In the previous chapter, meaning and definition of nationalism, its emergence in the Western milieu has been explained. The origin and evolution of nationalism and opinion of some scholars and thinkers in this context are also discussed. At the end of the chapter the factors responsible for nationalist feeling are also thoroughly touched. In this chapter, emergence of nationalism in India, factors and organizations responsible for spreading of the Indian National Movement will be discussed along with its manifold implications.

The emergence of national movement of epic dimensions in India, and its culmination in the transfer of power from British into Indian hands, constitute one of the most important historical processes of the twentieth century. The rise of Indian nationalism was the outcome of the action and interaction of numerous social, economic and political forces which evolved during the British period. Medieval Indian society was transformed into a modern national society. During this period of transformation the rise of Indian nationalism, and the nationalist movement in its various forms were the most fascinating developments. The change was brought about together with other causes, by the significant factors: the setting up of new economic institution, modern transport and means of communication, Western education, the
establishment of the press and the instruction of various measures by the British government for the sake of political and administrative unification of India².

It is hazardous to assume that Indian nationalism was a logical historical outgrowth of 19th century political reform activities. As Indian political figures of the late 19th century realized, the earlier political activities in various parts of the country were concerned chiefly with local or provincial issues, they represented the interest of groups which had little sense of identification with the entire nation³. At the beginning of 19th century India came into close contact with a Europe and England that was experiencing these varied forms of nationalism. It is commonly assumed that nationalism in India is a product of English education and the impact of the West. But few scholars are also of this view that Indian nationalism is not mere offspring of modern education but the outcome of the new social material conditions created in India and the new social forces which emerged within the Indian society, as a result of the British conquest. It was the outcome of the objective conflict of interests, the interests of Britain to keep India politically and economically subjected to her and the interests of the Indian people for a free political, economic and cultural evolution by the British rule⁴.

Indian nationalism crystallized as a national movement in the later half of the 19th century. By that time, educated classes grew in the country and, with the rise of Indian Industries, the industrial bourgeoisie came into existence these classes were the organizers of the national movement, which inscribed on its banner. Such demands as Indianization
of services, fiscal autonomy. The movement arose out of the conflict of British and Indian interests in the economic and other spheres. This conflict of interest is the genetic cause of the Indian national movement.

Nationalism in India arose to meet the challenge of foreign domination. The very existence of a foreign rule helped the growth of a national sentiment among the people. And then there was a clash between the British interest in India and the interest of the Indian people. The British came to India to promote their own interests and they ruled over her primarily with that object in view. With the passage of time, there was a realization in India and that realization brought bitterness against foreign rule and that was responsible for the growth of the nationalist movement to drive out the foreigners from the country. All classes of people in India joined at one stage or the other the nationalist movement in the country. The intelligentsia in India, the peasants, the artisans and the workers all played their part in the struggle.

While Indian nationalism emerged as a rival and competitor for power with British imperialism and finally succeeded in supplanting the latter in 1947, it will be wrong to depict these two phenomena as contradictory or antithetical to each other and bent on the destruction of the other. On the contrary, a study of the origins of Indian nationalism would reveal only too clearly that it emerged against the background of changes associated with British imperialism, notably as they impinged upon the political structure, economy and education of the country. It is these changes that set in motion a series of events culminating in the formation of the Indian National Congress. Viewed in this perspective,
imperialism and nationalism represent in effect two related historical processes, one following the other in a temporal, sequence, and between which there exists a casual connection.

2:1. Nationalism in India, and its Main Phases

Indian nationalism passed through various phases of development. As it advanced from one phase to another its social basis broadened, its objective became more clearly defined and bold, and its forms of expression more varied. As a result of the impact of forces of Indian and world development, increasing strata of the Indian people evolved a national consciousness and outlook and were drawn into the orbit of the nationalist movement. This national awakening found expression in varied spheres of national life, social, political and cultural.

First Phase: The first phase of Indian nationalism in the early 19th century was dominated by those who had first come in contact with British education in Calcutta and Bombay. In its very first phase, Indian nationalism had a very narrow social basis. The intelligentsia who were the products of the modern education imparted in the new educational institutions, established by the British in India in the first decades of the 19th century, and who had studied Western culture and greatly assimilated its democratic and nationalist ideas, formed the first stratum of the Indian society to develop a national consciousness and aspirations. Raja Ram Mohan Roy and his group of enlightened Indians were pioneers of Indian nationalism. They were the exponents of the Indian
nation which they propagated among the people. They initiated socio-reform and religio-reform movements which represented endeavours to remould the Indian society and religion in the spirit of the new principle of democracy, rationalism and nationalism. In fact, these movements were the expression of the rising national democratic consciousness among a section of the Indian people.

These founders and first fighters of Indian nationalism stood up for democratic rights, such as the freedom of the press, and out forth demands like the right of the nation to have a voice in the administration of the country.

**Second Phase**: After 1870, when famines and agrarian unrest, trouble between landlords and tenants, between indebted peasants and money-lenders, the agitation for jobs in the civil service, the criticism of British revenue policy in India, the charges of exploitation and of wasteful expenditure on railways and frontier wars provided ample scope for nationalist criticism. The economic changes which had been brought about by several decades of stable British rule now showed their cumulative effect. The pressure on the land had increased and landlords who had to treat their tenants leniently in earlier times when cultivators were scarce, could now enhance their rents as cultivators were competing for the land. Monetization and better communications encouraged the export of food grains and the depletion of stores would cause famines in bad years.
The first phase extended till 1885 and culminated in the rise of the Indian National Congress in that year. The second phase roughly covered the period from 1885 to 1905.

The liberal intelligentsia who were at the helm of the Congress were the leaders of the Indian nationalist movement during the second phase. Their ideology and methods determined the programme and forms of the movement which reflected the interests of the development of the new bourgeoisie society in India. The social basis of this movement was extended during this period to the educated middle class which, by the end of the 19th century had appreciably grown as a result of the expansion of modern education, and to go a section of the merchant class which had developed during this period as a result of the growth of Indian and international trade. Modern industries also grew steadily during this period as a result of which the class of industrialists emerged and began to gain strength. They started orienting towards the congress which adopted the programme of industrialization of the country and in 1905 organized actively the Swadeshi campaign.

The Indian National Congress under the leadership of the Liberals, mainly voiced the demands of the educated classes and the trading bourgeoisie such as the Indianization of services, the association of the Indians with the administrative machinery of the state, the stoppage of economic drain and others formulated in the resolutions of the Indian National Congress. It also set forth such democratic demands as those of representative institutions and civil liberties. Its method of struggle
dominated by liberal Congress was principally constitutional agitation, effective argument, and traditions of the British people.

Since the British government did not satisfy the most vital demands of the Indian nationalist movement, disillusionment set in among a section of the nationalists regarding the ideology and methods of the Liberals, political group, with a new philosophy, political ideology and conception of the methods of struggle, crystallized within the Congress.

Increasing unemployment among the educated middle class youths due to the inability of the social and state apparatus to incorporate them and further, economic misery among the people due to devastating epidemic and famines at the close of the 19th century, created favourable conditions for the growth of the influence of the new group, the extremists. Various unpopular measures during the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, such as the Indian Universities Act and the partition of Bengal further estranged the people from the government and made the politically conscious middle class rally round the extremists who possessed such capable and self-sacrificed leaders as Tilak\textsuperscript{11}, Aurobindo Ghose\textsuperscript{12}, B. C. Pal\textsuperscript{13} and Lajpat Rai\textsuperscript{14}. By 1905, even some of the Liberals began to lose faith in the British government. However, they did not renounce their political philosophy and methodology of struggle.

Political discontent during the second phase, also expresses itself in the growth of the terrorist movement. A small section of nationalist youths organized themselves in terrorist bands and relied upon such
methods as assassination of individual officials and sometimes fomenting of mutinies in the army far achieving political freedom\textsuperscript{15}.

**Third Phase:** The third phase in the development of the nationalist movement extended from 1905 to 1918. During this phase, the Liberals were supplanted by the Extremists as the leaders of the nationalist movement. In spite of the strong government repression, the nationalist movement registered an advance. The political propaganda of the extremists instilled a feeling of national self-respect and self-confidence among the people who instead of looking the British for political freedom as counseled by the Liberals, began to rely on their own strength for achieving it. The movement, however, suffered from the defect that its leaders attempted to base it on a resurrected Hindu philosophy. This, to some extent, mystified the movement and weakened its secular character. It was also one of the reasons why it could not appeal to the Muslims.

During the third phase, the Indian National Movement became militant and challenging and acquired a wider social basis by the inclusion of sections of the lower-middle class. The agitation for Home Rule during wartime further strengthened the political consciousness of the people.

It was during this phase that sections of upper class Muslims developed political consciousness and founded their all-India political organization in 1906, the Muslim League. Due to a number of reasons, the rising political consciousness of the Muslim upper and educated
middle classes addressed more the issues pertaining to Muslims of the country\textsuperscript{16}.

\textbf{Fourth Phase}: The fourth phase in the evolution of the Indian nationalist movement commenced from 1918 and extended roughly up to the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930-4.

One striking development during this phase was that the nationalist movement gained a broad mass basis and added to its arsenal the weapon of direct mass action. The nationalist movement, which was hitherto restricted mainly to upper and middle class, further extended, during this phase, to section of the Indian masses.

There were a number of factors which brought about national awakening among the Indian masses during the years immediately succeeding the war. The post-war economic crisis, the disillusionment about the government promises, and the increased repression by the State, had seriously affected the people including the peasantry and the working class and they were in a state of great ferment.

The great events in the international world such as, a number of democratic revolutions in European countries and the socialist revolution in Russia, had deeply stirred the consciousness of the Indian people. The Home Rule agitation during wartime also had the effect of intensifying and extending political consciousness among the Indian people. The Treaty of Sevres\textsuperscript{17} had offended the Indian Muslims also creating thereby the pre-condition for a united nationalist mass movement.
The Indian capitalist who had become economically stronger during the war as a result of industrial expansion, also, more actively than before, supported the Indian National Congress and the N. C. O. movement started by the latter. The Swadeshi and Boycott slogans of the Congress objectively served the interest of industrialist who financially supported it. Gandhi’s doctrine of class harmony and social peace and his support to the Swadeshi resolution at the Calcutta Congress in 1919 made sections of the Indian bourgeoisie support Gandhi, the Congress and the nationalist movements organized by the Congress under Gandhi’s leadership from this time onward. It was from 1918 that the Indian industrial bourgeoisie began to exert a powerful influence in determining the programme, policies, strategies, tactics and forms of struggle, of the Indian nationalist movement led by the Congress of which Gandhi was the leader.

Another development during this phase was the growth of Socialist and Communist groups in the country. By 1928, these groups in the country initiating independent political and trade union movement of the working class based on the doctrine of class struggle. They further stood for a socialist state of India declaring it as the objective of the Indian nation movement. While in the non-Cooperation Movement, politically conscious workers, who participated in it, lacked an independent class programme, after 1926 those who joined movements like the Simon Commission Boycott and others did so with their own slogans and flag, and frequently under their own leaders. Thus, after 1926, the Indian working class increasingly entered the
nationlist movement as an independent political unit. This was a new phenomenon in the history of the nationalist movement.

It was during this period that the Congress defined its political objective from the nebulous term Swaraj to that of Independence. Various youth and independence Leagues which sprang up in the country also adopted Independence as their political goal.

The phase culminated in the Civil Disobedience Movement (1930-34) organized by the Congress under the leadership of Gandhi. The Civil Disobedience campaign of 1930-32 which was inaugurated by Gandhi’s famous Salt March recruited the younger generation of many groups who had not so far participated in nationalist politics, as for instance, the non-Brahmans of Madras and Maharashtra. It also highlighted the problem of untouchability, and Gandhi’s epic fast in 1932 demonstrated that nationalism and untouchability were incompatible.

The principal gains to the Indian nationalist movement during this phase were the acquisition of a mass basis, the definition of its goal as independence the entry of a section of the working class into the movement as an independent political force, the growth of various youth and Independence Leagues, and the wider participation of peasants in the movement. The factors which had retarding influence on the movement were mainly, the combining of religion with politics by Gandhi with the result that the national consciousness was befogged and national movement confused: the increased grip of the capitalists over the Congress organization and the resultant modulation of its programme and
policies to serve their sectional interest at the expense of national advance; and the accentuation of communal feelings\textsuperscript{20}.

**Fifth Phase:** The next phase covers the period from 1934 to 1939, the year of the outbreak of World War II. There were a number of new developments during this period. A section of Congressmen lost their confidence in the ideology, programmes and methods of Gandhi and formed the Congress Socialist Party, which stood for the organization of the workers and peasants on class lines, and making them the motive force of the nationalist movement. The party, however, remained heterogenous, being composed of groups who broke from Gandhism in varying degrees and having a petti-bourgeois social basis. There also grew up other dissident tendencies from Gandhism like the Forward Bloc led by Subhash Bose.

Another development was the steady growth of the movements of the depressed classes. The Muslim League also, organizationally and politically, grew stronger in the final years of this period. Further, a number of other Muslim organizations, both of nationalist and communal political hues, also sprang up. The rapid growth of the communist party increasingly spreading its influence among students, workers and kisans, also was another significant development.

The rapid growth of the peasant movement was one of the striking developments during this period. Larger and larger sections of peasantry developed national and class consciousness. Further, they began to evolve their own class organizations, class leadership, programmes,
slogans and flag. The All-India Kisan Sabha, the organization of the conscious section of the Indian peasantry, formulated for its objective the Socialist State of India. It organized independent struggles of the kisans and joined the nationalist movement as an independent unit.

Another remarkable development during this phase was the growth of the democratic struggle of the people of the Indian states with a programme of demands such as the abolition of state monopoly, representative institutions, civil liberties and others.

A struggle, increasingly sharpening went on among the nationalist movement classes within the nationalist movement for the hegemony of the movement. The political groups representing workers, kisans and left sections of the middle classes were striving more and more as they gathered more political consciousness and independent organizational strength, to influence the programme which had hitherto been appreciable controlled by the Capitalist class. The awakened nationalities were also pressing more and more vigorously their demands for the removal of the obstacles which thwarted their free and full development.

2:2. Pre-Indian National Congress Movements

Even before the foundation of the Indian National Congress, there were certain movements against the British government. The Indian National Congress was founded in December 1885 and was the first organized expression of the Indian national movement on an all-India basis. However, it has many predecessors which include the following:
Bengal Landholders Society. It was on the advice of Theodore Dickens, an eminent British barrister and planter in India, that the principal Zamindars residing in and around Calcutta met on 10 November, 1837 to form an association called the landholders society\textsuperscript{23}.

British India Society. On 27 March 1839, a provisional committee was set up to establish an association in London named the British Indian Society. The society was formally inaugurated on 6\textsuperscript{th} June, 1839 with Lord Brougham in the chairs. The speakers at the inaugural meeting criticized the administration of the English East India Company for its wicked wars, its ruinous system of taxation, its failure to develop the resources of the country, its neglect of public works its monopolies and its patronage. Emphasis was put on the poverty, misery and discontent prevailing in India\textsuperscript{24}.

British Indian Association. The new association was entirely Indian in composition. It is true that it was dominated by the Calcutta zamindars but it claimed to represent the people of British India as a whole. The founders of the Association aimed at making it a central, national organization with branch all over the country. However, they did not succeed in their mission very soon, the Madras branch became independent and came to be known as the Madras Native Association. The same was true of Bombay and Poona. It also tried to encourage cooperation between the various parts of India on matters of common concern\textsuperscript{25}. 
The Bombay Association. On 26 August, 1852, the principal Hindus, Parsees, Muslims, Portugese and Jews of Bombay met to consider the desirableness of an association with a view to ascertaining the wants of the people of this country and the measures calculated to advance their welfare and of representing the same to the authorities in India or in England. Dadabhai Naoroji, V. N. Mandalik and Nowrosjee Naoroji, V. N. Mandlik and Nowrosjee Surdoonjee were the leaders of the Bombay Association.

London Indian Society. On 24 March, 1865, a meeting was held in London which was attended by “almost all the principal Indian gentlemen now in London”. At that meeting it was decided to form the London Indian Society “for the purpose of discussing all political, social and literary subjects relating to India and adopting such measures as may be necessary to acquaint the public in England with the views and feeling of the people of India on all principal questions that may arise from time to time. Dadabhai Naoroji was elected it president and W. C. Banerjee its secretary.

East India Association. The East India Association was founded in London on 1 October 1866 “for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion of the public interests and welfare of the inhabitants of India generally. Dadabhai Naoroji did all that he could to make the east India Association speak for India as a whole. He declared in 1867 that British rule has injected a “new political life” into India. Its
Chapter 2  
Growth of Nationalism in the Twentieth Century India

educated classes were becoming the natural leaders of the masses. A common language among them was forging bonds of nationality. To quote him: ‘The nation is now becoming gradually assimilated for political purpose’

Madras Native Association. The Madras Native Association was established in 1852. It submitted the British parliament a petition in which it mentioned the various grievances of the people. Those arose “principally from the excessive taxation and the vexations which accompany its collection; and the insufficiency, delay and expense of the company’s courts of Law”. What the petitioners asked for was “the construction of roads, bridges and works for the supply of irrigation…, a better provision for the education of the people… and a form of local government more conducive to the happiness of the subjects and the prosperity of the country”. The petition condemned both the Zamindars and Raiyatwari systems which were “the instrument of injustice and oppression”. The petition expressed dissatisfaction of the Hindus of Madras with their local government “for its propensities” and with the government of India for its interference with the Hindu law of inheritance. The petition demanded an increased employment of Indians in the administration of the country. It demanded greater independence for local governments and criticized “the systematic obstructiveness of Supreme government”. The petition criticized the existing system of having a single council for the whole of Indian and demanded that every local government be allowed to manage its own affairs.
Poona Sarvajanik Sabha. The Poona Sarjanik Sabha was started on 2 April 1870 through the efforts of G. V. Joshi and S. H. Chiplunkar. It was intended to be “a mediating body between the government and the people”.

Indian League. Sisir Kumar Ghosh founded Indian League in 1875. The Indian League was the first body in India which set up links with political groups outside Bengal.

The Indian Association. The Indian Association was inaugurated on 26 July 1876. Surendranath Banerjee and Ananda Mohan Bose were the main force behind it. Its objects were declared to be “to represent the people and promote by every legitimate means, the political, intellectual and national advancement of the people”.

Madras Mahajan Sabha. The Madras Mahajan Sabha was inaugurated at a meeting held in Madras on 16 May 1884 under the presidentship of Rangiah Naidu, Viraraghavachari and Ananda Charlu became its secretaries. The object of the Sabha was declared to be “to endeavour to promote the interests of the people of this country”.

Bombay Presidency Association: The Bombay Presidency Association was founded in January 1885 and the main figure in it was Bardroud Din Tyabji, Pherozeshah Mehta and K. T. Telang. Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy declared that “the desire of the promotion of this movement is to
concentrate the existing force. In September 1885 Bombay Presidency Association, along with the Indian Association, the Madras Mahajan Sabha and Poona Sarvajanik Sabha made a joint appeal to the British electorate and sent three delegates to England. In December 1885, it played host to the first session of the Indian national Congress in Bombay\(^\text{32}\).

There is a common tendency among the writers of Indian National Movement to connect the revolution of 1858 and the Congress of 1885; “The fires lit in 1857”, writes Professor M. Mujeeb, “Smouldered here and there forever twenty years, created by the establishment of the Indian national Congress”\(^\text{33}\).

The Indian National Congress, established in 1885 was the result of a large number of forces operating in the later half of the nineteenth century such as English education, the press, quicker means of transport and communication, a strong and uniform system of administration, internal security and freedom from external danger. To these may be added a growing national consciousness in the country which in itself was fostered by a number of pioneers in the field of education, journalism and social system. The credit for giving expression to the nascent nationalism by founding Indian National Congress goes to Allan Octavian Hume, an English and a retired I.C.S. who spent thirty years of service of the people of India\(^\text{34}\). Hume laid the foundation of Indian National Congress on the advice of Lord Dufferin. The view of W. C. Bonnerjee was that if Hume was the father of the Congress, Lord
Dufferin was the God-father. The view of Lala-Lajpat Rai was that the Congress was an English product — a product of Lord Dufferin’s brain.\(^{35}\)

As regards the real motives of Hume in the creation of the Indian National Congress, it is said that he believed that the interests of the British Empire in India would be better served by providing it with a safety-value for the escape of dangerous agitation.\(^{36}\) The Governor of Bombay, Lord Reay, followed a policy of “benevolent neutrality” towards the Congress\(^{37}\) but he refused to accept the presidency of the first session of the Congress at Bombay. The same was offered to W. C. Bonnerjee who had ridiculed all sorts of political agitation and was the model of a loyal India. The first session of the Congress was held in Bombay with seventy-two delegates in December 1885. The second session was attended by 434 delegates in December 1886 held at Calcutta and was presided by Dadabhai Naoroji. The third by 607 delegates in 1887 at Madras under the presidency of Badruddin Tyabji (1844-1906).\(^{38}\)

The attitude of the great Muslim community towards the Congress in early days has become subject of great importance. Right from 1885, the year in which the Congress was established, the question of the Muslim participation in the national movement has been a subject of great debate in the British and the Indian press.\(^{40}\) There is a belief prevalent even amongst scholars that the Indian Muslims as a body kept themselves aloof from the Indian National Congress during the first three decades of its existence. It is further held that they do so at the advice of Sir Syed Ahmad whose influence was paramount during his lifetime and
became much greater after his death. Prof. Hafeez Malik, the renowned contemporary scholar, in his research work published by the Public Affairs Press, Washington, points out: “Men like Rahmatullah M. Sayani, president of the Calcutta Session of the Congress in 1896, and the Honourable Mr. Badruddin Tyabji who were conspicuous in the early Congress and the solitary examples of Muslim collaboration with the All-Indian Congress, failed to persuade their co-religionists”\textsuperscript{41}.

Sir Syed Ahmad from the first had stood out against any close amalgamation with the Congress. He held with all the strength of a lifelong conviction that the Muslims in India must stand by themselves and work out their own salvation as a community with the help of the British rulers. He had grown old in mind as well as in body during the last years of his long life and this may have had something to do with his final decision. His personality was always commanding, and it became more so as he grew older, while the respect and reverence for him among Muslims were far greater in those last years than they had even been before. For these reasons his decision to oppose the Congress and his advice to hold aloof from it received after his death in 1898, almost a religious sanction\textsuperscript{42}.

The change in Sir Syed can be understood by reading following statement:

Remember that Hindus and Musalmans and even Christians who inhabit this country, are one nation. Now the time is gone when only on account of differences in religion the inhabitants of a country should be regarded as of two different nations\textsuperscript{43}.  

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But in 1888 on 24 January, Tyabji and A. O. Hume endeavoured to secure his support for the Congress and his reply was:

I do not understand what the words ‘National Congress’ mean. Is it supposed that the different castes and creeds living in Indian belong to one nation, or one can become a nation, and their aim and aspirations be one and the same? I think it is quite impossible there can be no such thing as a National Congress, nor can it be of equal benefit to all people. You regard the doing of the misnamed National Congress as beneficial to India, but I am sorry to say that I regard them as not only injurious to our own community but also to India at large. I object to every congress in any shape or form whatsoever — which regard Indian as one Nation on accounts of its being based on wrong principle, namely that it regards the whole of Indian as One Nation⁴⁴.

It is interesting to note that Badruddin Tyabji also held that India was not one nation. He wrote in reply to Sir Syed Ahmad:

Your objection to the Congress is that ‘it regards India as one Nation’. Now I am not aware of any one regarding the whole of India as one Nation and if you read my inaugural address, you will find it distinctly started that there are numerous communities or nations in India which had peculiar problems of their own to solve⁴⁵.

Badruddin Tyabji was much influenced by the arguments of Sir Syed Ahmad. He deplored the decision of his community in this matter and wrote to Hume on October 27, 1888:
An overwhelming majority of Mohammadans is against the Movement, again this array it is useless saying that the intelligent and educated Mohammadens are in favour of the Congress.

But Hume refused to admit that a large number of Mohammadans was hostile to the Congress. In his reply dated the 5\textsuperscript{th} November 1888, he wrote to Tyabji:

Oudh and North-Western province we have more than ten Mohammadans to one that is against us. In the Punjab we are sweeping Bihar and Eastern Bengal we have an overwhelming majority. In Madras etc., the same\textsuperscript{46}.

Following is the table that shows the ratio of the Muslim participants in the Congress conferences as compared to Hindus. It characterizes the Muslim attitude towards this movement:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Venue</th>
<th>Total no. of delegates</th>
<th>No. of Muslim delegates</th>
<th>%age of Muslim delegates to the total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W. C. Bonnerjee</td>
<td>1885</td>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dadabhai Naoroji</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>Calcutta</td>
<td>434</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syed Badruddin Tyabji</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>607</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Yule</td>
<td>1888</td>
<td>Allahabad</td>
<td>1248</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Wedderburn</td>
<td>1889</td>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Pherozeshah Mehta</td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Calcutta</td>
<td>702</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anand Charlu</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>Nagpur</td>
<td>812</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. C. Bonerjee</td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Allahbad</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dadabhai Naoroji</td>
<td>1893</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>867</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alfred Webb</td>
<td>1894</td>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>1163</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surendranath Banerjee</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>Poona</td>
<td>1584</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Rahmatullah M. Sayani 1896 Calcutta 784 54 6.9
Sankaran Nair 1897 Amraoti 692 57 8.2
Ananda Mohan Bose 1898 Madras 614 10 1.6
R. C. Dutt 1899 Lucknow 740 313 4.2
Chandavarkar 1900 Lahore 567 56 9.8
D. E. Wacha 1901 Calcutta 896 76 8.4
Surendranath Banerjee 1902 Ahmedabad 471 20 4.2
Lal Mohan Ghosh 1903 Madras 538 9 1.8
Sir Henry Cotton 1904 Bombay 1010 35 3.4
G. K. Gokhale 1905 Varanasi 758 18 2.3
Dadabhai Naoroji 1906 Calcutta 1663 45 3.1
Rash Behari Ghosh 1908 Madras 626 10 1.5
Madan Mohan Malaviyalahore 1909 Lahore 243 5 2.0
Sir William Wedderburn 1910 Allahabad 636 19 2.9
Bishan Narayan Dar 1911 Calcutta 446 9 2.0
R. N. Mudholkar 1912 Patna 207 6 2.8
Syed Mahomed Bahadur 1913 Karachi 349 13 3.7
Bhupendra Nath Basu 1914 Madras 866 8 0.9
Sir S. P. Sinha 1915 Bombay 2259 85 3.7

(This table is given in Congress and Congressmen in the pre-Gandhian Era, written by Bimabhera Majumdar and Bhakat Prasad Mazumbar.)

2:3. Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangha

The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangha (R.S.S.) was founded in 1925 by Dr. Keshav Baliram Hedgewar at Nagpur on the Vijayadeshmi (Dassera) day 27 September 1925. Dr. Hedgewar came back to Nagpur (1916) from Calcutta not to settle as a medical practitioner but to donate himself to the emancipation of his country.
Hedgewar, Keshav and several associates believed that the freedom of India could only be won by the Hindus and that to do so the Hindus needed cultural and physical strengthening:

It became clear that Hindus were the nation in Bharat, and that Hindutva was Rashtriya... Only Hindus could free Hindhustan and save Hindu culture... Hindu youth had to be organized on the basis of personal character and absolute love of the motherland\textsuperscript{47}.

The parallels between the views and indeed some of the early life of Hedgewar and Sawarkar are evident, and in the emphasis on devotion to the motherland one sees also the Bengali \textit{bande mataram} cult\textsuperscript{48}.

Hedgewar realized that Indians lay prostrate before the foreign rulers mainly due to lack of unity and vitality and that they needed to be revived and reinvigorated with a militant spirit. He asserted that the Hindus, as the majority community, had a special responsibility\textsuperscript{49}.

The immediate reason behind the founding of the RSS was the communal riots in Nagpur in the early 1920s. The riots quickened the awareness of the disorganized state of the Hindu community and its inability to cope with such crisis. Dr. Hedgewar, therefore, formed the RSS with the purpose of organizing the Hindus to protect themselves. He was concerned with the building up of an organization of devoted followers, well-disciplined, inspired by the ideals of Hindu community. He felt that the Hindus under prolonged foreign rule had lost their communal vitality. His mission was to reawaken the communal sentiment of the Hindus, and to make them conscious of their glorious past. “We (Hindus) are in the shackles because we have forgotten our nationalism.
If we are to rise again as a regeneration nation and not drift aimlessly. The only way open is to revive the lost glory of Hindu society and to make her conscious of nationalism... Hindusthan is not an open inn. Hindusthan is Hindu-Rashtra”50.

An RSS publication describes the early days of the organization in rather flowerly language:

... The Swayamsevaks of the Sangh met daily for one hour — morning or evening, they played games, took exercise together, drilled and did some marching. They sang patriotic songs, invoked Bharat Mata and saluted the ancient Bhagwa [flag]. They discussed the nature of national problems. More important than the programme was the atmosphere. Here young and old of all castes and sects came together and developed into a vast joint family51.

After five years of limiting activity to Nagpur, Hedgewar decided in 1932, to expand the RSS to other parts of Maharashtra including the Marathi-speaking areas of the then central provinces. A few branches had been set up outside the Nagpur areas earlier by RSS members whose business or educational activity had taken them from the city, but this was the first concentrated effort towards expansion. During the next few years organizers were sent to almost every part of India. They achieved notable success in Uttar Pradesh, Delhi, Bihar, the Central Indian princely states and the Punjab. By 1938, membership was estimated at 40,000 by 1940, the RSS claimed the adherence of 100,000 persons52. Dr Hedgewar designated M. R. Golwalkar as his successor. Among RSS volunteers Gowalkar is referred to as guruji, the revered leader53. So far as the non-Hindu minorities are concerned he wrote:
The non-Hindu people in Hindustan must either adopt the Hindu culture and language must learn to respect and hold in reverence Hindu religion, must entertain no idea but those of glorification of the Hindu race and culture, i.e., they must not only give up their attitude of the intolerance and ungratefulness towards this land and its age-long traditions but must also cultivate the positive attitude of love and devotion instead — in a world they must cease to be foreigners, or may stay in this country, wholly subordinate to the Hindu nation, claiming nothing, deserving no privileges, far less any preferential treatment — not even citizen’s rights.

These are the words of Madhavrao Sadashiv Golwalkar, who since June 21, 1940, has been the Sarsanghachalak, Supreme leader of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. The words were first written in 1939, when Golwalker was a lieutenant of Dr. Keshav Baliram Hedgew, founder and first sarsanghachalak of the RSS. The words of Golwalkar “Guruji” are law in RSS, and there is no indication the Golwalker’s views of the place of non-Hindus in Bharat have been changed. Speaking of Muslims, Christian, Jews and Parsis in a speech in Bangalore in 1960, Golwalker referred to the minorities communities as “guests, but they are not the children of this soil”.

On 30th January, 1948, after the assassination of Gandhi by Nathuram Vinayak Godse who was connected with the RSS, the government of India banned that organization. But this organization was renovated with a new constitution, after the removal of the ban in 1949.
2:4. **Mahasabha**

On December 30, 1906, in Decca, a group of Muslim leaders joined together to found the Muslim League\(^{58}\). Soon after the founding of the Muslim League the Hindu Mahasabha was formed in January 1907, when in Punjab it was founded by a few Hindu enthusiasts ‘to watch and safeguard the interests of the entire Hindu community in all respects’\(^{59}\).

The history of the Mahasabha can, in a general way, be divided into following three main stages:

a) Throughout the early history of the Mahasabha, that is, till the World War I. the emphasis was on Hindu revivalism and hostility towards the western impact.

b) Between the two world wars its activities were directed against the Muslim League.

c) The third phase begins when V. D. Savarkar assumes its leadership. During this period its strategy worked against the Indian national Congress, with the theory of Indian Nationalism as its weapon of attack and defence\(^{60}\).

At the Calcutta Session (April 1925)\(^{61}\) presided by Lala Lajpat Rai gave his programme for the Mahasabha. It influenced the Mahasabha, the RSS and the Jana Singh and made it to stand for:

i) To organize Hind Sabhas throughout the length and breadth of the country.

ii) To provide relief to such Hindus, men and women, who need help on account of communal riots and disturbances.
iii) Re-conversion of Hindus who have been forcibly converted to Islam.

iv) To organize gymnasiums for the use of Hindu young men and women.

v) To organize sevasamities.

vi) To popularize Hindi… in cooperating with the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan\(^62\).

vii) To request the trustees and keepers of Hindu temples to allow halls attached to the temples where people may gather to discuss matters of social and religious interest.

viii) To celebrate Hindu festivals in a manner which may conduce to the promotion of brotherly feeling amongst the different section of the Hindus.

ix) To promote good feelings with Mohammedans and Christians.

x) To represent the communal interest of the Hindus in all political controversies.

xi) To encourage Hindu boys to take to industrial pursuits.

xii) To promote better feeling between Hindu agriculturists and non-agriculturists.

xiii) To better the condition of Hindu women.

The historian of the Hindu Mahasabha, Mr. Indra Prakash in his book, *A Review of the History and Work of the Hindu Mahasabha*, describes the aims and objectives of Mahasabha as: “to preserve and promote the interests of Hindu race, Hindu culture and Hindu
civilization, to attain *purna swarajya* through constitutional means and to make Hindu nation progressive and prosperous: to organize, consolidate and unite the Hindus into one organic whole; when and where necessary to promote and conserve Hindu interests; abolition of untouchability and improvement of the condition of the depressed classes; to revive the high ideals of Hindu-womanhood; to encourage cow-protection; to promote the physical cultural of the Hindus and to engender the martial spirit among them through the establishment of Hindu military schools; reconversion of those Hindus who joined the fold of alien faiths and conversion of non-Hindus; establishment of homes for Hindu orphans and helpless women, to undertake effective measures to defend religious, educational, social, economic and political interests and rights of the Hindus; to strive for the establishment of self-rule inspired by the ideal of Hindu nation and to promote good will among Hindus and non-Hindus”.

According to Savarkar, “The Hindu Mahasabha has set before itself the task of the maintenance, protection and promotion of the Hindu race, culture and civilization for the advancement and glory of Hindu Rashtriya.”

The Hindu Mahasabha was originally founded as a social, cultural and religious organization and not as a political body. In fact, the first important session of the Hindu Mahasabha, held in 1923, was attended by many prominent Muslim of the time, including the Ali brothers and Abul Kalam Azad. In his presidential address at the special session of the Mahasabha held at Belgaum in December 1924, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya argued that it was wrong to think that the Mahasabha was a
communal organization which would clash with nationalistic congress. Pandit Malaviya himself was not only a leading member of the Mahasabha but also of the Congress and he was imbued with the nationalistic spirit. “It would be a shame”, he said, “If any Hindu opposed the National Congress”. The Mahasabha would not oppose but, Malaviya said, supplement the work of the Congress. The Congress was a political body and could not, it was said, deal with social and non-political matters. Such as untouchability, intercaste jealousies, child marriage and other social abuses. The Mahasabha would deal with these and also safeguard the interests of the Hindus. But the socio-cultural role that Malaviya envisaged for the Mahasabha was soon superseded by its political role and since the decision to participate in the elections was taken in 1926, the Hindu Mahasabha became primarily, if not exclusively, a political body. Because of this decision Swami Shradhananda, a leader of the Mahasabha, resigned. But by this decision the Mahasabha became a communal party of the Hindus.

2:5. Factors in Awakenings and Spreading of Nationalist Consciousness

a) Role of the Press

The popularization of the modern system of education and the phenomenal growth of the new social classes led to the emergence of the press in India, a very influential factor in promoting the cause of Indian nationalism. The press was a powerful factor in building and
developing Indian nationalism and the nationalist movement. Social, cultural, political and economic.\textsuperscript{66}

Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the founder of the nationalist press in India. Though a few papers had been started by others before him, his \textit{Sambad-Kaumudi} in Bengali published in 1821, and \textit{Mirat ul-Akbar} in Persian published in 1822 were the first publications in India with a distinct nationalist and democratic progressive orientation. These papers were mainly the organs of the propaganda of social reform, and a critical discussion of religion and philosophical problems.\textsuperscript{67}

The press was a weapon in the hands of the nationalist groups, to popularize among the people their respective political programmes; policies and methods of struggle and to form organizations with a broad popular basis.

Without the press, All-Indian Conferences of nationalist organizations could not have been prepared and held and big political movements organized and directed. For instance, it was to young India of Gandhi, the leader of the Indian National Congress, that the congressmen and Congress supporters looked for directives for their political activities during the great mass movement of 1930-32. Since the press was a powerful weapon of the nationalist struggle, Indian nationalists of all lines staunchly fought for its freedom throughout the existence of the Indian Nationalist Movement.\textsuperscript{68}

It is also undeniable that without the support of the press neither could All-Indian conferences of nationalist organizations have been
conducted successfully nor the various political movements aiming at political independence organized.

Again it was the press which made possible the exchange of views on an extensive, swift and perpetual basis among the various communities residing in the different parts of the Indian peninsula. Thus it was a powerful instrument in establishing closer social and intellectual contracts between peoples of various castes, creeds and provinces. The extensive exchange of views on programmes and problems relating to different sectors of the country led to the creation of the spirit of national collaboration in various political and social spheres. The press also assisted in the building of a rich literature and culture, provincial inform, national in character.

Realizing the vital and revolutionary role played by the press, in creating a strong national sentiment among the Indian people it will not be out of place to its chronological development is worthy to mention here. In Madras, Mr. G. A. Natesan started in 1900 *The Indian Review*, an English monthly. In Calcutta, Ramanand Chattejee started in 1907 *The Modern Review*, an English monthly, the most famous monthly in India. Sir Pherozshah Mehta started *The Bombay Chronicle* in 1913. The servants of India Society in 1918, started its official organ, *Servant of India* (an English weekly).

In 1919 Gandhi edited *Young India*, making the mouthpiece of his political philosophy, programmes and policies. Subsequently, he also
started *Harijan*, a weekly published in English, Hindi and a number of Venacules, after 1933.

Pandit Motilal Nehru, started the *Independent*, an English daily, in Allahabad in 1919 which served as the political propaganda organ of the Congress official viewpoint, Shivaprasad Gupta founded the *Aaj* weekly in Hindi.

The leader of the Swaraj Party started *The Hindustan Times*, an English daily, in Delhi in 1922 under the editorship of K. M. Pannikar to carry on propaganda for its programme. *The People*, an English nationalist weekly, was also started during this period in Lahore due to the effort of Lala Lajpat Rai. After 1923, Socialist and Communist ideas began to spread slowly in India.

*Kranti*, a Marathi weekly and an official organ of the worker’s and peasant’s party of India, and *Spark* and *New Spark*, both English weeklies respectively edited by M. G. Desai and Lester Hutchinson.

Between 1930 and 1939, the workers and peasants’ movements gathered further strength and scope. Socialist and communist ideas penetrated to Congress Youth. Thus there came into existence the Congress Socialist party, which published *The Congress Socialist* an English weekly, as its main official organ. The communists had *National Front* and subsequently *Peoples War*, both English weeklies, as principal organs of their propaganda.

M. N. Roy differing from the official communists, formed his own group with *Independent India*, an English weekly as its main official organ.
In 1930, the *Free Press Journal*, an English daily, edited by S. Sadanand was founded. It was very cheaply priced. It was a staunch supporter of the Congress demand and struggle for Independence.

With the social, political and cultural advance of the Indian people, the newspaper press expanded. Magazines, dailies, and weeklies were published in all provinces in all important towns, in vernaculars, English, Hindi and Urdu. About 4000 printed newspapers and magazines were published in the country, in 1941, in seventeen languages.  

There existed by 1941 three main news agencies in the country, namely, Reuters, the Associated Press and the Free Press News Service. The government subscribed to the first two used them for transmitting government news. The third was an Indian enterprise and selected and distributed news from the nationalist standpoint.

Such was the vital role of the press in building up of an increasingly strong national sentiment and consciousness among the Indian people, in the development and consolidation of their growing nationalist movement, in the creation of national and provincial literatures and cultures, and in the forging of bonds of fraternity with other progressive peoples and classes in the outer world.

b) Transport

Another factor which played a very significant role in consolidating the people of India into a modern nation was the emergence of modern means of transport and communication, such as the railways, the roadways, the steamships and telegraph. It is not a mere accident that
the nineteenth century, the century of the invention of modern means of transport, was also the century of emerging nationalism. Accidentally, the invention of modern means of transport and communication coincide with the emergence of nationalism in the nineteenth century. In spite of their embarking on the career of nations in the eighteenth century England and France could develop themselves as full-fledged nations in the social and cultural sense only during the nineteenth century. Modern means of transport and communication assisted them to a great extent in this process. In India too, the establishment and spread of railways and motor buses appreciably contributed to the forging of the Indian people into a nation.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, as a result of the unprecedental technological advance together with the accumulation of the capital from the trade during the previous period, powerful machine-based industries sprang into existence in England. The England industrialists were faced with the problem of these new and steadily expanding industries and securing raw materials for them from India and other parts of the world.

The interests of the British industries urged the government of the East India Company to establish railways and construct roads in India. Lord Dalhousie, who initiated a programme wide railway construction in India, in his famous Minute on Railways unambiguously defined the economic reason behind this construction. In addition to these economic reasons, there were political-administrative and military-strategic reasons for establishing railways in India.
The British evolved in India an colossal administrative apparatus penetrating even the remotest village. The necessity to erect and efficiently operate such an apparatus also prompted them to establish and extend railways, to construct modern roads, to establish the post and telegraph systems. It was this necessity of assembling villages, towns, districts and provinces, increasingly brought under the British rule, into a single political administrative system, which also stimulated railway construction in India.

Further, the military strategic reason, also made the introduction of the modern transport system in India necessary. The British regime established in India had to be defended both against internal rebellion and form external invasion. For a rapid mobilization and transfer of troops at the required key strategic points, it was necessary to lay down adequate railway lines and construct modern metalled roads. Thus the military defence need a Britain also led to railway construction and, in general, to the extension of modern means of communication.

As a result of the development of the modern means of transport the people were also brought socially closer. The distances dividing them had been narrowed down. Motor buses brought the isolated villages into contact with the outer world. The railways and the buses also helped immigration from one place to another. The people traveled distance in order to get employment or to improve their future prospects. Thus the people became conscious of their national responsibilities. The intermixture of people of various provinces, castes and creeds not only undermined the old local and provincial narrow outlooks but also paved
the way for national consciousness and cooperation to grow as the national level.

The significance of the new transport system introduced by the alien regime bringing about new thinking, can also be guided from the following excerpt:

The ships sail up the Hoogly to unload their heavy cargos, carried other commodities besides the manufactures of Europe. They brought with them news of wars of Independence and revolutions. And not only news but the news behind the news — the revolutionary ideas generated by the great social and intellectual ferment of the 18th century in Europe which has been instrumental in overthrowing powerful monarchies and empires. There were already findful monarchies and empires. These were already finding eager customees in sub-tropical latitudes… The works of citizen paine, for instance, were to be sold at the book stalls at a premium\textsuperscript{77}.

c) **The Western Education**

Still another factor which did much in awakening national consciousness was the imparting of western education in the Indian institutions of education. In spite of the many vices which crept into the Indian social set-up due to its introduction, modern education undoubtedly played a progressive role in India. Unlike the former educational systems it was secular in character, liberal in content and open to all, no matter whatever caste or religion or philosophical creed. More important, this education served as an instrument in discussing the secrest of modern western
rationalism and democratic idea to Indians. It infused inspiration for the struggle of national liberation. It brought the class of Indian intelligentsia in contact with the ideologies and philosophies preached by Milton, Shelley, Byron and a number of other enlightened poets and political philosophers like Mill, Tousseau and freedom fighters like Mazzini and Goribaldi. The introduction of modern education gave access to modern English literature.

Through the study of this literature the intelligentsia learnt with great interests how the British themselves brought to amend the feudal medievalism and how they laid down the foundation of modern democratic, scientific and rationalist culture, how they achieved victory over the absolutism of the medieval monarchs based on the doctrine of the Divine Rights of kings and established the theory of the sovereignty of the people, political democracy and individual liberty.

Indian literature, both Hindu and Muslim of pre-British era did not include any work on nationalism. It was inevitable and can be historically explained by the fact that due to economic backwardness, the Indian people were not socially or politically integrated into a nation.

The study of the English language unfolded the treasure of democratic and nationalist through crystallized in precious scientific works. The study of these works clarified, made more vivid and even fanned into fire, the nascent nationalism of the educated Indians, which grew out of the conditions of subjection in which Indian people lived under the British rule.
The English language did a great service as a medium of communications for the educated Indians throughout India to exchange views, on a national scale, on different subjects of social, political and scientific interest. It proved very valuable as a medium of expression at various national Congresses and Conferences especially in the earlier stages.

The progressive role of the instructions of modern education in India and of the resultant contact with modern culture was strikingly proved by the fact that practically all leaders of progressive movements, economic, political, social, religious or cultural, belonged to the English educated intelligentsia. The pioneers and leaders of the ever expanding and deepening national movement were English-educated Indians.

The Indian Nationalism emerged against the background of changes associated with India from cultural religious to new awakening things through media and modern education. All was meant to promote national interests and with the passage of time there was a realization in India and that realization brought bitterness against foreign rule and that was responsible for the growth of the nationalist movement to drive out the foreigners from the country.
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References

11. Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak (23 July 1856 – 1 August 1920, aged 64) was an Indian nationalist, social reformer and independence fighter who was the first popular leader of the Indian Independence Movement and is known as the “Father of the Indian unrest”. Tilak was one of the first and strongest proponents for Swaraj (complete independence) in Indian consciousness, and is considered the father of Hindu nationalism as well. His famous quote, “Swaraj is my birthright, and I will have it” is well-remembered in India.
12. Sri Aurobindo (August 15, 1872 – December 5, 1950) was an Indian nationalist, scholar, poet, mystic, evolutionary philosopher, yogi and guru. After a short political career in which he became one of the leaders of the early movement for the freedom of India from British rule, Sri Aurobindi turned to explore spiritual realms of human existence and, as a consequence, developed a new path which he termed integral yoga.
13. Bipin Chandra Pal (November 7, 1858 – May 20, 1932) was a teacher, journalist, orator, writer and librarian. He was famous as one of the triumvirate of three militant patriots of the Congresses — the “Pal” of “Lal Bal Pal”
14. Lala Lajpat Rai was an Indian author and politician who is chiefly remembered as a leader in the Indian fight for freedom from the British Raj.
The freedom fighter was popularly known as Punjab Kesari (The Lion of Punjab). He was also the founder of Punjab National Bank and Lakshmi Insurance Company.

He was one of the three most prominent Hindu Nationalist members of the Indian National Congress, who fought for, and gave their lives during the Indian independence movement in the first half of the twentieth century. The other two were Bal Gangadhar Tilak of Maharashtra and Bipin Chandra Pal of Bengal. Collectively, they were dubbed Lal-Bal-Pal, and formed the Hindu faction of the Indian National Congress, as opposed to the moderate faction led first by Gopal Krishna Gokhale and later by Mahatma Gandhi. Rai was also a member of the Hindu Maha Sabha, a forerunner of the current day Hindu nationalist party, the Bharatiya Janata Party.

17. The Treaty of Sevres (10 August, 1920) was the peace treaty between the Ottoman Empire and Allies at the end of the World War I.
23. _Ibid._, p. 73.
24. _Ibid._, p. 76.
25. _Ibid._, p. 70.
27. _Ibid._, p. 84.
30. _Ibid._, p. 92.
32. _Ibid._, p. 100.
34. _Ibid._, p. 62.
35. Mahajan, _op. cit._, p. 111.
36. _Ibid._, p. 112.
37. Pardaman, p. 64.
38. Mahajan, _op. cit._, pp. 122-123.
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43. Bimanbhera Majumdar and Bhakat Prasad Mazumbar, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-85.

44. *Idem.*

45. *Idem.*


47. *Idem.*


54. *Idem.*


63. B. R. Purohit, p. 129.

64. Sankar Ghose, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

75. Sukhbir, *loc. cit.*
77. Sukhbir, *op. cit.*, p. 16.