

Partition of India in Print Media and Cinema
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Lecture - 01
History of the Partition of India - I

Good morning and welcome to the first lecture of my course Partition of India in Print Media and Cinema. I am Doctor Sarbani Banerjee from the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, IIT Roorkee.

So, even before we begin to talk about Partition of India we might inquire why this topic is relevant today in 2022. So, we have to understand that the Partition is far from a frozen topic. I would like to begin with reading a paragraph from an introductory chapter written by Anjali Gera Roy and Nandi Bhatia from the book, *Partitioned Lives: Narratives of Home, Displacement and Resettlement*.

So, Roy and Bhatia observe that on 28th May 2005, *The Tribune*, a newspaper published from Chandigarh reported on the potential eviction of Partition refugees in Rajpura, Punjab from their temporary government allotted accommodation lovingly called *Kasturba Seva Ashram*, by its inhabitants. The government's attempt to reclaim its land provoked panic amongst these refugees who faced the prospect of another displacement.

Even though the PEPSU Township Development Board that issued the notice for eviction provides unsafe construction as the reason for the notice, the underlying motive for eviction and reclamation may be the soaring property price of the land. The story itself remains a local affair and despite the attention that Partition has received especially since 1997 with the emergence of scholarly investigation of a deeply introspective nature on the ongoing trauma of partition with its varied memories and meanings for ordinary people, this story remains excluded from national attention.

So, we see that even at the turn of the century as late as 2005, we have local news that do not make it at the national level which tell us why Partition still keeps coming back as a haunting ghost right. In today's time we realize that it is far from a closed chapter and its repercussions are felt in the international relations, in the policies made by the different

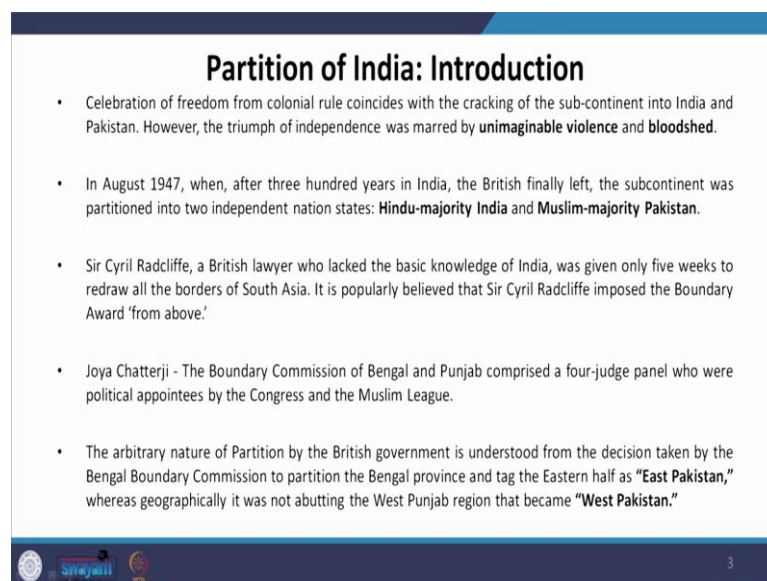
nations in the South Asian context and in the politics of the post-colonial nations in South Asia.

So, just looking at the first slide, the Partition of India is also known as the Great Divide. When we talk of Partition the common pictures that come to our mind from journals, from media, from different newspapers are that of people moving across the border with their belongings, and they cross the border in destitute conditions, uncountable people actually lose their lives in the process of crossing the border, women are abducted and kith and kin get lost.

So, it was a complete chaos and ah people were living in mad times, in extremely difficult and unusual times before, during and after the Partition. So, the Partition of India, also known as the Great Divide, is a historical event and a chapter that has stayed on in the Indian and the world history as a live moment. It refuses to go, it keeps coming back in the form of personalized memory and nostalgia, as well as in the form of the relationship that the abutting nations share.

The thread of Partition mainly goes back to the Divide and Rule policy enforced by the British administrators, which was meant to separate the Indian geopolitical space in terms of language and religion. As Indians we celebrate 15th of August as the day of freedom, the Independence Day when we broke the shackles of colonial rule.

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Partition of India: Introduction

- Celebration of freedom from colonial rule coincides with the cracking of the sub-continent into India and Pakistan. However, the triumph of independence was marred by **unimaginable violence** and **bloodshed**.
- In August 1947, when, after three hundred years in India, the British finally left, the subcontinent was partitioned into two independent nation states: **Hindu-majority India** and **Muslim-majority Pakistan**.
- Sir Cyril Radcliffe, a British lawyer who lacked the basic knowledge of India, was given only five weeks to redraw all the borders of South Asia. It is popularly believed that Sir Cyril Radcliffe imposed the Boundary Award 'from above.'
- Joya Chatterji - The Boundary Commission of Bengal and Punjab comprised a four-judge panel who were political appointees by the Congress and the Muslim League.
- The arbitrary nature of Partition by the British government is understood from the decision taken by the Bengal Boundary Commission to partition the Bengal province and tag the Eastern half as "**East Pakistan**," whereas geographically it was not abutting the West Punjab region that became "**West Pakistan**."

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However, many a times we forget that the same day coincides with the cracking of the subcontinent into India and Pakistan. The triumph of Independence was tarnished by unimaginable violence and bloodshed.

So, in August 1947 after almost 300 years of rule in India, the British finally left; however, the legacy that they left behind through their policies which we are going to discuss in our ensuing lectures... we see that all these British policies were responsible for partitioning the subcontinent into two independent nation-states – the Hindu-majority India and the Muslim- majority Pakistan.

So, we have a famous British lawyer whose name is known to most Indians – Sir Cyril Radcliffe, who lacked the basic knowledge of India and he was given only five weeks to redraw the borders of South Asia.

So, it is popularly believed that Sir Cyril Radcliffe imposed the Boundary Award 'from above'. Renowned historian such as Joya Chatterjee would note that the Boundary Commission of Bengal and Punjab comprised only a four-judge panel who were political appointees by the Congress and the Muslim League.

So, from here we understand that the Partition was a very exclusivist and an exclusionary decision made by select people, where we do not get to hear the echo of the masses. What did the masses want? So, the arbitrary nature of Partition by the British government is understood from the decision taken by the Bengal Boundary Commission to partition the Bengal province and tag the eastern half as "East Pakistan", whereas geographically the East Pakistan which is now known as Bangladesh was not really abutting the West Punjab region that became "West Pakistan."

So, if we look at the map, we see that India has the two Pakistans at that time on its two wings. So, in the process of naming we see some kind of randomness, some kind of unthinking and rash decision being taken.

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Partition of India: Introduction

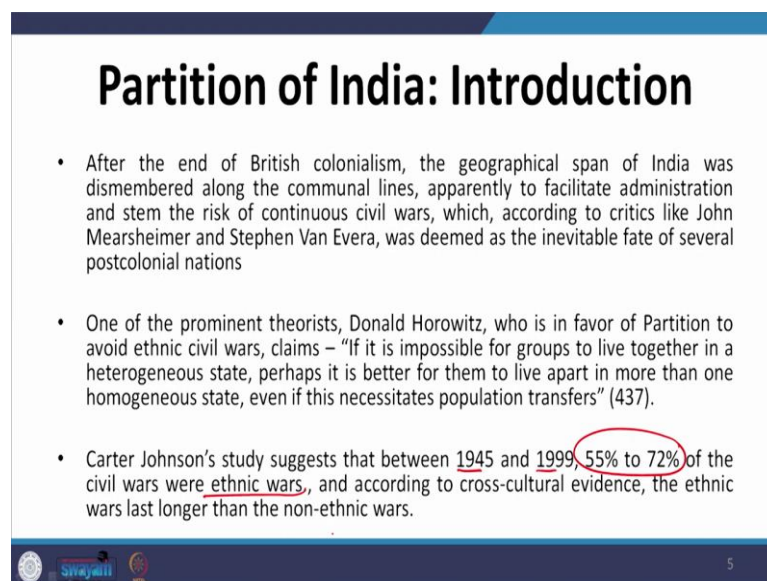
- The rise of Hindu and Muslim nationalism coupled with the divide and rule policies by the British further precipitated the Partition.
- Yet, it is also true that after the Second World War, Britain lacked the resources with which to control its greatest imperial asset, and its exit from India was hastily and clumsily improvised.
- The epicenters of Indian Partition were Punjab and Bengal, even though several other provinces had witnessed considerable turmoil before, during and after the Partition.

So, the rise of Hindu and Muslim nationalism coupled with the Divide and Rule policies by the British rulers actually led to the Partition. It precipitated the process of partitioning of the subcontinent.

Yet, there are critics that are of the opinion that after the Second World War, Britain lacked the resources with which it could control its greatest imperial asset that India was and so, it actually forwarded the process of what we popularly know today as the victory of retreat. They wanted to retreat from India and the process of exiting from India was hasty and it was clumsily improvised.

The epicenter of Indian partition were Punjab and Bengal, although we have to remember that there were several other provinces that had witnessed considerable turmoil before, during and after the Partition. We have to remember the cases of the different princely states for example.

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Partition of India: Introduction

- After the end of British colonialism, the geographical span of India was dismembered along the communal lines, apparently to facilitate administration and stem the risk of continuous civil wars, which, according to critics like John Mearsheimer and Stephen Van Evera, was deemed as the inevitable fate of several postcolonial nations
- One of the prominent theorists, Donald Horowitz, who is in favor of Partition to avoid ethnic civil wars, claims – “If it is impossible for groups to live together in a heterogeneous state, perhaps it is better for them to live apart in more than one homogeneous state, even if this necessitates population transfers” (437).
- Carter Johnson’s study suggests that between 1945 and 1999, 55% to 72% of the civil wars were ethnic wars, and according to cross-cultural evidence, the ethnic wars last longer than the non-ethnic wars.

5

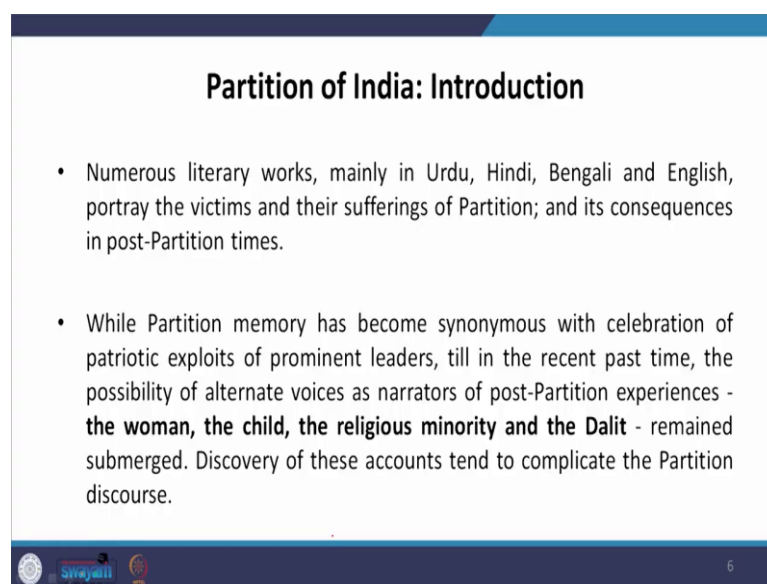
So, after the end of British colonialism, the geographical span of India was dismembered along communal lines, apparently in order to facilitate administration and stem the risk of further continuation of civil wars, which according to several critics like John Mearsheimer and Stephen Van Evera, was deemed as the inevitable fate of several post-colonial nations.

So, these critics would argue that the partition happened and it was a good thing. If partition did not happen ethnic wars would actually keep going on and the state of unrest would pervade and it would not lead to any productivity in any sense. So, it was a good thing for the sake of peace, and in order to facilitate some kind of stability Partition was indeed a good decision. They legitimize and justify the process of partition.

One of the prominent theorists namely Donald Horowitz is in favor of Partition, and he says that it is a way of avoiding ethnic civil wars. He would go on to claim, I quote- “if it is impossible for groups to live together in a heterogeneous state, perhaps it is better for them to live apart in more than one homogeneous state, even if this necessitates population transfers”.

Similarly, we have critics such as Carter Johnson, whose study suggests that between 1945 and 1999, almost 55 to 72 percent of the civil wars were ethnic wars. And according to his study he looks at the cross-cultural evidence and comes to the conclusion that the ethnic wars last longer than non-ethnic wars.

So, we have several literary works mainly written in languages such as Urdu, Hindi, Bengali and English that portray the victims and their sufferings during the Partition and they look at the consequences of the decision made in 1947, in the post-Partition times. (Refer Slide Time: 12:06)



Partition of India: Introduction

- Numerous literary works, mainly in Urdu, Hindi, Bengali and English, portray the victims and their sufferings of Partition; and its consequences in post-Partition times.
- While Partition memory has become synonymous with celebration of patriotic exploits of prominent leaders, till in the recent past time, the possibility of alternate voices as narrators of post-Partition experiences - **the woman, the child, the religious minority and the Dalit** - remained submerged. Discovery of these accounts tend to complicate the Partition discourse.

So, while Partition memory has become synonymous with celebration of patriotic exploits of prominent leaders and in India we almost can name the most prominent

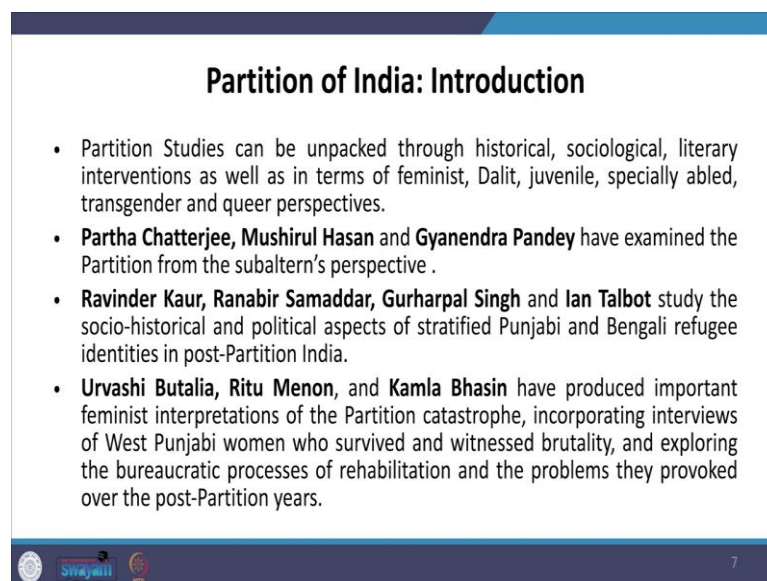
leaders who were spearheading, who were the forerunners of the anti-colonial struggles – names such as Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhash Chandra Bose, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and so on.

Till the recent past time the possibility of alternate voices as narrators of post-Partition experiences, voices of the woman, the child, the religious minority or the Dalit have remained submerged. So, like we said at the beginning, at the turn of 50 years of Independence in 1990s, especially in 1997 the scholars started probing into this matter, reinvestigating the chapters preceding and following the 1947 historic event, and they started disinterring so many alternative voices.

The voices that had hitherto remained silent. How about the Dalit child that was born at that time? How about the female survivor of rape? So, we see a polyphony suddenly emerging. Voices actually speaking from different quarters, which tend to problematize and complicate the question of Partition experience and it adds layers and a richer texture to the study of Partition.

So, we have to understand that Partition studies today is an institution in its own right and it can be unpacked through intervention by different disciplines, through different disciplinary lens,

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Partition of India: Introduction

- Partition Studies can be unpacked through historical, sociological, literary interventions as well as in terms of feminist, Dalit, juvenile, specially abled, transgender and queer perspectives.
- **Partha Chatterjee, Mushirul Hasan** and **Gyanendra Pandey** have examined the Partition from the subaltern's perspective .
- **Ravinder Kaur, Ranabir Samaddar, Gurharpal Singh** and **Ian Talbot** study the socio-historical and political aspects of stratified Punjabi and Bengali refugee identities in post-Partition India.
- **Urvashi Butalia, Ritu Menon,** and **Kamla Bhasin** have produced important feminist interpretations of the Partition catastrophe, incorporating interviews of West Punjabi women who survived and witnessed brutality, and exploring the bureaucratic processes of rehabilitation and the problems they provoked over the post-Partition years.

7

such as the historical lens, the sociological, the literary intervention as well as in terms of the point of view of the feminist, the Dalit, the juvenile, the specially abled, the transgender and the queer.

So, we have multiple perspectives and we understand that the study of partition is far from exhausted. In order for us to have a well-rounded view, we need to pursue and we have so much to pursue as far as far as Partition scholarship is concerned. New scholarship is emerging that question older scholarship, older works and that is how knowledge gets added. We have prominent names such as Partha Chatterjee, Mushirul Hasan and Gyanendra Pandey that have examined the Partition from the subaltern's perspective.

Ravinder Kaur, Ranabir Samaddar, Gurharpal Singh and Ian Talbot have studied the socio-historical and political aspects of the stratified Punjabi and Bengali refugee identities in the post-Partition India. Then of course, when we are talking about feminist scholarship within Partition studies we have seminal works, we have path breaking contributions by scholars such as Urvashi Butalia, Ritu Menon and Kamla Bhasin, who have produced very important feminist interpretations of the Partition catastrophe, incorporating interviews of West Punjabi women that survived and witnessed brutality. And, so, Butalia, Menon and Bhasin have explored the bureaucratic process of rehabilitation and problems that these processes provoked over the post-Partition years.

So, scholars such as Nandi Bhatia, Jill Didur and Mushirul Hasan point to the importance of studying the marginal voices and the vital role that unofficial memorialization plays in literature. Oral histories, accounts and reminiscences have a supplementary value that celebrate the personal axes and bring to light the unexplored or rather under-explored dimensions of Partition. So, scholars such as Nandi Bhatia, Jill Didur and Mushirul Hasan emphasize the importance of studying the marginal voices and the vital role that unofficial memorialization plays in literature.

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Partition of India: Introduction

- Scholars such as **Nandi Bhatia**, **Jill Didur**, and **Mushirul Hassan** emphasize the importance of studying marginal voices and the vital role that unofficial memorialization plays in literature.
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Oral histories, accounts and reminiscences have a supplementary value that celebrate the personal axes and bring to light the unexplored or rather under-explored dimensions of Partition. So, scholars such as Nandi Bhatia, Jill Didur and Mushirul Hasan emphasize the importance of studying the marginal voices and the vital role that unofficial memorialization plays in literature.

They argue that what we see in formal history could be lopsided. Basically, what we say history is his story. So, what happens to her story, their story, the ones that are at the fringes, at the margins? So, we need obtaining a more well-rounded picture of Partition. We need to incorporate the different layers of voices and the different types of experiences that give us an assorted picture, a more comprehensive picture of Partition.

So, oral histories, accounts and the process of remembering – unofficial remembering or reminiscences have a supplementary value that celebrate the personal axes, and they bring to the light the underexplored or unexplored terrains of Partition studies. So, when we talk of Partition we have to remember that the proponents of the Two-nation theory, which clearly leaders like Muhammad Ali Jinnah and R. C. Majumdar were, who argued for this division. They obstinately wanted the division along communal lines.

There indeed were other motivations too which played significant roles in the division of the subcontinent. When we study these factors we see that the Hindu-Muslim rhetoric is only at the surface. We see that the Hindu - Muslim rhetoric is only the tip of the iceberg and when further delving into this fact,

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Partition of India: Introduction

- While proponents of two-nation theory such as **M.A. Jinnah** or **R.C. Majumdar** argued for division along communal lines, there were other motivations too that played significant roles in the division of the subcontinent. These factors include class, caste, language and regional politics.
- At the time of Partition, there was a three-cornered negotiation between plenipotentiaries speaking for the British, the Congress and the Muslim League.

we discover other factors which include the question of class, the question of caste, the question of language and regional politics.

Gyanendra Pandey is a very important scholar that has researched on Partition and he points at two turns of event after 1947 that jeopardize clean decision that the Partition actually vouched, for the Partition guaranteed peace in exchange for division along communal lines. But we see two dates in history – one is 1971, where we have the Liberation War of Bangladesh which goes on to prove that the Muslim is in fact, not a homogeneous identity. There were clashes in terms of different ethnicities, different languages and it gave birth to a new nation that we have today, which is Bangladesh.

And we have the second chapter in history, which was in 1984 – the Sikh massacres because the Sikhs demanded for a separate Khalistan which proves that the kind of Hindu Sikh peaceful coexistence that people imagined was also a myth. So, we understand that India is a polyphonic, polyethnic, multi-religious country. There are so many languages...a multi-linguistic nation where it is very difficult to have exclusive homogeneous spaces.

So, at the time of partition there was a three-cornered negotiation. I keep harping at this point that Partition was in fact, a very exclusionary act, a kind of decision that excluded the opinion of the masses and this negotiation happened between plenipotentiaries speaking for the British, the Congress and the Muslim League – three prominent enactors

and protagonists in the scheme of Partition. we discover other factors which include the question of class, the question of caste, the question of language and regional politics.

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Indian National Congress

- Formed in 1885 by Allan Octavian Hume, a retired British civil servant.
- Other founding members include Dadabhai Naoroji and Dinshaw Wacha.
- The first session was held in Bombay under the presidency of Womesh Chandra Bonnerjee in 1885.
- The Congress was basically a movement of the upper and middle class, western-educated Indians in its moderate phase.

We will quickly brush up our history and I will just walk you through the the anti-colonial struggles and the ah years preceding the Partition, the events and the policies that built up and actually amounted to the Partition, that accounted for Partition. So, Partition did not happen overnight, it was happening through the different British policies. This is my argument that the Partition first happened inside the thinking, inside the heads of the Indians. So, in their way of thinking, in their way of identifying themselves, and we will see how.

So, we have to talk about the Indian National Congress in the context of anti-colonial struggles that the leaders were spearheading. Indian National Congress, abbreviated as INC, was formed in 1885 by Allan Octavian Hume, who was a retired British civil servant. Other founding members include Dadabhai Naoroji and Dinshaw Wacha both Indians.

The first session was held in Bombay under the presidency of Womesh Chandra Bonnerjee in 1885. The Congress was basically a movement of and by the upper- and middle-class Indians, who were western-educated and most of them were moderates.

So, I would just like for you to look at the name Womesh Chandra Bonnerjee. He was from Bengal and if his name was pronounced in an Indian way it would be Umesh Chandra Banerjee, but obviously, he liked his name to be pronounced with an anglicized accent. So, this gives us the impression of the elitist nature or disposition or the western exposure of the members of Indian National Congress in its moderate phase.

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Prominent leaders of INC

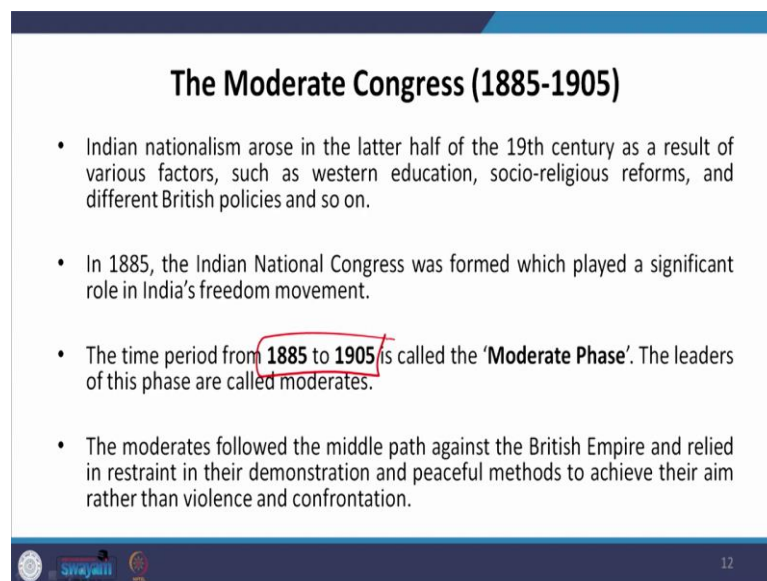
- **Dadabhai Naoroji** - Known as the 'Grand old man of India.' The first Indian to become a member of the House of Commons in Britain.
- **Womesh Chandra Bonnerjee** - The first president of the INC, and the first Indian to act as Standing Counsel.
- **G Subramania Aiyer** - Founded 'The Hindu' newspaper where he criticised British imperialism. Co-founded the Madras Mahajana Sabha.
- **Gopal Krishna Gokhale** - Regarded as Mahatma Gandhi's political mentor. Founded the Servants of India Society.
- **Sir Surendranath Banerjee** - Also called 'Rashtraguru' and 'Indian Burke'. Founded the Indian National Association which later merged with the INC. Cleared the Indian Civil Service but was discharged due to racial discrimination.

So, let us take a look and just walk through the names of the prominent leaders of INC. Dadabhai Naoroji was known as the 'Grand old man of India.' He was the first Indian to become a member of the House of Commons in Britain. Next, we have Womesh Chandra Bonnerjee, the first president of the INC and the first Indian to act as a Standing Counsel. Next, we have G. Subramania Aiyer, who founded 'The Hindu' newspaper and this was the medium that he used for criticizing British imperialism. Aiyer was also co-founder of the Madras Mahajana Sabha.

Next, we have the name of Gopal Krishna Gokhale. Gokhale was regarded as M. K. Gandhi's political mentor; he had founded the Servants of India Society. And we have Sir Surendranath Banerjee. He was known as 'Rashtraguru' or 'Indian Burke'. He founded the Indian National Association, which later merged with the INC. He had cleared the Indian Civil Service, but was discharged due to racial discrimination.

So, Indian nationalism arose in the latter half of the 19th century as a result of various factors, which included the Indians, especially the elite Indians' exposure to western education, to English education. They were traveling to London to earn their degrees, they were learning about the British administration, the British policies and they could actually decipher and identify the unfair nature of these policies.

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The Moderate Congress (1885-1905)

- Indian nationalism arose in the latter half of the 19th century as a result of various factors, such as western education, socio-religious reforms, and different British policies and so on.
- In 1885, the Indian National Congress was formed which played a significant role in India's freedom movement.
- The time period from **1885 to 1905** is called the '**Moderate Phase**'. The leaders of this phase are called moderates.
- The moderates followed the middle path against the British Empire and relied in restraint in their demonstration and peaceful methods to achieve their aim rather than violence and confrontation.

12

And so, there were leaders emerging from within the Indian community that were responsible for, that were undertaking the tasks of socio-religious reforms and they were

challenging different British policies. So, with knowledge they were starting to understand their own position and they were also becoming agents, they wanted to become agents. That is how the question of self-rule, the question of Swaraj would emerge later on.

For example, as a result of familiarity with Christianity in Bengal we had the development of the Brahmo Samaj. The Brahmos broke away from Hindus and they formed an alternative samaj or society, the Brahma Samaj and the forerunners, the founders of this samaj included Raja Ram Mohan Roy of course and Keshab Chandra Sen, and these leaders were actually responsible for so many reforms that included especially widow remarriage and then they wanted to abolish child marriage in a society.

And, so, it was a way of developing ah or revisiting and improving the status of the women in society. So, they protested against the 'sati daha,' the burning of the widow after her husband died and so on. So, we see that western education, in fact, becomes a boon for a lot of Indian nationalists, who are responsible for making the larger society aware in many ways.

So, in 1885 the Indian National Congress was formed, which played a significant role in India's freedom movement. The time period between 1885 to 1905 is known as the 'Moderate Phase'. The leaders that were prominent prominently functioning during this period are called the Moderates. The name itself suggests that they were in favor of the middle-path against the British Empire and they relied in restraint in demonstrating through peaceful methods, and in this way they would like to achieve their aims rather than resorting to any violence or confrontation.

So, the focus of the moderates was to educate people, to arouse a sense of political consciousness, agency among the masses and enable them to form their own opinion. So, the moderates criticize the government by using print media, such as newspapers and journals.

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The Moderate Congress (1885-1905)

- The focus of the moderates was to educate people, arouse the political consciousness and agency, and enable them to form their opinion.
- The moderates criticized the government using print media, such as newspaper and journal.
- Their major demands included more powers for the local bodies, of legislative councils, separation of the judiciary from the executive, abolition of salt tax, reduction of spending on army, etc.
- They fought for civil rights including right to speech, thought, and expression of modern democratic ideas through a free press and campaigns.



13

The major demands included more powers for the local bodies, legislative councils, separation of the judiciary from the executive, abolition of salt tax, reduction of spending on army and so on.

And so, basically they were fighting for civil rights which include ones right to speech, right to thought, expressing oneself freely, right to association and so the Indians wanted to build their sense of nationalism, their sense of a national pride through modern democratic means and they would like to propagate their ideas through the medium of a free press and through campaigns.

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Demands by the Moderate Congress

- Education of the masses and organizing public opinion, making people aware of their rights.. Increasing spending on education of Indians.
- **Indian representation in the Executive Council** and in the Indian Council in London.
- Reform of the legislative councils; Separation of the executive from the judiciary.
- Decreased land revenue tax and ending peasant oppression.
- Reduced spending on the army. Repealing the Arms Act of 1878.
- **Abolishing salt tax** and duty on sugar.
- Holding the ICS exam in India along with England to allow more Indians the opportunity to take part in the administration.
- Freedom of speech and expression. Freedom to form associations.
- End of economic drain of India by the British.



14

So, demands by the moderate Congress included education of the masses and organizing public opinion, making people aware of their rights, increasing expenditure on education of Indians. The Indian representation in the executive council and in the Indian council in London was demanded. So, there was demand for a change in the reformation of the legislative councils, which would mean separation of the executive from the judiciary.

So, when we separate the executive from the judiciary the court is not allowed to make a speedy and thereby an arbitrary trial. So, there is no randomness in execution of law. So, that needed to be ensured. So that no Indian is punished in a precipitate, in a rash manner, there is more consideration given. So, the person found guilty can appeal and can actually plead for some justice.

So, land revenue tax and ending peasant operations oppressions. Next, the demands included reduced spending on the army and repealing of the Arms Act of 1878, abolition of salt tax and duty on sugar, and then holding the ICS exam in India along with England as a way of allowing more Indians the opportunity to become a part of the administration.

So, the only way of gaining agency, gaining visibility within their own polity was through gaining political seats, through gaining a voice, a stand within their own politics. That could only happen when Indians were allowed to appear for their own public service, civil service examinations. That was one of the demands made by the Moderate Congress. Next, the freedom of speech and expression and to form associations, end of economic drain of India by the British.

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The Extremists

- The partition of Bengal in 1905 opened the eyes of the Indians to the true colors of the British rulers.
- Lord Curzon and his disdain for anything Indian created resentment and anger against the colonizers.
- There was a fear among some leaders that the moderates with their westernized notions were trying to create an India in the image of the West.
- There was a revival of national pride at that time.
- The extremist leaders were also influenced by the growth of spiritual nationalism at that time.

Now, having spoken of Moderates we cannot not speak of the Extremists. The partition of Bengal in 1905 had opened the eyes of the Indians to the true colours of the British rulers and they had become squarely cognizant of what the British were planning to do in the name of administration. They were trying to basically crack the consolidated power that the subcontinent was, in terms of language, religion, provinces. So, we see that India is facing its first fissure along the lines of Bengal in 1905.

So, Lord Curzon and his disdain for anything Indian created a sense of resentment and anger among the native Indians against the colonizers. And there was a fear among some leaders that the Moderates with their westernized notions were trying to create an India in the image of the west. So, the extremists' premise was not really peaceful negotiation, but an aggressive assertion of one's unique identity and taking pride in one's identity, in one native identity.

So, they thought that they did not have to really emulate or develop their self in the image of the West. There was a revival of the national pride at that time, and the extremist leaders were greatly influenced by the growth of spiritual nationalism at that time. So, when we talk of the extremists we have to think of someone like Sri Aurobindo, who was also a spiritual leader.

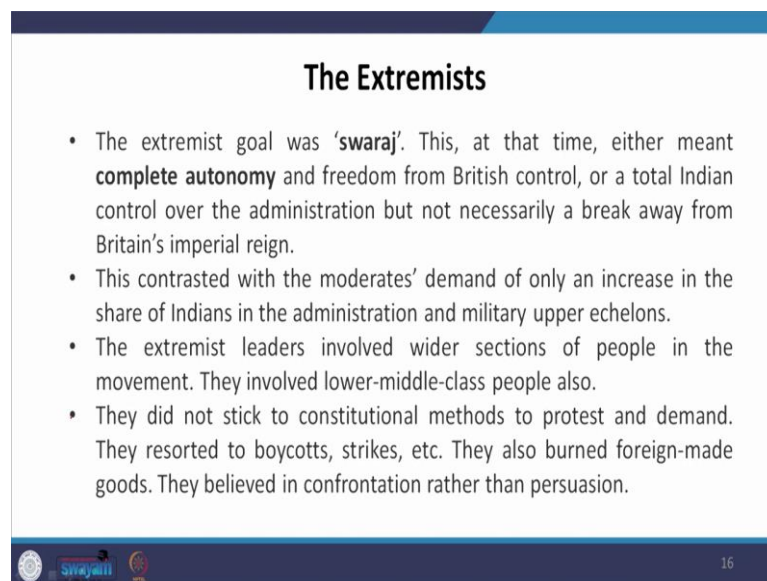
We have to think of writing, a great work by Bankim Chandra such as the Anandamath. Anandamath where he is talking of Sanyasi Revolution and that is where he is composing the much acclaimed and well known song "Vande Mataram" for the first

time. Who is this mother, this mother that he describes as “sujalam sufalam malayaja sheetalam sashya shyamalam mataram?” So, a mother that is fertile and he describes her as someone that carries the beads of education in her hand and she is rendering abhaya and she is also providing the power.

And towards the end of this song we know it is none other than the Durga, the imagination of the Hindu goddess, of the goddess of war, the goddess of courage Durga. “Tvam hi Durga dasha-praharana-dhaarinee,” right. So, he is describing Mother India in the image of Durga. We see this influence of spiritual nationalism greatly among the Extremists. They were informed by a religious fervor, right. They actually interspersed the religious fervor with the nationalist fervor.

So, the extremist goal was 'swaraj.' This either meant complete autonomy and freedom from British control or a total Indian control over the administration. However, it may not at that time refer to breaking away from Britain's imperial reign.

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The Extremists

- The extremist goal was 'swaraj'. This, at that time, either meant **complete autonomy** and freedom from British control, or a total Indian control over the administration but not necessarily a break away from Britain's imperial reign.
- This contrasted with the moderates' demand of only an increase in the share of Indians in the administration and military upper echelons.
- The extremist leaders involved wider sections of people in the movement. They involved lower-middle-class people also.
- They did not stick to constitutional methods to protest and demand. They resorted to boycotts, strikes, etc. They also burned foreign-made goods. They believed in confrontation rather than persuasion.

16

This contrasted with the Moderate's demand of only an increase in the share of Indians in the administration and military upper echelons.

So, we see that the Moderates' approach to Independence or in their role in the anti-colonial struggles is through a process of political bargaining, through a learning about

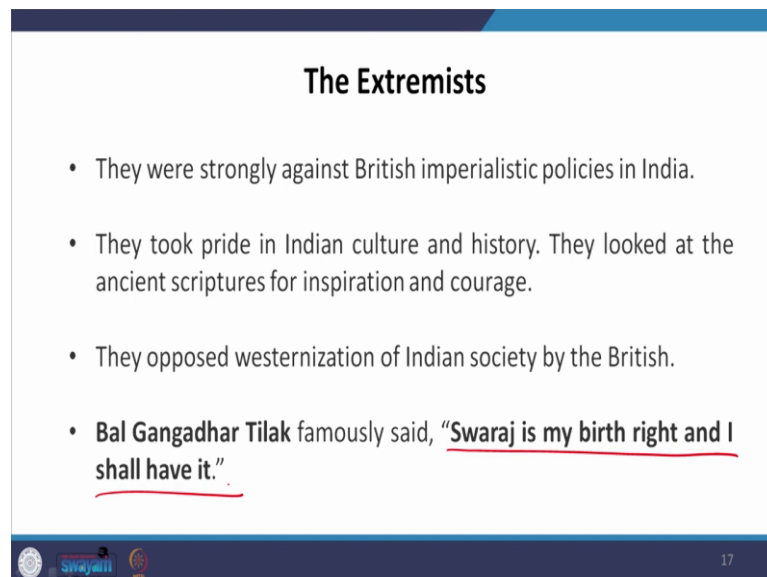
the British policies and trying to obtain or earn a greater stake within that scheme, become stakeholders within the scheme developed under British administration.

The Extremist leaders involved wider sections of people in the movement. So, the Extremists would be mostly from the masses. They were essentially not from the elite backgrounds. They involved the lower- and the lower middle-class people too. The ones that could not actually read and understand the British policies. They actually believed in dying or taking lives – the extremist path like we say.

They did not stick to the constitutional methods of protest and demand. They would rather resort to boycotts, strikes and they also resorted to burning foreign-made goods. They believed in confrontation, direct head-on coalition rather than persuasion.

And they were strongly against the British imperialistic policies in India. They took pride in Indian culture and in Indian history. There was a revivalist tendency, reviving of the ancient Indian culture and ethos. So, a civilization that prospered and flourished before the British had come, long before the British had come. They looked at the ancient scriptures for inspiration and courage.

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The Extremists

- They were strongly against British imperialistic policies in India.
- They took pride in Indian culture and history. They looked at the ancient scriptures for inspiration and courage.
- They opposed westernization of Indian society by the British.
- **Bal Gangadhar Tilak** famously said, "Swaraj is my birth right and I shall have it."

17

They opposed westernization of Indian society by the British. So, we can have a quotation, a famous quotation by Bal Gangadhar Tilak that sums up everything that I was

trying to explain about the Extremists - "Swaraj is my birthright and I shall have it". It is an assertive and a very strong statement made by Tilak.

So, with this I would like to conclude today's lecture and I will see you in the next lecture.

Thank you.