Chapter - I

INTRODUCTION
Chapter - I

INTRODUCTION

There is no gain-saying that nationalism is one of the most favourite and recurrent themes in Indian English Fiction. The authors have depended on the fictionalization of the history of Indian Freedom Struggle both as source of inspiration and as a materials for evolving the theme of nationalism for their works and considered the history of Freedom Struggle as a perennial source. This becomes evident from the study of early novels like K. S. Venkataramani's Murugan the Tiller (1927), Kandan the Patriot (1932) to comparatively recent ones like Mukul Kesavan's Looking Through Glass, (1995) for they dwell upon the freedom struggle in one way or the other.

Though the theme of nationalism or Freedom Struggle is oft-repeated, the tendency of the novelists from the beginning to the present is not governed by homogeneity. The response to the freedom struggle from generation to generation is characterized by diversity for the tendency exhibited in the novels of different generations is explicitly varied. G.N. Devy notes in this regard: "Earlier in the century Nationalism was a great force in Indian literature. During the sixties and the seventies the disillusionment about it set in producing literature of disillusionment."
During the eighties, nationalism was a dead theme.¹ Hence it obviously calls for a detailed examination of the works of different generations to understand whether there is a genuine shift of attitude from generation to generation, and if so how they are manifested and the probable reasons for such a changed attitude. While pondering over this a viable topic for the present research emerged which reads as: "The Treatment of Freedom Struggle in Indian English Fiction: A Study of Changing Perspectives".

Aims and objectives: As stated earlier, the aims and objectives of the proposed study is to trace the change in the perception towards the notion of Freedom Struggle by analyzing the treatment meted out to the theme of nationalism, the ways and manners the change is exhibited and why such change has occurred from one generation to the next.

Characterization: The thesis is divided into eight chapters. The first chapter is entitled Introduction in which the topic of thesis Aims and Objectives, and a survey of the freedom struggle have been incorporated. The core study is further divided into three parts each consisting of two chapters.

In Chapter Two in Part One, Raja Rao's Kanthapura is taken up for a detailed study. An attempt is made to trace how the theme of freedom
struggle has been dealt with. It is presumed that the narrative glorifies the transformation of freedom struggle into a National Movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

In Chapter Three, R.K. Narayan's *Waiting for the Mahatma* is selected for a thorough analysis. It is assumed that *Waiting for the Mahatma* too, enables the transformation of freedom struggle into a mass movement with a mixture of romance.

On the basis of the analysis, it is concluded that both these novels celebrate the yeoman service rendered by Mahatma Gandhi in transforming the Freedom Struggle into a real people's movement with his spiritualistic image. Besides, the writers' affinity with Mahatma Gandhi and nationalism is understood as being the major factor for them to perceive the notion of freedom struggle in a traditional and sentimental way.

In Chapter Four in Part two, Khushwant Singh's *Train to Pakistan* is chosen for examination. In this novel partition has been seen as a twin brother of freedom. The merits and demerits caused by the partition are emanated from the freedom for partition is a pre-condition for obtaining freedom. In this sense, the narrative is presupposed to regard freedom as bane for it depicts that peace in socio and religious aspects of Indians has
been jeopardized by the twins freedom-partition. Hence the tendency towards freedom struggle is marked by a change from glorification to disillusion.

In Chapter Five in Part Two, Chaman Nahal's *Azadi* is analysed. The analysis brings out that Freedom paved the way for partition and partition for violence of all sorts. In the eruption of violence, the principle of non-violence, which was thought to have won freedom, is defeated. The defeat of non-violence is a set-back to freedom. In this sense, the response of the narrative to freedom struggle is not that of triumph but of disillusion.

Both these novels dwell upon the unfortunate consequences of Freedom-Partition upon the people who are made to lose their freedom the second time in their so-called free land. The authors are not only witnesses of the violence that emanated at the advent of Independence but also victims. Their sensibility has been greatly affected by the violence during the phase of partition. As a result, their response to the Freedom Struggle is characterized not by an appreciation of the freedom struggle but by agony and fury.

Chapter Six in Part Three proposes to study Salmon Rushdie's *Midnight's Children*. It purports to account for the treatment of the notion
of freedom, which has been dealt with in the narrative of the biography of the three generations of the protagonist Saleem Sinai. The portrayal of the national movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi is examined at the beginning during the pre-independence then the state of affairs of free India during the tenure of Jawaharlal Nehru’s prime ministership is studied. Finally the state of the notion of freedom during the regime of Mrs. Gandhi and Morarji Desai has been accounted for with a special emphasis on the Mrs. Gandhi’s declaration of emergency. In this regard, it is assumed that the ideology of freedom struggle in general and the concept of freedom in particular are regarded to be extinct.

Chapter Seven in Part Three deals with Shashi Tharoor’s *The Great Indian Novel*. It aims at exposing the tendency of the text towards the national leaders of both the pre-Independence and post-Independence periods. The study highlights that such nationalists as Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose and Mohammed Ali Jinnah are portrayed disgracefully. The writers’ mistrust in them as earnest nationalists is exposed in the study. In the post-Independence India, the degradation of the hard-won-Freedom during the tenure of Ms. Gandhi and Morarji Desai is exposed. On the basis of this it is conceded that freedom struggle and freedom are dead themes in *The Great Indian Novel*.
Chapter Eight is entitled Conclusion which is divided into two parts. In the first part, the study undertaken in all the six preceding chapters is summed up. In the second part, an attempt is made to show how the treatment of freedom struggle among the three generations has undergone a sea change. Besides, the probable factors that are responsible for shaping the sensibility of these three generations for causing such variation towards the theme of freedom struggle are traced which, in turn, serves as the conclusion to the study.
THE HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL BACKGROUND

An attempt is made to provide a glimpse of this movement to see the role of Mahatma Gandhi because the text shows Mahatma Gandhi as being involved in that event, and to show how many lives have been sacrificed in order to strengthen the movement till the advent of Gandhi.

The war of Independence is said to have originated in the mutiny that broke out in 1857. It is called The Great Rebellion movement in Indian History. It is a joint venture of Bhaddur Shah II and Nana Sahib, which gave birth to the early struggle for independence. In order to win the confidence of the Hindus, Bhaddur Shah II declared that 'cow slaughter' was banned and that he was ready to lay down his crown if it was required to strengthen their struggle. Though it could not succeed in its objective, it was regarded as the 'National rising' and precursor of the 'Quit India Movement of 1942'. As this struggle failed, the country continued to be ruled by the British through the Viceroy. During the period between 1862 and 1899 seven viceroys ruled the country on behalf of the crown.

Though the concept of nationality and patriotism was known among the Indians throughout their history, the period from 1876 to 1884 was the seedtime of Indian nationalism. The Delhi Durbar of 1877, the vernacular
press Act of 1878, the introduction of the Ilbert Bill, the flag of racialism hoisted by Europeans were not just witnessed by the patriots idly. They condemned them in various ways. Nationalism was nursed in the acts of Madame Blavabish Col. Olcott and Mrs. Annie Besant to establish the Theosophical Society, which worked towards unifying ancient religions Hinduism, Zoroastrianism and Buddhism.

Then Indian National Congress, formally known as 'Indian National Union', started to organize its sessions, with a strong willpower, to discuss their strategies of struggle against the British. The members of the Indian Nation Congress were called 'MODERATES'. In course of time the Muslims withdrew their support form the Indian National Congress.

In the year 1907, there occurred a split in the Indian National Congress during its session at Surat. It was divided into Moderates and Extremists. The latter consisted of the younger generation led by the 'Lion' Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak. There were Lala Lajapat Ray, Sardar Ajit Singh, B.C. Pal etc.

Besides his perpetual struggle in the movement, Tilak suffered financial loss too as he lost three lakhs in his suit filed against Valentine Chirol for his defamatory statements in his book 'Indian Unrest' and his imprisonment in (Burma) Mandalay. But he did not lose his spirit in the
struggle against the British. The movement gained momentum as people from all as of life started participating in the struggle.

The development of anti-British tendency from abroad also contributed to the strength of the movement. The birth of the Indian National Army, the Ghadar party in the USA posed a threat to the British rule in India. The inspiration came from Karl Marx, Engel and the call Inqlab Zindabad Victory to Revolution! to the struggle. The fourteen points of president Wilson of the United States of America and Tilak’s release from the jail caused panic to the British rulers in India. At the juncture the most unfortunate Jalianwala Bagh incident took place about which A Concise Encyclopaedia of Indian History accounts: “On 13th April 1919, at Jalianwala Bagh in Amristar, General Dyer fired 1600 rounds upon the crowd numbering 6000 to 10,000, more than 600 people were killed and about 1500 injured.”

In the next year, one more tragedy occurred which took the valorous leader away from the struggle. Tilak died on the 2nd of August 1920. But his role in the freedom struggle stands very high: “On 2nd August 1920, Tilak died after laying an unbreakable foundation for the great anti-Government to be led by Mahatma Gandhi in the next years”.

9
Gandhi emerged as a leader after the death of Tilak. The Indian National Congress started to follow the policy of direction, which Gandhi provided such as Non-Cooperation Movement. Many factors such as the tragedy of Jalianwala Bagh, the Martial Law, the Hunter Commission, brought about a change in Gandhi’s attitude towards the British. Gandhi’s support to Khilafat movement won the Muslim community back to the National Movement.

The Civil-Disobedience Movement spread like a wild fire across the country. The British took repressive measures in arresting the rebels. As a result, violence broke out in which as many as 3000 died in Chauri Chaura and similar events in Bombay and Madras also occurred. In order to uphold his doctrine ‘Ahimsa’, Gandhi suspended the Non-Cooperation movement at once in 1922. Some of the forefront leaders did not approve Gandhi’s decision:

The action of Gandhiji in suspending the movement was severely criticized from many quarters. Leaders like Motilal Nehru and Lala Lajpat Rai were very much upset at Gandhi’s decision; and from jail captivity they wrote letters to Gandhiji and took him to task for punishing the whole country for the sins of
few places. They correctly felt that had the movement continued, the British administration, which was completely paralysed, would have surrendered within a few months and given unconditional freedom to India.4

However, Gandhiji's political mission was not to win freedom through violence but through Satyagraha for which non-violence is a pre-requisite. This non-violence is best displayed in enduring the hardships and punishments. In this sense if there is no victory for Gandhi, there was certainly victory for Gandhism for the people endured the hardships inflicted on them by the British administration.

The moderates followed the method of non-cooperation through legislature. Motilal Nehru took the leadership in this regard. At the Calcutta session of the Congress held in 1928, there was a proposal to pass a resolution of complete independence as the goal of India, which was side-stepped by Gandhi's intervention as: "Gandhiji intervened and dominion states was decided as the goal of India"321 majority of the leaders did not like this"5

Since Gandhi's demand that India should be declared as independent before 1929 was not met, Gandhi was vested with full powers
to launch the Civil Disobedience movement as per his choice. Thus in 1930, he launched a series of programmes like the Salt Satyagraha at Dandi, the boycott of British goods, non-payment of taxes and satyagraha. The Satyagraha Movement became very powerful as people from all walks of life started participating. The government machinery became almost stand still. Again at this crucial moment, Gandhi withdrew the movement completely:

However, at a stage when the political movement seemed to have waned and frustration set in by May 1934, the movement was completely withdrawn by Gandhiji, who also withdrew himself from active politics.6

The ensuing Second World War further weakened the British rule in India. Gandhi’s QUIT INDIA-DO or DIE-NOW OR NEVER, and Indian National Army under Subhash Chandra Bose paralysed the British Raj in India. In England, the defeat of Churchill by the labour leader Attlee and his subsequent realization that it was impossible for the British power, which was reduced to nullity and impotency, to hold India under British domination any longer. Thus on 19th September 1945, the British
government declared the grant of self government to the Indians on 2nd September 1946, Jawaharlal Nehru formed the Interim Government.

The Muslim League insisted on partition of the country. The Indian Independence Act was passed in July 1947 and Common Wealth Relation office was set up. India became Independent on 15th August 1947, but partitioned into tow as Dominion of India and Dominion of Pakistan.

Hyman Kubli states that “The intruders from the middle East founded new kingdom in northern and, later, central India to which the Islamic faith and way of life were successfully transplanted.” Therefore to understand how ‘Pakistan’ came into being, the knowledge of the various phases through which ‘Pakistan’ evolved becomes a prerequisite. Hence, a brief note on the history of the evolution of Pakistan from the time of intruders.

The end of the Gupta Empire marks the beginning of the invasion of Islamic faith because a few years after the fall of the Gupta Empire, the entire Middle East was rocked by the warrior-disciples of Mohammed the prophet. Though the initial expeditions of the Arab Muslims were not successful, the state of Sindh was taken over by them by 712. The group consisted of the Muslim of Afghans and Turks and this period is called ‘India’s period of Muslim domination’.
They were followed by Mahmud Ghazani whose invasion into India is called 'Holy war against Hinduism'. He launched 17 devastating expeditions into North India. Mahmud expanded the tiny kingdom of Ghazani into a great empire. He and his Turkish and Afghan soldiers terrorized Hindu and Buddhist priests, killed many of them and broke of idols. What is to be noted here is that this phase rendered a remarkable service to implant the Islamic faith in Indian soil, because it is stated that Mahmud’s conquests brought the Islamic faith to India to stay.

After Ghazni, Muhmud Ghori was a strong invader. He came from a line of Afghan rulers. He conquered all the Indian territory, which was once under Ghazin’s empire. He could make assault North Indian Kingdom too. Like Ghazni, he never preferred staying in India because of which he returned to his capital in Afgh asnistan giving his generals the task of securing his conquests in India. The importance of his role lies in the fact that the Muslim rule was extended over most of North India within a few years, which in turn strengthened the ‘root’ of the Islamic faith in India.

Aybek, the most trusted general of Muhammhad, gave rise to the Delhi Sultanate, which lasted for about 320 years (1206-1526). Since the rule was carried out in the absence of the emperor and it was a
government of foreign dynasties, there were a lot of internal conflicts. There were conspiracies for power among themselves has a result of the rule became untenable. It is stated that 34 monarchs sat upon the throne at Delhi during that period. But their conquests increased by their penetration into the Deccan and southern most part of peninsula. Along with the expansion of the empire, the Sultans also spread the Islamic faith into the far South: “Wherever the soldiers of the Sultans went, they zealously sowed the seeds of their Islamic faith.” The rule of Sultans was affected by Tamerlane and Mongols descendant.

The revival of Muslim rule and Islamic faith occurred in the emergence of the Mughals. During the Mughal regime, the Portuguese started building their commercial empire in India. Babur, a descendant of both Genghis Khan and Tamerlane, led three expeditions into India. In his fourth expedition, he put an end to the rule of sultans by defeating them. He captured Delhi. Babur’s grandson Akbar added glory to his grand father’s empire. It is said that during Akbar’s regime, the forces of the Mughal Empire seldom lost a battle. Akbar was sympathetic towards other faiths. He founded a religion called ‘Divine Faith’.
Akbar's successors were Jahangir and Shah Jahan. They emulated their illustrious predecessor in many ways. They won the confidence of the Hindus by granting court. They were patrons of arts.

The next successor was Aurangzeb. He differed from his predecessor in many respects. He had no passion for arts. So he dismissed all the artists in the court. He was a very orthodox and fanatic Muslim. He cancelled the benefits given to the Hindus during the previous regimes. Though he was a great warrior and conqueror, he had no sympathy for other religious. His rule witnessed a mass conversion from other faiths into Islam.

The Indian subcontinent ruled by the followers of the teachings of Mohammed the prophet, the founder of Islamic religion. The influence of Islam was expanding through various modes like their kingdom in the northern and central India, their highly developed Muslim philosophy, literature, art, architecture etc. The Islamic influence made Indian civilization more complex than ever before. Indians life was subjected to many tensions due to the confrontation of Islam and Hinduism. The issue of segregation between the two was unsolved for many centuries, which served as irritants in relationship between the two religious communities. These conflicts were compounded during the sixteenth century when the
Muslim regime of the Mughals dominated a large portion of the Indian continent.

However, the force of Islam can be traced during the eleventh and twelfth century in India. Since it is an alien faith Islam was faced with the continuing challenge to its separate existence posed by the powerful absorptive influences of Hindu culture. Efforts were made to maintain and to spread the Islamic faith through the recruitment of preachers and scholars as well as soldiers and administrators from the west. Sufi teachers are regarded as the most successful Muslim missionaries. It does not mean that the expansion of Islam in India was a smooth sail. The problems were also equally of considerable amount. While the conversion from other faiths into Islam multiplied the size of the Islam population, Islam could not succeed in retaining its original nature, as the converts were not ready to give up the ritual demands of their former orders. This affected the integrity of the faith for Islam's character is egalitarian and non hierarchic. Despite the fact Islam's presence in India can be traced from the sixth century, Islam remained a minority religion. The cultural intercourse between Hinduism and Islam posed a threat to the orthodox Muslims. Those who tried to eliminate it suffered a set back and those Muslim rulers who tried to impose the strict observance of the Shariah on
the non-Muslim society were rejected. This seems to be a blessing in disguise because such an act of the Emperor Aurangzeb was considered as one of the causes for the collapse of the Mughal Empire. The successive British rule paved the way for the reorganization of Islam religion in India as noted by Wheeler:

The outset of British period in India, ending the era of Muslim rule in the subcontinent, therefore saw the first stirrings of the reform movement within Islam, which sought to reassert the identity of the community against their neighbours of other faiths.

The overthrow of Muslim political power by the forces of the English East India company between 1757 and 1857 profoundly transformed the role of Islam in the subcontinent.9

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-1898) is a noted personality who provided the necessary leadership for the reform of Indian Islam and the reconciliation of the community with the British. He was very diplomatic in his strategy to win the hearts of the British for he visualized the future of Islam community required the sympathetic attitude of the British towards them. Wheeler describes him as:
The scion of a noble family, Syed Ahmd remained faithful to the British during the Mutiny. Recognizing that violent political action against the British was useless and that intellectual rejection of European ideas was dangerous in that it weakened the community's defenses, he resolved on a program of intellectual and educational reconstruction. This program involved three points: reconciliation with the government; adoption of the good in western ideas through English education; and abstention from politics for the foreseeable future.10

Sir Sayed was instrumental in laying the foundation for the future of the Muslim community through various methods. His writings on the relationship between the Bible and the Quran, his emphasis on modern education, his founding of colleges like the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental college at Aligare, conferences, like All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference and movements like Aligrah Movement did not only gain the sympathy of the united Indian Patriotic Association in 1888 and the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Defence Association 1893 understanding of the British, but also spread the consciousness of Islam and the future of the
Muslim community. Therefore it may not be wrong to state that Sir Syed Ahmed was the modern progenitor of 'Pakistan'.

Sayyid Mahdi Ali and Aga Khan pursued the path of Sir Syed as his successors after the death of Sir Syed. They pleaded with the Viceroy Lord Minto at Simla to provide special representation for Muslims in the future constitutional arrangements. Following the policy of Sir Syed Ahmed, the Muslim League pleaded for separate communal electorates against the principle of straightforward election as a means of representation in India. They rejected the Indian National Congress. Though Gandhiji won the support of the Muslims through his 'Khilafat' campaign, it did not last long which is stated as follows:

The Hindu-Muslim unity carefully constructed by Gandhi the aegis of the Congress-Khilafat alliance began to collapse even before the termination of the non-cooperation movement.11

The event of rebellion of Moplahs in Kerela in 1921 caused friction between the members of Muslim and Hindu Congress, Gandhiji appeal for the closure of Aligrah Muslim University and Islamia College in Lahore was regarded as a betrayal of the work of Sir Syed by the Muslims who felt depressed and the tension between the Hindu and the Muslim ultimately
led to the crack in the bondage between Gandhi and Khilafat leaders like Mohammed Ali and Shaukat Ali in September 1924. The Muslim League, in the same year, reemerged with greater vigour and vibrancy as an independent political force, which subsequently disconnected its tie with the Congress totally.

Mohammed Ali Jinnah, a Karachi born Bombay barrister, took the leadership of the Muslim League in 1924, though his association with it can be traced as far back as 1913. Jinnah, as a nationalist and constitutionalist, sought his goals through the manipulation and transformation of existing institutions.

Having realized that there was no scope for the minorities in the system of ministerial government despite its sanction of separate communal electorates, the Muslim League in its session in Lahore in 1924 under the Presidency of Jinnah passed a resolution that no bill or resolution affecting a community should be adopted if it is opposed by three-quarters of the representatives of that community and their a federal system with full and complete autonomy was essential.

Jinnah’s efforts to build a new Congress-League alliance met with failure for various reasons. The committee under Pandit Motilal Nehru meant to report on the principles of a constitution for India as required by
Lord Birkenhead was regarded the principal spokesman for the Muslim League in the Hindu. All Parties Convention in Calcutta in 1928, was disappointed because his proposals for reconciliation, generosity and vanity were in vain as the delegates challenged Jinnah to speak for Muslims and rejected all his proposals.

Jinnah, who having decided to renounce politics, left for London returned to India in 1933 obliging his colleagues call, and the divided Muslim league is reunited under his leadership. The League also did not approve the Government of India Act of 1935, which was already rejected by the Congress. Both of them repudiated the federal part of the constitution as fundamentally bad because of the large voice it gave to the authoritarian Indian princes.

Under the leadership of Jinnah, efforts were made to unite all Muslim factions with the hope that their unified voice could gain greater respect and faced the provincial elections of 1937. The Muslim League and the Congress together come to a compromise in contesting the elections, as the former had assured its cooperation with the latter.

The Muslim League made a poor performance by winning only 108 seats out of the total 482 seats. The Congress made a sweeping victory and agreed to accept to leave the special powers with the governance. As the
Congress had won greater number of seats, it began to betray the Muslim League by imposing its creed in the selections of Muslims for the government. Jawarhalal Nehru’s behaviour was a turning point in the politics of the Muslim League since it forced Jinnah to project Muslim community not as minority but as a nation. It is stated that:

Jawarhalal Nehru, expressed in a public exchange with Jinnah in early 1937, “that there are only two forces in India today-British imperialism and the Congress representing Indian nationalism.” This refusal to take the League seriously brought the inevitable response from Jinnah: “There is a third party in this country and that is the Muslims. We are not going to be dictated to by anybody.”

It was one of the strong factors to sow the seed of national identity and transformation of political struggle from claiming rights to claiming a nation for the Muslims.

The Congress adopted new strategies to woo the Muslim masses to its fold. Though it gave a momentary victory, it also instigated the League leaders to organize in the stronger lest the League would be split. At the Lucknow session in 1937, the league turned its back on cooperation with
the Congress and launched its own mass contact campaign. The acts of the Congress such as hoisting of the Congress banner as the national flag on public buildings, the signing of Vande Mataram as the national anthem, the quasi-religious veneration given to pictures of Gandhi in the schools, the emphasis on Hindu at the expense of Urdu, and other sorts of favoritism annoyed the League leaders who denounced the Muslim members of Congress cabinet and attacked the governors for failing to use their reserved powers to protect the Muslims.

Despite the opposition from the Congress, Gandhi and the series of communal violence across the country, the League was bent upon the partition of the country at any cost. Though the British Prime Minister Attlee set June 1948 as the dead line for the transfer of power to one or more successor authorities in India, the events in the home land increased the pace and the independence was declared in advance as stated below:

The new viceroy, who had taken office on March 22, concluded that prompt partition and a transfer of power to two successor dominions was the only solution. On June 3 in London and Delhi the plan for the transfer of power was announced, and on the following day Mountbatten revealed that it would take
place in little more than two months, on August 15, 1947.\textsuperscript{13}

The Congress accepted the solution to the issue of partition with a strong sense of regret hoping against the hope that the partition would be short-lived. The time witnessed one of the worst tensions brewing in many places and a new constituent Assembly was elected and it met in Karachi on August 10, and at midnight four days later, amid upheaval and slaughter in Punjab it came formally into being.

Though the duration taken for attainment of the goal seems to be as short as seven years from the time of the adoption of Lahore Resolution, the credit must. In the consequent elections, the Congress suffered a setback but the League fared well. There was a reorganization of uniting various Muslim parties across the country. Jinnah who was acclaimed an undisputed leader of the Muslim community, demanded for a federal system by realizing that the democratic parliamentary system of government was unsuited to India. He also put forth that the League was the sole representative organization of the Muslims when there was only constitutional problems. When the Congress did not approve it, the gulf between the two was further widened.
Another person whose contribution to prevail the Islamic consciousness was Sir. Muhammad Iqbal who is known for his personality as poet-Philosopher. He addressed the Muslim mass the motivated them to fight for separate state for Muslims. He articulated the Muslim community as a nation: “Iqbal said that the Muslims had such distinct characteristic that they were a nation”.

The same concept was adopted during the Round Table Conference and the Young Muslims at Cambridge rendered their full support. The idea was accepted in the Muslim League Circle. Though there were two names for the new state in contemplation such as ‘Muslim homeland’ and Muslim India, the choice of the Cambridge Youth for the state as ‘Pakistan’ was unanimously accepted. Go all from the Islamic invaders to Jinnah. The road that led to the formation of Pakistan was not a bed of roses but full of struggle and sacrifice of numerous followers of Islamic faith. The spirit of endurance was received from the Quran and the faith in Islam. Throughout the history from the years of invasions to the day of partition, the ideal that was used as the source of inspiring and integrating the Muslim mass was the unflinching faith in Islam without which the movement would have fallen prey to the divide and rule strategy and disintegrated. The name ‘Pakistan’ also bears the meaning of religion as it
is interpreted as the land of God or the Land of Holiness or Land of the pure. The leaders of the League gave promise to the Muslim mass that their faith would be protected.

Long accustomed to consider faith irrelevant to politics, the international community was started in August 1947 to witness the birth of a state founded to provide a homeland for a nationality defined primarily in terms of religious belief.\(^{15}\)

The communal disturbances and violence occurred on the unprecedented scale, both in Hinduism and in Pakistan, due to Direct Action followed by the Muslim League which caused murders, destruction to property by loot and arson valued at several thousand crores of rupees, criminal assaults on several lakhs of women and mass exodus of Hindu-Muslim population from their recently formed countries made Gandhi very gloomy. He recommended the government to pay 60 crores of rupees as the share to Pakistan. One Hindu fanatic by name Nathuram Godse felt that Gandhi was responsible for the partition of the country. In his fury, he gunned Gandhi down when he was on his prayer mat in Delhi on 30\(^{th}\) January 1948.
The next political history that the text has liberally deployed is the political history of the congress party with major emphasis on Indira Gandhi's Emergency and Sanjay Gandhi's 'Family Planning Programme' and the 'Clean Delhi'. Hence a brief note on them.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi was able to bypass Mr. Morarji Desai to the position of Prime Minister after the time of Lal Bahadur Shastri's death in 1966, by leading the Congress Party to win the Fourth General Election in 1967. During the proceedings of the proposal, Mr. Jagjivan Ram called her the 'architect of the mid-term election'. The Congress party under the leadership of Mrs. Indira Gandhi won 352 seats out of 518 seats, which shows the growth of Mrs. Gandhi's image from the previous election in which the party won 279 out of 520 seats in 1967 in the fourth General Election.

The renowned congressmen like Jagjivan Ram, Y.B. Chavan and R.P. Sinha attributed the victory of Fifth General Election to Mrs. Gandhi. It was termed as 'Mrs. Gandhi's era'. In 1971, the country witnessed the rising 'Indira-Wave' which brought an unprecedented victory to the Mrs. Indira Gandhi party. Ironically, victory of Mrs. Indira Gandhi was challenged by her opponent Mr. Raja Naraian. A historic verdict was given on 13th June 1975 Mr. Justice Jag Mohan Lal Sinha of Allahabad High Court
set aside election of Mrs. Indira Gandhi to Lok Sabha from Rai Bareli and further disqualified her from contesting any election for a period of six years on the ground of corrupt practices in her election campaign.

Consequently, all the opposition parties and various other leaders demanded her resignation. On the moral ground too, the demand for her resignation was justifiable as the value of Indian Rupee fell to 25 paise only in 1974 at the base level of 1962. The materials were very costly that all essential commodities by this time had registered double-triple rise in prices. So the people also supported the opposition parties in their demand for her stepping down. As she had discouraged the second line leadership in the party, she approached the Supreme Court to get her appeal against High Court verdict. Finally, she imposed the internal emergency on 26th June, 1975. This action is viewed by a historian Prachand as Mrs. Gandhi's selfishness: “For the sake of self, she brought the entire nation into a state of despair, pessimism and suffocation.”

Like a totalitarian and dictator, she misused her political authority to suppress the opponents, and the supporters of her rivals. To mention a few who were arrested by her orders, were J.P. Narayan, Morarji Desai, A.B. Vajpayee, Chandrashekar, George Fernandes, Lawrence Fernandes. J.P. Narayan was made to undergo the severest agony which damaged his
health as given below: "This mental torture adversely affected the age old
leader Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan whose both kidneys were destroyed."17

The MISA and DIR had not spared the cine artists as well. Snehalata
Reddy a theatre and cine actress in Bangalore, was detained and put to
torture for the simple reason that she was an intimate friend of George
Fernandes. Her whole family was put to suffering. Above all, Snehalata,
who was taken under detention, was returned to her family only as dead.
Kishore Kumar, the then popular Hindi actor, was also forced to co­
operate with the partymen led by Mr. Shukla. As he did not wish to
oblige, he had to fly abroad so as to escape the pressure from the
politicians. Another actor Mr. Shatrughan Sinha had alleged that he
would be implicated in Baroda Dynamite case, if he refused to co-operate
with the Government.

Two more factors of the Emergency must be accounted. They are
concerned with the Youth Congress. Under the leadership of Sanjay
Gandhi:

1. The Family Planning Programme Operation.
2. Clean Delhi Programme.

The advent of Sanjay Gandhi as leader of Youth Congress is a very
important event in the political history of India. As his mother was the
most powerful leader in the Congress party and the Prime Minister, his
misdeeds were ignored by the senior ministers and was hailed as the heir of Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

Mr. Sanjay Gandhi, in the name of Reforms, was very particular in the implementation of the Family Planning Programme, which was to sterilize the parents who had more than three children, and transforming the capital city into the 'clean city' at the cost of the displacement of several slum dwellers around the capital.

It was alleged that all the state governments were instructed to implement the scheme and achieve the set target by hook or by crook. There were also serious warnings against those who would fail to abide the instruction. It appeared as if the end was more important than the means. As a result, a huge number of innocent people were victimized. Pranchand writes about this as:

There are solid proofs that at many places, buses were stopped on the highways, passengers were dragged out and irrespective of their age, dignity or martial status were forcibly sterilized...

A number of cases have come to the notice of public where even young bachelors were sterilized (many such cases are now being heard by different courts of
law and a number of others forcibly sterilized are under process of re-canalisation in big hospitals, specially in Bombay). The old men of over sixty were not spared. What a pity that an aged widow in a village of Bihar was forcibly operated upon, and the pious lady thereafter, committed suicide since her body was touched by third persons. Another woman named Saidan was reported to have been shot dead by police in Meerut since she obstructed the officials from sterilizing her only son who was still a bachelor.18

With due apology to C.D. Narashimhaiah, it can be said that what has happened in Delhi has happened all over India. This Family Planning, which is inclusive of the Five Point Programme, is regarded as 'the operation-blind' and the 'operation massacre'. There is nothing wrong with the concept of family planning in a country like India where the population growth is unprecedented anywhere and it is approved by majority in the interest of the nation, but the way in which the Congress government tried to enforce it was unforgettable in the political history of India. That is why the MISA and DIR are satirized as:
People generally interpreted the terms-MISA (Maintenance of Internal Security Act). As Maintenance of Indira – Sanjay Administration and even sharply it was described as Madam Indira says Arrest, DIR (Defence of India Rules) was popularly known as “Defence of Indira Reign.\textsuperscript{19}

On the instructions of Sanjay Gandhi the slums around the capital were removed in order to establish the Clean City Programme. It hurt the feelings of the leaders of Backward communities. Sanjay Gandhi’s plan to open the ‘Maruthi Car Company’ was also severely condemned. A vast land of hundreds of acres was acquisitioned by the government of Haryana near Gurgaon Maruti factory of Sanjay Gandhi. It is stated that a lot of misappropriations had taken in the transaction.

By this time, defection began in the party. Sri Jagajivan Ram came out of both the government and the party by opposing the imposition of Emergency by Mrs. Gandhi. In his letter of resignation, he has pointed out that the country suffered from impotency due to the Emergency:

Therefore it is necessary that the emergencies are not ended, all extraordinary laws are made inoperative and freedom of people are restored so that the entire
nation can be rescued from the state of impotence to
which it has been reduced at present.²⁰

He was followed by a host of other senior congress members to resign from the Congress. To mention a few, Mr. H.N. Bahuguna, Mrs. Nandini Satpathy, K.R. Ganesh etc.

The Congress suffered from blow after blow in the defection of the members of her party. Fakhurddin Ali Ahmed passed away in the same year due to which Mrs. Indira lost a considerable group of Muslim supporters. Mrs. Vijay Laxmi Pandit, sister of late Pt. Nehru and aunt of Smt. Indira, extended her support to Janata party after seven years of her political recluse. With all these anti-Mrs. Gandhi factors, the sixth General Election was held in 1977. The results of the election reflected not only on the totalitarian rule of Mrs. Gandhi but also on Mrs. Gandhi herself. The congress won only 152 seats out of 542 seats. Mrs. Gandhi was defeated by Mr. Raj Narayan in her Rai-Barelly constituency by the margin of one lakh votes. As Mr. Hemavati Nandan Bahuguna rightly predicted, the election of 1977 proved to be Mrs. Gandhi’s ’Waterloo’:

The electoral verdict is a clear chastisement of Mrs. Gandhi. It was in 1971, the people of India saluted her and placed her on the citadel of unassailable power
and glory. She was cited as a goddess, but the absolute powers given to her by the people of India corrupted her absolutely. She betrayed the faith and confidence of the people. The first servant of the people, as she sometimes used to say, first turned a ruler and again a tyrant. In such conditions, the awakened people of India had rightly done, what they were supposed to do, something really harsh. Mrs. Indira Gandhi was fated to meet a grueling defeat and humiliation at the hands of Janata nominee. She is the first Prime Minister to fall headlong so drastically so after attaining the peaks of popularity.\textsuperscript{21}

The Congress party had lost around 200 seats in relation to the performance in the previous election in 1971. It won 152 out 518 in 1977 as against 352 out of 518 in 1971 election. This is due to the anti-Indira and anti-Sanjiva Gandhi wave in the whole nation.

Though Janata Party won in the Sixth General Election with the thumping majority by occupying 298/9 seats out of 542 seats and formed its Government it could not last longer than 28 months. The seed of friction was sown in the selection of the leader of the Janata Parliamentary
Party as there was a race for it among Mr. Morarji Desai, Mr. Jagajivan Ram and Mr. Charan Singh. The two-member committee, which was authorized to recommend a name, finally, chose and declared the name of Mr. Morarji Desai as the leader of the Janata Parliamentary Party.

But the tug of war for the power and authority persisted up to the end of its Government due to which the welfare, governance and interest of the country which these leaders assured as their first priority were ignored:

However, the people who as silent spectators were watching the tumultuous drama of struggle for power, were stunned to recapitulate that they were the very leaders who had taken a pledge only a few days before on March 24, 1977 at the Samadhi of Mahatma Gandhi that they would promote national unity and harmony by working together in a spirit of dedication that his (Gandhiji) life and work imparted.22
REFERENCES


5. Ibid, 321.

6. Ibid, 322.


8. Ibid, 92.


10. Ibid, 8.


12. Ibid, 23.

13. Ibid, 35.


15. Ibid, 1.


17. Ibid, 36.

18. Ibid, 45.

19. Ibid, 35.