India in transition", has analyzed the political activities under Congress and Gandhi and has established that Congress was Bourgeoisie Party and Gandhi was Bourgeoisie Leader.
A R Desai in his Book Social Background Of Indian Nationalism has similar opinion.
• RP Datta in his book "India Today" has expressed has similar opinion.
BOOK- “MODERN INDIA”

• Sumit Sarkar in his book Modern India has warned the Marxist scholars for taking casual approach.

• According to him, it is true that, Congress program was not in the interest of masses.
Nor - congress struggle benefited masses but it is also true that Congress had no conscious or planned strategy against masses.

It is also true that Indians were not so sharply divided that they could not be united.
• Bipin Chandra despite being Marxist has suggested that the movement led by Congress can be called as a national movement.

• It was not only a national movement but the most spectacular mass movement who's warmth is still felt.
DALIT PERSPECTIVE

- Dalit perspective is represented in the words of many leaders and scholar.
- we can also call it as subaltern perspective.
- One of the earliest expression about the British Raj was given by Jyotiba Phule.
DALIT PERSPECTIVE

• Jyotiba Phule was the critique of Brahmanism, he held that Peshwa Raj was worst then British raj.

• He appreciated british for establishing the rule of law for the first time.
• Ambedkar was influenced by the ideas of Jyotiba Phule

• Ambedkar rejected the idea of India as a nation.
DALIT PERSPECTIVE

- Ambedkar rejected Congress Led Movement as a National Movement.

- Ambedkar’s idea of nationalism was influenced by French Revolution.
According to Ambedkar, Nation is built on the feeling of fraternity.
DALIT PERSPECTIVE

- Ambedkar Never Joined INC.

- He never participated in Congress Movements, supported Jinnah demand, opposed Quit India Movement and wanted British to stay.
We can also bring the perspective of E.B. Ramaswami Naikar popularly known as Periyar.

Nayakar initially joined INC but left Congress in 1925 on the presumption that Congress is the party of the bramhmins.
• There was no scope for members of other community,

• He joined Justice Party (MC Raja).

• He initiated self respect movement against Brahmanism if he also supported Jinnas demand for Pakistan, he formed a political party.
DALIT PERSPECTIVE

- **DK** (Dravidar Kazhagam).

- He putd forward the demand for separate state for dravidians.

- Later on leaders like CM Annadurai and EVK Sampath came out of DK and form DMK.
SOCIALIST PERSPECTIVE

- Influence by Russian Revolution, Revolutionary like Bhagat Singh.
- Congress leader life Nehru, SC Bose had introduced socialism in Congress.
- Some radical congressmen known as young turks like Jayaprakash Narayan, Acharya Narendra Dev and Minu Masani laid the foundation of Congress socialist fighting in 1934.
• MN Roy considered Congress as the bourgeois party, Gandhi as the bourgeois leader.

• MN Roy has given the philosophy of radical humanism.
According to MN Roy, Nationalism suppress man. there is need to build Cosmopolitan Union of Liberated Persons.
• Que. How Peasant Movement promoted Nationalist idea during the Indian National Movement.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Answer</th>
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<tr>
<td>• Theory of Capitalist Encirclement?</td>
<td>• <strong>Stalin</strong> proposed the revolution in one country whereas <strong>Lenin</strong> favored expansion of revolution. why?</td>
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</table>
• Revolution in Russia will not be secured if encircle by capitalist countries.

• Stalin wanted to avoid the conflict with western world so he gave socialism in one country.
BOOK- “REVOLUTION BETRAYED”

- Trotsky was Contemporary of Stalin who challenged Stalin idea in his Book “Revolution Betrayed” and has proposed permanent Revolution like Lenin

- He was also fearful of Capitalist Encirclement.
• Just like **Capitalist Encirclement Theory** existing **Communism, Domino Theory** exists in capitalism against Russian expansionism.

• USA proposed Containment of communism.
• *Domino Theory* came with respect to Southeast Asia.
• it suggested that if one country will fall to Communism other will also fall.