

Making of Indian Constitution.

- Legacies of British Raj
- Different social & political perspectives in Constituent Assembly.

Bipin Chandra.

Legacies of British Raj

- India, after independence, had not started with a clean slate. Independence of India was not the result of revolution. It was more of a transfer of power. On the eve of transfer of power, Britishers proudly pretended that it was their long term aim to transfer the power to Indians. The present India reflects both continuity & change from the British state in India. There is a legacy of British Raj in almost all walks of national life. There are some positive legacies, but there have been more negative consequences of the colonial state. One of the earliest consequences of British Raj was the partition of subcontinent. We are still suffering the consequences of this British legacy.
- Britishers also gave the challenge of integration of princely states to the successor govt. of British India. We could go for successful integration of most of the states. There were 3 problematic situations.
 1. W. nt. Hyderabad.
 2. Junagad
 3. Kashmir

The issue of Kashmir's integration with India still remains problematic.

- Economic backwardness, stagnation in agri., rural unemployment, lack of balanced regional development are also the legacies of British Raj.
- Britishers have not invested in the development of human resource. India had inadequate educational, infrastructure, medical facilities etc. on the eve of independence. We are still struggling to end the colonial legacies in social sector.
- The existing casteism & communalism is regarded by nationalist scholars as colonial legacy.
- Indian education system even in present represents the legacy of Lord Macaulay. No revolutionary change has been made in the educational system. Britishers promoted education in English at the cost of vernacular languages. They have emphasised on rote learning & memorisation which is still continuing.
- Corruption in modern India also has its roots in the colonial state.

Rabindranath Tagore was pretty ~~at~~ sure that Britishers are bound to leave the country but he was also sure that they will leave the mountains of dirt & filth in the country.

- British legacy is evident on Indian Constitution. It is primarily based on Govt. of India Act 1935.

The nature of federation, the emergency provisions, the discretionary powers of Governors comes from 1935 Act. According to the critics, Indians not only borrowed the letter but also the spirit of 1935 Act.

According to the critics, though the present Constitution includes a chapter on FR as well as DPSP, however they do not make much difference in the nature of the state.

DPs are not enforceable in the court of law.

FRs, it appears have been framed by a policeman.

horrible
more
restriction

- Indian Civil Services only changed the name from ICS to IAS. However their power & privileges continue to remain the same.
- Indian legal system heavily borrows from the British. The adversarial litigation, IPC, CrPC. One good thing Britishers have introduced was rule of law & equality before law.
- Another good legacy is the tradition of keeping military under civilian control & complete separation betⁿ civilian & military spheres.
- Parliamentary form of govt.

Social & Political perspectives in Constituent Assembly

C.A.

- In 1922, Gandhi held that swaraj will not be the free gift of British Parliament. It will be a declaration of India's full self expression.

However according to the critics, Indians

could easily borrow the basic system of governance from Govt. of India Act 1935.

- In 1928, M. Nehru Committee presented the basic principles of the future constitution of India. It was the outline of the draft constitution.

- In 1934, Congress Working Committee adopted the resolution that the C.A. will be elected & election will be based on universal adult franchise.

- In 1940, for the 1st time Britishers accepted that framing of the Constitution will be primarily but not solely the responsibility of Indians (August offer). (Viceroy)

- 1942: Cripps offer / mission, for the 1st time clearly accepted that constitution will be solely written by Indians.

- Finally, the scheme for C.A. was announced in Cabinet Mission Plan. C.A. was not to be directly elected, rather indirectly elected by the provincial legislatures & will also have representatives from Princely States.

Till that time only 5% of the Indians had right to vote.

question on representation

- 1st meeting of C.A. 9th Dec 1946. (Am)

- On 13th Dec. Nehru presented the objective resolution.

- C.A. adopted most of the provisions by consensus to make it a consensus document.

- In C.A. there were some major debates.
 - Blueprint of the future Indian state.

The major debate was betn Gandhians & modernists. Gandhians wanted Panchayati Raj, democratic decentralization. But Nehru &

Ambedkar opposed Panchayati Raj. Nehru, Ambedkar

01. Preamble walks before R2 Property - for Princely states.
the Constitution. It was to go.

8 Patel supported stronger Centre & a centralised federation.

- There was a debate betn Liberal & socialist
- There was a long debate on inclusion of Right to property as a FR. Liberals led by Sardar Patel had an upper hand & Nehruvian land reforms found place in DPSP.
- FRs & DPSP: Leaders like H.V. Kamath, Kazi Karimuddin wanted that there should not be separation betn 2 sets of Rights. They wanted DPSPs to be legally enforceable.
- The other debates revolved around the issue of
 - > Parliamentary vs. Presidential form of govt.
 - > Equality vs Reservation
 - > Nature & scope of the powers of Judiciary.

Salient features of Indian Constitution.

- Preamble

- Discuss the key ideas expressed in Preamble of Indian Constitution.
- Preamble is a horoscope. Comment. K.M. Munshi
- Elaborate on the changing approach of SC on the status of Preamble.
- Explain the idea of secularism mentioned in the Preamble. What are the distinctive features of Indian Secularism? What are the debates on Indian Secularism?
- Discuss the idea of India as expressed in the Preamble.
- Discuss the challenges to the idea of India

As a secular state.

- How to ^{strengthen} increase the credential of India as a secular state.

② Role of religion in Indian politics.

- Explain the role of religion in Indian politics since independence.
- Explain the nature of politics of communalism.
- What are the factors for rise of communalism in contemporary times?

4/12/14

Introduction of Preamble

- Constitution is also a law. Constitution is the "Basic Law" on which other laws are based.
- It is customary to attach preamble to laws to make the sense of the law.

Facts about Significance of Preamble

- Preamble represent the ideas proposed as objective resolution by Nehru. on 13th Dec 1946.
- Objective resolution was adopted on 22nd Jan 1947.
- Views of members of Constituent Assembly (C.A.)
 - Members held Preamble in a very high position.

Views of K.M. Munshi

- He called Preamble as 'Horoscope of the Nation.'

Views of Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyer

- Preamble summarises the dream of Indian Freedom struggle.

Views of Bhai Thakurdas

- Preamble is the most precious part of the Constitution. He called it 'Jewel set'.

Views of Ernst Barker

- A recognized political scholar acknowledged that the Preamble of Indian Constitution summarises his entire philosophy in few words.

Judiciary

Judiciary & Preamble

Changing approach of Judiciary w.r.t. Preamble.

- Indian Judiciary had to confront 3 questions related to the status & significance of Preamble

1. Whether Preamble is a part of the Constitution?

- Opinion of SC in *Berubari* case in 1960

- Following US tradition, SC held that Preamble is not the part of the Constitution.

- *Keshvananda Bharti*, 1973

SC overruled its opinion & held that Preamble is the part of the Constitution.

- SC acknowledged that it has overlooked some historical facts

- Preamble of Indian Constitution has been adopted by C.A. by the motion which says that 'Preamble is adopted as a part of the Constitution'

- Preamble of U.S. Constitution walks before the Constitution. However, Preamble was adopted by C.A. in last. This was to ensure that there should be a perfect harmony betⁿ the Constitution & Preamble.

2. Significance of Preamble in interpretation of the Constitution.

- *A.K. Gopalan* case, 1950

Petitioner demanded that Art. 21 should be interpreted in the light of the ideals represented in Preamble.

They demanded that Preamble should be "guiding star" in the interpretation of the Constitution. SE

SC did not accept the above view. In case of explicit provisions, SC will go for literal interpretation. Preamble can be used only when there is a lack of clarity. Preamble to be used as a light-house.

- Keshvananda Bharti case 1973

- > SC held that Constitution should be interpreted in the light of the ideals expressed in the Preamble.
- > It mentions that Preamble contains the elements of 'Basic Structure' of the Constitution.

3. Amendment of the Preamble.

- Why there was a debate?

- > Art 368 tells about the amendment of the provision of the Constitution.
- > Preamble cannot be treated as provision of the Constitution, though now acknowledged as a part of the Constitution.
- > SC adopted pragmatic approach. It held that there are no limitations on the amending power of Parliament except the doctrine of Basic Structure.

Preamble has to be amended in a situation where any amendment in the main body impacts the congruence between Preamble & the Constitution.

Prominent ideas of Preamble.

- Preamble tells about the philosophy of Indian State. It is based on the idea of India, first explored by Rabindranath Tagore.
- Tagore's idea of India.
 - According to Tagore, future India will be a land based on the ideal of 'Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam'.
 - He was against the intense consciousness of separateness of one's own people against others, which leads to ceaseless struggles.
- Later on idea of India was further nurtured by Nehru's Discovery of India. Nehru represented the idea of India in his objective resolution. The strongest elements of Nehruvian idea are
 - > India as a secular state
 - > India as a functional democracy
 - > India as egalitarian society.
- Since then there has been a tradition to make a distinction between idea of India from the idea of Pakistan.

According to Sunil Khilnani, we should protect the idea of India represented in our Constitution. We should resist all attempts which aim to make India "Hindu Pakistan".

1. India is a Sovereign country.

- How globalisation impacts the idea of India as a sovereign state.

- Define sovereignty

The concept emerges in Treaty of Westphalia

It visualises a territorial nation state. As per the theory of Sovereignty state is supreme in internal sphere & state is autonomous to take the decisions in the national interest in external sphere.

- The idea of sovereignty has never existed in its ideal sense, neither in external nor internal sphere.
- Sovereignty is a historical notion. The content of the idea has been changing with the changing times.
- Today we live in an increasingly interdependent world. In the present era of global challenges, states have to "act in concert" (act together). They cannot act as isolated units. Today sovereignty has not gone but the manner in which sovereignty is to be executed has changed. Today nations are required to be accommodative & act with greater responsibility. There has to be a give & take.
- The idea of sovereignty in Indian Constitution is not dialectical to internationalism or interdependence. We are constitutionally committed for int'l peace & cooperation. The Constitutional ideal comes from Indian culture & reflects the creative vision of India as a responsible member of int'l community.

2. Socialist

Indian Socialism is different from Marxism or

Aug 2013
Yojana
Rajiv Bhargava

Machiavelli - Father of Secularism. Hobbes Status
state vs Church. Religion

Marxist idea of Socialism. It is nearer to
Fabian Socialism.

- India opted for "Piecemeal social engineering" / Karl
Popper

3. Secular

Idea of Secularism

- Like all ideas in politics, secularism remains a
contested idea. The status of Indian state as a
secular state is a highly contested idea.

Different notions of secularism

In the field of academics, we find the
domination of the Western notion of secularism,
which emerged in Europe. Secularism is traced
to Machiavelli who made a strict separation
betⁿ religion & state. Religion belongs to private
sphere, state belongs to public sphere, and no
role of religion in public sphere. No religious
consideration in state policies.

In case of India, there is no strict
separation. The boundaries betⁿ religion
& state are porous. Number of times
religion interferes in state policies, similarly
on numerous occasions state interferes in
religion.

Hobbes is considered as another spokesman
of secular state. According to him, State
is over & above the Church.

Rajiv Bhargava has given 5 models of Secular state

1. Strongly antireligious state

• for communist state (religion is banned).

2. Ultra procedural model

e.g. U.S.A.

Here there is a strict institutional separation betⁿ religion & state. Religion is strictly excluded from the affairs of the state & state is strictly excluded from the affairs of religion.

U.S. Constitution has anti-establishment clause.

3. Turkish model

Also present in U.K.

These countries have national church or dominant religion, but as far as public policy is concerned, state is strictly secular.

4. Equidistance model

State maintaining equal distance with all religion.

e.g. most European countries

5. Principled distance

Indian model comes under principled distance.

State interferes in different religions in different contexts on the basis of different parameters.

Rajiv Bhargava gives 3 features of Indian model.

1. State is not identified by a particular religion, yet state is not completely averse to use religious symbols in secular sphere.
2. There are no strict boundaries between religion and state.
3. No active hostility towards any religion

but no passive indifference also.

4. Our secularism is not guided by any overarching ideology
5. Indian secularism is context specific, ethnically sensitive & politically negotiated
6. Different religions are in the foundation of the state.
7. It is based on idea of liberty, fraternity, peace & toleration.

Id Cor Idea of secularism in Indian Constitution

-Secularism in Indian Constitution is based on the ideas of 3 persons.

1. Nehruvian idea.

For Nehru secularism was religious neutrality (dharma nirpekshita).

Art 15 : state shall not discriminate among the citizens only on the ground of religion, race,...

2. Ambedkar

For Ambedkar adhered to the idea that minorities are the custodians of secular state.

The test of secular credential is how safe & secure minorities feel. The special educational & cultural rights given to minorities u/A 29 & 30 reflect his approach to secularism.

3. Gandhian idea of secularism

Gandhi did not support separation of religion & politics. For Gandhi, secularism means communal harmony or religious toleration, as 'sarva dharma samabhav'. Art 25 of Indian Constitution which gives freedom of conscience, freedom to practice, profess & propagate

U.S.: melting pot approach.

any religion reflect Gandhian spirit.

Debates on Indian Secularism

From the very beginning the idea of Indian secularism as mentioned in the Constitution has become the matter of debate.

- Hindu Rightist sections

They call Indian model present in the Constitution as 'pseudo-secular' and 'minority - appeasement'.

Arguments of Rightist.

- Special rights to minorities
- Non enforcement of Uniform Civil Code
- Constitution permits active intervention by the state for the purpose of social reforms in the institutions of Hindu religion.

Art 25 (2) (b).

- Criticism by minorities

- By Muslim minority

As mentioned in Sachar Committee that Muslim alienation is growing. Muslims carry the double burden. They are accused of being called as appeased as well as anti-national. As per Sachar Committee, though all perceptions of muslim community are not correct, but still these perceptions are not formed in vacuum. Muslims, the largest minority community is also the most backward in terms of education & employment.

Community has accused police & administration for not adhering to administrative neutrality!

- > Community also challenges the neutrality of judiciary, first in Hindutva case (Prabhu vs Kunte Case)
- > Ramjanmabhumi case: The judgement of Allahabad HC has been criticised as the judgement is not from the perspective of legality of rights. HC has directed to divide the property among the 3 parties
 - One section given to Muslims
 - " — Ram Lala
 - " — Nirmohi Akhada

• Other minorities
Sikh Community

does not want to be inducted within defn of Hindus as mentioned in Art 25(2)(b).

instⁿ
open
to
state
interventⁿ
fr.

Christian

They believe that there are serious limitations on constitutional rights on propagation of religion. SC has banned forced conversions.

Present status of the issue

— Credential of Indian state as a secular state came under serious crisis, because of demolition of Babri Mosque.

• Gujarat riots

• Anti Sikh riots in Delhi.

• Violence in Kandhamal (Odisha) against Christian minorities.

prevention of targeted violence Bill you can not control people.

It is believed that such incidents cannot happen without state being complicit. It is also held that if administration wants, they can stop any such communal riot / violence within hours, but administration has allowed violence to continue for days together.

Why
How to strengthen secular credential of Indian State.

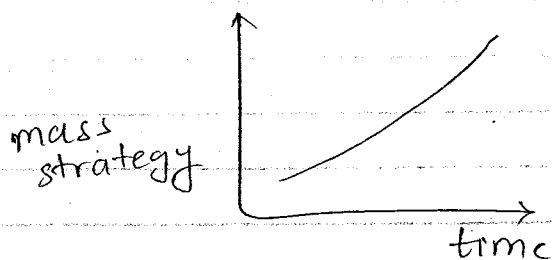
Considering internal challenges & external environment, we have no option but to strengthen secularism, as suggested by Romilla Thapar

What should be done to strengthen secular credential?

- The strongest step proposed was Communal Violence Bill, 1st introduced in 2005.

12/11/14

Political Strategies in India's Freedom Struggle.



1. Mass struggle
2. Non violent

INC

4 Strategies

1. Moderates : Constitutional agitation (1885-1905)
2. Extremists : Passive resistance → Militant resistance (1905-1916) ^{NCP}
3. Gandhian : Satyagraha (1917/20 - 1947)
4. Socialists :
 - Revolutionary (e.g. Bhagat Singh) (20s - 47)
 - Leftists (e.g. Nehru).

The philosophical underpinnings of Indian Freedom Struggle.

i.e., Background

financial capitalism - most exploitative stage of imperialism.

British

organised

myth

belief system

• white man burden

to justify presence

ethnocentric term

in India.

white-supremacy race

hegemony

ideological

more rational

justice + fairplay

• materialistic capitalism.

war of position +

war of manoeuvre.

1. Moderates

Strategy: Constitutional agitation. / petitions.
They were the intellectuals of the late 19th century for formative stage of Indian freedom struggle.

Lawyers + businessmen + journalists gentlemen's club.

- Perception of moderates
- Demands
- Strategies
- Limitations
- +ve aspects
- Conclusion

Perception

Not against British rule but policies
& they could be convinced through petitions.

Demands

Reformatory

e.g. ICS in India, increase age.

- Public Service reforms
- Administrative reforms

equal treatment, no racial discrimination.

- Educational reforms

- Council / legislative reforms. Indians should be majority
Increase the power.

It was only reformist in nature not radical
like demand of Swaraj.

Strategies

Constitutional agitation & petition on one hand
& creating public opinion on the other.

Did not have political faith in masses.

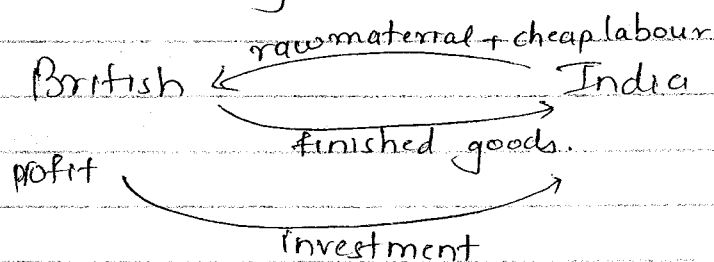
∴ form public opinion

Drain Theory : Important contribution of moderates

Dadabhai Nauroji (Book:

R.C. Dutt (Book: Economic History of India)

Drain: It was physical transfer of wealth which was part of Indian income towards Britain. with no liability whatsoever on the receiver.



1. Trade pattern through which exploitation was happening.

2. Railway

Lead to deindustrialisation.

finished goods reached remote areas

investment & incoming profit outgoing.

3. Taxation

In favour of Britishers

4. Expenditure

most of exp. on British administration & less on Indian welfare.

Drain Theory - Economic Nationalism

feeling that we are all getting economically exploited.

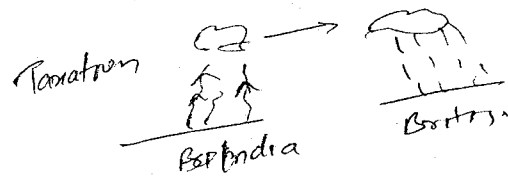
- Economic critique of British policies.

A Evaluation of moderates / constitutional agitation

- Moderates or Constitutional agitation

- Not correct analysis of British Rule.

helping British legitimisation
Rules



pleading for political mediocrity-mendicancy.

tives

Limitations were the limitations of time.

It was humble beginning of Indian freedom struggle history.

It Moderates have sown the seeds fairly & deeply. - Bipan Chandra.

Drain Theory or Economic critique of nationalism is a main point of agenda for struggles to come.

It gave rise to Economic Nationalism.

Drain theory has helped in eroding the myth that British Rule is in the interest of Indians.

This has been done by unmasking exploitative face of Britishers.

Moderates were opportunistic & they were promoting their own interest under the disguise of patriotism.

- Tilak

Moderates: Petition Wrong that we are opportunists
Petition for public politicisation.

Conclusion

Set stage for extremists to come.

Extremists

Hal, Bal, Pal, Aurobindo Ghosh (Early life).

Context: Against petitions.

Response of Britishers.

1. INC represents microscopic minority in India.
Do not represent all Indians.

2 Divide & Rule.

INC is nothing but bunch of Hindu Brahmins.

Plague, famine exposed British faacreal policies.

Reactionary policy of ~~Rd~~

Demand

Perception

British rule not in the interest of Indians

It is exploitative in nature.

Demand

Swaraj. (political independence)

Strategies

Extremists, passive resistance

1905: Partition of Bengal → Swadeshi Movement

(masses involved in sporadic not pan-India level.)

Reasons of partition

stated reason: administrative convenience.

Actual: Communal division Divide & Rule.

Rupture growing solidarity of nationalist movement.

1911 shift of Capital.

dethorning Calcutta which was becoming
nerve centre of Indian freedom struggle.

Strategies

Extended boycott

moderates

extremists

limited swadeshi

pan-India

only Bengal

only salt & clothes

Calcutta Resolution

- Swaraj is the ~~g~~ultimate goal of freedom struggle. (Swaraj: It was a dominion status & self independent, self autonomy)
- Boycott of (Manchester) clothes, (Liverpool) salt. Extremist wanted complete boycott.
- Nation for National education promotion
- Boast to the Swadeshi → Indian education.

Hartal Vande Matram

Strategies in Swadeshi Movement

- moderates continued reformist approach.
- extremists boycott, swadeshi
- Cultural revivalism

new strategy for mass mobilisation.

Trilok: Shivaji, Ganapati Festival

Interpreted in the form of orthodoxy, Hindu Nationalism.

Muslim League came around the same time.

Difference began in INC & ML.

Cultural revivalism: reinstate the faith that there is a strength within us & we are self sufficient.

- Regeneration of villages
social, industrialisation.
- Militant Nationalism / Revolutionary Nationalism

Anushilan Samiti

V.D. Savarkar.

Limited in nature.

Swadeshi Movement: First mass struggle.

Analysis of Swadeshi Movement

- It was first mass struggle & masses have actively participated in freedom struggle for very first time.
- Cultural revivalism that was seen during S.M. remains unparalleled in history only to emerge in late 30s.
- Swadeshi Mov. has witnessed entire gamut/range of political strategies that Ind. freedom struggle witnessed over a period of time.

Limitations

1907 - Surat split moderates vs extremists.
misinterpretation INC - Hindu Nationalism
Hindu - Muslim unity ↓
Muslim peasantry - no participation.

1909 - Morley Minto Reform.

Separate electorate

Institutionalisation of Divide & Rule policy.

(1916 - Lucknow Pact)

Analysis of extremists.

- New form of struggle introduced, i.e., passive resistance different from constitutional agitation.
- Masses have started taking active part in freedom struggle.

Home Rule Movement

Reformatory in nature.

(1905-07) political passivity present. This void was filled by Home Rule.

1916 - Reunification of moderates & Extremists. (Lucknow)

Revival/recharging of INC

Stage set for entry of Grandhi

Montague Swadeshi demand will not be considered as seditious.

Granting of some kind of swaraj (but not defined)

Diarchy into the Provinces.

Dual govt. in provinces.

Subjects $\leftarrow$ Reserved (defence, economic)
Transferred (edu, agri)

Jallianwala Massacre - myth was exposed.

3. Gandhian

truth. Satyagraha persistence, adherence.
• mass struggle.
• non violence.

Range of satyagrah
hartal

non-cooperation.

Rowlat Act: Satyagraha Sabha.

Non cooperation movement

Civil Disobedience movement

Quit India Movement $\leftarrow$ not a typical gandhian movement.
radicalisation of Gandhi

Champanan, Kheda, Ahmedabad. force of socialistic within INC.
1917 1918 1918

Champanan.

Teen Kathia System 3/20 Indigo plantation.

synthetic indigo no demand for Indian indigo

1st defiance by Gandhi

1st Civil Disobedience of Gandhi

Ahmedabad

w.r.t. mill workers

1st hunger strike.

13/11/14

Kheda

famine

1st non-cooperation

Political Struggle under Gandhi $\Rightarrow$ Satyagraha

- Non-cooperative - Khilafat Movement
- Constructive Programme
- Salt Satyagraha / Civil Disobedience
- Quit India Movement

Rowlatt Act (Black Bill).



Satyagraha Movement



Jalianwala Bagh Massacre ^{Khi} April 1919



Hunter Commission

Khilafat Issue.

Rowlatt Act After WWI

- curbing freedom of speech
- arbitrary arrest

Jalianwala Bagh

Political gathering peaceful

killed 379 1005

myth of ^{British Rule.} interest of Indian exposed.

2 ways of British

trial of

Commission formation.

NCM fundamentally found on following ^{objectives.} ~~issues.~~

- with Punjab wrongs

- Khilafat issue.

- Swaraj (dominion status next poorna Swaraj) | Lahore

1st movement under direct leadership of Gandhi
Pan India.

NCM vs. CD vs. CD

- not cooperation with govt.
by govt. extended boycott
- in tune with principle of non violence

- defying law
- not something that my conscience does not permit me to do.

Henry David Thore
1st talked about CD (US)

NCM (1920 - 22)

- success i.t.o. involvement of masses.
- 1st time women participation, students, peasants, workers.

1922 - Chauri Chaura (U.P.)

movement took violent turn

Gandhi instantly abolished the movement without any consultation.

Why withdrawal of movement after Chauri Chaura incident.

- Against the non violent principle, the core part of strategy of Satyagraha.
- signs of exhaustion, mass mov. can't be sustained for a long time.

To take pause & reenergise the masses.

- Khilafat issue became irrelevant.
- Repression by Britishers
- strong enemy, can't fight with violence.

Turkey.
Mustafa Kamel Pasha

Marxist critique - Gandhi a bourgeois

Gandhi - Starting the NCM was my Himalayan blunder.

People not prepared.

they don't know what is satyagraha. (no violence)

Trial after incident.

Charges of sedition on Gandhi

Gandhi - I accept all charges. 6 yrs imprisonment

Rule of law,
can't go above law.

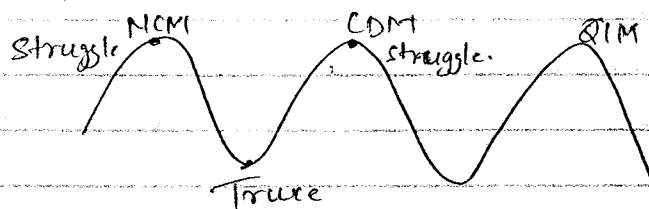
Indication to masses what does it mean ^{to be} + Satyagrahi.

1922 - 25 Jail.

after.

Constructive Programme ∘

Struggle - Truce - Struggle Strategy



"Truce"

- corrections of things ~~for~~ within us.

Swaraj within us as well. (within society, within individual).

- Hindu Muslim unity
- Abolition of untouchability (Harijan campaign, after 1932 ^{Poona Pact})
- Women empowerment
- Action against liquor
- Self reliance of villages. (Khadi, charkha).
- Sanitation campaign

Sarvodaya - upliftment of all (untouchables, women, etc.)

Gandhi + violence = Marx

Marx - Gai

Theory of Trusteeship

- Property owners are only trustees.
property is for others.
- to appeal to conscience of 'capitalist class.

Bhudan
movement

reconciliation betⁿ Capitalists & workers. issue
& fight against imperialism.

last man in row
should be served
by god.

Salt Satyagraha / Civil Disobedience

- Simon Commission 1927



Motilal/Nehru Report



14 points of Jinnah



Calcutta session 1928 (Demand for dominion status to be ^{granted} met within 1 year)



Lahore session 1929 (Demand for Poorna Swaraj).

Simon Commission 1927

- no Indian

Lala Lajpat Rai - killed death.

1929 scheduled but in 1927

conservative party in England, foreseeing defeat.

Labour Party consent party towards Indians.

Challenge to form constitution.

reply Nehru Report

first attempt to draft future of India.

- arrangement of states on linguistic basis

- secularism

- dominion status not poorna swaraj.

not diarchy.

responsible govt. at centre as well as provinces.

British above.

India Independence League with Congress by young section.

- separate electorate to be replaced by joint electorate.

Opposed by Jinnah.

← →
secular 1929

Nehru report - young & muslims dissatisfied.

Your majesty must wear for himself & me also.

Article 14: accept dominion status. if not poorna swaraj
poorna swaraj.

- mass & non violent movement
- organised form

Dandi March. Civil Disobedience.
why salt: not b
expose inhumanity of British administration.
most base thing.

CD = NCM + breaking of law

breaking of hegemony ← salt
N.W.F.P. det soldiers defied order to shoot
at Indians.

British - 1st time they realised that negotiations are needed.

Gandhi - Irwin Pact Gandhi invited to London for Round Table Conf.
Erosion of invincibility.

Article
Salt Satyagraha. Kindergarten

1st RTC - no congress participation

Failure.
2nd RTC - no talk on poorna swaraj

British: congress do not represent complete India.
minority rights

After 2nd RTC - McDonald Award

Separate electorate for minorities. untouchables.

Gandhi Ambedkar,
Revolutionary.

Separate electorate - institutionalisation of
reserved constituency is separate electorate

Quit India

Radicalisation ~~with~~ in Gandhi do or die.

1940 - individual satyagraha.

last opportunity to British to grant poorna swaraj.

- Economic hardship of WWII.
- Japanese invasion

Cripps Commission : granting dominion status. after WWII.

- leaderless movement

all leaders put in jail in single day.

- Usha Mehta - underground radio
- parallel govt.
 - ← Satara (Mah.)
 - ← Tamruk (W.B.)
 - ← Baliga (U.P.)

4. Revolutionary

changers & non changers.

enter council. go with Gandhi

constructive prog.

3rd sec. not happy with above 2.

violent

By any means.
Malcolm A

- Kakori loot 1925 - HRA. } change in ideology
- Sandet's Assassination 1928 - HSRA
- Bomb explosion in Central Assembly Delhi

Bhagat Singh, Batukeshwar Dutt

It takes a loud voice to make deaf hear.

characteristically determined
intension not to run but

h - ve

- not mass movement
- Britishers curbed individual incidents.

tre.

Spirit of nationalism, patriotism in masses.

Nehru - Fabian socialism Bhagat Singh. Revolutionism.
Subhash Chandra Bose - in betⁿ ends & means.
Addressed Gandhi as 'Father of Nation'

Workers Movement

- All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) 1920 under
Lala Lajpat Rai - linked capitalism & imperialism.
- Gandhi's Trusteeship theory.
- Trade Union Act, 1926.

Legal recognition to trade union

con. registration & regulation of trade unions.

- Karachi Session of Congress 1931.

defⁿ of Swaraj for workers, peasants.

Swaraj not just about political ind.

(socio-economic)
but also about social upliftment of workers & peasants.

- Reduction of rent & revenue
to zamins to British.

waiving/foregoing of agricultural debt

serious of

working condⁿ of workers class.

Peasants Movements.

- 1918 U.P. Kisan Sabha under Baba Ramchandra.

- 1920 Awadh Kisan Sabha

- 1936 All India Kisan Sabha under Swami Sahai and Nand Saraswati,
N.G. Ranga, Indulal Yagnik.

- 1936 Faizpur session.

AIKS + INC joint session at Faizpur 1936
& first rural session

Dr. Suraj Suryawanshi

dr. suraj.suryawanshi@gmail.com radical
democrat

strict conversion to
his principles.

(II)

9013297783

Significance.

- interest of peasants integral to national interest.
- influence of socialistic elements.

Gandhi wanted everybody !

- strengthened the national freedom struggle by including peasants into the fold of Indian freedom struggle.
- 1931 Karachi session.

Earlier, peasant mov.

localised mov.

narrow objectives.

Imp. peasant movements.

- Eka movement (unity) (U.P.) 1921
- Mappila ~~Revolt~~ Revolt 1921 (Kerala). violent.
- Bardoli Satyagraha 1928 Sardar Patel
- Telangana
- Tibagha