

UNIT – IV

POLITICAL THINKERS

DADABHAI NAOROJI

Dadabhai Naoroji (4 September 1825 – 30 June 1917) also known as the "**Grand Old Man of India**" and "**official Ambassador of India**" was an [Indian Parsi](#) scholar, trader and politician who was a [Liberal Party](#) member of Parliament (MP) in the [United Kingdom House of Commons](#) between 1892 and 1895, and the first Asian to be a [British MP](#), notwithstanding the [Anglo-Indian](#) MP [David Ochterlony Dyce Sombre](#), who was disenfranchised for corruption after nine months. Naoroji was one of the founding members of the [Indian National Congress](#).

His book *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India* brought attention to the Indian wealth drain into Britain. In it he explained his wealth drain theory. He was also a member of the [Second International](#) along with [Kautsky](#) and [Plekhanov](#). Dadabhai Naoroji's works in the congress are praiseworthy. In 1886, 1893, and 1906, i.e., thrice was he elected as the president of INC. In 2014, Deputy Prime Minister [Nick Clegg](#) inaugurated the Dadabhai Naoroji Awards for services to UK-India relations. [India Post](#) depicted Naoroji on stamps in 1963, 1997 and 2017.

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Life and career

Naoroji was born in [Navsari](#) into a [Gujarati](#)-speaking [Parsi](#) family, and educated at the [Elphinstone Institute School](#).^[7] He was patronised by the

Maharaja of Baroda, [Sayajirao Gaekwad III](#), and started his career life as Dewan (Minister) to the Maharaja in 1874. Being an *Athornan* (ordained priest), Naoroji founded the Rahnumai Mazdayasan Sabha (Guides on the Mazdayasne Path) on 1 August 1851 to restore the [Zoroastrian](#) religion to its original purity and simplicity. In 1854, he also founded a [Gujarati](#) fortnightly publication, the [Rast Gofar](#) (or The Truth Teller), to clarify Zoroastrian concepts and promote Parsi social reforms.^[8] In this time he also published another newspaper called "The Voice of India." In December 1855, he was appointed Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in [Elphinstone College](#) in Bombay,^[9] becoming the first Indian to hold such an academic position. He travelled to London in 1855 to become a partner in Cama & Co, opening a [Liverpool](#) location for the first Indian company to be established in [Britain](#). Within three years, he had resigned on ethical grounds. In 1859, he established his own cotton [trading company](#), Dadabhai Naoroji & Co. Later, he became Professor of [Gujarati](#) in [University College London](#).

In 1865, Naoroji directed and launch the [London Indian Society](#), the purpose of which was to discuss Indian political, social and literary subjects. In 1861 Naoroji founded [The Zoroastrian Trust Funds of Europe](#) alongside Muncherjee Hormusji Cama. In 1867 he also helped to establish the East India Association, one of the predecessor organisations of the [Indian National Congress](#) with the aim of putting across the Indian point of view before the British public. The Association was instrumental in counter-acting the [propaganda](#) by the [Ethnological Society of London](#) which, in its session in 1866, had tried to prove the inferiority of the Asians to the Europeans. This Association soon won the support of eminent Englishmen and was able to exercise considerable influence in the [British parliament](#). In 1874, he became Prime Minister of [Baroda](#) and was a member of the [Legislative Council of Bombay](#) (1885–88). He was also a member of the [Indian National Association](#) founded by Sir [Surendranath Banerjea](#) from [Calcutta](#) a few years before the founding of the [Indian National Congress](#) in Bombay, with the same objectives and practices.^[3] The two

groups later merged into the INC, and Naoroji was elected President of the Congress in 1886. Naoroji published *Poverty and un-British Rule in India* in 1901.

Naoroji moved to Britain once again and continued his political involvement. Elected for the [Liberal Party](#) in [Finsbury Central](#) at the [1892 general election](#), he was the first British Indian MP. He refused to take the oath on the Bible as he was not a Christian, but was allowed to take the oath of office in the name of God on his copy of *Khordeh Avesta*. During his time he put his efforts towards improving the situation in India. He had a very clear vision and was an effective communicator. He set forth his views about the situation in India over the course of history of the governance of the country and the way in which the colonial rulers rule. In Parliament, he spoke on [Irish Home Rule](#) and the condition of the Indian people. He was also a notable [Freemason](#). In his political campaign and duties as an MP, he was assisted by [Muhammed Ali Jinnah](#), the future [Muslim nationalist](#) and founder of the [State of Pakistan](#). In 1906, Naoroji was again elected president of the Indian National Congress. Naoroji was a staunch moderate within the Congress, during the phase when opinion in the party was split between the moderates and extremists. Such was the respect commanded by him that assertive nationalists could not oppose his candidature and the rift was avoided for the time being. Naoroji was a mentor to [Bal Gangadhar Tilak](#), [Gopal Krishna Gokhale](#) and [Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi](#). He was married to Gulbai [at the age of eleven](#). He died in [Bombay](#) on 30 June 1917, at the age of 91. Today the [Dadabhai Naoroji Road](#), a heritage road of Mumbai, is named after him. Also, the Dadabhai Naoroji Road in [Karachi, Pakistan](#) is also named after him as well, as Naoroji Street in the [Finsbury](#) area of [London](#). A prominent residential colony for central government servants in the south of [Delhi](#) is also named Naoroji Nagar. His granddaughters [Perin](#) and Khrushedben were also involved in the [independence movement](#). In 1930, Khurshedben was arrested along with

other revolutionaries for attempting to hoist the [Indian flag](#) in a [Government College](#) in [Ahmedabad](#).

Naoroji's drain theory and poverty

Dadabhai Naoroji's work focused on the drain of wealth from India to Britain during the period rule of [British rule in India](#). One of the reasons that the Drain theory is attributed to Naoroji is his decision to estimate the net national profit of India, and by extension, the effect that colonial rule had on the country. Through his work with economics, Naoroji sought to prove that Britain was draining money out of India.^[16] Naoroji described six factors which resulted in the external drain. Firstly, India was [governed by a foreign government](#). Secondly, India did not attract [immigrants](#) which brought labour and capital for economic growth. Thirdly, India paid for Britain's [civil administrations](#) in India and her [Indian army](#). Fourthly, India bore the burden of [empire building](#) in and out of its borders. Fifthly, opening the country to [free trade](#) allowed for foreigners to take highly paid jobs over those of equally qualified Indians. Lastly, the principal income-earners would spend their money outside of India or leave with the money as they were mostly foreign personnel.^[17] In Naoroji's book 'Poverty' he estimated a 200–300 million pounds drain of India's revenue to Britain that was not recirculated into India.

When referring to the drain, Naoroji stated that he believed some tribute was necessary as payment for the services that Britain brought to India such as the [newly-constructed railways](#). However the money from these services were being drained out of India; for instance the money being earned by the railways did not belong to India, which supported his assessment that India was sending too much to Britain. According to Naoroji, India was paying tribute for something that was not bringing profit to the country directly. Instead of paying off foreign investment which other countries did, India was paying for services rendered despite the operation of the railway being already profitable for Britain. This type of drain was experienced in different ways as well, for instance, British workers earning wages that were not equal with the

work that they have done in India, or trade that undervalued India's goods and overvalued outside goods. British workers in India were encouraged to take on high paying jobs in India, and the British government allowed them to take a portion of their income back to Britain. Furthermore, the [Honourable East India Company](#) was purchasing Indian goods with money drained from India to export to Britain, which was a way that the opening up of free trade allowed India to be exploited.

When elected to Parliament by a narrow margin of five votes, his first speech was devoted to the issue of questioning Britain's role in India. Naoroji explained that Indians would either be British subjects or their slaves, depending on how willing Britain was to give India control over the institutions that Britain presently operated. By giving these institutions to India it would allow India to govern itself and as a result all revenue would stay in India. It is because Naoroji identified himself as an fellow subject of the Empire that he was able to address the economic hardships facing India to a British audience. By presenting himself as an imperial subject he was able to use rhetoric to show the benefit to Britain that an ease of financial burden on India would have. He argued that by allowing the money earned in India to stay in India, tributes would be willingly and easily paid without fear of poverty; he argued that this could be done by giving equal employment opportunities to Indian professionals who were consistently forced to take jobs that they were over-qualified for. Indian labour would be more likely to spend their income within India preventing one aspect of the drain.

Naoroji also found it important to examine Anglo-Indian trade to prevent the premature dissolution of budding industries to unfair valuing of goods and services. By allowing industry to grow and develop in India, tribute could be paid to Britain in the form of taxation and the increase in Indian interest for British goods. Over time, Naoroji became more inflammatory in his comments as he began to lose patience with Britain over the seemingly lack of progress regarding reforms. Naoroji once rhetorically questioned whether or

not the British government would be willing to award French youths all the high ranking posts in the British economy. He also pointed to historical examples of Britain being opposed to the "wealth drain" concept, including the [English](#) objection to the wealth drain to the [papacy](#) during the 1500's.^[21] Naoroji's work on the drain theory was the main reason behind the creation of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure in 1896 in which he was also a member. This commission reviewed financial burdens on India and in some cases came to the conclusion that those burdens were misplaced.

Views and legacy

Dadabhai Naoroji is regarded as one of the most important Indians during the birth of the [nascent independence movement](#). In his writings, he came to the conclusion that the exertion of foreign rule over India was not favourable for the nation, and that [independence](#) (or at the very least, responsible government) would be the better path for India.

Further development was checked by the frequent invasions of India by, and the subsequent continuous rule of, foreigners of entirely different character and genius, who, not having any sympathy with the indigenous literature – on the contrary, having much fanatical antipathy to the religion of the Hindus – prevented its further growth. Priest-hood, first for power and afterwards from ignorance, completed the mischief, as has happened in all other countries.

Naoroji is often remembered as the "Grand Old Man of Indian Nationalism."

[Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi](#) wrote to Naoroji in 1894, saying that "The Indians look up to you as children to the father. Such is really the feeling here." [Bal Gangadhar Tilak](#) admired him; he said:

If we twenty eight crore of Indians were entitled to send only one member to the [British parliament](#), there is no doubt that we would have elected Dadabhai Naoroji unanimously to grace that post.

Here are the significant extracts taken from his speech delivered before the East India Association on 2 May 1867 regarding what educated Indians expect from their British rulers.

The difficulties thrown in the way of according to the natives such reasonable share and voice in the administration of the country as they are able to take, are creating some uneasiness and distrust. The universities are sending out hundreds and will soon begin to send out thousands of educated natives. This body naturally increases in influence...

"In this Memorandum I desire to submit for the kind and generous consideration of His Lordship the Secretary of State for India, that from the same cause of the deplorable drain [of economic wealth from India to Britain], besides the material exhaustion of India, the moral loss to her is no less sad and lamentable . . . All [the Europeans] effectually do is to eat the substance of India, material and moral, while living there, and when they go, they carry away all they have acquired . . . The thousands [of Indians] that are being sent out by the universities every year find themselves in a most anomalous position. There is no place for them in their motherland . . . What must be the inevitable consequence? . . . despotism and destruction . . . or destroying hand and power. "

A plaque referring to Dadabhai Naoroji is located outside the [Finsbury Town Hall](#) on Rosebery Avenue, London.

Works

Started the [Rast Gofar](#) Anglo-Gujarati Newspaper in 1854.

- *The manners and customs of the Parsees* (Bombay, 1864)
- *The European and Asiatic races* (London, 1866)
- *Admission of educated natives into the Indian Civil Service* (London, 1868)
- *The wants and means of India* (London, 1876)

- *Condition of India* (Madras, 1882)
- *Poverty of India*
A Paper Read Before the Bombay Branch of the East India Association, *Bombay, Ranima Union Press, (1876)*
- C. L. Parekh, ed., *Essays, Speeches, Addresses and Writings of the Honourable Dadabhai Naoroji*, Bombay, Caxton Printing Works (1887).
An excerpt, "The Benefits of British Rule", in a modernised text by J. S. Arkenberg, ed., on line at [Paul Halsall, ed., *Internet Modern History Sourcebook*](#).
- *Lord Salisbury's Blackman* (Lucknow, 1889)
- *Naoroji, Dadabhai (1861). [The Parsee Religion](#). University of London.*
- *Dadabhai Naoroji (1902). [Poverty and Un-British Rule in India](#). Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India. poverty and un british rule in india.; Commonwealth Publishers, 1988. [ISBN 81-900066-2-2](#)*

He made the first attempt to estimate the national income of India in 1867.

MAHADEV GOVIND RANADE

Mahadev Govind Ranade (18 January 1842 – 16 January 1901) was an [Indian](#) scholar, social reformer, judge and author. He was one of the founding members of the [Indian National Congress](#) party and owned several designations as member of the Bombay legislative council, member of the finance committee^[1] at the centre, and judge of the [Bombay High Court](#), Maharashtra.

As a well known public figure, his personality as a calm and patient optimist influenced his attitude towards dealings with Britain as well as reform in India. During his life he helped to establish the [Vaktruttvottejak Sabha](#), the [Poona Sarvajanik Sabha](#), Maharashtra Granthottejak Sabha, and the [Prarthana Samaj](#), and edited a [Bombay](#) Anglo-Marathi daily paper, the [Induprakash](#), founded on his ideology of social and religious reform.

He was given the title of [Rao Bahadur](#).

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Early life and family

Mahadev Govind Ranade was born into a [Chitpavan Brahmin](#) family in [Niphad](#), a [taluka](#) town in [Nashik district](#). He studied in a Marathi school in Kolhapur and later shifted to an English-medium school. At age 14, he went to study at [Elphinstone College](#), Bombay. He belonged to the first batch of students at

the [University of Bombay](#). He obtained a BA degree in 1862 and four years later, obtained his LLB.

Career

Judge

After getting his law degree ([LLB](#)) in 1866, Ranade became a subordinate judge in Pune in 1871. Given his political activities, the British colonial authorities delayed his promotion to the Bombay high court until 1895.^[7]

Social activism

Ranade was a social activist whose activities were deeply influenced by western culture and the colonial state. His activities ranged from religious reform to public education to reform within the Indian family, and in every area, he was prone to see little virtue in Indian custom and tradition and to strive for re-forming the subject into the mould of what prevailed in the west. He himself summarized the mission of the Indian Social Reform Movement as being to "Humanize, Equalize and Spiritualize," the implication being that existing Indian society lacked these qualities.^[8]

Prarthana Samaj

His efforts to "Spiritualize" Indian society flowed from his reading that the Hindu religion laid too much stress on rituals and on the performance of family and social duties, rather than on what he called 'Spiritualism.' He viewed the reformed Christian religion of the British as being more focused on the spiritual. Towards making the Hindu religion more akin to the reformed Protestant church, he co-founded and championed the activities of the [Prarthana Samaj](#), a religious society which, while upholding the devotional aspect of Hinduism, denounced and decried many important Hindu social structures and customs, including the Brahmin clergy.

Female Emancipation

His efforts to "Humanize and Equalize" Indian society found its primary focus in women. He campaigned against the 'purdah' system (keeping women behind the veil). He was a founder of the Social Conference movement, which he supported till his death,^[9] directing his social reform efforts against child marriage, the [tonsure](#) of Brahmin widows, the heavy cost of weddings and other social

functions, and the caste restrictions on traveling abroad, and he strenuously advocated widow remarriage and female education. In 1861, when he was still a teenager, Ranade co-founded the 'Widow Marriage Association' which promoted marriage for Hindu widows and acted as native compradors for the colonial government's project of passing a law permitting such marriages, which were forbidden in Hinduism. He chose to take [*prayaschitta*](#) (religious penance) in the Panch-houd Mission Case rather than insisting on his opinions.

Girls' education

In 1885 Ranade, Vaman Abaji Modak, and historian Dr. [R. G. Bhandarkar](#) established the Maharashtra Girls Education Society and [Huzurpaga](#), the oldest girls' high school in [Maharashtra](#).

Politics

Personal life

Ranade was already into his 30s when his first wife died. His family wanted him to marry again, especially since he had no children. His reform-minded friends expected that Ranade, who had co-founded the 'Widow Marriage Association' as far back as 1861, would certainly act in accordance with his own sermons and marry a widow. This did not happen. Ranade yielded to his family's wishes and confirmed with convention to marry [Ramabai](#), a girl who was barely, ten years old and who was fully twenty-one years younger than him. Indeed, Ramabai was born in 1863, while Ranade had founded his 'Widow Marriage Association' in 1861. Ranade did what he did because he knew the realities of his society: he knew that if he married an already married woman, any children born to her would be treated like illegitimate outcasts by his society. The really poignant thing about the whole affair is that, after facing so much ridicule and so many accusations of hypocrisy, Ranade was not fated to receive the blessing he craved so ardently: his second marriage also remained childless.

In any case, the wedding was held in full compliance with tradition and the marriage was certainly a happy one. Ramabai was a daughter of the Kurlekar family, which belonged to the same caste and social strata as Ranade. The couple had an entirely harmonious and conventional marriage. Ranade ensured that his

wife receive a high education, something about which she herself was initially not keen. However, like all Indian women of that era, she complied with her husband's wishes and grew into her new life. Indeed, after Ranade's death, Ramabai Ranade continued the social and educational reform work initiated by him.

Published Works

Ranade, Mahadev Govind (1900). *Rise of the Maráthá Power*. Bombay: Punalekar & Co. [OL 24128770M](#).; reprinted in 1999 as [ISBN 81-7117-181-8](#)

- Ranade, Mahadev Govind (1990). *Bipan Chandra* (ed.). *Ranade's Economic Writings*. New Delhi: Gyan Books Pvt. Ltd. [ISBN 81-212-0328-7](#). [OL 364195W](#).
- Ranade, Mahadev Govind (1899). *Essays on Indian Economics*. Bombay: Thacker & Company. [OL 11994445W](#).
- Ranade, Mahadev Govind (1900). *Introduction to the Peishwa's Diaries: A Paper Read Before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Poona: the Civil Military Orphanage Press. [OL 14015196M](#).; reprinted by CHIZINE PUBN as [ISBN 9781340345037](#)

In popular culture

A television series on [Zee Marathi](#) named [Unch Maaza Zoka](#) (roughly translated as 'I have leapt high in Life') based on Ramabai's and Mahadevrao's life and their development as a 'women's rights' activist was broadcast in March 2012. It was based on a book by Ramabai Ranade titled *Amachyaa Aayushyaatil Kaahi Aathavani*. In the book, Justice Ranade is called "Madhav" rather than Mahadev.

SURENDRANATH BANERJEE

Sir Surendranath Banerjee (10 November 1848 – 6 August 1925) was one of the earliest Indian political leaders during the [British Rule](#). He founded the [Indian National Association](#), through which he led two sessions of the Indian National Conference in 1883 and 1885, along with [Anandamohan Bose](#). Banerjee later became a senior leader of the [Indian National Congress](#). Surendranath welcomed [Montagu–Chelmsford Reforms](#), unlike Congress, and with many [liberal](#) leaders he left Congress and founded a new organisation named *Indian National Liberation Federation* in 1919. He was one of the founding members of the Indian National Congress.

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Early life

Surendranath Banerjee was born in Calcutta (Kolkata), in the province of [Bengal](#) to a [Bengali Brahmins](#) family. He was deeply influenced in liberal, progressive thinking by his father Durga Charan Banerjee, a doctor. After graduating from the [University of Calcutta](#), he travelled to England in 1868, along with [Romesh Chunder Dutt](#) and [Behari Lal Gupta](#), to compete in the [Indian Civil Service](#) examinations. He cleared the competitive examination in 1869, but was barred owing to a claim he had misrepresented his age. After clearing the matter in the courts by arguing that he calculated his age according to the Hindu custom of reckoning age from the date of conception rather than from birth, Banerjee cleared the exam again in 1871 and was posted as assistant magistrate in [Sylhet](#). Banerjee also attended classes at [University College, London](#). He took his final exams in 1871 and returned to India in August 1871. In 1874, Banerjee returned to London and became a student at the [Middle Temple](#). Banerjee was soon dismissed for making a

minor judicial error. He went to England to appeal his discharge, but was unsuccessful because, he felt, of racial discrimination. He would return to India bitter and disillusioned with the British. During his stay in England (1874–1875), he studied the works of [Edmund Burke](#) and other liberal philosophers. These works guided him in his protests against the British. He was known as the Indian Burke For his tenacity he was called 'Surrender Not Banerjee' by the British.

Surendranath was influenced by the writings of Italian nationalist [Giuseppe Mazzini](#). He studied the writings of Mazzini in his stay in England (1874-1875) on Anandmohan's suggestion.

Political career

Upon his return to India in June 1875, Banerjee became an [English](#) professor at the [Metropolitan Institution](#), the [Free Church Institution](#) and at the [Rippon College](#), now Surendranath College, founded by him in 1882. He began delivering public speeches on nationalist and liberal political subjects, as well as Indian history. He founded the [Indian National Association](#) with [Anandamohan Bose](#), one of the earliest Indian political organizations of its kind, on 26 July 1876.^[11] In 1878 in a meeting to preach the Indian people he said "The great doctrine of peace & goodwill between Hindus & Musulmans, Christians & Paresees, aye between all sections of our country's progress. Let the word "Unity" be inscribed therein characters of glittering gold.....There may be religious difference between us. There may be social difference between us. But there is a common platform where we may all meet, the platform of our country's welfare". He used the organization to tackle the issue of the age-limit for Indian students appearing for ICS examinations. He condemned the racial discrimination perpetrated by British officials in India through speeches all over the country, which made him very popular.

In 1879, he founded the newspaper, *The Bengalee* In 1883, when Banerjee was arrested for publishing remarks in his paper, in [contempt of court](#), protests and [hartals](#) erupted across Bengal, and in Indian cities such as [Agra](#), [Faizabad](#), [Amritsar](#), [Lahore](#) and [Pune](#). He became the first Indian journalist to be imprisoned. The INC expanded considerably, and hundreds of delegates from across India came to attend its annual conference in Calcutta. After the founding of the [Indian National Congress](#) in 1885 in [Bombay](#), Banerjee merged his organization

with it owing to their common objectives and memberships in 1886. He was elected the [Congress President](#) in 1895 at Poona and in 1902 at Ahmedabad.

Surendranath was one of the most important public leaders who protested the partition of the Bengal province in 1905. Banerjee was in the forefront of the movement and organized protests, petitions and extensive public support across Bengal and India, which finally compelled the British to reverse the bifurcation of Bengal in 1912. Banerjee became the patron of rising Indian leaders like [Gopal Krishna Gokhale](#) and [Sarojini Naidu](#). Banerjee was also one of the senior-most leaders of the *moderate* Congress — those who favoured accommodation and dialogue with the British — after the "extremists" — those who advocated revolution and political independence — led by [Bal Gangadhar Tilak](#) left the party in 1906. Banerjee was an important figure in the [Swadeshi movement](#) — advocating goods manufactured in India against foreign products — and his popularity at its apex made him, in words of admirers, the *uncrowned king* of Bengal.

Later career

The declining popularity of moderate Indian politicians affected Banerjee's role in Indian politics. Banerjee supported the [Morley-Minto reforms 1909](#) — which were resented and ridiculed as insufficient and meaningless by the vast majority of the Indian public and nationalist politicians. Banerjee was a critic of the proposed method of [civil disobedience](#) advocated by [Mahatma Gandhi](#), the rising popular leader of Indian nationalists and the Congress Party. Surendranath Banerjee, a moderate and veteran leader of Congress were in favour to accept the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. They left the Congress and founded Indian Liberation Federation. They were termed as Liberals and they lost their relevance in Indian National Movement thereafter. Accepting the portfolio of minister in the Bengal government earned him the ire of nationalists and much of the public, and he lost the election to the Bengal Legislative Assembly in 1923 to [Bidhan Chandra Roy](#), the candidate of the [Swarajya Party](#)^[16] — ending his political career for all practical purposes. He was [knighted](#) for his political support of the British Empire. Banerjee made the [Calcutta Municipal Corporation](#) a more democratic body while serving as a minister in the Bengal government.^[17]

He is remembered and widely respected today as a pioneer leader of Indian politics — first treading the path for Indian political empowerment. But nationalist politics in India meant opposition, and increasingly there were others whose opposition was more vigorous and who came to center stage. Banerjee could accept neither the extremist view of political action nor the noncooperation of Gandhi, then emerging as a major factor in the nationalist movement. Banerjee saw the [Montagu–Chelmsford Reforms](#) of 1919 as substantially fulfilling Congress's demands, a position which further isolated him. He was elected to the reformed Legislative Council of Bengal in 1921, knighted in the same year^[18] and held office as minister for [local self-government](#) from 1921 to 1924.^[3] His defeat at the polls in 1923 brought his political career to a close and he went on to write the widely acclaimed *A Nation in Making*, published in 1925. After Surendranath died at [Barrackpore](#) on 6 August 1925.

Commemoration

His name is commemorated in the names of the following institutions: [Barrackpore Rastraguru Surendranath College](#), [Raiganj Surendranath Mahavidyalaya](#), [Surendranath College](#), [Surendranath College for Women](#), [Surendranath Evening College](#), [Surendranath Law College](#) (formerly [Ripon College](#)) and the [Surendranath Centenary School](#) in Ranchi.

GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE

Gopal Krishna Gokhale (9 May 1866 – 19 February 1915) was an Indian liberal political leader and a social reformer during the [Indian Independence Movement](#). Gokhale was a senior leader of the [Indian National Congress](#) and the founder of the [Servants of India Society](#). Through the Society as well as the Congress and other legislative bodies he served in, Gokhale campaigned for Indian self-rule and for social reforms. He was the leader of the moderate faction of the Congress party that advocated reforms by working with existing government institutions.

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Early life

Gopal Krishna Gokhale was born on 9 May [1866](#) in Kotluk village of [Guhagar](#) taluka in [Ratnagiri district](#), in present-day [Maharashtra](#) (then part of the [Bombay Presidency](#)) in a [Chitpavan Brahmin](#) family. Despite being relatively poor, his family members ensured that Gokhale received an [English](#) education, which would place Gokhale in a position to obtain employment as a clerk or minor official in the [British Raj](#). He studied in [Rajaram College](#) in [Kolhapur](#). Being one of the first generations of Indians to receive a university education, Gokhale graduated from [Elphinstone College](#) in 1884. He had a great influence of the social works of Justice Mahadev Govind Ranade on his life. He was named as the 'Protege Son' i.e Manas Putra of Justice Mahadev Govind Ranade. Gokhale's education tremendously influenced the course of his future career – in addition to learning

English, he was exposed to Western political thought and became a great admirer of theorists such as [John Stuart Mill](#) and [Edmund Burke](#).

Gokhale became a member of the [Indian National Congress](#) in 1889, as a protégé of [social reformer Mahadev Govind Ranade](#). Along with other contemporary leaders like [Bal Gangadhar Tilak](#), [Dadabhai Naoroji](#), [Bipin Chandra Pal](#), [Lala Lajpat Rai](#) and [Annie Besant](#), Gokhale fought for decades to obtain greater political representation and power over public affairs for common Indians. He was moderate in his views and attitudes, and sought to petition the British authorities by cultivating a process of dialogue and discussion which would yield greater British respect for Indian rights.^{[1][2][3][4]} Gokhale had visited Ireland^{[1][3][4]} and had arranged for an Irish nationalist, [Alfred Webb](#), to serve as President of the Indian National Congress in 1894. The following year, Gokhale became the Congress's joint secretary along with Tilak. In many ways, Tilak and Gokhale's early careers paralleled – both were [Chitpavan Brahmin](#), both attended [Elphinstone College](#), both became mathematics professors and both were important members of the [Deccan Education Society](#). However, differences in their views concerning how best to improve the lives of Indians became increasingly apparent.

Both Gokhale and Tilak were the front-ranking political leaders in the early 20th century. However, they differed a lot in their ideologies. Gokhale was viewed as a well-meaning man of moderate disposition, while Tilak was a radical who would not resist using force for the attainment of freedom. Gokhale believed that the right course for India to give self-government was to adopt constitutional means and cooperate with the British Government. On the contrary, Tilak's messages were protest, boycott and agitation.

The fight between the moderates and extremists came out openly at Surat in 1907, which adversely affected political developments in the country. Both sides were fighting to capture the Congress organisation due to ideological differences. Tilak wanted to put Lala Lajpat Rai in the presidential chair, but Gokhale's candidate was Rash Behari Ghosh. The tussle begun and there was no hope for compromise. Tilak was not allowed to move an amendment to the resolution in support of the new president-elect. At this the pandal was strewn with broken chairs and shoes were flung by [Aurobindo Ghosh](#) and his friends. Sticks and umbrellas were thrown on the platform. There was a physical scuffle. When people came running to attack Tilak on

the dais, Gokhale went and stood next to Tilak to protect him. The session ended and the Congress split. The eyewitness account was written by the Manchester Guardian's reporter Nevison.

In January 1908, Tilak was arrested on charge of sedition and sentenced to six years imprisonment and dispatched to Mandalay. This left the whole political field open for the moderates. When Tilak was arrested, Gokhale was in England. Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India, was opposed to Tilak's arrest. However, the Viceroy Lord Minto did not listen to him and considered Tilak's activities as seditious and his arrest necessary for the maintenance of law and order.

Gokhale's one major difference with Tilak centred around one of his pet issues, the Age of Consent Bill introduced by the British Imperial Government, in 1891–92. Gokhale and his fellow liberal reformers, wishing to purge what they saw as superstitions and abuses in their native [Hinduism](#), supported the Consent Bill to curb child marriage abuses. Though the Bill was not extreme, only raising the age of consent from ten to twelve, Tilak took issue with it; he did not object to the idea of moving towards the elimination of child marriage, but rather to the idea of British interference with Hindu tradition. For Tilak, such reform movements were not to be sought under imperial rule when they would be enforced by the British, but rather after independence was achieved, when Indians would enforce it on themselves. The bill however became law in the [Bombay Presidency](#). The two leaders also vied for the control of the [Poona Sarvajanik Sabha](#) and the founding of the Deccan Sabha by Gokhale in 1896 was the consequence of Tilak coming out ahead.

Gokhale was deeply concerned with the future of Congress after the split in Surat. He thought it necessary to unite the rival groups, and in this connection he sought the advice of Annie Besant. Gokhale died on 19 February 1915. On his deathbed, he reportedly expressed to his friend Sethur a wish to see the Congress united. Despite their differences, Gokhale and Tilak had great respect for each other's patriotism, intelligence, work and sacrifice. Following Gokhale's death, Tilak wrote an editorial in Kesari paying glowing tributes to Gokhale.

Economist with liberal policy

Gokhale's mentor, justice M.G. Ranade started the Sarvajanic Sabha Journal. Gokhale assisted him. Gokhale's deposition before the Welby Commission on the financial condition of India won him accolades. His speeches on the budget in the Central Legislative Council were unique, with thorough statistical analysis. He appealed to the reason. He played a leading role in bringing about [Morley-Minto Reforms](#), the beginning of constitutional reforms in India. A comprehensive biography of Gopal Krishna Gokhale by Govind Talwalkar portrays Gokhale's work in the context of his time, giving the historical background in the 19th century. Gokhale was a scholar, social reformer, and a statesman, arguably the greatest Indian liberal. VG Kale has provided an account of the economic reforms pursued by Gokhale in the Viceroy's Legislative Council and outside till 1916.

Servants of India Society

In 1905, when Gokhale was elected president of the [Indian National Congress](#) and was at the height of his political power, he founded the [Servants of India Society](#) to specifically further one of the causes dearest to his heart: the expansion of Indian education. For Gokhale, true political change in India would only be possible when a new generation of Indians became educated as to their civil and patriotic duty to their country and to each other. Believing existing educational institutions and the [Indian Civil Service](#) did not do enough to provide Indians with opportunities to gain this political education, Gokhale hoped the Servants of India Society would fill this need. In his preamble to the SIS's constitution, Gokhale wrote that "The Servants of India Society will train men prepared to devote their lives to the cause of country in a religious spirit, and will seek to promote, by all constitutional means, the national interests of the Indian people. The Society took up the cause of promoting Indian education in earnest, and among its many projects organised mobile libraries, founded schools, and provided night classes for factory workers. Although the Society lost much of its vigour following Gokhale's death, it still exists to this day, though its membership is small.

Involvement with British Imperial Government

Gokhale, though now widely viewed as a leader of the Indian nationalist movement, was not primarily concerned with independence but rather with social reforms; he believed such reforms would be best achieved by working within existing British government institutions, a position which earned him the enmity of more aggressive nationalists such as Tilak. Undeterred by such opposition, Gokhale would work directly with the British throughout his political career to further his reform goals.

In 1899, Gokhale was elected to the [Bombay Legislative Council](#). He was elected to the [Imperial Council](#) of the [Governor-General of India](#) on 20 December 1901, and again on 22 May 1903 as non-officiating member representing [Bombay Province](#).

The empirical knowledge coupled with the experience of the representative institutions made Gokhale an outstanding political leader, moderate in ideology and advocacy, a model for the people's representatives. His contribution was monumental in shaping the Indian freedom struggle into a quest for building an open society and egalitarian nation. Gokhale's achievement must be studied in the context of predominant ideologies and social, economic and political situation at that time, particularly in reference to the famines, revenue policies, wars, partition of Bengal, Muslim League and the split in the Congress at Surat.

Mentor to Gandhi

Gokhale was famously a mentor to [Mahatma Gandhi](#) in the latter's formative years. In 1912, Gokhale visited South Africa at Gandhi's invitation. As a young [barrister](#), Gandhi returned from his struggles against the Empire in South Africa and received personal guidance from Gokhale, including a knowledge and understanding of India and the issues confronting common Indians. By 1931, Gandhi emerged as the leader of the [Indian Independence Movement](#). In his [autobiography](#), Gandhi calls Gokhale his mentor and guide. Gandhi also recognised Gokhale as an admirable leader and master politician, describing him as *"pure as crystal, gentle as a lamb, brave as a lion and chivalrous to a fault and the most perfect man in the political field"*. Despite his deep respect for Gokhale, however, Gandhi would reject Gokhale's faith in western institutions as a means of

achieving political reform and ultimately chose not to become a member of Gokhale's [Servants of India Society](#).

Works English weekly newspaper, The Hitavad (The people's paper)

BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

Bal Gangadhar Tilak, commonly known as Lokamanya Tilak was a leader of the Indian independence movement and belonged to the extremist faction. He was also called the 'Father of Indian Unrest'.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak's Personal Life

1. Born as Keshav Gangadhar Tilak in 1856 in Ratnagiri, modern-day Maharashtra.
2. Born into a middle-class Hindu family; got a bachelor's degree from Pune.
3. Initially worked as a Maths teacher. Later started working as a journalist and joined the freedom movement.
4. He was one of the founders of the Fergusson College in Pune.
5. He died in 1920 aged 64.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak's Political Life

1. Tilak joined the Congress in 1890.
2. He was opposed to moderate ways and views and had a more radical and aggressive stance against British rule.
3. He was one of the first advocates of Swaraj or self-rule. He gave the slogan, "Swaraj is my birthright and I shall have it." He believed that no progress was possible without self-rule.

4. He was part of the extremist faction of the INC and was a proponent of boycott and Swadeshi movements.
5. He published two papers – Kesari in Marathi and Mahratta in English. He was fearless in his criticism of the government in these papers.
6. He was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment on charges of “incitement to murder”. He had written that killers of oppressors could not be blamed, quoting the Bhagavad Gita. After this, two British officials were killed by two Indians in retaliation to the ‘tyrannical’ measures taken by the government during the bubonic plague episode in Bombay.
7. Along with Bipin Chandra Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai, he was called the ‘Lal-Bal-Pal’ trio of extremist leaders.
8. He was tried for sedition several times. He spent 6 years in Mandalay prison from 1908 to 1914 for writing articles defending Prafulla Chaki and Khudiram Bose. They were revolutionaries who had killed two English women, throwing bomb into the carriage carrying the women. Chaki and Bose had mistakenly assumed that Magistrate Douglas Kingsford was in it.
9. Tilak re-joined the INC in 1916, after having split earlier.
10. He was one of the founders of the All India Home Rule League, along with Annie Besant and G S Khaparde.
11. For his political ideals, Tilak drew heavily from the ancient Hindu scriptures.
12. He called for people to be proud of their heritage. He was against the blatant westernisation of society.
13. He transformed the simple Ganesh Puja performed at home into a social and public Ganesh festival.
14. He used the Ganesh Chaturthi and Shiv Jayanti (birth anniversary of Shivaji) festivals to create unity and a national spirit among the people. Unfortunately, this move alienated non-Hindus from him.
15. The Sarvajanik Ganeshotsav as popularised by him since 1894 is still one of the biggest festivals of Maharashtra.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak's Social Views

1. Despite being a nationalist radical leader, Bal Gangadhar Tilak's social views were conservative.
2. He was against Hindu women getting modern education.
3. He was opposed to the age of consent bill initially in which the age of marriage of girls was proposed to be raised from 10 to 12. Even though he was okay with this raising of age, he saw this act as interference in the social and religious life of Indians by the British.

Books Written By Bal Gangadhar Tilak

The two important books are written by Tilak:

1. Gita Rahasya
2. Arctic Home of the Vedas

Gist of Facts Related to Lokamanya Tilak

1. Tilak received A Law degree from Government's Law College, Bombay (now Mumbai) in the year 1879.
2. Tilak founded two newspapers 'Kesari' in Marathi and 'Mahratta' in English. Both the newspapers actively propagated the cause of national freedom and stressed on making the Indians aware to be self-reliant.
3. Tilak strongly criticized the education system followed in India by the British, therefore, he started the Deccan Educational Society with Gopal Ganesh Agarkar and Vishnu Shastry Chiplunkar for the purpose of inspiring nationalist education among Indian students.
4. Tilak started the Swadeshi movement in India and to promote it, Tilak with Jamshedji Tata established Bombay Swadeshi Stores.
5. He also started two important festivals (now the prime festival in Maharashtra and adjacent states). Shivaji Jayanti in 1895 and Ganesha festival in 1893. Ganesha festival because Lord Ganesha was

worshipped by all Hindus and Shivaji because he was the first Hindu ruler who fought against Muslim power in India and established the Maratha Empire in the 17th century.

6. Tilak with Annie Besant, Joseph Baptista, and Muhammad Ali Jinnah founded the All India Home Rule League in 1916. In the same year, he concluded the Lucknow Pact with Jinnah, which provided for Hindu-Muslim unity in the nationalist struggle.
7. His Publication includes The Arctic Home in the Vedas (1903) which represent the origin of Aryans and Srimad Bhagvat Gita Rahasya (1915)
8. The Government of India released a coin to commemorate Tilak's 150th birth anniversary in 2007. Not just that, Om Raut directed the film Lokmanya: Ek Yug Purush which was released on 2 January 2015.

MAHATMA GANDHI

Mahatma Gandhi was born on 2 October, 1869 at Porbandar of Kathiawar in Gujarat. His full name was Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. At the age of 13 only, his marriage was solemnised with Kasturba. In 1887, he went to England for higher education and returned to India in 1892 after becoming a Barrister. In 1893, he went to South Africa to plead for a case. In fact, he had gone there on a contractual assignment for a year but spent almost twenty-two years in that country. In January 1915, when he returned to India, he found the whole country involved in the war efforts of the British. Gandhi's political thoughts were based on religion. But he did not adopt religion in a communal sense. He had firm belief in Hinduism but his Hinduism was more in the form of humanism. He used to give importance to truth, non-violence, morality, universal brotherhood, sacrifice and self-confidence in politics. Gandhi recorded his initial thoughts in 1909 in Hind Swaraj. These

thoughts were based on his personal experiences. The original version of these thoughts were written in Gujarati.

Satyagraha

Mahatma Gandhi had laid great stress on satyagraha in his thoughts. Satyagraha means pursuance of truth. It means striving for truth even by undergoing physical pain. Gandhi relied on the methods of non-violence to strive for the truth. Thus, it was agreeable to him to suffer physical hardship for the sake of truth. He used to accept Satyagraha not simply as a means but as a principle by itself. He himself had written "Satyagraha is (such) a spiritual principle which is based on love for the mankind. There is no feeling of hatred in it towards the opponents". Mahatma Gandhi considered four preconditions as necessary for a satyagrahi to fulfil. He stated: "After a great deal of experience, it seems to me that those who want to become passive resisters for the service of the country have to observe (1) perfect chastity, (2) adopt poverty, (3) follow truth, and (4) cultivate fearlessness."

Mahatma Gandhi used to give enough stress on morality. In his view, truth was the essence of morality. Mahatma Gandhi laid great stress on non-violence alongside truth. He used to consider non-violence as a symbol of strength rather than of cowardice. In his book Satyagraha in South Africa he was to detail the struggles of the Indians to claim their rights, and their resistance to oppressive legislation and executive measures, such as the imposition of a poll tax on them, or the declaration by the government that all non-Christian marriages were to be construed as invalid. In 1909, on a trip back to India, Gandhi authored a short treatise entitled Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule, where he all but initiated the critique, not only of industrial civilization, but also of modernity in all its aspects.

Non-violence

Speaking on non-violence He has said: "I believe that non-violence has the power to solve all problems. At the same time, I had this faith

that if any country in the world can find a solution of all problems through non-violence, it is only India.” His saintliness was not uncommon, except in someone like him who immersed himself in politics and by this time he had earned from no less a person than Rabindranath Tagore, the title of Mahatma, or ‘Great Soul’. Gandhi had ideas on every subject, from hygiene and nutrition to education and labor, and he relentlessly pursued his ideas in one of the many newspapers which he founded. Indeed, were Gandhi known for nothing else in India, he would still be remembered as one of the principal figures in the history of Indian journalism. His Techniques of Mass Mobilization

Gandhi became the undisputed leader of the Congress and the leader of masses within a short span of 5 years, i.e. from 1915 to 1920. Was this phenomenon an outcome of a skillful political game on the part of Gandhi or was it due to the circumstances? The personality of Gandhi and his simple and saintly habits were also responsible. Gandhi had a good knowledge of the people and hence deliberately cultivated certain simple and saintly habits. Satyagraha was based on truth and nonviolence. It was influenced by Thoreau, Emerson and Tolstoy. The literal meaning of Satyagraha is invitation or holding on to truth. He was anxious to distinguish Satyagraha from passive resistance (the method adopted by the extremists). The technique of Satyagraha, being based on non-violence, could easily attract the masses. However, as a politician, Gandhi in practice sometimes settled for less than complete non-violence.

The Gandhian model proved acceptable to business groups as well as to the relatively better-off or locally dominant sections of the peasantry, all of whom stood to lose something if political struggle turned into uninhibited and violent social revolution. Non-Cooperation: To Gandhi, non-cooperation with the evil-doers was the duty of the virtuous man. It was considered by Gandhi as a mild form of agitation, and it was resorted to by him between 1921-1922. This technique had an immediate appeal to the masses. Civil Disobedience: Civil disobedience of the laws of the unjust and tyrannical government is a strong and extreme form of political agitation according to

Gandhi, this technique can be more dangerous and powerful than armed rebellion and, hence, should be adopted only as a last resort. To the masses whose suffering reached the extreme point in the late 1920's due to the worldwide economic crisis, this technique seemed to be the only way to remove their sufferings.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- An **influential leader** in the Indian independence movement and political heir of Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru became the **nation's first prime minister** in 1947.
- Although faced with the challenge of uniting a vast population diverse in culture, language and religion, he successfully established **various economic, social and educational reforms** that earned the respect and admiration of millions of Indians.
- His policies of **non-alignment and Panchsheel** - principles of peaceful coexistence - guided India's international relations until the outbreak of the Sino-Indian War in 1962.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Early Life:

- Jawaharlal Nehru was born into an affluent Kashmiri Brahman family in Allahabad on November 14, 1889.
- After **studying law at London's Inner Temple**, he returned to India at the age of 22 where he practiced law with his father and prominent barrister, Motilal Nehru.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Political Awakening:

- **Joined All India Home Rule League:** Upon learning of esteemed theosophist Annie Besant's arrest in 1917, Nehru was moved to join the

All India Home Rule League, an organization devoted to obtaining self-government within the British Empire.

- **Jallianwala Bagh Massacre:** The Massacre of Amritsar, in which hundreds of Indians were killed and more than a thousand others were wounded, outraged Nehru and further solidified his resolve to win India's independence.
- **During the Non-Cooperation Movement (1920-22)** led by Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru was imprisoned for the first time for activities against the British government and, over the course of the next two and a half decades, spent a total of nine years in jail.
- **President of INC:** In 1929, Jawaharlal was elected president of the Indian National Congress—his first leadership role in politics—whereby he promoted the **goal of complete independence** from Britain as opposed to dominion status.
- **Participation in Individual Satyagraha:**

To protest against the participation of India in **World War II** without consulting Indian leaders and confusion created by the **August Offer**, the individual satyagraha was launched not to seek independence but to affirm the right to speech. Pt. Nehru was chosen as the second satyagrahi in this movement after Vinoba Bhave.

- **Quit India Movement:**

The members of Congress passed the Quit India resolution on August 8, 1942, demanding political freedom from Britain in exchange for support in the war effort. The following day, the British government arrested all Congress leaders, including Nehru and Gandhi.

- **Role in framing of Indian Constitution:** He was one of the pioneers of the constituent Assembly. He moved the objective Resolution on 13 December 1946, which became the light for our preamble. He was the

chairman of the States Committee, Union Powers Committee and Union Constitution Committee.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Challenges and Legacy as Prime Minister:

On August 15, 1947, India finally gained its independence and Nehru became the nation's first prime minister.

Challenges	Legacy
<p>Amid the celebration of newly acquired freedom, there was also considerable turmoil caused by the</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Mass displacement that followed partition into the separate nations of Pakistan and India.• Disputes over control of Kashmir.• These had resulted in the loss of property and lives for several hundred thousand Muslims and Hindus.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Advocated democratic socialism and secularism.• Encouraged India's industrialization beginning with the implementation of the first of his five-year plans in 1951, which emphasized the importance of increasing agricultural production.• He also promoted scientific and technological advancements.• Social reforms such as free public education and meals for Indian children, legal rights for women - including the ability to inherit property and divorce their husbands - and laws to prohibit discrimination based on caste.

Criticism:

- **During the Cold War**, Nehru adopted a **policy of non-alignment** in which he professed neutrality, but was criticized when he refused to condemn the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956 and later requested foreign aid after China invaded India's northern border in 1962.
- The conflict, known as the Sino-Indian War, had a deleterious effect on Nehru's health, resulting in death on May 27, 1964.

NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was a fierce nationalist, whose defiant patriotism made him one of the greatest freedom fighters in Indian history. He was also credited with setting up the Indian Army as a separate entity from the British Indian Army - which helped to propel the freedom struggle.

Life

- Subhas Chandra Bose was born on **23rd January 1897**, in Cuttack, Orissa Division, Bengal Province, to **Prabhavati Dutt Bose** and **Janakinath Bose**.
- After his early schooling, he joined Ravenshaw Collegiate School. From there he went to join Presidency College, Calcutta and was expelled due to his nationalist activities. Later, he went to University of Cambridge, U.K.
- In **1919**, Bose headed to **London to give the Indian Civil Services (ICS)** examination and he was selected. Bose, however, **resigned** from Civil Services as he believed he could not side with the British.
- He was highly influenced by Vivekananda's teachings and considered him as his spiritual Guru. His political mentor was Chittaranjan Das.

- In 1921, Bose took over the editorship of the newspaper '**Forward**', founded by Chittaranjan Das's Swaraj Party.
- In **1923**, Bose was elected the **President of the All India Youth Congress** and also the Secretary of Bengal State Congress.
- He was also sent to prison in Mandalay in 1925 due to his connections with revolutionary movements where he contracted Tuberculosis.
- During the **mid-1930s** Bose travelled in Europe. He researched and wrote the first part of his book, **The Indian Struggle**, which covered the country's independence movement in the years 1920–1934.
- After his return, Bose took over as the **elected President of Indian National Congress in 1938 (Haripur)** and stood for unqualified **Swaraj** (self-governance) and the use of force against the British which then combated against Mahatma Gandhi and his views.
- Bose was **re-elected in 1939 (Tripuri)** but soon **resigned from the presidency** and formed the **All India Forward Bloc**, a faction within the Congress which aimed at consolidating the political left.
- He died on 18th August 1945, in a plane crash in Japanese-ruled Formosa (now Taiwan).

Contribution to Freedom Struggle

- **Association with C.R Das:** He was associated with C.R. Das' political endeavour, and was also jailed along with him. When C.R. Das was elected Mayor of Calcutta Cooperation, he nominated Bose as the chief executive. He was arrested for his political activities in 1924.
- **Trade union movements:** He organised youth and promoted trade union movements. In 1930, he was elected Mayor of Calcutta, the same year he was elected the President of AITUC.

- **Association with congress:** He stood for unqualified swaraj (independence), and opposed Motilal Nehru Report which spoke for dominion status for India.
 - He actively participated in the Salt Satyagraha of 1930 and vehemently opposed the suspension of Civil Disobedience Movement and signing of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact in 1931.
 - In the 1930s, he was closely associated with left politics in Congress along with Jawaharlal Nehru and M.N. Roy.
 - Because of the endeavour of the left group, the congress passed very far reaching radical **resolutions in Karachi in 1931** which declared the main Congress aim as socialization of means of production besides guaranteeing fundamental rights.
- **Congress presidentship:** Bose won the congress presidential elections at **Haripura** in 1938.
 - Next year at Tripuri, he again won the presidential elections against Gandhi's candidate Pattabhi Sitarammayya.
 - Due to ideological differences with Gandhi, **Bose left congress** and found a new party, '**the Forward Bloc**'.
 - The purpose was to consolidate the political left and major support base in his home state Bengal.
- **Civil disobedience movement:** When World War II began, he was again imprisoned for participation in civil disobedience and was put under house arrest.
- **Indian National Army:** Bose manages to escape to Berlin by way of Peshawar and Afghanistan. He reached Japan and from there to Burma and organised the **Indian National Army** to fight the british and liberate

India with the help of Japan.

- He gave famous slogans '**Jai Hind**' and '**Dilli Chalo**'. He died in a plane crash before realising his dreams.

Azad Hind

- **Indian Legion:** Bose founded the free India centre in Berlin and created the **Indian Legion** out of the Indian prisoners of war who had previously fought for the British in North Africa prior to their capture by Axis forces.
- In Europe, Bose sought help from Hitler and Mussolini for the liberation of India.
- In Germany, he was attached to the special bureau for India which was responsible for the broadcasting on the German sponsored **Azad Hind Radio**.
- On this radio, Bose on 6th July 1944, addressed Mahatma Gandhi as the '**Father of the Nation**'.
- **Indian National Army:** He reached Japanese-controlled Singapore from Germany in July 1943, issued from there his famous call, 'Delhi Chalo', and announced the formation of the **Azad Hind Government** and the **Indian National Army** on 21st October 1943.
- The INA was first formed under **Mohan Singh** and Japanese Major Iwaichi Fujiwara and comprised Indian prisoners of war of the British-Indian Army captured by Japan in the Malayan (present-day Malaysia) campaign and at Singapore.

- The INA included both, the Indian prisoners of war from Singapore and Indian civilians in South-East Asia. It's strength grew to 50,000.
 - The INA fought allied forces in 1944 inside the borders of India in Imphal and in Burma.
 - However, with the fall of Rangoon, Azad Hind Government ceased to be an effective political entity.
 - In November 1945 a British move to put the INA men on trial immediately sparked massive demonstration all over the country.
 - **Impact:** The I.N.A. experience created the wave of disaffection in the British Indian army during the 1945-46, which culminated in the great Bombay naval strike of February 1946 and was one of the most decisive reasons behind the British decision to make a quick withdrawal.
 - **Composition of I.N.A:** The I.N.A. was essentially non-communal, with Muslims quite prominent among its officers and ranks, and it also introduced the innovation of a women's detachment named after the Rani of Jhansi.
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DR. BHIMRAO RAMJI AMBEDKAR,

Introduction

- **Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar**, popularly known as Babasaheb Ambedkar, was one of the main architects of the Indian Constitution.
- He was a very well known political leader, philosopher, writer, economist, scholar and a social reformer who dedicated his life to eradicating untouchability and other social inequality in India.

- He was born on 14 April 1891 in Madhya Pradesh in Hindu Mahar Caste. He had to face severe discriminations from every corner of the society as the Mahar caste was viewed as "untouchable" by the upper class.

Main Architect of Indian Constitution

- Babasaheb Ambedkar's legal expertise and knowledge of the **Constitution of different countries** was very helpful in the framing of the constitution. He became **chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly** and played an important role in framing the Indian Constitution.
- Among others, his most important contributions were in areas of fundamental rights, strong central government and protection of minorities.
 - **Article 32** guarantees judicial protection to the Fundamental Rights which makes them meaningful. For him, Article 32 was the most important article of the constitution and thus, he referred to it "**soul of the Constitution and very heart of it**".
 - **He supported a strong central government.** He was afraid that Casteism is more powerful at the local and provincial levels, and the government at this level might not protect the interest of lower caste under pressure of upper caste. Since the National government is less influenced by these pressures, they will ensure protection to lower caste.
 - He was also afraid that the minority which is the most vulnerable group in the nation may convert into political minorities too. So democratic rule of 'One man one vote' is not sufficient and the minority should be guaranteed a share in power. **He was against**

'Majoritarianism Syndrome' and provided many safeguards in the Constitution for the minorities.

- Indian constitution is the lengthiest constitution in the world because various administrative details have been included. Babasaheb defended it saying that we have created a democratic political structure in a traditional society. If all details are not included, future leaders may misuse the Constitution without technically violating it. Such safeguards are necessary. This shows that he was aware of the practical difficulties which India will face once the Constitution would have been implemented.

Constitutional Morality

- In Babasaheb Ambedkar's perspective, **Constitutional morality** would mean effective coordination between conflicting interests of different people and administrative cooperation.
- It will help to resolve the conflict amicably without any confrontation amongst the various groups working for the realization of their ends at any cost.
- According to him, for India, where society is divided on the basis of caste, religion, language, and other factors, a common moral compass is needed, and the Constitution can play the role of that compass.

Democracy

- He had complete faith in democracy. While dictatorship may produce quick results, it can not be a valid form of government. Democracy is superior as it enhances liberty. He supported the **parliamentary form of democracy**, which aligns with other national leaders.
- He emphasized **'democracy as a way of life'**, i.e. democracy not only in the political sphere but also in the personal, social and economic sphere.

- For him, democracy must bring a drastic change in social conditions of society, otherwise the spirit of political democracy i.e. 'one man and one vote' would be missing. Democratic government can arise only from a democratic society, so as long as caste hurdles exist in Indian society, real democracy can not operate. So he focused on the spirit of fraternity and equality as the base of democracy to bring out social democracy.
- Along with the social dimension, Ambedkar focused on the economic dimension also. While he was influenced by liberalism and parliamentary democracy, he also found the limitation of them. As per him, parliamentary democracy ignored social and economic inequality. It only focused on liberty while true democracy must bring both liberty and equality.

Social Reforms

- Babasaheb had devoted his life to remove untouchability. He believed that the progress of the nation would not be realized without the removal of untouchability, which means the abolition of the caste system in totality. He studied Hindu philosophical traditions and made a critical assessment of them.
- For him, Untouchability is the slavery of the entire Hindu society. While Untouchables are enslaved by Caste Hindus, Caste Hindus themselves live under slavery of religious sculptures. So the emancipation of the untouchables leads to the emancipation of the whole Hindu society.

He believed that Economic and Political issues must be resolved only after achieving the goal of social justice. If political emancipation precedes social emancipation, it will lead to the rule of upper-caste Hindu, and atrocities on Lower Caste.

- The idea that economic progress will lead to social justice is ill-founded as Casteism is an expression of the Mental Slavery of Hindus. **So for social reform, Casteism has to do away with.**

- **Social reforms consisted of family reform and religious reforms.** Family reforms included removal of practices like child marriage etc. He strongly supports the empowerment of women. He supports women's rights of property which he resolved through Hindu Code Bill.
- **On** **Caste:**
 - The caste system has made Hindu society stagnant which creates hurdles in integration with outsiders. Even internally, Hindu society fails to satisfy the test of a homogeneous society, as it is just a conglomeration of different castes. The caste system does not allow lower castes to prosper which led to moral degradation. Battle for the removal of untouchability becomes the battle for human rights and justice.

Factsheet

- In 1923, he set up the '**Bahishkrit Hitkarini Sabha (Outcastes Welfare Association)**', which was devoted to spreading education and culture amongst the downtrodden.
- The temple entry movement launched by Dr. Ambedkar in 1930 at Kalaram temple, Nasik is another landmark in the struggle for human rights and social justice.
- Dr. Ambedkar **attended all the three Round Table Conferences (1930-32)** in London and each time, forcefully projected his views in the interest of the 'untouchable'.
- In **1932**, Gandhi ji protested Communal Award of a separate electorate by fasting while imprisoned in the Yerwada Central Jail of Poona. This resulted in the **Poona Pact** wherein Gandhi ji ended his fast and Babasaheb dropped his demand for a separate electorate. Instead,

a certain number of seats were reserved specifically for the 'Depressed Class'.

- In 1936, Babasaheb Ambedkar founded the **Independent Labour Party**.
- In 1939, during the Second World War, he called upon Indians to join the Army in large numbers to defeat Nazism, which he said, was another name for Fascism.
- On October 14, 1956 he embraced Buddhism along with many of his followers. The same year he completed his last writing '**Buddha and His Dharma**'.
- In 1990, Dr.B.R.Ambedkar, was bestowed with **Bharat Ratna**.
- The period from 14th April 1990 - 14th April 1991 was observed as '**Year of Social Justice**' in the memory of Babasaheb.
- **Dr. Ambedkar Foundation** was established by the Government of India under the aegis of the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment on March 24, 1992 as a registered society under the Societies Registration Act, 1860.
 - The main objective of the foundation is to oversee the implementation of programmes and activities for furthering the ideology and message of Babasaheb Dr. B. R. Ambedkar among the masses in India as well as abroad.
- **Few important works of Dr. Ambedkar:** Mook Nayak (weekly) 1920; Janta (weekly) 1930; The Annihilation of Caste 1936; The Untouchables 1948; Buddha Or Karl Marx 1956, etc.

Methods Adopted to Remove Untouchability

- Creating self-respect among untouchables by removing the myth of inherent pollution that has influenced their minds.
- **Education:**
 - For Babasaheb, knowledge is a liberating force. One of the reasons for the degradation of untouchables was that they were denied the advantages of education. He criticized the British for not doing enough for the education of the lower caste. He insisted on secular education to instill values of liberty and equality among the students.
- **Economic** **progress:**
 - He wanted untouchables to free themselves from the bondage of the village community and traditional jobs. He wanted them to achieve new skills and start a new profession and move to cities to take advantage of industrialization. He described villages as 'a sink of localism, a den of ignorance, narrow mindedness, and communalism'.
- **Political** **strength:**
 - He wanted untouchables to organize themselves politically. With political power, untouchables would be able to protect, safeguard and introduce new emancipatory policies.
- **Conversion:**
 - When he realized that Hinduism is not able to mend its ways, he adopted Buddhism and asked his followers to do the same. For

him, Buddhism was based on humanism and believed in the spirit of equality and fraternity.

- “I’m reborn, rejecting the religion of my birth. I discard the religion which discriminates between a man and a man and which treats me as an inferior”.
- So at the social level, education; at the material level, new means of livelihood; at political level, political organization; and the spiritual level, self-assertion, and conversion constituted an overall program of the removal of untouchability.

Relevance of Ambedkar in Present Times

- Caste-based inequality in India still persists. While Dalits have acquired a political identity through **reservation** and forming their own political parties, they lack behind in social dimensions (health and education) and economic dimension.
- There has been a rise of communal polarization and communalization of politics. It is necessary that Ambedkar's vision of constitutional morality must supersede religious morality to avoid permanent damage to the Indian Constitution.

Conclusion

- According to historian R.C Guha, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar is a unique example of success even in most adverse situations. Today India is facing many socio-economic challenges such as casteism, **communalism**, separatism, **gender inequality**, etc. We need to find the Ambedkar's spirit within us, so that we can pull ourselves from these challenges.
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