



UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification No. CSR/ 12 /18

It is notified for information of all concerned that the Syndicate in its meeting held on 28.05.2018 (vide Item No.14) approved the Syllabi of different subjects in Undergraduate Honours / General / Major courses of studies (CBCS) under this University, as laid down in the accompanying pamphlet:

List of the subjects

Sl. No.	Subject	Sl. No.	Subject
1	Anthropology (Honours / General)	29	Mathematics (Honours / General)
2	Arabic (Honours / General)	30	Microbiology (Honours / General)
3	Persian (Honours / General)	31	Mol. Biology (General)
4	Bengali (Honours / General /LCC2 /AECC1)	32	Philosophy (Honours / General)
5	Bio-Chemistry (Honours / General)	33	Physical Education (General)
6	Botany (Honours / General)	34	Physics (Honours / General)
7	Chemistry (Honours / General)	35	Physiology (Honours / General)
8	Computer Science (Honours / General)	36	Political Science (Honours / General)
9	Defence Studies (General)	37	Psychology (Honours / General)
10	Economics (Honours / General)	38	Sanskrit (Honours / General)
11	Education (Honours / General)	39	Social Science (General)
12	Electronics (Honours / General)	40	Sociology (Honours / General)
13	English ((Honours / General/ LCC1/ LCC2/AECC1)	41	Statistics (Honours / General)
14	Environmental Science (Honours / General)	42	Urdu (Honours / General /LCC2 /AECC1)
15	Environmental Studies (AECC2)	43	Women Studies (General)
16	Film Studies (General)	44	Zoology (Honours / General)
17	Food Nutrition (Honours / General)	45	Industrial Fish and Fisheries – IFFV (Major)
18	French (General)	46	Sericulture – SRTV (Major)
19	Geography (Honours / General)	47	Computer Applications – CMAV (Major)
20	Geology (Honours / General)	48	Tourism and Travel Management – TTMV (Major)
21	Hindi (Honours / General /LCC2 /AECC1)	49	Advertising Sales Promotion and Sales Management –ASPV (Major)
22	History (Honours / General)	50	Communicative English –CMEV (Major)
23	Islamic History Culture (Honours / General)	51	Clinical Nutrition and Dietetics CNDV (Major)
24	Home Science Extension Education (General)	52	Bachelor of Business Administration (BBA) (Honours)
25	House Hold Art (General)	53	Bachelor of Fashion and Apparel Design – (B.F.A.D.) (Honours)
26	Human Development (Honours / General)	54	Bachelor of Fine Art (B.F.A.) (Honours)
27	Human Rights (General)	55	B. Music (Honours / General) and Music (General)
28	Journalism and Mass Communication (Honours / General)		

The above shall be effective from the academic session 2018-2019.

SENATE HOUSE
KOLKATA-700073
The 4th June, 2018

Paul
4/6/18
(Dr. Santanu Paul)
Deputy Registrar

CBCS SYLLABUS
IN
HISTORY (HONOURS)

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

2018

University of Calcutta

HIS – A

The Three - year B.A. Honours in History will comprise 6 Semesters. The curriculum will consist of 14 Core Courses (CC), 4 Discipline Specific Elective (DSE) courses, 2 Ability Enhancement Compulsory Courses (AECC), 2 Skill Enhancement Courses (SEC) Each course will be of 100 Marks. Attendance: 10 marks per Paper, Internal Assessment: 10 marks per paper.

➤ **Core Courses CC**

[Fourteen courses. Each course: 6 credits (5 theoretical segments TH+ 1 for tutorial related segment TU). Total: 84 credits.

- Each course carries 80 marks. Teaching time: 6x14 = 84 hrs
Minimum 60 classes
- 65 marks for theoretical segment.
- Question Pattern for subjective/descriptive segment of 65 marks: 3 questions out of 6 (within 500 words) (10 x3 = 30) + 4 questions out of 8 within 250 words; 5x4 =20) + 15 objective type questions carrying 1 mark each (15 x 1 = 15).
- 15 marks for tutorial - related segments as suggested below (any one from each mode):
- Any one of the following modes: upto 1000 words for one Term Paper/upto 500 words for each of the two Term Papers/ equivalent Book Review/ --based on syllabus -related and/or current topics .[The modes and themes and/or topics are be decided by the concerned faculty of respective colleges.]
- Core courses: 2 each in Semesters 1 and 2; three each in Semesters 3 and 4; 2 each in Semesters 5 and 6.
- **IMPORTANT NOTES:**
The Readings provided below include many of those of the UGC Model CBCS Syllabus in History. For further details of Course Objectives and additional references it is advised that the UGC model CBCS syllabus concerning relevant courses and topics should be given due importance and primarily consulted.
- Cited advanced texts in Bengali are not necessarily substitutes, but supplementary to the English books.

- The format is subject to the common structural CBCS format of the University.
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- **Discipline- specific Elective Courses DSE**

Each course: 6 credits 5 for theoretical segment + 1 for tutorial-related segment. **(TH -5 TU-1)**

DSE-A for Semester -5/6, DSE-B for Semester 5/6

- Each course carries 80 marks. Minimum 60 classes.
 - 65 marks for theoretical segment.
 - Question Pattern for subjective/descriptive segment of 65 marks: 3 questions out of 6 (within 500 words; $(10 \times 3 = 30)$ + 4 questions out of 8 (within 250 words; $5 \times 4 = 20$) and 15 objective type questions carrying 1 mark each ($15 \times 1 = 15$).
 - 15 marks for tutorial-related segments as suggested below (any one from each mode): Any one of the following modes: upto 1000 words for one Term Paper/upto 500 words for each of the two Term Papers/ equivalent Book Review/ based on syllabus related and/or current topics [The modes and themes and/or topics of a. and b. to be decided by the concerned faculty of respective colleges.]
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- **HIS-A: Skill Enhancement/Skill-based Courses SEC** Each Course: 2 credits . **(Only theoretical.)**
SEC –A in Semester 3, SEC –B in Semester 4.
 - Each course carries 80 marks. Teaching time: 2 hrs per week or $2 \times 14 = 28$ hrs
 - 80 marks for theoretical segment.
 - Question Pattern for subjective/descriptive segment of 80 marks: 4 questions out of 8 (within 500 words; $(10 \times 4 = 40)$ + 5 questions out of 10 (within 250 words; $5 \times 5 = 25$) and 15 objective type questions carrying 1 mark each ($15 \times 1 = 15$).
 - **HIS-A: Ability Enhancement Compulsory Courses (AECC)** Each Course 2 credits
 - AECC -1** : Communicative English/ MIL
 - AECC-2** : Environmental Studies
 - AECC -1 in Semester 1, AECC -2 in Semester 2**

IMPORTANT NOTES:

SCOTTISH CHURCH COLLEGE

TUTORIAL

SEMESTER – 6 (DSE-A3)

Topic- **Netaji and Congress –
Conflicts and compromises**

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Netaji and Congress –

Conflicts and compromises

Subhash Bose was drawn to the workings of the INC since he first met C R Das in Calcutta in 1921. As a young member he enthusiastically took part in all Congress movements throughout the thirties and rose to the rank of the Congress President in 1938 and 1939. His time with the Congress however was not short of contestations and controversies. As early as the 1930s, along with Nehru he stood staunchly against the Congress position of Dominion Status and clamored for poorna swaraj as was suggested in the Nehru Report. A compromise was struck in 1928. The Congress accepted the Nehru report with the caveat that if the government did not accept it in a year's time, civil disobedience would commence in support of complete independence. Eventually matters led to the Civil Disobedience Movement.

Bose being forever vocal with his views, later, was openly critical of Gandhi's decision to call off the Civil Disobedience Movement at its height (1931). He wrote: "We were angry when we learnt of this stoppage of our struggle at a time when we seem to be consolidating our position and advancing on all fronts".

Subhash Chandra Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru also became the focal points of a new liberal ideology within the Congress. The new liberalism was willing to accommodate egalitarian ideas. And against the old fashioned liberals who did not wish the state to play an active

role in promoting welfare, liberals like Bose and Nehru felt that the state had a responsibility to protect the interests of the poor and the indigent. Subhash Bose as Congress President in 1938, with Nehru as Chairman, took the initiative to set up the National Planning Committee. The manner, in which the National Planning Committee tried to set out their agenda for the future, emphasizing the value of a planned economy, shows how deeply the Soviet planning had influenced this generation. Bose had said, “The State, on the advice of a Planning Commission will have to adopt a comprehensive scheme for gradually socializing our entire agricultural and industrial system in the spheres of production and distribution”.

On the other hand the new liberal vision, influenced by John M. Keynes, visualized the possibility of an active state intervention in the economy for the betterment of the conditions of the poor and the underprivileged people. ‘Tax the rich and protect the poor’ became the principal watchword in welfare economics, issuing out of a serious introspection by the liberals about the value of Laissez-faireism. This reveals how liberalism at that juncture was moving away from Laissez-faireist ideologies. Therefore under the impact of Soviet planning and the new trends in liberal thought, leaders like Nehru and Bose began to hold out a completely different vision about how the nation state in future would put great stress on planning and welfare. With these objectives men with known socialist leanings including some labour leaders were brought within the National Planning Committee.

Even though the Congress socialists looked upon Nehru and Subhash Bose as their icons, none of them formally joined the Congress Socialist party in order not to break with the main stream Congress

leadership. Despite their otherwise Left-wing credentials both of them suffered from a series of ambiguities. Nehru remained throughout his life an ardent devotee of Gandhi. Bose rebelled against Gandhi in 1939 but was unwilling to risk a complete rupture with the nationalist mainstream, even after he had been expelled from the Congress.

In the meantime, this left-right divide became more pronounced after 1937 when the Congress as the Congress Right increasingly displayed extremely conservative tendencies. The ideological struggle in the Congress centered around two major issues, agrarian reforms and office acceptance. The Congress socialists like Jayprakash Narayan favoured a massive mobilisation in the sense of a kind of spontaneous upsurge by peasants and workers. For them political radicalism was preferable to the standard Gandhian preoccupation with rural reconstruction programme. Office acceptance emerged another contentious issue following the 1937 elections. The Congress socialists felt that in view of the serious limitations of the Reforms of 1935, failing to create a system of genuine self-government, the Congress should desist from accepting office. Nehru and Bose led the Congress socialist leaders in trying to prevail upon the Congress, the utter uselessness of office acceptance. The Congress might win the election but on the ground that the reform did not fulfill the minimum expectation of the Congress, it was required to refuse office. The Congress-right however did not agree with this policy. They regarded the idea of rejection of office as impolitic and favoured the strategy of breaking the system from within.

The Congress socialists who voiced a different kind of ideological concern constantly questioned the legitimacy of right-wing Congress leaders. To a large measure the identity of the Congress right became

defined by the continuous ideological campaign undertaken by the Congress socialists. By the close of the 1930s the right-left divide in the Congress became pronounced and visible. On one side were the Congress socialists and the communists; on the other side were those Congress men who became involved in ministry making and power mongering.

In 1938, against the backdrop of the war, Bose continued to argue in favour of revolutionary action to take advantage of the situation and aim for complete independence. At the Jalpaiguri Session of the Provincial Congress he even suggested that the British be given an ultimatum of 6 months to leave, failing which India would rise up in revolt. He pushed for swaraj as a National demand and opposed the idea of a federation. However majority of right wing Congress leadership was skeptical of Bose's plans and preferred to push for constitutional settlement.

Against this backdrop, Bose's candidacy for 1939 session was rivaled by Pattabhi Sitaramayya, whom Gandhi declared to be his nominee. Subhas won with massive leads in Bengal and Punjab and substantial ones in Kerala, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, UP and Assam. However the Congress right was able to overturn the defeat very quickly as 13 out of 15 members of the Congress Working Committee resigned and Bose was directed to nominate his new executive according to Gandhi's wishes by means of a resolution moved by Govind Ballav Pant (Pant Resolution). Bose tried in the vain for two months to set up a working committee that was acceptable to all. He was eventually forced to resign.

Rajendra Parasad replaced him as the INC President.

In 1939, the Congress practically expelled Bose when he protested against the passing of certain resolutions by the Working Committee that included the clause that no Congressman can organise Satyagraha without the sanction of the Provincial Congress Committee. Bose organised a Protest Day against these resolutions. The Congress responded by removing him from the Presidentship of Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and disqualified him from holding any elective post within the organisation for the next three years. For Bose this was nothing short of expulsion from the Congress.

Subhash Bose: “I welcome the decision of the Working Committee virtually expelling me from the Congress for the three years. This decision is the logical consequence of the process of ‘Right-consolidation’ which has been going on for the last few years and which has been accentuated by the acceptance of ministerial office in the provinces. The action of the Working Committee has served to expose the real character of the present majority party in the Congress and the role they have been playing. The punishment accorded to me is, however, thoroughly justifies from their point of view. By trying to warn the country about the continued drift towards Constitutionalism and Reformism, by protesting against resolutions which seek to kill the revolutionary spirit of the Congress, by working for the cause of Left wing consolidation and, last, but not the least, by consistently appealing to the country to prepare for the coming struggle--- I have committed a crime for which I have to pay the penalty”. (Crossroads, The Works of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, 1938-40)

Subhash Bose then started the Forward Bloc (May, 1939) within the Congress to bring the Left together, but did not achieve much success. It was stated that members of the Congress could become members of the Bloc, and the latter became a separate political party only after independence. This again displays his continuing loyalty and commitment towards the Congress in spite of it all. He did take a tour of the country calling on the people for the final struggle. He set up the Left Consolidation Committee to organize the Left followers for this struggle, which was joined by the National Front (the then Communist Party) and M N Roy's Radical Democratic Party. This also did not last long.

Believing that the Gandhian position of increasing conciliation was approaching a rightist tendency since the 1930s Bose took up a more pronounced leftist position and provided leadership to the same, within and without the Congress. But the success was short lived and limited. When Bose was locked in contest with the Congress, the left deserted him as for them the unity of the Congress was more important.



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Book-

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Netaji and Congress

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Semester VI

Paper - DSE A3

Netaji's time in the Congress

Subhas Chandra Bose was born in a middle class lawyers' family and graduated from Scottish Church College (1919). Before Scottish Church he was a student in the Presidency but was expelled for nationalist activities in 1916. Ideology wise he was a socialist. In 1920 he was sent to Cambridge to study for the Civil service exams and he even got selected but left halfway through 1921 seeing the political turmoil in India. He was sponsored by his big brother Sarat Chandra Bose who was a lawyer for all his education and through the earlier part of his political career.

He was aged just 24 when he returned to India and came under the influence of the Non Cooperation movement based on the ideology of Non Violence.

He remained in the Congress till he became disillusioned with its Moderate politics and split and formed his own part the Forward bloc in 1939.

Conflict with the Congress and its ideology

When Subhas arrived in India, Gandhi was in Bombay at the time and agreed to meet him in the afternoon. In Bose's account of the meeting, written many years later, he pilloried Gandhi with question after question. Bose thought Gandhi's answers were vague, his goals unclear, his plan for achieving them not thought through. Gandhi and Bose differed in this first meeting on the question of means—for Gandhi non-violent means to any end were non-negotiable; in Bose's thought, all means were acceptable in the service of anti-colonial ends. They differed on the question of ends.

According to historian Gordon, "Gandhi, however, set Bose on to the leader of the Congress and Indian nationalism in Bengal, C. R. Das, and in him Bose found the leader whom he sought." Das was more flexible than Gandhi, more sympathetic to the extremism that had attracted idealistic young men such as Bose in Bengal. Das launched Bose into nationalist politics. Bose would work within the ambit of the Indian National Congress politics for nearly 20 years even as he tried to change its course.

He started the newspaper Swaraj and took charge of publicity for the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. His mentor was Chittaranjan Das who was a spokesman for aggressive nationalism in Bengal. In the year 1923, Bose was elected the President of All India Youth Congress and also the Secretary of Bengal State Congress. He was also the editor of the newspaper "Forward", founded by Chittaranjan Das. Bose worked as the CEO of the Calcutta Municipal Corporation for Das when the latter was elected mayor of Calcutta in 1924. In a roundup of nationalists in 1925, Bose was arrested and sent to prison in Mandalay, where he contracted tuberculosis.

In 1927, after being released from prison, Bose became general secretary of the Congress party and worked with Jawaharlal Nehru for independence. In late December 1928, Bose organised the Annual Meeting of the Indian National Congress in Calcutta. His most memorable role was as General officer commanding (GOC) Congress Volunteer Corps. A little later, Bose was again arrested and jailed for civil disobedience; but he still contested and managed to be elected from jail as the Mayor of Bengal in 1930.

Bose became increasingly critical of Gandhi's more conservative economics as well as his less confrontational approach toward independence. In 1938 he was elected president of the Indian National Congress and formed a national planning committee, which formulated a policy of broad industrialization. However, this did not harmonize with Gandhian economic thought, which clung to the notion of cottage industries and benefiting from the use of the country's own resources. Bose's vindication came in 1939, when he defeated a Gandhian rival (Sitaramaiah twice) for re-election. Nonetheless, the "rebel president" felt bound to resign because of the lack of Gandhi's support. He founded the Forward Bloc, hoping to rally radical elements, but was again incarcerated in July 1940. His refusal to remain in prison at this critical period of India's history was expressed in a determination to fast to death, which frightened the British government into releasing him. On January 26, 1941, though closely watched, he escaped from his Calcutta residence in disguise and, traveling via Kabul and Moscow, eventually reached Germany in April. This marked the first major split between Gandhian politics and Bose and sowed the seeds in the process of his disillusioning with Congress politics.

As opposed to the Congress which always sought to appeal to the 'higher morals' of the British 'civilisation' Bose realised that doing so is not a long term effective method to remove the Raj once and for all from India and more drastic methods were needed. For him the ends justified the means a little bit even if it meant asking for assistance from known fascists.

Pattabhi Sitaramayya brilliantly captures the difference between Gandhi and Bose when he writes- *"With Gandhi Means are Ends. With Subhas Ends are Means. They were two polar opposites. Gandhi is moved by instincts. Subhas was guided by reason."*

Compromise of Subhas with the Congress

Even after resigning as President and forming his own party - The Forward Bloc, Subhas Chandra decided to stay within the umbrella of the Congress as he realised that at the time the more important matter was to maintain the spirit of unity that was needed at the time to fight the 'Divide and Rule' policy of the British. He just like all the other sects within the umbrella of the Congress decided to not separate his party from the All India Congress.

And even after separating from the Congress he never really could forget the Congress and their members with some of whom he had shared comradeship like Nehru. Lest it be forgotten, Netaji named one of the brigades of his Indian National Army as 'Nehru Brigade'. After he (allegedly) died in an air crash in 1945, Nehru ensured that his widow, Emilie, was given life-long financial assistance by the Congress party. Her daughter, Anita Bose, also received monetary aid till she got married in 1965.

The differences Bose and Nehru were restricted to views on fascism and relationship with Gandhi. Nobody could have put it better than Prof. Rudrangshu Mukherjee who in the concluding part of his book *Nehru & Bose-Parallel Lives*, writes: "Subhas believed that he and Jawaharlal could make history

together. But Jawaharlal could not see his destiny without Gandhi. This was the limiting point of their relationship.”

Conclusion

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose 's political views were in support of complete freedom for India with a classless society and state socialism at the earliest, whereas most of the Congress Committee wanted it in phases, through a Dominion status. Even though Bose and Mohandas K. Gandhi had differing ideologies, the latter called Bose the "Patriot of Patriots" in 1942. Bose admired Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and called him Bapu, recognising his importance as a symbol of Indian nationalism and giving him political expediency as told by Bose to Rash Behari Bose; called him "The Father of Our Nation" in a radio broadcast from Rangoon in 1944, in which he stated, "I am convinced that if we do desire freedom we must be prepared to wade through blood" ,a statement somewhat at odds with Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence. Thus, although they shared the goal of an independent India, by 1939 the two had become divided over the strategy to achieve Indian Independence, and to some degree the form which the post-Independence state should take.

Nirad C. Chaudhuri, Anton Pelinka and Leonard Gordon have remarked that Bose's skills were best illustrated at the negotiating table, rather than on the battlefield.

Bose's judgment in allying with the Japanese has been questioned, as many argue [7] that he would have been unable to ensure an independent India had he ridden to power on Japanese bayonets, and was in danger of becoming a puppet ruler similar to the fate that befell Puyi, the last Chinese Emperor of Manchuria.

Bose has been branded as a fascist in some quarters. Others believe that Bose had clearly expressed his belief that democracy was the best option for India.

In the end many people may interpret him differently, some may exaggerate his accounts but it is not a matter of debate whether or not Bose was a revolutionary of his time. It can also not be argued upon that he was ready to go extreme lengths to realise his dream of seeing an India independent of British Raj even if it meant compromising with his own personal ideals. His story continues to inspire us and will surely also inspire many generations to come. What he decided to do at his time for the independence was not only very revolutionary but also very. In a way he will be treated like Gandhi or Nehru. There will always be critics but you cannot argue with the important roles these characters played in shaping the current history of India.

Bibliography

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Department- History

SEM- 6

CC 13

Netaji and Congress –
Conflicts and Compromises

Introduction

Subhas Chandra Bose remained congressman although his life from very childhood he had developed respect for the revolutionaries .during the days of the student life in presidency college, Calcutta he made regular contacts with the secret activities number of revolutionaries during the time of hindu hostel of presidency college. The oaten affair and his subsequent rustication from the college clearly depicts frame of his mind and from the very beginning of the life and courage with which he stood behind his fellow students.

For such a young man the job of I.C.S was never to be an attractive one. Though he passed in I.C.S exam with honour in London he never accepted the job. He resigned from I.C.S on 22 April 1921 with clear determination of joining **India National Congress** to serve the cause of the country under British yoke .

After landing in Bombay on 16 July 1921 he first met with Gandhi at **Mani Bhavan** had a long talk with him about the future plan and future of **the movement and India**.

The way history of India has been written post-independence, it is rare to find a post-independence historian to write anything praiseworthy about any freedom-fighter who is not from the clan which appropriated India as its fiefdom. If Nehru is to be considered as the protagonist of India freedom story, not only **Subhas Chandra Bose, Vallabhbhai Patel, Ram Prasad Bismil, Veer Savarkar**, anyone who was not Nehru will be what in literary terms is called a foil. Not much has been written after independence from non-Nehru perspective. Congress, before independence, for a long time, before it became a privately-held entity under Gandhi, was more of an amalgamation of floating ideologies than a political party. The way strong personalities interacted and struggled with each other would make an interesting study, though very less has been written on it. Writing on internal politics of the Indian National Congress has been studiously avoided by the later-day scholars for the fear of offending the ruling royals of the Congress. These idols of independent India do not come out a winner in the face of the illuminating intellect of Tilak, non-negotiable nationalism of Bose or uncompromising courage of Bismil.

Within Congress, the contrast could not have been deeper and the competitive streak could not have been more defined than that between Bose and Nehru. Both were of the same age, and from a similar aristocratic background. Bose, unlike other great leaders, did not suffer the lack of

pedigree when placed next to Nehru. In reality, Bose with his scholarly background, Civil Services selection stood an inch over Nehru, who at least till that time was still struggling to find a way out of the shadow of a successful and rich Father.

Gandhi was a great leader, unified India, and played the great game of mixing religion with politics, thereby appealing to the masses with a mystic appeal. Still, the fact remains that Gandhi had pronounced dictatorial tendencies. As the party became more and more dependent on Gandhi for direction, and even survival, he became more and more adamant about imposing his will over the party. Nehru too started as a rebel young son to a rich friend of Gandhi committed to communism, but with his internal contradictions of character, he was quickly tamed by Gandhi.

Subhas and Nehru started as friends, Subhas appreciative of the sway Nehru held in the Congress and over Gandhi. Looking forward to enlist support of Nehru, who Bose considered his fellow comrade in the path of complete independence, he wrote on 4th of March, 1936- **“you are the only one to whom we can look up for leading the Congress in a progressive direction. Moreover, your position is unique, and I think even Mahatma Gandhi will be more accommodating towards you than towards anybody else.”** By then, Nehru had already served as Congress President once, in 1929-30 and was up for the second tenure. Gandhi’s affection for Nehru was well-known.

Netaji Bose wasn’t a **‘Nazi Collaborator’**, and accusing Alexandria Ocasio Cortez of being anti-Semitic over it is absurd Right after Nehru’s first presidency of Congress, Sitaramaiyya had quoted Young Indian and mentioned Gandhi as Nehru’s foster father. (His father Motilalji gave him pride and prejudice. His foster father Gandhi gave him his prudence). Bose by then was pretty disheartened by the dithering of Congress on the matter of Independence of India.

In his book **“Fundamental Questions of Indian Revolution”** Netaji writes, “In December 1928, a resolution was passed by the Congress by 1300 to 900 Votes, which put back the clock by definitely committing the Congress to the acceptance of dominion status...The resolution of Calcutta Congress gave the British Government one year’s time within which they could offer Dominion status to India. By 1936, Bose was quite disenchanted with the Congress under Gandhi and hoped to get help from Nehru in reigniting the fire of independence. However, on 29th of January, 1939, Subhas Bose was

appointed the president of Congress, having defeated Pattabhi Sitaramaiya, 1580 to 1377 Votes. Gandhi, dropping all the pretence of neutrality than declared that Sitaramaiyya's defeat is my defeat. The old guard and Gandhi loyalists got to work almost immediately blocking the newly-appointed President at every step. Possibly it was due to the disenchantment with the leadership of Nehru-Gandhi that Bose decided to himself step in. Nehru had lost his initial vigour for independence and socialism ever since he was handed over the Congress Presidency in 1929 and later in 1936-37. Sitaramaiyya mentions that in all these years, Netaji largely kept to himself and maintained a bipartisan position on most matters. He writes that only towards the end of September, 1938 it came to notice that Subhas babu was keen to become President of Congress at Tripuri. Gandhi was keen to have Maulana Abul Kalam Azad as the next president and in his absence, Sitaramaiyya was his second choice. However, later Maulana withdrew and the contest was between Sitaramaiyya and Subhas.



Gandhi at the Indian National Congress annual meeting in Haripura in 1938 with Congress President Subhas Chandra Bose

The declaration of Gandhi claiming Sitaramaiyya's loss as his own created unrest in the rank and file of the Congress. Immediately after, in Tripuri Congress, a resolution was brought in by Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, supported by 160 signatories stating "The committee declares its firm adherence to the fundamental policies of the Congress which have governed its programme in the past years under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi and is definitely of the opinion that there should be no break in these policies and they should continue to govern the Congress policies in future. This diluted the powers of appointed President, leaving Bose with nor room to give any new direction to the organization.

How Congress party shunted out Subhash Chandra Bose

The resolution went further and stated, “..the fact that Mahatma Gandhi alone can lead the Congress and the country to victory during such crisis, the Committee regards it as imperative that the Congress Executive should command his implicit confidence and requests the President to nominate Working Committee in accordance with the wishes of Gandhiji”. Not one to take things lying down, Bose wrote to Gandhiji. Subhas wrote to Gandhi on 25th March, 1939- “What exactly is the position of President? Article XV of the Congress Constitution confers certain powers on the President in the matter of appointing the Working committee.”



Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose with Nehru

Stifled and crippled as a notional president, Subhas Bose resigned later that year in September, 1939. Subhas had also fell apart from Nehru by this time. On 28th March, 1939, He wrote to Nehru, “I may tell you that since the Presidential election, you have done more to lower me in the estimation of the public than all the twelve ex-members of the Working Committee put together.” Here he made that famous remark on Nehru and his commitment to socialism. He wrote, “You are in the habit of proclaiming that you stand by yourself and represent nobody else and that you are not attached to any party. At the same time you call yourself a Socialist- sometimes a full-blooded Socialist. How a socialist can be an individualist as you regard yourself, beats me. The one is anti-thesis of the other, that his assessment was true is confirmed in a self-portrait written by Nehru anonymously. Nehru wrote in

Modern Review, November, 1939 “Men like Jawaharlal with all their capacity for great and good work are unsafe in a democracy. A little twist and Jawaharlal might turn a dictator sweeping aside the paraphernalia of a slow-moving democracy. Jawaharlal is certainly not a fascist either by conviction or temperament. He is far too much of an aristocrat for the crudity and vulgarity of fascism. And yet he has the makings of a dictator in him. His overmastering desire to get things done, to sweep away what he dislikes and build anew, will hardly brook for long the slow process of democracy.” These dictatorial tendencies came into play much later in full when he took over as the Prime Minister of India, turning himself into a singular power centre between the Government and the Party. On refusing to follow the party line, after resigning as the President of AICC, in the month of August same year, Bose was disqualified as President of Bengal’s Provincial Congress Committee as well for three years on the charges of indiscipline. Free from the limitations of party policies and politics, Bose went in for an open challenge to the British rule. On 19th March, 1940, he presided in an All India Anti-Compromise Conference at Ramgarh Bihar organized by Swami Sahajanand Saraswati where he expressed his anguish at the compromising nature of the Congress- “As soon as the war began, Mahatma Gandhi proceeded to Shimla without caring to consult the Congress Working Committee and informed HE the Viceroy that he was in favour of rendering unconditional help to Great Britain in the prosecution of war.”

He organized a protest against the fake narrative of the British claiming that around 160 British were pushed into a small room by Nawab Sirajuddaula where many died. This was based on the accounts of General Holwell. Netaji was arrested on 2nd of July, 1940. He went on hunger strike in captivity and was later released in November, 1940. All this while he continued to urge Congress to launch Civil disobedience. On May 20th, 1940, Nehru made a statement that Launching a civil disobedience at a time when Britain is engaged in life and death struggle would be an act derogatory to India’s honour. Mahatma also refused to join in claiming that he did not want to win independence from the ruins of Britain.



Subhas Chandra Bose and Azad Hind Fauj

Netaji escaped and fled India in January, 1941, later to emerge as the Commander-in-Chief of Azad Hind Fauz, an audacious attempt to liberate India from the colonial rule with Military means. While the mission itself failed, the failed fire did carry enough cinders to ignite the fires of Sailor mutiny during the Quit India movement, the following year. Protests in support of INA in Kolkata saw the death of 40 in Police firing and that in Mumbai of 23. Pattabhi Sitaramayya brilliantly captures the difference between Gandhi and Bose when he writes- "With Gandhi Means are Ends. With Subhas Ends are Means. They were two polar opposites. Gandhi is moved by instincts. Subhas was guided by reason. "Subhas Chandra Bose's struggle while within Congress was a statement against the highly personalized high-command structure and dictatorial grip Gandhi held over Congress amid all the pretence of democracy. While there are many theories of whether or not Bose survived the plane crash on 18th of August, 1945, what Netaji meant to India is captured in the words of Pattabhi Sitaramayya, who writes-There is widely felt disinclination to believe this story of Subhas babu's death, which is traced to Japanese sources. His position after the conclusion of the war has become a matter of anxious enquiry all around. If he was dead, this anxiety would be submerged by the flood tide of sorrow that overcame the country. If he was alive, the halo around this mystic would become deeper and brighter."

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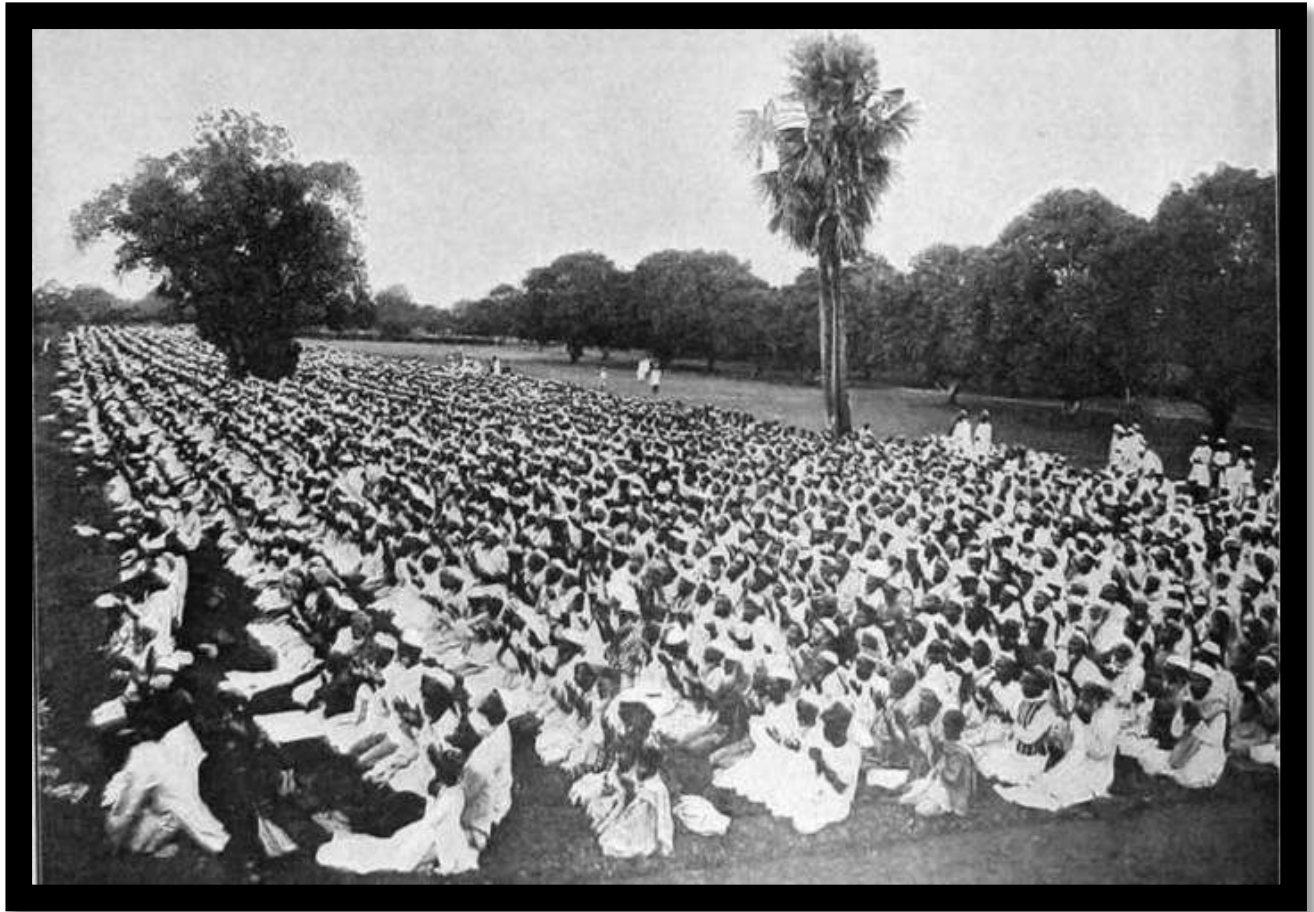
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HISTORY DEPARTMENT

SCOTTISH CHURCH COLLEGE

TOPIC

1947 PARTITION AND BENGAL EXPERIENCE



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INTRODUCTION

The Partition of Bengal in 1947, part of the Partition of India, divided the British Indian province of Bengal based on the Radcliffe Line between the Dominion of India and the Dominion of Pakistan. The Hindu-majority West Bengal became a state of India, and the Muslim-majority East Bengal (now Bangladesh) became a province of Pakistan.

On 20 June 1947, the Bengal Legislative Assembly met to decide the future of the Bengal Presidency on being a United Bengal within India or Pakistan or divided into East and West Bengal. At the preliminary joint session, the assembly decided by 120-90 that it should remain united if it joined the new Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. Later, a separate meeting of legislators from West Bengal decided 58-21 that the province should be partitioned and that West Bengal should join the existing Constituent Assembly of India. In another separate meeting of legislators from East Bengal, it was decided 106-35 that the province should not be partitioned and 107-34 that East Bengal should join Pakistan in the event of Partition.

On 6 July 1947, the Sylhet referendum decided to sever Sylhet from Assam and merge it into East Bengal.

The partition, with power transferred to Pakistan and India on 14–15 August 1947, was done according to what has come to be known as the 3 June Plan, or the Mountbatten Plan. Indian independence, on 15 August 1947, ended over 150 years of British influence in the Indian Subcontinent. East Pakistan became the independent country of Bangladesh after the 1971 Bangladesh Liberation War.

Background

In 1905, the First Partition in Bengal was implemented as an administrative preference since governing two provinces, West and East Bengal, would be easier. The partition divides the province between West Bengal, whose majority was Hindu, and East Bengal, whose majority was Muslim, but left

considerable minorities of Hindus in East Bengal and Muslims in West Bengal. While the Muslims were in favour of the partition, as they would have their own province, Hindus opposed it. The controversy led to increased violence and protest, and in 1911, the provinces were again united.

However, the disagreements between Hindus and Muslims in Bengal that had sparked the Partition of Bengal in 1905 remained, and laws, including the Second Partition of Bengal in 1947, were implemented to fulfil the political needs of the parties involved.

According to plan, on 20 June 1947, the members of the Bengal Legislative Assembly cast three separate votes on the proposal to partition Bengal:

- In the joint session of the house, composed of all the members of the Assembly, the division of the joint session of the House stood at 126 votes against and 90 votes for joining the existing Constituent Assembly (India)*
- The members of the Muslim-majority areas of Bengal in a separate session then passed a motion by 106–35 against partitioning Bengal and instead joining a new Constituent Assembly (Pakistan) as a whole.*
- A separate meeting of the members of the non-Muslim-majority areas of Bengal then decided 58–21 to partition the province.*

Under the Mountbatten Plan, a single majority vote in favour of partition by either of the notionally-divided halves of the Assembly would have decided the division of the province and hence the proceedings on 20 June resulted in the decision to partition Bengal. That set the stage for the creation of West

Bengal as a province of India and East Bengal as a province of the Dominion of Pakistan.

Also in accordance with the Mountbatten Plan, a referendum held on 6 July had the electorate of Sylhet vote to join East Bengal. Further, the Boundary Commission, headed by Sir Cyril Radcliffe, decided on the territorial demarcation between the two newly-created provinces. Power was transferred to Pakistan and India on 14 and 15 August, respectively, under the Indian Independence Act 1947.

Opposition to partition of India

In Bengal, the Krishak Praja Party's Syed Habib-ul-Rahman said that partitioning India was "absurd" and "chimerical". Criticising the partition of the province of Bengal and India as a whole, Syed Habib-ul-Rahman said that "the Indian, both Hindus and Muslims, live in a common motherland, use the offshoots of a common language and literature, and are proud of the noble heritage of a common Hindu and Muslim culture, developed through centuries of residence in a common land".

United Bengal plan

After it became apparent that the division of India on the basis of the two-nation theory would almost certainly result in the partition of Bengal along religious lines, the Bengal provincial Muslim League leader Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy came up with a new plan to create an independent Bengal state, which would join neither Pakistan nor India and remain unpartitioned. Suhrawardy realised that if Bengal was

partitioned, it would be economically disastrous for East Bengal as all coal mines, all but two jute mills and other industrial plants would certainly go to the western part since they were in overwhelmingly-Hindu areas. Most importantly, Calcutta, the largest city in India and an industrial and commercial hub and the largest port, would also go to the western part. Suhrawardy floated his idea on 24 April 1947 at a press conference in Delhi.

However, the plan directly ran counter to that of the Muslim League's plan, which demanded the creation of a separate Muslim homeland on the basis of the two-nation theory. The Bengal provincial Muslim League leadership opinion was divided. The leader Abul Hashim supported it, but Nurul Amin and Mohammad Akram Khan opposed it. However, Muhammad Ali Jinnah realised the validity of Suhrawardy's argument and gave his tacit support to the plan. After Jinnah's approval, Suhrawardy started gathering support for his plan.

For the Congress, only a handful of leaders agreed to the plan, such as the influential Bengal provincial Congress leader Sarat Chandra Bose, the elder brother of Netaji and Kiran Shankar Roy. However, most other leaders and Congress leaders, including Jawaharlal Nehru and Vallabhbhai Patel, rejected the plan. The nationalist Hindu Mahasabha, under the leadership of Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, vehemently opposed it^[13] and considered it nothing but a ploy by Suhrawardy to stop the partition of the state so that its industrial west, including the city of Kolkata, would remain under League control. It also claimed that even if the plan was for a sovereign Bengal state, it would be a virtual Pakistan, and the

Hindu minority would always be at the mercy of the Muslim majority.

Although the chance of the proposal seeing light without the Congress central committee's approval was slim, Bose and Suhrawardy continued talks to reach an agreement on the political structure of the proposed state. Like Suhrawardy, Bose also felt that Partition would severely hamper Bengal's economy, and almost half of the Hindus would be left stranded in East Pakistan. The agreement was published on 24 May 1947^[16] but was largely political. The proposal had little support at grassroots level, particularly among Hindus. The Muslim League's continuous propaganda for the two-nation theory during the past six years, as well as the marginalisation of Hindus in the Suhrawardy ministry and the vicious 1946 riots, which many Hindus believed to have been sponsored by the state, left little room for trust by the Bengali Hindus. Soon, Bose and Suhrawardy were divided on the nature of the electorate: separate or joint. Suhrawardy insisted upon maintaining the separate electorates for Muslims and non-Muslims. Bose opposed the idea and withdrew. The lack of any other significant support by the Congress caused the United Bengal plan to be discarded. Still, the relatively-unknown episode marked the last attempt among Bengali Muslim and Hindu leadership to avoid Partition and to live together.

Displacement

1946-1951

Following the partition of Bengal between the Hindu-majority West Bengal and the Muslim-majority East Bengal, there was

an influx of refugees from both sides. An estimation suggests that before Partition, West Bengal had a population of 21.2 million, of whom 5.3 million, or roughly 25 percent, were Muslim minorities, and East Bengal had 39.1 million people, of whom 11.4 million, or roughly 30 percent, were predominantly Hindu minorities. Nearly 5 million Hindus have left Pakistan's East Bengal for India's West Bengal region, and about 2 million Muslims have left India's West Bengal for Pakistan's East Bengal region immediately after Partition because of violence and rioting resulting from mobs supporting West Bengal and East Bengal.

1960

An estimated 30 lakh Hindu refugees had entered West Bengal by 1960, and close to 7 lakh Muslims left for East Pakistan. The refugee influx in Bengal was also accompanied by the fact that the government was less prepared to rehabilitate them, which resulted in huge housing and sanitation problems for the millions, most of whom were owners of large property back in East Bengal.

1964

During East Pakistan riot of 1964, it is estimated according to Indian authorities, 135,000 Hindu refugees arrived in West Bengal from East Pakistan, and the Muslims started to migrate to East Pakistan from West Bengal. According to Pakistani figures, 43,000 Muslim refugees have arrived from West Bengal since 1 January.

1971

In 1971, during the Bangladesh Liberation War against Pakistan, a large group of refugees numbering an

estimated 7,235,916 arrived from Bangladesh to India's West Bengal, nearly 80% of them were Bengali Hindus and after Independence of Bangladesh, nearly 15,21,912 people belonging to Bengali Hindu refugees decided to stay back in West Bengal. The Bangladeshi Hindus were mainly settled in Nadia, North 24 parganas and South 24 parganas district of West Bengal after 1971.

Aftermath

Muslim-majority districts: Dinajpur, Rangpur, Malda, Murshidabad, Rajshahi, Bogra, Pabna, Mymensingh, Jessore, Nadia, Faridpur, Dhaka, Tippera, Bakerganj, Noakhali and Chittagong.

- Hindu-majority districts: Calcutta, Howrah, Hooghly, Birbhum, Burdwan, Bankura, Midnapore, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling, 24 Pargana, Khulna and Chittagong Hill Tract.*

Final division:

- Pakistan: East Dinajpur, Rangpur, Rajshahi, Bogra, Pabna, Mymensingh, Sylhet (except Karimganj), Khulna, Bakerganj, plain Tippera (Tripura), Noakhali, Chittagong, Jessore, East Nadia, Chittagong Hill Tracts.*
- India: West
Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling, Malda, Murshidabad, West Nadia, Calcutta, 24 Pargana, Burdwan, Birbhum, Midnapore, Howrah, Hooghly and Karimganj district in Assam.*

The second partition of Bengal left behind a legacy of violence that has continues ever since. As Bashabi Fraser put it, "There

is the reality of the continuous flow of 'economic migrants', 'refugees', 'infiltrators', 'illegal immigrants' who cross over the border and pan out across the sub-continent, looking for work and a new home, setting in metropolitan centres as far off as Delhi and Mumbai, keeping the question of the Partition alive today".^[24]

Displacement crisis

A massive population transfer began immediately after partition. Millions of Hindus migrated to India from East Bengal. Most of them settled in West Bengal. A significant number even went to Assam, Tripura and other states. However, the refugee crisis was markedly different from Punjab at India's western border. Punjab had witnessed widespread communal riots immediately before partition. As a result, the population transfer in Punjab happened almost immediately after Partition, as terrified people left their homes from both sides. Within a year, the population exchange had been largely complete between East and West Punjab, but in Bengal, violence was limited to Kolkata and Noakhali. Hence in Bengal, the migration occurred much more gradually and continued over the three decades after partition.

Although riots were limited in pre-independence Bengal, the environment was communally charged. Both Hindus in East Bengal and Muslims in West Bengal felt unsafe and had to take a crucial decision on whether to leave for an uncertain future in another country or to stay in subjugation under the other community. Among Hindus in East Bengal, those who were better placed economically, particularly higher-caste Hindus, left first. Government employees were given a

chance to swap their posts between India and Pakistan. The educated urban upper and middle classes, the rural gentry, traders, businessmen and artisans left for India soon after partition. They often had relatives and other connections in West Bengal and settled with less difficulty. Muslims followed a similar pattern. The urban and educated upper and middle classes left for East Bengal first.

However, poorer Hindus in East Bengal, most of whom belonged to lower castes like the Namashudras found it much more difficult to migrate. Their only property was immovable land holdings. Many sharecropped had no skills other than farming. As a result, most of them decided to stay in East Bengal. However, the political climate in Pakistan deteriorated soon after partition and communal violence started to rise. In 1950, severe riots occurred in Barisal and other places in East Pakistan, causing a further exodus of Hindus. The situation was vividly described by Jogendra Nath Mandal's resignation letter to Pakistani Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan. Mandal was a Namashudra leader and despite being a lower-caste Hindu, he supported the Muslim League as a protest to the subjugation of lower-caste Hindus by their higher-caste coreligionists. He fled to India and resigned from his cabinet minister's post. For the next two decades, Hindus left East Bengal whenever communal tensions flared up or relationship between India and Pakistan deteriorated as in 1964. The situation of the Hindu minority in East Bengal reached its worst in the months preceding and during the Bangladesh Liberation War of 1971, when the Pakistani Army systematically targeted ethnic Bengalis,

regardless of religious background, as part of Operation Searchlight.

In independent Bangladesh, state-sponsored discrimination of Hindus largely stopped. However, like India, the two communities' relationship remains tense and occasional communal violence occurred, such as in the aftermath of Babri Mosque demolition. Illegal immigration to India has continued but is now mostly economic and is not limited to Hindus alone.

Though Muslims in post-independence West Bengal faced some discrimination it was unlike the state-sponsored discrimination faced by the Hindus in East Bengal. Most Hindus fled from East Bengal, but Muslims largely stayed on in West Bengal. Over the years, however, the community became ghettoised and was socially and economically segregated from the majority community. West Bengali Muslims are highly marginalised, as can be seen from social indicators like literacy and per capita income.

Apart from West Bengal, thousands of Bihari Muslims also settled in East Bengal. They had suffered terribly in severe riots before partition. However, they supported West Pakistan during the Liberation War and were subsequently denied citizenship in independent Bangladesh. Most of the Bihari refugees have remained stateless.

Conclusion

In Punjab, the Indian government anticipated a population transfer and was ready to take proactive measures. Land plots that were evacuated by Muslims were allotted to incoming Hindu and Sikh refugees. The government allocated

substantial resources for the rehabilitation of refugees in Punjab. In contrast, there was no such planning in the eastern part of the country. Neither the central nor the West Bengal state governments anticipated any large-scale population exchange, and no co-ordinated policy was in place to rehabilitate millions of homeless people. The newly-independent country had few resources, and the central government was exhausted in resettling 7 million refugees in Punjab. Instead of providing rehabilitation, the Indian government tried to stop and even to reverse the refugee influx from East Bengal. India and Pakistan signed the Liaquat–Nehru Pact in 1950 to stop any further population exchange between West and East Bengal. Both countries agreed to take the refugees back and to return them their property which they evacuated in their respective countries. However, in practice, both countries failed to uphold it. Even after it became clear that refugees were determined not to be sent back, the governments of both countries failed to provide any significant assistance. The government policy of East Bengal refugee rehabilitation mostly consisted of sending them to empty areas, mostly outside of West Bengal. One of the most controversial scheme was the government's decision to settle the refugees by force in Dandakaranya, a barren plot of land in Central India.

Radcliffe's line split Bengal, which had always historically been always a single economic, cultural and ethnic (Bengali-Hindu or Bengali-Muslim) zone, into two halves. Both halves were intricately connected. The fertile East produced food and raw materials which the West consumed and the industrialised West produced manufactured goods which were

consumed by the East. The mutually-beneficial trade and exchange was severely disrupted by Partition. Rail, road and water communication routes were severed between them.

After Partition, West Bengal suffered from a substantial food shortage as the fertile rice-producing districts went to East Bengal. The shortage continued into the 1950s and the 1960s. By 1959, West Bengal faced an annual food shortage of 950,000 tones. Hunger marches became a common sight in Kolkata.

Jute was the largest industry in Bengal at Partition. The Radcliffe Line left every single jute mill in West Bengal but four fifths of the jute-producing land in East Bengal. The best quality fibre yielding breeds of jute were cultivated mostly in East Bengal. India and Pakistan initially agreed to a trade agreement to import raw jute from East Bengal for West Bengal's mills. However, Pakistan had plans to set up its own mills and put restrictions on raw jute export to India. West Bengal's mills faced acute shortage, and the industry faced a crisis. On the other hand, jute farmers in East Bengal were now without a market to sell their produce. Exporting jute to West Bengal suddenly became an anti-national act for Pakistan. Smuggling of raw jute shot up across the border, but West Bengal rapidly increased jute production and in the mid-to-late 1950s became largely self-sufficient in jute. West Bengal's mills became less dependent on East Bengal for raw materials. Pakistan also set up new factories to process its local produce instead of exporting to India. The following table shows jute production details in both countries in 1961.

West Bengal's paper and leather industry faced similar problems. The paper mills used East Bengal's bamboo, and the tanneries consumed leather, which were also mainly produced in East Bengal. Like jute, the lack of raw material pushed both industries into decline.

Despite central and state governments' best efforts, the pressure of millions of refugees, food shortages and industrial decline after independence put West Bengal in a severe crisis. Dr. B. C. Roy's government tried to cope up with the situation by initiating several projects. The government built irrigation networks like DVC and Mayurakshi project, the Durgapur industrial zone and the Salt Lake City, but the failed to arrest West Bengal's decline. Poverty rose, and West Bengal lost its top place and lagged well behind other Indian states in industrial development. Massive political unrest, strikes and violence crippled the state for the three decades after Partition.

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1947 Partition and the Bengal experience

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ধর্মিক :- ব্রিটিশের ভারত বিজয়ের পরবর্তীকালে রাজনৈতিক ক্ষেত্রে
 যে বৈচিত্র্য জন্মে গিয়েছিল তা ছিল অত্যন্ত পঞ্চদশম শতাব্দী, উল্লেখ্য রাজনীতি
 ভারত ছিল বিভিন্ন সংস্কৃতির মিলনস্থলি এবং স্থানীয় সংস্কৃতি
 ধর্মীয় বিশ্বাস সাংস্কৃতিক এবং উচ্চাঙ্গ বৈচিত্র্যের কারণে সংস্কৃতি
 হয়ে উঠতে পারেনি। কিন্তু পরবর্তীকালে চিত্রায়িত এই স্থিতি বদলে
 গড়ে এবং ১৯৫৭-এ ব্রিটিশ-এর ভারত ছাড়ার আগে ভারত দ্বািত
 ভারতীয় উদ্যোগের বিকাশ ঘটে। এর মূলে ছিল ধর্মীয় ও
 সাম্প্রদায়িক বিভেদ - যা ব্রিটিশ শাসকের অর্ধিত 'বিভিন্ন ও
 সাদর' নীতির পূর্ণতা বহন। কিন্তু এই বিভেদ স্থায়ী রূপের
 হিসাবে ব্রিটিশের দাবী করেছিল ভারতীয় রাজনীতি পরামর্শ-
 বিক্রেতা - ভারতীয় সংসদ ও মুসলিম লিগের আত্মসম্মতি বিবাদ
 ও ভারতীয় রাজনৈতিক-নীতিমন্ত্রকের অগ্রাধিকার যার নাম 'ব্রিটিশ
 ঐতিহাসিক Patrick French - এর 'Liberty or Death' - এ
 মুসলিম লিগের লেখা সারসংক্ষেপ আনন্দ জিত্র এবং ভারতীয় সংসদের
 নেতৃত্ব ও সান্নিধ্যের সঙ্ঘবন্ধ অর্ধমুখ্য যুগে উঠেছে। তার কারণ
 বিংশ শতাব্দীর চল্লিশের দশকে এই বিচার প্রসঙ্গ শুরু হওয়ায়
 যে তাঁরা একই সাথে পার্শ্ব বসত চলেছেন না, এই-পারিস্থিতিতে
 সারসংক্ষেপ আনন্দ জিত্র। দ্বিতীয় বিশ্বযুদ্ধ - মুসলিমদের জন সংগঠিত
 প্রথম বাস্তু (homeland) দাবী আনয়ন। এবং প্রথমে ভারতীয়-
 ভারতীয় সংসদেও অত্যন্ত সুস্বপ্নের দুইটি দাবী আনয়ন করে।
 আদাতপক্ষে ভারতীয় সংসদের মধ্যে ছিল ভারতীয় সমাজের
 সমস্ত পুত্রের এবং ভারতীয় জনগণের এক হাজার তমায় নিয়ে আসা,
 কিন্তু তারা কিছু ক্ষেত্রে জীবনের জরুরি এবং মুসলিম সমাজের
 প্রতি তাঁরা ছিল উদ্যোগী, এই উদ্যোগীতাই সাম্প্রদায়িক বিভেদ
 জন্মিত বলে ধর্মিক বিশ্বাস ছিল। ঐতিহাসিক বিবাদ চল - এর
 মত, ভারতীয় সংসদেই কার্যকলাপ বহু ক্ষেত্রেই ছিল বিচ্যুত
 যিনি যেন। এর ফলে পরবর্তীকালে মুসলিম লিগ প্রার্থিত
 সাম্প্রদায়িকতা ও বিভেদ আচরণের ক্ষমতা সংসদে - এর ছিল
 না (বিবাদ চল)। যদিও প্রথমেই সংসদের নিজস্ব প্রতিষ্ঠাও
 (প্রাথমিক) উদ্যোগীতাই - বিবাদে
 দুইটি দাবী - দাবীতই সংসদের বহু উদ্যোগ।

বাংলা, অপর প্রকারে সমীক্ষা — ২০ জন (অনুযায়ী), ১৯৬৭

কোনো প্রকারে চোষণ করবেন ১৯৪৮-১৯৫০ এর দুই বছর মধ্যে
 -একটি সামরিক অর্গান করা হবে, এই চোষণের আদেশ জাভেদ-
 হিন্দু অসমতা পাঞ্জাব ও ভারত-এর বিচ্ছিন্ন করার কথা বলে।
 স্যার অরুণ সূর্যসী (হিন্দু অসমতা) লিখেন, "Hindus will
 resist with their life blood any scheme of the perpetu-
 ation of slavery which will be inevitable, if Bengal
 as she is constituted and administered today is
 allowed to become a separate independant unit
 cut off from the rest of India." এই কথ, ১৯৬৭
 প্রকল্পের আশঙ্কিত অত্যাচারের সূত্র ও পাঞ্জাব বিচ্ছিন্নতার
 কথা বলিত এবং এই পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে সীতি বাংলায়ও সম্ভব
 করার উদ্দেশ্যে দাবি জানান। কিন্তু এই পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে বিচ্ছিন্নতা
 -কিন্তু বর্তমানের লোকের ইচ্ছা, পূর্বের মতই দুই ভাগে
 -ভাগিত করবেন সার্বভৌম এবং আরও শাসিত ও H. Shariq
 Suhrawardy অসমতা গৃহীত। তাঁর বাক্যের অর্থ
 ব্যাখ্যা করা বেশ কিছু পারিপাক্ষিক অর্থ করবেন এবং
 প্রকল্পের অসমতা সাম্প্রতিক প্রকল্পের অর্থ
 -শিক্ষার মত বর্তমানের মতই বাংলায় সম্ভবতার
 -অর্থ অর্থীন।

১৯৬৭-১৯৬৮ এর প্রকল্পের আশঙ্কিত অর্থের বিচারে
 দুটি অর্থের দুই ভাগে চোষণ করবেন। অর্থের, পাঞ্জাব ও
 বাংলা এর বিচ্ছিন্নতা হবে। দ্বিতীয়ত, কিন্তু তাঁর মত বাংলায়
 হিন্দু এবং মুসলিম লোকের পারিপাক্ষিক দুই ভাগে বিভক্ত বাংলায়
 অবিচ্ছিন্ন এবং পরবর্তীতে অসমতা বিচারে হারান করা যাবে
 পারে এবং প্রকল্পের পারিপাক্ষিক উচ্চ বাক্যের সাংবিধানিক
 সমিতির অর্থের অর্থের বিচ্ছিন্নতা হবে। কিন্তু যথাযথ
 লোকের এবং প্রকল্পের এই পারিপাক্ষিকতার সাক্ষ্য দেবে।
 এর প্রকল্পের আশঙ্কিত অবিচ্ছিন্নতা ও পরবর্তী বাংলায় দুই ভাগে
 বর্তমানের দুই ভাগে হবে।

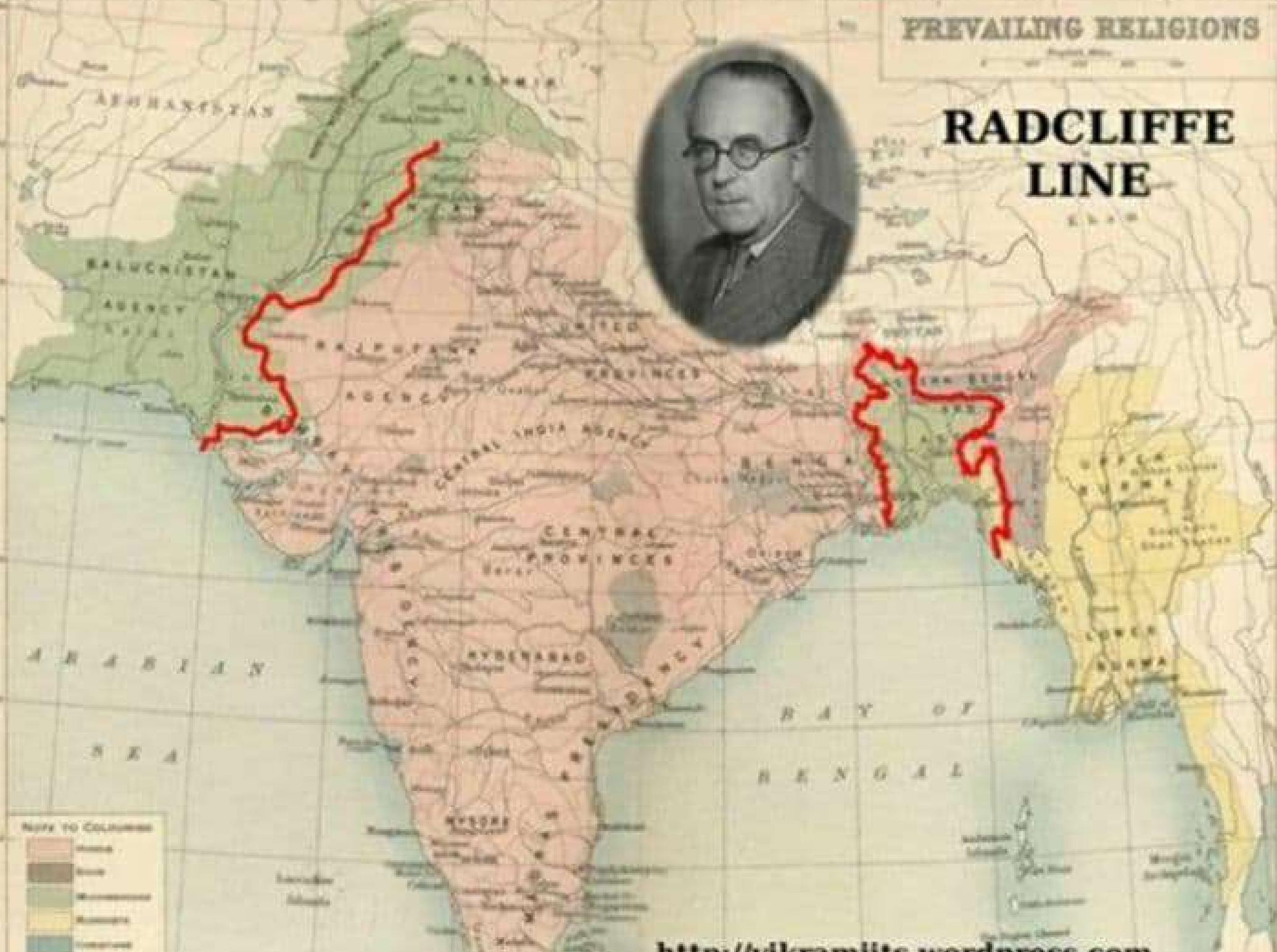
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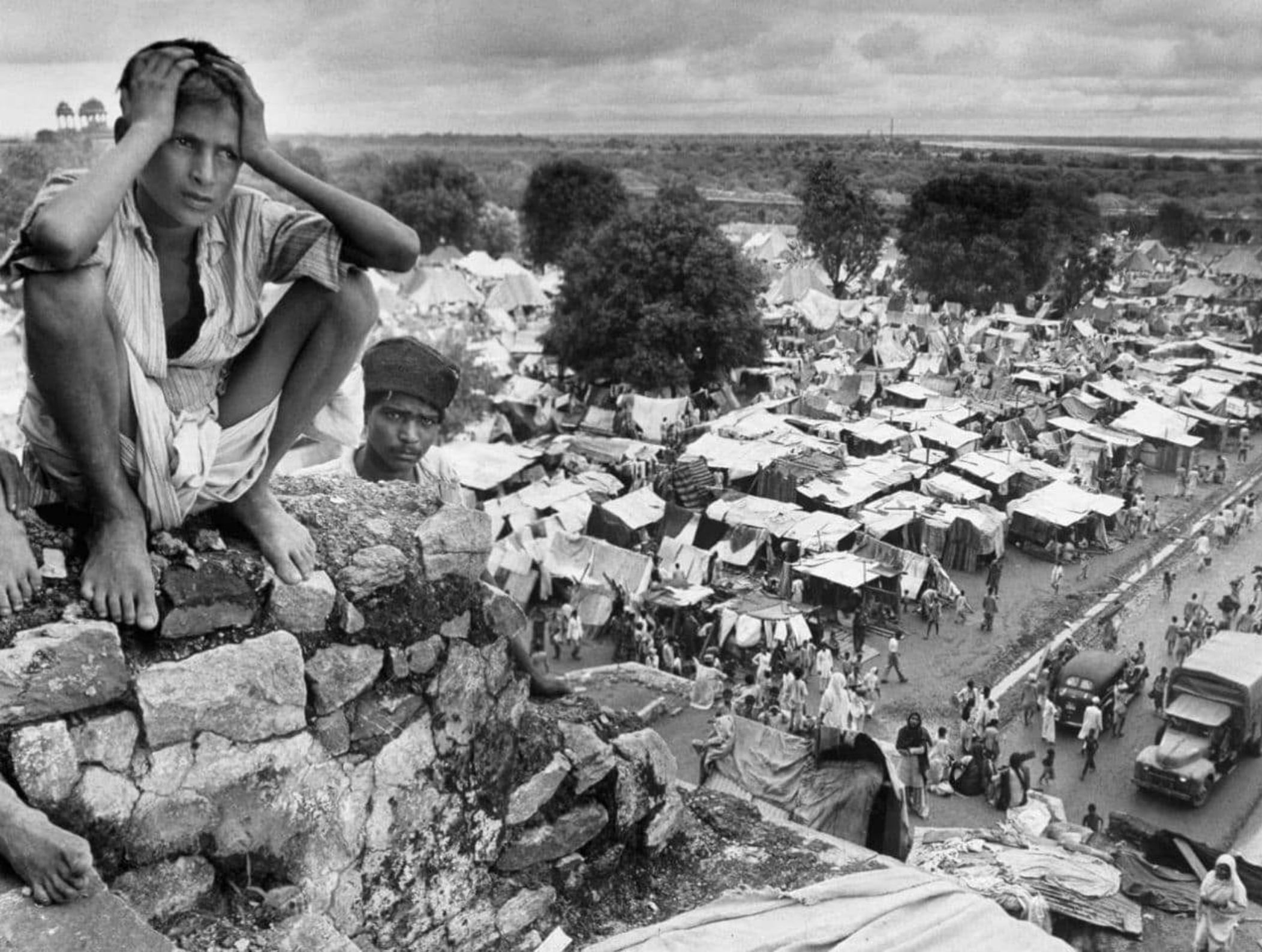
PREVAILING RELIGIONS

RADCLIFFE LINE



পশ্চিমবঙ্গের ক্ষেত্রে অপর ও অত্যন্ত সুস্বতন্ত্র বিষয় হয়ে
 ওঠে তার আকার। এদের পরামর্শ বিবেচনা দুটি কারণে
 উল্লেখ করা যায়। প্রথমটি হল 'the maximalists' (অর্থাৎ, হিন্দু-
 মহাসভা ও The New Bengal Association) এর দাবী-মতন
 প্রসারিত - যতই সম্ভব বড়ো রাজ্য উচিত। অন্যদিকে,
 the minimalists (অর্থাৎ, কংগ্রেস) - এর দাবী মতন
 প্রদেশ হবে ক্ষুদ্র ক্ষুদ্র এবং সংজ্ঞায়িত। এছাড়াও
 প্রদেশের সীমা- এক- নতুন বিবেচনা করা হয়। ৭- উৎসাহজনক
 পরিচালিত আওতা জটিল করে তোলে। এই দীর্ঘায়িত প্রক্রিয়ার
 দ্বারা পশ্চিম বঙ্গ জাতিত্ব হয় (স্বাভাবিক অর্থ) ৩৭,০০০ বর্গমাইল
 অঞ্চল নিয়ে। যাও দাবী অক্ষুণ্ণ হয় এবং বেশ কিছু সুস্বতন্ত্র
 অঞ্চল অক্ষুণ্ণ, যথা - কালনা, নদীয়া, মুর্শিদাবাদ, অপরাধিত,
 পূর্ব বঙ্গ (পশ্চিমবঙ্গের অর্থ) জাতিত্ব হয় ৪০,৪০০ বর্গমাইল
 অঞ্চল নিয়ে।

> **বিধিভেদ (Refugees) সমস্যা :** - সামাজিক বৃদ্ধি ঘটানোর
 প্রচেষ্টায় প্রবলতম সমস্যার সৃষ্টি হয় এবং নিরাপত্তারীণতার
 সমস্যা সৃষ্টি হয়। তারা চৈতন্যময়ি করে তারা 'ভুল' সীমানায়,
 'ভুল' দাবী- অস্বাভাবিক বর্ধিত এবং বাস্তবিক এবং 'ভুল' সীমানার
 দাবী উঠে। যখনই তৈরি হয় বিধিভেদ- সমস্যা, আকার এবং
 উদ্ভবের (১৯৪৭) - এর মধ্যে প্রায় ১৫ মিলিয়ন মানুষ
 ভারত ও পশ্চিমবঙ্গের পশ্চিম সীমানা অতিক্রম করে। বহু হিন্দু
 পূর্ব সীমানা অতিক্রম করে পশ্চিম বঙ্গ, আমায় এবং বিপুল
 প্রদেশ করে। প্রায় ১২ মিলিয়ন মুসলিম পশ্চিমবঙ্গ
 পূর্বের মধ্যে প্রায় ১.২ মিলিয়ন মুসলিম পশ্চিমবঙ্গ
 প্রদেশ করে। কিন্তু এই সংখ্যা আরও বৃদ্ধি পায় ১৯৪৭-৫০
 খ্রিস্টাব্দে হিন্দুসমাজের দাবী, প্রায় ১.৫ মিলিয়ন মানুষ ১৯৫০
 সাল নাগাদ পশ্চিমবঙ্গ প্রদেশ করে।
 বর্ধিত পশ্চিমবঙ্গের ২০ মিলিয়ন জনসংখ্যা
 ২৫% (প্রায়, ৫.৫ মিলিয়ন) ছিল মুসলিম। পারমাণবিক -



'पूर्ववर्षात्' तत्र त्रिलिखित 'अनसंख्या' अर्थात् २० त्रिलिखित दिना
 दिना। प्रस्तावित-अर्थात् 'सर्व' विमान 'अनसंख्या' त्रिलिखित
 वास्तव्यात् 'त्रिलिखित' शब्द 'मध्य' एवं 'मध्य' पश्चात् त्रिलिखित
 'दीन' इत्येव उच्यते। 'पूर्व' शब्द 'यावत्' कालमात्र 'मात्र', 'त्रिलिखित'
 शब्दात् 'सर्व' आकाशको आरंभ 'परीक्षा' कर्तुं 'यत्' एवं 'सर्व'
 जीमाना 'वास्तव्यात्' शब्द-स्य। किन्तु 'प्रस्तावित' 'मात्र' 'यत्' 'सर्व'
 वस्तु' वस्तु' यथाति। जीमाना 'वास्तव्यात्' काल' एवं 'सर्व' 'सर्व'
 नाशीत्येव उच्यते अत्रात् 'यावत्' शब्दे। एवं 'प्रस्तावित' 'वास्तव्यात्'
 'पूर्व' 'त्रिलिखित' 'अनेक' 'वास्तव्यात्' 'नाशीत्येव' 'सर्व' 'सर्व'
 'अनेक' 'यत्' कर्तुं शक्ये। 'असंख्य' 'वास्तव्यात्' 'नदी' 'यत्'
 'वर्ष' 'सर्व' (सूक्तं 'त्रिलिखित') 'सूक्त' 'यत्' 'यत्' 'यत्' 'यत्'
 'यत्'। 'यत्' 'संख्य' 'त्रिलिखित' 'यत्' 'यत्' 'यत्' 'यत्' 'यत्'
 'यत्'। 'Nisid Hazari' - 'Midnight Furies' - 'यत्' 'यत्' 'यत्'
 'यत्' 'यत्' 'यत्' - 'Ganges of killers set whole
 villages aflame, hacking to death men and children
 and aged while carrying off young women to be
 raped. Some British soldiers and journalists who
 had witnessed the Nazi death camps claimed
 Partition's brutalities were worse.' 'यत्' 'यत्' 'यत्'
 'यत्' 'यत्' 'यत्'

উপসংহার :- বিংশ শতক ভারতের উৎকর্ষিত সাম্রাজ্য সমগ্র
 বিশ্বের কাছাকাছি এক অনন্য স্বাধীনতামূলক (স্বাধীন) আন্দোলনিক
 ক্ষেত্র গঠন করে। দুই দশক ধরে ভারতের মোট পক্ষে এই উৎকর্ষিত
 সাম্রাজ্য (অর্থাৎ) নবগঠিত রাষ্ট্রের পক্ষে চালাতে হবে সমগ্র
 শিক্ষা, স্বাধীনতা অধিকার জায়গায় বড় ভূমিকা পালন করা যাবে।
 উৎকর্ষিত জাতি হতে পারে, বিচ্ছিন্ন প্রদেশ শক্তি বীজ বীজ
 সম্বন্ধে এ ব্যাপারে শক্তিশালী হওয়া উচিত। এই সাম্রাজ্য সম্বন্ধে
 অন্য বড় জায়গায় উল্লেখিত কর্মসূচি হওয়া উচিত, জাতিগত
 আন্দোলনের পুনরুদ্ধারের জন্য। প্রথমতঃ ১৯৫০-এর ৮ই
 এপ্রিল পারিষদের সিন্ডিকেট আলি থাকে সমগ্র শিক্ষা উন্নয়ন
 (Delhi Pact) স্বাক্ষর করেন প্রধানমন্ত্রী জওহরলাল নেহেরু। এর
 দ্বারা উভয় দলের মধ্যে সাম্প্রদায়িক সম্প্রীতি পুনরুদ্ধার করা
 করা হয়। এভাবে উৎকর্ষিত সাম্রাজ্য সমগ্র ভারতবর্ষে বিস্তৃত হয়ে
 এক বিমান পূর্ণ দখল করে নেবে এবং ভারতবর্ষের লোকসংখ্যার
 প্রায়শৈতিক নীতিসমূহের অর্থাৎ বিসর্গে উন্নয়ন পাবেন হবে।

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কৃতজ্ঞতা পত্ৰিকা :- এই প্রকল্পটি রূপায়নে তাঁনি আমায় সিনিক্স এবং
 সিনিক্সদের প্রতি (ড. সিনিক্স অধ্যাপক, ড. সিনিক্সী সূত্র প্রকল্প, প্রকল্পিক
 ছাত্রী সিনিক্স, ড. সিনিক্সী দাস ও সিনিক্সীক প্রকল্পীক প্রকল্পীক সিনিক্সীক
 কৃতজ্ঞতা প্রকাশন করছি, তাঁদের সাহায্য এবং উৎসাহ এই প্রকল্পটি
 রূপায়নে আমাকে অত্রিক সহায়তা করেছে।

SUBJECT

THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT IN BENGAL
— PATTERNS AND FEATURES

TUTORIAL

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ସୂଚନା

ସଂଖ୍ୟାର 'ଶୁକ୍ରବାରୀ'ର ରୂପକ୍ଷେପ 'ଶୁକ୍ରବାରୀ'ର ରୂପକ୍ଷେପ ହେବୁ ବନ୍ଧୁ ବନ୍ଧୁ ଯେଉଁଠି
 ଆଲୋଚନା ଏବଂ ଶିକ୍ଷା ରୂପ ଚିତ୍ରଣ ବନ୍ଧୁ, ଜ୍ୟୋତି ଚିତ୍ରାବଳୀରେ
 ସମସ୍ତଙ୍କ ସର୍ବସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ର ମନୁଷ୍ୟ ଏହି ଆଲୋଚନାରେ ଧ୍ୟାନିତ ହୁଅନ୍ତୁ, ଆଲୋଚନାରେ
 ସମସ୍ତଙ୍କ ସମ୍ମତ ନିରାପଣକୁ ଶୁକ୍ରବାରୀ, ଏହା ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚିତ୍ରାବଳୀ
 ଯାହା ଓ ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ଚିତ୍ରାବଳୀ ଏହି ଆଲୋଚନାରେ କେତେକ ପ୍ରଶ୍ନ ବଦଳାଏ,

୧୫ ୧୫ ଓ ୧୬ ଅକ୍ଟୋବରର ସା ୭୦ ଦିନ ଆକାଶରେ ଯେଉଁଠି ଚଳାଏକାକୀ
 ହୁଏ, ତତ୍ପରେ ସମସ୍ତଙ୍କ ସଂଖ୍ୟା 'ଜ୍ୟୋତି ଚିତ୍ରାବଳୀ' ଆକାଶ ହୁଏ,
 ଜ୍ୟୋତି ବାବୁ ଚିତ୍ରାବଳୀ ତତ୍ପରେ ତଦନୁକ୍ରମରେ 'ଜ୍ୟୋତି ଚିତ୍ରାବଳୀ' - ଏହା
 ଆକାଶରେ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ହୁଏ, 'ଚଳାଏକାକୀ' ଚିତ୍ରାବଳୀ, ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚିତ୍ରାବଳୀ -
 ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚିତ୍ରାବଳୀ ଚିତ୍ରାବଳୀ, ତତ୍ପରେ ସମସ୍ତଙ୍କ 'ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ'
 ଆକାଶ ହୁଏ, ସଂଖ୍ୟାର ସମ- ସମସ୍ତଙ୍କ ତତ୍ପରେ 'ଚଳାଏକାକୀ' ଚଳାଏକାକୀ
 ହୁଏ, ଏହି ଦିନ ଆକାଶରେ ଆକାଶ ସମସ୍ତଙ୍କ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ୧୦ ରୂପକ୍ଷେପ
 ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀରେ ଅନୁକ୍ରମରେ ଅନୁକ୍ରମରେ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ
 ସଂଖ୍ୟାର ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ
 ଏହା ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ହୁଏ, ଏହି ଦିନ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ
 ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ହୁଏ ଏବଂ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ 'ଜ୍ୟୋତି ଚିତ୍ରାବଳୀ' - ଏହା ଚଳାଏକାକୀ
 ଏବଂ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ୧୦ ରୂପକ୍ଷେପ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ସଂଖ୍ୟା ହୁଏ,

ଆଲୋଚନା ଆଲୋଚନାରେ ଚିତ୍ରାବଳୀ

ଆଲୋଚନା ସା ଆଲୋଚନା ଆଲୋଚନାରେ ଚିତ୍ରାବଳୀ ଚିତ୍ରାବଳୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ
 ହୁଏ, i) ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ii) ଆଲୋଚନା ଓ iii) ଜ୍ୟୋତି ଚିତ୍ରାବଳୀ, 'ଚଳାଏକାକୀ' - ଏହା
 ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଜ୍ୟୋତି ଚିତ୍ରାବଳୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ
 ହୁଏ, ଏହା 'ଆଲୋଚନା' - ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ
 ଆଲୋଚନା, ଆଲୋଚନା ଓ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ
 ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ, ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ, 'ଜ୍ୟୋତି ଚିତ୍ରାବଳୀ' ଚଳାଏକାକୀ
 ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚିତ୍ରାବଳୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ
 ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ

i) ଚଳାଏକାକୀ

ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଆଲୋଚନାରେ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ
 ଜ୍ୟୋତି ଚିତ୍ରାବଳୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ
 ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ, ୧୯୫୦ ଓ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ୧୯୫୧ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ
 ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ 'ଚଳାଏକାକୀ' ଆଲୋଚନା ଚଳାଏକାକୀ
 ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଏବଂ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ
 ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ହୁଏ, ୧୯୫୧ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ
 ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ ଚଳାଏକାକୀ



Raksha Bandhan Utsav



Ananda Mohan Basu



krishna kumar Mitra



Enter text

saraladevichawdurani



Kumidini Basu



chittaranjan Das



Bipinchandra Paul



Acharaya Prafullo chandra Ray



Bengal Chemicals



Dr. Ferdinand Stauder



ananta

‘ଦେଶ ତର୍କାଭିଷେପ’ ୨୦୧୨ ଏବଂ ‘ଶ୍ୟାମଳାପ୍ରସାଦ’ ୨୦୧୩ ଆବିଷ୍କୃତ
 ‘ଅଧ୍ୟାତ୍ମିକ ସମ୍ବଳମାନଙ୍କୁ ତର୍କାଭିଷେପ’-୨୦୧୦ ଓ ‘ସ୍ତ୍ରୀପିତୃତ୍ୱ ଦ୍ୱିଧାତମ ଦ୍ୱିଧାତମ ସୁପ୍ତପୁସ୍କର,
 ଘଟଣାକ୍ଷିପ୍ତ ଆବେଦନମାନଙ୍କର ତତ୍ତ୍ୱ ଓ ଘଟଣା ତଦର୍ଥ୍ୟ ସମୀକ୍ଷା ଓ
 ବିଶ୍ଳେଷଣର ଉତ୍କଳ ରୂପ ଉପଲବ୍ଧ କରନ୍ତେ, ପୁରୀସ୍ଥାପନା ଶିକ୍ଷାଳୟ, ପୂର୍ବଭାଗକୁ
 ତର୍କାଭିଷେପ, ଦ୍ୱିଧାତମଦ୍ୱିଧାତମ ରୂପକୁ, ଅପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣାପ୍ରସାଦ ତର୍କାଭିଷେପ, ବସନ୍ତୀପ୍ରସାଦ
 ବସନ୍ତୀପ୍ରସାଦ, ଛଦ୍ମପଦପ୍ରସାଦ ପିତୃପିତୃତ୍ୱ, ଦ୍ୱିଧାତମଦ୍ୱିଧାତମ ଦ୍ୱିଧାତମ, ଆପ୍ତପୁସ୍କର ତଦର୍ଥ୍ୟ,
 ଅକ୍ଷୟପୁସ୍କର ତର୍କାଭିଷେପ, କୁରୁକ୍ଷେତ୍ର ଦ୍ୱିଧାତମ ପ୍ରସାଦ ବସନ୍ତୀ, ନୀଳଦାସପୁସ୍କର,
 ପ୍ରସାଦପୁସ୍କର ଓ ନିରଞ୍ଜନ ସମାପ୍ତିପଦ ଉପଲବ୍ଧିପଦମାନୀ ଶ୍ରୀକୃଷ୍ଣ ଉପଲବ୍ଧି
 ଏବଂ ଏହି ଦେଶୀୟ ଉପଲବ୍ଧି ତଦର୍ଥ୍ୟ, ଶ୍ରୀକୃଷ୍ଣା ବିଚାରାଳୟ ତଦର୍ଥ୍ୟମାନଙ୍କୁ
 ଆବଶ୍ୟକୀୟ ଶିକ୍ଷାଳୟ, ନିରଞ୍ଜନ ବସନ୍ତୀ, ଆପ୍ତପୁସ୍କର ପ୍ରସାଦପୁସ୍କର
 ବିଶ୍ଳେଷଣତତ୍ତ୍ୱ ଓ ବିଶ୍ଳେଷଣରୂପରେ ଘଟଣାକ୍ଷିପ୍ତ ପ୍ରସାଦ ପ୍ରସାଦକୁ ଶୁକ୍ଳ,
 ବିକ୍ରମପୁସ୍କର ଏବଂ ବିକ୍ରମପୁସ୍କର ଏବଂ ଶୁକ୍ରାନ୍ତରୁ ତଦର୍ଥ୍ୟ ତଦର୍ଥ୍ୟ,

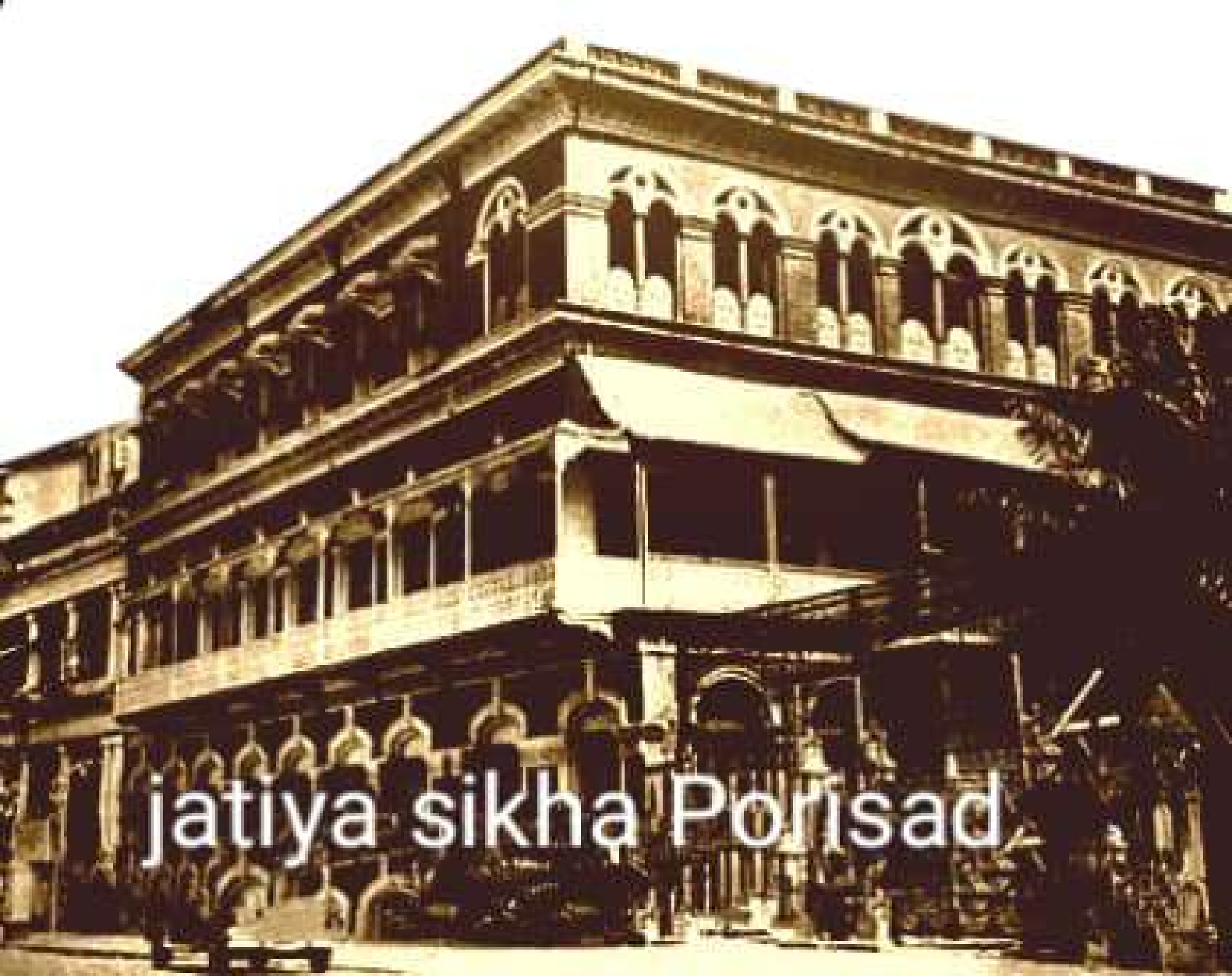
iii) ଦେଶୀୟ ବିକ୍ରୟ

ଫାଉଣ୍ଡେସନ୍ ଲିମିଟେଡ୍ ଓ ଫାଉଣ୍ଡେସନ୍ ଫର୍ ଡେଭେଲପମେଣ୍ଟ ଏଣ୍ଡ
 ଟିଚିଂ ବିକ୍ରୟପଦ୍ଧତି କ୍ରମାନ୍ୱୟେ ଉପଲବ୍ଧି କରନ୍ତୁ ଉପଲବ୍ଧି ପ୍ରସ୍ତୁତ
 କରନ୍ତୁ ଏବଂ, ଘଟଣାକ୍ଷିପ୍ତ ଆବେଦନମାନଙ୍କରୁ ବହୁ ସ୍ୱର୍ଗ-ଦେଶୀୟ
 କର୍ତ୍ତୃତ୍ୱରୁ ଶିକ୍ଷାକ୍ରମକୁ ଦେଖିବାକୁ ହେଉଥିବା ଉପଲବ୍ଧିରୁ ଶିକ୍ଷାକ୍ରମ
 ଉପଲବ୍ଧିରୁ ଆଦର୍ଶ ଓ ବିକ୍ରୟମାନଙ୍କରୁ ତର୍କାଭିଷେପକୁ ବିକ୍ରୟ
 ପ୍ରାଥମିକତା ସୁନାମିତ ହୁଏ, ଯଦ୍ୱାରା ଆବେଦନମାନଙ୍କରୁ ଗଣ୍ୟ କରାଯାଉଥିବା
 ଦୁର୍ଗମ ନୀତି ଏବଂ ବସନ୍ତୀପୁସ୍କର (୨୦ ରୁ ଅଧିକପଦ, ୨୦୧୦),
 ବିକ୍ରୟ ଆବେଦନ (୨୦ ରୁ ଅଧିକପଦ, ୨୦୧୦), ତଦର୍ଥ୍ୟ ଆବେଦନ
 (୨୦ ରୁ ଅଧିକପଦ, ୨୦୧୦) ଉପଲବ୍ଧି ବିକ୍ରୟ ଆବେଦନମାନଙ୍କୁ ଶିକ୍ଷା
 କ୍ରମକୁ, ଶିକ୍ଷାକ୍ରମକୁ ଏବଂ ଆବେଦନମାନଙ୍କୁ ଏବଂ ଉପଲବ୍ଧି-ଉପଲବ୍ଧି
 ଟିଚିଂ ଦୁର୍ଗମତ୍ୱ ଶିକ୍ଷାକ୍ରମକୁ ୨୦-୦୧ ରୁ ଶିକ୍ଷାକ୍ରମକୁ
 ‘ଅଧ୍ୟାତ୍ମିକ - ଆବେଦନମାନଙ୍କୁ ତର୍କାଭିଷେପ’ ଆବିଷ୍କୃତ ହୁଏ,

୨୦୧୦ ଓ ‘ସ୍ତ୍ରୀପିତୃତ୍ୱ’ ୨୦୧୧ ରୁ ଶିକ୍ଷାକ୍ରମକୁ ଉପଲବ୍ଧିରୁ ଉପଲବ୍ଧି
 ବିକ୍ରୟ ଆବେଦନ’ ଆବେଦନ ପ୍ରସ୍ତୁତ ହୁଏ, ଉପଲବ୍ଧିରୁ ଉପଲବ୍ଧି
 ଟିଚିଂ ଏବଂ ଉପଲବ୍ଧିରୁ ଉପଲବ୍ଧିରୁ ଉପଲବ୍ଧିରୁ ଉପଲବ୍ଧିରୁ
 ୨୦୧୦ ଓ ‘ସ୍ତ୍ରୀପିତୃତ୍ୱ’ ୨୦ ରୁ ଶିକ୍ଷାକ୍ରମକୁ ଉପଲବ୍ଧିରୁ ଉପଲବ୍ଧିରୁ
 ଆବିଷ୍କୃତ ଏବଂ ଉପଲବ୍ଧିରୁ ଉପଲବ୍ଧିରୁ ଉପଲବ୍ଧିରୁ ଉପଲବ୍ଧିରୁ
 ଆବିଷ୍କୃତ’ ଆବିଷ୍କୃତ ହୁଏ, ୨୦ ରୁ ଆବେଦନ ଏବଂ ଆବିଷ୍କୃତରୁ ଉପଲବ୍ଧି
 ଆବିଷ୍କୃତ ତର୍କାଭିଷେପ ଅଧିକାରୀ ତଦର୍ଥ୍ୟ ଉପଲବ୍ଧିରୁ ‘ତର୍କାଭିଷେପ
 ଉପଲବ୍ଧିରୁ ଉପଲବ୍ଧିରୁ ଉପଲବ୍ଧିରୁ ଉପଲବ୍ଧିରୁ’ ଆବିଷ୍କୃତ ହୁଏ,



satischandra Mukkhopadhyay



jatiya sikha Porisad



Bengal National school and college



Nabab Sulimullah

ਸਰਕਾਰੀ ਸੰਸਥਾਵਾਂ ਵਿੱਚੋਂ ਆਉਂਦੇ ਹੋਏ, ਫਿਰ ਵੀ ਵੱਡੇ ਪੱਧਰ 'ਤੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਕੰਮਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਚਲਾਉਣ ਵਿੱਚ ਮੁਸ਼ਕਲਾਂ ਆਈਆਂ ਹਨ, ਅਤੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਕੰਮਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਚਲਾਉਣ ਵਿੱਚ ਮੁਸ਼ਕਲਾਂ ਆਈਆਂ ਹਨ।

ਸਰਕਾਰੀ ਸੰਸਥਾਵਾਂ ਵਿੱਚੋਂ ਆਉਂਦੇ ਹੋਏ, ਫਿਰ ਵੀ ਵੱਡੇ ਪੱਧਰ 'ਤੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਕੰਮਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਚਲਾਉਣ ਵਿੱਚ ਮੁਸ਼ਕਲਾਂ ਆਈਆਂ ਹਨ, ਅਤੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਕੰਮਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਚਲਾਉਣ ਵਿੱਚ ਮੁਸ਼ਕਲਾਂ ਆਈਆਂ ਹਨ।

ਫਿਰ ਵੀ ਵੱਡੇ ਪੱਧਰ 'ਤੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਕੰਮਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਚਲਾਉਣ ਵਿੱਚ ਮੁਸ਼ਕਲਾਂ ਆਈਆਂ ਹਨ, ਅਤੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਕੰਮਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਚਲਾਉਣ ਵਿੱਚ ਮੁਸ਼ਕਲਾਂ ਆਈਆਂ ਹਨ।



Bal Gangadhar Tilak



Lala Lajpat Ray

ଅନୁପାଦିତ

- > ଅର୍ଥସମ୍ପାଦନା କରୁଥିବା ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି, ଆଧୁନିକ ସେକ୍ଟରର
ରାଜସ୍ୱ, ରାଜ୍ୟ ତଥ୍ୟ ଦେଖି (୧୯୫୧-୧୯୫୨)
- > ଶୁଦ୍ଧିତ କରାଯାଇ, ଆଧୁନିକ ସେକ୍ଟର
- > ଲୋକଙ୍କୁ ବ୍ୟବହାର କରି, ଲୋକଙ୍କୁ ଦେଖି ଦର୍ଶାଇବା
ଉପାଦାନ

1947 Partition and Bengal Experience



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Origin

On 19 July 1905, Lord Curzon, the then Viceroy of India, announced the partition Of Bengal. The reorganization separated the Muslim-dominated eastern areas from the Hindu western areas. Partition of Bengal, (1905), division of Bengal carried out by the British viceroy in India, Lord Curzon, despite strong Indian nationalist opposition. It began a transformation of the Indian National Congress from a middle-class pressure group into a nationwide mass movement. Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa had formed a single province of British India since 1765. By 1900 the province had grown too large to handle under a single administration. East Bengal, because of isolation and poor communications, had been neglected in favour of west Bengal and Bihar. Curzon chose one of several schemes for partition: to unite Assam, which had been a part of the province until 1874, with 15 districts of east Bengal and thus form a new province with a population of 31 million. A huge uproar greeted Curzon's contentious move of splitting Bengal. As a result, Swadeshi and Boycott movement started, and the extremist faction emerged in Congress. The events sowed the seeds of communal tension. that led to the partition of India in 1947.

Reason for Partition

The main reason for the partition was purely political to weaken the national movement and the policy of Divide and Rule. The Hindus were in better position in terms of economic status, professional qualities etc. than the Muslims. The motive was to break the growing solidarity of Bengali nationalism. Bengal at the time was considered to the nerve-center of India nationalism. Lord Curzon decided to crush the new sprit by dividing the politically advanced communities into separate provinces. During the pre-Sepoy Mutiny period, section of Hindu traders greatly helped the British while their Muslim counterparts did not. The British were angry with the spread of Western education Hindus made a big way but Muslims could not.



Map of Bengal before Partition



Migration takes place between states

Response

The day of mourning: The final plan of separation was published on 10th July 1905. On 16 October 1905, the day of partition was observed as the day of mourning throughout Bengal. A mere six years later, partition was declared invalid.

News Papers: The newspapers take an active role in the movement. It seeks to understand the extent to which they were successful in influencing the minds of the population the British Indian provinces. Finally, it will look into the role they played in the evolution of the movement. This paper shall attempt to understand how the political thinkers of the movement used the newspapers to spread and materialise their cause of 'preaching the new creed of radical nationalism. The central focus of the thesis would be on the role played by the English newspapers based out in Calcutta during the Swadeshi period in ensuring that the progression of the movement saw a rise of nationalistic emotions among the local population.

The newspapers in focus in this chapter are the 'Bengalee,' edited by Surendranath Banerjee, and the 'Amrita Bazar Patrika,' edited by Motilal Ghose. For brevity, these newspapers have been broadly categorised as the moderate newspapers. The chapter elaborates on how two newspapers which were in existence since the latter half of 19th century, suddenly became a part of the politically charged atmosphere and played a crucial role in providing direction to the movement. The second chapter is titled 'Proponents of extremists.' The extremist faction of the movement came into prominence only after the demise of the moderates from the active role in the movement. To promote their ideas extremist leaders, took advantage of the growing popularity of the print media. The 'Bande Mataram,' edited initially by Bipin Chandra Pal and later on by Aurobindo Ghose. The chapter attempts to explain the role played by this newspaper in the development of the nationalistic consciousness among the masses. It discusses how the newspaper was responsible for triggering a shift in the ideological dominance of the movement.



Bande Mataram newspaper



Amrita Bazar Patrika newspaper

16th October as Raksha Bandhan: At the dawn of the 19th century, Bengal had emerged to become a hotbed of nationalist movements, threatening the British rule. Bengal was meant to be their power centre, but the bubbling discontent among the citizens was a major cause of concern for them. Hence, in an attempt to curb this, the British decided to resort to the 'divide and rule' policy. Their strategy was to break the communal harmony between Hindus and Muslims of the region, and Lord Curzon, the then Viceroy of India was made in-charge of it. The decision for Bengal's partition was taken at a meeting between Curzon and a Muslim delegation in Assam, in June 1905, whereby the Hindu majority regions of West Bengal, Bihar and Odisha were to be separated from Muslim-dominated areas of Sylhet and Assam.

A month later, they passed the order for partition, which came into effect on 16 October. The move was vehemently opposed by prominent leaders of the time, including Rabindranath Tagore. Coincidentally, by the time the partition of Bengal was about to come into effect, the month of shravan had arrived. It is the time when the festival of Raksha Bandhan is celebrated by the Hindu community, and Tagore realised that a simple thread, steeped in mythology and folklore, had the true power to unite thousands of people, invoking brotherhood and togetherness among the two communities.



Rabindranath Tagore's Hindu-Muslim Rakhi (Raksha) Bandhan initiative
in progress in Calcutta, October 1909.

Boycott and Swadeshi Movement: The Swadeshi and Boycott Movement (1903-1908) The Swadeshi and Boycott movement began as an agitation to oppose the Bengal partition, which later turned into a mass movement throughout the country. The formal proclamation of Swadeshi Movement was made on 7th August 1905 in a meeting held at the Calcutta Town Hall. The two main goals of this movement were the use of Swadeshi goods and the boycott of foreign-made goods. In this post, we will learn in detail about the facts and significance of the movements of swadeshi and boycott. The partition of Bengal made due to his aggressive policy. In the protest of the division of Bengal, an incursive movement of the entire Bengal was developed. This is known as the Swadeshi movement. At the beginning of the movement, Surendranath Banerjee, and later took over the responsibility of Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghosh. On the positive side the Indian industries saw regeneration with reawakening of use of indigenous goods. Demand of native products including clothing increased. The Bombay and Ahmadabad mill-owners endeavoured in filling the sudden shortage in supply of clothes due to the boycott movement.



Burning of British Goods against the Bengal Partition

Leaders

Bal Gangadhar Tilak: Tilak's endeavors as a freedom fighter were supported by fellow nationalists Bipin Chandra Pal of Bengal and Lala Lajpat Rai of Punjab. The trio came to be popularly referred to as the Lal-Bal-Pal. In the 1907 national session of the Indian National Congress, massive trouble broke out between the moderate and extremist sections of the Indian National Congress Party. Due to this, the Congress split into two factions. Bal Gangadhar Tilak also published two newspapers that focused on his nationalistic goals. Those newspapers were 'Maharatta' (English) and 'Kesari' (Marathi). Both of these newspapers stressed on making the Indians aware of the glorious past and encouraged the masses to be self-reliant. These newspapers actively propagated the cause of national freedom. Tilak also proposed Grand celebrations on 'Ganesh Chaturthi' and 'Shivaji Jayanti'. He envisioned these celebrations inciting a sense of unity and inspiring nationalist sentiment among Indians. It is a sheer tragedy that for his allegiance towards extremism, Tilak and his contribution were not given the recognition, he actually deserved.



Bal Gangadhar Tilak

Bipin Chandra Pal: Bipin Chandra Pal History Is the History of Pre-Independent India When the Youth of The Day Were Struggling to Throw Away the Yoke of British Rule. Contrary To Moderate He Along with Lokmanya Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai Advocated the Swadeshi Movement Involving the Boycott of All Imported Items and The Use of Indian-Made Goods. In Short, They Were Not Inclined Towards Following Moderate Ideals but Were Leaned Towards Extremist Ideas. The Trio Lal-Bal-Pal Has Advocated Radical Means Like Burning Western Clothes Made in The Mills of Manchester or Swadeshi, Boycotting British Manufactured Goods and Strikes and Lockouts Of British Owned Businesses And Industries To Get Their Message Across To The British. Bipin Chandra Pal Was Imprisoned for Six Months on The Grounds of His Refusal to Give Evidence Against Sri Aurobindo in The Vande Mataram Case. Bipin Chandra Pal Participated in A Number of Events Like The Bombay Session Of The Indian National Congress In The Year 1904, The Partition Of Bengal In 1905, The Swadeshi Movement, The Non Cooperation Movement And The Bengal Pact In The Year 1923. He Joined the Indian National Congress in The Year 1886. He Made a Strong Plea for Repelling of Arms Act in The Year 1887 As It Was Discriminatory in Nature. He Was Also Effectively Involved in Removing Social Evils from The Nation and In Arousing the Feelings of Nationalism Through National Criticism.



Bipin Chandra Pal

Aurobindo Ghose: His initial political activism involved emphasis total freedom from the British government. While in the services of the Baroda administration, he contributed articles to 'Indu Prakash' and covertly got in touch with resistance groups in Bengal and Madhya Pradesh. He finally moved to Kolkata in the year 1906 after partition of Bengal. Publicly, Aurobindo supported non-co-operation and passive resistance to the British rule but in private he was involved in secret revolutionary activities and helped build the revolutionary atmosphere in the country. In Bengal, he got in touch with revolutionaries and inspired young revolutionaries such as Bagha Jatin, Jatin Banerjee and Surendranath Tagore. He was also instrumental in the formation of several youth clubs including the Anushilan Samiti. In 1906, he participated in the Indian National Congress annual session, which was headed by Dadabhai Naoroji. He helped in building the fourfold objectives of the national movement - Swaraj, Swadesh, Boycott and national education. He started a daily newspaper Bande Mataram in 1907. In 1907, the congress split due to a showdown between moderates and extremists. Aurobindo sided with extremists and supported Bal Gangadhar Tilak. After this, he travelled extensively across Pune, Baroda and Bombay to educate people and get support for national movement. In May 1908, the British arrested him in connection with the Alipore Bomb Case. He was subsequently released after one year of solitary confinement.

Post his release in 1909, he started new publications - Karmayogin (English) and Dharma (Bengali). While in Alipore jail, he slowly realized that he was not destined to lead the freedom struggle and gradually diverted to mystical and philosophical way of life thereby initiating this new journey of spiritual awakening. In April 1910, Aurobindo Ghoseh secretly moved to Pondicherry (which was then a French Colony) to start a new life. In Pondicherry, Sri Aurobindo set himself on a path of spiritual learning and evolution by practicing secluded yoga continuously for four years which he termed as 'Integral Yoga'. He proposed the importance of spiritual practices in human transformation into a divine entity.



Aurobindo Ghose

Surat Split of 1907

The Congress split at Surat took place in the year 1907 in the month of December. Around this time, revolutionary terrorism had gained momentum. These 2 events were seemingly connected. In December 1905, at the Benaras session of the Indian National Congress presided over by Gokhale, the Moderate-Extremist differences came to the front. The Surat Split 1907 was a turning point in the history of Nationalist Movement in India. It meant a victory of the Extremists over the Moderates it also marked a change in the policy and attitude of the Government towards the nationalist moderates to the government side. The difference between moderates and extremists widened in Congress' Calcutta Session of (1906) and attempts were made to elect one of them as the president. The moderates opposed the resolutions on Swaraj, Swadeshi, Boycott of foreign goods and National Education and requested to withdraw from the policy laid down in the Calcutta session. Surat split was due to disagreements between Moderates and extremists regarding the methods for protest against the partition of Bengal (in the Swadeshi Movement).



Surat Split of 1907

Significance

The effects of 1947 partition of India, is still considered as the largest human migration that the society has seen witnessed in the history. The impact of the partition was the highest only on the people from East Bengal, especially women who unfortunately became the refugees within their own state which was previously united. On 20 June 1947, the Bengal Legislative Assembly met to decide the future of the Bengal Presidency on being a United Bengal within India or Pakistan or divided into East and West Bengal. At the preliminary joint session, the assembly decided by 120-90 that it should remain united if it joined the new Constituent Assembly of Pakistan.

Conclusion

The period between the partition of Bengal in 1905 and the Partition of India in 1947 was witness to a unique experience of 'imagining' nations in Bengal. With neither the Bengali Muslims nor the Bengali Hindus envisioning homogenous ideas about nationhood, many contesting and alternative visions emerged, both within and between the two communities. These 'other' nationalisms were not 'anti-national', but creeds of either a 'federal Indian nation' with 'regional autonomy', or a 'regional nation' on its own strength. In *Different Nationalisms*, Semanti Ghosh goes beyond the Muslim–Hindu and nationalism–communalism binaries to reveal an unfamiliar terrain of hidden contestations over the concept of nation in colonial Bengal. For several of these competing ideologies, Partition, rather than being an expected or even desired outcome, was an anticlimax in their long-drawn battle for a nation.

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**THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT IN
BENGAL – PATTERNS AND
FEATURES**

TUTORIAL

CC- 13

Semester – VI

**DEPARTMENT OF
HISTORY**

CU Registration No: - 223-1111-0126-18

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**SCOTTISH CHURCH
COLLEGE**

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INTRODUCTION

The spread of modern education, the emergence of various associations at national, provincial and district levels, the role of the press, improved transport and communication systems etc., accelerated the political consciousness among the people of India and helped in strengthening the National Movement that was taking place since the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885. The changes introduced by the British in the administrative, judicial, economic and intellectual life of the country also prepared the ground for the rise of a new class of restless and dynamic leaders. The latter gave the needed leadership to the movement. The constitutional agitation through petitions which they began since 1885, of course, gradually yielded place to a new aggressive demand for political privileges from early twentieth century, more particularly from 1905. With the discontent and disillusionment among the people coupled with the partition of Bengal moved them for an unprecedented struggle for freedom from foreign yoke in the twentieth century.

PARTITION OF BENGAL :-

On 19th July 1905 the British Government of India announced that the Bengal Presidency would be divided into two with effect from 16 October 1905. The outward argument in favour of this was administrative consideration, lightening the administrative burden upon Bengal. But, the real motive was to curb the growth of national feeling in the politically advanced Bengal by driving a wedge between the Bengali speaking Hindus and the Muslims and destroying the solidarity of 78 million Bengalis by dividing them into two blocks. It was a master plan of Viceroy Curzon to destroy the nascent nationalism of which Bengal had become the nerve centre. The partitioning of the homogeneous Bengali speaking area led to outburst of public indignation all over Bengal. It was opposed by the various sections of the society. The officials, the educated Muslims and the Muslim peasantry of Bengal condemned the partition of Bengal from the outset. Even the Indian National Congress opposed this division and passed resolutions against it at its meetings.



Fig – *Swadeshi Movement*

Source - https://edurev.in/studytube/The-Swadeshi-Movement-And-The-Partition-Of-Bengal-/988aebae-6055-4c79-8b6c-8a998f1e9f2b_t

SWADESHI MOVEMENT:-

The partition was a turning point in the history of Bengal. The birth of intense national feeling here caused reverberations throughout India. A strong wave of protest movements was launched in Bengal to pressurize the Government to annul the partition. The pledge to boycott foreign goods was taken. The formal proclamation of the Swadeshi Movement was made on 7th August 1905 in a meeting held at the Calcutta Town Hall. The boycott resolution was passed to show protest against the partition and to bring economic pressure on the British public. The 16th October 1905 was observed as the day of mourning

throughout Bengal. All business establishments were closed on that day. Young men paraded the streets, singing the Vande Mataram song which became the theme song of the movement. In fact, Rabindranath Tagore's Swadeshi songs gave expression to the peoples anguish and anger. On the same day two huge mass meetings---attended by more than 50,000 people----were addressed by Ananda Mohan Bose and Surendranath Banerjee. All these, naturally, caused the partition agitation to grow into the Swadeshi Movement which was carried on in different parts of the nation. It grew in strength under the leadership of different leaders. Bal Gangadhar Tilak took the movement to different parts of India, particularly in Poona and Bombay and his famous epigram "Swaraj is my birth right and I will have it" had revolutionized the movement. The leaders in Punjab included Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh; while in Madras, Chidambaram Pillai made tours for the cause. Bipin Chandra Pal's tour of Madras Presidency and Aurobindo Ghosh's efforts gave impetus to the movement. The Calcutta session of the Congress held from 26 to 29 December 1908 under the Presidentship of Dadabhai Naoroji adopted the Vande Mataram song as the National song of India and the Swaraj or self-government as its goal. It was P. Anandacharlu who attended the session from Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh who introduced the Swadeshi resolution at this session. In southern India, Madras was the centre from which ideas regarding Swadeshi spread to all the regions in

the south. Samitis or associations were formed at many places to initiate and ignite national consciousness and spread of the ideals of Swadeshi. The Vandemataram movement received new spirit and strength in Andhra and Madras, particularly due to the tour of Bipin Chandra Pal in 1907. Many positive developments took place in Andhra mainly due to his visit. One such thing was the emergence of national schools and colleges at various places in Andhra. They too recognized the need to encourage the indigenous industry. In 1906, an Industrial Association was started by the leading citizens in Madras to propagate the ideal of Swadeshi and for the sale of Swadeshi articles and a Swadeshi League was also started. During this period, some students were sent to Japan by these associations to receive industrial training in order to develop indigenous industries in this region. The Swadeshi supporters preached day in and day out about the importance of Swadeshi, encouraged establishment of Swadeshi stores, organized public meetings, supported and promoted indigenous industry and boycott of foreign goods. As the movement was gaining strength day by day Lord Minto, the successor of Curzon adopted severe measures against the rising tide of the anti-British activities. In Lahore and Rawalpindi the situation grew very tense during 1907-1908. Even the Editors and Printers were imprisoned in large number and the law known as the Colonization Bill was passed. Naturally, extremist activities increased in places like Punjab and Lahore. Lala Lajpat Rai

and Ajit Singh were considered mainly responsible for this. Therefore, they were deported by the Government. There were protests against their arrest throughout the country. During 1907 and 1908 leaders like Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai, Ashwini Kumar Dutta and Ajit Singh were also deported and Tilak was given a six-year imprisonment. Of course, most of them were released soon.

Similarly, protests were organized against the Seditious Meetings Act of 1907 which restricted the right of holding public meetings so as to curtail the movement. This was resented and protested by people throughout the country. There was also wide-spread hostility towards Europeans during this period. Giving of Vandemataram slogans, stone-throwing on the government institutions and property, and using of bad language when Europeans pass by were some of the things adopted by the Indians to express their anger and unhappiness about the British regime. This was happening more particularly in the south. When the Swadeshi and Boycott movements began to be effective and took different forms at different places, decisions were taken not to import foreign goods, and bonfires of foreign cloth were organized on 22 September 1908. For example, Subbannachari, a clerk in the Burma Oil Company at Anantapur of Andhra burnt publicly his shirt, cap and braces, demonstrating his intense indignation against the British goods. Similarly, the national spirited washermen refused to wash the mill- made clothes.

One such incident occurred near Chiguruvada, near Tirupati (in present Andhra Pradesh) when a washer man created history by refusing to wash the mill-made clothes of a Brahmin of the village and even threatening to throw them into oven.

Around 1908, attempt was made by some, in places like Andhra, in organizing terrorist activities and in the production and use of bombs. There were rumours that several individuals were engaged in secret production of bombs. Though some efforts were made by the Bengali revolutionaries, terrorism did not take roots in Andhra region of the Madras Presidency. Darsi Chenchiah is the only Andhra who joined the Gadar party of Lala Hardayal but did not remain a member throughout. By 1910, the Vandemataram and Swadeshi movement began to lose its momentum. The extremists in the Congress like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo also began losing their hold over the movement. And, with the annulment of the partition of Bengal by the Government in 1911, the movement gradually disappeared for the time being until it took a new form under the title of the Home Rule Movement launched by Annie Besant.

IMPACT OF SWADESHI AND VANDEMATARAM MOVEMENT:-

Thus, the Vande Mataram and Swadeshi movement with its multi-faceted programmes and activities was able to draw, for the first time, large sections of society into active participation in modern nationalist politics and still larger sections into the ambit of modern political ideas. As Surendranath Banerjee pointed out, the year 1905 was one of the most memorable years in the history of Bengal. It would be no exaggeration to say that it was an epoch-making year, leaving a profound and far-reaching influence on the public life of Bengal and the future of the country. The movement created greater national consciousness among the people. The Swadeshi movement made a deep dent in the society as it provided an opportunity for reviving the weaving industry. By a systematic boycott of the British fabrics and fostering a temper for Swadeshi, the national movement created tremendous demand for indigenous cloth. This was evident from London Times which contained a review of world trade of 1908.

A great depression prevailed in the world which caused the closure of 540 mills in Manchester alone and 4,00,000 operative were out of work. Whereas in India, in the 1904, Bombay had to suffer a great deal; some mills were working only for a short period. However, since the birth of

Swadeshi-boycott movement, the mills in and around Bombay had been working incessantly and in 1908 were unable to meet the demand. It was this movement that saved the Bombay mills in 1908 from disaster.

Despite the depression throughout the whole manufacturing world, the Bombay mills were now safe in their position. This was mainly attributed to the Swadeshi-boycott movement in the country. The movement made deep inroads into the society. At many places the weavers tried to revive their traditional industry by acquiring latest technology in the field. In some places, people along with merchants boycotted foreign cloth and promoted Indian cloth. This occurred mainly due to the impact of Swadeshi campaign carried by the nationalists. The social base of the Vandemataram movement was, however, confined to the urban educated middle class, more particularly to the professional classes such as lawyers, teachers etc., and the youth. It also attracted the artisan groups, especially the weaving community in the urban and rural areas and merchants and business classes in the urban centres. Apart from this, some landlords associated themselves with the national movement. The absence of women was conspicuous during this early stage of national movement. The movement was unable to make much headway in mobilizing the peasantry, especially its lower rungs since the goal of the movement did not emphasize the peasant demands and therefore the peasants did not actively join the struggle.

Further, the awareness of the movement among the peasants was also limited. As regards the Muslim masses, only sporadic incidents of their participation could be noticed. The basic methods of propaganda adopted during this movement were conducting public meetings, writing slogans on walls, railway carriages and other public places, celebrating the birth anniversaries of great patriots of the time, establishing reading rooms, slogan shouting and singing of nationalist songs in meeting and public places and bonfires of foreign cloth, minting of Swadeshi coins etc.

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TOPIC – THE QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT

ROLL NO. – 18A-215

CU ROLL NO. – 182223- 21-0045

REGISTRATION NO. – 223-1112-0204-18

SUBJECT – History (DSEA3)

SEMESTER – 6th SEMESTER

DEPARTMENT – History Honours

INTRODUCTION:- The last major mass movement that the Congress organized in August 1942 was known as the Quit India movement. In view of the large scale arrests of the Congress leaders at the initial stages of the movement, much of the initiatives were left with local leaders. The ferocity of the repressive measures points to the feeling of threat that imperial rulers perceived during the August Movement. It certainly was an important contributory factor in the British decision

to withdraw from the brightest jewel in the British crown six years later.

Background to the Quit India Movement:- At the time when the Second World War broke out in September 1939, the Congress, despite its success in the elections of 1937 was a divided house. In Addition, the Congress ministries which had been formed in a number of provinces after the elections of 1937, earned a bad reputation for their failure to rectify the long standing grievances of the people on agrarian issues like the abolition of zamindari. In the meantime, the Nazi forces invaded Poland and Britain declared war on Germany. The Government of India in its turn also made a unilateral announcement about India's participation in the war effort without consulting Indian opinion. Many radical Congress men, including the socialists and followers of Subhash Bose, felt that as a subject-nation India did not have an obligation to participate in the war, especially when the British Government refused to consider sympathetically the legitimate constitutional demands of the Congress. In the end the Congress

Working Committee decided that the Congress would support British war efforts only if the government was prepared to make a declaration about their intention to grant India complete independence after the war. The Congress leadership on its part was caught in two minds. In 1941 with Japan joining the war as an ally of Germany and Italy, what had begun as a European war turned into a World War. Japanese military success in South-East Asia including countries like Indo-China, Java, Malaya and Burma, brought Japanese forces close to the door steps of the British Empire in India. The Japanese occupation of the Burmese capital Rangoon in early March created an urgency for resolving the Indian problem. It was against this backdrop that the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill decided to send Stafford Cripps to India on a good will mission to resolve the constitutional issue through an elaborate consultation with Indian Leaders.

Quit India Resolution :- After the failure of the Cripps Mission the Congress began its preparations for a mass Movement. The Cripps Mission had removed

Gandhi's hesitation about starting a new movement. The summer of 1942 found him in a "strange and uniquely militant mood". Gandhi could read the rebellious mind of the Indian people and resolved to adopt the appropriate strategy . The people on their part had become restless in view of the rising prices of food stuff, scarcity of essential items like Rice or salt, black marketing and the tyrannical behaviour of the European military forces in India. The time therefore was opportune for striking a death blow to the Empire. The Congress Working Committee adopted the Quit India resolution on the 14th July at Wardha. Gandhi was chosen by the Congress as the leader of the movement and unlike in earlier movements Gandhi maintained an extremely firm position to the extent of suggesting that he wished to continue the struggle till the end. The celebrated statement 'Karengē ya Marengē' (Do or Die). Indicated the deep resolution of Gandhi to carry on the struggle till complete Independence was achieved.

QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT IN BENGAL –

Usually in Bengal, Midnapore has always appeared to be the hot-bed for radical Movements.

From the time of Non-Cooperation Movement, Midnapore had played a lead role in the anti-British movement. But in 1942 the other areas of Bengal were not totally aloof. Indeed, Calcutta, Burdwan, Birbhum, Tippera, Dacca, Murshidabad, Rajshahi, Barishal etc. became the centres of sabotage activities. Monthly reports from several parts of Bengal exposing the repressive character of the bureaucracy that had changed an unarmed people to “leonine violence” also provided convincing evidence of the extent of damage done by the retaliating mob upon public properties. The Quit India Movement in Bengal exhibited certain major trends like it assumed a violent turn in most of the districts of Bengal. As Gandhian influence had limited influence on Bengal, the Quit India Movement assumed a violent turn in most of the districts. The revolutionaries adopted large scale explosive materials and sabotage activities were conducted throughout Bengal. Strikes, processions, meetings etc. became rampant due to active student response. On the other hand, the role of Bengal Communists in the movement was also important from the point of view of their unique programme as the Communist party at the all India level followed the “people’s war” policy. Indeed,

in Bengal many Communists personally supported and in many cases participated in the movement. It was Calcutta from where the movement spread in Bengal.

In the beginning, no accurate programme of the movement was outlined before the people. But as days passed by, the struggle in Bombay and other provinces assumed serious and alarming proportions acting as examples, the students of Calcutta started the agitations actively participating in Picketing, boycotting classes, processions, hartals and sabotage activities. Stoning by the students, processions against the arrest of Congress leaders, smashing government cars etc. led to serious clashes between government authority and the students.

In Midnapore, the peasants played a vital role in anti-British struggle. Indeed, due to exploitation of landlords and non-investment by the zamindars and the Government on the one hand, and the British support to these exploitations on the other hand, turned the peasants towards an anti-British stand. Subhas Bose was a source of great inspiration here and his followers favoured revolutionary terrorism.

The people of Midnapore thus gradually prepared to participate in a radical Movement. The Forward Bloc and the orthodox Congress agreed to work together for making the movement a success. Gandhi's slogan "Do or Die" spread everywhere. The people began to believe that they should help the Japanese who would invade India and in return the British would leave India. The Jatiya Sarkar of Midnapore was organized according to a well planned system and published a paper Biplabi that carried the news of activities of Tamralipta National Government.

Realising themselves as independent, the Congressmen began to celebrate 26 January as Independence Day. It made elaborate arrangements for mobilising tax revenues and redistribution of food grains among the poor people. Despite all this the National government in Tamruk survived till August 1944 when Gandhi terminated the Quit India Movement formally. In the meantime, the national soldiers of the Tamruk and Contai sub-divisions, Tried their level best to eliminate the last vestiges of British imperialism from their own

locality and in that respect, they were successful to a great extent. In two Thanas of the Contai sub-divisions, all kind of Government and semi-Government Institutions had been totally abolished and localities were completely in the control Of national government. The northern districts of Bengal, also actively participated in the Quit India Movement and there, the most significant feature was the participation of low caste people mainly Rajbansis, Modeshias and Paharies. Demonstrations, hartals and in some places, mass violence took place.

CONCLUSION :- Political changes in perspective of Indian politics duly effected undivided Bengal and its northern counterpart. These changes were deeply rooted in socio-economic situation. Bengal politics before Gandhi surged extremism by Anusilan, Jugantar and other groups. Bengal Congress was grouped, engaged to strengthen its own group. Likewise, Bengal leaders of North Bengal were mostly upper caste Hindus, dominating both left and right Wings. Leaders

of North Bengal were divided into Gandhi and Bose group.

During the closing year of the First World War, Congress-Jotedar tie organised the no rent campaign and Haat transfer Movement, different from the Movement organised by Kishan Sabha during the 1940. On the other hand, Bose Brothers avoided the burning topic of the time and the abolition of the Zamindari system in the Jalpaiguri Session of the provincial Congress. It was the peasantry of North Bengal that came closer to the leaders of the Bengal Congress. Indeed, leaders ignored the message of the masses. At the time peasant movement like Haat Tala Movement or No Rent Movement was notable in North Bengal, Congress failed to organise mass movement or popular upsurge. They had a good command of the Rajbansi language and over the Communists of Dinajpur. They tried to prove their ability by organizing mass movements. But they did not prefer to organise any Class-conscious peasant movement. It was not only Nawab Mussaraf Hussain of Jalpaiguri who was able to prevent the Muslim peasants of his estate to participate in national Movement. Muslims peasants of northern Bengal either in control of the League or C.P.I. too did

not participate in the movement. So, it was the Hard luck of the movement that it was launched during the days of extremist Communalism. Thus, the end of the movement was not only due to the British suppression management, but also for several inherent conflicts and contradictions within it. Finally, it affected the Bengali literature as also the Independence with partition in a way supplying moral booster for the inclusion of the native state of Gooch Behar in independent India.

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THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT IN BENGAL PATTERNS AND FEATURES

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Department- History

Subject- DSEA3 History Honours

Contexts-

Page no-	Topic
01	Introduction
02	The Partition of Bengal
03	The Swadeshi Movement
04	The Patterns and Features of Swadeshi Movement in Bengal
12	Conclusion
13	Bibliography

Introduction

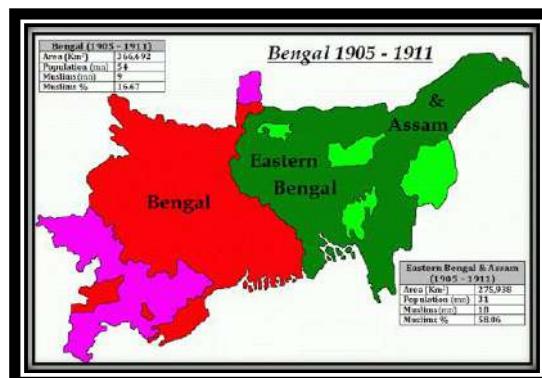
Bengal and the Bengali made a major contribution in the Indian National Movement. The intellectual class of Bengal had both the skill and the intellect to lead the movement. Because of this, Gopal Krishna Gokhale said, “What Bengal thinks today, India will think tomorrow.” Bengal’s progress in the national movement and nationalism was inevitable and in order to weaken it, Lord Curzon announced the Bengal Partition in 1905. To protest against the Curzon declaration of partition, began the Swadeshi movement. The Swadeshi Movement of Bengal (1905-1908) is seen as an important historical event in the episodic narrative of the Indian Nationalist Movement, which takes the story forward to its eventual climax in 1947. The subsequent unification of Bengal in 1911, came to be regarded as a maker of the movement’s success. In this project I’m going to discuss about the patterns and features of the Swadeshi Movement in Bengal.



Viceroy Lord Curzon

Partition of Bengal

On 19th July 1905, the British Government of India announced that the Bengal Presidency would be divided into two which effect from 16th October 1905. The outward argument in favour of this was administrative consideration, lightening the administrative burden upon Bengal. But the real motive was to curb the growth of national feeling in the politically advanced Bengal by driving a wedge between the Bengali speaking Hindus and the Muslims and destroying the solidarity of 78 million Bengalis by dividing them into two blocks. It was a master plan of Curzon to destroy the nascent nationalism of which Bengal had become the nerve centre. The partitioning of the homogeneous Bengali speaking area led to outburst of public indignation all over Bengal. It was opposed by the various sections of the society. The officials, the educated Muslims and the Muslim peasantry of Bengal condemned the partition of Bengal from the outset. Even the Indian National Congress opposed the decision and passed resolutions against at its meetings.



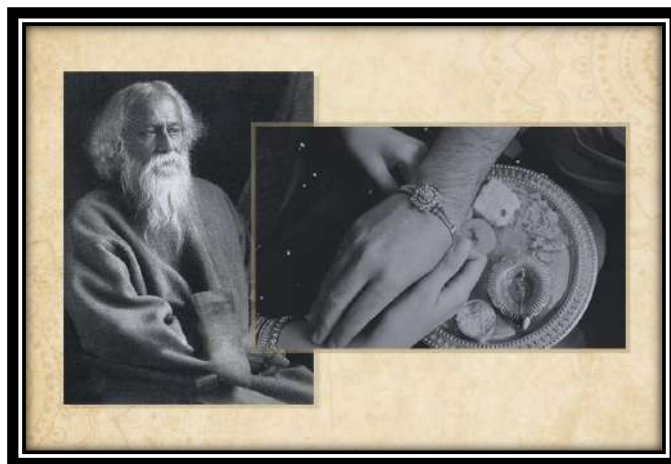
Map of Bengal after Partition

Swadeshi Movement

The partition was a turning point in the history of Bengal. The birth of intense national feeling here caused reverberations throughout India. To protest against the Curzon declaration of partition began the Swadeshi movement. The movement against the partition of Bengal had two aspects- Boycott and Swadeshi. British goods, schools, office, courts were boycotted. Swadeshi and native goods were accepted. Boycott and acceptance were the two main objectives. The formal proclamation of the Swadeshi Movement was made on 7th August 1905, in a meeting held at the Calcutta Town Hall. The boycott resolution was passed to show protest against the partition and to bring economic pressure on the British public. We have observed the instances of Boycott and Swadeshi even before 1905 in China and Ireland. In India in 1881 and 1896, boycotting of British goods were practiced. In 1849, Gopal Rao Deshmukh, in Pune talked about Swadeshi. In 1867, Raj Narayan Basu, Naba Gopal Mitra started the Hindu Mela to propagate Swadeshi. But for the very first time, in 1905, the responsibility of nationalism of whole of India and Bengal lay in the hands of the moderates. The developments since the announcement of partition in December 1903 to its imposition on 16th October 1905 took place under the moderates.

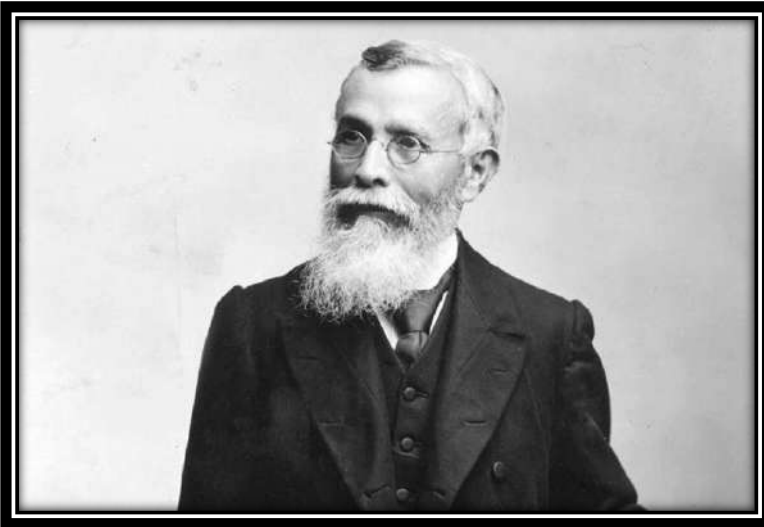
Patterns and Features of the Swadeshi Movement in Bengal

From 16th October 1905, entire Bengal even the middle class participated in it and protested against the British. They united themselves and started the Swadeshi Movement. The leaders declared it to be “A Day of Mourning” throughout Bengal. All business establishments were closed on that day. Young men, students stood in groups, each holding a banner displaying slogans such as – “Unity is Strength”, “No Partition” and singing the Vandemataram Song which became the theme song of the movement written by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya. In Kolkata people took out processions and they tied Yellow thread (Rakhi) on each other’s arms. The ceremony popularly called the- Raksha Bandhan, the name given by the great poet Rabindranath Tagore, indicated that no government could divide the people of Bengal.



Raksha Bandhan ceremony- the name given by the great poet Rabindranath Tagore.

On the same day two huge mass meetings attended by more than 50,000 people were addressed by Ananda Mohan Bose and Surendranath Banerjee.



Surendranath Banerjee



Ananda Mohan Bose

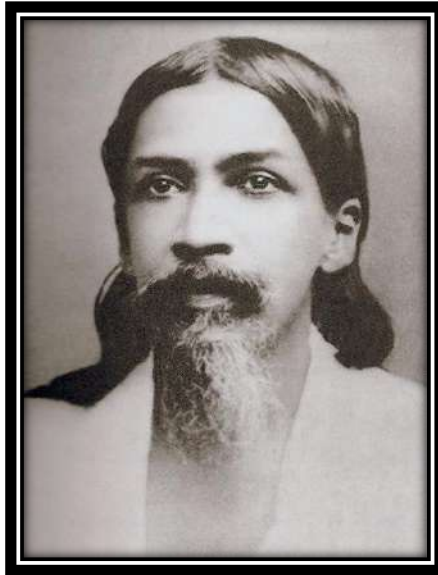
Swadeshi movement's ideology was constructive which taught self-sufficiency. To achieve the ideology people took many initiatives. Under Prafulla Chandra Roy's supervision Bengal Chemicals was introduced. Neel Ratan Sarkar, Satish Chandra Mukherjee brought up a system of National Education in India.

To spread swadeshi and boycott there is an outburst of literary and cultural activity came forward to help. Manmohan Ghosh and Devendranath Tagore's – "Indian Mirror", Shishir Kumar Ghosh and Motilal Ghosh's- "Amrita Bazar Patrika", Surendranath Banerjee's- "The Bengalee" are a few to mention. Many extremists came forward to help. Bipin Chandra Pal's- "New India" and Aurobindo Ghosh's- "Vande Mataram" contributed to the movement. Brahmabandhab Upadhyay started "Sandhya" and Barindra Kumar Ghosh started "Jugantar" newspapers which helped in spreading messages radically. Bipin Chandra Pal in "New India" regarding Swadeshi said, "Our ideal is full freedom which means absence of the foreign control." Aurobindo Ghosh wrote in "Vande Mataram" while reporting Boycott said, "It (Boycott) was no more economic revolt we were instituting but the practice of national independence....for the attempt to be separate and self-sufficient economically must bring it with attempts to be free to any function of a Nation's life." Besides the folk theatres (known as Yatras in Bengali), gave a great publicity to the Swadeshi campaign.

During this time, the Samitis created in Bengal helped in spreading Swadeshi Movement. Ashwini Kumar Dutta's Swadesh Bandhab Samiti, Faridpur's- Brati Samiti, Mymensingh's- Surhit Samiti and Sadhana Samaj, Dhaka's

Abushilan Samiti etc. People of all ages, women, middle class, zamindar became member of these Samitis. Samiti had its brands as well. Barisal's- Swadesh Bandhab Samiti had 159 branches. Rabindranath Tagore created- Swadeshi Samiti. Under Rabindranath Tagore more than 1000 Samitis were created. In general, Samitis concentrated on spreading the message of swadeshi to the people by means of festival, songs, and speeches in addition to publication of numerous journals and pamphlets. In such efforts to push Swadeshi goods, the samitis often used coercive methods, the devastating impact of which was graphically narrated in Rabindranath Tagore's famous novel- Ghare-Baire (The Home and the World).

Penal action against the students for participating in the Swadeshi and Boycott movement create an urge for national education. The number of national schools grew quickly and in 1908 there was 25 secondary and about 300 primary National schools in Bengal alone. The National College in Kolkata, with Aurobindo Ghosh as Principal, was established on 14th August 1906. In Maharashtra, also a number of national schools were established. National education had these characteristics secular education, moral education, political education, and industrial education.



Aurobindo Ghosh

Swadeshi made its presence felt in the most phenomenal way in the sphere of culture- literature, theatre, music, and art. The India Sangita Samaj (Music Samiti) founded by Jyotrindranath Tagore and the Maharaja of Natore in 1897 to promote Indian classical music had acquired some political notoriety by 1905. Abanindranath Tagore purposefully revived the style of Mughal Painting and made a break with imitations of Victorian naturalist taste of the late 19th century reflected in the works of Raja Ravi Varma. Abanindranath and several other students of the Calcutta School of Art were inspired by Indian traditions such as Ajanta, Rajput, and Mughal paintings. They infused it with the wash techniques of Japan, inspired by the Japanese art critic and historian Kakuzo Okakura. In the context of Swadeshi, Abanindranath Tagore emerged as a leading voice of sorts in this particular genre and generated a movement around himself.



*The Picture of Bharat Mata
drawn by Abanindranath Tagore*

‘The Bharat Mata’ established by Abanindranath firmly as a nationalist as a creator of an “Indian Style”. The image was originally conceived as – Bangamata (Mother Bengal) and dedicated to the entire nation. The configuration of the nation as a mother had earlier found articulation in Bankim Chandra’s- “Bande Mataram” which was later included in his novel- ‘Anandamath (1882). The verse set to tune by Rabindranath himself, caught the imagination of the Swadeshi activists.

The Swadeshi movement gave a great stimulus to the Indian industries, particularly the weaving industry. Swadeshi textile mills, match and soap factories came up

quickly all over the country. Swadeshi stores sold fabrics, shoes, salt, hosiery, and a lot of other goods. Tagore lent direct support to the establishment of a Swadeshi store in Kolkata. Besides these we saw different trading activities in Bengal. Bengal Landholding Association, Bengal Technical Institute, Banga Laxmi Cotton Mills was created by Mohini Mohan Chakraborty, Bengal Hosiery (1908- Abdul Sonan), Bengal National Bank, National Insurance Company were Swadeshi enterprises to name a few. An important phase in the production of iron and steel began with the establishment of Tata Iron and Steel Company. The entire capital of the Company came from the Indians. The Company started production in 1911. Due to all these growing industries the British faced immense economic pressure and losses on their trading activities. The labours and workers too supported Swadeshi. They carry hartals and strikes. The Swadeshi and the Boycott movement was a great success. In 1906 it was at its peak. In 1906, East India Railway Workers went on a strike in Jamalpur Railways. In 1908, Calcutta Telegraph's workers went on a strike. The Swadeshi spirit moved to all sections of the society. The women and student volunteers took to picketing. The cobblers refused to mend English shoes and the washermen refused to wash European garments. A person selling or buying foreign goods was subjected to great humiliation. Foreign cloth, salt and sugar placed in

heaps were set on fire. Around 1908, attempt was made by some, in places like Andhra, in organizing terrorist activities and in the production and use of bombs. There were rumours that several individuals were engaged in secret production of bombs. Though some efforts were made by the by the Bengal revolutionaries like- Aurobindo Ghosh, Prafulla Chandra Chaki who was associated with the Jugantar group of revolutionaries carried out assassinations against British colonial officials in an attempt to secure Indian Independence. The Swadeshi Movement was not limited to Bengal, it started spreading outside. Bipin Chandra Pal said, - “With the start of the Swadeshi Movement at the turns of the century, the Indian nationalism took a major leap forward. Women, students and large sections of the urban and rural population of Bengal and other parts of India became active in politics for the first time.” Lala Lajpat Rai in his- ‘Young India’ said – “What was done in Bengal found its echo in the rest of the country.”



Prafulla Chandra Chaki

Conclusion

As the movement was gaining strength day by day Lord Minto, the successor of Curzon adopted several measures against the rising tide of the anti- British activities. In 1909, the Morle- Minto reforms were finally passed through Indian Councils Act. Thus, the Swadeshi and Boycott movement with its multi-faceted programmes and activities was able to draw, for the first-time large sections of the society into active participation in modern nationalist politics and still larger sections into the ambit of modern political ideas. As Surendranath Banerjee pointed out, the year 1905 was one of the most memorable years in the history of Bengal. I would be no exaggeration to say that it was an epoch- making year, leaving a profound and far- reaching influence on the public life of Bengal and the future of the country. The movement created greater national consciousness among the people. The Swadeshism made a deep dent in the society as it provided an opportunity for reviving the weaving. By 1910, the Swadeshi movement began to lose its momentum. The extremists in the Congress like- Balgangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghosh also began losing their hold over the movement. In 1911, British shifted their capital from Bengal to Delhi and Bengal's partition plan was abolished. But the importance of Bengal as a capital reduced. Now the contradictions in

Congress were clearly visible. Though Bengal partition plan was dismissed in 1911 yet it lost its unity, she could never achieve it back. Though the movement was not fully successful, in future it created a path for Gandhi's movement.

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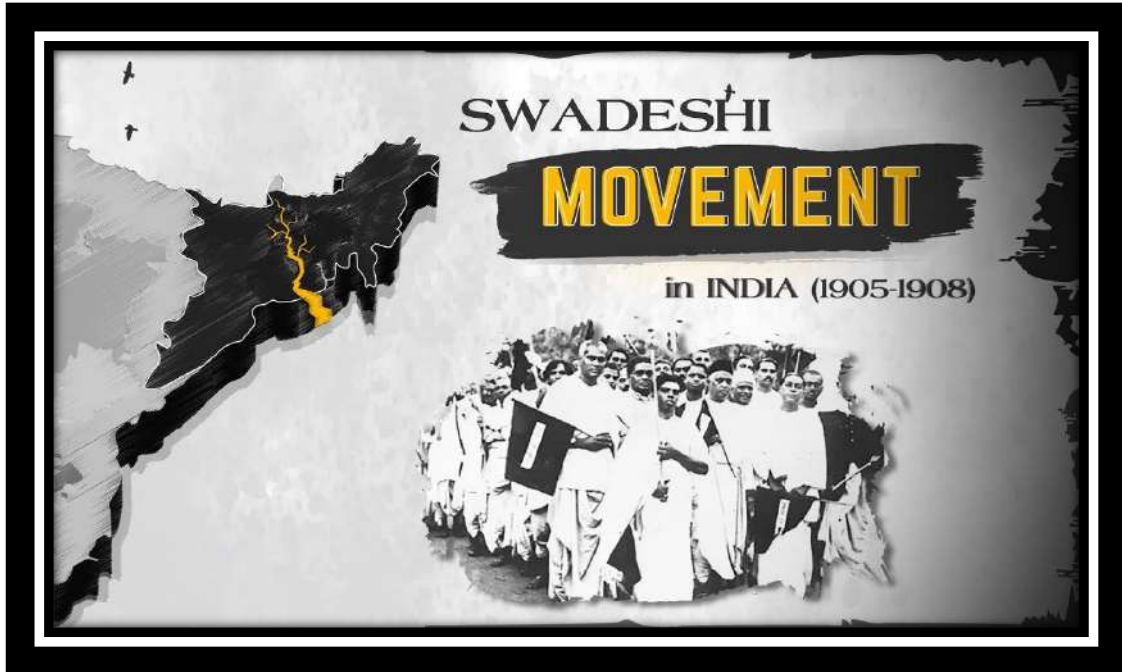
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DSE-A3- TUTORIAL

TOPIC- THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT IN BENGAL-
PATTERNS AND FEATURES



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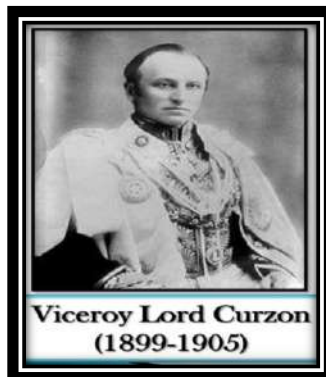
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The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal- Patterns and Features

Introduction

Bengal and the Bengali made a major contribution in the Indian National Movement. The intellectual class of Bengal had both the skill and the intellect to lead the movement. Because of this, Gopal Krishna Gokhale said, “ What Bengal thinks today, India will think tomorrow.” Bengal’s progress in the national movement and nationalism was inevitable and in order to weaken it, Lord Curzon announced the Bengal Partition in 1905. To protest against the Curzon declaration of partition, began the Swadeshi movement.



1. **Viceroy Lord Curzon- who announced the Bengal Partition in 1905.**

The Swadeshi Movement of Bengal (1905-1908) is seen as an important historical event in the episodic narrative of the Indian Nationalist Movement, which takes the story forward to its eventual climax in 1947. The subsequent unification of Bengal in 1911, came to be regarded as a maker of the movement's success. In this project I'm going to discuss about the patterns and features of the Swadeshi Movement in Bengal.

Partition of Bengal

On 19th July, 1905, the British Government of India announced that the Bengal Presidency would be divided into two which effect from 16th October, 1905. The outward argument in favour of this was administrative consideration, lightening the administrative burden upon Bengal. But, the real motive was to curb the growth of national feeling in the politically advanced Bengal by driving a wedge between the Bengali speaking Hindus and the Muslims and destroying the solidarity of 78 million Bengalis by dividing them into two blocks. It was a master plan of Curzon to destroy the nascent nationalism of which Bengal had become the nerve centre. The partitioning of the

homogeneous Bengali speaking area led to outburst of public indignation all over Bengal. It was opposed by the various sections of the society. The officials, the educated Muslims and the Muslim peasantry of Bengal condemned the partition of Bengal from the outset. Even the Indian National Congress opposed the decision and passed resolutions against at its meetings.



2. Map of Bengal after Partition

Swadeshi Movement

The partition was a turning point in the history of Bengal. The birth of intense national feeling here caused reverberations throughout India. To protest against the Curzon declaration of partition began the Swadeshi movement. The movement against the partition of Bengal had two aspects- Boycott and Swadeshi.

British goods, schools, office, courts were boycotted. Swadeshi and native goods were accepted. Boycott and acceptance were the two main objectives. The formal proclamation of the Swadeshi Movement was made on 7th August 1905, in a meeting held at the Calcutta Town Hall. The boycott resolution was passed to show protest against the partition and to bring economic pressure on the British public.

We have observed the instances of Boycott and Swadeshi even before 1905 in China and Ireland. In India in 1881 and 1896, boycotting of British goods were practiced. In 1849, Gopal Rao Deshmukh, in Pune talked about Swadeshi. In 1867, Raj Narayan Basu, Naba Gopal Mitra started the Hindu Mela to propagate Swadeshi. But for the very first time, in 1905, the responsibility of nationalism of whole of India and Bengal lay in the hands of the moderates. The developments since the announcement of partition in December 1903 to its imposition on 16th October, 1905 took place under the moderates.

Patterns and Features of the Swadeshi Movement in Bengal

From 16th October, 1905, entire Bengal even the middle class participated in it and protested against the British. They united themselves and started the Swadeshi Movement. The leaders declared it to be “ A Day of Mourning” throughout Bengal. All business establishments were closed on that day. Young men, students stood in groups, each holding a banner displaying slogans such as – “ Unity is Strength”, “ No Partition” and singing the Vandemataram Song which became the theme song of the movement written by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya. In Kolkata people took out processions and they tied Yellow thread (Rakhi) on each other’s arms. The ceremony popularly called the- Raksha Bandhan, the name given by the great poet Rabindranath Tagore, indicated that no government could divide the people of Bengal.



3. Raksha Bandhan ceremony- the name given by the great poet-
Rabindranath Tagore.

On the same day two huge mass meetings attended by more than 50,000 people were addressed by Ananda Mohan Bose and Surendranath Banerjee.



4. Surendranath Banerjee



5. Ananda Mohan Bose

Swadeshi movement's ideology was constructive which taught self sufficiency. To achieve the ideology people took many

initiatives. Under Prafulla Chandra Roy's supervision Bengal Chemicals was introduced. Neel Ratan Sarkar, Satish Chandra Mukherjee brought up a system of National Education in India.

To spread swadeshi and boycott there is an ourburst of literary and cultural activity came forward to help. Manmohan Ghosh and Devendranath Tagore's –“ Indian Mirror”, Shishir Kumar Ghosh and Motilal Ghosh's- “ Amrita Bazar Patrika”, Surendranath Banerjee's- “ The Bengalee” are a few to mention. Many extremists came forward to help. Bipin Chandra Pal's- “ New India” and Aurobindo Ghosh's- “ Vande Mataram” contributed to the movement. Brahmabandhab Upadhyay started “ Sandhya” and Barindra Kumar Ghosh started “Jugantar” newspapers which helped in spreading messages radically. Bipin Chandra Pal in “ New India” regarding Swadeshi said, “ Our ideal in full freedom which means absence of the foreign control.” Aurobindo Ghosh wrote in “ Vande Mataram” while reporting Boycott said, “It (Boycott) was no more economic revolt we were instituting butt the practice of national independence....for the attempt to be separate and self-

sufficient economically must bring it with attempts to be free to any function of a Nation's life." Besides the folk theatres (known as Yatras in Bengali), gave a great publicity to the Swadeshi campaign.

During this time, the Samitis created in Bengal helped in spreading Swadeshi Movement. Ashwini Kumar Dutta's- Swadesh Bandhab Samiti, Faridpur's- Brati Samiti, Mymensingh's- Surhit Samiti and Sadhana Samaj, Dhaka's- Abushilan Samiti etc. People of all ages, women, middle class, zamindar became member of these Samitis. Samiti had its brands as well. Barishal's- Swadesh Bandhab Samiti had 159 branches. Rabindranath Tagore created- Swadeshi Samiti. Under Rabindranath Tagore more than 1000 Samitis were created. In general, Samitis concentrated on spreading the message of swadeshi to the people by means of festival, songs and speeches in addition to publication of numerous journals and pamphlets. In such efforts to push Swadeshi goods, the samitis often used coercive methods, the devastating impact of which was

graphically narrated in Rabindranath Tagore's famous novel- Ghare-Baire (The Home and the World).



6. Ashwini Kumar Dutta who created- Swadesh Bandhab Samiti

Penal action against the students for participating in the Swadeshi and Boycott movement create an urge for national education. The number of national schools grew quickly and in 1908 there was 25 secondary and about 300 primary National schools in Bengal alone. The National College in Kolkata, with Aurobindo Ghosh as Principal, was established on 14th August, 1906. In Maharashtra, also a number of national schools were established. National education had these characteristics- secular education, moral education, political education and industrial education.



1. Aurobindo Ghosh

The Swadeshi movement gave a great stimulus to the Indian industries, particularly the weaving industry. Swadeshi textile mills, match and soap factories came up quickly all over the country. Swadeshi stores sold fabrics, shoes, salt, hosiery and a lot of other goods. Tagore lent direct support to the establishment of a Swadeshi store in Kolkata. Besides these we saw different trading activities in Bengal. Bengal Landholding Association, Bengal Technical Institute, Banga Laxmi Cotton Mills was created by Mohini Mohan Chakraborty, Bengal Hosiery (1908- Abdul Sonan), Bengal National Bank, National Insurance Company were Swadeshi enterprises to name a few. An

important phase in the production of iron and steel began with the establishment of Tata Iron and Steel Company. The entire capital of the Company came from the Indians. The Company started production in 1911. Due to all these growing industries the British faced immense economic pressure and losses on their trading activities.

The labours and workers too supported Swadeshi. They carried hartals and strikes. The Swadeshi and the Boycott movement was a great success. In 1906 it was at its peak. In 1906, East India Railway Workers went on a strike in Jamalpur Railways. In 1908, Calcutta Telegraph's workers went on a strike. The Swadeshi spirit moved to all sections of the society. The women and student volunteers took to picketing. The cobblers refused to mend English shoes and the washermen refused to wash European garments. A person selling or buying foreign goods was subjected to great humiliation. Foreign cloth, salt and sugar placed in heaps were set on fire. Around 1908, attempt was made by some, in places like Andhra, in organizing terrorist activities and in the production and use of bombs. There were

rumours that several individuals were engaged in secret production of bombs. Though some efforts were made by the by the Bengal revolutionaries like- Aurobindo Ghosh, Prafulla Chandra Chaki who was associated with the Jugantar group of revolutionaries carried out assassinations against British colonial officials in an attempt to secure Indian Independence.



7. Prafulla Chandra Chaki

The Swadeshi Movement was not limited to Bengal, it started spreading outside. Bipin Chandra Pal said,-“ With the start of the Swadeshi Movement at the turns of the century, the Indian nationalism took a major leap forward. Women, students and large sections of the urban and rural population of Bengal and other parts of India became active in politics for the first time.”

Lala Lajpat Rai in his- ' Young India' said –“ What was done in Bengal found its echo in the rest of the country.”

Conclusion

As the movement was gaining strength day by day Lord Minto, the successor of Curzon adopted several measures against the rising tide of the anti- British activities . In 1909, the Morle- Minto reforms were finally passed through Indian Councils Act. Thus, the Swadeshi and Boycott movement with its multi-faceted programmes and activities was able to draw, for the first time large sections of the society into active participation in modern nationalist politics and still larger sections into the ambit of modern political ideas. As Surendranath Banerjee pointed out, The year 1905 was one of the most memorable years in the history of Bengal. I would be no exaggeration to say that it was

an epoch- making year, leaving a profound and far- reaching influence on the public life of Bengal and the future of the country. The movement created greater national consciousness among the people. The Swadeshism made a deep dent in the society as it provided an opportunity for reviving the weaving.

By 1910, the Swadeshi movement began to loose its momentum. The extremists in the Congress like- Balgangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghosh also began loosing their hold over the movement. In 1911, British shifted their capital from Bengal to Delhi and Bengal's partition plan was abolished. But the importance of Bengal as a capital reduced. Now the contradictions in Congress were clearly visible. Though Bengal partition plan was dismissed in 1911 yet it lost its unity, she could never achieve it back. Though the movement was not fully successful, in future it created a path for Gandhi's movement.

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DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

SEMESTER VI

SWADESHI MOVEMENT IN BENGAL
PATTERN AND FEATURES



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INTRODUCTION:

The spread of modern education, the emergence of various associations at national, Provincial and district levels, the role of the press, improved transport and Communication systems etc., accelerated the political consciousness among the people Of India and helped in strengthening the National Movement that was taking place Since the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885. The changes introduced By the British in the administrative, judicial, economic and intellectual life of the Country also prepared the ground for the rise of a new class of restless and dynamic Leaders. The latter gave the needed leadership to the movement. The constitutional Agitation through petitions which they began since 1885, of course, gradually yielded Place to a new aggressive demand for political privileges from early twentieth century, More particularly from 1905. With the discontent and disillusionment among the People coupled with the partition of Bengal moved them for an unprecedented Struggle for freedom from foreign yoke in the twentieth century.

PARTITION OF BENGAL:

On 19th July 1905 the British Government of India announced that the Bengal Presidency would be divided into two with effect from 16 October 1905. The outward argument in favour of this was administrative consideration, lightening the administrative burden upon Bengal. But, the real motive was to curb the growth of national feeling in the politically advanced Bengal by driving a wedge between the Bengali speaking Hindus and the Muslims and destroying the solidarity of 78 million Bengalis by dividing them into two blocks. It was a master plan of Viceroy Curzon to destroy the nascent nationalism of which Bengal had become the nerve centre. The partitioning of the homogeneous Bengali speaking area led to outburst of public indignation all over Bengal. It was opposed by the various sections of the society. The officials, the educated Muslims and the Muslim peasantry of Bengal condemned the partition of Bengal from the outset. Even the Indian National Congress opposed this division and passed resolutions against it at its meetings.

SWADESHI MOVEMENT:

The partition was a turning point in the history of Bengal. The birth of intense national feeling here caused reverberations throughout India. A strong wave of protest movements was launched in Bengal to pressurize the Government to annul the partition. The pledge to boycott foreign goods was taken. The formal proclamation of the Swadeshi Movement was made on 7th August 1905 in a meeting held at the Calcutta Town Hall. The boycott resolution was passed to show protest against the partition and to bring economic pressure on the British

public. The 16th October 1905 was observed as the day of mourning throughout Bengal. All business establishments were closed on that day. Young men paraded the streets, singing the Vandemataram Song which became the theme song of the movement. In fact, Rabindranath Tagore's Swadeshi songs gave expression to the peoples anguish and anger. On the same day two huge mass meetings which was attended by more than 50,000 people----were addressed by Ananda Mohan Bose and Surendranath Benerjee. All these, naturally, caused the partition agitation to grow into the Swadeshi Movement which was carried on in different parts of the nation. It grew in strength under the leadership of different leaders . Balagangadhar Tilak took the movement to different parts of India, particularly in Poona and Bombay and his famous epigram "Swaraj is my birth right and I will have it" had revolutionized the movement. The leaders in Punjab included Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh; while in Madras, Chidambaram Pillai made tours for the cause. Bipin Chandra Pal's tour of Madras Presidency and Aurobindo Ghosh's efforts gave impetus to the movement. The Calcutta session of the Congress held from 26 to 29 December 1908 under the Presidentship of Dadabhai Naoroji adopted the Vandemataram song as the National song of India and the Swaraj or self-government as its goal. It was P. Anandacharlu who attended the session from Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh who introduced the Swadeshi resolution at this session.



As the movement was gaining strength day by day Lord Minto, the successor of Curzon adopted severe measures against the rising tide of the anti-British activities. In Lahore and Rawalpindi the situation grew very tense during 1907-1908. Even the Editors and Printers were imprisoned in large number and the law known as the Colonization Bill was passed. Naturally, extremist activities increased in places like Punjab and Lahore. Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh were considered mainly responsible For this. Therefore, they were deported by the Government. There were protests against their arrest throughout the country. During 1907 and 1908 leaders like Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai, Aswinikumar Dutt and Ajit Singh were also deported And Tilak was given a six-year imprisonment. Of course, most of them were released Soon. Similarly, protests were organized against the Seditious Meetings Act of 1907 Which restricted the right of holding public meetings so as to curtail the movement. This was resented and protested by people throughout the country. There was also wide-spread hostility

towards Europeans during this period. Giving of Vandemataram slogans, stone-throwing on the government institutions and property, And using of bad language when Europeans pass by were some of the things adopted By the Indians to express their anger and unhappiness about the British regime. This Was happening more particularly in the south.

When the Swadeshi and Boycott movements began to be effective and took Different forms at different places, decisions were taken not to import foreign goods, And bonfires of foreign cloth were organized on 22 September 1908. For example, Subbannachari, a clerk in the Burma Oil Company at Anantapur of Andhra burnt Publicly his shirt, cap and braces, demonstrating his intense indignation against the British goods. Similarly, the national spirited washermen refused to wash the mill-Made clothes. One such incident occurred near Chiguruvada, near Tirupati (in present Andhra Pradesh) when a washer man created history by refusing to wash the mill-Made clothes of a Brahmin of the village and even threatening to throw them into Oven. Around 1908, attempt was made by some, in places like Andhra, in organizing Terrorist activities and in the production and use of bombs. There were rumours that Several individuals were engaged in secret production of bombs. Though some efforts Were made by the Bengali revolutionaries, terrorism did not take roots in Andhra Region of the Madras Presidency. Darsi Chenchaiyah is the only Andhra who joined the Gadar party of Lala Hardayal but did not remain a member throughout. By 1910, the Vandemataram and Swadeshi movement began to lose its Momentum. The extremists in the Congress like Balagangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurbindo also began losing their hold over the movement. And, with the Annulment of the partition of Bengal by the Government in 1911, the movement Gradually disappeared for the time being until it took a new form under the title of the Home Rule Movement launched by Annie Besant.

CONCLUSION:

As the movement was gaining strength day by day Lord Minto, the successor of Curzon adopted several measures against the rising tide of the anti- British activities. In 1909, the Morle- Minto reforms were finally passed through Indian Councils Act. Thus, the Swadeshi and Boycott movement with its multi-faceted programmes and activities was able to draw, for the first-time large sections of the society into active participation in modern nationalist politics and still larger sections into the ambit of modern political ideas. As Surendranath Banerjee pointed out, the year 1905 was one of the most memorable years in the history of Bengal. I would be no exaggeration to say that it was an epoch- making year, leaving a profound and far-reaching influence on the public life of Bengal and the future of the country. The movement created greater national consciousness among the people. The Swadeshimism made a deep dent in the society as it provided an opportunity for reviving the weaving. By 1910, the Swadeshi movement began to lose its momentum. The extremists in the Congress like-Balgangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghosh also began losing their hold over the movement. In 1911, British shifted their capital from Bengal to Delhi and Bengal's partition plan was abolished. But the importance of Bengal as a capital reduced. Now the contradictions

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Topic –

**The Swadeshi movement in Bengal - pattern
and features**

Semester- VI

Department- History (HISA) Honours

Paper – DSE A3

CU Roll No. 182223-11-0078

Registration No. 223-1212-0107-18

Introduction

The Swadeshi movement of Bengal (1905-1908) is seen as an important historical event. Lord Curzon's unpopular decision to partition the Province of Bengal in 1905, led to this popular movement, which was organized around the effective use of 'swadeshi' and 'boycott' as methods of agitation, under Extremist leadership. The subsequent unification of Bengal in 1911 came to be regarded as a marker of the movement's success. The decision to partition the large province of Bengal (undivided Bengal, Orissa, Assam And Bihar), avowedly for greater administrative convenience, was one that had been Worked on by H. H. Risley (Secretary to Government of India, 1903) and Fraser (Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, 1903), and finally sanctioned by Curzon, the Viceroy. Swadeshi was a focus of Mahatma Gandhi, who described it as the soul of swaraj (self-rule). The movement took its vast size and shape after rich Indians donated money and land dedicated to Khadi & Gramodyog societies which started cloth production in every household. It also included other village industries so as to make village self sufficient and self reliant.

Swadeshi movement

A Boycott Resolution was passed in Calcutta City Hall on August 7, 1905, where it was decided to boycott the use of Manchester cloth and salt from Liverpool. In the district of Barisal, the masses adopted this message of boycott of foreign-made goods, and the value of the British cloth sold there fell sharply. Vande Mataram became the boycott and Swadeshi movement theme song. Among the movement's various forms of struggle, it was the boycott of foreign-made goods that encountered the greatest visible success on the practical and popular level. Boycott and public

burning of foreign clothes, picketing of shops selling foreign goods, all became common in remote corners of Bengal as well as in many major cities and towns across the country.

Another form of mass mobilization widely used by the Swadeshi movement was the corps of volunteers (samitis). Ashwini Kumar Dutta, a school teacher, set up the Swadesh Bandhab Samiti in Barisal was the best – known volunteer organization of all of them. The Shivaji and Ganapati festivals in Western India (Maharashtra) were organized by Lokmanya Tilak to spread the swadeshi message and boycott movements among the masses. The Swadeshi and boycott movements placed great emphasis on ‘ Atmasakti ‘ or self – reliance as a means of reasserting national dignity in different fields. In the field of national education, this emphasis on self – reliance was most evident. The National College of Bengal was founded as its principal with Aurobindo. Numerous national schools have been established throughout the country in a short period of time. The National Education Council was established in August 1906. In Indians entrepreneurial zeal, self – reliance was also evident. The period saw an explosion of textile mills, factories of soap and match, tanneries, banks, insurance companies, shops, etc. While most of these Swadeshi companies were set up and run as a result of patriotic fervor than any real business interest and were unable to survive for a long time, some others like Acharya P.C. Ray

Old-style Moderate politics

Surendranath Banerji led this group and it was comprised of men with diverse and varying ideas: Krishnakumar Mitra, Jogeshchandra Chaudhuri, Bhupendranath Bose, Prithwishchandra Ray. They worked ceaselessly from 1903 to intensify the agitation through press campaigns, meetings, petitions, conferences in the Town Hall and political correspondence with mufassil leaders. Newspapers like the Bengalee, the Hitabadi, the Sanjibani, Indian Mirror, and Ananda Bazar

Patrika carried Moderate arguments and ideas. While there was some talk of seeking the support of the 'masses' by writing and speaking in Bengali rather than English, this section included many loyalist zamindars and upper-caste Bengalis who belonged to liberal professions, and it was largely their interest that was represented. In accordance with their usual style, they put forward logical arguments in their pamphlets to argue against the decision to partition Bengal. Primarily most of these lamented the partition because it would lead to a contraction of employment opportunities in the government and disadvantages for zamindars who had permanently settled lands on both sides of the divide.

Constructive swadeshi

Swadeshi referred to a politics of building national self-reliance through constructive work, seen as a necessary pre-condition to ultimately and effectively challenging British rule. It was an initial reaction to the ineffectiveness of Moderate 'mendicancy', and was mostly introspective and non-political. 'Constructive Swadeshi' included a positive programme of setting-up of Swadeshi enterprises, spreading vernacular education and social work in the countryside, and reaching out to the masses through traditional folk institutions like the mela. Much of this argument about self-reliance was derived from the works of Moderates like Naroji, R. C. Dutta and Gokhale who had drawn connections between India's forced dependence on British manufactures and its poverty. Extremist leaders duly acknowledged the Moderates for this intellectual debt. People like Tilak in Maharashtra and Lala Lajpat Rai in Punjab were working towards building 'atmasakti' since the 1890s. But it acquired a new lease of life within the movement, and Rabindranath Tagore and a quiet school teacher from Barisal, Aswini Kumar Dutta, were crucial proponents of this form of agitation that stressed patient reform and growth before concerted political action was undertaken.

Swadeshi enterprise

Swadeshi as a form of agitation was directly derived from the indictment of British colonialism by leaders like Naoroji, R. C. Dutt, Digby and Ranade. The swadeshi programme developed along two lines – of reviving traditional crafts that had been destroyed by competition from British goods and of building indigenous industrial enterprise on modern western lines. Such attempts had started early, and the notable initial efforts in this regard were Prafullachandra Ray's Bengal Chemicals started in 1893, and Rabindranath Tagore's Swadeshi Bhandar in 1897. But after 1905, swadeshi was popularized with a new energy and sense of purpose. Volunteer organizations or samitis would promote swadeshi sales through shops, exhibitions along the lines of the traditional Hindu mela and cost-price hawking. The revival of Indian crafts and a rise in demand created by the Swadeshi movement did provide an important stimulus to handloom-weaving, a sector which had been all but destroyed. Educated young men were taught the art of weaving and the fly shuttle loom was popularized through training centres. There was also a partial revival of silk-weaving in Murshidabad and Pabna. The programme of reviving indigenous crafts fit rather well within an ideological agenda of cultural revival. While Moderate leaders in their critique of colonial economic exploitation, had envisaged a modern industrial growth trajectory for the country, revivalist trends within the movement were derived out of a critique of the evils of the western industrial model of growth and therefore rejected western-style development. Instead, they encouraged building upon traditional forms of production – small scale units based on family labour. Amongst the larger-scale industrial enterprises, textile mills like the Mohini Mills of Kushtia, The Calcutta Weaving Company, the Tripura Company etc. Made important contributions. Developments also took place in the leather industry as Dr. Nilratan Sircar founded the National Tannery, where new technologies of tanning were introduced. A number of consumer

articles were developed in swadeshi enterprises – soap, matches, cheap cigarettes, buttons, candles, paper and sugar, but for machinery such industries had to depend on imported iron and steel, although the beginnings of an iron and steel industry had been made in the Sibpur Iron Works, in 1867. The focus soon shifted from industrial production to banking, insurance and inland trade. The opening of the Bengal national Bank in 1908, the National Insurance Company in 1906 and the establishment of the Bengal Steam Navigation Company in 1905 by Muslim merchants, gave tremendous impetus to the project of self-reliance advocated by the Swadeshi movement. However, while the achievements of swadeshi were significant, it made only a marginal dent on the hold of British capital, and didn't even venture close to fulfilling The dream of self-sufficient industrial growth. Furthermore, coupled with boycott, the focus of the movement remained confined to discouraging people from using British consumer goods by reasserting the importance of indigenous tastes and austere living. Thus, the movement also became a symbolic attack on the Bengali elite which had embraced western lifestyles and tastes. Unfortunately, swadeshi came with its own set of problems. The products of swadeshi enterprises were expensive and of poor quality. For instance, the coarse cloth produced was unaffordable for the common man, unless cheaper imported yarn had been used in its manufacture. Additionally, many people were coerced by Swadeshi volunteers to buy indigenous goods and volunteers also had to check excessive profiteering. These complex questions were raised by Rabindranath Tagore in his novel 'Ghare Baire'. Ultimately, swadeshi and boycott, as modes of agitation seemed to have benefitted the small bourgeoisie over all others, and tended to foreclose leadership roles for the poor, as it placed those with adequate capital at the forefront of the movement.

Boycott and passive resistance

In some ways, 'constructive swadeshi' followed from the more popular form of agitation the boycott of British goods, which had a greater symbolic than real impact on the use of British goods. Manchester piece goods, Liverpool salt and foreign sugar were the main targets. While the boycott of sugar was quite unsuccessful and most other imports were marginally affected, sharp dips were noticed in the import of cotton cloth, apparel, tobacco and liquor. However, 1907 was also a period of depression in world trade against which we need to qualify the evidence of a fall in imports. Boycott was carried on by strong volunteer groups or samitis which used picketing and social ostracism to enforce it. Its success was sometimes limited because indigenous substitutes were not available in adequate supply and they were often much more expensive than British goods. Extremist agitation led by Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghosh propagated complete political independence as their goal for the first time, and their agitational techniques were directed towards decisively ending British rule in India. While never ruling out a possible violent struggle to this end in the near future, they used 'passive resistance' as a method to ensure mass participation in the nationalist agitation, which had been, thus far, an elite preserve. Passive resistance meant an extension of boycott beyond British goods to include the boycott of schools and colleges, law courts, government service and legislative posts. According to Pal, it entailed a refusal to render any service to the British government. Passive resistance worked through the new organizational format of samitis that undertook active propaganda through songs and jattras on religious festivals, magic- lantern marches, social work during epidemics and famines, the setting up of swadeshi crafts, schools and arbitration courts, and social boycott of those who refused to heed their exhortations.

Limitation

Sumit Sarkar's *The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal 1903-1908*, gives us the most exhaustive historical survey of the movement, and his arguments have come to dominate most scholarship on the issue. One of issues that Sarkar is preoccupied with is the failure of the mass agitation to turn into a full-fledged mass movement, of the kind we see later under Gandhi's leadership. This difference in the success of mass mobilization during Swadeshi and under Gandhi is particularly interesting since many Gandhian techniques of agitation were anticipated during the Swadeshi movement.

End of the movement

The British had seeded the seeds of communalism quite deep into India's social fabric, and the Swadeshi movement was unable to gain support from the Muslim masses, especially the Muslim peasantry, which in large parts of Bengal was in an inverse class relationship with the Hindu zamindars. By mid-1908, the Swadeshi and boycott movements mass character had nearly ended and the repression of the government took full force. Student participants were expelled from government schools and colleges at public meetings, processions that were banned. The press was subjected to severe controls. It was used by the police to break up public meetings and meetings. At the Surat session, the Congress split in 1907, further weakening the Swadeshi movement.

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THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT IN BENGAL - PATTERNS AND FEATURES

[DSE A3 Project]

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INTRODUCTION

The closing decade of the 19th century was marked by the growth of extremism in Indian politics. The extremists criticized the compromising policies of moderates and wanted to open an alternative path of national politics. At this crucial juncture came Lord Curzon (1899-1905) as Viceroy. Several measures undertaken by Curzon added to the grievances of Indians and these measures undoubtedly helped in strengthening the nationalist movement. The most important aspect of Curzon's administration was his hostility towards the educated Indians. He took a number of decisions which were unpopular among the educated classes. However, the decision of Curzon that caused the greatest opposition was the Partition of Bengal in 1905.

Andrew Fraser, the commissioner of Central Provinces proposed the separation of Chittagong, Dhaka, Mymensingh division from Bengal to form a separate province of East Bengal and its attachment with Assam. The Home Secretary Herbert Risley accepted the proposal and highlighted the political dividends of the partition of Bengal in a note which was made public on 3rd December 1903. Hence, the scheme of the Partition of Bengal was the brainchild of Fraser and Risley but the final decision to partition the province was taken by Curzon. Andrew Fraser considered the Bengal districts of Dhaka, Barisal and Faridpur as hostile to the British Raj. He firmly believe that some Calcutta based leaders and newspapers were responsible for creating anarchy and disorder in these areas and hence without wasting time he wanted to bring the situation under control by separating the districts from the Bengal province.

In early 1904 Curzon wrote to William Broderick, the Secretary of State that nonexecution of the scheme of partitioning Bengal would strengthen and consolidate the extremist forces which would gradually become a source of increasing trouble, Curzon also reminded Broderick that the Bengalis were dreaming of removing the English from India. This particular correspondence of Curzon exposed his real intention, as administrative convenience was only a pretext. Anti Bengali feeling of the colonial bureaucracy including a desire to weaken this 'politically articulate' race actually provided the prime motive behind the partition of Bengal. The final draft regarding the partition of Bengal was written by Curzon and was sent to England on 2nd February 1905. It's secured the approval of the secretary of state on 9th June and was officially announced on 19th July and implemented on 16th October 1905.

The entire province of Bengal broke out in protest when the scheme of partition was first made public. Protest meetings were organized in Calcutta Town Hall in March 1904 and in Jan 1905 and petitions submitted. Articles were published in journals like Bengalee, Sanjeevani and other vernacular newspapers. However, the attitude of the Government of India did not change as ignoring all protests, Curzon administration officially declared the partition on 19th July, 1905 and it was to be made effective from 16th October 1905. It became clear to the nationalists that the moderate techniques were mere exercise in futility. They began to think of new strategies to oppose the partition of Bengal. The Swadeshi movement was formally announced in a meeting at Calcutta Town Hall on 7th August 1905. The boycott of British goods was first suggested by Krishna Kumar Mitra in his journal 'Sanjeevani' on 13th July 1905. The date of 16th October 1905 was observed as a day of mourning throughout Bengal. 'Rakhi Bandhan' was observed at the initiative of Rabindranath Tagore as a symbol of Hindu-Muslim unity.

In fact, according to Sumit Sarkar, Swadeshi movement represented three major trends-Constructive Swadeshi, Passive Resistance and Revolutionary Nationalism. Constructive Swadeshi meant the rejection of futile and self-defeating 'mendicant' politics in favour of self-help as 'National Schools' were established and constructive works undertaken in villages. Rabindranath Tagore called it 'Atma Shakti' in his Swadeshi Samaj address. On the basis of the idea of Constructive Swadeshi, 'Kamala Mills' was established in Calcutta in Sep 1906, followed by Banga Lakshmi Cotton Mills and 'Mohini Mills' in Kushtia. In 1905, Nilratan Sarkar, established a tannery called the 'National Tannery Company' at Tiljala in Calcutta. Prafulla Chandra Ray established the 'Bengal Chemicals and Pharmaceutical Works' in 1892 in Calcutta. This was the first Indian initiative in the field of pharmaceuticals. In 1907 was established 'The Bengal Steam Navigation Company' with its Head Office at Rangoon. It had a nominal capital of Rs 15 Lacs, divided in 15000 shares of Rs 100 each, patronized by the merchant community of Bengal. However, in most cases the lack of capital, experience and dearth of raw materials stood in the way of success of such enterprises.

Another remarkable aspect of Constructive Swadeshi was National Education. The 'Dawn' edited by Satish Chandra Mukherjee and his Dawn Society played a significant role in promoting national education. On 15th August 1906 the 'National Council for Education' was established. Raja Subodh Chandra Mullick donated Rs 1 Lac to the cause of National Education. Aurobindo Ghose became

the first Principal of Bengal National College which imparted education in vernacular medium. The 'Bengal Technical Institute' was established to impart technical education. National Schools were established in district towns- the most remarkable of which was the '**Sonarong National School**' established in Dacca.

The second trend that is political extremism and Mass Mobilization gave much importance to the technique of boycott. Aurobindo Ghose called it passive resistance. According to Sumit Sarkar the history of boycott & Swadeshi vividly illustrate the limitations of an intelligentsia led movement. The method of passive resistance did not last long in Bengal. The attempt to mobilize the masses did not succeed much in the face of brutal state-repression.

In this period, spontaneous participation of the labouring masses added a new dimension to the Swadeshi movement. The workers of British-owned industrial enterprise took active part in the labour movement as they often suffered racial hatred and other humiliations. The price rise of the essential commodities added much to the grievances of industrial workers. Four leaders- Ashwini Kumar Bannerjee, Prabhat Kusum Raychoudhury, Apurba Kumar Ghose and Premotosh Bose played a remarkable role in organizing the working class. In September 1905, 247 Bengali clerks left their job to protest against the new work regulations which were felt to be derogatory at the Calcutta Tramways Corporation. This was the time that witnessed the establishment of the real labour unions. The workers of the Govt. presses went on strike & eventually set up the 'Printers Union' on 21st Oct, 1905, which is considered to be the first real labour union. In fact, a report entitled "Administration of Bengal under Andrew Frazer (1903- 08)" described "Industrial Unrest" as a "marked feature of the period".

The third phase of the Swadeshi movement was represented by Revolutionary Nationalism. The basic feature of this phase was self-sacrifice of the patriots and violent terrorist activities against the British rulers and their collaborators. The first revolutionary group was organized in Midnapore in 1902 by Jnanendranath Basu, In Calcutta; Anushilan Samity was founded by Pramatha Mitra and Aurobindo's emissaries from Baroda - Jatindranath Bannerjee and Barindra Kumar Ghose. An inner circle within the Calcutta Anushilan led by Barindra Kumar Ghose and Bupendranath Dutta started the 'Jugantar' weekly in April, 1906. Hem Chandra Kanungo was the first revolutionary of Bengal to be sent abroad for military and political training. He returned to India in 1908 and

set up a religious school and bomb factory at Maniktala in Calcutta. On 30th April 1908, Khudiram Bose and Prafulla Chaki hatched a plot to kill the sadistic District Magistrate Kingsford of Muzaffarpur. But their efforts proved abortive and two women from Kennedy family were killed. The Dhaka Anushilan Samity led by Pulin Behari Das was a more affective organization, the Barrah Dacoity of 2nd June, 1908 was its first major action.

Cultural Impact - Among all the nationalist movements, during the colonial regime the Swadeshi movement left an indelible mark in the sphere of cultural activities. Sumit Sarkar in his "The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal 1903-08" observed, "The Swadeshi Movements greatest claim to immortality lies perhaps in the realm of patriotic poetry and song." Partition inspired Rabindranath Tagore to compose some of his finest songs and these invariably stand in a class by themselves. The songs written by Rajani Kanta Sen, Mukundo Das and Dwijendralal Ray became a source of inspiration for the later nationalists.

The period also saw the publication of a collection of fairytales 'Thakumar jhuli' written by Dakshinaranjan Mitra Majumdar. In the sphere of art, Abanindranath Tagore broke the hegemony of Victorian art over Indian painting and revived the indigenous traditions of Mughal, Rajput and Ajanta paintings. He was the pioneer of the Bengal School of Art. It also instituted a Scholarship of Oriental Art and the first recipient was Nandalal Bose. Jagadish Chandra Bose and Prafulla Chandra Ray left the mark of their outstanding talent in the field of scientific research. Thus, the Swadeshi movement left a far-reaching impact not only on political life of Bengal but on the cultural life as well.

CONCLUSION

While it is argued that the movement was unable to make headway in mobilizing the peasantry especially its lower rungs, except in certain areas, such as the district of Barisal, there can be no gainsaying fact that even if the movement was able to mobilize the peasantry only in a limited area that alone would count for a lot. This is so because the peasant participation in the Swadeshi Movement marked the very beginnings of modern mass politics in India. After all, even in the later, post-Swadeshi movements, intense political mobilization and activity among the peasantry largely remained concentrated in specific pockets. Also, while it is true that during the Swadeshi phase the

peasantry was not organized around peasant demands, and that the peasants in most parts did not actively join in certain forms of struggle such as, boycott or passive resistance large sections of the peasants, through meetings, jattras, constructive work, and so on were exposed for the first time to modern nationalist ideas and politics.

The main drawback of the Swadeshi Movement was that it was not able to garner the support of the mass of Muslims and especially of the Muslim peasantry. The British policy of consciously attempting to use communalism to turn the Muslims against the Swadeshi Movement was to a large extent responsible for this. The Government was helped in its designs by the peculiar situation obtaining in large parts of Bengal where Hindus and Muslims were divided along class lines with the former being the landlords and the latter constituting the peasantry. This was the period when the All India Muslim League was set up with the active guidance and support of the Government. More specifically, in Bengal, people like Nawab Salimullah of Dacca were propped up as centres of opposition to the Swadeshi Movement. Mullahs and maulvis were pressed into service and, unsurprisingly, at the height of the Swadeshi Movement communal riots broke out in Bengal.

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Netaji and Congress--- Conflicts and Compromises

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Introduction

Subhas Chandra Bose remained a congressman throughout his life. From very childhood he had developed respect for the revolutionaries. During the days of the student life in Presidency College, Calcutta, he made regular contacts with the secret activities of a number of revolutionaries during the time of Hindu Hostel of Presidency College. The Poona Affair and his subsequent rustication from the college clearly depicts the frame of his mind and from the very beginning of the life and courage with which he stood behind his fellow students.

For such a young man the job of I.C.S. was never an attractive one. Though he got passed in I.C.S. exam with honour in London, he never accepted the job. He resigned from I.C.S. job on 22 April 1921 with clear determination of joining India National Congress to serve the cause of the country under British yoke.

After landing on Bombay on 16 July 1921, he first met Mahatma Gandhi at Mani Bhawan. He had a long talk with him about the future plan and future of the movement and India.

The way history of India has been written post-independence, it is rare to find a post-independence historian to write anything praiseworthy about any freedom-fighter who is not from the clan which appropriated India as its fiefdom. If Nehru is to be considered as the protagonist of India's freedom story, not only Subhas Chandra Bose, Vallabhbhai Patel, Ram Prasad Bismil, Veer Savarkar, anyone who was not Nehru will be what in literary terms is called a foil. Not much has been written after independence from a non-Nehru perspective. Congress, before independence, for a long time, before it became a privately-held entity under Gandhi, was more of an amalgamation of floating ideologies than a political party. The way strong personalities interacted and struggled with each other would make an interesting study, though very little has been written on it. Writing on internal politics of the Indian National Congress has been studiously avoided by the later-day scholars for the fear of offending the ruling royals of the Congress. These idols of independent India do not come out a winner in the face of the illuminating intellect of Tilak, non-negotiable nationalism of Bose or uncompromising courage of Bismil. Let us look at the stint of Subhas Chandra Bose in Congress, strangled and stifled as it might have been for him. Within Congress, the contrast could not have been deeper and the competitive streak could not have been more defined than that between Bose and Nehru. Both were of the same age, and from a similar aristocratic background. Bose, unlike other great leaders, did not suffer the lack of pedigree when placed next to Nehru. In reality, Bose with his scholarly background, Civil Services selection stood an inch over Nehru, who at least till that time was still struggling to find a way out of the shadow of a successful and rich father.

Gandhi was a great leader, unified India, and played the great game of mixing religion with politics, thereby appealing to the masses with a mystic appeal. Still, the fact remains that Gandhi had pronounced dictatorial tendencies. As the party became more and more dependent on Gandhi for direction, and even survival, he became more and more adamant about imposing his will over the party. Nehru too started as a rebel young son to a rich friend of Gandhi committed to communism, but with his internal contradictions of character, he was quickly tamed by Gandhi.

Subhas and Nehru started as friends, Subhas appreciative of the sway Nehru held in the Congress and over Gandhi. Looking forward to enlist support of Nehru, who Bose considered his fellow comrade in the path of complete independence, he wrote on 4th of March, 1936- "you are the only one to whom we can look up for leading the Congress in a progressive direction. Moreover, your position is unique, and I think even Mahatma Gandhi will be more accommodating towards you than towards anybody

else.” By then, Nehru had already served as Congress President once, in 1929-30 and was up for the second tenure. Gandhi’s affection for Nehru was well-known. Read- Netaji Bose wasn’t a ‘Nazi Collaborator’, dear Americans, and accusing Alexandria Ocasio Cortez of being anti-semitic over it is absurd. Right after Nehru’s first presidency of Congress, Sitaramaiyya had quoted Young Indian and mentioned Gandhi as Nehru’s foster father. (His father Motilalji gave him pride and prejudice. His foster father Gandhi gave him his prudence). Bose by then was pretty disheartened by the dithering of Congress on the matter of Independence of India. In his book “Fundamental Questions of Indian Revolution” Netaji writes, “In December 1928, a resolution was passed by the Congress by 1300 to 900 Votes, which put back the clock by definitely committing the Congress to the acceptance of dominion status... The resolution of Calcutta Congress gave the British Government one year’s time within which they could offer Dominion status to India. By 1936, Bose was quite disenchanted with the Congress under Gandhi and hoped to get help from Nehru in reigniting the fire of independence. However, on 29th of January, 1939, Subhas Bose was appointed the president of Congress, having defeated Pattabhi Sitaramaiya, 1580 to 1377 Votes. Gandhi, dropping all the pretence of neutrality than declared that Sitaramaiyya’s defeat is my defeat. The old guard and Gandhi loyalists got to work almost immediately blocking the newly-appointed President at every step. Possibly it was due to the disenchantment with the leadership of Nehru-Gandhi that Bose decided to himself step in. Nehru had lost his initial vigour for independence and socialism ever since he was handed over the Congress Presidency in 1929 and later in 1936-37. Sitaramaiyya mentions that in all these years, Netaji largely kept to himself and maintained a bipartisan position on most matters. He writes that only towards the end of September, 1938 it came to notice that Subhas babu was keen to become President of Congress at Tripuri. Gandhi was keen to have Maulana Abul Kalam Azad as the next president and in his absence, Sitaramaiyya was his second choice. However, later Maulana withdrew and the contest was between Sitaramaiyya and Subhas.

The declaration of Gandhi claiming Sitaramaiyya’s loss as his own created unrest in the rank and file of the Congress. Immediately after, in Tripuri Congress, a resolution was brought in by Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, supported by 160 signatories stating “The committee declares its firm adherence to the fundamental policies of the Congress which have governed its programme in the past years under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi and is definitely of the opinion that there should be no break in these policies and they should continue to govern the Congress policies in future. This diluted the powers of appointed President, leaving Bose with nor room to give any new direction to the organization.

How Congress party shunted out Subhash Chandra Bose

The resolution went further and stated, “..the fact that Mahatma Gandhi alone can lead the Congress and the country to victory during such crisis, the Committee regards it as imperative that the Congress Executive should command his implicit confidence and requests the President to nominate Working Committee in accordance with the wishes of Gandhiji”. Not one to take things lying down, Bose wrote to Gandhiji. Subhas wrote to Gandhi on 25th March, 1939- “What exactly is the position of President? Article XV of the Congress Constitution confers certain powers on the President in the matter of appointing the Working committee.”

Stifled and crippled as a notional president, Subhas Bose resigned later that year in September, 1939. Subhas had also fell apart from Nehru by this time. On 28th March, 1939, He wrote to Nehru, “I may tell you that since the Presidential election, you have done more to lower me in the estimation of the public than all the twelve ex-members of the Working Committee put together.” Here he made that famous remark on Nehru and his commitment to socialism. He wrote, “You are in the habit of proclaiming that you stand by yourself and represent nobody else and that you are not attached to any

party. At the same time you call yourself a Socialist- sometimes a full-blooded Socialist. How a socialist can be an individualist as you regard yourself, beats me. The one is anti-thesis of the other, That his assessment was true is confirmed in a self-portrait written by Nehru anonymously. Nehru wrote in Modern Review, November, 1939 "Men like Jawaharlal with all their capacity for great and good work are unsafe in a democracy. A little twist and Jawaharlal might turn a dictator sweeping aside the paraphernalia of a slow-moving democracy. Jawaharlal is certainly not a fascist either by conviction or temperament. He is far too much of an aristocrat for the crudity and vulgarity of fascism. And yet he has the makings of a dictator in him. His overmastering desire to get things done, to sweep away what he dislikes and build anew, will hardly brook for long the slow process of democracy." These dictatorial tendencies came into play much later in full when he took over as the Prime Minister of India, turning himself into a singular power center between the Government and the Party. On refusing to follow the party line, after resigning as the President of AICC, in the month of August same year, Bose was disqualified as President of Bengal's Provincial Congress Committee as well for three years on the charges of indiscipline. Free from the limitations of party policies and politics, Bose went in for an open challenge to the British rule. On 19th March, 1940, he presided in an All India Anti-Compromise Conference at Ramgarh Bihar organized by Swami Sahajanand Saraswati where he expressed his anguish at the compromising nature of the Congress- "As soon as the war began, Mahatma Gandhi proceeded to Shimla without caring to consult the Congress Working Committee and informed HE the Viceroy that he was in favor of rendering unconditional help to Great Britain in the prosecution of war."

He organized a protest against the fake narrative of the British claiming that around 160 British were pushed into a small room by Nawab Sirajuddaula where many died. This was based on the accounts of General Holwell. Netaji was arrested on 2nd of July, 1940. He went on hunger strike in captivity and was later released in November, 1940. All this while he continued to urge Congress to launch Civil disobedience. On May 20th, 1940, Nehru made a statement that Launching a civil disobedience at a time when Britain is engaged in life and death struggle would be an act derogatory to India's honour. Mahatma also refused to join in claiming that he did not want to win independence from the ruins of Britain.

Netaji escaped and fled India in January, 1941, later to emerge as the Commander-in-Chief of Azad Hind Fauz, an audacious attempt to liberate India from the colonial rule with Military means. While the mission itself failed, the failed fire did carry enough cinders to ignite the fires of Sailor mutiny during the Quit India movement, the following year. Protests in support of INA in Kolkata saw the death of 40 in Police firing and that in Mumbai of 23. Pattabhi Sitaramayya brilliantly captures the difference between Gandhi and Bose when he writes- "With Gandhi Means are Ends. With Subhas Ends are Means. They were two polar opposites. Gandhi is moved by instincts. Subhas was guided by reason." Subhas Chandra Bose's struggle while within Congress was a statement against the highly personalized high-command structure and dictatorial grip Gandhi held over Congress amid all the pretence of democracy. While there are many theories of whether or not Bose survived the plane crash on 18th of August, 1945, what Netaji meant to India is captured in the words of Pattabhi Sitaramayya, who writes- There is widely felt disinclination to believe this story of Subhas babu's death, which is traced to Japanese sources. His position after the conclusion of the war has become a matter of anxious enquiry all around. If he was dead, this anxiety would be submerged by the flood tide of sorrow that overcame the country. If he was alive, the halo around this mystic would become deeper and brighter."

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TOPIC -

**THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT IN BENGAL -
PATTERNS AND FEATURES**

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INTRODUCTION

Indian nationalist movement took a major leap forward with the beginning of the **Swadeshi Movement (1903-1908)** in Bengal. The Viceroy of India, Lord Curzon's scheme to **Partition Bengal in 1905** triggered the Swadeshi upsurge, acting as a catalyst in infusing a more militant spirit into nationalism. This agitation against the partition had started in 1903, but became stronger and more organized after the scheme was finally announced on 19th July, 1905 and implemented on **16th October, 1905**. The initial aim was to secure the annulment of partition, but it soon enlarged into a more broad-based movement, known as the 'SWADESHI MOVEMENT', touching upon wider political and social issues. Women, students and a large section of the urban and rural population of Bengal and other parts of India became actively involved in politics for the first time. The most important innovation in the politics of the Swadeshi age was the idea of boycott and passive resistance. Apart from its political significance, the Swadeshi Movement also acted as a catalyst in the sphere of Indian art, literature, music, science and industry.

Partition of Bengal –

The province of Bengal was indeed of huge size and the 1901 Census revealed that the population of the province had become 78.5 million. This called for a re-adjustment of the boundaries. **Sir Andrew Fraser**, the Chief Commissioner of Central Provinces and **Herbert Risley**, Home Secretary of the Viceroy's Council advocated for the transfer of Chittagong, Dacca and Mymensingh to Assam province. These two architects of the partition scheme justified their moves on grounds of **administrative convenience**.

The Viceroy, Curzon and the Secretary of State for India approved their proposal and a separate province named '**Eastern Bengal and Assam**' comprising of **Chittagong, Dacca, Rajshahi division, Hill Tipperah, Malda and Assam** was carved out. **Bengal remained with Bihar and Orissa** attached with it. This scheme of partition was announced by the Government of India on **19th July, 1905** and implemented on **16th October, 1905**.

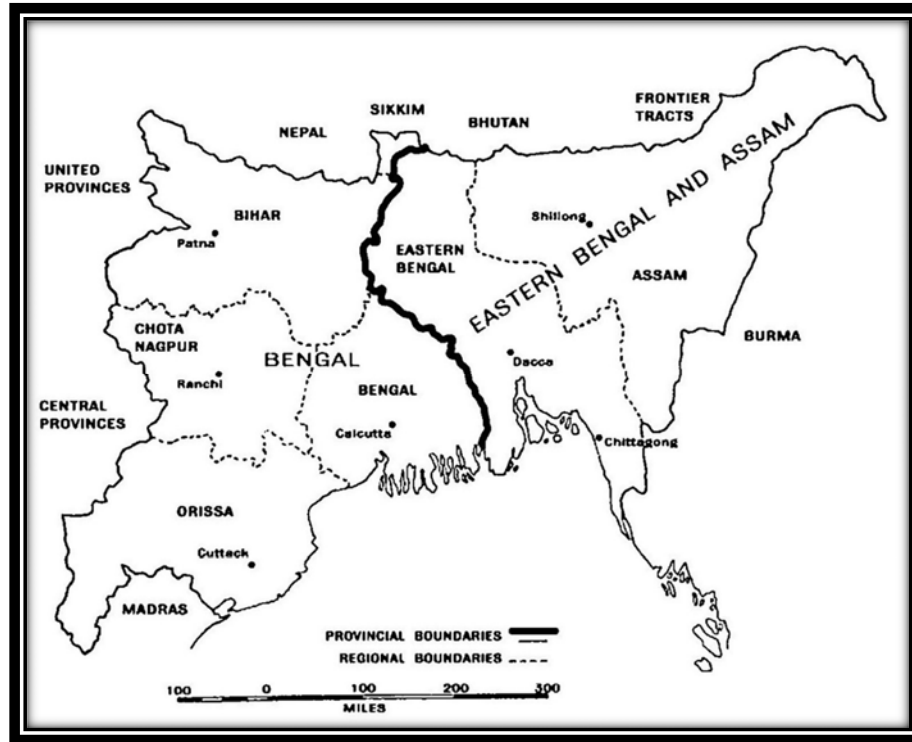


Fig. 1 – Partition of Bengal, 1905-1911

Motives behind the Partition –

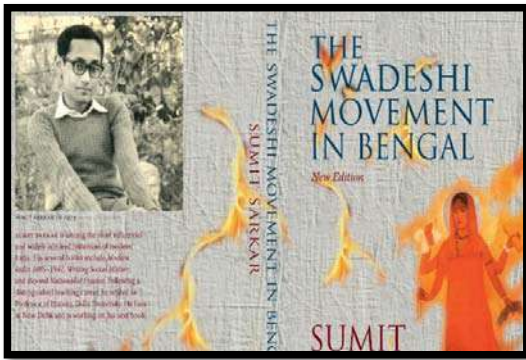
Prof. Ishita Banerjee-Dube argues that till 1903, administrative concerns did dominate the minds of the officials. But there were other motives as well, as pointed out by Sumit Sarkar and Sekhar Bandopadhyay. Curzon, through the implementation of this scheme, **sought to weaken the unified force of politically articulate Bengalee community**. However, the following swadeshi movement revealed that the Bengali identity was dominant over class, caste or religious identities, at least during the initial phase of the movement. Nationalists have always argued that the partition was the manifestation of deep imperialist design of **‘divide and rule’**. The Government tried to win over the Muslim support by assuring them of social and professional opportunities in the new province, which was hitherto dominated mostly by the Hindus of Calcutta. Thus it is quite apparent that the partition scheme provoked Muslim separatism in Bengal.

SWADESHI MOVEMENT IN BENGAL

Trends of Swadeshi Movement in Bengal:

The politics of Bengal's Swadeshi age initially was split up into two broad phases – **the moderate and extremist or nationalist currents**. The second trend eventually developed into terrorism or as R.C. Majumdar had put it as 'militant nationalism'. Amalek Tripathi (*The Extremist Challenge*) and David Argov (*Moderates and Extremists*) had also accepted the above two broad trends.

But, as pointed out by historian Sumit Sarkar, this merely simplifies a far more complex



phenomenon ignoring the various other groups and sub-groups that functioned within the two broad categories. Sarkar (*The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal 1903-1908*) has put forward a four-fold classification of the various trends within the Swadeshi movement as follows –

Fig.2 – Historian Sumit Sarkar's phenomenal work on Swadeshi Movement in Bengal

1. The **Moderate phase**
2. Tagore's 'atmashakti' or self-reliance and self-development without inviting an immediate political clash. Sarkar calls this the phase of **constructive Swadeshi**.
3. **Political extremism** using extended boycott or passive resistance in addition to self-help efforts.
4. **Terrorism**.

The four trends were not successive temporal stages and their relative importance varied greatly with time. Thus moderate phase definitely dominated before 1905, militancy became the most significant kind of political action after 1908. The brief but fascinating intervening years saw the first trials of the technique of passive resistance in India. Thus it can be said that the **first phase maybe traced from around December 1903 to July 1905 as a period of anti-partition agitation**. After **July 1905**, with the official announcement of the

partition, a mighty upsurge was set off which brought in people and national leaders of all shades of opinion together. **Then onwards it was called the Swadeshi movement.**

THE MODERATE PHASE

The initial phase of anti-partition movement between 1903 to 1905 witnessed the traditional techniques of moderate agitation in the forms of petitions, memoranda, speeches, public meetings and press campaigns. Two vast protest meetings were held in the Town Hall of Calcutta in March 1904 and January 1905 and numerous petitions were sent to the Government of India and the secretary of state. The movement united big zamindars so long noted for their loyalism like Peary Mohan Mukherjee of Uttarpara and Congress leaders drawn mainly from liberal professions. Efforts were made to draw in others in the movement besides the English-educated professionals. The Mymensingh Association urged the need to organize petitions in Bengali. However, it has been rightly pointed out by Sumit Sarkar that the pamphlets issued from Calcutta were concerned more with the building up of public opinion in England rather than arising popular action in Bengal or India.

The objective was to turn the public opinion in India and England against the partition proposal by preparing full-proof case against them. Leaders like **Surendranath Banerjea**, **Krishnakumar Mitra** and **Prithwish Chandra Dey** launched a powerful press campaign

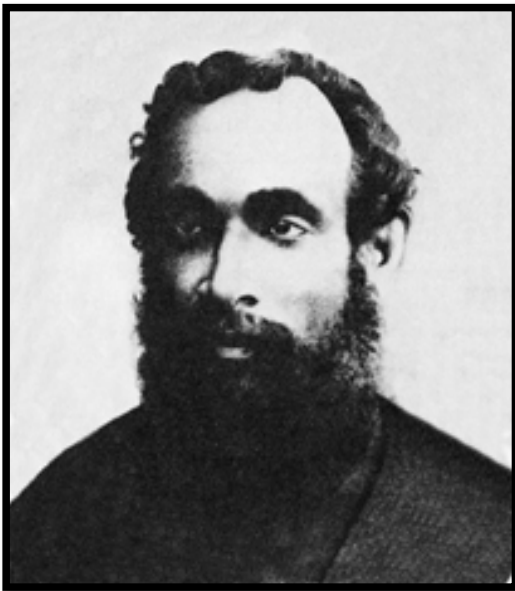


Fig.3 – Sir Surendranath Banerjea

against the partition proposal through journals and newspapers like the *Bengalee*, *Hitabadi* and *Sanjibani*. According to Sarkar, **five pamphlets** conveyed the atmosphere of this phase best - *An Open Letter to Lord Curzon* (Dacca, April 1904); *The Case Against the Break-up of Bengal* (September 1905); *All About Partition* (September 1905); *The Partition Agitation Explained* (January 1906); and *The Partition Riddle* (March, 1906). They were all in the English language and said very little about swadeshi and boycott. They were repetitive in

their demands of separating Bihar and Orissa from Bengal on the basis of linguistic differences, a point that was never really accepted. They asked for “organic changes” in setting up a governor and executive council Bengal like in other two presidencies. This linked the anti-partition agitation with general moderate platform of constitutional reforms.

The partition however could not be stopped. The moderate methods came under scathing criticism. Rajat Kanta Ray (*Social Conflict and Political Unrest in Bengal*) however, argues that the moderate leadership was instrumental in laying down the foundations for the Swadeshi upheaval.

THE DAY OF PARTITION

Once the partition was announced in mid-July, a **boycott of British goods and institutions** was accepted as a mode of struggle by the Congress leaders like Surendranath Banerjea. The **formal resolution of boycott was passed at a mass meeting in Calcutta's Town Hall on 7th August** and the Swadeshi movement was thus, launched. Moderate leaders toured the country urging the boycott of Manchester cloth and Liverpool salt. On **16th October 1905**, the day from which the partition came into effect, **Rabindranath Tagore and Ramendrasundar Trivedi**, Secretary of Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, appealed for the observation of '**rakhi bandhan**'. It was a symbol of brotherhood and unity. ***Bande mataram*** became the theme song of the movement. Tagore also led a procession through streets of Calcutta, singing his patriotic songs. People fasted and mourned the day and a hartal was observed in Calcutta. Later in the day, Surendranath Banerjea and Ananda Mohan Bose addressed two **mass meetings** which drew crowds of 50,000 to 75,000 people. The following weeks saw protest meetings being held almost every day all over Bengal. That the message of boycott went home is evident from the fact that the value of British cloth sold in some of the mofussil districts fell by five to fifteen times between September 1904 and September 1905.

The partition brought the Calcutta leaders and their followers in Eastern Bengal together in a movement that was, in the words of Rajat Ray 'nothing less than a revolution'. Bengal had already developed a **strong regional nationalism** which, although fractured to some extent by the growth of a distinct Islamic identity among the Muslim literate classes, still possessed enough strength to produce political solidarity to undo the Partition. The anti-Partition agitation at least in the initial stages demonstrated a degree of **communal amity** which the colonial government was seeking to destroy. The **initial aim was to secure the annulment of partition, but it soon turned into a more broad-based movement** encompassing larger issues.



Fig.4 – Resolution to boycott foreign goods

CONSTRUCTIVE SWADESHI

The extremist trend, according to Sarkar, broke up into two currents after 1905 - one was the quieter and rather **non-political** in its sincere efforts at self-development and **Tagore's *atmashakti***; while the other was political extremism that tried to turn the boycott that was in its incipient form into a campaign of full scale passive resistance and set its sights on immediate independence rather than on partial reforms or slow self-regeneration. The latter was a later development though that often turned to terroristic methods.

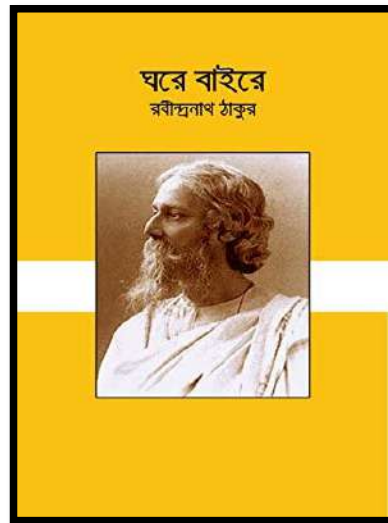
The first trend is well represented by the quiet school teacher of Barishal, **Aswini Kumar Dutta**. He through a lifetime of social work in his district built up the Swadeshi Bandhab Samiti (Association of the Friends of Swadesh) with its 159 branches penetrated deep into the interior of the district. He condemned the Congress as a three days' 'tamasha'. Village disputes were settled by means of arbitration as an alternative to colonial justice.



Fig.5 – Ashwini Kumar Dutta

However, the true spirit of the constructive phase of the swadeshi age was perhaps captured best by **Rabindranath Tagore and his term of *atmashakti* or self-reliance**. He emphasised it in several of his essays and articles of the time like *Apomaner Pratikal* (1894), *Kanthorodh* (1898), *Rajkutmbo* (1903) and *Ghusoghishi* (1903). His disdain of the Congress moderate politics and traced back to the 1880s. He began to call for ways to build up our own strength through constructive economic and educational work. In essays like *Ingraj o Bharotbashi* (1893) and *Bangabhibhag* (1904) his put much focus on *atmashakti*. He also

emphasised on the use of the vernacular to reach out to the masses as a medium of instruction as well as a political language in essays like *Sikshar Herpher* (1892) and *Apor Pakshyer Katha* (1898). He emphasised on promoting folk institutions such as the mela and in the work of village reconstruction.



**Fig.6 – Tagore’s phenomenal work
on his idea of Swadeshi**

In the meantime, the swadeshi spirit swept through Bengal since the 1890s. Tagore himself opened **Swadeshi Bhandar** in 1897, **Jogeschandra Chaudhuri** established the **Indian stores** in 1901, **Sarala Devi’s Lakshmi Bhandar** came up in 1903. The **Bengal Chemicals** was launched in 1893 by **Prafulla Chandra Ray**. **Satischandra Mukherji** began publishing his journal ‘Dawn’ in 1897 and established the **Dawn Society** in 1902. The **Saraswat Ayatan of Brahmobandhab Upadhyay** was established in 1902 and **Tagore’s ashram in Santiniketan (1901)** all laid down the beginnings of the national education. Since 1905 the Bengal air was full of Swadeshi schemes--- textile mills and handlooms, river transport concerns, match and soap factories, earthen ware and tanneries.

National education was becoming a reality with mufassil schools, the **Bengal National College and School (1906)** and **Taraknath Palit’s Society for the Promotion of Technical Education**. A **National Council of Education** was also set up in 1906. **Raja Subodh Mullick** donated RS. 1,00,000 to such efforts of founding national schools. Tagore’s experiments in Santiniketan are to be noted here, where nature and culture were to be linked by the bond of human labour within the living tradition of creative practice. This alternative

method of education and training in arts and development of human personality in communion with nature, resulted in the establishment of the Visva Barati.

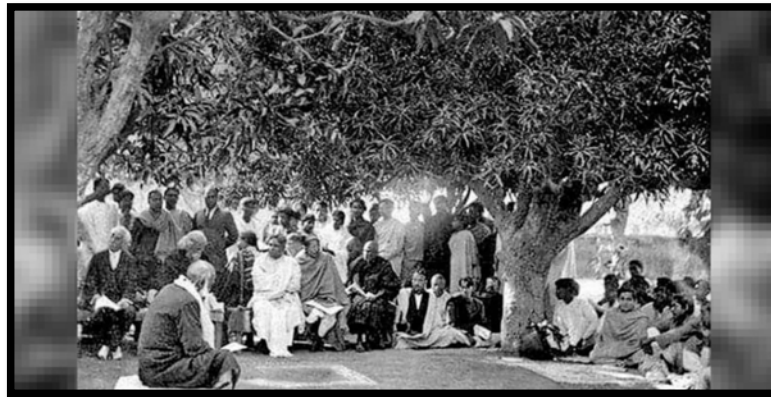


Fig.7 – Tagore in Shantiniketan

The swadeshi mood had also brought about a revival in handloom, silk weaving and some other artisanal crafts. Self-help of a different kind was propounded in the activities of the samitis or national volunteer's movement of the age. The samiti movement in the small towns and the rural areas remained an important innovation of the Swadeshi age.

Thus this phase saw apolitical men being swept into politics and students participating in large numbers. Calcutta leaders and their followers united in a coalition that amounted to **what Rajat Ray calls a 'revolution' in the Bengal political society**. The Swadeshi movement thus represented the first systematic campaign in colonial India to recruit the masses into the elite structure and organisation of institutional nationalism. In many ways, Sarkar argues, constructive Swadeshi anticipated Gandhi's programme of national schools and village improvement.

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Fig.8, Fig.9, Fig.10 – Swadeshi products

POLITICAL EXTREMISM

From **1906 onwards**, Sumit Sarkar traces the development of a current between non-political undertones and political extremism demanding an immediate and direct onslaught on British rule. Led by **Aurobindo Ghose and Bipin Chandra Pal**, these extremists argued that mere self-development would not overthrow the bureaucracy and without political freedom, social and moral regeneration was not possible. This trend clearly demarcated itself by its objectives and techniques from the previous currents. It advocated complete and unadulterated swaraj. The method proposed was the extension of the boycott into a full scale movement of non-cooperation or passive resistance.

From mid-1908 there was a shift towards terroristic activities. Sumit Sarkar terms this phase terrorism and not revolutionary or militant nationalist as what Bengal witnessed was not armed uprisings of the plebeian masses of cities nor peasant based guerrilla actions, but assassinations of oppressive officers, spies and traitors, swadeshi decoities to raise funds and occasional more grandiose plans for armed coups based on infiltration into the Indian army and assistance from Germany or Japan. The historically important distinction according to Sarkar is not the use of violence but mass action as contrasted to elite action.

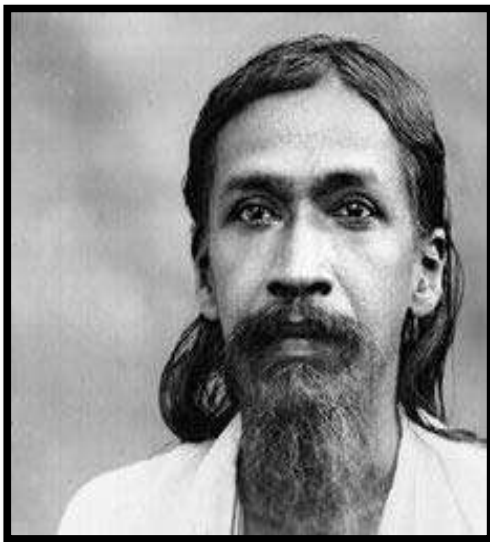


Fig.11 – Aurobindo Ghose



Fig.12 – Bipin Chandra Pal

TERRORISM

From 1908-09 when the state carried out the first round of repression, the open samitis disappeared and terrorist secret societies took over. It was Aurobinda's passive-resistance that called for a comprehensive boycott of British rule, not merely British goods. It was the first step towards what he described as aggressive resistance that was to culminate in an armed revolt.

In this context Aurobindo and other extremist leaders made **use of the religious imagery** that had already emerged in the course of the rise of militant nationalism. Besides the equation between the mother land and the great goddess who demanded sacrifice from her devotees, **the Karmayoga ideal of the Bhagavad Gita** remained an important source for inspiration for the practitioners of Swadeshi.

Revolutionary militancy began to acquire a more organized character in Bengal with the rise of the **physical culture movement**, which was, as has been suggested, an expression of Bengali martial-ness. From around the 1860's, a number of 'akhras' or physical-culture clubs sprang up.

The real story of the rise of identifiable revolutionary parties begins from 1902 with the formation of four such groups. The **first was a society established at Midnapur**. Founded by

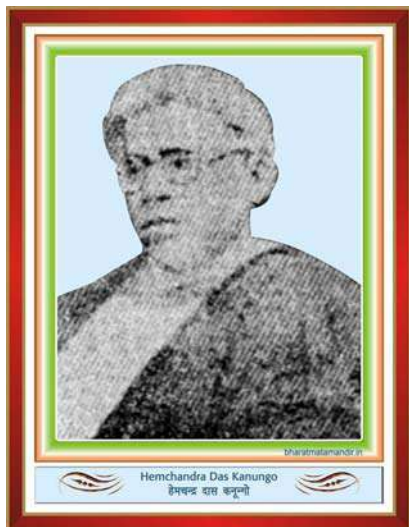


Fig. 13 – Hem Chandra Kanungo

Gyanendranath Basu, the Midnapur group had the famous bomb expert Hem Chandra Kanungo as one of its adherents. According to Sumit Sarkar, it had a more secularist outlook than the other groups which had the usual religious trappings. Its foundation in 1902 was followed by Sarala Devi's attempt to establish a gymnasium in Calcutta. Gymnastic displays formed an important part of the Virastami and Pratapaditya festival, a sort of celebration of martial valour, organized by Sarala Devi.

The other two outfits were Attmonnati (self-improvement) Samiti and **Anushilan** (cultivation of strength) **Samiti**. Very little is known about the Attmonnati Samiti, except that before it merged into Aurobinda's revolutionary group, it functioned as an open organization. The Anushilan Samiti was perhaps the most important physical culture society which began to undergo its

transformation into a revolutionary secret society with the induction of Aurobinda Ghosh and his brother Barindra Kumar Ghosh, both of whom came from Baroda and lent a more revolutionary character to the Society. In October 1906, Pulin Bihari Das, who had received his physical training in Calcutta, formed the **Dacca Anushilan Samiti**. In December a Conference of the revolutionaries was held in which the decision was taken to start a revolutionary weekly newspaper called *Yugantar*. A distinct group from the Calcutta Anushilan Samiti started functioning around *Yugantar* and eventually came to be known as the *Yugantar* group in the police records or as the *Maniktala* Group because of their hideout at *Maniktala* - a Calcutta suburb. The *Yugantar* group included among others Barindra Kumar Ghosh, Hem Chandra Kanungo, an expert in bomb making and Prafulla Chaki. They organized dacoities to raise funds, started manufacturing bombs and planned assassination of oppressive officials.

The first real act of revolutionary violence in this phase took place at Muzaffarpur railway station on 30th April, 1908 when Khudiram Bose and Prafulla Chaki made an attempt on the life of Kingsford, the Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta. This led to the death two English ladies, Mrs and Miss Kennedy. This abortive attempt on Kingsford's life was immediately followed by not only the arrest of Khudiram, as Chaki committed suicide, but also of the entire Maniktala group. Chittaranjan Das offered a brilliant defence for Aurobindo at the Maniktala Conspiracy Case trial.



Fig.14 – Khudiram Bose



Fig.15 – Prafulla Chaki

After the collapse of the *Maniktala* group, terrorism in a more organized form was developed in eastern Bengal under the leadership of the *Dhaka Anushilan Samiti*. They carried out robberies in the houses of merchants who had refused to endorse boycott. They

concentrated on training revolutionaries through the use of Hindu religious idiom and barely had any programme of mass contact.

CONCLUSION

The movement remained limited and restricted and was brought to a sudden halt. As Amalesh Tripathi has said, the movement began with a bang but ended with a whimper. The movement may have succumbed to government repression from 1908 like harassment of picketers, ban on meetings, censorship of press and savage prosecutions and sentences. Sumit Sarkar points at internal weaknesses. The inter-party bickering among the political leaders led to lack of unity. The movement suffered from want of leadership as well. The extremists failed to build up a single coherent alternative leadership.

Nevertheless, it cannot be labelled as a failure. Among the other significance of the movement, one was its cultural impact – as witnessed in literature, songs and painting. The movement also gave a major thrust to the growth of nationalism in India.

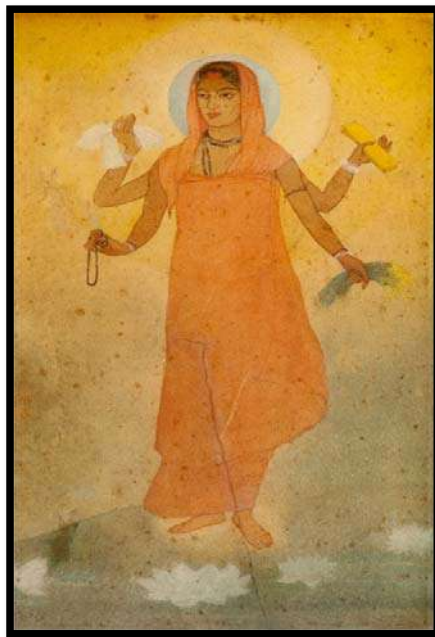


Fig.16 – Painting of ‘Bharat Mata’

By Abanindranath Tagore

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CONTENT :

1. Introduction
2. Partition of Bengal and Swadeshi Movement
3. Pattern and Feature of Swadeshi Movement
4. Impact of Swadeshi Movement
5. Swadeshi Movement in Bengal
6. Conclusion
7. Bibliography

INTRODUCTION

The spread of modern education, the emergence of various associations at national, provincial and district levels, the role of the press, improved transport and communication systems etc., accelerated the political consciousness among the people of India and helped in strengthening the National Movement that was taking place since the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885. The changes introduced by the British in the administrative, judicial, economic and intellectual life of the country also prepared the ground for the rise of a new class of restless and dynamic leaders. The latter gave the needed leadership to the movement. The constitutional agitation through petitions which they began since 1885, of course, gradually yielded place to a new aggressive demand for political privileges from early twentieth century, more particularly from 1905. With the discontent and disillusionment among the people coupled with the partition of Bengal moved them for an unprecedented struggle for freedom from foreign yoke in the twentieth century.

SWADESHI MOVEMENT AND PARTITION OF BENGAL

On 19th July 1905 the British Government of India announced that the Bengal Presidency would be divided into two with effect from 16 October 1905. The outward argument in favour of this was administrative consideration, lightening the administrative burden upon Bengal. But, the real motive was to curb the growth of national feeling in the politically advanced Bengal by driving a wedge between the Bengali speaking Hindus and the Muslims and destroying the solidarity of 78 million Bengalis by dividing them into two blocks. It was a master plan of Viceroy Curzon to destroy the nascent nationalism of which Bengal had become the nerve centre. The partitioning of the homogeneous Bengali speaking area led to outburst of public indignation all over Bengal. It was opposed by the various sections of the society. The officials, the educated Muslims and the Muslim peasantry of Bengal condemned the partition of Bengal from the outset. Even the Indian National Congress opposed this division and passed resolutions against it at its meetings.

PATTERN AND FEATURE OF SWADESHI MOVEMENT

The partition was a turning point in the history of Bengal. The birth of intense national feeling here caused reverberations throughout India. A strong wave of protest movements was launched in Bengal to pressurize the Government to annul the partition. The pledge to boycott foreign goods was taken. The formal proclamation of the Swadeshi Movement was made on 7th August 1905 in a meeting held at the Calcutta Town Hall. The boycott resolution was passed to show protest against the partition and to bring economic pressure on the British public. The 16th October 1905 was observed as the day of mourning throughout Bengal. All business establishments were closed on that day. Young men paraded the streets, singing the Vandemataram song which became the theme song of the movement. In fact, Rabindranath Tagore's Swadeshi songs gave expression to the peoples anguish and anger. On the same day two huge mass meetings---attended by more than 50,000 people----were addressed by Ananda Mohan Bose and Surendranath Benerjee. All these, naturally, caused the partition agitation to

grow into the Swadeshi Movement which was carried on in different parts of the nation. It grew in strength under the leadership of different leaders. Balagangadhar Tilak took the movement to different parts of India, particularly in Poona and Bombay and his famous epigram "Swaraj is my birth right and I will have it" had revolutionized the movement. The leaders in Punjab included Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh; while in Madras, Chidambaram Pillai made tours for the cause. Bipin Chandra Pal's tour of Madras Presidency and Aurobindo Ghosh's efforts gave impetus to the movement. The Calcutta session of the Congress held from 26 to 29 December 1908 under the Presidentship of Dadabhai Naoroji adopted the Vandemataram song as the National song of India and the Swaraj or self-government as its goal. It was P. Anandacharlu who attended the session from Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh who introduced the Swadeshi resolution at this session. In southern India, Madras was the centre from which ideas regarding Swadeshi spread to all the regions in the south. Samitis or associations were formed at many places to initiate and ignite national consciousness and spread of the ideals of Swadeshi. The Vandemataram movement

received new spirit and strength in Andhra and Madras, particularly due to the tour of Bipin Chandra Pal in 1907. Many positive developments took place in Andhra mainly due to his visit. One such thing was the emergence of national schools and colleges at various places in Andhra. They too recognized the need to encourage the indigenous industry. In 1906, an Industrial Association was started by the leading citizens in Madras to propagate the ideal of Swadeshi and for the sale of Swadeshi articles and a Swadeshi League was also started. During this period, some students were sent to Japan by these associations to receive industrial training in order to develop indigenous industries in this region. The Swadeshi supporters preached day in and day out about the importance of Swadeshi, encouraged establishment of Swadeshi stores, organized public meetings, supported and promoted indigenous industry and boycott of foreign goods. As the movement was gaining strength day by day Lord Minto, the successor of Curzon adopted severe measures against the rising tide of the anti-British activities. In Lahore and Rawalpindi the situation grew very tense during 1907-1908. Even the Editors and Printers were imprisoned in large

number and the law known as the Colonization Bill was passed. Naturally, extremist activities increased in places like Punjab and Lahore. Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh were considered mainly responsible for this. Therefore, they were deported by the Government. There were protests against their arrest throughout the country. During 1907 and 1908 leaders like Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai, Aswinikumar Dutt and Ajit Singh were also deported and Tilak was given a six-year imprisonment. Of course, most of them were released soon.

Similarly, protests were organized against the Seditious Meetings Act of 1907 which restricted the right of holding public meetings so as to curtail the movement. This was resented and protested by people throughout the country.

There was also wide-spread hostility towards Europeans during this period. Giving of Vandemataram slogans, stone-throwing on the government institutions and property, and using of bad language when Europeans pass by were some of the things adopted by the Indians to express their anger and unhappiness about the British regime. This was happening more particularly in the south.

When the Swadeshi and Boycott movements began to be effective and took different forms at different places, decisions were taken not to import foreign goods, and bonfires of foreign cloth were organized on 22 September 1908. For example, Subbannachari, a clerk in the Burma Oil Company at Anantapur of Andhra burnt publicly his shirt, cap and braces, demonstrating his intense indignation against the British goods. Similarly, the national spirited washermen refused to wash the mill-made clothes. One such incident occurred near Chiguruvada, near Tirupati (in present Andhra Pradesh) when a washer man created history by refusing to wash the mill-made clothes of a Brahmin of the village and even threatening to throw them into oven.

Around 1908, attempt was made by some, in places like Andhra, in organizing terrorist activities and in the production and use of bombs. There were rumours that several individuals were engaged in secret production of bombs. Though some efforts were made by the Bengali revolutionaries, terrorism did not take roots in Andhra region of the Madras Presidency. Darsi Chenchiah is the only Andhra who joined the

Gadar party of Lala Hardayal but did not remain a member throughout.

By 1910, the Vande Mataram and Swadeshi movement began to lose its momentum. The extremists in the Congress like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo also began losing their hold over the movement. And, with the annulment of the partition of Bengal by the Government in 1911, the movement gradually disappeared for the time being until it took a new form under the title of the Home Rule Movement launched by Annie Besant.

IMPACT OF SWADESHI MOVEMENT

Thus, the Vandemataram and Swadeshi movement with its multi-faceted programmes and activities was able to draw, for the first time, large sections of society into active participation in modern nationalist politics and still larger sections into the ambit of modern political ideas. As Surendranath Banerjee pointed out, the year 1905 was one of the most memorable years in the history of Bengal. It would be no exaggeration to say that it was an epoch-making year, leaving a profound and far-reaching influence on the public life of Bengal and the future of the country. The movement created greater national consciousness among the people. The Swadeshim made a deep dent in the society as it provided an opportunity for reviving the weaving industry. By a systematic boycott of the British fabrics and fostering a temper for Swadeshi, the national movement created tremendous demand for indigenous cloth. This was evident from London Times which contained a review of world trade of 1908. A great depression prevailed in the world which caused the closure of 540 mills in Manchester alone and 4,00,000 operative were out of work. Whereas in India, in

the 1904, Bombay had to suffer a great deal; some mills were working only for a short period.

However, since the birth of Swadeshi-boycott movement, the mills in and around Bombay had been working incessantly and in 1908 were unable to meet the demand. It was this movement that saved the Bombay mills in 1908 from disaster.

Despite the depression throughout the whole manufacturing world, the Bombay mills were now safe in their position. This was mainly attributed to the Swadeshi–boycott movement in the country.

The movement made deep inroads into the society. At many places the weavers tried to revive their traditional industry by acquiring latest technology in the field. In some places, people along with merchants boycotted foreign cloth and promoted Indian cloth. This occurred mainly due to the impact of Swadeshi campaign carried by the nationalists.

SWADESHI MOVEMENT IN BENGAL

Bengal and the Bengali made a major contribution in the Indian National Movement. The intellectual class of Bengal had both the skill and the intellect to lead the movement. Because of this, Gopal Krishna Gokhale said, "what Bengal thinks today, India will think tomorrow." Bengal's progress in the national movement and nationalism was inevitable and in order to weaken it, Lord Curzon announced the Bengal partition in 1905. To protest against the Curzon declaration of partition, began the Swadeshi movement. The movement against the partition of Bengal had two aspects - Boycott and Swadeshi. British goods, schools, office, courts were boycotted. Swadeshi and native goods were accepted. Boycott and acceptance were the two main objectives.

From 1885-1905, the responsibility of nationalism of whole of India and Bengal lay in the hands of the moderates. The developments since the announcement of partition in December 1903 to its imposition on 16th October, 1906, took place under the moderates. Therefore, the Bengal partition finally exposed the failure of the moderates.

From 1905, 16th October, entire Bengal, even the middle class participated in it and protested against the British. They united themselves and started the Swadeshi movement. The movement had two main objectives, first, by boycotting British goods, they could create economic pressure on the British. The second objective was to create self-sufficiency of Swadeshi goods.

We have observed the instances of Boycott and Swadeshi even before 1905 in China and Ireland. In India in 1881 and 1896, boycotting of goods were practiced. In 1849, Gopal Rao Deshmukh, in Pune talked about Swadeshi. In 1867, Raj Narayan Basu, Naba Gopal Mitra started the Hindu Mela to propagate Swadeshi. But for the very first time, in 1905 Bengal, both Swadeshi and Boycott were being practiced simultaneously.

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Swadeshi movement's ideology was constructive which taught self-sufficiency. To achieve the ideology people took many initiatives. Under Prafulla Chandra Roy's supervision Bengal Chemicals was introduced. Neel Sarkar, Satish Chandra Mukherjee brought up a system of National Education in India. Rabindranath Tagore created 'Swadeshi Samiti', Ashwini Kumar Dutta created 'Swadesh Bandhab Samiti'

To spread swadeshi and boycott, many newspapers came forward to help. Manmohan Ghosh and Devendranath Tagore's 'Indian Mirror', Shishir Kumar Ghosh and Motilal Ghosh's 'Amrita Bazar Patrika', Surendranath Banerjee's 'The Bengalee' are a few to mention. Many extremists came forward to help. Bipin Chandra Pal's 'New India' and Aurobindo Ghosh's 'Vande Mataram' contributed to the movement. Brahmabandhab Upadhyay started 'Sandhya' and Barindra Kumar Ghosh started 'Jugantar' newspapers which helped in spreading messages radically. Bipin Chandra Pal in 'New India' regarding Swadeshi said, "Our ideal is full freedom which means absence of the foreign control." Aurobindo Ghosh in 'Vande Mataram' wrote "The new movement is not primarily a protest against the continuation of

British control.” Aurobindo Ghosh wrote in ‘Vande Mataram’ while reporting Boycott said, “It (boycott) was no more economic revolt we were instituting but the practice of national independence...for the attempt to be separate and self-sufficient economically must bring it with attempts to be free to any function of a nation’s life.”

During this time, the Samitis created in Bengal helped in spreading swadeshi. Ashwini Kumar Dutt’s Swadesh Bandhab Samiti, Faridpur’s Brati samiti, Mymensingh’s Surhit Samiti and Sadhana Samaj, Dhaka’s Anushilan Samiti etc. People of all ages, women, middle class, Zamindar became member of these samitis. Samiti had its brands as well. Barishal’s Swadesh Bhandab Samiti had 159 branches. Under Rabindranath Tagore more than 1000 samitis were created.

The labours and the workers too supported swadeshi. They carried out hartals and strikes. In 1906, East India Railways’ workers went on a strike in Jamalpur Railways. Workers of Clive jute mill, Gloster jute mill followed suit. In 1908 Calcutta Telegraph’s workers went on a strike. Swadeshi achieved a new dimension when the extremists assimilated religion. In Bengal, 1906, Shivaji Utsav started. Many people have criticized this

assimilation. Swadeshi movement was not limited to Bengal, it started spreading outside. Bipin Chandra Pal said, "With the start of the Swadeshi movement at the turn of the century, the Indian nationalism took a major leap forward. Women, students and large section of the urban and rural population of Bengal and other parts of India became active in politics for the first time." Lala Lajpat Rai's 'Young India' what was done in Bengal found its echo in the rest of the country." The movement spread to Madhya Pradesh (15 cities), Bombay Presidency (24 cities), Punjab (20 cities), Madras (13 cities). Even in Maharashtra, the idea of Swadeshi spread through Tilak's Kesari.

The movement created economic pressure on the British. British trade faced immense losses. We saw different trading activities in Bengal. Bengal Landholding Association, Bengal Technical Institute, Banga Laxmi cotton Mills was created by Mohini Mohan Chakrabarty. Bengal Hosiery (1908-Abdul Sonan). Jamshedpur's Tata, iron and steel company, Bengal National Bank, Cooperative Hindusthan, National Insurance company, East Bengal River Steam service were swadeshi enterprises to name a few.

In 1909, the Morley Minto reforms were finally passed through Indian Councils Act. In 1911, British shifted their capital from Bengal to Delhi and Bengal's partition plan was abolished. But the importance of Bengal as a capital reduced. Now the contradictions in Congress were clearly visible. Though Bengal partition plan was dismissed in 1911 yet it lost its unity, she could never achieve it back. Though the movement was not fully successful, in future it created a path for Gandhi's movement.

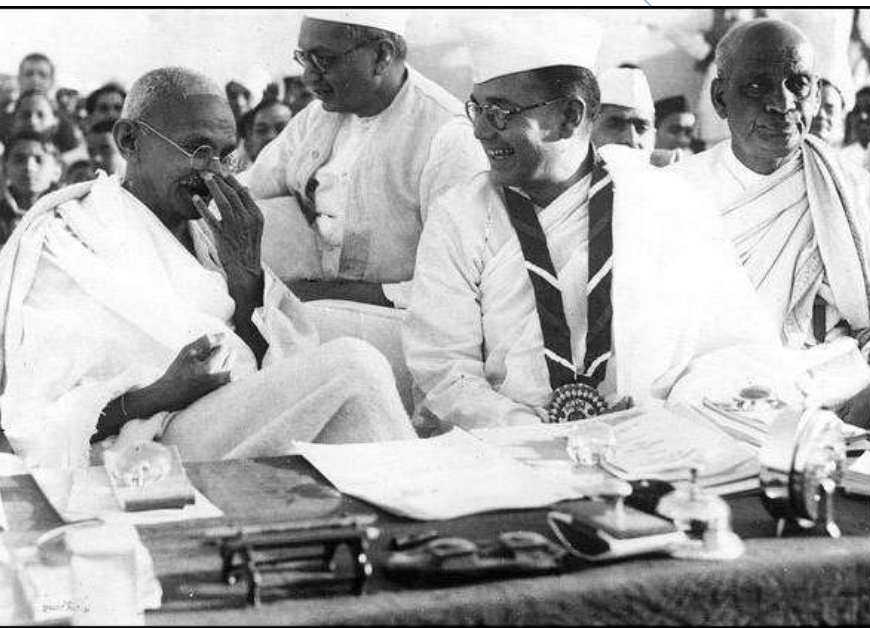
CONCLUSION

The social base of the Vande Mataram movement was, however, confined to the urban educated middle class, more particularly to the professional classes such as lawyers, teachers etc., and the youth. It also attracted the artisan groups, especially the weaving community in the urban and rural areas and merchants and business classes in the urban centers. Apart from this, some landlords associated themselves with the national movement. The absence of women was conspicuous during this early stage of national movement. The movement was unable to make much headway in mobilizing the peasantry, especially its lower rungs since the goal of the movement did not emphasize the peasant demands and therefore the peasants did not actively join the struggle. Further, the awareness of the movement among the peasants was also limited. As regards the Muslim masses, only sporadic incidents of their participation could be noticed. The basic methods of propaganda adopted during this movement were conducting public meetings, writing slogans on walls, railway carriages and other public places, celebrating the

birth anniversaries of great patriots of the time, establishing reading rooms, slogan shouting and singing of nationalist songs in meeting and public places and bonfires of foreign cloth, minting of Swadeshi coins etc.

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Netaji and Congress: *Conflicts and Compromises*



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Netaji and Congress: Conflicts and Compromises

Introduction

Subhas Chandra Bose, popularly known as *Netaji* (in Hindi: “Respected Leader”) (born on January 23, 1897, Cuttack, Orissa and died on August 18, 1945, Taipei, Taiwan?), was one of the most charismatic leaders of the independence movement against British rule of India. He was twice the President of Indian National Congress. Bose, who started his political career as a protégé of Deshbhandu Chittaranjan Das to whom he was referred by Mahatma Gandhi in 1920. He also led an Indian national force from abroad against the Western powers during World War II. He was a contemporary of Mohandas K. Gandhi, at times an ally and at other times an adversary. Bose was known in particular for his militant approach to independence and for his push for socialist policies.

Early Life of Netaji (1897–1921)

Subhas Chandra Bose was born to Prabhavati Bose and Janakinath Bose on 23 January 1897 in Cuttack, present day Odisha in India, but was then the Orissa Division of Bengal Province in British India. As the ninth child among 14 siblings, Netaji was the sixth son and fondly called Ranga in his family. Father Jankinath, a successful lawyer and Government pleader, was loyal to the government of British India. Subhas entered the Protestant European School in Cuttack in January 1902. English was the medium of all instruction in the school. At home, his mother worshipped the Hindu goddesses Durga and Kali, told stories from the epics Mahabharata and Ramayana, and sang Bengali religious songs. In 1909 the 12-year-old Subhas joined Ravenshaw Collegiate School in Cuttack. In 1912, he secured the second position in the matriculation examination conducted under the auspices of the University of Calcutta. In 1913 he got admitted to Presidency College of Calcutta, the historic and traditional college for Bengal's upper-caste Hindu men. He was, however, expelled later for assaulting a professor named EF Oaten, who had made some anti-India

comments. Netaji went on to complete his BA degree in Philosophy from Scottish Church College under the University of Calcutta in 1918. The following year, he got admission at the Fitzwilliam College in Cambridge to appear in the Indian Civil Services Examination. Although he cracked the examination with a fourth ranking and secured a lucrative job, as was his father's wish, Netaji could not bring himself up to serve the British government. So instead, he returned to India and joined the Indian National Congress to take part in the Independence struggle.

Indian National Congress

The Indian National Congress (simply called as Congress) is a political party in India with widespread roots. Founded in 1885, it was the first modern nationalist movement to emerge in the British Empire in Asia and Africa. The Indian National Congress conducted its first session in Bombay from 28 to 31 December 1885 at the initiative of retired Civil Service officer Allan Octavian Hume. In 1883, Hume had outlined his idea for a body representing Indian interests in an open letter to graduates of the University of Calcutta. Its aim was to obtain a greater share in government for educated Indians, and to create a platform for civic and political dialogue between them and the British Raj.

Netaji's Association with Congress (1921–1932)

Subhas Bose, aged 24, arrived at Bombay on the morning of 16 July 1921 from Britain and immediately set about arranging an interview with Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhi, aged 51, was the leader of the Non-cooperation movement. Bose joined the noncooperation movement started by Mohandas K. Gandhi, who had made the Indian National Congress a powerful nonviolent organization. Bose was advised by Gandhi to work under Chitta Ranjan Das, a politician in Bengal. There Bose became a youth educator, journalist, and commandant of the Bengal Congress volunteers. His activities led to his imprisonment in December 1921. In 1924 he was appointed chief executive officer of the Calcutta Municipal Corporation, with Das as mayor. Bose was soon after deported to Burma (Myanmar) because he was suspected of connections with secret revolutionary movements. Released in 1927, he returned to find Bengal Congress affairs in disarray after the death of Das, and Bose was elected president of the Bengal

Congress. Shortly thereafter he and Jawaharlal Nehru became the two general secretaries of the Indian National Congress. Together they represented the more militant, left-wing faction of the party against the more compromising, right-wing Gandhian faction.

Ideological Conflict with Congress

In 1938, Subhas Bose was elected president of the Indian National Congress and formed a national planning committee, which formulated a policy of broad industrialization. However, this did not harmonize with Gandhian economic thought, which clung to the notion of cottage industries and benefiting from the use of the country's own resources. Bose's vindication came in 1939, when he defeated a Gandhian rival for re-election. Nonetheless, the "rebel president" felt bound to resign because of the lack of Gandhi's support. He founded the Forward Bloc, hoping to rally radical elements, but was again incarcerated in July 1940. His refusal to remain in prison at this critical period of India's history was expressed in a determination to fast to death, which frightened the British government into releasing him. On January 26, 1941, though closely watched, he escaped from his Calcutta residence in disguise and, travelling via Kabul and Moscow, eventually reached Germany in April.

Meanwhile, Bose became increasingly critical of Gandhi's more conservative economics as well as his less confrontational approach toward independence. In 1938 he was elected president of the Indian National Congress and formed a national planning committee, which formulated a policy of broad industrialization. However, this did not harmonize with Gandhian economic thought, which clung to the notion of cottage industries and benefiting from the use of the country's own resources. Bose's vindication came in 1939, when he defeated a Gandhian rival for re-election. Nonetheless, the "rebel president" felt bound to resign because of the lack of Gandhi's support. He founded the Forward Bloc, hoping to rally radical elements, but was again incarcerated in July 1940. His refusal to remain in prison at this critical period of India's history was expressed in a determination to fast to death, which frightened the British government into releasing him. On January 26, 1941, though closely watched, he escaped from his Calcutta residence in disguise and, travelling via Kabul and Moscow, eventually reached Germany in April.

Gandhiji and Netaji were two different personalities with one goal liberation of India but their approach towards India's freedom as well as goals for free India were different. Gandhiji was of belief that dialogue with British will give us some inputs, while Netaji believed in no compromise with British at any cost. Gandhiji believed in Satyagraha and other non violent means while Netaji believed in War Against British empire as he writes in his kabul thesis and I quote "congress left placed proposed in November 1938 in front of congress that we would give 6 months ultimatum to British empire to declare date of freedom if they don't do so we would create national arm struggle in those 6 months and will destroy British empire". Gandhiji beleived believed that British should not be targeted during worldwar II, but Netaji saw World War II as an opportunity to destroy British domination in India. Both took different path but their contribution to include women's in freedom struggle was enormous. Netaji created Rani Jhansi Regiment the first highly combat women regiment in the world he made Daughters and mothers fight for motherland.

Social and Economic outlook of Netaji

Netaji believed building new india in socialist way with industrial development. While Gandhiji believed in Village economy and thus Netaji writes in his Kabul Thesis that "major reason Gandhiji opposed me for candidature in Tripuri Congress Election was my industrialisation attitude. Gandhiji wanted Local schooling system all away from western while Netaji propogated for military education, technical education and administrative education. According to Gandhiji war and army are dangerous but Netaji wanted strong powerful army for free India that would defend our National Security. In short both of these leaders had different ideologue but one common goal to make India free from British rule.

World War II & Netaji's Involvement

It was also in 1941 that Bose fled to Germany, where he started broadcasting appeals to India urging the masses to "rise up" against British "tyranny" and to "throw off" their chains. There were, however, few Indians in Germany, and Hitler's advisers urged Bose to go back to Asia by submarine; he was eventually transported to Japan and then to Singapore, where Japan had captured at least 40,000 Indian troops during its takeover of that strategic island in February 1942. The captured soldiers

became Netaji's Indian National Army (INA) in 1943 and, a year later, marched behind him to Rangoon. Bose hoped to "liberate" first Manipur and then Bengal from British rule, but the British forces at India's eastern gateways held until the summer monsoon gave them respite enough to be properly reinforced and drove Bose and his army back down the Malay Peninsula. In August 1945 Bose escaped by air from Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam), but he believed to have died of severe burns after his overloaded plane crashed onto the island of Formosa (Taiwan). There are lots of mysteries around the death of Netaji. An investigative report by Japanese government titled "Investigation on the cause of death and other matters of the late Subhas Chandra Bose" was declassified on 1 September 2016. It concluded that Bose died in a plane crash in Taiwan on 18 August 1945.

Conclusion

World War II had taken an immense toll on the British Empire. Britain had lost a lot of capital and they were looking to their colonies to help them get the status of world power back. However, Mahatma Gandhi at this time organized Indians against the British. Also, World War II broke out to contain Hitler's intention of having German colonies beyond its borders, the same colonial occupation that Britain had already been practicing for centuries. Thus, after the war, people all over the world started supporting voices against British occupation over its colonies. When the Labour Party came to power in 1945 in Britain it inclined towards internationalism and racial equality, among other liberal principles. Soon after coming into power, Prime Minister Clement Attlee (Labour Party) began the process of granting India its independence in 1947.

India got independence from the Britishers in the year 1947 and Bose mysteriously disappeared just two years before the independence. But imagine what Indian politics would have been like if that had not happened. And if Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose would have been the first Prime Minister of India in place of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, how would our country be today? It is only a guess work and nobody really knows the answer. Despite the ideological differences, Netaji was very dear to Gandhiji. Gandhiji called Netaji as his rebel son. After Netaji's mysterious death

Gandhi became very sad and said India has lost one of the glorious leaders of all times.

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সূচীপত্র

- ভূমিকা
- স্বদেশি আন্দোলন
- গ্রন্থপঞ্জি

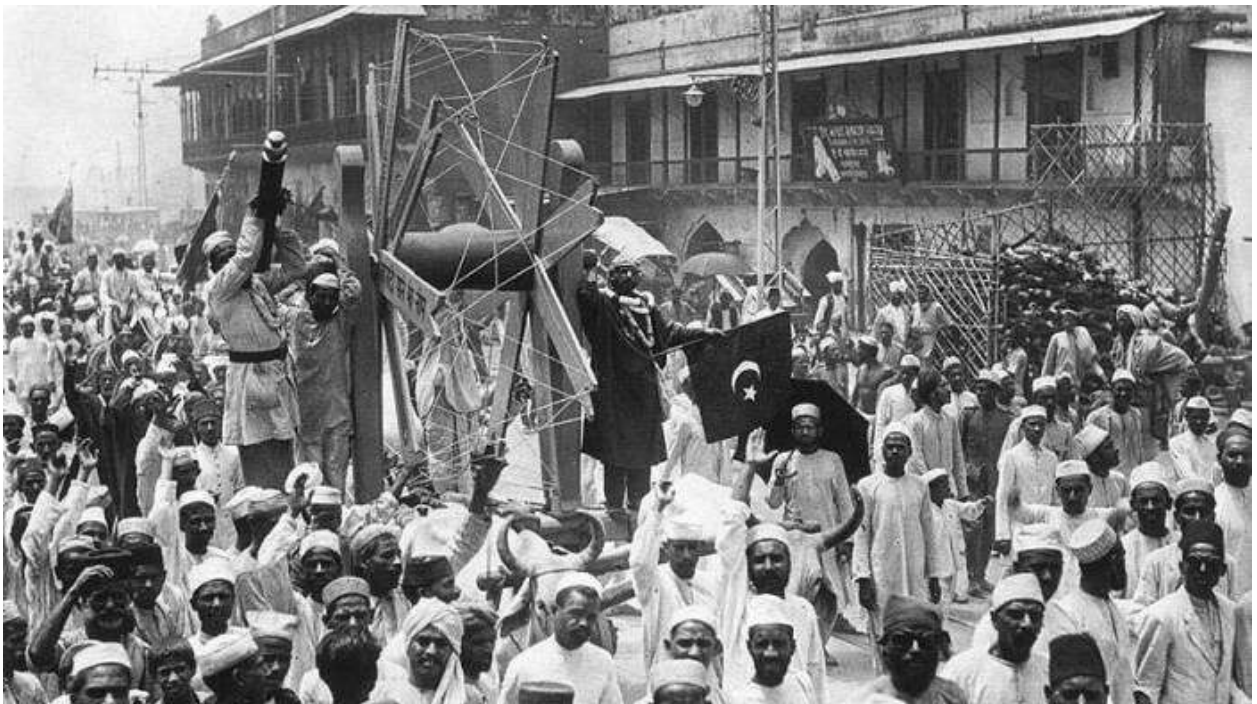
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ভূমিকা

১৯০৫ সালে বঙ্গভঙ্গ এবং বঙ্গভঙ্গ-বিরোধী স্বদেশী আন্দোলন ভারতের জাতীয়তাবাদী আন্দোলনের ইতিহাসে এক উল্লেখযোগ্য দিক চিহ্ন। এই আন্দোলন বাংলার বিভাজনের প্রতিবাদে শুরু হলেও এটি শুধু বাংলাতেই সীমাবদ্ধ ছিল না। স্বদেশী আন্দোলন ভারতের জাতীয়তাবাদী আন্দোলনকে এক নতুন স্তরে উন্নীত করেছিল। বাংলা সহ ভারতের বিভিন্ন অঞ্চলের ব্যাপক মানুষ এই আন্দোলনকে কেন্দ্র করে সক্রিয় রাজনীতির সঙ্গে যুক্ত হন। ভারতীয় জাতীয় আন্দোলনের প্রায় যাবতীয় গুরুত্বপূর্ণ রাজনৈতিক ধারার আবির্ভাব ঘটেছিল এই স্বদেশী আন্দোলনের সময়। রক্ষণশীল নরমপন্থা থেকে রাজনৈতিক চরমপন্থা, নিষ্ক্রিয় প্রতিরোধ ও বয়কট থেকে বিপ্লবী সন্ত্রাসবাদ, শ্রমজীবী মানুষের প্রতিবাদ- সমস্ত রাজনৈতিক ধারার উৎস ছিল এই স্বদেশী আন্দোলন। এই আন্দোলন কেবল রাজনীতির মধ্যে নিজেকে সীমিত রাখেনি। ভারতীয় শিল্পকলার সঙ্গীত, সাহিত্য, বিজ্ঞান প্রভৃতি ক্ষেত্রে উল্লেখযোগ্য প্রভাব ফেলেছিল স্বদেশী আন্দোলন। অমলেশ ত্রিপাঠী লিখেছেন – “বাঙ্গালীদের স্পর্শকাতরতায় তাদের গর্বে যে আঘাত পড়েছিল তাতে প্রতিরোধে ঐক্যবদ্ধ হলে সকল স্তরের বাঙালী”। কার্জনের বঙ্গভঙ্গের সিদ্ধান্তকে কেন্দ্র করে গড়ে উঠেছিল স্বদেশী আন্দোলন

১৮৯৮ সালে লর্ড কার্জন যখন এদেশে ভাইসরয় হয়ে আসেন তখন বাংলার রাজনৈতিক চেতনার প্রসার ঘটেছিল। কার্জনের দমননীতি এই চেতনাকে আরো প্রসারিত করেছিল। এই অবস্থাকে নিয়ন্ত্রণ করতে ব্রিটিশ সরকার বাংলা প্রদেশকে বিভাজন করে দুর্বল করতে চাই। ভারত সরকারের রাষ্ট্রসচিব রিসলে বলেন যে, “Bengal United is a power. Bengal divided will pull several different ways. That is what the Congress leaders feel ; their apprehensions are perfectly correct and they form one of the great merits of the scheme. One of our main object is to split up and thereby to weaken a solide body of opponents to rule.” যদিও শাসনতান্ত্রিক সুবিধার জন্য বাংলা প্রদেশকে ভাগ করার কথা বলা হয়। কিন্তু এর প্রকৃত উদ্দেশ্য ছিল জাতীয়তাবাদী চেতনাকে আঘাত করা এবং পূর্ববঙ্গ কে আলাদা প্রদেশ করে সাম্প্রদায়িক বিভেদ সৃষ্টি করা। বঙ্গভঙ্গ কে কার্যকর করতে ১৯০৪ সালে একটি কমিশন গঠিত হয়? জাতীয় কংগ্রেসের সভাপতি হেনরি কটন মন্তব্য করেন, “ It was a part and parcel of Lord Curzon’s policy to enfeeble that growing power and destroy the political tendencies of the patriotic spirit.”

(2)



স্বদেশি আন্দোলন-

১৯০৫ খ্রিস্টাব্দে ১৬ই অক্টোবর বঙ্গভঙ্গের তারিখ ঘোষিত হয়। সেই দিন জাতীয় শোক দিবস হিসেবে পালিত হয়। কলকাতায় হরতাল ডাকা হয়। সারাবাংলায় ধর্মঘট পালিত হয়। রবীন্দ্রনাথ গান গেয়ে রাখি বন্ধনের মাধ্যমে হিন্দু-মুসলমান ভাতৃ গড়ে তোলার চেষ্টা করেন। আনন্দমোহন বসু এক বিশাল জনসভায় সভাপতিত্ব করেন এবং হিন্দু-মুসলিম ঐক্যের স্মারক হিসেবে ফেডারেশন হলের ভিত্তিপ্রস্তর স্থাপন করেন। স্বদেশি আন্দোলনের ফলে বাংলার সাংস্কৃতিক জগতের নানা সৃষ্টি দেখা দেয়। রবীন্দ্রনাথ অতুলপ্রসাদ রজনীকান্ত মুকুন্দদাসের দেশাত্মবোধক সংগীত বাংলার অমূল্য সম্পদ।

বঙ্গভঙ্গ ছিল বাঙালি জাতীয়তাবাদের কাছে বিরাট আঘাত। তারা প্রবলভাবে এর বিরুদ্ধে প্রতিবাদ করে। স্বদেশী আন্দোলনে বিরাট সংখ্যক জনগণ অংশ নেয়। ঐতিহাসিকরা মনে করেন নরমপন্থী ঐতিহ্যের প্রভাবমুক্ত হয়ে তিনটি পৃথক ধারার সূচনা ঘটে ছিল এ স্বদেশী আন্দোলন কে কেন্দ্র করে। এই ধারাগুলি ছিল- (১) গঠনমূলক স্বদেশী, (২) রাজনৈতিক চরমপন্থী বা নিষ্ক্রিয় প্রতিরোধ কৌশল এবং (৩) বিপ্লবী সন্ত্রাসবাদ।

প্রথম ধারাটি অর্থাৎ ‘গঠনমূলক স্বদেশী’ নিষ্কল ও আত্মঅবমাননাকর ‘ভিক্ষাবৃত্তি’র রাজনীতি বর্জন করে স্বদেশী শিল্প, জাতীয় শিক্ষা আর গ্রামোন্নয়ন ও সংগঠনের মাধ্যমে আত্মসহায়তা অর্জনের ওপর গুরুত্ব আরোপ করেছিল। এটিকে রবীন্দ্রনাথ বলেছিলেন ‘আত্মশক্তি’। গঠনমূলক স্বদেশী কে কেন্দ্র করে এ সময় বঙ্গলক্ষী কটন মিলের মত স্বদেশী কাপড়ের কল, উন্নত মানের তাঁত, চীনামাটি, চামড়া, দেশলাই, সাবান তৈরির কারখানা, এমনকি জাহাজ নির্মাণের উদ্যোগ পর্যন্ত গড়ে উঠেছিল। সুমিত সরকারের ভাষায়- কুটির শিল্পের ক্ষেত্রে তা বটেই বৃহৎ শিল্পোদ্যোগের ক্ষেত্রেও নতুন প্রেরণা নিয়ে এসেছিল স্বদেশী আন্দোলন। প্রখ্যাত বাঙালি বৈজ্ঞানিক প্রফুল্ল চন্দ্র রায় বাংলা শিল্পোদ্যোগের নমুনা হিসেবে বেঙ্গল কেমিক্যাল প্রতিষ্ঠানটি তৈরি করেছিলেন লৌহ ও ইস্পাত শিল্পের সবচেয়ে গুরুত্বপূর্ণ উদ্যোগ ছিল টাটা এন্ড স্টীল কোম্পানি। এছাড়া কিছু দেশীয় ব্যাংক ও ইনসিওরেন্স কোম্পানি গড়ে ওঠে। স্বদেশী স্বেচ্ছাসেবীর দল বাড়ি বাড়ি ‘মায়ের দেওয়া মোটা কাপড়’ ফেরি করত। আদর্শবাদের ঘাটতি ছিল না। তা সত্ত্বেও বিলাতি বাণিজ্যকে তা বিশেষ ক্ষতিগ্রস্ত করতে পারে নি।

গঠনমূলক স্বদেশীর আর এক উল্লেখযোগ্য দিক ছিল জাতীয় শিক্ষা। দেশীয় শিক্ষার প্রসারের জন্য ১৯০৫সালের জুলাই মাসে ডন সোসাইটি স্থাপিত হয়। ছাত্র-ছাত্রীদের বিদেশি শিক্ষাপ্রতিষ্ঠান বয়কট করতে বলা হয়। এই পরিস্থিতিতে ছাত্রসমাজকে শাস্তি দিতে ব্রিটিশ সরকার কার্লহিল সার্কুলার জারি করে যা বিক্ষোভ আরো বৃদ্ধি করে। ১৯০৫ সালের ৪ঠানভেম্বর অ্যান্টি কার্লহিল সোসাইটি প্রতিষ্ঠিত হয়। জাতীয় নেতারা সরকারের শিক্ষার বিকল্প রূপে জাতীয় শিক্ষার কথা ভাবতে থাকে। ডন সোসাইটির সতীশ চন্দ্র মুখার্জীর নিরলস চেষ্টায় ১৯০৬ সালের ১৪ই আগস্ট বেঙ্গল ন্যাশনাল কলেজ স্থাপিত হয়। অরবিন্দ ঘোষ এর প্রথম অধ্যক্ষ ছিলেন। কারিগরি শিক্ষার ওপর জোর দেওয়া হয়। ১৯০৬ সালের ২৫শে জুলাই Bengal Technical Institute স্থাপিত হয়। দেশের অনেক স্থানেই জাতীয় বিদ্যালয় স্থাপিত হয় তবে অর্থের অভাবে সেগুলো বন্ধ হয়ে যায়।

গ্রামাঞ্চলের গঠন মূলক কাজের ওপর বিশেষ গুরুত্ব আরোপ করা হয়েছিল। এ ক্ষেত্রে উল্লেখযোগ্য ভূমিকা নিয়েছিলেন রবীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর। তিনি জোরের সঙ্গে তাঁর ‘স্বদেশী সমাজ’ ভাষণে বলেছিলেন যে, যদি গ্রামে সমবায় প্রথায় কৃষি ব্যাংক ও বিক্রয় ভান্ডার গড়ে ওঠে, যৌথ খামার তৈরি হয়, গ্রামীণ শিল্প শেখাবার বিদ্যালয় স্থাপিত হয়, সর্বোপরি যদি জমিদার মহাজন বা আদালতের পেয়াদা ও পুলিশ প্রতিরোধের নৈতিক শক্তি মানুষের মধ্যে জেগে ওঠে তবেই ইংরেজ সরকারকে বিপাকে ফেলার সম্ভব। অশ্বিনীকুমার দত্তের উদ্যোগে

বরিশাল জেলায় 'স্বদেশ বান্ধব সমিতি' গড়ে উঠেছিল। এই সমিতি ইংরেজ সরকারের আদালতের দ্বারস্থ না হয়ে, গ্রামীণ বিবাদ নিষ্পত্তির ওপর গুরুত্ব দিয়েছিল

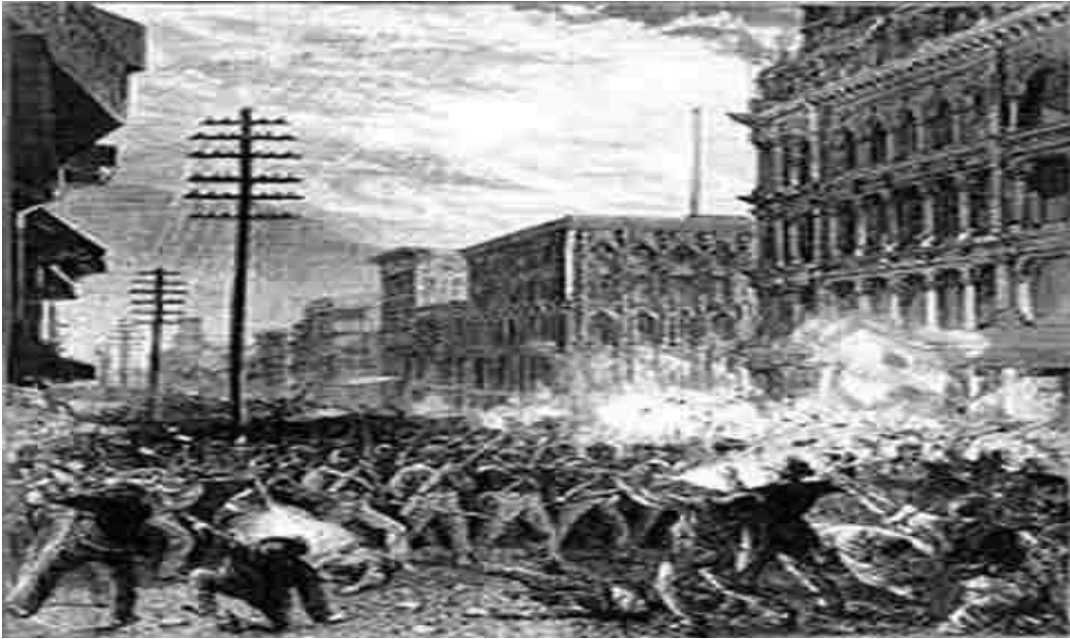


(8)

দ্বিতীয় ধারাটি অর্থাৎ রাজনৈতিক চরমপন্থা বয়কটকে প্রাধান্য দিয়েছিল। সুরেন্দ্রনাথ ও গোখলের মতো নরমপন্থী নেতারা বয়কটকে একটি সামরিক হাতিয়ার হিসেবে ব্যবহার করতে চেয়েছিলেন। রবীন্দ্রনাথ বয়কটকে একটি নেতিবাচক কৌশল হিসাবে দেখেছিলেন। তাঁর মতে “বয়কট দুর্বলের প্রয়াস নহে, ইহা দুর্বলের কলহ।” বিদেশি পণ্যের চেয়ে সম্ভ্রায় অন্তত সমান দামে দেশি কাপড় জোগাতে না পারলে বয়কট হবে দরিদ্রের ওপর অত্যাচার এবং শেষ পর্যন্ত তা সাম্প্রদায়িক কলহের জন্ম দেবে। চরমপন্থায় বিশ্বাসী নেতারা বিশেষত্ব অরবিন্দ ও তিলক কিন্তু মনে করেছিলেন বয়কটকে সামরিক ও সীমাবদ্ধ প্রয়োজনে ব্যবহার করার সম্পূর্ণ অর্থহীন। তাঁরা বয়কটকে মনে করতেন স্বরাজ লাভের জন্য প্রয়োজনীয় একটি অস্ত্র। তাছাড়া তাঁরা বয়কট বলতে কেবল বিদেশী পণ্য অর্থাৎ বিলাতি কাপড়, চিনি, নুন, কাচের চুড়ি বয়কট বোঝেননি। তাঁরা চেয়েছিলেন ছিলেন শাসনের সর্বক্ষেত্রে –শিক্ষা, বিচার বিভাগ, পৌরসভা, আইন পরিষদ –তাকে প্রয়োগ করতে। অরবিন্দ ঘোষ এর নাম দিয়েছিলেন ‘নিষ্ক্রিয় প্রতিরোধ’। সুমিত সরকার বলেছেন – “The history of boycott and Swadeshi in Bengal vividly illustrate the limits and intelligentsia movements with broadly bourgeois aspirations but without as yet real bourgeois support.”

স্বদেশী আন্দোলন দমন করার তাগিদে রাষ্ট্রীয় সন্ত্রাস মারাত্মক হয়ে উঠেছিল। রাষ্ট্রীয় দমননীতির পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে চরমপন্থী নেতারা মনে করেছিলেন ব্রিটিশ সাম্রাজ্যবাদের বিরুদ্ধে সশস্ত্র সংগ্রামের পথ নিতে হবে। সশস্ত্র সংগ্রাম সংক্রান্ত চিন্তা ভাবনা থেকেই স্বদেশী আন্দোলনের আরেকটি ধারার – বিপ্লবী সন্ত্রাসবাদের উত্থান ঘটেছিল। বিপ্লবী সন্ত্রাসবাদের মূল বৈশিষ্ট্য ছিল বিপ্লবী দেশপ্রেমিকদের ব্যক্তিগত আত্মত্যাগ, দেশের জন্য আত্মবলিদান এবং ইংরেজ শাসক ও তার সহযোগীদের বিরুদ্ধে বিভিন্ন হিংসাত্মক ও সন্ত্রাসবাদী কার্যকলাপ। কলকাতায় প্রমথনাথ মিত্র ও অরবিন্দ ঘোষের প্রতিনিধি হিসাবে যতীন্দ্রনাথ বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায় ও বারীন ঘোষ অনুশীলন সমিতি গড়ে তুলেছিলেন। কিন্তু প্রাথমিক পর্বে এই গোষ্ঠীগুলির শরীরচর্চা ও নৈতিক প্রশিক্ষণের মাধ্যমেই নিজের কর্মসূচি সীমিত রেখেছিল। এই সময় বাড়ির ঘোষ ও ভূপেন দত্তের নেতৃত্বে অনুশীলন সমিতির এক ভিতরকার চক্র সক্রিয় হয়ে ওঠে। তাঁরা ১৯০৬ সালে সাপ্তাহিক ‘যুগান্তর’ প্রকাশ করে। বিপ্লবীদের প্রথম প্রজন্মের অত্যন্ত উল্লেখযোগ্য ব্যক্তিত্ব হেমচন্দ্র কানুনগো কলকাতার মানিকতলা একটি ধর্মীয় শিক্ষায়তন ওবোমার কারখানা তৈরি করেন। ১৯০৮ সালের ৩০শে এপ্রিল ক্ষুদিরাম বসু ও প্রফুল্ল চাকী অত্যাচারী শ্বেতাঙ্গ বিচারপতি কিংসফোর্ডকে হত্যার পরিকল্পনা করেন। কিন্তু এই পরিকল্পনা ব্যর্থ হয়। পূর্ববঙ্গে পুলিন বিহারী দাস এর নেতৃত্বাধীন ঢাকা অনুশীলন সমিতি ছিল অপেক্ষাকৃতভাবে পরিচালিত একটি বিপ্লবী সংগঠন।

(c)

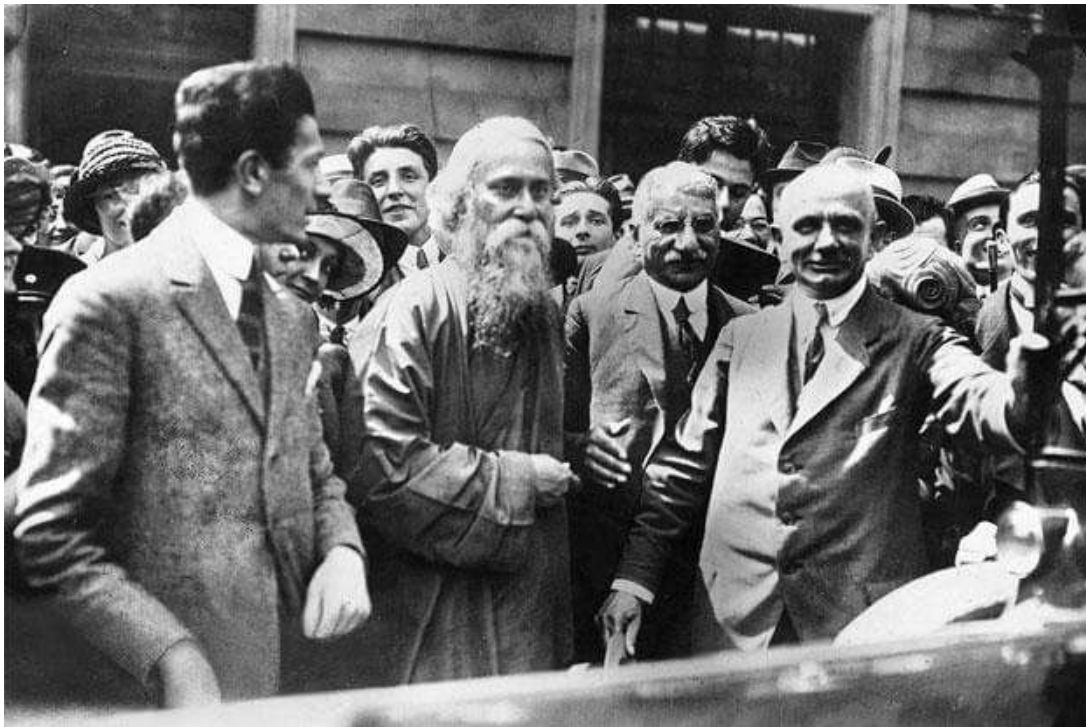


(৬)

উপরোক্ত ধারাগুলি ছাড়াও স্বদেশী আন্দোলনের ক্ষেত্রে আরো কিছু বৈশিষ্ট্য লক্ষণীয় হয়ে উঠেছিল। শ্রমজীবী মানুষের স্বতঃস্ফূর্ত অংশগ্রহণ এই আন্দোলনে নতুন মাত্রা যোগ করেছিল বিশেষত ব্রিটিশ মালিকানাধীন শিল্পোদ্যোগগুলির শ্রমিকরা আন্দোলনে সক্রিয় হয়ে উঠেছিল। এই শিল্প সংগঠনগুলি শ্রমিকেরা প্রায়ই তাদের মালিক ও শ্বেতাঙ্গ কর্মচারীদের দ্বারা জাতিগত বিদ্বেষ ও নানাবিধ ও অপমানের শিকার হতো। তাছাড়া এসময় নিত্যব্যবহার্য পণ্যের অস্বাভাবিক মূল্যবৃদ্ধি শ্রমিকশ্রেণীর জীবন বিপন্ন করে তুলেছিল। শ্রমিকশ্রেণীকে সংগঠিত করার ক্ষেত্রে চারজন শ্রমিক নেতা অশ্বিনীকুমার ব্যানার্জি, প্রভাত কুমার রায়চৌধুরী, অর্পূর্ব কুমার ঘোষ এবং প্রেমতোষ বোস উল্লেখযোগ্য ভূমিকা নিয়েছিলেন। অক্টোবর মাসে কলকাতায় ট্রাম শ্রমিকেরা ধর্মঘট করেন। প্রায় একই সময় গরুর গাড়ির গাড়োয়ানরা এবং চটকল ও রেল শ্রমিকেরা ধর্মঘটে সামিল হয়েছিলেন। বিভিন্ন শিল্পে ট্রেড ইউনিয়ন সংগঠন গড়ে উঠতে থাকে। কলকাতার মুদ্রাকর দের ইউনিয়ন এই সময়ই তৈরি হয়েছিল। ১৯০৬ সাল থেকে শ্রমজীবী মানুষদের মধ্যে বক্তৃতা দিতে শুরু করে বিপিন পাল, শ্যামসুন্দর চক্রবর্তী, লিয়াকত হোসেন প্রমুখ স্বদেশী নেতারা 'Administration of Bengal under Andrew Fraser 1903-08' শীর্ষক সরকারি প্রতিবেদনে বলা হয়েছিল শিল্প বিক্ষোভ এই শতাব্দীর অন্যতম লক্ষণীয় বৈশিষ্ট্য হিসেবে প্রতিষ্ঠিত হয়েছিল।

সুমিত সরকার তাঁর The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal গ্রন্থে বলেছেন জাতীয় আন্দোলন গুলির মধ্যে স্বদেশী আন্দোলনে সাংস্কৃতিক স্ফূরণ ছিল সবচেয়ে উল্লেখযোগ্য। উল্লেখযোগ্য রবীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর, রজনীকান্ত সেন, চারণকবি মুকুন্দদাস, দ্বিজেন্দ্রলাল রায়, সৈয়দ আবু মহাম্মদ প্রমুখের লেখা গান পরবর্তীকালে জাতীয়তাবাদীদের ও প্রেরণার উৎস হয়ে দাঁড়িয়েছিল। স্বদেশী আন্দোলনের প্রভাবে লোকসংগীত বিশেষত পল্লীগীতি, জারি গান ইত্যাদি হিন্দু ও মুসলমান অধ্যুষিত গ্রামগুলিতে অত্যন্ত জনপ্রিয় হয়ে উঠেছিল। এই সময়ে প্রকাশিত হয়েছিল দক্ষিণারঙ্গন মিত্র মজুমদারের লেখা ভারতীয় রূপকথার সংগ্রহ 'ঠাকুরমার ঝুলি'। শিল্পকলার ক্ষেত্রে অবনীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর ভারতীয় শিল্পের ওপর ভিক্টোরিয়া যুগের আধিপত্য ভেঙে মুঘল, রাজপুত ও অজন্তার চিত্রকলা সমৃদ্ধ দেশ ঐতিহ্য থেকে অনুপ্রেরণা লাভে প্রয়াসী হয়েছিলেন। ভারতীয় শিল্পকলার ক্ষেত্রে একটি নতুন যুগের সূচনা করেছিলেন নন্দলাল বসু। বৈজ্ঞানিক গবেষণার ক্ষেত্রে অসামান্য কৃতিত্বের স্বাক্ষর রেখেছিলেন জগদীশচন্দ্র বসু ও প্রফুল্ল চন্দ্র রায়। ইংরেজি ও বাংলা ভাষায় বিভিন্ন পত্র-পত্রিকায় প্রকাশ যুগের সাংস্কৃতিক জীবনকে সমৃদ্ধশালী করেছিল। এইভাবে স্বদেশী আন্দোলন কেবল বাংলার রাজনৈতিক জীবনেই নয় সাংস্কৃতিক জীবনেও সুদূরপ্রসারী প্রভাব ফেলেছিল।

(9)



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ভারতে ঔপনিবেশিক শোসনই স্বদেশী আন্দোলনের আদর্শগত পটভূমিকা রচনা করে। দাদাভাই নোরোজী, রানাডে, জোশী, রমেশচন্দ্র দত্ত প্রমুখ জাতীয়তাবাদী অর্থনীতিবিদরা দেখান যে ভারতীয় অর্থনীতিকে ধ্বংস করে ব্রিটিশ অর্থনীতিকে সমৃদ্ধ করার প্রচেষ্টা চলছে। ব্রিটিশরা ভারতকে কাঁচামাল সরবরাহকারী দেশে এবং ব্রিটিশ পণ্যের বাজারে পরিণত করেছে। একথা নরমপন্থী নেতারা বারবার বলেন। তাদের রচনাই স্বদেশী আন্দোলনের ভাবগত আদর্শ গড়ে তোলে। কিন্তু বঙ্গভঙ্গের প্রস্ভাবই স্বদেশী তাৎক্ষণিক কারণ ছিল। সুমিত সরকার তাঁর *The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal, 1903-1908* বইতে স্বদেশের ব্যাখ্যা করে বলেছেন, *this sentiment closely associated with many phases of Indian nationalism that indigenous goods should be preferred by consumers, if they were more expensive than and inferior in quality to their imported substitutes and that it was the patriotic duty of men with capital to pioneer such Industries even though profits might be minimal or non-existent.*”

রানাদের কাছে “স্বদেশী আন্দোলন ছিল ভারতের শিল্প বিপ্লব”। সুরেন্দ্রনাথ বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায় মনে করেন যে “দেশীয় শিল্পকে রক্ষা করার আন্দোলন”। বয়কট সম্পর্কে সুরেন্দ্রনাথ বলেন যে “বঙ্গভঙ্গের প্রস্ভাব কে কেন্দ্র করে বাঙালীদের ক্ষোভ প্রদর্শনের জন্যই বয়কটের সিদ্ধান্ত। যখন বঙ্গভঙ্গ রদ করা হবে তখন বয়কট তুলে দেওয়া হবে।” গোথেলের কাছে “স্বদেশী ছিল মূলত অর্থনৈতিক ব্যবস্থা” তিলক ও লাজপত রায় মনে করতেন “স্বদেশী ছিল একইসাথে আত্মনির্ভরতা, দূঢ় প্রতিজ্ঞা ও ত্যাগের প্রশিক্ষণ এবং রাজনৈতিক অস্ত্র।” অরবিন্দর কাছে ‘স্বদেশী শুধু স্বাধীনতা ও সম্পদ লাভের অস্ত্র নয় ,এটি বিশ্বের রক্ষক হিসেবে ভারত কে প্রতিষ্ঠা করার অস্ত্র।”



(২)

বঙ্গভঙ্গ-বিরোধী স্বদেশী আন্দোলন অচিরেই বাংলা জনমানসে গভীর প্রভাব ফেলেছিল। স্বদেশী আন্দোলন তার বহুমুখী কর্মসূচি ও কার্যকলাপ এর সাহায্যে এই প্রথম সমাজের একটি বড় অংশকে আধুনিক জাতীয়তাবাদী রাজনীতির আঙিনায় এবং আরো বড় অংশকে রাজনীতির চিন্তাভাবনার চৌহদ্দিতে জানতে পেরেছিল। জাতীয় আন্দোলনের সামাজিক ভিত্তি প্রসারিত করেছিল। জমিদার শ্রেণীর একাংশ শহরাঞ্চলের নিম্ন মধ্যবিত্ত শ্রেণী এবং স্কুল ও কলেজের ছাত্ররা ব্যাপকভাবে এই আন্দোলনে যোগ দিয়েছিলেন। বাংলাদেশের নারীরা এই প্রথম ঘর থেকে বেরিয়ে এসে মিছিল ও পিকেটিং এ অংশ নিয়েছিলেন। এই সময় সর্বপ্রথম শ্রমিক শ্রেণীর অর্থনৈতিক ক্ষোভকে কাজে লাগিয়ে তাকে রাজনৈতিক সংগ্রামের রূপান্তরিত করার চেষ্টা চালানো হয়েছিল। আন্দোলনের এই ব্যাপকতা সত্ত্বেও এই আন্দোলন সফল হয়নি। ১৯০৮ সাল নাগাদ স্বদেশী আন্দোলনের গতিপ্রকৃতি স্তব্ধ হয়ে যায়। স্বদেশী আন্দোলনের ব্যর্থতার জন্য অনেকেই রাষ্ট্রীয় দমননীতি কে দায়ী করেছেন। কিন্তু কেবলমাত্র সরকারি দমন-পীড়ন দিয়ে এই আন্দোলনের ব্যর্থতা ব্যাখ্যা করা যাবে না।

স্বদেশী আন্দোলনের অন্যতম গুরুত্বপূর্ণ দুর্বলতা ছিল আন্দোলনের নেতৃত্ব কৃষকদের স্বার্থ সংক্রান্ত কোনো কর্মসূচি গ্রহণ করতে পারেনি। কৃষকদের ক্ষোভ ও দাবি-দাওয়া নিয়ে তাদের সংগঠিত করার কোনো প্রয়াস নেওয়া হয়নি। কৃষকেরা অধিকাংশ ক্ষেত্রেই বয়কট বা নিষ্ক্রিয় প্রতিরোধ এর মত সংগ্রামী কৌশলে যোগ দেননি। যে দেশের বিরাট সংখ্যক মানুষ কৃষিজীবী সে দেশের কোন জাতীয়তাবাদী আন্দোলনে কৃষকদের যোগদান একটি গুরুত্বপূর্ণ বিষয়। আন্দোলনের রঙ্গমঞ্চে কৃষকদের অনুপস্থিতি আন্দোলনকে শক্তিহীন করেছিল।

স্বদেশী আন্দোলনের অন্যতম দুর্বলতা ছিল এই আন্দোলন মুসলমান ধর্মাবলম্বী মানুষের সমর্থন আদায় করতে পারেনি। আন্দোলনের সূচনায় বেশকিছু জাতীয়তাবাদী মুসলমান নেতা স্বদেশী আন্দোলনে অংশ নিয়েছিলেন। এদের মধ্যে আব্দুল হালিম গজনাবি, লিয়াকত হোসেন, আবদুল রসুল, দেদার বক্স, মনিরুজ্জামান প্রমুখ ছিলেন উল্লেখযোগ্য। তা সত্ত্বেও কিছুদিনের মধ্যে মুসলমান সম্প্রদায়ের মানুষ স্বদেশী আন্দোলনের মূল স্রোত থেকে বিচ্ছিন্ন হয়ে পড়েছিলেন। এর পেছনের কতগুলি গুরুত্বপূর্ণ কারণ ছিল। স্বদেশী নেতারা জনসাধারণকে সম্মবদ্ধ করার যেসব পদ্ধতি অবলম্বন করেছিলেন তার ফল সবসময় ভালো হয়নি। চিরাচরিত জনপ্রিয় রীতিনীতি উৎসব অনুষ্ঠান আয়োজিত হয়েছিল। এই উৎসব অনুষ্ঠান গুলি ক্রমেই হিন্দু উৎসব অনুষ্ঠানে পরিণত হয়েছিল। বাঙালি জাতীয়তাবাদ হিন্দু জাতীয়তাবাদের সমর্থক হয়ে উঠেছিল। বহু স্বদেশী নেতাই তাঁদের বক্তৃতা প্রকাশ্যে হিন্দু ধর্মের শ্রেষ্ঠত্বের কথা বলতেন। বন্দেমাতারাম, সন্ধ্যা ও যুগান্তরের মত পত্রিকাগুলিতে ব্রিটিশবিরোধী রাজনীতির সঙ্গে উগ্র হিন্দুত্ববাদ মিশে যেত। এই ধরনের ঘটনা স্বাভাবিকভাবে মুসলমান জনতাকে হতাশ করেছিল।

(50)



হিন্দুধর্মের প্রকাশ ও প্রচার বাংলার মানুষকে বিভক্ত করেছিল। পরিস্থিতির সুযোগ নিতে তৎপর হয়ে উঠেছিলেন ব্রিটিশ শাসকগোষ্ঠী। বিভেদ ও শাসন নীতি প্রয়োগ করে তারা সাম্প্রদায়িক বিভাজন কে আরো তীক্ষ্ণ করে তুলেছিল। ইংরেজ সরকার মুসলমান রাজন্যবর্গ, জমিদার ও তালুকদারদের স্বদেশী আন্দোলনকে দুর্বল করার জন্য প্রত্যক্ষ মদত দিয়েছিলেন। ১৯০৬ সাল থেকেই বাংলার বিভিন্ন স্থানে বিশেষত কুমিল্লা, বাথরগঞ্জ, জামালপুর ও ময়মনসিংহতে সাম্প্রদায়িক দাঙ্গা দেখা দিয়েছিল। এই সাম্প্রদায়িক দাঙ্গার পেছনে বাংলার মানুষের শ্রেণীগত অবস্থান কাজ করেছিল। অধিকাংশ ক্ষেত্রেই হিন্দুরা ছিলেন ভূস্বামী জমিদার এবং মুসলমানেরা কৃষক। কৃষকেরা যখন জমিদারদের বিরুদ্ধে তাদের ন্যায়্য দাবী দাওয়ার আন্দোলন গড়ে তুলেছিলেন তখন সরকারের তরফ থেকে এই আন্দোলন গুলি কে সাম্প্রদায়িক দাঙ্গা হিসেবে ব্যবহার করা হয়েছিল। অমলেশ ত্রিপাঠীর সঠিকভাবেই মন্তব্য করেছেন- হিন্দু জমিদার, কর্মচারী, মহাজন কর্তৃক নিপীড়িত মুসলিম প্রজা ও ভাগচাষীদের মধ্যে সাম্প্রদায়িক উস্কানি দেওয়া সহজ ছিল। খাজনা বাড়িয়ে, মাথোট বসিয়ে, প্রতিমা পূজা বাবদ ঈশ্বর বৃত্তি চাপিয়ে এই জমিদারের দল স্বদেশী আন্দোলনের বিরোধিতাই করেছিল।

আন্দোলনকারীদের মধ্যে অভ্যন্তরীণ দ্বন্দ্ব স্বদেশী আন্দোলনের অনৈক্য এনেছিল। নরমপন্থী ও চরমপন্থী বিরোধ স্বদেশী আন্দোলনকে কেন্দ্র করে তীব্র রূপ নিয়েছিল। সুরেন্দ্রনাথ, গোপালকৃষ্ণ গোখলে প্রমুখ নেতারা প্রথম থেকে বয়কটের বিরোধী ছিলেন। পরে তাঁরা বয়কট মেনে নিলেও তাঁরা বয়কটের সীমিত প্রয়োগের পক্ষপাতী ছিলেন। অন্যদিকে অরবিন্দ ঘোষ বিপিনচন্দ্র পাল তিলক প্রমুখ চরমপন্থী নেতাদের কাছে বয়কট ছিল স্বরাজ লাভের হাতিয়ার। অন্যান্য প্রদেশের ব্যবসায়ীরা দেশি পণ্য বিক্রির ব্যাপারে বিশেষ উৎসাহ দেখায় নি। ১৯০৬ সালে কলকাতা কংগ্রেসে উভয়পক্ষের তুমুল বিতর্ক হয়েছিল। শেষ পর্যন্ত এই বিরোধকে কেন্দ্র করে সুরাট কংগ্রেস কংগ্রেস ভেঙে যায়। কংগ্রেস ভাঙ্গন ছিল স্বদেশী আন্দোলনের অপর এক অপ্রত্যাশিত আঘাত।



স্বদেশী আন্দোলন বাংলার বাইরে ছড়িয়ে পড়লেও দেশের অন্যান্য অঞ্চলের মানুষ এই অভিনব পদ্ধতির আন্দোলনের রাজনীতি আয়ত্ত করার পক্ষে পুরোপুরি প্রস্তুত ছিল না। ১৯০৭ সাল থেকেই নেতৃত্বের সংকট প্রকট হয়ে ওঠে। ভারতের বিভিন্ন অঞ্চলে জাতীয়তাবাদী নেতাদের গ্রেপ্তার করা হয়েছিল। আন্দোলন নেতৃত্বহীন হয়ে পড়ায় আন্দোলন দুর্বল হয়ে পড়ে।

স্বদেশী আন্দোলনের পেছনে কোনো কার্যকর সংগঠন ছিল না। কর্মসূচির দিক থেকে নিষ্ক্রিয় প্রতিরোধ, অসহযোগিতা, অহিংসা, সামাজিক সংস্কার, গঠনমূলক কাজ প্রভৃতি বিভিন্ন কৌশল আন্দোলনকারীরা প্রয়োগ করেছিলেন। কিন্তু একটি বিশেষ কেন্দ্র থেকে পরিচালিত হয় উপরোক্ত কৌশলগুলি একটি সুশৃঙ্খল সুবিন্যস্ত রূপ নিতে ব্যর্থ হয়েছিল। বিভিন্ন মত ও বিভিন্ন ধারার অনুপ্রবেশ স্বদেশী আন্দোলনকে দুর্বল করেছিল। উপরোক্ত রাজনৈতিক কৌশল গুলি ব্যবহারিক রাজনৈতিক অভ্যাসে পরিণত করা সম্ভব হয়নি। তাছাড়া গণ-আন্দোলনের নিজস্ব যুক্তি ধারা অনুযায়ী এই আন্দোলন একটি সময়ে উপস্থিত হয়ে পড়ে। যে মুহূর্তে সরকারি দমন-পীড়ন মারাত্মক হয়ে উঠেছিল সে মুহূর্তে আন্দোলনের গতি স্তব্ধ হয়ে পড়েছিল। যে উৎসাহ ও উদ্দীপনার মধ্যে স্বদেশী আন্দোলন হয়েছিল ১৯০৮ সালের মধ্যেই তা শেষ হয়ে যায়।

কিন্তু এই সকল সীমাবদ্ধতা সত্ত্বেও বলা যায় যে ভারতের জাতীয়তাবাদী আন্দোলনের ইতিহাসে স্বদেশী আন্দোলনের গুরুত্ব অপরিমিত। এই আন্দোলন ছাত্র, শিক্ষক, উকিল, ডাক্তার ইত্যাদি বৃত্তিমূলক মানুষকে জাতীয়তাবাদী আন্দোলনে অন্তর্ভুক্ত করেছিল। জাতীয়তাবাদী রাজনীতি উচ্চবিত্ত উচ্চশিক্ষিতদের সীমা অতিক্রম করে মধ্যবিত্ত শ্রেণীর মধ্যে ছড়িয়ে পড়ে। এই কাজটা করেছিল অবশ্য স্বদেশী আন্দোলন। স্বদেশী আন্দোলনই প্রথম জনগণের আন্দোলনের। আর এখানেই এর প্রকৃত গুরুত্ব।



গ্ৰন্থপঞ্জি

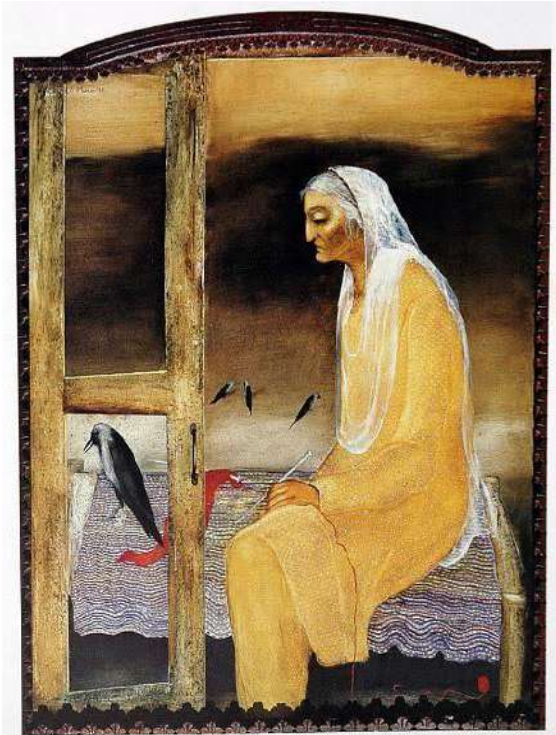
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SEMESTER VI

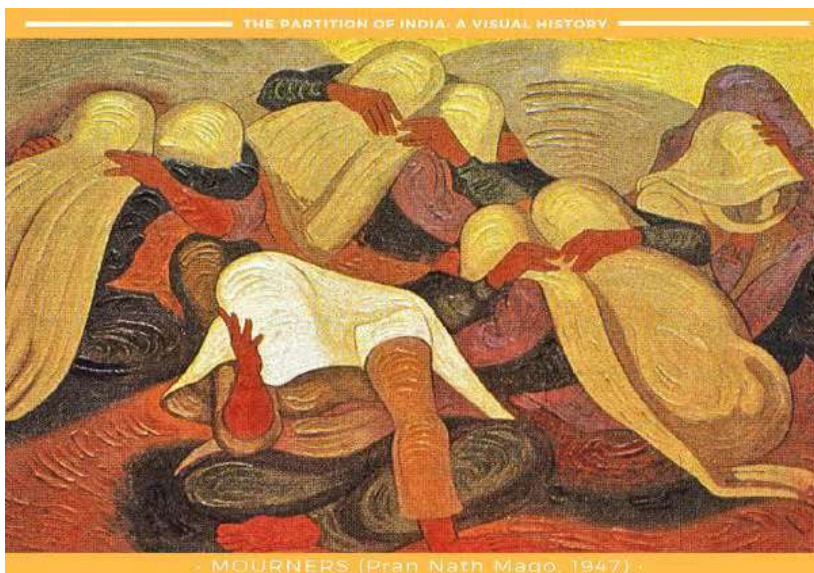
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DSE A3



1947 PARTITION AND THE BENGAL EXPERIENCE

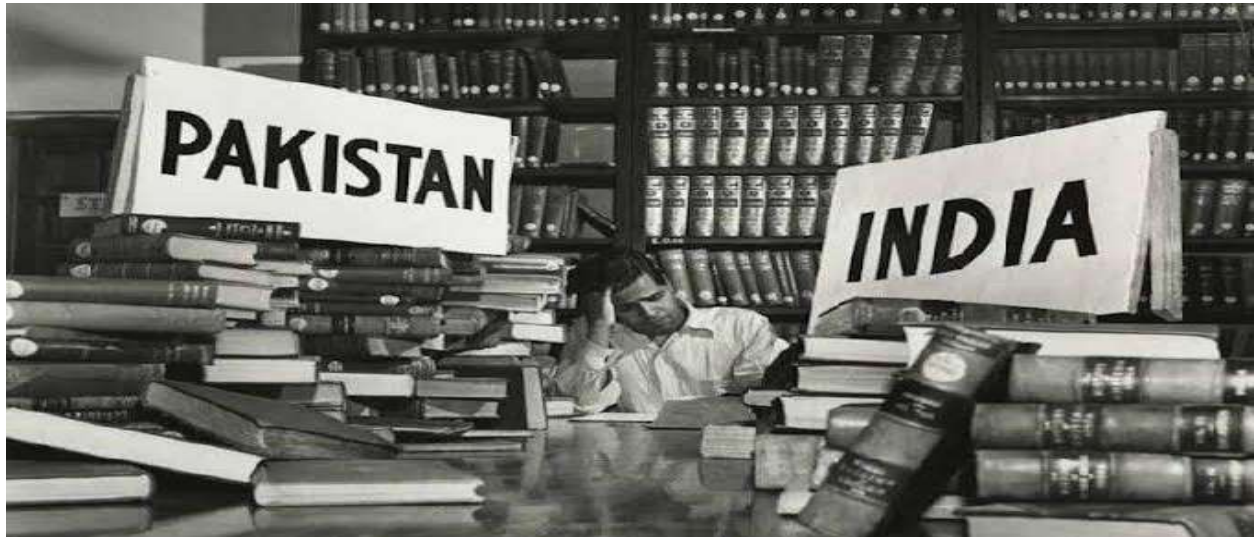


ACKNOWLEDGEMENT:

I, Swarnapali Chakraborty of Scottish Church College, Department of History, have successfully completed my DSE A3 Tutorial under the guidance of my History Professors on the topic "1947 Partition and the Bengal experience". I'd like to thank my professors for their valuable guidance. I'd also like to thank my friends without whom my tutorial would have been incomplete.

"To talk of despair is to conquer it." - Albert Camus

INTRODUCTION



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.

Immediately, there began one of the greatest migrations in human history, as millions of Muslims trekked to West and East Pakistan (the latter now known as Bangladesh) while millions of Hindus and Sikhs headed in the opposite direction. Many hundreds of thousands never made it. Across the Indian subcontinent, communities that had coexisted for almost a millennium attacked each other in a terrifying outbreak of sectarian violence, with Hindus and Sikhs on one side and Muslims on the other—a mutual genocide as unexpected as it was unprecedented. In Punjab and Bengal—provinces abutting India’s borders with West and East Pakistan, respectively—the carnage was especially intense, with massacres, arson, forced conversions, mass abductions, and savage sexual violence. Some seventy-five thousand women were raped, and many of them were then disfigured or dismembered.

THE BENGAL EXPERIENCE

POSTCOLONY : CATALYST AND MOVEMENTS



Noakhali riots, 1946

The catalyst that provoked migration was the violence of Direct Action Day in Calcutta and the Noakhali riots in East Bengal in 1946, although these episodes did not result in significant numbers of East Bengalis leaving for the West. The largest migration, estimated at more than 2.5 million, occurred between 1948 and 1950 following communal violence in Hyderabad, India, and in Khulna and Barisal in East Pakistan. Notable about these proximate catalysts are the connections between unrest in India and Pakistan, recognizing that each provoked enough fear and insecurity to encourage migration from East Pakistan to West Bengal. For others, however, migration was in response to policy changes, particularly the institutionalization of passport and visa requirements for travel between the two countries, which threatened the free movement of people across the state border. These catalysts were

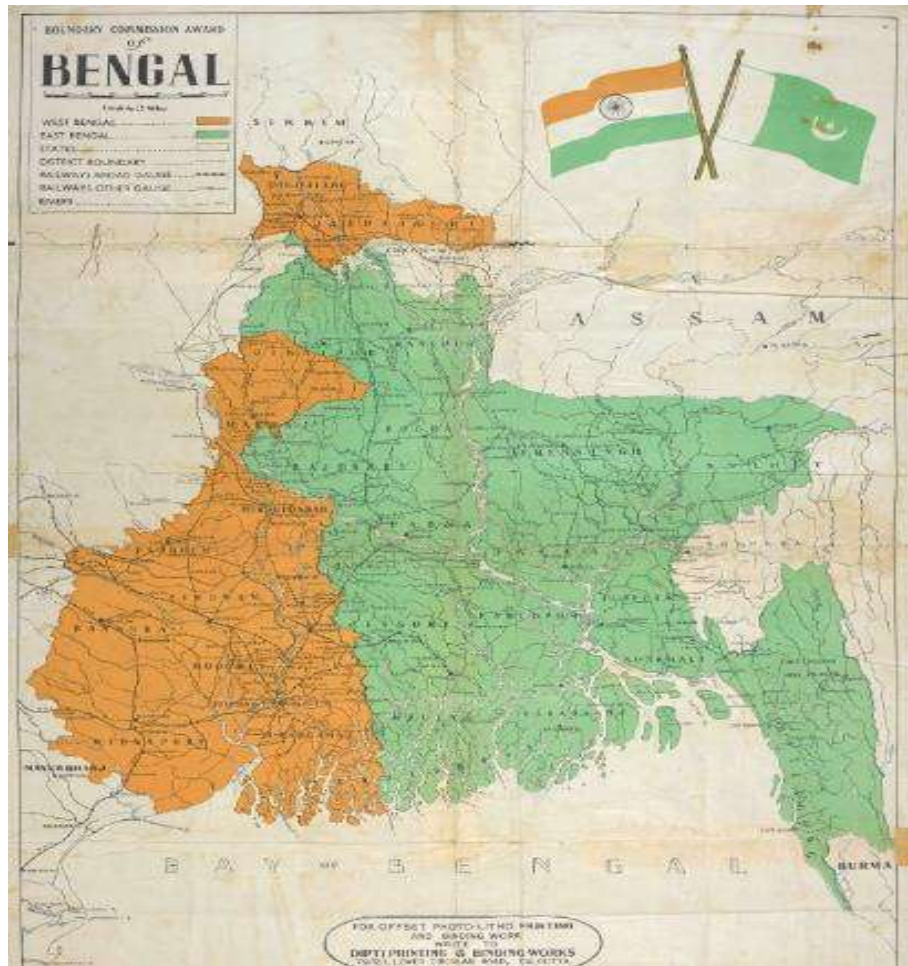
contemporaneous with the nationalist struggle against the British, and the high politics of the decision to partition the country and to build independent states and nations; and they were premised on two contradictory projects. The first, the independence struggle, depended crucially on the building of a shared, rather than a fractured, nationalist consciousness, and on the inseparability of territory and culture that was echoed in India by the Congress Party's commitment to pluralism and fraternity – within a hierarchy that embraced both “natural” and those referred to as “adopted” East Bengali Hindu kin.



The building of a nationalist consciousness was exemplified by the success and reach of the Gandhian Swadeshi Movement.

In contrast, the British commitment to partition was to rupture this unity. The Partition was a particular form of decolonization that would ensure the “residuary existence of the colonial mode of power”, affirm the ascendancy of the bourgeoisie in the region, and hold in check the “anti-colonial radical masses”.

ANTECEDENTS AND CONTEXT



"Map of the Boundary Commission Award of Bengal," Dundee Heritage Trust

The Partition was coupled with an anti-colonial struggle against the British that led to a complicated and sustained sense of displacement even for those not technically relocated across the newly established state border. The result was the challenging process of (re)making communities among established residents and migrants in new territories that navigated within the inter-state system of post-colonial rule. These migrations and in situ dislocations establish the context for negotiating place among immigrants and those who remained "at home". In Bengal, the division between East and West is especially suggestive given the ways in which religion, ethnic identification, and

place intersect to complicate the state-making and nation-making projects. For East Bengalis who chose to settle in the West, displacement draws attention to the particular confluence of the varied meanings of Bengaliness as a way to address how national communities are trans-formed, from a shared cultural heritage and nation, as in “we are all Indian”, to a construction of difference, outsider, and Other.



Refugees squatting on Sealdah Station in Calcutta

To date, interpretations of the 1947 Indian Partition assume the separation of Hindus and Muslims, a set of relations that are framed principally by the experience in Punjab. There, Partition is by rape, mass murder, marauding, and wanton torture carried out against members of the opposite ethnic group. Its history is re-counted from the point of view of high politics, business and elite interests, in memoirs of those who lived through it, and in personal accounts, poetry, and novels of the horror and pain brought about by the

experience. More recently, and with the distance that time often provides, ethnographies and family histories have shared the point of view of the women upon whose bodies the Partition was often played out. These narratives, often brilliantly evocative, suggest that relations between India and Pakistan, precisely about the question of the incorporation in a new country of a large number of migrants, are often left under-theorized even as they provide crucial evidence about the lived experience of these emergent relations.



Migrants in October 1947

Discussions of the determinants of the Partition, reports on the Boundary Commission, and analyses of the policies and programmes that shape patterns of resettlement and rehabilitation similarly tend to elide a conceptualization of the everyday practices of those who moved from East Bengal to Calcutta, other parts of West Bengal, and elsewhere in India. Also ignored are the processes of negotiation and compromise that shape relations of incorporation or exclusion of newcomers to the country. Not surprisingly, many Hindu Bengali migrants to Calcutta and its environs had previous, long-term interactions with residents and institutions in the city. This is because Calcutta was the

focus of culture and the arts, medical provision, and education for many residents of the provincial towns and the countryside, including those from East Bengal. Thus, the division between East Pakistan and West Bengal, especially for the East Bengali bhadralok (educated Bengali middle class), which saw itself as the embodiment of Indian culture and bore the values of social reform, progress, and modernity, often meant a rupture of the shared history and experience between kin members and of the institutional inter-dependence with those who lived outside of the city but, at a prior point in time, in the same country. To be sure, on 14 August 1947 one lived in undivided India and shared an understanding and identification with a national project, the struggle for independence.



On 16 August 1947 one lived either in Pakistan or India. For those who chose to move from their place of residence after that date, they were no longer merely changing residence, as in shifting from one city to another for employment or education, but instead were risking immigrant or refugee status in a place that had been, only the day before, part of a shared national space, their home.

Moreover, since the demand for and achievement of Partition was premised on a notion of religious difference, it is not surprising that

Hindus leaving East Bengal for the west could be viewed as moving to a place where they belonged.



Yet, this notion of belonging, and its attendant rights and privileges, was in fact denied to these Hindu refugees.

Unsettling this notion and that of identification with a religious and ethnic community opens to question how nations, as distinct from states, are constructed, since it raises not only legal questions about citizenship – in the first 5 years the border was porous, passports were not yet required for movement between India and Pakistan, and citizenship status was readily conferred – but also about the meanings that people give to identifications with community and its attendant rights and claims. Here, distinctions drawn between East and West Bengali Hindus highlight the heterogeneity of what, at first glance, appears as a single marker of membership, religion, and emphasizes instead the intersectionality of markings that confer belonging to any social group.

PRESERVING “HONOUR” : GENDERING PARTITION



Women and girls became prime targets of persecution. Attackers treated women’s bodies as territory to be conquered. Dishonouring women of a community was seen as dishonouring the community itself, and a mode of taking revenge.

At times, the men feared that “their” women – wives, daughters, sisters – would be violated by the “enemy”, they killed the women themselves. Urvashi Butalia in her book, *The Other Side of Silence*, narrates one such gruesome incident in the village of Thoa Khalsa, Rawalpindi district. During Partition, in this Sikh village, ninety women are said to have “voluntarily” jumped into a well rather than fall into “enemy” hands. The migrant refugees from this village still commemorate the event at a gurdwara in Delhi, referring to the deaths as martyrdom, not suicide. They believe that men at that time had to courageously accept the decision of women, and in some cases even persuade the women to kill themselves. On 13 March every year, when their “martyrdom” is celebrated, the incident is recounted to an audience of men, women and children. Women are exhorted to remember the sacrifice and bravery of their sisters and to cast themselves in the same mould.

CONCLUSION:



The psychological impact of the violence associated with Partition was profound.

The gore and horror of the violence of 1946-'47 ultimately marked the significance of the connection between religious communities and fixed territorial boundaries. The significance of boundaries mapped geographically seeped into popular consciousness through the severity of the violence. Bengal, as a distinct episode in the history of a partitioned nation, lays itself open to critical engagement of a different dimension. A view of Partition that accounts for these processes of making states, nations, and difference challenges elite histories of the period (as event); suggests the insufficiency of uncovering even subaltern voices to offer a more adequate interpretation of the period; is attentive to the ways in which the mark of the colonial regime continues to be inflected in relations within the post colony; and posits instead the need for a processual and contingent account that focuses on Partition as a critical event whose consequences continue to reverberate in the ethnic violence in India today and the tensions that continue between India and Pakistan.

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TOPIC : **THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT IN BENGAL-**
PATTERNS AND FEATURES

PAPER: DSE A-3

SEMESTER: 6

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

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INTRODUCTION

Indian National movement to come major leap forward with the beginning of the Swadeshi movement (1903-8) in Bengal. Curzon's scheme to partition Bengal instead of dividing and weakening Bengali nationalist further united them through this anti partition agitation. This agitation against partition had started in 1903 but became stronger and more organised after the scheme was finally announced and implemented in 1905. The initial aim was to secure the annulment of partition but it soon enlarged into a more broad based movement known as the Swadeshi movement touching upon wider political and social issues.

Sumit Sarkar identifies four major trends in Bengali Swadeshi namely the moderate trend, the constructive Swadeshi, political extremism and revolutionary terrorism. Sarkar argues that periodization of these trends is not possible as all the trends were present more or less simultaneously throughout the period. The movement began as an agitation against the partition of Bengal in 1905 which Lord Curzon had designed to destroy political opposition in this province. The partition of Bengal was formally announced on 19th July and implemented 3 months later on 16th October 1905. The Curzonian administration obviously defended the scheme on administrative grounds as it would reduce the excessive administrative burden of the Bengal government. Sarkar points out that the administrative considerations were uppermost in the colonial mind only until 1903 and not after that. Had the partition been purely on administrative grounds then the government would have accepted the alternative proposals of logical partition plans based on linguistic division rather than religious division of the population. Sekhar Bandopadhyay argues that it was the anti Bengali feelings of the colonial bureaucracy and a desire to weaken this politically articulate community which seemed to have provided the prime motive behind the partition. This would destroy the virtual "class rule" by the Bengali bhadralok or the landowning, money lending, professional and clerical classes belonging mostly to the three Hindu upper caste.

The formal proclamation of the Swadeshi movement was made on 7th August 1905 in a meeting held at the Calcutta Town hall. At the 7th August meeting the famous Boycott Resolution was passed. The day partition took effect was declared a day of mourning throughout Bengal. In Calcutta hartal was declared people tied rakhi on each other's hand as a symbol of unity of the two halves of Bengal.

MODERATE PHASE

This was led by a group of western educated middle class professionals, whose income was derived from their legal and liberal professions as well as land and other business activities. Leaders like Surendranath Banerjea, Krishnakumar Mitra, Prithwishchandra Ray launched a press campaign against partition proposals through journals and newspapers like 'Bengalee', 'Hitabadi' and 'Sanjibani'. Vast protest meetings were held in the townhall of Calcutta in 1904 and 1905, and numerous petitions were sent to the Government of India and the Secretary of State. They were all in the English language and said very little about swadeshi and boycott. They were repetitive in their demands of separating Bihar and Orissa from Bengal on the basis of linguistic differences, a point that was never really accepted. They asked for 'organic changes' in setting up a governor and executive council Bengal like in other two presidencies. However all of these traditional methods of protest failed to produce any desired result and the partition could not be stopped. The moderate methods came under scathing criticism. For the moderates boycott seemed to be the last desperate attempt to draw attention to Bengal's plight by pulling at the purse strings of the British manufacturers. For them it was not to encourage the spirit of self-reliance or development of a movement of full scale passive resistance. It was from their failure that the second phase of partition began characterised by self reliance or atmashakti.

Rajat Kanta Ray however argues that the role of the moderates seem to be underestimated. He argues the moderate leadership was instrumental in laying down the foundations for the Swadeshi upheaval. The partition did prompt the moderate leaders

to come out of the shell of their traditional methods, like Surendranath Banerjee toured the country and gave fiery speeches advocating boycott of British goods. Many of them were involved in the National Council of Education and were even advisors and financiers for the militant revolutionaries. They even endorsed the religious colouring of the boycott movement meant to draw in the Hindu masses.

CONSTRUCTIVE PHASE

Sumit Sarkar calls the second phase of Swadeshi movement as the 'Constructive Swadeshi'. There started a twofold critique of the Moderates: their policy were being condemned as 'mendicancy' and were attacked for representing the English educated elite alienated from the masses. Self reliance and constructive work became the new slogans- starting swadeshi enterprises and stores, organising education on indigenous lines, concrete work at village level, use of vernacular and using traditional popular customs and institutions like fairs to draw masses. The emphasis on self help became increasingly associated with Hindu revivalism, inspirations were sought from Vivekananda, Bankimchandra Chatterjee and Dayanand Saraswati. Thus religion was used to bridge the gap between the educated and the masses and this further alienated the Muslims. The general trend away from moderate agitation broke up into two trends according to Sarkar: One was quieter and rather non political in its efforts at self development and Tagore's atmashakti while the other extremist proper tried to turn the boycott into a full scale passive resistance and demanded immediate independence, later on this group turned to terrorism.

The first trend is well represented by the quiet school teacher of Barishal, Aswini Kumar Dutta. He converted Barishal into a real fort of the swadeshi movement after 1905, when the Swadeshi Bandhab Samiti with its 159 branches penetrated deep into the interiors of the district. Dutta organised the students in his school into several volunteer bands in the above Samiti which carried out work in the interiors of the district. Village disputes were settled by means of arbitration as an alternative to colonial justice and annual reports were drawn up on projects being carried out. Aurobindo

Ghosh in his article 'New Lamps for the Old' provided a classic criticism of the Congress emphasising in its mendicant politics, constitutional progress admired by them, showcased a remarkable class consciousness as he linked the Congress leaders to the bourgeois and India's mass the proletariat.

However our understanding of Constructive Swadeshi remains incomplete without referring Tagore and is probably best depicted by him through his writings. His disdain for the moderate politics can be traced back to the 1880's and emphasised on constructive and educational work. To reach out to the masses he used vernacular as a medium and urged the volunteer to go to the village and spread social and political enlightenment in the melas. Tagore laid out the programme in his Swadeshi Samaj address in 1904 and was discussed several times in the pages of his journal Bhandar. His writings reflect a tussle between modernist and traditionalist ideas however the supremacy of the Oriental civilisation is established Tagore initially in his Bharatborsher Itihas (1902) emphasised on unity in diversity as something that has already been achieved in India through Hinduism but later on after 1907, he did call for patient work to build a mahajati in our land. The critics of Tagore pointed out that he had failed to incorporate the Muslims and the lower caste Hindus into the national movement. In the meantime, the swadeshi spirit swept through Bengal since the 1890s. Tagore himself opened Swadeshi Bhandar in 1897, Jogeschandra Chaudhuri established the Indian stores in 1901, Sarala Devi's Lakshmi Bhandar came up in 1903. The Bengal Chemicals was launched in 1893 by Prafulla Chandra Ray. Satischandra Mukherji began publishing his journal dawn in 1897 and established the Dawn Society in 1902-07, Brahmabandhob Upadhyay's Saraswat Ayatan(1902), Tagore's ashram in Bolpur(1901) mark the beginnings of a national education movement. The effort of founding national schools was bolstered by the contribution of Rs 100000 by Raja Subodh Mullick. A National Council of Education was set up in 1906 also, the Bengal National College and Bengal Technical Institute were established.

POLITICAL EXTREMISM

Between 1905-07 Sarkar identifies a new trend demarcating itself from the new creed of self development alone and demanding complete and unadulterated independence. The method proposed was the extension of the boycott into a full scale movement of noncooperation or passive resistance. Many of these extremists later turned to terrorism, both political extremism and terrorism being characterised by Hindu revivalist overtones. Shyamaji Krishnavarma in his journal Indian Sociologist called for a free and independent form of national government rejecting the colonial self government. Taking up from him Bepinchandra Pal and Aurobindo argued in a similar fashion. However Tilak was ready to take a 'half loaf rather than no bread' though with the intention of getting the whole in time. In October 1907, Krishnavarma propounded his principle of dissociation- boycott of schools, courts, services. In Bengal, Bepinchandra wanted an extension of boycott to cover government services, titles and education while the moderates accepted boycott after much hesitation. Upadhyay's Sandhya and Pal's New India were the first to express the idea of the extremists after which the daily Bande Mataram was launched under Aurobindo's guidance and Subodhchandra Mullicks financial backings. Aurobindo in 1907 wrote in Banda Mataram that this was distinct from petition, self help and aggressive resistance, and it implied an organised and relentless boycott of British goods, officialised education, justice and executive administration backed up by the positive development of alternatives in the forms of Swadeshi, national education, arbitration courts and leagues of mutual defence though he left scope for aggression in case the British stepped up repression.

Religion was used as a means for leaders like Aurobindo Ghosh as a means to reach the masses. Bhagvad Gita became a source for spiritual inspiration but Barbara Southard argues that this alienated the Muslims. The other methods of mass mobilisation was organising samitis and labour strikes. The emergence of the samitis or 'national volunteer' movement was one of the major achievements of the Swadeshi age. These were engaged in various forms of mobilising effect such as moral or physical training, philanthropic work, spreading of swadeshi message, education etc. The Calcutta-based Anti-Circular Society stood out due to its

secularism. The Barisal Swadesh Bandhav did acquire some mass base and through sustained humanitarian work, its leader Aswinikumar Dutt acquired remarkable popularity among the peasants of his district, Muslims as well as Hindus. The Dacca Anushilan founded by Pulin Das in sharp contrast concentrated from the beginning on secret training of cadres through physical culture and a paraphernalia of initiation vows steeped in Hinduism. However, during 1908-09, due to repression, the open samiti either disappeared or became a terroristic secret society.

In the official report of Administration of Bengal under Andrew Fraser 1903-08 'Industrial unrest' is mentioned as a marked feature of this era and the role of 'professional agitators' is noteworthy. Besides price hikes, racial insults caused discontents among the clerks which resulted in frequent strikes in the white controlled enterprises. They now received from the nationalist a considerable sympathy in their newspapers, providing financial aid and helping in setting up trade unions. Four men in particular deserve to be remembered as pioneer labour-leaders: the barristers Aswinicoomar Banerji, Prabhatkusum Roychaudhuri, Athanasius Apurbakumar Ghosh; and Premtosh Bose the proprietor of a small press in north Calcutta. The first real labour union was the Printers Union set up on 21 October, and in July 1906 the Railwaymen's Union was formed. Strikes in jute mills were also frequent from 1905-08. It is from the private papers of Ashwinicoomar Banerji we know that he organised the Indian Millhands Union at Budge Budge in August, 1906. Though the labour movement aroused the Anglo Indian journal Pioneer yet it failed to incorporate the plantation and mine labour within itself.

INDIVIDUAL TERRORISM

By 1908 in Bengal political Swadeshi was taken over by another trend that is 'individual terrorism' against British officials and Indian collaborators. Sarkar argues that this signified a shift from non violence to violence and also from mass action to elite action, necessitated primarily by the failure of mass mobilization. The Swadeshi movement brought an uprising in secret society activities. The Dacca Anushilan Samiti was born in October 1906

through the initiative of Pulin Behari Das. A revolutionary weekly called 'Yugantar' started in the same year. A distinct group within the Calcutta Anushilan Samiti headed by Barindra Kumar Ghosh, Hemchandra Kanungo and Prafulla Chaki soon started action. The first Swadeshi robbery was organised in Rangpur in August 1906 and a manufacturing unit was set up at Maniktala in Calcutta. Attempts to assassinate oppressive officials and spies, robberies in the houses of wealthy Saha merchants became the main features of revolutionary activities since 1907-8. Though most of their attempts were failed they also achieved a lot. the hanging of Khudiram and the Maniktala bomb conspiracy trial publicised by the press and immortalised in folk songs fired the imagination of the entire Bengali population. Even the annulment of partition in a 1911 did not bring an end to terrorism.

LIMITATIONS OF THE MOVEMENT

Amal Tripathi calls it a movement that began 'with a bang and ended with a whimper'. Though the partition was revoked in 1911 but by then it had become a minor issue in the face of several other processes that the initial partition and the Swadeshi movement let loose. Aditya Mukherjee maintains that the main drawback of the swadeshi movement was that it was not able to garner the support of the mass of Muslims and especially of the Muslim peasantry. At the height of the Swadeshi movement communal riots broke out in Bengal. The use of traditional popular customs festivals and institutions for mobilizing the masses was misinterpreted and distorted by communalists backed by the state. Ishita Banerjee-Dube points out that the Bengali intelligentsia had also failed to gain the support of Marwari traders of Calcutta and the Shah merchants of the districts from the beginning. Amal Tripathi in his *The Extremist Challenge* argues that the limited impact of boycott can be ascribed to the fact that it was not taken up in other parts of India with equal zeal.

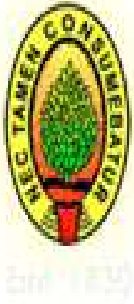
CONCLUSION

It may be stated that in spite of these limitations it would be superficial to see the Swadeshi movement as a failure. By taking the

idea of nationalism it eroded the hegemony of colonial ideas and institutions. Swadeshi influence in the realm of culture and ideas was crucial in this regard. Further the movement evolved several new methods and technique of mass mobilization and mass action though it was not able to put them all into practice successfully. The moderates achievement in the realm of developing an economic critique of colonialism is not minimised by the fact that they could not themselves carry this critique to large masses of people. Similarly the achievement of the extremists in evolving new methods of mass mobilization and action is not diminished by the fact that they could not themselves fully utilise these methods.

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Scottish Church College

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DEPARTMENT: - HISTORY

SEMESTER 6

DSE A3

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**TOPIC- 1947 PARTITION AND THE BENGAL
EXPERIENCE**

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I would like to express my sincere gratitude to our **professors** and **lecturers** of the **History Department** for providing their invaluable guidance, comments and suggestions throughout the course of the project. My debt shall always remain with **my parents**, for providing me with technical help I required. And lastly, this assignment would not have been possible without the cooperation and support from **my classmates**. With the following acknowledgements, I hope I would be able to do justice to the discussion I put forward.

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- 1) INTRODUCTION TO PARTITION: 1947
- 2) 1947: A BENGAL CASE STUDY
- 3) ECONOMIC IMPACT OF PARTITION ON BENGAL
- 4) BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. INTRODUCTION TO PARTITION: 1947

The Partition of India was the division of British India into two independent Dominions: India and Pakistan. The two states have since gone through further reorganization: the Dominion of India is today the *Republic of India* (since 1950); while the Dominion of Pakistan was composed of what is known today as the *Islamic Republic of Pakistan* (since 1956) and the *People's Republic of Bangladesh* (since 1971). In August, 1947, when, after three hundred years in India, the British finally left, there began one of the greatest migrations in human history, as millions of Muslims trekked to West and East Pakistan (the latter now known as Bangladesh) while millions of Hindus and Sikhs headed in the opposite direction. Many hundreds of thousands never made it. The partition also saw the division of the British Indian Army, the Royal Indian Navy, the Indian Civil Service, the railways, and the central treasury. The partition was outlined in the *Indian Independence Act 1947* and resulted in the dissolution of the British Raj, i.e. Crown rule in India. The two self-governing independent Dominions of India and Pakistan legally came into existence at midnight on *15 August 1947*.

The partition displaced between 10 and 20 million people along religious lines, creating overwhelming refugee crises in the newly constituted dominions. The communities that had coexisted for almost a millennium attacked each other in a terrifying outbreak of sectarian violence, with Hindus and Sikhs on one side and Muslims on the other, a mutual genocide as unexpected as it was unprecedented. In Punjab and Bengal, provinces abutting India's borders with West and East Pakistan, respectively the carnage was especially intense, with massacres, arson, forced conversions, mass abductions, and sexual violence. Some seventy-five thousand women were raped, and many of them were then disfigured or dismembered. There was large-scale violence, with estimates of the loss of life accompanying or preceding the partition disputed and varying between several hundred thousand and two million. The violent nature of the partition created an atmosphere of hostility and suspicion between India and Pakistan that affects their relationship to this day and will remain to be, ubiquitous, resulting in a vast overhaul of society from the realms of high politics

to the grass root community. The Radcliff Line implemented under British colonial authority created two new independent sovereign nations with membership of the British Commonwealth. On withdrawal, Britain left in their wake a crisis which led to the uprooting and displacement of over eight million Indian and Pakistani refugees. The Problems in Bengal and this dissertation will focus on the area of West Bengal with particular emphasis on the refugee influx from East Pakistan. The prolonged refugee crisis and extended period of migration ebbed and flowed over several decades with significant social effects, completely undermining how individuals defined themselves in relation to the nation and state, to their race and ethnicity, to their religion, their family and neighbours, and finally to themselves. Partition politicised identity, establishing labels which created inflexible boundaries that were enforced upon individuals, restricting and oppressing individual character and destroying traditional means of assimilation.

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The Times of India

ESTABLISHED 1858



DAILY JAGRAN
OF THE
TAMIL NADU

NO. 190. VOL. CIX. BOMBAY: MONDAY, AUGUST 18, 1947 PRICE TWO ANNAS NO ADV. PAY

PUNJAB & BENGAL BOUNDARY AWARD ANNOUNCED



No Agreed Solution: Wide Divergence Of Opinion

ASSENT TO CHAIRMAN'S OWN DECISION'

Demarcation Of Borders Of Divided Provinces

NEW DELHI, August 17.

THE award of the Punjab and Bengal Boundary Commission, presided over by Sir Cyril Radcliffe, was announced today.

Sir Cyril Radcliffe says in his reports to the Governor-General that in the course of the Commission's discussions "the divergence of opinion among my colleagues was so wide that an agreed solution of the boundary problem was not to be obtained."

In those circumstances, says Sir Cyril, his colleagues, at the 'close of their discussions, assented to the resolution that he must proceed to give his own decision.

As the result of the award of the Punjab Boundary Commission, the province of the West Punjab will include the whole of the Multan and Rawalpindi divisions, and the districts of Gujranwala, Sheikhupura and Sialkot of the Lahore division.

The province of the East Punjab will include the whole of the Jalandhar and Amritsar divisions, and the districts of

British Crisis Talks

CABINET MEETS

Vital Decisions On Relief

LONDON, August 17.

MR. Attlee broke his holiday and drove to London from North Wales today to preside at a meeting of the Cabinet which, despite authoritative dissensions, bore all the appearance of an emergency session.

Coming on the eve of the Washington talks between Britain and the United States about possible relief from the conditions of the fast-spreading American loan, the meeting was seen to carry an urgent and momentous decision on the kind of relief Britain would seek.

Before the Cabinet met it was indicated that only certain Ministers had been called, including Mr. Hugh Dalton, Mr. Stafford Cripps and Mr. John Glynne. These had departments most concerned in Britain's urgent crisis—the Treasury, which would find the money when the loan was not at its disposal or earlier; the Board of Trade, which would have to manage the switch-over of British industry to essential production; and the Food Minister, which regulates the foreign supply programme on which Britain depends for much of its food.

Mr. Strachey has already stated his aim to avoid a solution in hard currency, and has said that if essential supplies are not, he will introduce differential rationing between cities.

As the Ministers assembled, it was assumed that these were the issues

FAREWELL TO BRITISH TROOPS



Lord Mountbatten speaks to the departing contingent. A file of the "Goughs" forms the background.

BORDER AWARD CONDEMNED

Pakistan Reaction

"MOST UNFAIR & UNJUST"

KARACHI, August 17.

Bitter comments on the Boundary Commission award were made in Ministerial circles of the Pakistan Government this evening.

The Communication Minister, Mr. Air Ahsan Ali Khan, said "It is a tremendous unfair and unjust award."

Peace, Progress & Prosperity

QUAID-E-AZAM GREET'S INDIA

GREAT WELCOME GIVEN TO LORD MOUNTBATTEN

One-Day Visit To Bombay



People Migrating to Their New Land

2. 1947: A BENGAL CASE STUDY

In considering the effects of partition in Bengal, it is clear that there are two groupings of somewhat conflicting evaluations of events which represent hugely contrasting perceptions; those at the level of high politics in comparison with grass-root experience. An assessment of the politics of partition is possible though the use of sources such as state archives and official documents, which circumscribe post-independent political events and create a picture of Congress-led government policies. The limitations of such documents lie in their inability to reflect mass sentiment; therefore, it is important to evaluate grass root evidence alongside official discourse to humanise the tragedy of the event and to gain some insight into the social repercussions which faced the average Bengali citizen. Traditionally, histories of partition have silenced the voices of the marginalised, however using oral histories, newspapers and memoirs it is possible to retrieve a more compassionate, albeit fragmented, picture of post-partitioned Bengal. Difficulties can arise from grass root analysis as few oral histories have been conducted in the area and those that have remain problematic and selective, as many people who lived through partition have been silenced, through choice, trauma, or tradition. The strong traditions of Indian society and the patriarchal nature of the family unit have limited discussions of female experiences of partition. Silence has also been the choice of those who do not wish to recount the atrocities which they lived through and simply wish to negate the trauma of separation.

However, the scale of human suffering simply cannot be conveyed through official letters, statistics and documents therefore the everyday effects of partition cannot be archived. As Uravshi Butalia comments in *The other side of Silence: Voices from the Partition of India*, ‘what could documents tell me about... feelings, emotions, and those indefinable things that make up a sense of an event?’

Government documents considered in isolation cannot therefore be considered to be representative of the masses; however, there are also limitations in using personal grass root accounts, which are highly emotive, entrenched with subjectivity and partiality. History as discourse runs the risk of trivialising the individual; most historiography surrounding the period focuses on political aspects of partition and its economic repercussions, often disregarding important social changes which influenced a multitude of identities. Evaluations of independent Bengal should be extended to include the three-fold effect of partition which influenced the nation, the state and the individual in terms not only of their economy and politics but their anthropology, sociology and psychology.

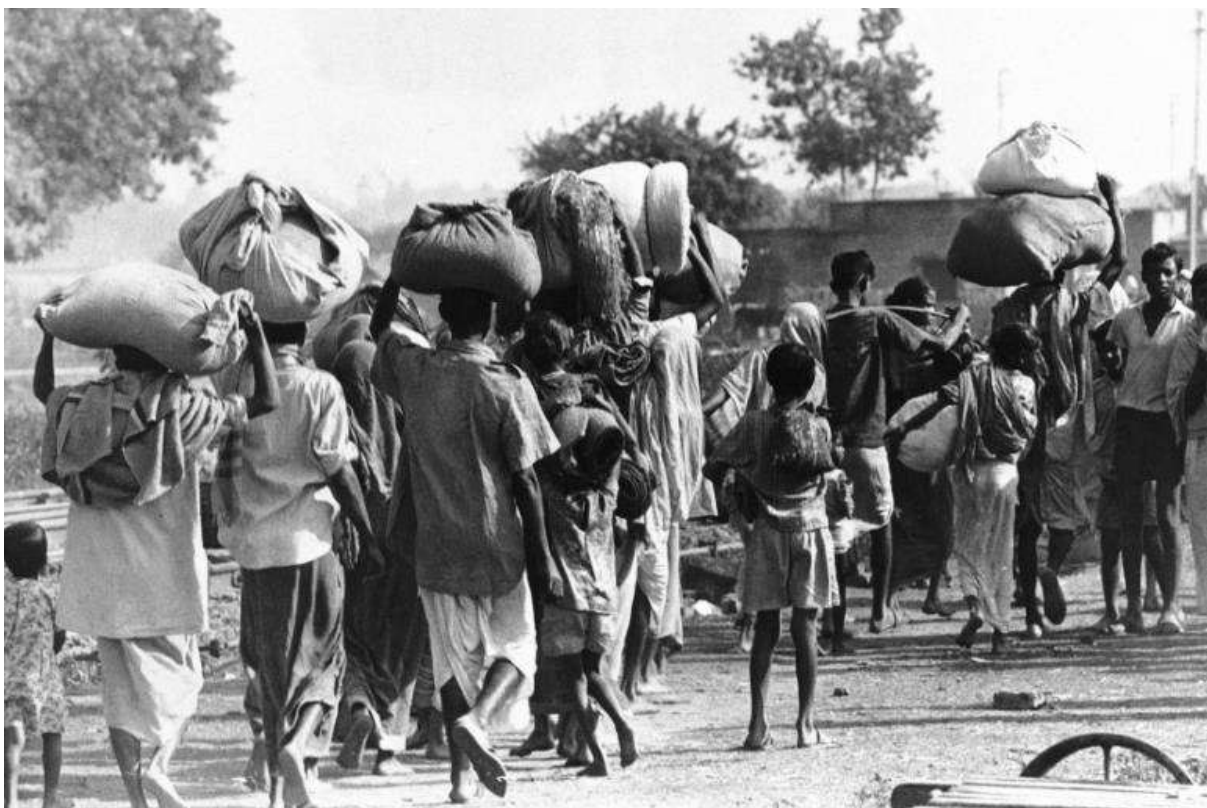
This was such a cataclysmic event in Indian history that irrevocably altered the everyday lives of Bengali citizens, however for many refugees' migration did not dismantle identities which had been formulated through years of tradition and some consistencies remained. Partition led to an overhaul of daily life disturbing occupational structures and kinship ties which forced a re-evaluation of social roles. Regional identities remained strong throughout and many Bengalis retained an attachment to their local culture and language following rehabilitative displacement. An overarching sense of loyalty and familiarity often survived partition with kinship bonds now taking precedence over issues of nationality and religion. It would be an oversight to neglect the history which existed prior to independence and before British colonial rule. For centuries, Hindus and Muslims coexisted simultaneously without identity markers creating entrenched divisions. Personal relationships and kinship loyalties were not destroyed by partition but underwent forced readjustments as refugees adapted to the new parameters of their lives. Common linguistics and culture aided assimilation; however, difficulties posed by the refugee crisis led to a re-evaluation of

identity classifications and created a struggle to survive, rather than to belong.

Everyday existence is explored through accounts of conditions within the government-run camps which affected refugee mentality. Hard statistics are used to enumerate the scale of the crisis and illustrate its pervasiveness. State reception to the refugees permeated through layers of social personas to strike at the core of identity in effecting notions of belonging. Partition led to an overhaul of personal relationships to the state and many refugees felt abandoned, neglected and ostracised by government policies which focused on the 'bigger picture' of successful nation-building, securing an international platform in world politics. Confusion surrounding notions of belonging became more acute with the introduction of visas and passports for travel between India and Pakistan, which solidified grass-root recognition of the permanent international character of the border. The crossing of the border itself was often traumatic as migrant flows of different directions came into opposition resulting in incidents of confrontation and violence. Women were more often the victims of such encounters and their migrant experiences marked affected their future potential for successful rehabilitation. Initial government response to the rehabilitation of refugees was one of denial and delay. Eventual recognition of the Indian Government's responsibilities came in response to repeated appeals from the West Bengal Government for financial help and direction. Dr B. C. Roy successfully nationalised the problem in 1951 when Central Government took charge of distributing relief. The state and central governments were slow to react to the crisis, and to an extent were limited to what they could achieve according to the degree of refugee compliance. To ease the rehabilitation process, the government implemented a system of categorisation according to levels of entitlement to aid. The system failed to recognise the needs of millions of refugees who already suffered from the change in

occupational structure which left professional classes over-represented and rendered many migrant vocations obsolete. Many refugees focused on self-rehabilitation and occupied vacant lands to build new homes. Previously marginalised groups developed a degree of autonomy and women increasingly became agents of their own future.

Joya Chatterji's '*The Spoils of Partition: Bengal and India, 1947-1967*' is the most recent publication to study the plight of refugees in West Bengal and its approach is ground-breaking, bringing an entirely new light to the study of the lives affected by Bengal's partition. Yasmin Khan's recent publications have also focused on the roles of the individuals, casting greater personal agency in the articulation of identity. The study into the refugees of West Bengal during partition is expanding and although there is still much more ground to cover, recent publications have made a significant move towards uncovering everyday refugee voices and experiences.



Large Scale Migration (Picture-1)



Large Scale Migration (Picture- 2)

3. ECONOMIC IMPACT OF PARTITION ON BENGAL

After Partition, West Bengal suffered from a substantial food shortage as the fertile rice-producing districts went to East Bengal. The shortage continued into the 1950s and the 1960s. By 1959, West Bengal faced an annual food shortage of 950,000 tones. Hunger marches became a common sight in Kolkata.

Jute was the largest industry in Bengal however, after partition the best quality fibre yielding breeds of jute were cultivated mostly in East Bengal. West Bengal's mills faced acute shortage, and the industry faced a crisis. On the other hand, jute farmers in East Bengal were now without a market to sell their produce. But West Bengal rapidly increased jute production and in the mid-to-late 1950s became largely self-sufficient in jute. West Bengal's mills became less dependent on East Bengal for raw materials. West Bengal's paper and leather industry faced similar problems. The paper mills used East Bengal's bamboo, and the tanneries consumed leather, which were also mainly produced in East Bengal. Like jute, the lack of raw material pushed both industries into decline.

Despite central and state governments' best efforts, the pressure of millions of refugees, food shortages and industrial decline after independence put West Bengal in a severe crisis. Dr. B. C. Roy's government tried to cope up with the situation by initiating several projects. The government built irrigation networks like DVC and Mayurakshi project, the Durgapur industrial zone and the Salt Lake City, but the failed to arrest West Bengal's decline. Poverty rose, and West Bengal saw massive political unrest, strikes and violence that crippled the state for the three decades after Partition.

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Topic- Netaji and Congress- Conflicts and
Compromises.

CU Roll No- 182223-11-0073

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Semester-6

Paper- DSE-A3

Introduction

1930s Witnessed the rapid growth of socialist ideas within Congress in the form of election of what's your name what's his name Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhash Chandra As president of the Congress sessions of 1929, 1936, 1937 for Jawaharlal Nehru and 1938 and 1939 for Subhash Bose.

In 1938, the unanimous selection of Subhash Bose as the president of the Congress was a distinct pointer to the growth of socialist creed which was not in tune with the orthodox view. The most typical representative being Gandhi.

Gradually the rift between Subhash Bose and Gandhi began to widen on different issues. Subhash Bose tried to stiffen the opposition of the Congress party to any compromise with the British. This caused annoyance in Gandhian Circles who were then looking for an understanding with the British government. Subhash Bose had launched the national planning committee for drawing up a comprehensive plan for industrialization and national development. This caused further annoyance to Gandhi who was opposed to industrialization. After the Munich pact Subhash Bose began an open propaganda to prepare the Indian people for a national struggle which would synchronize with the coming war in Europe. This move was resented by the Gandhites who did not want to be disturbed in their ministerial and parliamentary works.

The fundamental difference was however the attitude towards Britain. While Bose looked upon a war between Britain and Germany as God sent, Gandhi looked for peaceful relations to pursue constitutional means. The movement of the people of princely states expected sympathy and cooperation from the Congress, while Bose had Full

sympathy for them but Gandhi was against the intervention of the Congress in the movement.

All these differences came to a head over the election of the president for the next session at Tripuri, 1939. Gandhi dissuaded Bose from contesting the office but when the latter disagreed, Gandhi put up different means. Bose won by a margin of 203 votes. The working committee insisted that Bose alone could lead the country to victory in the crisis. Gandhi regarded this as his own defeat. He began his policy of Non-Cooperation which created problems in the formation of the working Committee. Subhash Bose resigned from his post. During this the AICC passed a resolution that no congressman could take part in the CDM without permission of the provincial committee. When Bose protested, he was removed from his position of Bengal Pradesh Congress committee. Free from the limitations of party policies and politics, both went in for an open challenge to the British rule. On 19th March, 1940, he presided in an All India Anti-Compromise Conference at Ramgarh, Bihar organized by Swami Sahajanand Saraswati, where he expressed his anguish at the compromising nature of the Congress—"As soon as the war began, Mahatma Gandhi proceeded to Shimla without caring to consult the Congress Working Committee and informed He the viceroy that he was in favor of rendering unconditional help to Great Britain in the prosecution of war."

He organized a protest against the fake narrative of the British claiming around 160 British were pushed into a small room by Nawab Sirajuddaula where many died. This was based on the accounts of General Holwell. Netaji was arrested on 2nd July, 1940. He went on hunger-strike in captivity and was later released in November, 1940. All this while he continued to urge Congress to launch civil disobedience. On May 20th, 1940, Nehru made a statement that launching a civil disobedience at a time when British is engaged in life and death

struggle would be an act derogatory to India's honor. Mahatma Gandhi also refused to join in claiming that he did not want to win independence from the ruins of Britain.

Bose after Congress

Subhash Bose formed a new political party on the left wing known as the Forward Block with the hope that the entire left wing of the Congress may come under one banner. He toured throughout the country and his fiery speeches together with his call to give an open fight to the government soon slammed the authorities who intervened him in his house in Calcutta.

Subhash Bose had left India in 1941 to go to Soviet Union to seek their help in India's struggle for freedom but Soviet Union was attacked by Germany in June 1941 and had joined the allies. Bose, therefore went to Germany to see if he could obtain any help from them. After receiving some assurances from the Germans, Bose started a deadly propaganda against British imperialism through 'Free India Centers', in Rome and Paris. The Indian Legion with the captured Indian soldiers by Germans at the African front and the free India radio center was also founded. From Berlin radio he regularly addressed his countrymen urging them to rise against the British. An Indian patriot name Nambiar This radio station from where the call was given for the formation off provisional independent government for India, but he saw that Europa was not the right place two wage a war for India's freedom as Germany was using the Indians for political propaganda against the allies. So he left for Japan but plans to launch an armed struggle against the British.

In Southeast Asia, the Japanese success went on increasing against the British as a result a large number of Indian soldiers fell prisoners into their hands. After the fall of Singapore in February 1942, Japan captured some 45,000 Indian soldiers as prisoners of war. The Japanese handed them over to captain Mohan Singh who had earlier surrendered to them after the Japanese forces attacked Malay. Bose had secured an alliance from Japan and a promise of military and financial help from the Japanese Prime Minister, Count Tojo. This end city in Southeast Asia won great folks among Indian soldiers which led to the formation of Indian independence league under Rashbehari Bose, An exiled Indian revolutionary living in Singapore. The league aimed at mobilizing the members of Indian community for the purpose of securing Indian independence. Indian officials proceeded to Tokyo to meet the Japanese high command. At the Tokyo conference the following decisions were taken to expand and strengthen the Indian independence league, to form an Indian national army and to hold a conference in Bangkok to consolidate this decision.

At the Bangkok conference more than 150 delegates from Malaya, Singapore, Burma, Thailand, Hong Kong, Manila and Java attended the meeting the main resolution of the conference called for Bose to lead the movement. Thousands of Indian soldiers joined the INA which was formally established in September 1942 under the command ship of Mohan Singh. Subhash Bose had accepted the invitation of Bangkok conference and left for Japan in German U boat. After discussions with the Japanese authorities he moved to Singapore and took charge of the Indian independence movement. On 15 July 1943 he took the salute of INA and on 26th August he became the supreme commander. his declaration to the argument was to fight against the British until 'the National flag flies over the Viceroy's house in New Delhi'. The INA was joined in large number by Indian living in Southeast Asia and by Indian

soldiers captured by the Japanese forces in Malaya, Burma and Singapore. he gave a call to his soldiers "Give me blood and I shall give you freedom". He set up recruitment and training department and training camps and also provisional government of free India at Singapore in October 1943.

The Japanese handed over Andaman and Nicobar islands to Netaji which were renamed as Sahid and Swaraj islands respectively. This gave him the first stretch of territories in India. Then he dispatched the Subhash brigade from Rangoon towards Prome, On the Burmese front. this brigade captured Paletwa, Daletme, Mawdak and entered the frontier of India. Then he captured strong military posts of Klang Klang. The brigade also succeeded in capturing Ukhral and Kohima in Assam hills. The main objective of INA was to capture Imphal, the capital of Manipur. But the Japanese withdrew their forces from Indo-Burma border because of their Pacific war against USA and finally led to their surrender to the allies. INA was overpowered by the British Army.

Conclusion

Netaji was unable to take any successful action during his time in Congress. But after he left Congress he formed the Azad Hind Fauj, which was an audacious attempt to liberate India from the colonial rule with Military means. While the mission itself failed it did carry enough cinders to ignite the fires of Sailor mutiny during the Quit India Movement, the following year. Protests in support of INA in Kolkata saw the death of 40 in police firing and of 23 in Mumbai.

Pattabhi Sitaramayya brilliantly captures the difference between Gandhi and Bose when he writes-“With Gandhi Means are Ends. With Subhash Ends are Means. They were two polar opposites. Gandhi is moved by instincts. Subhash was guided by reason.”

Subhash Chandra Bose’s struggle while within Congress was a statement against the highly-personalized high command structure and dictatorial grip Gandhi held over Congress amid all the pretense of democracy. While there are many theories of whether or not Bose survived the plane crash on 18th of August, 1945, what Netaji meant to India is captured in words of Pattabhi Sitaramayya who writes-“There is widely felt disinclination to believe this story of Subhash babu’s death which is traced to Japanese sources. His position after the conclusion of the war has become a matter of anxious inquiry all around. If he was dead, this anxiety would be submerged by the flood tide of sorrow that overcame the country. If he was alive, the halo around this mystic would become deeper and brighter.”

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Title of the project :- The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal
Patterns and features.



মর্ড কাঠন

বঙ্গাটোঙ্গাৰ কুপজাৰ

প্ৰদেষ্টি গোচোননের বাণী :-

বহুচেহা বা প্ৰদেষ্টি গোচোননের-তিৰাণি-
বাণী লেখ্য কৰা যায় ১) বসুৰু ২) প্ৰদেষ্টি ৩) জাতীয় জিহা,
'বসুৰু' এৰু অৰ্থাৎ জাতি বিদেষ্টি-অৰুকাৰেৰু-আৰু অমৰা-মোচিগা-অৰু
কাৰ, ওৰু প্ৰদেষ্টিৰু অৰ্থাৎ হেচা ওচ অৰুইৰু নব-আনচে, প্ৰদেষ্টি ও
বসুৰু হল একেৰু আধেৰু দুই হিঁ, প্ৰদেষ্টি হল গাৰুচলুৰু, বসুৰু হল
নেতিবাচক, 'জাতীয় জিহা' হল অকল বিদেষ্টি প্ৰাৰু বৰুণ কৰু জাতীয়
গোচৰু ও জাতীয় নিমুচনীৰুনে জিহাবাৰুগা গাড়ে তোলা,

১) বসুৰু :-

□ অৰুকাৰেৰু বহুচেহা পৰিফলুনাৰু ক্ৰেচু কৰে বাচোনি জাতি
অৰুকাৰেৰু-বিৰুগা অৰুপ্ৰমৰু একেটি কাৰুকাৰী প্ৰতিৰুৰি-ব্যৰুগা গাড়ে
তোলে। ১৯০৫ খ্ৰী: ১৩ই জুলাই কুম্ৰুচুচাৰু-চিা অচুপ্ৰাদিৰু অৰুচীৰনী
প্ৰদিকাৰু) অৰুপ্ৰমৰু অৰুকাৰেৰু-বিৰুগা এক আচাৰিক বসুৰুৰু কমা
আসনা কৰা হু, ১৬ই জুলাই থুলনা জেলাৰু বাগেৰুবাচে-কাৰে গুৰু বিৰুগা
অনঅচু বসুৰুৰু প্ৰেধুৰু গুৰু হু,

□ বসুৰু গোচোনন অফল কৰে বাচোনৰু আনৰু পৰুচ উজাৰু
আৰু অমৰু হু, ওৰু বিদেষ্টি-জিহা প্ৰতিফান বৰুণ কৰে অৰু বিদেষ্টি
নেবন, চিনি, কাপড়ে, হুও বিদেষ্টি পন্যাগাৰুৰু আচান নিচেটিৰু অৰু কৰে,
বাচোনৰু গাৰু অচাচু জাৰিন ^{চিৰি} বিদেষ্টি আৰু হেচা তাঁতৰু
আৰু কাপড়ে শুবনাৰু কৰা অৰু কৰে, কাঁচেৰু চুটি ও বিদেষ্টি নেবন বৰুণ
কৰে, অৰুচাদৰী চৌৰুগানি, হেচাচিগাৰী হাচ, কুমুচিনী বসু হিচল অমুআথাগা,



শ্রীমতী জাতিসংগঠন
জাতির পূর্ন কর্মসূচী,

- কৃষক ও শ্রমিকেরা তখন অস্বাভাবিক এই আন্দোলনে যোগ দিলেও ভয়ভীতিতেই নেতৃত্ব শ্রমিক আন্দোলন গড়ে তুলতে অর্থাৎ শ্রমিক নেতাদের আন্দোলনে চিত্তবিস্তৃত দাঙ্গা, বিনয়িত দাঙ্গা, অস্বাভাবিক চক্রবর্তী প্রকল্প নেতৃত্ব যোগান করেন।
- বিষ্ণু-স্বজনিম বিবেচ অস্বাভাবিক তদন্তে বঙ্গদেশে যা হলেও বঙ্গ ক্ষিত্রিত স্বজনিম একে আন্দোলিত কৃষক একত্রিতভাবে বিষ্ণুদের সঙ্গে এই আন্দোলনে যোগ। ব্রাহ্মণের আন্দোলন বঙ্গ, সৌন্দর্য নিয়ন্ত্রণে হোজেন, সৌন্দর্য ইন্ডাস্ট্রিয়াল জিওগ্রাফি, জাকার নবাব পরিবারের যোগ্য আন্দোলন প্রকল্প স্বজনিম নেতা অস্বাভাবিক এই আন্দোলনে যোগ দেন।

ii) অস্বাভাবিক :-

অস্বাভাবিক ছিল বঙ্গদেশের পরিদূরক, নিবলিত বঙ্গদেশে অস্বাভাবিক অস্বাভাবিক বিবেচনা চলেতে থাকে। অস্বাভাবিক আন্দোলনের শুরু পূর্বে স্বাভাবিকের গোপালবাড়ী দক্ষিণে, জি.ডি যোগ্য, ব্রহ্ম-জি বালাদে, আর্মডামাতের প্রতিষ্ঠাতা স্থানক অস্বাভাবিক, বাঙ্গালার গোপালবাড়ী, বাঙ্গালার বাস্তুবাসন বঙ্গ, নবগোপাল জিও প্রকল্প অস্বাভাবিক আন্দোলিত আন্দোলিত প্রচার করেছিলেন। কিন্তু যে অস্বাভাবিক আন্দোলিত স্থান, কিন্তু বঙ্গদেশের অস্বাভাবিক আন্দোলিত এক নতুন আন্দোলিত প্রদান করে।



প্রাচীন জাভানার
আঁধির কাপড় বোনার দৃশ্য

কিন্দেচৰ বিকল্প :-

• প্ৰদেখিৰ প্ৰোগ্ৰাম এৰি অক্ষয় জেনে নতুন নতুন বহু
কিন্দেচৰ আবিষ্কাৰ কৰা থাকে, বাহুল্যম্ প্ৰতিষ্ঠিত বহু বহুমানতী মিল
ও কেম্ব্ৰী মিল, বাত্ৰপু, বিনামালি ও ব্ৰিটানি গাঁভিৰা জেৰাৰ অক্ষিৰ
বাম্ এৰি. • আৰুদাৰদ ও বোম্বাইয়েৰ গাঁভিৰা মিল ব্ৰালি নবতীৰন
নাও কৰ.

• গোচৰ প্ৰকল্পচক্ৰ বায় - এৰি উল্গাৰ প্ৰতিষ্ঠিত বহু - বেছাল
ক্ৰাফিষ্টাৰ, ডাঃ মালবতন অৰুৰ কাৰ্ম্ম আৰম্ কৰাথোনা
প্ৰতিষ্ঠা কৰন, কলকাতাম্ প্ৰতিষ্ঠিত বহু. (National Medical
College)

• কাম্বোদতি চাৰ্চ কাম্বোদপুৰ লেব ও ইন্দ্ৰাও কৰাথোনা প্ৰতিষ্ঠা
কৰন.

• বাহুল্যম্ জেৰি অক্ষয় বহু প্ৰদেখী হৰেৰ দোষণ থোলা বহু,
অৰুনা দেবি মেৰুৰানি মেডীৰ জেৰাৰ' প্ৰতিষ্ঠা কৰন.

• অতীকচক্ৰ ব্ৰাথোপাৰ্চাম্ প্ৰতিষ্ঠিত (নে জাজাৰি) এবহু অক্ষি -
প্ৰজাৰি বহু প্ৰতিষ্ঠিত (গ্ৰানি) - আৰুলাৰ জাজাৰি' ৰ জেৰা
ছিল গ্ৰুৰূপূৰ্ণ.

আধিত্ৰ ও অটুপুতিৰ নৰকাৰা :-

প্ৰদেখী- গোচোলনাৰে কৰে কৰ
দেখি আধিত্ৰ ও কিন্দেচৰা নতুনবনে কৰন কৰ. ব্ৰুৰীকাম চাকুৰ,
হুৰীকাম জেন, দ্বিভেৰুতামে বায়, মেছাল প্ৰজাৰি জেন, অটুপুৰুৰ জেৰ.

সিহিন্দুচন্দ্র প্রায় প্রখ্যাত কবি, নাট্যকার, প্রবন্ধকার ও অসুখীত রুচয়িতায়
তৃতীয়তাবাদী অর্থাৎ দেখে এক উদ্ভাটনা দেখা দেয়, তিনি নিবন্ধিত
প্রবন্ধায় অবশ্যই নাম চক্কর, নন্দলাল বসু, প্রমুখের কল্পিতনা
ও কল্পিতকর্ম প্রদেহি প্রত্যে প্রত্যয় হয়,

iii) তৃতীয় কল্পিতনা:-

প্রদেহি গোলাপের বসু পূর্বে তিনি কতক
চলিতের দলক আছে সেবের বিত্তে অল্পে সেবতীয় গোদর্শ ও
কল্পিতযীনে বেল কয়েকটি কল্পিত প্রতিষ্ঠান স্থাপিত হয়, বহুতৎ
গোলাপের অল্প কালারম আর্কলার (২০ই অক্টোবর ১৯০৫),
কল্পিত আর্কলার (১৫ই অক্টোবর ১৯০৫), নন্দলাল আর্কলার (২৯ই
অক্টোবর) তৃতীয় কল্পিত গোলাপে ইন্দ্র জোয়ায়, প্রদেহি গোলা-
পের কল্পিত দ্বারা অল্পতৎ গোলাপের মধ্যে দূরে অল্পিতব্যায়
তৎ অল্পের এই অল্প আর্কলার তৎ করছিলেন, অল্পের এই আর্কলার
এর বিত্তে স্থাপিত কল্পিত বসু-র নেত্রে কল্পিত
প্রদেহি আর্কলার জোয়ায় প্রতিষ্ঠিত হয় (নোভেম্বর ১৯০৫ খ্রীঃ)।

- ১৯০৫ খ্রীঃ ১৯ই মার্চ অল্পিতনাম অল্পের অল্পিত্রে অল্পিত
এক অল্প ১২ জন অল্প নিত্রে (তৃতীয় কল্পিত পরিষদ) গঠিত
হয়, ১৪ই অল্প এই পরিষদের অল্পে অল্পিত প্রায় অল্প
কর কল্পিত বহুতৎ অল্পিত অল্প অল্পিত অল্পিত
হয়।

বৈজ্ঞানিক জীবাশ্মতা :-

১৯০৫ খ্রীঃ ১৮ই মে মাসে আশেবসু বঙ্গদেশের
 তারিখ ঘোষিত হয়, তেই দিন জাতীয় জ্যোতিষ বিজ্ঞান নামিত
 হয়, আর বাণেশ্বর বিদ্যালয় নামিত হয়, বৃহত্তম গান গোপু বৃহত্তম
 আশ্রমে কিছু জ্ঞানমান প্রাপ্ত গড়ে তাদের চর্চা করেন। আনন্দমোহন
 বোস এক বিজ্ঞান জ্ঞানভাণ্ডার অধ্যয়ন করণ প্রাপ্ত কিছু জ্ঞানমান
 প্রাপ্ত আরও বিজ্ঞান ফেডারেলর নামের প্রতি প্রাপ্ত জ্ঞান করেন,
 অদেকী আনন্দমোহনের নামে বাণেশ্বর আশ্রমের জ্ঞানভাণ্ডার অধীনে
 দেখা যায়।

এই অদেকী আনন্দমোহনের বন্ধ কিছু জীবাশ্মতা
 দেখানো, বিজ্ঞান অধ্যয়ন আরও গুরুত্ব গিলেও কিছুদের জ্ঞানভাণ্ডার
 জ্ঞানভাণ্ডারের গুরুত্ব প্রকাশ ছিল মাঝে কক্ষ, জ্ঞানভাণ্ডারের গুরুত্ব
 অদেকী আনন্দমোহনের ঘর ঘর করে দেয়।

অদেকী আনন্দমোহনের অধ্যয়ন মে লক্ষীপুর জিলায়
 উদ্যোগ দেখা যায় তার অধিকাংশ দীর্ঘস্থায়ী হয়নি। যেখানে ক্রান্তিকাল,
 বর্ষাকালী কলে ছিল প্রাপ্ত অদেকী মেয়ে ছিল শ্রীত অন্যান্য জিলায়
 অধ্যয়ন করি ও গুরুত্বের মেয়ে বৈজ্ঞানিক জিলায় বন্ধ হয়ে
 যায়। মেয়ে অদেকী জিলায় উদ্যোগ অধ্যয়ন হয়নি, তবে বিদেকী পণ্য
 রপ্তানি বন্ধ করে বিদেকী অধ্যয়নকে আশ্রয় দেওয়ার চর্চা অধ্যয়ন
 হয়নি।

বন্ধু ছিল একটি নেতিবাচক আদর্শ। বিদেকী
 পণ্য ছিল অনেক অধ্যয়ন, ও গুরুত্ব জ্ঞান ছিল উদ্যোগ, অদেকী
 প্রাপ্ত গুরুত্ব জিলায় অধ্যয়ন করে প্রাপ্ত গুরুত্ব ছিল মাঝে, অদেকী দিকে

(7)

আদৰ্শী পণ্ডিতৰ দায় ছিল বৰ্দ্ধী, যোগান ছিল কম, তাই বিদৰ্শী পণ্ডিত
বসুন্ধৰীৰ দোকান অৰ্থাৎ তেজস আড়া খেলেনি।

আদৰ্শী আন্দোলন মূলতঃ অসমৰ কোলকাতা, এৰু
বৰিষ্কাৰ, জয়দেৱজিগুৰীৰ মত অক্ষয়লৈ সীমাবদ্ধ ছিল। শ্বাৰ্ছাফুলে
এৰু-প্ৰেৰণা ছিল নতুন্য। প্ৰাৰম্ভিকভাৱে আড়া অসমত না পৰা
আদৰ্শী আন্দোলন নিজেৰে জীৱনীকল্পিত হাৰিখে খেলি। এই সীমাবদ্ধতা
আদৰ্শী আন্দোলনৰ অন্যতম দুৰ্বলতা ছিল।

এই অকল সীমাবদ্ধতা অস্বীকৃত বলা যাযায়ে,
আৰুতো অসমীয়াবাদী আন্দোলনৰ ইতিহাসে আদৰ্শী আন্দোলনৰ
স্বৰূপ অপৰিষ্কাৰ। এই আন্দোলন ছাত্ৰ, জিগুৰী, তৰ্কিন, ডেকা
ইত্যাদি বৃত্তিমূলক স্বাস্থ্যকে অসমীয়াবাদী আন্দোলনৰ অন্তৰ্ভুক্ত
কৰিছিল। অসমীয়াবাদী স্বাধীনতা তৃষ্ণা, তৃষ্ণাৰূপিত হৈ সীমাবদ্ধ
অভিযান কৰি ইতিহাসে স্মৃতিৰ মৰ্ত্তি হুঁটিয়ে পায়। এই কাৰণে কৰিছিল
অসমীয়া আদৰ্শী আন্দোলন। আদৰ্শী আন্দোলনই প্ৰথম জনগণৰ
আন্দোলন আৰু এখানত এই প্ৰকৃত স্বৰূপ।

অনুবাদেরী :-

① শ্রম কান্টন-জিগার্স
সাপোরোব্রুয় স্কুল, আর্থনিক চারভর শীতকাসা,
প্রোভেন্সিডে পাবলিকাস, 1996

② স্কোলাব্রুয় জীবন আর্থনিক চারভ ও বিক্রয়
প্রোভেন্সিডে পাবলিকাস,

~~1996~~ 2006

কৃতজ্ঞতা প্রকাশ :- এই প্রকল্পটি তৈরি করতে শ্রীমতী শ্রীমতী স্বর
চন্দ্রিকা দাস আর্থিকভাবে সাহায্য করেছেন, তার আর্থিক সাহায্যে
কৃতজ্ঞতা প্রকাশ করা হয়েছে। তার জন্য আমি কৃতজ্ঞ।

শ্রীমতী স্বর
কৃতজ্ঞতা প্রকাশ
25.7.21.

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THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT IN BENGAL-
PATTERNS AND FEATURES

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INTRODUCTION

The spread of modern education, the emergence of various associations at national, provincial and district levels, the role of the press, improved transport and communication systems etc., accelerated the political consciousness among the people of India and helped in strengthening the National Movement that was taking place since the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885. The changes introduced by the British in the administrative, judicial, economic and intellectual life of the country also

prepared the ground for the rise of a new class of restless and dynamic leaders. The latter gave the needed leadership to the movement. The constitutional agitation through petitions which they began since 1885, of course, gradually yielded place to a new aggressive demand for political privileges from early twentieth century, more particularly from 1905. With the discontent and disillusionment among the people coupled with the partition of Bengal moved them for an unprecedented struggle for freedom from foreign yoke in the twentieth century.

PARTITION OF BENGAL:-

On 19th July 1905 the British Government of India announced that the Bengal Presidency would be divided into two with effect from 16 October 1905. The outward argument in favour of this was administrative consideration, lightening the administrative burden upon Bengal. But, the real motive was to curb the growth of national feeling in the politically advanced Bengal by driving a wedge between the Bengali speaking Hindus and the Muslims and destroying the solidarity of 78 million Bengalis by dividing them into two blocks. It was a master plan of Viceroy Curzon to destroy the nascent nationalism of which Bengal had become the nerve centre. The partitioning of the homogeneous Bengali speaking area led to outburst of public indignation all over Bengal. It was opposed by the various sections of the society. The officials, the educated Muslims and the Muslim peasantry of Bengal condemned the partition of Bengal from the outset. Even the Indian National Congress opposed this division and passed resolutions against it at its meetings.



SWADESHI MOVEMENT:-

The partition was a turning point in the history of Bengal. The birth of intense national feeling here caused reverberations throughout India. A strong wave of protest movements was launched in Bengal to pressurize the Government to annul the partition. The pledge to boycott foreign goods was taken. The formal proclamation of the Swadeshi Movement was made on 7th August 1905 in a meeting held at the Calcutta Town Hall. The boycott resolution was passed to show protest against the partition and to bring economic pressure on the British public. The 16th October 1905 was observed as the day of mourning throughout Bengal. All business establishments were closed on that day. Young men paraded the streets, singing the Vande Mataram song which became the theme song of the movement. In fact, Rabindranath Tagore's Swadeshi songs gave expression to the people's anguish and anger. On the same day two huge mass meetings---attended by more than 50,000 people----were addressed by Ananda Mohan Bose and Surendranath Banerjee. All these, naturally, caused the partition agitation to grow into the Swadeshi Movement which was carried on in different parts of the nation. It grew in strength under the

leadership of different leaders. Balagangadhar Tilak took the movement to different parts of India, particularly in Poona and Bombay and his famous epigram "Swaraj is my birth right and I will have it" had revolutionized the movement. The leaders in Punjab included Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh; while in Madras, Chidambaram Pillai made tours for the cause. Bipin Chandra Pal's tour of Madras Presidency and Aurobindo Ghosh's efforts gave impetus to the movement. The Calcutta session of the Congress held from 26 to 29 December 1908 under the Presidentship of Dadabhai Naoroji adopted the Vande Mataram song as the National song of India and the Swaraj or self-government as its goal. It was P. Anandacharlu who attended the session from Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh who introduced the Swadeshi resolution at this session.

In southern India, Madras was the centre from which ideas regarding Swadeshi spread to all the regions in the south. Samitis or associations were formed at many places to initiate and ignite national consciousness and spread of the ideals of Swadeshi. The Vande Mataram movement received new spirit and strength in Andhra and Madras, particularly due to the tour of Bipin Chandra Pal in 1907. Many positive developments took place in Andhra mainly due to his visit. One such thing was the emergence of national schools and colleges at various places in Andhra. They too recognized the need to encourage the indigenous industry. In 1906, an Industrial Association was started by the leading citizens in Madras to propagate the ideal of Swadeshi and for the sale of Swadeshi articles and a Swadeshi League was also started. During this period, some students were sent to Japan by these associations to receive industrial training in order to develop indigenous industries in this region. The Swadeshi supporters preached day in and day out about the importance of Swadeshi, encouraged establishment of Swadeshi stores, organized public meetings, supported and promoted indigenous industry and boycott of foreign goods.

As the movement was gaining strength day by day Lord Minto, the successor of Curzon adopted severe measures against the rising tide of the anti-British activities. In Lahore and Rawalpindi the situation grew very tense during 1907-1908. Even the Editors and Printers were

imprisoned in large number and the law known as the Colonization Bill was passed. Naturally, extremist activities increased in places like Punjab and Lahore. Lala Ljpat Rai and Ajit Singh were considered mainly responsible for this. Therefore, they were deported by the Government. There were protests against their arrest throughout the country. During 1907 and 1908 leaders like Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai, Aswinikumar Dutt and Ajit Singh were also deported and Tilak was given a six-year imprisonment. Of course, most of them were released soon. Similarly, protests were organized against the Seditious Meetings Act of 1907 which restricted the right of holding public meetings so as to curtail the movement. This was resented and protested by people throughout the country. There was also wide-spread hostility towards Europeans during this period. Giving of Vandemataram slogans, stone-throwing on the government institutions and property, and using of bad language when Europeans pass by were some of the things adopted by the Indians to express their anger and unhappiness about the British regime. This was happening more particularly in the south. When the Swadeshi and Boycott movements began to be effective and took different forms at different places, decisions were taken not to import foreign goods, and bonfires of foreign cloth were organized on 22 September 1908. For example, Subbannachari, a clerk in the Burma Oil Company at Anantapur of Andhra burnt publicly his shirt, cap and braces, demonstrating his intense indignation against the British goods. Similarly, the national spirited washermen refused to wash the millmade clothes. One such incident occurred near Chiguruvada, near Tirupati (in present Andhra Pradesh) when a washer man created history by refusing to wash the mill made clothes of a Brahmin of the village and even threatening to throw them into oven.

Around 1908, attempt was made by some, in places like Andhra, in organizing terrorist activities and in the production and use of bombs. There were rumours that several individuals were engaged in secret production of bombs. Though some efforts were made by the Bengali revolutionaries, terrorism did not take roots in Andhra region of the Madras Presidency. Darsi Chenchiah is the only Andhra who joined the

Gadar party of Lala Hardayal but did not remain a member throughout. By 1910, the Vande Mataram and Swadeshi movement began to lose its momentum. The extremists in the Congress like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo also began losing their hold over the movement. And, with the annulment of the partition of Bengal by the Government in 1911, the movement gradually disappeared for the time being until it took a new form under the title of the Home Rule Movement launched by Annie Besant.



IMPACT OF SWADESHI AND VANDEMATARAM MOVEMENT:-

Thus, the Vande Mataram and Swadeshi movement with its multi-faceted programmes and activities was able to draw, for the first time, large sections of society into active participation in modern nationalist politics and still larger sections into the ambit of modern political ideas. As Surendranath Banerjee pointed out, the year 1905 was one of the most memorable years in the history of Bengal. It would be no exaggeration to say that it was an epoch-making year, leaving a profound and far reaching influence on the public life of Bengal and the future of the country. The movement created greater national consciousness among the people. The Swadeshimism made a deep dent in the society as it provided an opportunity for reviving the

weaving industry. By a systematic boycott of the British fabrics and fostering a temper for Swadeshi, the national movement created tremendous demand for indigenous cloth. This was evident from London Times which contained a review of world trade of 1908. A great depression prevailed in the world which caused the closure of 540 mills in Manchester alone and 4,00,000 operative were out of work. Whereas in India, in the 1904, Bombay had to suffer a great deal; some mills were working only for a short period. However, since the birth of Swadeshi-boycott movement, the mills in and around Bombay had been working incessantly and in 1908 were unable to meet the demand. It was this movement that saved the Bombay mills in 1908 from disaster. Despite the depression throughout the whole manufacturing world, the Bombay mills were now safe in their position. This was mainly attributed to the Swadeshi-boycott movement in the country. The movement made deep inroads into the society. At many places the weavers tried to revive their traditional industry by acquiring latest technology in the field. In some places, people along with merchants boycotted foreign cloth and promoted Indian cloth. This occurred mainly due to the impact of Swadeshi campaign carried by the nationalists.

The social base of the Vandemataram movement was, however, confined to the urban educated middle class, more particularly to the professional classes such as lawyers, teachers etc., and the youth. It also attracted the artisan groups, especially the weaving community in the urban and rural areas and merchants and business classes in the urban centers. Apart from this, some landlords associated themselves with the national movement. The absence of women was conspicuous during this early stage of national movement. The movement was unable to make much headway in mobilizing the peasantry, especially its lower rungs since the goal of the movement did not emphasize the peasant demands and therefore the peasants did not actively join the struggle. Further, the awareness of the movement among the peasants was also limited. As regards the Muslim masses, only sporadic incidents of their participation could be noticed. The basic methods of propaganda adopted during this movement were conducting public meetings, writing slogans on walls, railway carriages and other public places, celebrating the birth

anniversaries of great patriots of the time, establishing reading rooms, slogan shouting and singing of nationalist songs in meeting and public places and bonfires of foreign cloth, minting of Swadeshi coins etc.



CONCLUSION:-

Swadeshi movement was not limited to Bengal, it started spreading outside. Bipin Chandra Pal said, “With the start of the Swadeshi movement at the turn of the century, the Indian nationalism took a major leap forward. Women, students and large section of the urban and rural population of Bengal and other parts of India became active in politics for the first time.” Lala Lajpat Rai’s ‘Young India’ what was done in Bengal found its echo in the rest of the country.” The movement spread to Madhya Pradesh (15 cities), Bombay Presidency (24 cities), Punjab (20 cities), Madras (13 cities). Even in Maharashtra, the idea of Swadeshi spread through Tilak’s Kesari.

The movement created economic pressure on the British. British trade faced immense losses. We saw different trading activities in Bengal. Bengal Landholding Association, Bengal Technical Institute, Banga Laxmi cotton Mills was created by Mohini Mohan Chakrabarty. Bengal Hosiery (1908-Abdul Sonan). Jamshedpur’s Tata, iron and steel company, Bengal National Bank, Cooperative Hindusthan,

National Insurance company, East Bengal River Steam service were swadeshi enterprises to name a few. In 1909, the Morley Minto reforms were finally passed through Indian Councils Act. In 1911, British shifted their capital from Bengal to Delhi and Bengal's partition plan was abolished. But the importance of Bengal as a capital reduced. Now the contradictions in Congress were clearly visible. Though Bengal partition plan was dismissed in 1911 yet it lost its unity, she could never achieve it back. Though the movement was not fully successful, in future it created a path for Gandhi's movement.

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DEPARTMENT: HISTORY

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TOPIC: Netaji and Congress- Conflict
And Controversies

NETAJI AND CONGRESS- CONFLICTS AND CONTROVERSIES



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I would like to express my gratitude to my Professor Dr. Shrimoyee Guha Thakurta as well as our Principal Ma'am and Vice Principal Sir who gave me a golden opportunity to do this project on the topic "Netaji and Congress- Conflicts and Controversies" which helped me in gaining my knowledge.

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4. Constructive Approach in Politics
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6. Conclusion

INTRODUCTION

Subhas Chandra Bose remained a Congressman all through his life. From the very childhood he had developed respect for the revolutionaries. During the days of his student life at Presidency College, Calcutta, he maintained regular contacts with the secret activities of a college. The Oaten affair and his subsequent rustication from the college clearly indicated the nationalist frame of his mind from the very beginning of his life and the courage with which he stood behind his fellow students.

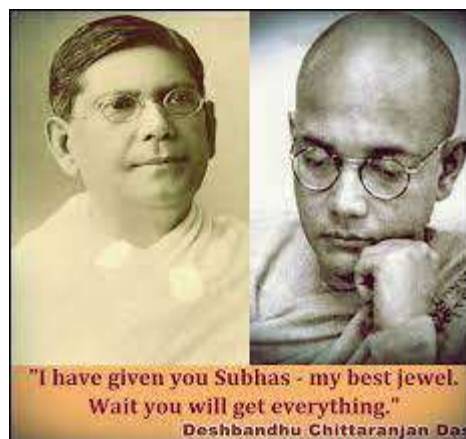


Subhas with friends in England, 1920.

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At his father's urging, Subhas Bose agreed to travel to England to prepare and appear for the Indian Civil Services (ICS) examination. He resigned from the ICS on 22nd April 1921 with a clear determination to join the Indian National Congress to serve the cause of the country under British yoke.



After landing in Bombay from London on 16th July, Subhas first met Gandhi but somehow was not impressed by him. Gandhi himself suggested to meet Chittaranjan Das in Calcutta for his guidance. Bose met C.R. Das and on his first meeting, he accepted him as his leader.

- Subhash Bose was drawn to the workings of the INC since he first met Chitta Ranjan Das in Calcutta in 1921. As a young member he enthusiastically took part in all Congress movements throughout the thirties and rose to the rank of the Congress President in 1938 and 1939. His time with the Congress however was not short of contestations and controversies.



Subhas with Gandhi at INC campaign

LIFE OF AN UNCOMPROMISING STRUGGLE:

From the very beginning of his life, Subhas Chandra Bose was against any kind of compromise with anybody against what he thought. In 1921, when Gandhi suddenly called off the Civil Disobedience Movement, Subhas along with C.R. Das and others were shocked. He wrote in his unfinished autobiography, *An Indian Pilgrim*: “We were angry when we learnt of this stoppage of our struggle at a time when we seemed to be consolidating our positions and advancing on all fronts.” He maintained this position of giving expression of his strong feelings against vacillations on the part of Gandhi and compromises made by him, all through his life. In the Calcutta Session of the Congress, in 1928, Bose jointly with Jawaharlal Nehru, fought against the move for the official resolution for complete independence.



Immediately, after his return from Europe in 1938, he started speaking of another world war, involvement of Britain in it and how to take advantage of it for the fight of freedom, a call for independence of the country. In his very short presidential address delivered at the Tripuri Session of Congress on 10th March 1939, he repeated it : “I must give clear and unequivocal expression to what I have been feeling for some time past, namely that the time has come for us to raise the issue of Swaraj and submit our national demand to the British Government. He continued “In my opinion, therefore, we should submit our national demand to the British Government in the form of an ultimatum and give a certain time-limit; if no reply is received within this period or if an unsatisfactory reply is received, we should resort to such sanction as we

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possess in order to enforce our national demand. The sanction that we possess in order to enforce our national demand. The sanction that we possess today is mass civil disobedience or Satyagraha. And the British Government today are not in a position to face a major conflict like an all-India Satyagraha for a long time”. However, Bose’s suggestion was not approved by the majority of the delegates at Tripuri.



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- For Bose, the seeking of re-election for the term for the office of the President of the Congress, in 1939, was not any personal reasons, it was giving leadership to the Congress for the struggle for Independence and against the so-called federal scheme of the British Government. Gandhi and other leaders of the then Right Camp opposed him for this re-election.



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Subhas Chandra Bose resigned from Congress Presidentship on 29th April 1939 but did not accept defeat. Immediately thereafter he formed the Forward Bloc, within the Congress, within the Congress, with the Congressmen who were willing to join him for “preparation for an anti-imperialist struggle”.

CHAMPION OF LEFT UNITY:

Bose tried from the late twenties to unite the forces of the Left within the Congress. The Left, in the Congress consisted of the organized sections of students, youths, peasants, workers, revolutionaries and the socialist. In the Congress session of 1928 these left forces were behind Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose in their demand for complete independence. Nehru was a leftist at that time but he was soon won over by Gandhi. But Bose could not be won over. When in 1934, the Congress Socialist Party was formed within the Congress, Bose felt enthusiastic about them. But soon he could realise that C.S.P. leaders like Nehru were not able to come out of the influence of Gandhi.

Bose could win the Presidential election for Tripuri Congress because all the left forces within the Congress at that time, including the Communists and the Congress Socialists were behind him. It was a straight fight between the Left

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and Right in the Congress, and the Left won the battle. Gandhi conceded his defeat, and more so defeat for all the policies he stood for. It was really a great show of left unity, although it was temporary gain. The resolution moved by Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant at the Tripuri Session directing Bose to form the Congress Working Committee on the advice of Gandhi could be passed because a major section of Left in the Congress i.e., the C.S.P. deserted Bose at Tripuri and supported the Pant Resolution. This became decisive, and this ultimately forced Bose to resign from the Presidentship of the Congress and to form a separate party, the Forward Bloc. And, thereafter, he was virtually expelled from the Congress.



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CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH IN POLITICS:

Subhas Chandra Bose was a father of economic planning in India. The new liberal vision, influenced by John M. Keynes, visualised the possibility of an active state intervention in the economy for the betterment of the conditions of the poor and the underprivileged people. „Tax the rich and protect the poor“ became the principal watchword in welfare economics, issuing out of a serious introspection by the liberals about the value of Laissez-faireism. This reveals how liberalism at that juncture was moving away from Laissez faireist ideologies. Therefore under the impact of Soviet planning and the new trends in liberal thought, leaders like Nehru and Bose began to hold out a completely different vision about how the nation state in future would put great stress on planning and welfare. With these objectives men with known socialist leanings including some labour leaders were brought within the National Planning Committee.

BOSE WAS 'OUSTED' FROM CONGRESS:

The re-election of Bose as the President of the Congress for the second term in 1939 defeating Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya was never accepted by Gandhi and his followers with grace. There was nothing wrong in seeking election for Congress Presidentship for the second term. By that time, Nehru was elected Congress President thrice and for two terms consecutively. But the Gandhites were determined not to accept Bose for the second term. Gandhi's reaction to Bose's victory was very sharp when he declared in a statement on 31st January 1939: "The defeat is more mine than his (Sitaramayya's)."



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What happened thereafter, and at Tripuri Session itself, and even after Tripuri was clear that Gandhi wanted the resignation of Bose from the Presidentship. And Bose, after having failed in his efforts for a compromise with Gandhi, ultimately resigned. The way Bose the whole situation with remarkable dignity in spite of strongest provocation from the other side drew the admiration from a man like Rabindranath Tagore.



Bose with Rabindra Nath Tagore.

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Bose was not included in the Working Committee formed by Rajendra Prasad, who was elected President of Congress after his resignation.

In 1939, the Congress practically expelled Bose when he protested against the passing of certain resolutions by the Working Committee that included the clause that no Congressman can organise satyagraha without the sanction of the Provincial Congress Committee. Bose organised a Protest Day against these resolutions. The Congress responded by removing him from the Presidentship of Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and disqualified him from holding any elective post within the organisation for the next three years. For Bose this was nothing short of expulsion from the Congress. And this resolution of the Working Committee was drafted by Gandhi himself.

In a statement issued on 19th August 1939, Bose welcomed this decision. He said : I welcome the decision of the Working Committee virtually expelling me from the Congress for three years.

- It was really Gandhi who master-minded the ouster of Subhas Chandra Bose from the Congress.



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CONCLUSION:

In spite of the expulsion Subhas Chandra Bose declared his deep sense of loyalty to the Congress.

Though Bose was ousted from Congress by Gandhi and others, he was full of respect for them. In the I.N.A. Bose named its Brigades after Gandhi, Nehru and Azad. In a broadcast from Azad Hind Radio on 6th July 1944, Bose addressed Gandhi: “Father of our Nation! In his holy war of India’s liberation we ask for your blessings and good wishes. Jai Hind!” Only for a man like Netaji Subhas Bose such magnomity was possible.

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1947 PARTITION AND THE BENGAL EXPERIENCE

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DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
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1947 PARTITION AND THE BENGAL EXPERIENCE

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INTRODUCTION

As the Indian independence movement gained momentum, Britain also lost her will to govern India. When Clement Attlee's new Labor administration came to power in July 1945, Lord Mountbatten was quickly appointed Governor-General of India with instructions to end colonial rule as soon as possible. He was appointed February 21, 1947. The independence struggle was led by the Indian National Congress, which had originally campaigned for increased Indian participation in governance. However, since 1905, full independence had become the only acceptable goal. The failed 1905 partition was a crucial catalyst in shifting Indian opinion away from limited self-governance towards complete independence.

THE TWO-NATION THESIS

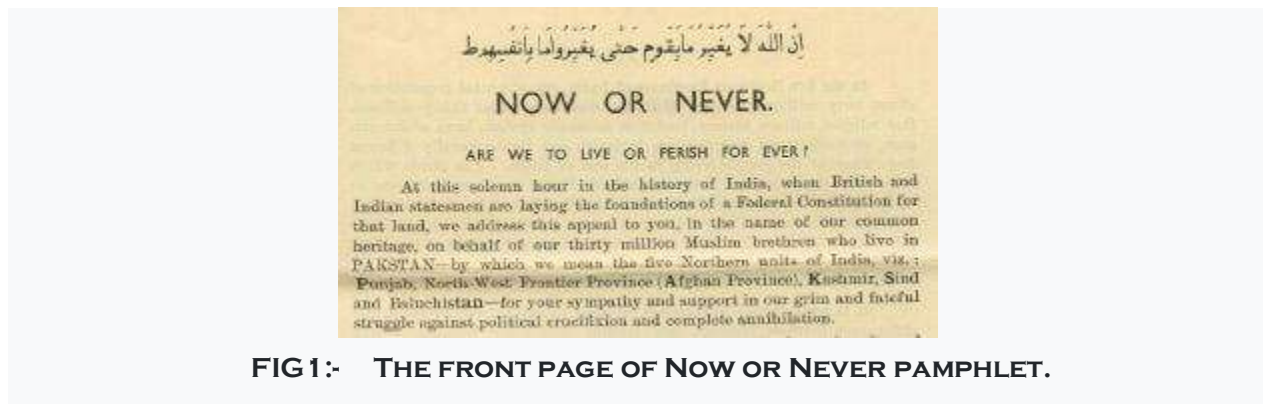


FIG 1:- THE FRONT PAGE OF NOW OR NEVER PAMPHLET.

However, as a result of partition, the Muslims in the East began to develop their own distinctive identity as a social-economic community, in distinction from their Hindu neighbors despite the fact that previously many Bengalis from both religions had favored Bengali nationalism. Although Partition was annulled in 1911, Muslims in the East had a taste of what it was like to dominate the legislature. In 1906, at Dhaka capital of what was still East Bengal, the Muslim League was formed with the explicit purpose of defending the interests of the Muslims of India should Hindus choose to undermine these, either in an India where Indians had a greater role in governance or in an independent India where they would constitute a majority. By 1916, the League and the INC agreed that separate constituencies should be established to protect communitarian interests. This became law in 1919. As a result, the number of Muslim seats increased in the Bengal Legislature. At the Muslim League conference in 1930, the philosopher-poet-politician, Muhammad Iqbal first proposed the idea of a separate state for Muslims. In that this would consist of majority-Muslim areas, which would have to be partitioned off from Hindu-majority areas, it took its cue from the 1905 Partition of Bengal. Some geographical specificity was given to the nation of a separate Muslim

state by Choudhary Rahmat Ali in "Now or Never; Are We to Live or Perish Forever?" (January 28, 1933) suggesting that a state called Pakistan could be formed from Punjab, Afghanistan Province, Kashmir, Sind, Baluchistan .

BENGALI: 1947 VOTE ON PARTITION



FIG2:- THE TWO HALVES OF PAKISTAN.

In 1932, a new communal award increased the number of Muslim seats in the legislature again. From 1937, the Muslims were a majority in the Legislature and formed the government until August 1947. Out of 250 seats, 119 were reserved for Muslims; in addition, they won other seats as well. The Muslim League, though, did not form the government until 1946, when Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy became chief minister. On August 16, 1946, the Muslim League's national leader, Muhammad Jinnah called a Direct Action Day after the INC had rejected the two-nation proposal. In Calcutta, this turned into a frenzy of Hindu-Muslim rioting in which upwards of 4,000 people, mainly Hindu, died. Suhrawardy has been accused of orchestrating this in an attempt to engineer the demographics to stack the cards even more in the Muslims' favor. Yet he was also proposing a single, sovereign state for all Bengalis and so was reaching out to attract Hindu support. Jinnah was not opposed to this plan and the British indicated some degree of sympathy. Some Muslims in the West did not regard Bengali Islam as pure enough, being too influenced by Hinduism and they did not really want Bengal included in the Muslim state. Later, Suhrawardy was briefly prime minister of Pakistan 1956 until 1957.



FIG3:- H. S. SUHRAWARDY, THE LAST PRIME MINISTER OF BENGAL, URGED A SEPARATE INDEPENDENT STATUS FOR THE WHOLE PROVINCE

By August 1947, Mountbatten had become persuaded that only by agreeing to Partition could he hope to see a speedy end to British rule. London determined that provincial legislature vote on whether to join India or Pakistan. In those provinces which would be partitioned, separate votes would be taken by each community. A majority in favor of partition from either section would determine the outcome. However, in the Muslim-majority east, the motion was not to "partition" but for the whole, united province to join Pakistan, for which 166 to 35 in voted in favor. However, the vote in the Western region favored partition by 58-21, with the West joining India and the East Pakistan.¹ Almost certainly due to the wedge that Britain's divide and rule policy had driven between Hindus and Muslims in Bengal, partition followed more or less along the same demographic lines as it had in 1905, except that only the Muslim Sylhet region of Assam (which had been part of East Bengal 1905-1911) voted in a referendum to join (by a majority of 55,578 votes) what was to become East Pakistan. Mountbatten did not allow the legislature to vote "for independent Bengal," because, he said, "then others would also want independence." Indeed, the Maharajah of Kashmir would also take the view that his state need join neither India or Pakistan. The British feared that the process of dealing with a series of provinces each demanding sovereignty would take too long and produce too many non-viable states.

THE ACT OF PARTITION

The majority of people in the province were not in favor of partition. The decision was carried by the vote of the East Bengal section. Partition, though, proceeded. It was agreed that the plan for partition would be drawn up by Cyril Radcliffe and accepted by all parties. The rationale for partition was that only without this division could ensure social cohesion and justice for both communities.

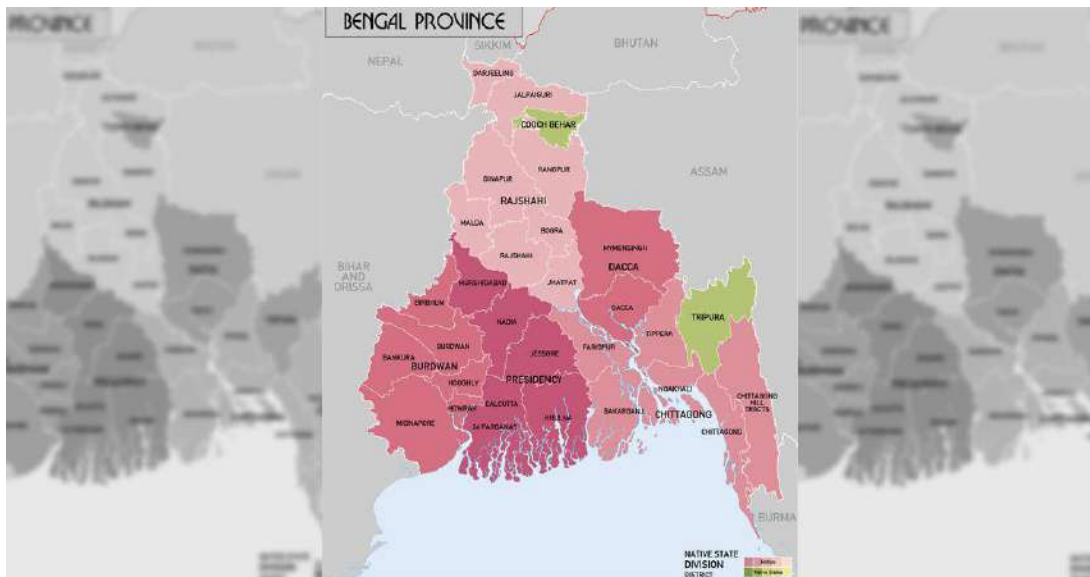


FIG4:- BRITISH INDIA'S UNITED BENGAL PROVINCE JUST BEFORE IT WAS PARTITIONED INTO WEST AND EAST BENGAL ON AUGUST 17, 1947

When India and Pakistan became sovereign, independent states on August 14, 1947 and August 15, 1947 respectively, one of the largest mass migrations in history began. Hindus and Sikhs on the Pakistani side migrated to India and Muslims on the Indian side migrated to Pakistan. Movement was both voluntary and enforced. Each side attacked the other in a frenzy of violence, causing Mahatma Gandhi to vow to fast even to death unless the violence ceased. Some three million people literally went missing. However, a substantial Muslim community remained in India, some twenty percent of the population. Muslims remained some twenty-five percent of the population of West Bengal and some thirty percent in East Bengal, now about fifteen percent. On the Indian-West Pakistani border, some 7.5 millions Hindus and Sikhs entered India and some 7 millions "crossed the other way." Less violence occurred in the East, arguably

because there, despite the Partition decision, "Bengali nationalism" still "crosscut the religious identities of Bengali Muslims and Hindus" and so reduced "the risk of generalized mass violence." While Bengali Hindus and Muslims did "move towards their co-religionists" in "the first two years after partition" these migrations "were either voluntary or relatively minor." In 1947, movement either way across the border may have been about a million but Chatterji says "no one knows precisely how many refugees went to India from East Bengal during this phase." She estimates that between 1947 and 1964, some 5 million Hindus left East Pakistan, and traces the cause to communitarian riots in different locations, triggered by various events. In 1964, the theft of a relic (a piece of Muhammad's hair by Hindus from a Kashmir mosque) was used to whip up anti-Hindu sentiment and some migrated at this time. However, says Novak, this type of violence was losing popular appeal as "secular parties emphasized social and economic needs in combination with appeals to Bengali solidarity in language and culture."

CONCLUSION

Edwards says that "the 1947 second partition of Bengal continues to baffle historians." Novak comments that "the spirit of the ... united Bengal movement continues to haunt the land." The poets of Bengal, Hindu and Muslim, affirmed the principle not only of cross-religious Bengali solidarity but of human solidarity. Although Bangladesh declared the Muslim Kazi Nazrul Islam as its national poet, it adopted Rabindranath Tagore's "Amar Shonar Bangla," written in 1906 as a rallying cry for proponents of annulment of Partition, as its the national anthem. Nazrul wrote, "We Are Two Flowers on the Same Stem We are two flowers on the same stem—Hindu-Mussulman. Muslim its pearl of the eye, Hindu it's life.



FIG5:- LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN DISCUSSES THE PARTITION PLAN WITH JAWAHARLAL NEHRU AND MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH

Mountbatten claimed that he did not go to India with a preconceived plan, However, he favored Partition from an early point because he became convinced that "Pakistan" was inevitable because of the "intransigence" of the two sides, especially of their leaders and that his own arrival on the scene was "too late to alter the course of events." Within two months of arriving in India, he took a draft partition plan with him back to London "ready to persuade the Cabinet that it was a workable scheme." If Britain had not wanted to leave India in haste, the Partition of Bengal might have been avoided, given the very real possibility that a viable third state could have been created. The issue of opening up a flood-gate of other provinces wanting independence too could have been dealt with as each situation arose. The possibility of a federation of states might also have been explored.

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FIG1:- The front page of Now or Never pamphlet.

https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/File:Now_or_never.jpg Cited on 5.7.2021

FIG2:- The two halves of Pakistan.

<https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/File:PAK1971.JPG> Cited on 5.7.2021

FIG3:- H. S. Suhrawardy, the last Prime Minister of Bengal, urged a separate independent status for the whole province Cited on 5.7.2021

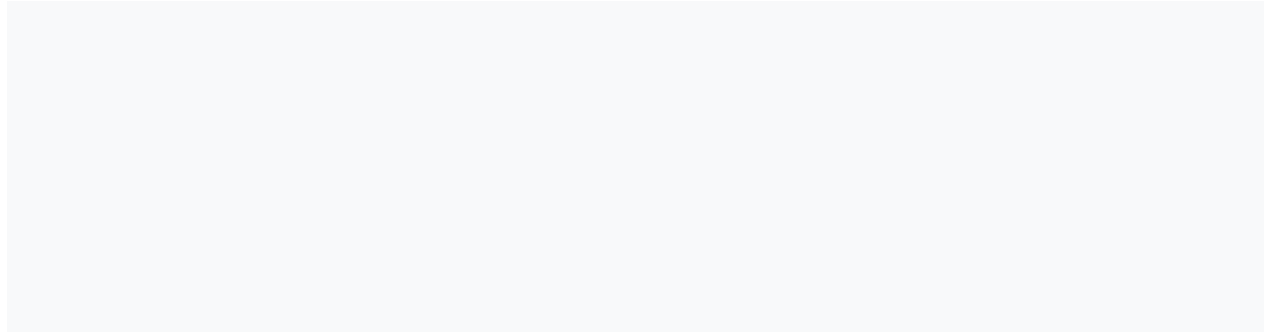
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Partition_of_Bengal_\(1947\)#/media/File:Suhrawardy_of_Bengal.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Partition_of_Bengal_(1947)#/media/File:Suhrawardy_of_Bengal.jpg) Cited on 5.7.2021

FIG4:- British India's united Bengal Province just before it was partitioned into West and East Bengal on August 17, 1947

<https://scroll.in/article/907754/why-did-british-prime-minister-attlee-think-bengal-was-going-to-be-an-independent-country-in-1947> Cited on 5.7.2021

FIG5:- Louis Mountbatten discusses the partition plan with Jawaharlal Nehru and Mohammad Ali Jinnah

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Partition_of_Bengal_\(1947\)#/media/File:Lord_Mountbatten_meets_Nehru,_Jinnah_and_other_Leaders_to_plan_Partition_of_India.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Partition_of_Bengal_(1947)#/media/File:Lord_Mountbatten_meets_Nehru,_Jinnah_and_other_Leaders_to_plan_Partition_of_India.jpg) Cited on 5.7.2021





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SEMESTER- VI

PAPER NAME - DSE A3

**TITLE - 1942 QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT -
BENGAL AS A CASE STUDY**

Quit India Movement - Bengal As a Case Study

Quit India Movement, 1942 an important event of the Indian freedom struggle, was the outcome of a confluence of anti-white fury. The Cripps Mission, with its vague proposal of a post-war dominion status for India, a constitution-making body elected by provincial legislatures, and the native states provincial opt out clause, the immediate participation of Indian leaders in war effort but the retention of the control of Indian defence by the British satisfied none and threatened to Balkanise the Indian Subcontinent.

The retreat of the British from Malay, Burma and Singapore, leaving their dependants to fend for themselves, the indescribable plight of the Indians trekking back home from these places, the racial ill-treatment meted out to Indians by white soldiers stationed here and there in India, the 'Scorched earth' policy pursued by the British in Bengal to resist probable Japanese invasion which resulted in the commandeering of all means of communicating, war-time price rise, black marketing and profiteering - all these contributed to the creation of an anti-white fury. Above all there was the attempt of the British bureaucracy right from the outbreak of the war for a wholesale crack down on the Congress on the pattern of 1932.

The early morning roundup of Congress leaders on 9 August 'unleashed an unprecedented and country-wide wave of mass fury'. And the wave engulfed the Bengal cities, particularly the bigger ones. There were three broad phases of the movement. The first was predominantly urban and includes hartals, strikes and clashes with the police and army in most major cities. All these were massive and violent but quickly suppressed.

The second phase of the movement started from the middle of August. Militant students fanned out from different centres, destroying communications and leading peasant rebellion in Northern and western Bihar, Eastern UP, Midnapore in Bengal, and pockets in Maharashtra, Karnataka and Orissa. A number of short-lived local 'national governments' were also set up.

The third phase of the movement started from about the end of September and was characterized by terrorist activities, sabotage and guerrilla warfare by educated youths and peasant squads. Parallel national governments functioned at Tamruk in Orissa. All the three phases of the movement were crushed by brutal atrocities including the use of machine guns from the air.

A good deal of controversy exists about the nature of the movement - whether it was a 'Spontaneous revolution' or an 'organised rebellion'. The famous 'Quit India' resolution passed by the Bombay session of the AICC of and on 8 August 42 followed up its call for 'mass struggle on non violent lines on the widest possible scale', 'inevitably' under Gandhi, with the significant rider that if the congress leadership was removed by arrest, every Indian who desires freedom and strives for it must be his own guide. The Wardha working committee resolution of 19 July had also introduced an unusual note of social radicalism 'the princes', 'Jagirdars', 'Zamindars' and propertied and moneyed classes derive their wealth and property from the workers in the fields and factories and elsewhere, to whom eventually power and authority must belong.

At the crucial working committee session of 27 April - May, Gandhi's hard-line was backed by a combination of right-wingers like Patel, Rajendra Prasad and Bipabini and the socialist like Achyut Patwardhan and Narendra Dev. Jawaharlal was initially hesitant, but ultimately joined the queue and only the communist opposed the Quit India resolution.

During and after the Quit India upsurge, the British documents like Tottenham's Report painted the whole outburst as a 'deliberate fifth columnist conspiracy', intending to strengthen the Axis powers. The interpretation not only ignored the consistent anti-fascist international stance of the Congress throughout the 1930s, but also made historical travesty of the facts that being arrested in the early morning of 9 August the Congress leaders could hardly lead the outburst and that the Quit India resolution was also remarkably vague about the details of the coming movement. Far from ruling out further negotiations, the whole thing may conceivably have been an exercise in brinkmanship and a bargaining counter which was followed by an explosion only because the British had decided on a policy of wholesale repression. Despite strenuous efforts, the British failed to establish their case that the Congress before 9 August had really planned a violent rebellion.

The movement was, in reality 'elemental and largely spontaneous'. It was sparked off by a variety of factors and of an expectation that British rule was coming to an end. Bureaucratic high-handedness and provocation worsened the situation. Financial

Losses incurred in Malay and Burma indeed induced sections of Indian business community to give some covert support to a movement (even if violent) for a short while.

The real picture was that the removal of established leaders left younger and more militant cadres to their own initiative, and gave greater scope to pressure from below. Amery's slander that the Congress had planned attacks on communications and sabotage boomeranged with a vengeance, for many believed that this really had been the Working Committee's plan. In any case, in a primary hegemonic struggle as the Indian National Movement was, preparedness for struggle cannot be measured by the volume of immediate organisational activity but by the degree of hegemonic influence that the movement has acquired over the people.

The participation of labour was short-lived and limited but there was certainly considerable covert upper class and even Indian high official support to secret nationalist activities in 1942. Such support enabled activists to set up a fairly effective illegal apparatus, including even a secret radio station under Usha Mehta for three months in Bombay.

Unlike in the civil Disobedience days, middle class students were very much in the forefront in 1942, whether in urban clothes, as organisers of sabotage, or as motivators of present rebellion. What made the movement so formidable, however, was the massive upsurge of the peasantry in certain areas, particularly in Bihar.

Indeed, that 1942 ~~clearly~~ clearly surpassed all previous Congress led movements in its level of anti-British radicalism possibly reduced internal class tensions and social radiation. The characteristic feature of this movement was that private property was less attacked and even no-revenue was not as comprehensive as in 1930-34.

The paradox why the people turned violent when the Congress insisted on non-violence may be solved in the following manner. In the struggle, there were many who refused to use or sanction violent means and confined themselves to the traditional weaponry of the Congress. But many of those, including many staunch Gandhians, who used 'violent means' in 1942, felt that the peculiar circumstances warranted their use. Many maintained that the cutting of telegraph wires and the blowing up of bridges were

all right as long as human life was not taken, but they admitted that they could not square the violence they used, with their belief in non-violence, although they did resort to it in most trying circumstances and in self-defence.

Gandhi refused to condemn the violence of the people because he saw it as a reaction to the much bigger violence being perpetrated on the state. It is held that Gandhi's major objection to violence was that its use prevented mass participation in a movement. For in 1942, Gandhi had come round to the view that mass participation would not be restricted as a result of isolated violence. Gandhi had come to realise that the kind of non-violence he had wanted his countrymen to inculcate and practise, could not be achieved and so towards the end of his career he had kept some amount of space for the participants to follow their own line of action. His patience had been dragged to such extremes that he felt that even at the cost of some risks, he should ask his people to resist slavery. Although Gandhi was now in an unusually militant mood, at no stage was he prepared to forsake his faith in non-violence. He would have liked the movement to be non-violent but was prepared

to run the risk of unrestricted mass action even if that meant civil war. He thus said, 'Let them entrust India to God or, in modern parlance, to anarchy'.

The Quit India movement was thus not a controlled volunteer movement like Gandhi's previous movements of 1920-22 and 1930-34. It was not conceived as a traditional *Satyagraha*. It was to be a 'fight to the finish', an 'open rebellion', 'short and swift' which could very well plunge the country into a 'conflagration': foreign domination was to be ended whatever the cost.

Scholars have analysed the question of 'Spontaneity' and 'preparedness' in terms of action and reaction. The arrest of the leaders made the people aghast and took them completely unaware. Strikes and demonstrations followed and the very size of the crowds made the Government 'nervous'. Tension bred tension and led to confrontation. The people had no guidance, the leaders were either behind the bars or underground. Passions were ranging high. Individuals and groups interpreted the situation to the best of their understanding and acted, as they thought best. The continuing police repression and 'ordinance

Raj' further inflamed the feelings of the people. There had been no congress call for civil disobedience. 'Therefore what started as individual acts of angry defiance, soon swelled into a movement, and the movement into a revolt.'

The gravity and extent of the Quit India movement by Linlithgow's own admission may be compared to those of the Revolt of 1857. It failed because an unarmed people without leaders and proper organization could not stand for long before the mighty strength of an imperial government in power. Yet the significance of the great movement lay in the fact that it placed the demand for independence on the immediate agenda of the national movement. After Quit India, there could be no turning back. Any future negotiations with the British Government could only be on the manner of transfer of power. Independence was no longer a matter of bargain and this became amply clear after the war. (Ranjit Roy).

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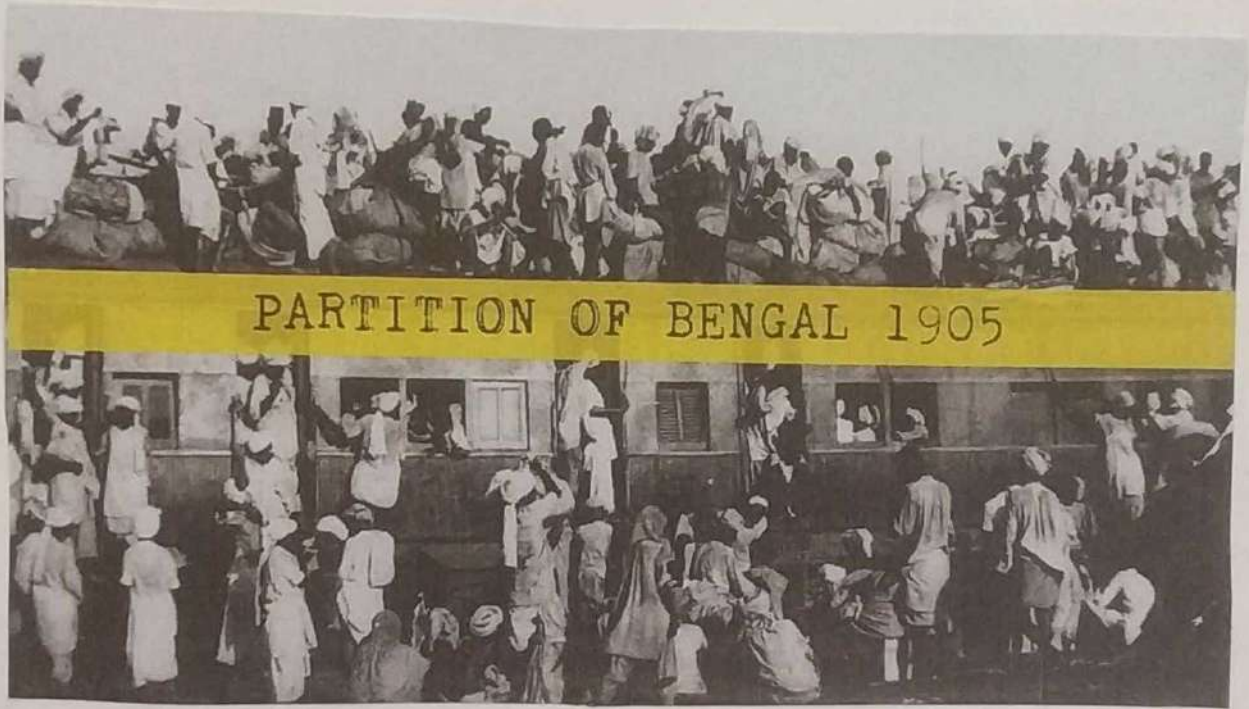
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বিভাগের সময়; ১৯০৬

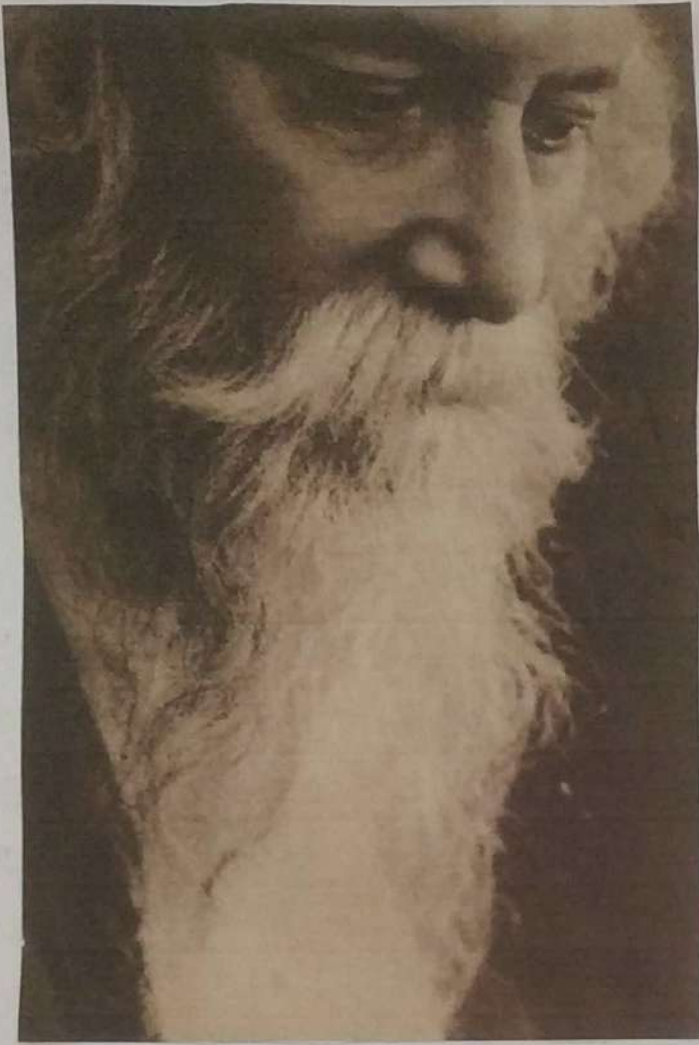
২০০৬ সালের বঙ্গভঙ্গন ও স্বদেশি আন্দোলনের
 সঞ্জন সঞ্জন ভারতের স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের ইতিহাসে গুরুত্ব
 পূর্ণ অধ্যায়ের সূচনামাত্রই বঙ্গ বঙ্গভঙ্গন বিরোধী ব্যপকট ও
 স্বদেশি আন্দোলন ভারতের স্বাধীনতা - অধ্যয়ন জুড়ে
 বর্ধিত ও দায় প্রাপ্ত করে। সঞ্জনের প্রায় প্রতিটি পুরের
 মানুষেরই গৃহে বিদ্রোহী স্বাধীনতা হয়েছিল স্বাধীন - মতের প্রবর্তন
 গৃহে আন্দোলন চড়িয়ে পড়েছিল গৃহে আন্দোলনকে জয়প্রসার
 নবস্বপনকে নেতৃত্বের স্বাধীনতা ও বিশ্বাসযোগ্যতা প্রদান
 প্রার্থন। মানুষকে স্বাধীনতা পুর তুলেছিল জটিল জনসন
 তাঁর "Localities Province and Nations" প্রবন্ধে চিত্রিত
 গৃহে আন্দোলনের প্রধান নেতারা ছিলেন মনুজো বুদ্ধিজীবী
 স্নেহী মনুজো গৃহে প্রধান সৈনিক ছিল দায়ভন ড. অক্ষয়
 বন্দোপাধ্যায় তাঁর "The Namasudra Movement in Bengal"
 স্মৃতিতে প্রবন্ধে চিত্রিত স্বদেশি আন্দোলনের অধিনায়ক
 নেতা ছিলেন উচ্চ জাতিগুরু হিন্দু জমিদার

ড. সুমিত্র সরকার তাঁর 'The Swadeshi

Movement in Bengal' স্নেহে স্বদেশি আন্দোলনের চারটি
 ধারা - অসহযোগিতা করেছেন। স্নেহমত উচ্চারণ করা চিন্তাধারা
 বা নবস্বপনকে দ্বিতীয়ত জটিলমূলক স্বদেশিচ্ছতা তৃতীয়ত
 ব্যপকট গৃহে Passive Resistance বা নিষ্ক্রিয় প্রতিরোধ
 চতুর্থত; সন্ধাপ্রবর্তী বিপ্লবী আন্দোলনের ধারা ভারতীয়
 লর্ড লোর্ডনেশ (১৮৯৯ - ১৯০৬) ডায়েরী গৃহে প্রবর্তার
 উদ্দেশ্যে ছিল 'জয়প্রসার পরিষদ' মোটে 'বাংলায়' গৃহে
 রাষ্ট্রপতি দলে মোটে ভারত রাষ্ট্রনৈতিক স্ফীতলাভ
 চালানোর লক্ষ্যে হিম্মত প্রকাশ করেছিলেন লক্ষ্য হিম্মত



महाराज राणा जगत सिंह



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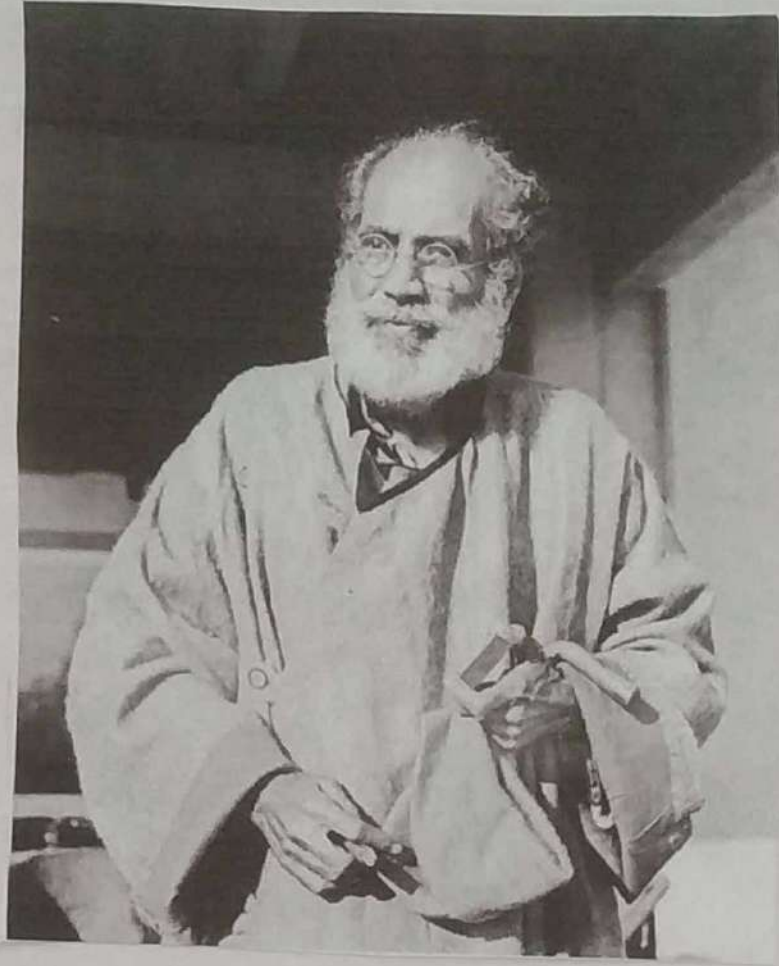
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বিভ্রাভঙ্গার অপর সন্দেশ - চিত্র



বসন্তের খোঁজের পর স্বদেশী চরণে
 প্রসন্ন স্বদেশী বস্ত্র ও নিত্য প্রসঙ্গীক
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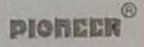
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চিত্রমিলনী

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EXPT. NO.

২০০৫-০৬ সাল স্পেণ্ডেচুৰে কমেণ্ডটি স্বাক্ষর: অক্ষয় কুমার বিল্লিতি
 কোম্পানীৰ দ্বাৰা "শাচ" নামে প্ৰতিবেদন জুৰি পঢ়ি জিয়াইছিল
 সমস্যাটোৰ প্ৰতিনিধিত্ব [মিষ্টিত, অজ্ঞাত] তথাপি
 নিবেদনেৰে পৰিষ্কাৰে আত্ম নিৰ্ভৰশীলতা ও ব্ৰটেল স্কুলক
 প্ৰতিবেদনৰ উপৰি জুৰি আবেদন কৰে তেওঁ স্কুলৰ
 দিল নিৰ্ভৰশীল ও আত্ম আৰম্ভণীৰ 'বিভাগীয়' রাজনীতি
 বৰ্তন কৰে প্ৰতিবেদন মিলন জাতীয় মিলন আৰু প্ৰাধিকার-
 মানেৰ ও প্ৰজ্ঞাটোৰ সৰ্ব্বমুখী আত্মপ্ৰকাশ্যতা ব্ৰটি
 প্ৰকাশ্য হোৱাছিল প্ৰধানমন্ত্ৰীক বাৰ বা নীলবৰ্তন প্ৰজ্ঞাৰ
 ব্যৱস্থায়ক হোৱাত প্ৰতীক্ষিত হোৱাৰপৰি
 'জন ও জন প্ৰাধিকার' - তেওঁ আৰু প্ৰকাৰ উপৰে
 বৰীন্দ্ৰনাথৰ লেখে প্ৰতিবেদন প্ৰকাশ্য হোৱাত ২০০৪ সালে
 চিন্তিত হিন্দু প্ৰকাশ্য বা জনপ্ৰকাশ্যৰ স্কুলখন
 পৰ্য্য দিলে প্ৰকাশ্য ব্ৰটেল স্কুলক কাজেৰে প্ৰতিবেদন
 তিনি ব্ৰটিপৰিষ্কাৰে পঢ়ে হোৱাছিল প্ৰকাশ্য প্ৰকাশ্য বন্ধু ও
 প্ৰকাশ্য নাম ব্যাৰী ৬০ কোৰ্টে ১৬ হাজাৰ মানুহে
 জনপ্ৰকাশ্য বন্ধু হিচাপে দিলে দুই হুটি প্ৰকাশ্য কৰে
 - প্ৰকাশ্য পৰিষ্কাৰে দুই প্ৰকাশ্যৰে জনে তোমা ২০
 ৫০,০০০ টোকা

বিপিনচন্দ্ৰ চান্দেৰ 'New India' প্ৰকাশ্য হোৱাৰ
 'Bandematram' প্ৰকাশ্যৰ ইণ্ডিয়াৰ 'প্ৰকাশ্য পৰিষ্কাৰ'
 প্ৰকাশ্য পৰিষ্কাৰে জন প্ৰকাশ্যৰ কাজেৰে
 প্ৰকাশ্য হোৱা হাজাৰ কৰে ব্ৰটিপৰিষ্কাৰে প্ৰকাশ্য মিলন
 বিকাশ্য ব্যৱস্থায়ক প্ৰকাশ্যৰ 'কাজেৰে' 'প্ৰকাশ্য ও
 নিৰ্ভৰশীলতা বন্ধুৰ' কৰিষ্কাৰে ব্ৰটিপৰিষ্কাৰে



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WEEKLY

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VOL. XXXI No. 22

NEW DELHI: SUNDAY, AUGUST 22, 1954

PRICE TWO AND A HALF ANNAS

NEHRU URGES REVIVAL OF SWADESHI MOVEMENT

Export Of Quality Goods Stressed

FOUNDATION OF I.S.I. BUILDING LAID

NEW DELHI, September 22.—Prime Minister Jawahar Lal Nehru today laid the foundation stone of the Indian Standards Institute building. He was laying the foundation-stone of a building for the Indian Standards Institute.

The I.S.I., which has a staff of 20 technical officers and 100 other staff, has a wide membership at present.

Statuettes Of Gandhiji

Nehru Condemns Inartistic Work

Mr. Nehru today expressed his disapproval of the inartistic work of the Statuettes of Gandhiji.



Mr. Nehru laying the foundation stone of the building of the Indian Standards Institute in Delhi on September 22. Mr. V. T. Krishnamachari is also in the picture.

EARLY SUBMISSION | Delhi Gambling Act To Be

Early Hearing Of Petition

Labla's Letter To Counsel

ALLAHABAD, Sept. 22.—The High Court today agreed to hear the petition filed by the Government of Uttar Pradesh for the cancellation of the order of the Government of India regarding the appointment of Labla as a Judge of the High Court at Allahabad.

The Government of India had sought the cancellation of the order on the ground that Labla was not qualified to hold the office of a Judge of the High Court at Allahabad.

The Government of Uttar Pradesh had sought the cancellation of the order on the ground that Labla was not qualified to hold the office of a Judge of the High Court at Allahabad.

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Dulles's Message To French Premier

BID TO SAVE E.D.C. CONFERENCE

WASHINGTON, Sept. 22.—Secretary of State Dulles today sent a message to the French Premier, Charles de Gaulle, in which he urged the French to accept a compromise which would allow the conference to collapse and with it the whole concept of a united Europe.

The message, a 10-minute broadcast, was the first since the E.D.C. treaty was signed in Rome in 1952.

The E.D.C. treaty was the first step towards the creation of a common market for Europe.

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सर्वोच्च न्यायालय द्वारा - भारतीय संविधान -
- 2014 -
Times

বিভিন্ন তিনি পরিচালনা করেছিলেন অসামরিক
 আন্দোলন আন্দোলন রাজকুড়ি 'সামাজিক
 বয়স 3 অক্ষয় সূত্রাঙ্ক' নামে ২০০৭ সালে ২০০৯ সন
 পর্যন্ত প্রায় পরিচালিত হয়ে 'বীরটি' নামে দিয়ে প্রথম
 দিন প্রতিস্থাপন করণকারী আন্দোলন সালে স্বতন্ত্র 3
 অন্যভাবে দিন আক্ষয়ক নিউর বীর সালে সূত্র
 ভারতীয় জাতীয় কংগ্রেস লেডিং ডাক

সেই দিন ২০০৬ সন 'বেলাবদ্য অর্ধবৎসর' হয়ে
 অর্ধবৎসর প্রতীকিত্ব করে জি. কে. জোয়াল
 ২০০৬ সালের সূত্রিত বিরমান সংগঠনের প্রতীকিত
আবদুলায় - সালে : আসসা ৫০ সালে ২০০ বছর মা
 সুরে পরিচালিত হয়ে মহাবিদ্যালয় বনুদক্ষ তা দু'মাসের
 সূত্রিত করেই সুর সঙ্গল সুর বিধাটে জাতীয় আন্দোলন
 মা' নাম স্বতন্ত্র আন্দোলন সমগ্রবক্ষায় 'নোর ডী'
 'সুর' প্রতীকিত্ব ডাকন চোঁচনা করেন ভারতীয়
 জাতীয় কংগ্রেসের অন্য 'সুক্রবাজ্য' সিঃ বা টেক্সন অবস্থায়
 সুর স্বস্বায়ত বা সূত্রিত 'সরপক্ষী 3 চরপক্ষী' সুর
 সুরস্বায়ত্ব দিন বিসেট করে আন্দোলনের সুর 3
 সূত্রাঙ্ক জোয়াল চরস্বয় মা' চরস্বয় পরিচালিত
 সূত্র ২০০৭ সালের কংগ্রেস সূত্র অর্ধবৎসর
 সূত্রিত কংগ্রেস ডেড সেন

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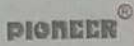
সালের সুর বাসমা অক্ষয় লেডিং
 আন্দোলন ২০০৬ সুর সুরস্বয় বেদি সূত্র বিস্কার করেদিন
 চরপক্ষী চরপক্ষী' হয়ে টেক্সন 3 পরিচালনা
 বাসমা সূত্রিত অন্য অক্ষয়স দিন 'Mass Mobilization'

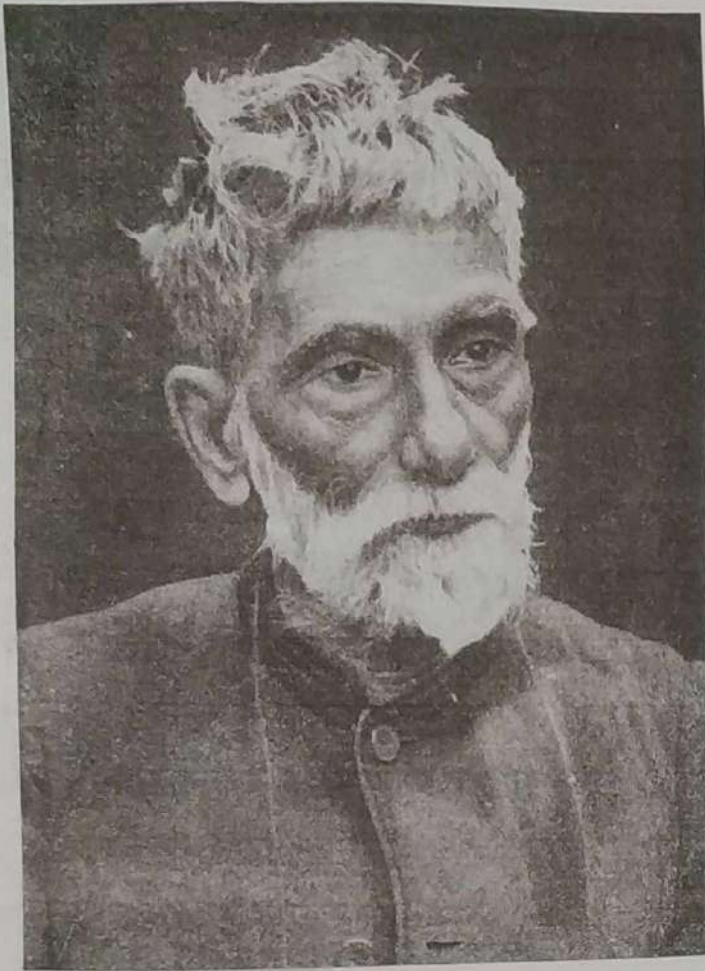


— ১৯৫৬ খ্রি সোমবারে - মহিলারা গের উদ্দেশ্যে -

1- ପ୍ରଥମ ବିଲେଇ ବନ୍ଧୁ ବର୍ଜନ ଓ ଜନ ସମାଜ ସେଲୁଲୋ ମାଡାଲୋ
 ବିଲେଇ - ପର୍ଯ୍ୟ ବିଲେଇ କାଶି ଡାକ୍ତର ସୁଲୋ ସାମ୍ରାଜ ମାଲେଟିଂ -
 ପ୍ରଥମେ ବ୍ୟୁଲାର ମତ୍ତଳ ଉନ୍ନତ ସୁଲୋ ଡାକ୍ତର ବାଟେ ଜାଣି ଦେଇ
 ହୁଏ ଡାକ୍ତର ସୁଲୋ ପୁଅ ନରାଂ ଓ ମହାପାତ୍ର ସାହିବୁର ବ୍ୟୁଲାର
 ହାତେ ଡାକ୍ତର ସୁଲୋ ବିଲେଇ ହୁଡ଼ି ଓ ବାସନାମନ
 ବ୍ୟୁଲାର ବର୍ଜନ ଡାକ୍ତର ବାସନାମନ ଉପାଦାନ ଡାକ୍ତର
 ବିଲେଇ ଡାକ୍ତର କାଶି 'ସୁଲୋ' ନାମକ ବିଲେଇ ଚିନିତେ
 ହେବି ସାମ୍ରାଜୀ ଦିଏ ସୁଲୋ ଡାକ୍ତର ବାସନାମନ ନା
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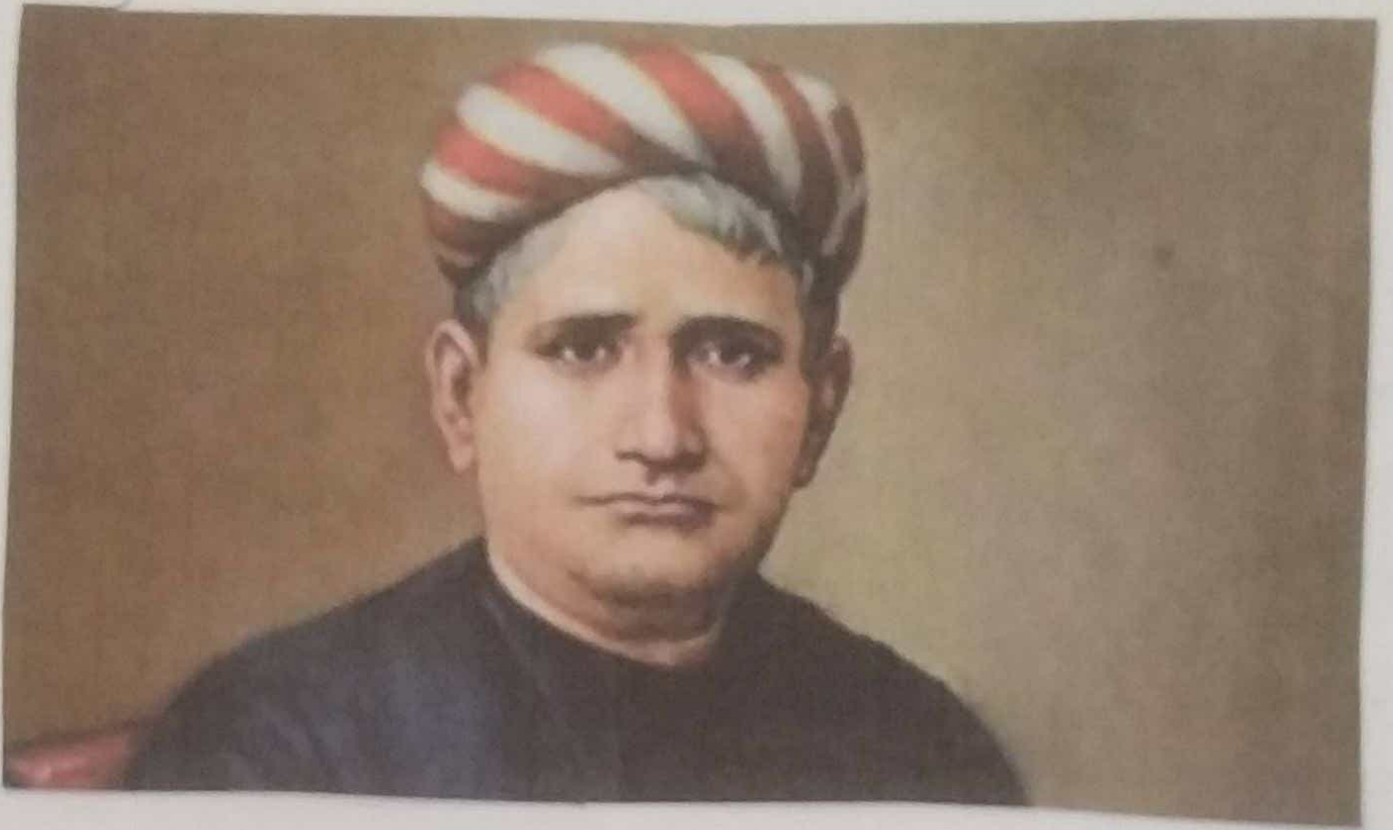
শ্রীমান বক্র বাহা



শ্রীমান বক্র বাহা



—दिशेकुलमल बापु—



— बद्धि म ठ न्द्र — च ष्टो पार्श्वीयः —

অনুপ্রাণিত ব্রাহ্মীরাষ্ট্রী এ কলিকটনিগ্ৰে অৰ বহানত
 জাতীয়তাৰাষ্ট্রীতঃ জায়ে অনুপ্রাণিতঃ উপস্থ হায়ে চাৰিত্ৰেছিল
 স্মৰণ জান আশত জনপ্ৰিয় মেহে অৰণ্ডে লেখা সুবীক্ষিতাৰ্য
 হৰ 'আম্ভাৰ সোনাৰ বাঢ়া' 'জানটি পৰবৰ্ত্তিফালে
 বাঢ়ালাদেশৰ দুৰ্গি আন্দোলনতে অনুপ্রাণিত কৰেছিল অৰ;
 ২০০২ সালে বাঢ়ালাদেশৰ জাতীয় প্ৰাণীত গিম্বে অহন কৰা
 হুপ দেহেমিৰ সৰবে 'লোকপ্ৰাণীত' 'পল্লী বীতি' '৩
 জীবিতান' হিন্দু '৩ মুসলমান স্মৰণুলোতে সুবৰ্ণ জনপ্ৰিয়
 ছিল প্ৰাণীত হুপ চশিতাৰ হুপ স্মৰণ মুসলমান-তঃ
 লেখা 'চৌধুৰীৰ স্মৰণ' '৩ সত জাতীয় কৰ্মক্ষেমাৰ
 স্মৰণ মিল্মতলাৰ লেহে অৰনিক্তাৰ্য চাৰুৰ জাতীয়
 মিল্মতলাৰ 'টপ' 'চিক্ৰেবিধান মুজিব' ন্যাচাৰালিন্দাৰ
 আৰ্ৰিবাতে হেহে স্মৰণ স্মৰণ '৩ অহন্যৰ
 চিনতলাৰ স্মৰণ হিমছ' প্ৰতিহুপ লেহে অনুপ্রাণিতালা
 প্ৰচেষ্টা অ নকলান বহু ২০০৭ সালে প্ৰাণিত
 'ইন্ডিভাৰ' স্মাৰ্হিট অৰ 'চিৰিমেটাল আৰ্ট' '৩
 প্ৰথম বৃত্তিটি পেৰেছিলে ন বিজ্ঞানেতঃ লেহে জনচীম বন্ধ
 বহু প্ৰাণীত বাপ '৩ অন্যান্য মৌলিক স্মৰণাৰ
 লেহে' পশ্চিমতঃ দুৰ্গিটা পালন কৰেছিলে ন;
 তাঁদেৰ স্মৰণা স্মৰণ সুশিৰীতঃ প্ৰাণীত পেৰেহে
 দেহেমি আন্দোলনে: স্মিগততাৰ দিন আনক
 অৰ্য্যক অমলম নিৰাচী হৰ; সুমিত অৰ্জাৰ টপে
 স্মনে কৰে ন মে সুব্ৰহ্মাণ স্মৰণীত নিৰীতনেৰ দাণ
 স্মৰণ ২০০৭ '৩টি আন্দোলনেৰ ব্যুত্ৰাণ জাৰন
 বিক্ৰমতন কৰা মাৰ্গ ন, সুমিত অৰ্জাৰ '৩ স্মৰণ



"Bengal united is a power; Bengal divided will pull in several different ways" – HH Risley, British administrator

On July 20, 1905, the decision to partition Bengal was announced by Lord Curzon



Bengal was reunited in 1911 to appease the Bengalis, only to be partitioned again in 1947 to form East Pakistan, which became Bangladesh in 1971

PARTITION OF BENGAL

Undivided Bengal had an area of 189,000 sq miles (as large as France), a population of nearly 8 crores, and a gross revenue of ₹113 lakhs

The partition took place on **Oct 16, 1905**



It was supposed to reduce administrative pressures as well as **quell the Indian Independence Movement**



Bande Mataram and **Amar Sonar Bangla** became anthems of the protest against the move



বঙ্গভঙ্গের বিতর্কিত তত্ত্ব



— অচমি মোকালমে; চৰঙ্গপণ্ডাৰ ৩
উদ্ভব হুয়েছিল বিলিান চন্দ্র ফাৰ্গুসন
স্বাৰ্ভাঙ্গ—



- ୧୯୫୬ ମସିହାରେ ଶ୍ରୀମତୀଙ୍କର ଶରଣାଗତ୍ୟ ଉପରେ
- ୧୯୫୬ ମସିହାରେ ଶ୍ରୀମତୀଙ୍କର ଶରଣାଗତ୍ୟ ଉପରେ
ଉଲ୍ଲେଖ କରାଯାଇଛି

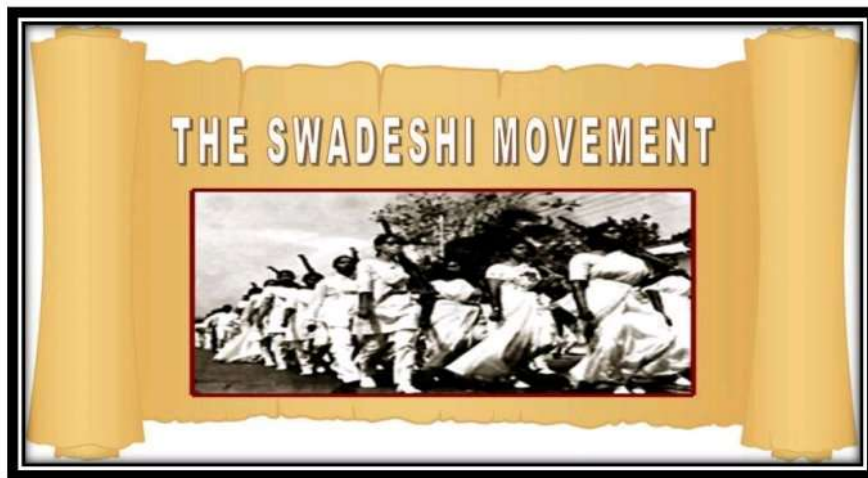
ঃ স্বাধীনতা সঙ্গ্রাম ঃ

- বন্যোপার্জিত হ্রদে মলমিশ্রিত জলে পীঠস্থান ও তারপর গুবিমেটে 'স্বাধীনতা সঙ্গ্রাম' কলকাতা ২০০৬
- চন্দ্র বিদ্যানন্দ এবং অন্যান্যদের ভারতের স্বাধীনতা সঙ্গ্রাম ২৮৫৭-২৯৪৭, ফোর্সি বসিচ গুরু জেন্ড কলকাতা ২৯৯৪
- হিন্দী অক্ষর স্বাধীনতা সঙ্গ্রাম ভারতের জাতীয় কংগ্রেস ২৮৮৫-২৯৪৭, আনন্দ পাবলিশার্স কলকাতা ২০০২
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DSE-A3- TUTORIAL

TOPIC- THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT IN BENGAL- **PATTERNS AND FEATURES**



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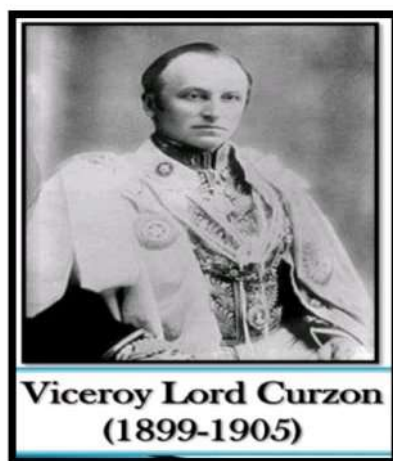
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The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal- Patterns and Features

Introduction

Bengal and the Bengali made a major contribution in the Indian National Movement. The intellectual class of Bengal had both the skill and the intellect to lead the movement. Because of this, Gopal Krishna Gokhale said, “What Bengal thinks today, India will think tomorrow.” Bengal’s progress in the national movement and nationalism was inevitable and in order to weaken it, Lord Curzon announced the Bengal Partition in 1905. To protest against the Curzon declaration of partition, began the Swadeshi movement.



1. **Viceroy Lord Curzon- who announced the Bengal Partition in 1905.**

The Swadeshi Movement of Bengal (1905-1908) is seen as an important historical event in the episodic narrative of the Indian Nationalist Movement, which takes the story forward to its eventual climax in 1947. The subsequent unification of Bengal in 1911, came to be regarded as a maker of the movement's success. In this project I'm going to discuss about the patterns and features of the Swadeshi Movement in Bengal.

Partition of Bengal

On 19th July, 1905, the British Government of India announced that the Bengal Presidency would be divided into two which effect from 16th October, 1905. The outward argument in favour of this was administrative consideration, lightening the administrative burden upon Bengal. But, the real motive was to curb the growth of national feeling in the politically advanced Bengal by driving a wedge between the Bengali speaking Hindus and the Muslims and destroying the solidarity of 78 million Bengalis by dividing them into two blocks. It was a master plan of Curzon to destroy the nascent nationalism of which Bengal had become the nerve centre. The

partitioning of the homogeneous Bengali speaking area led to outburst of public indignation all over Bengal. It was opposed by the various sections of the society. The officials, the educated Muslims and the Muslim peasantry of Bengal condemned the partition of Bengal from the outset. Even the Indian National Congress opposed the decision and passed resolutions against at its meetings.



2. Map of Bengal after Partition

Swadeshi Movement

The partition was a turning point in the history of Bengal. The birth of intense national feeling here caused reverberations throughout India. To protest against the Curzon declaration of partition began the Swadeshi movement. The movement against the partition of Bengal had two aspects- Boycott and

Swadeshi. British goods, schools, office, courts were boycotted. Swadeshi and native goods were accepted. Boycott and acceptance were the two main objectives. The formal proclamation of the Swadeshi Movement was made on 7th August 1905, in a meeting held at the Calcutta Town Hall. The boycott resolution was passed to show protest against the partition and to bring economic pressure on the British public.

We have observed the instances of Boycott and Swadeshi even before 1905 in China and Ireland. In India in 1881 and 1896, boycotting of British goods were practiced. In 1849, Gopal Rao Deshmukh, in Pune talked about Swadeshi. In 1867, Raj Narayan Basu, Naba Gopal Mitra started the Hindu Mela to propagate Swadeshi. But for the very first time, in 1905, the responsibility of nationalism of whole of India and Bengal lay in the hands of the moderates. The developments since the announcement of partition in December 1903 to its imposition on 16th October, 1905 took place under the moderates.

Patterns and Features of the Swadeshi Movement in Bengal

From 16th October, 1905, entire Bengal even the middle class participated in it and protested against the British. They united themselves and started the Swadeshi Movement. The leaders declared it to be “ A Day of Mourning” throughout Bengal. All business establishments were closed on that day. Young men, students stood in groups, each holding a banner displaying slogans such as – “ Unity is Strength”, “ No Partition” and singing the Vandemataram Song which became the theme song of the movement written by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhaya. In Kolkata people took out processions and they tied Yellow thread (Rakhi) on each other’s arms. The ceremony popularly called the- Raksha Bandhan, the name given by the great poet Rabindranath Tagore, indicated that no government could divide the people of Bengal.



3. Raksha Bandhan ceremony- the name given by the great poet-
Rabindranath Tagore.

On the same day two huge mass meetings attended by more than 50,000 people were addressed by Ananda Mohan Bose and Surendranath Banerjee.



4. Surendranath Banerjee



5. Ananda Mohan Bose

Swadeshi movement's ideology was constructive which taught self sufficiency. To achieve the ideology people took many initiatives. Under Prafulla Chandra Roy's supervision Bengal Chemicals was introduced. Neel Ratan Sarkar, Satish Chandra Mukherjee brought up a system of National Education in India.

To spread swadeshi and boycott there is an ourburst of literary and cultural activity came forward to help. Manmohan Ghosh and Devendranath Tagore's –“ Indian Mirror”, Shishir Kumar Ghosh and Motilal Ghosh's- “ Amrita Bazar Patrika”, Surendranath Banerjee's- “ The Bengalee” are a few to mention. Many extremists came forward to help. Bipin Chandra Pal's- “ New India” and Aurobindo Ghosh's- “ Vande Mataram” contributed to the movement. Brahmabandhab Upadhyay started “ Sandhya” and Barindra Kumar Ghosh started “Jugantar” newspapers which helped in spreading messages radically. Bipin Chandra Pal in “ New India” regarding Swadeshi said, “ Our ideal in full freedom which means absence of the foreign control.” Aurobindo Ghosh wrote in “ Vande Mataram” while reporting Boycott said, “It (Boycott) was no more economic revolt we were instituting butt the practice of national independence....for the attempt to be separate and self-sufficient economically must bring it with attempts to be free to any function of a Nation's life.” Besides the folk theatres

(known as Yatras in Bengali), gave a great publicity to the Swadeshi campaign.

During this time, the Samitis created in Bengal helped in spreading Swadeshi Movement. Ashwini Kumar Dutta's- Swadesh Bandhab Samiti, Faridpur's- Brati Samiti, Mymensingh's- Surhit Samiti and Sadhana Samaj, Dhaka's- Abushilan Samiti etc. People of all ages, women, middle class, zamindar became member of these Samitis. Samiti had its brands as well. Barishal's- Swadesh Bandhab Samiti had 159 branches. Rabindranath Tagore created- Swadeshi Samiti. Under Rabindranath Tagore more than 1000 Samitis were created. In general, Samitis concentrated on spreading the message of swadeshi to the people by means of festival, songs and speeches in addition to publication of numerous journals and pamphlets. In such efforts to push Swadeshi goods, the samitis often used coercive methods, the devastating impact of which was graphically narrated in Rabindranath Tagore's famous novel- Ghare-Baire (The Home and the World).



6. Ashwini Kumar Dutta who created- Swadesh Bandhab Samiti

Penal action against the students for participating in the Swadeshi and Boycott movement create an urge for national education. The number of national schools grew quickly and in 1908 there was 25 secondary and about 300 primary National schools in Bengal alone. The National College in Kolkata, with Aurobindo Ghosh as Principal, was established on 14th August, 1906. In Maharashtra, also a number of national schools were established. National education had these characteristics- secular education, moral education, political education and industrial education.



7. Aurobindo Ghosh

Swadeshi made its presence felt in the most phenomenal way in the sphere of culture- literature, theatre, music and art. The India Sangita Samaj (Music Samiti) founded by Jyotrindranath Tagore and the Maharaja of Natore in 1897 to promote Indian classical music had acquired some political notoriety by 1905. Abanindranath Tagore purposefully revived the style of Mughal Painting and made a break with imitations of Victorian naturalist taste of the late 19th century reflected in the works of Raja Ravi Varma. Abanindranath and several other students of the Calcutta School of Art were inspired by Indian traditions such as Ajanta, Rajput and Mughal paintings. They

infused it with the wash techniques of Japan, inspired by the Japanese art critic and historian Kakuzo Okakura. In the context of Swadeshi, Abanindranath Tagore emerged as a leading voice of sorts in this particular genre and generated a movement around himself.

'The Bharat Mata' established by Abanindranath firmly as a nationalist as a creator of an "Indian Style". The image was originally conceived as – Bangamata (Mother Bengal) and dedicated to the entire nation. The configuration of the nation as a mother had earlier found articulation in Bankim Chandra's- "Bande Mataram" which was later included in his novel- 'Anandamath (1882). The verse set to tune by Rabindranath himself , caught the imagination of the Swadeshi activists.



8. The Picture of Bharat Mata drawn by Abanindranath Tagore

The Swadeshi movement gave a great stimulus to the Indian industries, particularly the weaving industry. Swadeshi textile mills, match and soap factories came up quickly all over the country. Swadeshi stores sold fabrics, shoes, salt, hosiery and a lot of other goods. Tagore lent direct support to the establishment of a Swadeshi store in Kolkata. Besides these we saw different trading activities in Bengal. Bengal Landholding Association, Bengal Technical Institute, Banga Laxmi Cotton Mills was created by Mohini Mohan Chakraborty, Bengal Hosiery (1908- Abdul Sonan), Bengal National Bank, National Insurance Company were Swadeshi enterprises to name a few. An important phase in the production of iron and steel began with the establishment of Tata Iron and Steel Company. The entire capital of the Company came from the Indians. The Company started production in 1911. Due to all these growing industries the British faced immense economic pressure and losses on their trading activities.

The labours and workers too supported Swadeshi. They carried hartals and strikes. The Swadeshi and the Boycott movement was a great success. In 1906 it was at its peak. In 1906, East India Railway Workers went on a strike in Jamalpur Railways. In 1908, Calcutta Telegraph's workers went on a strike. The Swadeshi spirit moved to all sections of the society. The women and student volunteers took to picketing. The cobblers refused to mend English shoes and the washermen refused to wash European garments. A person selling or buying foreign goods was subjected to great humiliation. Foreign cloth, salt and sugar placed in heaps were set on fire. Around 1908, attempt was made by some, in places like Andhra, in organizing terrorist activities and in the production and use of bombs. There were rumours that several individuals were engaged in secret production of bombs. Though some efforts were made by the by the Bengal revolutionaries like- Aurobindo Ghosh, Prafulla Chandra Chaki who was associated with the Jugantar group of revolutionaries carried out assassinations against

British colonial officials in an attempt to secure Indian Independence.



9. Prafulla Chandra Chaki

The Swadeshi Movement was not limited to Bengal, it started spreading outside. Bipin Chandra Pal said,-“ With the start of the Swadeshi Movement at the turns of the century, the Indian nationalism took a major leap forward. Women, students and large sections of the urban and rural population of Bengal and other parts of India became active in politics for the first time.” Lala Lajpat Rai in his- ‘ Young India’ said –“ What was done in Bengal found its echo in the rest of the country.”

Conclusion

As the movement was gaining strength day by day Lord Minto, the successor of Curzon adopted several measures against the rising tide of the anti- British activities . In 1909, the Morle- Minto reforms were finally passed through Indian Councils Act. Thus, the Swadeshi and Boycott movement with its multi-faceted programmes and activities was able to draw, for the first time large sections of the society into active participation in modern nationalist politics and still larger sections into the ambit of modern political ideas. As Surendranath Banerjee pointed out, The year 1905 was one of the most memorable years in the history of Bengal. I would be no exaggeration to say that it was an epoch- making year, leaving a profound and far- reaching influence on the public life of Bengal and the future of the country. The movement created greater national consciousness among the people. The Swadeshism made a deep dent in the society as it provided an opportunity for reviving the weaving.

By 1910, the Swadeshi movement began to loose its momentum. The extremists in the Congress like- Balgangadhar

Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghosh also began loosening their hold over the movement. In 1911, British shifted their capital from Bengal to Delhi and Bengal's partition plan was abolished. But the importance of Bengal as a capital reduced. Now the contradictions in Congress were clearly visible. Though Bengal partition plan was dismissed in 1911 yet it lost its unity, she could never achieve it back. Though the movement was not fully successful, in future it created a path for Gandhi's movement.

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Semester – 6

Tutorial

'DSE-A3'

*“ The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal :
Patterns & Features ”*



Department : HISTORY

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I, **Sarthak Mukherjee** of **Scottish Church College**, Department of History, have successfully completed my “**Discipline-Specific Elective A-3**” Tutorial under the guidance of my History Professors on the topic “**Swadeshi Movement : Patterns & Features**”.

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INTRODUCTION

The **Swadeshi** movement of Bengal (1905-1908) is seen as an important historical event in the episodic narrative of the Indian Nationalist Movement, which takes the story forward to its eventual climax in 1947. Lord Curzon's unpopular decision to partition the province of Bengal in 1905, led to this popular movement, which was organized around the effective use of '**swadeshi**' and '**boycott**' as methods of agitation, under Extremist leadership. The subsequent unification of Bengal in 1911 came to be regarded as a marker of the movement's success.

By the turn of the century, the figure of the upper caste, Hindu, **Bengali bhadralok** had become an object of derision for many sections of British opinion. He was ridiculed for his 'mimicry' of British lifestyle and his alienation from the poor of his own country, whose interests he claimed to represent. He was **constructed as weak and effeminate**, and his political



activism was trivialized as cunning 'intrigue'. This reaction undoubtedly masked colonial anxiety about the tenor of the nationalist agitation in Bengal. The **partition**, it was hoped, would **prevent the consolidation of the 'Bengali element'** in the province, by dividing the Bengali-speaking areas. Moreover, the partition would separate Muslim-majority areas of Assam and eastern Bengal from the rest of the province, which was largely **Hindu**. This would **isolate and undermine the 'Hindu nationalist agitation'** in the politically active eastern districts by uniting the Muslims of eastern Bengal, who had been "inactive so far".

The government may not have anticipated an organized and sustained reaction to their decision, because they were familiar with the severe limitations of Moderate politics. But the **partition of Bengal came at the end of twenty years of disappointingly unsuccessful agitation by the Congress**, increasing disillusionment with the pace and style of Moderate politics, and a **growing dislike of Viceroy Curzon** who had already tried to increase official control over universities, curb press freedom and reduce the elected element in the Calcutta Corporation. The partition offered a context for all these discontents to come to the fore and was used as an **opportunity by Extremist leaders to consolidate and demonstrate their politics** and effect decisive changes in the working of the



Congress by assuming a new dominance within it. What colonial authorities did not realize was that Bengali speaking people had enjoyed a sort of cultural unity and autonomy since pre-British times, a unity that had been enhanced by the efflorescence of Bengali literature in the 19th century, within the bhadralok milieu. Therefore in 1905, an **invocation to one's Bengali linguistic identity provided a broad, tenuous, overarching sense of unity to a movement** that contained highly diverse groups and interests.

A close study of the Swadeshi movement will provide the opportunity to not just examine the stock of historical trends that characterized the first decade of the 20th century, but also to understand their interplay within the national movement.



THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT IN BENGAL



Background of the Swadeshi Movement

The British Government of India announced on July 19, 1905, that the Bengal Presidential election would be split into two with effect from October 16, 1905. The outer argument in support of this was bureaucratic criterion, **reducing Bengal's regulatory burden**. However, the **true goal was to stifle the rise of national sentiment in ideologically enhanced Bengal by sowing discord between Bengali-speaking Hindus and Muslims and ruining the unity of 78 million Bengalis** by segmenting them into two groups. Viceroy Curzon's grand plan was to **dismantle the resurgent patriotism**, of which Bengal was becoming the central hub. The segmentation of the homogeneous Bengali-speaking area sparked widespread public outrage throughout Bengal. This was refuted by different social groups. **Bengal's authorities, knowledgeable Muslims, and Muslim commoners all castigated partition from the start**. The Indian National Congress, too, **disputed the division** and passed resolutions opposing it at its meetings.



Trends & Characteristics of the Swadeshi Movement

The **partition** was a watershed moment in Bengal's history. The emergence of strong national feelings in this region reverberated throughout India. In Bengal, a powerful surge of protest groups was inaugurated to petition the government to revoke the partition. The vow was made to oppose imported goods. **The Swadeshi Movement was formally launched on August 7, 1905, at a meeting held at the Calcutta Town Hall.**

The **boycott law** was adopted to express opposition to the partition and to put financial sanctions on the British people. The **16th of October 1905** was declared a day of deep despair in Bengal. On that particular day, all commercial establishments were closed. Young men marched through the streets, singing the **Vandemataram** song, which became the movement's theme song. Rabindranath Tagore's Swadeshi songs, in fact, expressed the people's distress and rage. On the same day, **Ananda Mohan Bose** and **Surendranath Benerjee** addressed two massive mass meetings attended by over 50,000 people. All of this naturally grew the partition aggression into the Swadeshi Movement, which was carried out in various parts of the country. The partition



itself was attacked on many grounds— arguing against the deliberate splitting up of the Bengali people, how it would affect the social ties between different parts of Bengal, curtail employment opportunities, possibly reduce educational facilities by separating Calcutta from East Bengal, reduce business for merchants and hurt the interests of the landlords with land on both sides of the boundary.

The partition however could not be stopped. The moderate methods came under scathing criticism. Sumit Sarkar points out how the petitions lacked real sanctions. As in the past, matters have been loudly protested but then quietly accepted.

Sumit Sarkar (The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal 1903-1908) has put forward a fourfold classification of the various trends within the Swadeshi movement -

- The **Moderate phase**
- **Tagore's Atmashakti** or self-reliance and self-development without inviting an immediate political clash. Sarkar calls this the phase of constructive Swadeshi.
- **Political extremism** using extended boycott or passive resistance in addition to self-help efforts.
- **Phase of Terrorism**



The four trends were not successive temporal stages and that they may be found side by side with each other throughout the Swadeshi age. But their relative importance varied greatly with time. Thus mendicancy definitely dominated before 1905, militancy became the most significant kind of political action after 1908. The brief but fascinating intervening years saw the first trials of the technique of passive resistance in India.

Thus it can be said that the first phase may be traced from around December 1903 to July 1905 as a period of anti-partition agitation. After July 1905, with the official announcement of the partition, a mighty upsurge was set off which brought in people and national leaders of all shades of opinion together. Then onwards it was called the Swadeshi movement.

It grew in strength under the direction of various leaders. **Bal Gangadhar Tilak** spread the progression throughout India, notably in Pune and Bombay, and his famous epigram "*Swaraj is my birth right and I will have it*" revolutionised the movement. **Bipin Chandra Pal's** tour of the Madras Presidency, as well as **Aurobindo Ghosh's** efforts, fueled the movement. The Calcutta meeting of the Congress, held from December 26 to 29, 1908, under the presidency of **Dadabhai Naoroji**, **adopted the**



Vandemataram song as India's national anthem and **Swaraj, or self-government, as its goal**. The Swadeshi resolution was incorporated at this session by **P. Anandacharlu**, who participated in the session from the Andhra Pradesh district of Chittoor. **Samitis**, or associations, were founded in many places to introduce and ignite public psyche, as well as to spread Swadeshi ideals.

Swadeshi advocates advocated about the significance of Swadeshi every day, stimulated the emergence of **Swadeshi stores**, held community hearings, endorsed and encouraged **indigenous industry**, and **boycotted imported products**. The swadeshi spirit swept through Bengal in the 1890s. Tagore himself opened Swadeshi Bhandar in 1897, Jogesh Chandra Chaudhuri established the **Indian stores** in 1901, Sarala Devi's **Lakshmi Bhandar** came up in 1903. The **Bengal Chemicals** was launched in 1893 by Prafulla Chandra Ray. Satish Chandra Mukherji began publishing his journal **Dawn** in 1897 and established the **Dawn Society** in 1902.

National education was becoming a reality with mufassil schools, the Bengal National College and School (1906) and Taraknath Palit's Society for the Promotion of Technical Education. A National Council of Education was also set up in 1906. These institutions sought to combine _the traditional and



the modern in a scheme for higher culture for a selected youth'. Tagore's experiments in Santiniketan are certainly noteworthy, where nature and culture were to be linked by the bond of human labour within the living tradition of creative practice.

As the anti-British movement grew in resilience, **Lord Minto**, Curzon's successor, took punitive actions to stem the tide of anti-British sentiment. Editors and printers were also incarcerated in large numbers, and the Colonization Bill was passed. Leaders such as **Bipin Chandra Pal**, were imprisoned in 1907 and 1908, and Tilak was sentenced to six years in prison. Of course, the majority of them were soon released.

Protests were also organised against the Seditious Meetings Act of 1907, which limited the right to hold public meetings in order to stifle the movement. People all over the country were outraged and protested. Giving Vandemataram slogans, throwing stones at government agencies and possessions, and using abusive language when Europeans passed by were some of the actions taken by Indians to direct their displeasure and dissatisfaction with the British regime. This was especially noticeable in the south. When the Swadeshi and Boycott movements gained traction and took various forms in different parts of the country, decisions were



made not to import imported products, and campfires of overseas garment were organised on **September 22, 1908**.

From mid-1908 there was a **shift towards terroristic activities**. Sumit Sarkar terms this phase '**terrorism**' and not '**revolutionary**' or '**militant nationalist**' as what Bengal witnessed was not armed uprisings of the plebian masses of cities nor peasant based guerilla actions, but assassinations of oppressive officers, spies and traitors, 'swadeshi decoities' to raise funds and occasional more grandiose plans for armed coups based on infiltration into the Indian army and assistance from Germany or Japan. The historically important distinction according to Sarkar is not the use of violence but mass action as contrasted to elite action.

By 1910, the Vandemataram and Swadeshi movements had lost steam. Extremists in the Congress, such as Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, and Aurobindo, began to lose control of the movement as well. And, with the Government's revocation of Bengal's partition in **1911, the movement faded for the time being until it resurfaced in a new form as the Home Rule Movement, led by Annie Besant**.



Tracing the Footprint of the Swadeshi Movement

The Vande Mataram and Swadeshi movement, with its multidimensional activities and programs, was able to draw, for the first time, large parts of society into active involvement in contemporary nationalist politics and even larger sections into the purview of contemporary political ideas. According to Surendranath Banerjee, 1905 was one of the most noteworthy years in Bengal's history. It would be an overstatement to state that it was a watershed year, having a significant and far-reaching impact on Bengal's social sphere and the nation's future. People became more aware of their national identity as a result of the movement. Swadeshi had a significant impact on society because it made it possible to revitalise the weaving industry.

The national movement created a market for indigenous cloth by boycotting British fabrics and instilling a love of Swadeshi. This was apparent from a review of international trade in the London Times in 1908. The world was in the grip of a severe depression, which resulted in the closure of 540 mills in Manchester alone, and the layoff of 4,00,000 workers. In India, however, Bombay had to suffer greatly in 1904; some mills were



only operational for a short time. That being said, since the beginning of the Swadeshi-boycott movement, the mills all across Bombay had been working constantly and were unable to increase supply in 1908. **This movement was responsible for averting catastrophe at the Bombay mills in 1908.** Despite the fact that the entire manufacturing world was in a slump, the Bombay mills were now secure in their position. This was mainly ascribed to the country's Swadeshi-boycott movement.

The movement made significant inroads into society. Weavers in many places attempted to revitalise their traditional industry by obtaining cutting-edge technology in the field. **People and merchants in some areas boycotted foreign cloth in favour of Indian cloth. This was primarily due to the impact of the nationalists' Swadeshi campaign.**

Swadeshi made its presence felt in the most phenomenal way in the sphere of culture—literature, theatre, music and art. The Bharat Mata established Abanindranath Tagore firmly as a nationalist and as a creator of an Indian Style. The image was originally conceived as Bangamata (Mother Bengal) and dedicated to the entire nation.



However, the **biggest impact of the movement was that it led to the reunification of the two parts of Bengal in face of continuous political protests as well as to pacify the sentiment of the Bengalis**. The Oriya, Hindi, and Assamese areas were taken out of the Bengal Presidency thus dividing the province this time on linguistic ground instead of on religious ground.

The Swadeshi movement **led the people to learn to challenge and disobey the British government explicitly without fearing the atrocities of the police and imprisonment**. Even an ordinary man didn't shy away from showing his love and respect for his motherland and resentment over the British rule. Rajat Ray calls this a 'revolution' in the Bengal political society.



CONCLUSION

The Success and Impact of the Swadeshi Movement is immeasurable in the theatre of India's national struggle. However, The movement remained **limited and restricted** and was brought to a **sudden halt**. As Amalesh Tripathi has said, the first large scale movement in India "*began with a bang but ended with a whimper.*"

The **great failure of the extremists was to inspire the working class and the peasantry and depend too much on the students and the magic of Hinduism**. The students represented youth and dream, vigour and selfless dedication but they had little patience, less perseverance and **no real economic roots**. They were a fleeting community, not a continuous entity. And the Hindu fanfare **alienated the most substantial minority**. Boycott had come and gone, swadeshi industries and national schools died out, trade unions proved short lived, and most of the samitis were crushed by the police with surprising ease. Most importantly, a **general lack of leadership** was felt. The extremists failed to build up a single coherent alternative



leadership. Prof. Tripathi has argued that the effect of the boycott on British imports has been inflated. Despite repeated passionate calls for boycott, the import of commodities like cotton goods, salt and sugar did increase.

In his enormously influential monograph on the Swadeshi movement in Bengal, Sumit Sarkar has argued that as the first nationalist mass-movement, Swadeshi was clearly a failure. This is borne out by the fact that mass agitation had stopped by 1908, and anti-imperialist protest now took the form of revolutionary acts of violence carried out by small groups of educated young men. Mass politics would however reappear in a more effective way under Gandhi's leadership in the 1920s. In fact, Gandhi went on to revive and give a new lease of life to tactics like non-cooperation, passive resistance and civil disobedience that had been the backbone of the Swadeshi movement.

This may lead us to conclude that perhaps the socio-political context wasn't ripe for a successful mass movement in 1905. One might even argue that the tactics and lessons learnt during the Swadeshi movement paved the way for future successful mass politics in a later stage of the national movement, especially the movements that were led by Gandhi. The Swadeshi Movement was also successful in its goal of revoking



the Partition, and perhaps no other phase of India's national movement can boast of cultural accompaniments as rich as swadeshi.



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DATE :

" THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT
IN BENGAL -
PATTERNS AND FEATURES "

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Teacher's Signature _____

ଭୂମିକା -

ପ୍ରକାଶନାତ୍ମକ ସୁବିଚିତ୍ର ଗାଳିଚା, ନା
 ନା ଶାଳିନୀ ବାହୁନାତ୍ମକ ଦୁରାଦିଆକ୍ତିର ଦୂର୍ଘ
 ଶେଷାନ୍ତ ପିତାହର ନାଟ ବାଜନ ୨୩୦୯ ଡାଞ୍ଚିଲର ଉପ
 ଅବଶ୍ୟକତା ବର୍ତ୍ତୁ ଉର୍ଦ୍ଧ୍ୱ ମାଟ୍ରିକଲ୍ ନାଟ୍ୟ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକାରୀ
 କରାଯାଇଅଛି - ତା ନିମନ୍ତେ ବାନ୍ଧିତ ହାତର ଯାହାକି
 ଚିତ୍ର ଓ ସଂକଳନର ବ୍ୟୟରେ ୨୫-୯୬ ଡାଞ୍ଚିଲ ଯଦି
 ଡାଞ୍ଚିଲରୁ ମଧ୍ୟ ଉପାଦେଇ ହିତାଧିକାରୀ ଥାଏ, ତଦନୁସାରେ
 ସଂଗ୍ରହାଦି ବିକାଶକାରୀ ଅନୁକୂଳ ଥାଏ। ତଦନୁସାରେ
 ସୁବିଚିତ୍ର ନାଟକୋପରେ ଏହି ବିକାଶର ପ୍ରୟୋଗ ଆପଣ
 ସୁବିଚିତ୍ର କାର୍ଯ୍ୟର ଅନ୍ତର ଏକ ପ୍ରକାର ବିକାଶକାରୀ
 ଏହି ସଂଗ୍ରହ ମଧ୍ୟରୁ ପ୍ରକାର କରା ଯୋଗ୍ୟ ଥାଏ,
 ଶୋଭାପାଳ, ହାତୀହାତୀର ହାତୀ ଶେଷାନ୍ତର ଦାୟିତ୍ୱ ପ୍ରକାର
 ନେତାଶେଷାନ୍ତର ସଂଗ୍ରହକାରୀ ଉପରେ ପୁରୁଣାପୁରୀ ଶେଷାନ୍ତ
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 ଏହି ପ୍ରକାରର ବିକାଶକାରୀ କରାଯାଇଅଛି। ୨୩୦୯ ଡାଞ୍ଚିଲ
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 ପିତାହର ବାହୁନାତ୍ମକ ସୁବିଚିତ୍ର କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ଉପରେ କରା
 ତା'ର ହାତ ଏହି ମାଟ୍ରିକଲ୍ ନାଟ୍ୟ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକାରୀ ଥାଏ ମଧ୍ୟ
 ଶେଷାନ୍ତର ଦେଖାହେଉଅଛି ଉପରେ ଯେହା କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକାରୀ
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 ସଂଗ୍ରହରୁ ମଧ୍ୟ ଦୂରରୁ ଉପକୂଳ ଥାଏ, ନାଟ ବାଜନ ହେଉଅଛି
 ପୁରୁଣା ପ୍ରକାରର ଦୂରରୁ କରା ଯଦି, ଡାଞ୍ଚିଲ
 ଶେଷାନ୍ତର ପୁରୁଣାପୁରୀ ପିତାହର ପୁରୁଣା ପ୍ରକାରର ଓ



ଦୁଇଟି ପାଠ୍ୟ ପୁସ୍ତକ ଅନୁସନ୍ଧାନର ଉନ୍ନତ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟାୟ, ଯାହା
 ଯାହା ନିଜ ଉନ୍ନତ ଶିକ୍ଷା ଓ ଅଭ୍ୟାସ ପ୍ରଦାନ କରନ୍ତୁ ଏବଂ
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 ଯୋଗ୍ୟ କରନ୍ତୁ, ଏବଂ ଏହି ଅଭ୍ୟାସ ପ୍ରଦାନ
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 ନାହିଁ ନୂତନ ପ୍ରୟୋଗ ଗଠିତ ଥାଏ, ଚିତ୍ରାଙ୍କନ, ଚିତ୍ର
 ଓ ଚିତ୍ରାଙ୍କନ ବିଷୟ, କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ବିଷୟ, ସାମାଜିକ
 ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧ ଓ ଆଗାମୀ ଏହି ନୂତନ ପ୍ରୟୋଗର
 ଅନ୍ତର୍ଭୁକ୍ତ ଥାଏ।

ଉପରୋକ୍ତ ଆଲୋଚନା ଯେତେ ଆଗରୁ
 ଏହି ସିଦ୍ଧାନ୍ତ ଆଗରୁ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ, ୨୦୧୦ ଓ ଉନ୍ନତ
 କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ମୂଲ୍ୟ ପ୍ରକାଶନିକ ପ୍ରୟୋଗରୁ ଉପସ୍ଥାପନ
 ଶିକ୍ଷା କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ଆପଣ କରାଯାଏ ଏବଂ ଏହା
 ପ୍ରୟୋଗ ଯାହାର କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ଓ ଉନ୍ନତ ପ୍ରୟୋଗ, ଏହା
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 ମୂଲ୍ୟ ପ୍ରଦାନ କରାଯାଏ ଏବଂ ଏହା ପୂର୍ବରୁ
 ଏକାଧିକ ଉନ୍ନତ ପ୍ରୟୋଗରୁ ଉନ୍ନତ ପ୍ରୟୋଗ
 କରାଯାଏ ଏବଂ ଏହା ଉନ୍ନତ ପ୍ରୟୋଗରୁ ଉନ୍ନତ
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Expt No.

ପ୍ରତିକୃତ ସଭା ଅନୁଷ୍ଠିତ ହୁଏ, ଯାହା ସରକାର
ତଥା ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ସରକାରୀ ସଂସ୍ଥାଙ୍କ କାଳେ ଅନୁଷ୍ଠିତ
ସ୍ଥାପନାମାନଙ୍କ, ଆବେଦନ ନିରାକରଣ, ପଞ୍ଜୀକରଣ, ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନ,
ସାମାଜିକ ସେବାମାନଙ୍କ ଇତ୍ୟାଦି ନିରାକରଣକୁ ବୃଦ୍ଧି
ପ୍ରାପ୍ତ କରିବା ପାଇଁ କରାଯାଇଛି।

ସରକାରୀ ପାରିକଳ୍ପନା ଉପରେ ଉପକ୍ରମ
ପ୍ରତିକୃତ ଉପକ୍ରମ କରେ ଯେଉଁଠି ସରକାର ୨୦୦୯ ଖ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟ
୨୦୧୧ ଖ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ବିଭିନ୍ନ ଯୋଜନା କରନ୍ତା,
ଯେଉଁଠି ଆବେଦନକରଣ ତଥା ଆନୁଷ୍ଠାନିକ ଭାବେ ଯୋଜିତ
୨୦୧୦ ୨୦୧୧ ଖ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟ ୨ ଅକ୍ଟୋବର ଦିନରୁ ଯେଉଁଠି
ଅନୁଷ୍ଠିତ ଏକ ସଭା, ଯେଉଁଠି ୨୦୧୧ ଖ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟ
୨୦୧୨ ଅକ୍ଟୋବର ଦିନରୁ ଆରମ୍ଭ ହୋଇଛି
ଯାହା ୨୦୧୨ ଅକ୍ଟୋବର ଦିନରୁ ଆରମ୍ଭ ହୋଇଛି
ଯେଉଁଠି ୨୦୧୨ ଅକ୍ଟୋବର ଦିନରୁ ଆରମ୍ଭ ହୋଇଛି
ଆନୁଷ୍ଠାନିକ ଭାବେ ଯୋଜିତ ହୋଇଛି
ଆରମ୍ଭ ହୋଇଛି।

ପ୍ରତିକୃତ ସଭା ଉପରେ ନିମ୍ନଲିଖିତ ନିୟମାବଳୀ
ପ୍ରତିକୃତ ସଭା ଉପରେ ନିମ୍ନଲିଖିତ ନିୟମାବଳୀ
ପ୍ରତିକୃତ ସଭା ଉପରେ ନିମ୍ନଲିଖିତ ନିୟମାବଳୀ
ପ୍ରତିକୃତ ସଭା ଉପରେ ନିମ୍ନଲିଖିତ ନିୟମାବଳୀ
ପ୍ରତିକୃତ ସଭା ଉପରେ ନିମ୍ନଲିଖିତ ନିୟମାବଳୀ
ପ୍ରତିକୃତ ସଭା ଉପରେ ନିମ୍ନଲିଖିତ ନିୟମାବଳୀ
ପ୍ରତିକୃତ ସଭା ଉପରେ ନିମ୍ନଲିଖିତ ନିୟମାବଳୀ
ପ୍ରତିକୃତ ସଭା ଉପରେ ନିମ୍ନଲିଖିତ ନିୟମାବଳୀ
ପ୍ରତିକୃତ ସଭା ଉପରେ ନିମ୍ନଲିଖିତ ନିୟମାବଳୀ
ପ୍ରତିକୃତ ସଭା ଉପରେ ନିମ୍ନଲିଖିତ ନିୟମାବଳୀ

Bizumax

Teacher's Signature

Expt No.

চিকিৎসা নিষ্পত্তির উপর সুস্থতা দিয়েছিল। দ্বিতীয়
 ঠান্ডাটি অর্থাৎ বহুদিনের চরম শীতের
 প্রাণহীন দিয়েছিল। চরম শীতের চিকিৎসা নেওয়া
 বিবেচিত অর্থাৎ ও তিনটি দিনে যেন কঠোরভাবে
 চরম শীতের যেন কঠোর চরম শীতের জন্য
 প্রয়োজনীয় একটি অল্প অর্থাৎ যোগ্য হওয়া
 দিয়েছিলেন 'নিষ্ক্রিয় প্রতিরোধ' (Passive Resistance),
 সুস্বীকৃত অর্থাৎ যেন কঠোর - "চরম শীতের চরম শীতের ও
 সুস্বীকৃত চরম শীতের চরম শীতের চরম শীতের
 পরিচালনা সুস্বীকৃত চরম শীতের - অর্থাৎ চরম শীতের
 অর্থাৎ - অর্থাৎ চরম শীতের চরম শীতের চরম শীতের
 অর্থাৎ চরম শীতের চরম শীতের চরম শীতের
 অর্থাৎ চরম শীতের চরম শীতের চরম শীতের
 অর্থাৎ চরম শীতের চরম শীতের চরম শীতের

নিষ্ক্রিয় প্রতিরোধের পন্থা চরম শীতের চরম শীতের
 চরম শীতের চরম শীতের চরম শীতের চরম শীতের
 চরম শীতের চরম শীতের চরম শীতের চরম শীতের
 চরম শীতের চরম শীতের চরম শীতের চরম শীতের
 চরম শীতের চরম শীতের চরম শীতের চরম শীতের
 চরম শীতের চরম শীতের চরম শীতের চরম শীতের
 চরম শীতের চরম শীতের চরম শীতের চরম শীতের
 চরম শীতের চরম শীতের চরম শীতের চরম শীতের
 চরম শীতের চরম শীতের চরম শীতের চরম শীতের
 চরম শীতের চরম শীতের চরম শীতের চরম শীতের
 চরম শীতের চরম শীতের চরম শীতের চরম শীতের

Teacher's Signature

জনস্বাস্থ্যসেবা আন্দোলন এবং স্বদেশীয় জাতীয়তা ও তার
 সংরক্ষণের উদ্দেশ্যে বিভিন্ন শিশুসাহিত্য ও অনুষ্ঠানের
 কার্যক্রম, ২০০২ সাল থেকে ছোটখাটো ও কলকাতায়
 বিভিন্ন ভাষায়কারি কার্যক্রম উদ্দেশ্যে পরিচালিত।
 এই প্রকল্পের উদ্দেশ্য হল জনস্বাস্থ্যসেবা
 কর্মসূচির প্রচারণা এবং পরিচালনা এবং
 প্রাথমিক শিক্ষার প্রচারণা এবং জনস্বাস্থ্যসেবা
 কার্যক্রমের প্রচারণা এবং জনস্বাস্থ্যসেবা
 ২০০৭-০৮ সাল নাগাদ এই বিদ্যালয় পরিচালনা
 পরিষদে পরিচালিত হয়।

উপরোক্ত কার্যক্রমের উদ্দেশ্য হল
 জনস্বাস্থ্যসেবা এবং তার উদ্দেশ্যে জনস্বাস্থ্যসেবা
 এবং পরিচালনা, পরিচালনা এবং পরিচালনা
 এই জনস্বাস্থ্যসেবা নতুন প্রকল্প শুরু করা।

আমেরিকা থেকে আসা জনস্বাস্থ্যসেবা
 জনস্বাস্থ্যসেবা এবং পরিচালনা এবং পরিচালনা
 জনস্বাস্থ্যসেবা এবং পরিচালনা এবং পরিচালনা
 জনস্বাস্থ্যসেবা এবং পরিচালনা এবং পরিচালনা

সুখিত - স্বদেশীয় জাতীয়তা "The Swadeshi
 movement in Bengal" এর প্রচারণা
 জনস্বাস্থ্যসেবা এবং পরিচালনা এবং পরিচালনা
 জনস্বাস্থ্যসেবা এবং পরিচালনা এবং পরিচালনা
 জনস্বাস্থ্যসেবা এবং পরিচালনা এবং পরিচালনা
 জনস্বাস্থ্যসেবা এবং পরিচালনা এবং পরিচালনা



ଆଜ୍ଞାପାଠ୍ୟ ଦ୍ଵାରା ନିର୍ଦ୍ଧାରିତ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ଟେକି ଛାତ୍ରମାନଙ୍କ
 ପ୍ରତି ଆନ୍ଦୋଳନର ଏହି ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ଅନୁଭୂତି
 ଏହି ଆନ୍ଦୋଳନର ଅର୍ଥାତ୍ ଅର୍ଥାତ୍, ୨୦୦୫ ଖ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟ
 ଲଗାନ୍ତ ଦୃଷ୍ଟିରୁ ଆନ୍ଦୋଳନର ଆନ୍ତରାଳୀନ
 ପ୍ରତି ପ୍ରତି ଆନ୍ଦୋଳନର ପ୍ରାଥମିକ
 ଅନୁଭୂତି କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ଦେଖିବାକୁ ପଡ଼ିବ।

ଆଜ୍ଞାପାଠ୍ୟ ଲେଖକ ପଦ୍ମନାଭ ପଣ୍ଡା
 ତଥା - "Indian Today" ପତ୍ରିକା ପତ୍ରିକା-
 ଦୃଷ୍ଟି ଆନ୍ଦୋଳନ "କୋଟି କୋଟି ଲୋକମାନଙ୍କ
 ଶ୍ରେଣୀର ପ୍ରତିରୋଧ ପ୍ରତିରୋଧ ପ୍ରତିରୋଧ"
 ପଦ୍ମନାଭ ପଣ୍ଡା ଦେଖି ଦୃଷ୍ଟି ଦୃଷ୍ଟି ପ୍ରତିରୋଧ
 ଏହି ପତ୍ରିକାର ଅଧିକାରୀ ଶ୍ରୀ ଶ୍ରୀ
 ପଦ୍ମନାଭ ପଣ୍ଡା ପ୍ରତିରୋଧ ଏହି ଆନ୍ଦୋଳନର
 "କୋଟି କୋଟି ଲୋକମାନଙ୍କ ଅନୁଭୂତି" ଚାରି ପାଖରେ
 ଥିବୁ ଏହି ପତ୍ରିକା ଅଧିକାରୀ ଦେଖି ଦେଖି ଦେଖି
~~ଆଜ୍ଞାପାଠ୍ୟ~~ ଆଜ୍ଞାପାଠ୍ୟ ଦିନାକାରୀ ଓ ସୂଚିତ
 ଆଜ୍ଞାପାଠ୍ୟ ସୂଚିତ ଆଜ୍ଞାପାଠ୍ୟ ତଥା ଆଜ୍ଞାପାଠ୍ୟ
 ଯେ ବିଭିନ୍ନ ଆଜ୍ଞାପାଠ୍ୟ ଶ୍ରେଣୀର ଆନୁଷ୍ଠାନିକ,
 ଆଜ୍ଞାପାଠ୍ୟ ବିଭାଗୀୟ, କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକାରୀ, ଆଜ୍ଞାପାଠ୍ୟ
 ଏହି ଆଜ୍ଞାପାଠ୍ୟ ଆଜ୍ଞାପାଠ୍ୟ ବିଭାଗୀୟ, ତା ସୂଚିତ
 ଆଜ୍ଞାପାଠ୍ୟ ଆଜ୍ଞାପାଠ୍ୟ ବିଭାଗୀୟ ତଥା ଆଜ୍ଞାପାଠ୍ୟ
 ଯେ ଦୃଷ୍ଟି ଆଜ୍ଞାପାଠ୍ୟ ଦିନ ଆଜ୍ଞାପାଠ୍ୟ
 ତଥା ଆଜ୍ଞାପାଠ୍ୟ।

ଦୃଷ୍ଟି ଆଜ୍ଞାପାଠ୍ୟର ଅନୁଭୂତି ଦୃଷ୍ଟି
 ଦୃଷ୍ଟି ଦିନ - ଆଜ୍ଞାପାଠ୍ୟର ନେତୃତ୍ଵ ଦୃଷ୍ଟି



ଦ୍ଵାରା ଆବଦ୍ଧ କୋଶଳ କରାଯାଇ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରାଯିବ
ବାବଦରେ,

ଦୁଇଦିନ ଆବଦ୍ଧକାରୀ ଚର୍ଚ୍ଚା ଦୂରଣରେ
ଦିନ ଏହି ଆବଦ୍ଧକାରୀ ଦିନକୁ ସୁସମ୍ପାଦନ
କରାଯିବ ବ୍ୟବସାୟର ଅବଶ୍ୟକ ଆବଦ୍ଧ କରାଯିବ
ବାବଦରେ,

ଦୁଇଦିନ ନେତୃତ୍ଵ ଅଧୀନରେ ଆବଦ୍ଧକାରୀ
କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ସେବା ନିୟମ ଅନୁଯାୟୀ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ
ଏବଂ ଫଳ ଆବଦ୍ଧକାରୀ ଆବଦ୍ଧକାରୀ, ବିଶେଷକରି
ଦୁଇଦିନ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ, ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟ, ଆବଦ୍ଧକାରୀ ଆବଦ୍ଧକାରୀ
ସେବା, ଏହି ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟ ଅନୁଯାୟୀ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ
ଦିନ ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟ ସୁସମ୍ପାଦନ ସେବା, କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ
ଆବଦ୍ଧକାରୀ ଦିନ ଆବଦ୍ଧକାରୀର ଅବଶ୍ୟକ ସେବା
ଉପରେ, ଏହି ଦୁଇଦିନ ନେତୃତ୍ଵ ଏବଂ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ
ଅବଦ୍ଧକାରୀ ଦିନ ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ
କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ, ଏହା ଓ ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟର ଅବଦ୍ଧକାରୀ
ଆବଦ୍ଧକାରୀ ଦିନ ବିଶେଷକରି ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ
ଆବଦ୍ଧକାରୀ ଦିନ ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ଏବଂ ଏହି
କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ଆବଦ୍ଧକାରୀ ଦୂରଣରେ
କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ, ଏବଂ ଏହି କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ
ଦିନ, କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ଏବଂ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମର ସୁସମ୍ପାଦନ
ଆବଦ୍ଧକାରୀର କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ,
କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମର କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ଏବଂ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ
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ନବମସ୍କା, ଚନ୍ଦ୍ରବନ୍ଧା ବିଚାର କ୍ରମେ କି ଆଚାର୍ଯ୍ୟମାନଙ୍କ
 କେନ୍ଦ୍ର କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ କ୍ରିୟା ରୂପ ଶୀଘ୍ର କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକାରୀ, ସୁଦେଶନା
 ଗୋପାଳ କୃଷ୍ଣ ଗୋପାଳଙ୍କ ପ୍ରମୁଖ ନେତାଙ୍କୁ ପ୍ରଥମ ଥର
 ଥରକରି ବିଚାରଣା ଦିଆଯାଇ, ଏହି ଶୀଘ୍ର ଚଳୁଥିବା
 ଉପର ମିଳନରେ ଉପକରଣ ବିଭିନ୍ନ ପ୍ରକାରର
 ମହାକାଳି ଦିଆଯାଇ, ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ଉପକରଣ,
 ଉପକରଣ ମାନ, ତିନି ପ୍ରମୁଖ ଚନ୍ଦ୍ରବନ୍ଧା ନେତାଙ୍କ
 କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ କ୍ରମେ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକାରୀ ଏବଂ ଉପକରଣ
 ଏକକ୍ରମେ ଆସିବ,

ଦୁର୍ଦ୍ଦଶା ଆଚାର୍ଯ୍ୟମାନଙ୍କ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକାରୀ
 କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ପ୍ରକାଶନରେ ଉପକରଣ ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ
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 ନେତାଙ୍କୁ ଉପକରଣ ଦେବା ଉପରେ, ଏକକ୍ରମେ
 ବିଭିନ୍ନ ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ଉପକରଣମାନଙ୍କୁ ନେତାଙ୍କୁ
 ଦେବାକ୍ରମେ ଦେବା ହେବ, ୧୯୦୭-୦୮ ଉପକରଣ
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 ଏବଂ ଉପକରଣ ଏବଂ ଉପକରଣ ନେତାଙ୍କୁ
 ଦିଆଯାଇ, ଉପକରଣ ଏବଂ ବିଭିନ୍ନ ଉପକରଣ ଏବଂ
 ଉପକରଣ ଉପକରଣ ଉପକରଣ ଏବଂ ଉପକରଣ

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Expt No.

উপসংহার

দুঃখের বিষয় আন্দোলনের ফলেই কোনো
কার্যকরী অর্জনের মিলন, কর্মসূচীর দিকবশত
নিষ্ফল প্রতিষ্ঠা, অসংযোজিত, অস্থির,
সংস্কারের অভাব, অর্জনহীনতা হার
প্রভৃতি বিভিন্ন কারণে আন্দোলনকারীরা প্রচণ্ড
কষ্টকালীন, কিন্তু একটি বিষয়ই বলা যায়
দার্শনিকভাবে যে, উল্লেখ্য কারণগুলি একটি
সুসংগঠিত ও সুসংগঠিত হলে নিজেদের
সংগঠন, বিভিন্ন স্তর ও বিভিন্ন স্তরের
অনুপ্রবেশ দুঃখের কারণেই দুর্বল
করত। উল্লেখ্য কারণগুলিকে পরস্পরিক
সংস্কারের মাধ্যমে দারিদ্র্য কমাতে
শুধু, তাছাড়া অন্য আন্দোলনের নিষ্ফল
প্রক্রিয়ায় অনুপ্রবেশ এবং আন্দোলন
প্রকারে সংগঠন এবং স্থিতিতে থাকা,



Teacher's Signature _____

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The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal—Patterns and Features



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Introduction

The Swadeshi movement of Bengal (1905-1908) is seen as an important historical event in the episodic narrative of the Indian Nationalist Movement, which takes the story forward to its eventual climax in 1947. Lord Curzon's unpopular decision to partition the province of Bengal in 1905, led to this popular movement, which was organized around the effective use of 'swadeshi' and 'boycott' as methods of agitation, under Extremist leadership. The subsequent unification of Bengal in 1911 came to be regarded as a marker of the movement's success.

The Partition Of Bengal

The decision to partition the large province of Bengal (undivided Bengal, Orissa, Assam and Bihar), avowedly for greater administrative convenience, was one that had been worked on by H. H. Risley (Secretary to Government of India, 1903) and Fraser (Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, 1903), and finally sanctioned by Curzon, the Viceroy.

But as rightly suspected by nationalist leaders of Bengal, Curzon had distinct political

motives behind this move, which were clearly stated in the run-up to the partition on 16 October, 1905.

By the turn of the century, the figure of the upper caste, Hindu, Bengali bhadralok had

become an object of derision for many sections of British opinion. He was ridiculed for his 'mimicry' of British lifestyle and his alienation from the poor of his own country, whose interests he claimed to represent. He was constructed as weak and effeminate, and his political activism was trivialized as cunning 'intrigue'. This reaction undoubtedly masked colonial anxiety about the tenor of the nationalist agitation in Bengal. The partition, it was hoped, would prevent the consolidation of the 'Bengali element' in the province, by dividing the Bengali-speaking areas. Moreover, the partition would separate Muslim-majority areas of Assam and eastern Bengal from the rest of the province, which was largely

Hindu. This would isolate and undermine the ‘Hindu nationalist agitation’ in the politically active eastern districts by uniting the Muslims of eastern Bengal, who had been “inactive so far”.The government may not have anticipated an organized and sustained reaction to their decision, because they were familiar with the severe limitations of Moderate politics. But the partition of Bengal came at the end of twenty years of disappointingly unsuccessful agitation by the Congress, increasing disillusionment with the pace and style of Moderate politics, and a growing dislike of Viceroy Curzon who had already tried to increase official control over universities, curb press freedom and reduce the elected element in the Calcutta Corporation. The partition offered a context for all these discontents to come to the fore and was used as an opportunity by Extremist leaders to consolidate and demonstrate their politics and effect decisive changes in the working of the Congress by assuming a new dominance within it.

What colonial authorities did not realize was that Bengali speaking people had enjoyed a sort of cultural unity and autonomy since pre-British times, a unity that had been enhanced by the efflorescence of Bengali literature in the 19th century, within the bhadralok milieu. Therefore in 1905, an invocation to one’s Bengali linguistic identity provided a broad, tenuous, over-arching sense of unity to a movement that contained highly diverse groups and interests.



Fig- Lord Curzon

Positive self-development or 'constructive swadeshi'

Swadeshi referred to a politics of building national self-reliance through constructive work, seen as a necessary pre-condition to ultimately and effectively challenging British rule. It was an initial reaction to the ineffectiveness of Moderate 'mendicancy', and was mostly introspective and non-political. 'Constructive Swadeshi' included a positive programme of setting-up of Swadeshi enterprises, spreading vernacular education and social work in the countryside, and reaching out to the masses through traditional folk institutions like the mela. Much of this argument about self-reliance was derived from the works of Moderates like **Naoroji**, **R. C. Dutt** and **Gokhale** who had drawn connections between India's forced dependence on British manufactures and its poverty. Extremist leaders duly acknowledged the Moderates for this intellectual debt. People like Tilak in Maharashtra and Lala Lajpat Rai in Punjab were working towards building 'atmasakti' since the 1890s. But it acquired a new lease of life within the movement, and Rabindranath Tagore and a quiet school teacher from **Barisal**, **Aswini Kumar Dutta**, were crucial proponents of this form of agitation that stressed patient reform and growth before concerted political action was undertaken.

Swadeshi enterprise

Swadeshi as a form of agitation was directly derived from the indictment of British colonialism by leaders like **Naoroji**, **R. C. Dutt**, **Digby** and **Ranade**. Their writings

produced an optimism that economic regeneration would be the solution to all social ills that plagued the colony. The swadeshi programme developed along two lines – of

reviving traditional crafts that had been destroyed by competition from British goods and of building indigenous industrial enterprise on modern western lines. Such attempts had started early, and the notable initial efforts in this regard were Prafullachandra Ray's

Bengal Chemicals started in 1893, and Rabindranath Tagore's **Swadeshi Bhandar** in

1897. But after 1905, swadeshi was popularized with a new energy and sense of purpose. Volunteer organizations or samitis would promote swadeshi sales through

shops, exhibitions along the lines of the traditional Hindu mela and cost-price hawking. The revival of Indian crafts and a rise in demand created by the Swadeshi movement did provide an important stimulus to handloom-weaving, a sector which had been all but destroyed. Educated young men were taught the art of weaving and the fly shuttle loom was popularized through training centres. There was also a partial revival of silk-weaving in **Murshidabad** and **Pabna**. The programme of reviving indigenous crafts fit rather well within an ideological agenda of cultural revival. While Moderate leaders in their critique of colonial economic exploitation, had envisaged a modern industrial growth trajectory for the country, revivalist trends within the movement were derived out of a critique of the evils of the western industrial model of growth and therefore rejected western-style development. Instead, they encouraged building upon traditional forms of production – small scale units based on family labour.

Amongst the larger-scale industrial enterprises, textile mills like the **Mohini Mills** of

Kushtia, The **Calcutta Weaving Company**, the **Tripura Company** etc. made important

contributions. Developments also took place in the leather industry as **Dr. Nilratan Sircar** founded the **National Tannery**, where new technologies of tanning were introduced. A number of consumer articles were developed in swadeshi enterprises – soap, matches, cheap cigarettes, buttons, candles, paper and sugar, but for machinery such industries had to depend on imported iron and steel, although the beginnings of an iron and steel industry had been made in the **Sibpur Iron Works**, in 1867. The focus soon shifted from industrial production to banking, insurance and inland trade. The opening of the **Bengal National Bank** in 1908, the **National Insurance Company** in 1906 and the establishment of the **Bengal Steam Navigation Company** in 1905 by Muslim merchants, gave tremendous impetus to the project of self-reliance advocated by

the Swadeshi movement. However, while the achievements of swadeshi were significant, it made only a marginal dent on the hold of British capital, and didn't even venture close to fulfilling the dream of self-sufficient industrial growth.

Furthermore, coupled with boycott, the focus of the movement remained confined to discouraging people from using British consumer goods by reasserting the importance of indigenous tastes and austere living. Thus, the movement also became a symbolic attack on the Bengali elite which had embraced western lifestyles and tastes.

Unfortunately, swadeshi came with its own set of problems. The products of swadeshi enterprises were expensive and of poor quality. For instance, the coarse cloth produced was unaffordable for the common man, unless cheaper imported yarn had been used in its manufacture. Additionally, many people were coerced by Swadeshi volunteers to buy indigenous goods and volunteers also had to check excessive profiteering. These complex questions were raised by Rabindranath Tagore in his novel '**Ghare Baire**'.

Ultimately, swadeshi and boycott, as modes of agitation seemed to have benefitted the small bourgeoisie over all others, and tended to foreclose leadership roles for the poor, as it placed those with adequate capital at the forefront of the movement.

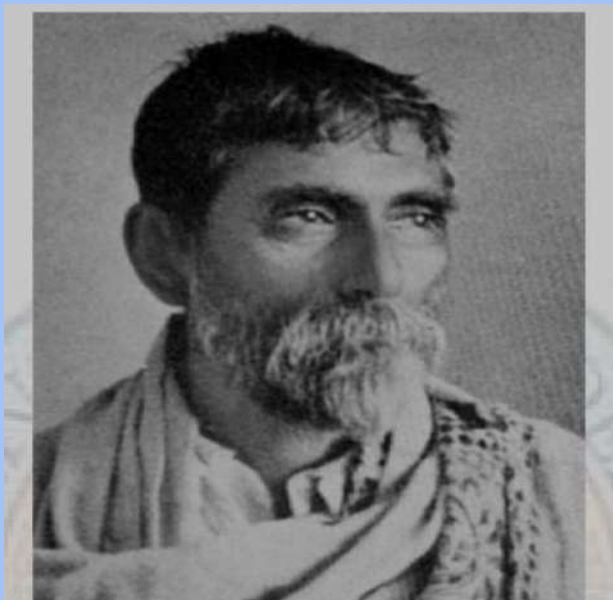


Fig - Prafulla Chandra Roy

National education

The other aspect of this programme was the building up of a parallel and independent system of 'national education', which used **vernacular languages**, instead of English, as the medium of communication. Early nationalists had welcomed the spread of western education through English, initiated on a limited scale by the British government.

However, the Swadeshi movement was more closely associated with an Extremist criticism of this system, because it neglected vernacular languages and 'indigenous values' in education. Some sections of the leadership attacked English education because they believed it cultivated subservience to British authority in the minds of students.

Thus, the programme of 'indigenous education' was also tied up with encouraging more radical forms of politics. Sometimes a critique of western education took the form of a simplistic desire to return to the early 'tols' complete with their system of caste-restrictions within education. This was seen in the Hindu Hitarthi Vidyalaya, 1845 and Satishchandra Mukherjee's Bhagavat Chatuspathi, 1895. Rabindranath's Shantiniketan had also started on similar revivalist lines, but later broadened its vision and became

Viswabharati, a progressive university. For Tagore, educational reform was a crucial form of political activism in itself, because it would ensure that the movement reaches the masses. However, not all aspects of this programme were revivalist. A number of national institutions were set up to encourage technical education and this indicated an acknowledgement of the importance of western science and technical knowhow within education. A National Council of Education was set up in Calcutta in 1906 which designed primary, secondary and collegiate courses, which would combine literary and scientific education with technical training. The most important educational institution of the movement was the **Bengal National College and School**, 1906, with **Aurobindo Ghosh** as its principal. However, what is most noteworthy is the proliferation of national schools in districts and mofussil areas. These schools were far more politically active than those of Calcutta and caused great anxiety to the government as well. **Aswini Kumar Dutta**, a school-teacher of Barisal, for instance, through consistent social-work built up a strong mass-following for the Swadeshi-boycott movement in his district. The programme of national education wasn't as idyllic as one might have hoped. Most of the grants from the National Council was concentrated in Calcutta and didn't find their way into the mofussil schools. The leaders in the council were also fearful of police

repression and thus, curbed grants to institutions that were suspected of having links with samitis or revolutionary organizations. For the similar reasons, the mofussil schools, which were politically active, also lost out on funding. Since the knowledge of English determined employment opportunities, vernacular languages were used only in the early school years, and the use of English dominated higher education. Furthermore, the project of 'national education' tended to neglect primary education, where it could have contributed decisively. Instead the Council busied itself with setting up a parallel university, which met with very little success as no Indian-owned national college broke ties with the Calcutta University.



Fig-Tagore,Gandhi,Kasturba Gandhi in Shantiniketan(1940)

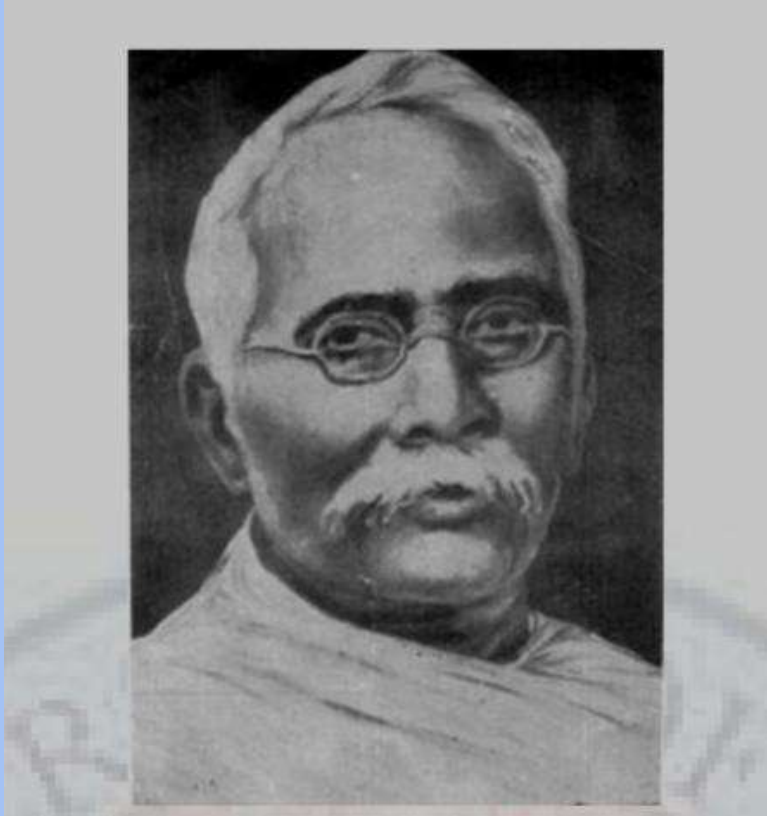


Fig- Ashwini Kumar Dutta

Boycott and passive resistance

In some ways, '**constructive swadeshi**' followed from the more popular form of agitation – the boycott of British goods, which had a greater symbolic than real impact on the use of British goods. Manchester piece goods, **Liverpool salt** and **foreign sugar** were the main targets. While the boycott of sugar was quite unsuccessful and most other imports were marginally affected, sharp dips were noticed in the import of cotton cloth, apparel, tobacco and liquor. However, 1907 was also a period of depression in world trade against which we need to qualify the evidence of a fall in imports. Boycott was carried on by strong volunteer groups or samitis which used picketing and social ostracism to enforce it. Its success was sometimes limited because indigenous substitutes were not available in adequate supply and they were often much more expensive than British goods.

Extremist agitation led by **Bipin Chandra Pal** and **Aurobindo Ghosh** propagated complete political independence as their goal for the first time, and their agitational techniques were directed towards decisively ending British rule in India. While never ruling out a possible violent struggle to this end in the near

future, they used 'passive resistance' as a method to ensure mass participation in the nationalist agitation, which had been, thus far, an elite preserve.

Passive resistance meant an extension of boycott beyond British goods to include the boycott of schools and colleges, law courts, government service and legislative posts.

According to Pal, it entailed a refusal to render any service to the British government.

Passive resistance worked through the new organizational format of samitis that undertook active propaganda through songs and jattras on religious festivals, magic-lantern marches, social work during epidemics and famines, the setting up of swadeshi crafts, schools and arbitration courts, and social boycott of those who refused to heed their exhortations.

Revolutionary terrorism

In spite of having developed techniques of mass agitation, the Swadeshi movement never became a successful mass movement, and by 1908 young elite nationalists turned to revolutionary terrorism instead. This revolutionary activity was not undertaken by organized groups but by young men who would commit individual acts of heroism in an attempt to arouse others to emulate their example. They undertook assassinations of colonial officials and 'swadeshi dacoities' to raise funds for their agitation. Physical and moral training was part of conspiratorial 'secret societies' that operated through akharas or gymnasia from the 1860s and 70s. Such societies proliferated by the turn of the century, and the Midnapur Secret Society, the Atmonnyati Samiti and the Anushilan Samiti (founded by Pramatha Mitra) were all founded in 1902. By 1905 akharas mushroomed all over Bengal, recruiting and training young men in revolutionary action. Militant nationalists often dominated the working of Swadeshi samitis,

like those of Dacca and Midnapur. Important leaders who translated this militant theory into action include **Barindrakumar Ghosh, Upendranath Banerji and Hemchandra Kanungo.**

Aurobindo and Charuchandra Dutta started the revolutionary weekly **Yugantar** in 1906. Khudiram Basu and Prafulla Chaki, the early martyrs of this period came to occupy legendary positions within the collective memory of the nationalist struggle in Bengal. One must remember, however, that militant nationalism in the period between 1905 and 1908 was strongly Hindu revivalist in its tone and rhetoric, and most of this activity remained confined to very elite young men. While they tried to forge alternative routes to freedom from the British, the nature of their movement evoked heavy repression from the government. Nevertheless, revolutionary terrorism survived beyond its humble roots in the Swadeshi movement, and continued as a distinct form of nationalist agitation till the 1930

Value addition: what the sources say
On the two reactions to 'mendicancy'
'One, thoughtful, philosophic, idealistic, dreamed of ignoring the terrible burden that was crushing us to death, of turning away from politics and dedicating our

strength in the village and township, developing our resources, our social, economic, religious life, regardless of the intrusive alien; it thought of inaugurating a new revolution such as the world had never yet seen, a moral, peaceful revolution, actively developing ourselves but only passively resisting the adversary*

About the second way:

... the conviction that subjection was the one curse which withered and blighted all our national activities... The resolve was to rise and fight and fall and again rise and fight and fall waging the battle for ever until this once great and free nation should again be great and free.

Source: Editorial in the Bande Mataram, 22 June 1907.

Limitations of the Swadeshi movement

● **Gap between the elite and the masses**

Sumit Sarkar's **The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal 1903-1908**, gives us the most exhaustive historical survey of the movement, and his arguments have come to dominate most scholarship on the issue. One of issues that Sarkar is preoccupied with is the failure of the mass agitation to turn into a full-fledged mass movement, of the kind we see later under Gandhi's leadership. This difference in the success of mass mobilization during Swadeshi and under Gandhi is particularly interesting since many Gandhian techniques of agitation were anticipated during the Swadeshi movement.

What stands out most, as an inadequacy in the movement, is the superficial relationship between the elite leadership and the masses. The early Moderate leadership was almost averse to mass participation in the nationalist movement, and believed that the educated elite were the 'natural leaders' of society. Extremist leaders however, wanted to arouse mass support and participation for their agitation, and fell out with the Moderates over this issue. In fact the success of techniques like boycott and passive resistance was predicated on mass participation. However, in spite of having developed effective techniques, the Swadeshi movement could not transcend its elite character, an extension of its elite leadership.

● **Techniques of mass agitation**

Swadeshi leaders took to speaking and writing in vernacular languages, leaders like Pal and Surendranath Banerji toured the countryside to make speeches, samitis carried on constructive social work in periods of famine and epidemics – much of this was directed to popularizing the movement amongst the masses. Virulent campaigns were carried out both in the English and vernacular press as well as through periodical journals and pamphlets, where the issue of poverty was regularly taken up for discussion by the intelligentsia that contributed to these. To reach out to uneducated masses songs, plays, jattras, melas, patriotic festivals and rites like raksha-bandhan were used to spread the swadeshi spirit. But most of this cultural discourse was couched in a strongly Hindu-revivalist vocabulary, which, it was believed, would have greater appeal for stirring the

imagination of the masses. Bipin Chandra Pal, in the context of village-work, said:“patriotism must be converted into a religion, with its own symbols, images, vows and ceremonies”.

● **Ineffectiveness of the mass programme and alienation of the Masses**

Extremist leaders seem to have assumed that religious rhetoric would draw in the masses while the ‘high’ politics of logical arguments about economic issues would only appeal to elite groups. This supposition was possibly a flawed one and what in fact seems to have been missing in the leadership’s vision of mass participation was any genuine incorporation of the economic grievances of the peasantry, and contact with the countryside remained confined to humanitarian work by samitis and national volunteers. While a number of labour strikes in Bengal coincided and occasionally intersected with the Swadeshi movement, except for a few leaders like Aswinicoomar Banerji, most others had, at best, a tenuous relationship with workers’ protests, when they did not actively criticize them. The reason for this distance may be sought in the fact that many Congress nationalist leaders themselves had interests in land and industrial production, and focusing on the condition of the peasantry or labour would mean empowering them to recognize the relationship of subservience they had with Indian employers or landlords as well. The techniques of boycott and swadeshi also tended to alienate the poor. Only the affluent could set up swadeshi enterprises, and this discouraged the emergence of a leadership from amongst the masses. The boycott of British goods meant that the poor were often forced to buy indigenous goods which were far more expensive. Moreover, the recalcitrant were punished through social ostracism enforced through the use of mechanisms of power inherent in traditional caste hierarchies in the countryside.

● **Muslim elite politics**

The more tragic result of Hindu revivalist politics was the alienation of Muslims and a parallel development of revivalist and separatist movements among them. Orthodox, revivalist trends in Islam represented by the **Wahabis** and **Deobandis** were being preached by maulvis in the countryside, supported by Nawab Salimullah of Dacca. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan stood for a different sort of elite Muslim politics which encouraged loyalism amongst educated Muslims to garner greater employment

in the colonial government. Differential treatment meted out to the elites of both communities by the colonial government created a hostile and competitive situation. The partition of Bengal, part of such divisive politics practiced by the colonial state, held out the prospect of a Muslim-majority province where educated Muslims would enjoy greater privileges, and this idea appealed to some sections of the Muslim educated elite.

Cultural swadeshi

After a thorough enumeration of the limitations of the movement, it seems difficult to fathom why it continues to be such a celebrated episode in Indian history. As we have mentioned earlier, the Swadeshi movement was crucial because it helped imagine the nation as a cultural category, which would then be mobilized in a political movement against imperialist Britain. The Bengali elite was in search of a national identity. As it became clear that nationalism could only flourish after a complete breach with the British had been achieved, this search invariably led some of them to revive pre-British traditional religious or linguistic loyalties. Therefore this period was uniquely characterized by a dynamic intellectual and cultural efflorescence. This cultural upsurge articulated itself in literature, theatre, songs, poetry, art and contained within it the tensions of the age and a desire to explore indigenous artistic and aesthetic traditions. Besides the numerous essays that were written in newspapers and journals on the theme of swadeshi, Rabindranath Tagore's novels **Gora and Ghare-Baire** are seen as critical literary material to grasp the complexities of the age. An interest in folk traditions and Bengal's literary history was also revived. In Thakurmar Jhuli, for instance, **Dakshinaranjan Mitra Majumdar** compiled numerous fairy tales. Historical and scientific research progressed in the colleges burgeoning with bright young graduates. **Akshay Kumar Maitra** wrote biographies of

Sirajoddoula and Mir Kasim and founded the journal Aitihāsik Chitra and the Varendra Research Society. The scientific achievements of P. C. Ray and J. C. Bose's discoveries in Plant Response Became the source of great patriotic pride. Indian art in the late 19th century had come to be characterized by Victorian naturalism. However, artists like **Abanindranath Tagore**, **Rabindranath Tagore** and **Nandalal Bose** made a conscious break from Western aesthetics by borrowing from Japanese artists and exploring indigenous Mughal, Rajput and Ajanta traditions. A lot of this art was also often overtly political in content.

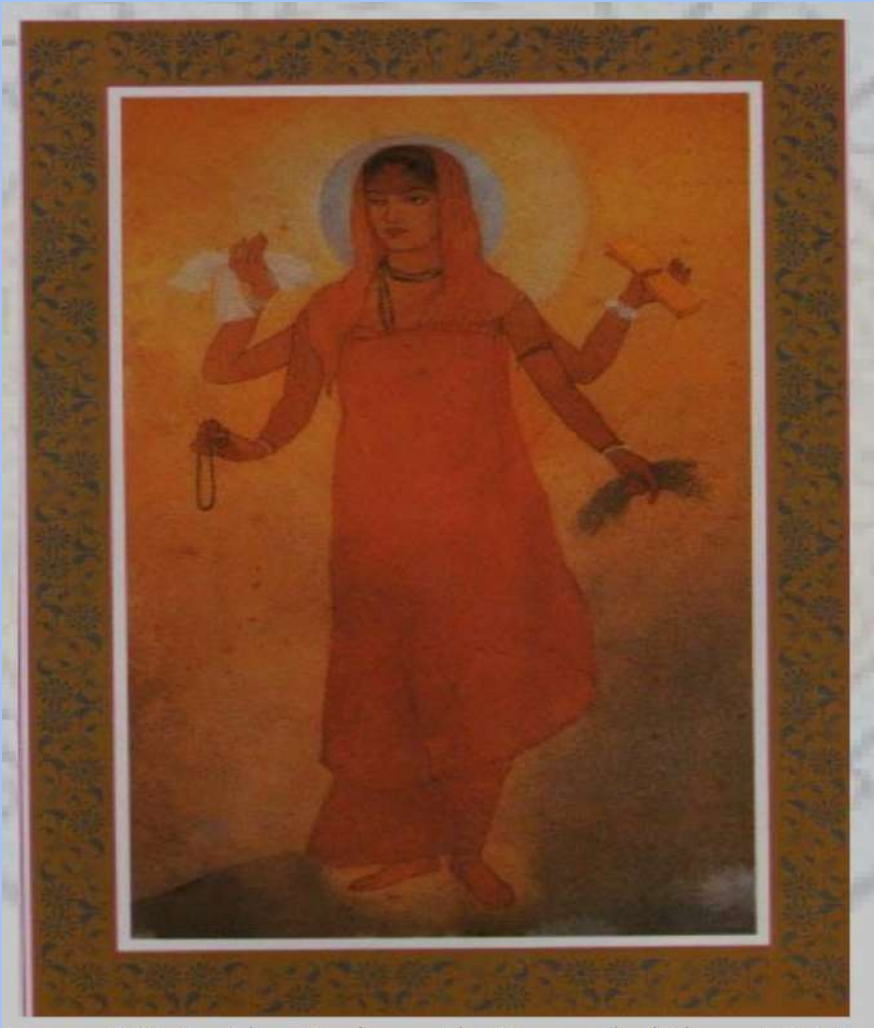


Fig- Bharat Mata by Abanindranath Tagore



Fig- Portrait of a Lady by Rabindranath Tagore



Fig- Radha's Viraha by Nandalal Bose

Conclusion

The social composition of the Swadeshi movement was such that it belies easy characterization on the basis of class. While sympathy from zamindars or landlords was much talked about, it was the mid-level tenure holder who was more active. Historian R. P. Dutt has argued that Swadeshi was reflective of the grievances of the petty bourgeoisie, but Sarkar has shown that trading communities and the industrial bourgeoisie were in fact indifferent or hostile to the movement. The movement did belong to the Bengali middle class, but this middle class had no links with capitalist industry or agriculture, unlike its British counterpart. The only element that distinguished the early nationalist leadership was western education, and consequently their attraction to nationalist ideology. The category of bhadralok was therefore more of a social category referring to men of education rather than a particular class and yet they were mostly well-off. Their nationalist ideology was one which sought to reach out to the masses, but its limitations were determined by their class position, and that constituted the failure of the movement.

In his enormously influential monograph on the Swadeshi movement in Bengal, Sumit Sarkar has argued that as the first nationalist mass-movement, Swadeshi was clearly a failure. This is borne out by the fact that mass agitation had stopped by 1908, and anti-imperialist protest now took the form of revolutionary acts of violence carried out by small groups of educated young men. Mass politics would however reappear in a more effective way under Gandhi's leadership in the 1920s. In fact, Gandhi went onto revive and give a new lease of life to tactics like non-cooperation, passive resistance and civil disobedience that had been the backbone of the Swadeshi movement. This may lead us to conclude that perhaps the socio-political context wasn't ripe for a successful mass movement in 1905. One might even argue that the tactics and lessons learnt during the Swadeshi movement paved the way for future successful mass politics in a later stage of the national movement.

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Swadeshi Movement in Bengal :

Patterns and Features

(DSE - A3)

SEMESTER- 6



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Department of History

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Introduction

With the emergence of various associations at national, provincial and district level and the growing awareness about country's situation, an idea of an idealistic country drew a heavy favour amongst the majority which helped in strengthening the National Movement that was taking place since the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885. The changes introduced by the British in the administrative, judicial, economic and intellectual life of the country also prepared the ground for the rise of a new class of restless and dynamic leaders. The latter gave the needed leadership to the movement. The constitutional agitation through petitions which they began since 1885, of course, gradually yielded place to a new aggressive demand for political privileges from early twentieth century, more particularly from 1905. With the discontent and disillusionment among the people coupled with the partition of Bengal moved them for an unprecedented struggle for freedom from foreign yoke in the twentieth century. The Swadeshi movement emerged as an agitation against the Bengal partition in 1905, which Lord Curzon had designed as a means of destroying political opposition in Bengal province.

Partition of Bengal and the Miscalculations

The British Government of India on July 9th, 1905 announced that the Bengal Presidency would be divided into two with effect from October 16th, 1905. The outward argument in favour of this was administrative consideration, lightening the administrative burden upon Bengal. But, the real motive was to curb the growth of national feeling in the politically advanced Bengal by driving a wedge between the Bengali speaking Hindus and the Muslims and destroying the solidarity of 78 million Bengalis by dividing them into two blocks. It was a master plan of Viceroy Curzon to destroy the nascent nationalism of which Bengal had become the nerve centre. The partitioning of the homogeneous Bengali speaking area led to outburst of public indignation all over Bengal. It was opposed by the various sections of the society. The officials, the educated Muslims and the Muslim peasantry of Bengal condemned the partition of Bengal from the outset. Even the Indian National Congress opposed this division and passed resolutions against it at its meetings. The Curzonian scheme to partition Bengal took a concrete shape gradually from the time the Viceroy wrote

his minute on Territorial Redistribution on 1 June, 1903 to the day the final scheme of division was despatched to the home authorities in London for sanction on 2 February, 1905. On 19 July, 1905 the Government of India announced its decision to form the new province of "Eastern Bengal and Assam", comprising the Chittagong, Dacca and Rajshahi divisions, Hill Tippera (Tripura), Malda and Assam. The province came into existence on 16 October, 1905, by breaking up Bengal and its 41.5 million Bengali speaking people.



Mahatma Gandhi Using the Charkha

(Source :

<https://pcsstudies.com/tag/main-motive-for-the-partition-of-bengal/>)

While dividing Bengal Curzon and his men made their own calculations about the kind of resistance, they may have to face. They knew about the worries of the '*babus*' in Eastern Bengal over the prospect of clerical jobs. They were also aware of the difficulty the Bengali Zamindars (having estates in both eastern and western parts) had to face over the increased expenses for engaging two sets of agents and pleaders. They also knew how Calcutta nationalists might feel disturbed on account of the loss of a considerable portion of their audience and following. But they expected all of this to subside in course of time, or at the most, to lead for a while only to protest meetings and processions that could easily be tolerated and ignored. The Government had no idea whatsoever of the stormy political movement which the Partition would cause, breaking it away from traditional ways of respectful resentment, generating unprecedented militancy and turning it rapidly into a battle for swaraj (self- rule). The authorities grossly underestimated the Bengali dislike for

authoritarianism which had been produced among them by their long history of virtual independence from nominal central powers.

The Era and Impact of Swadeshi Movement

The partition was a turning point in the history of Bengal. The birth of intense national feeling caused reverberations throughout India. A strong wave of protest movements was launched in Bengal to pressurize the Government to annul the partition. From 1903, the partition proposals became publicly known. So, during the 1903-1905 period, moderate techniques of petitions, memorandum, speeches, public meetings and press campaigns held full sway. But despite the widespread protests, the decision to partition Bengal was announced on 19th July, 1905. The Congress leadership then made the final proclamation of the Swadeshi Movement on 7th August 1905, in a meeting held at the Calcutta Town Hall. Then in the same year, the Annual Congress Session, which took place at Banaras took up the Swadeshi call under the presidentship of Gopal Krishna Gokhale. The people were urged to boycott foreign cloth and the shops selling foreign goods were picketed. The Ganpati and Shivaji festivals popularized by Tilak became a medium of Swadeshi propaganda. People tied rakhis on each other's hand as a symbol of unity of two halves of Bengal. Rabindra Nath Tagore also made huge contribution in the movement. He made public speeches, wrote essays, short stories, poems inspiring the Bengali mind. His patriotic songs swayed the Bengali heart, touching a chord within and filling them with love and pride for their country.



Mahatma Gandhi Marching with his followers

(Source : <https://www.indiatoday.in/education-today/gk-current-affairs/story/cbse-class-12-history-crashcourse-non-cooperation-movement-1435748-2019-01-21>)

Women came out of their homes for the first time and joined processions and picketing. During the movement, even the moderate leaders like Surendranath Banerjee toured the country urging the people to unite and boycott British made goods. The partition took effect on 16th October, 1905. On this day, people fasted and no fires were lit at the cooking hearth. In Calcutta, 'hartal' was declared. On this day, Anand Mohan Bose and Surendranath Banerjee addressed two huge mass meetings. However, the partition instead of dividing and weakening the Bengalis, further united them through the anti-partition agitation. The Curzon administration had ignored the emerging Bengali identity which cut across narrow interest groups, class, as well as regional barriers. The famines and epidemics of the 1890s had also shattered the faith in the providential British connection. The narrowing opportunities for the educated Bengalis, the rising prices fuelled by bad harvests made life miserable for the middle-class. At this juncture, the partition instead of dividing the Bengali society, brought into existence a swadeshi coalition by further consolidating the political alliance between the Calcutta leaders and their east Bengali followers, which according to Rajat Ray, was "nothing less than a revolution in the political structure of Bengal society."

Conclusion

Swadeshi movement marked a total reversal of the earlier nationalist approach of "petitioning and praying" to the Raj for concessions, as well as a virtual rejection of the moderate political programme. It set before the Indian people the goal of Swaraj or Independence and committed them to the task of doing away with Britain's imperialist stranglehold over India. For attainment of swaraj, it chartered out for the nation the path of "passive resistance" or civil disobedience of British authority, and relegated constitutionalism to a secondary position. The success of such resistance being conditional on extensive participation of the masses, the Swadeshi movement struggled hard to gain a popular base, and, despite, its failure to become a full-fledged mass upsurge, it nevertheless succeeded in leaving behind for the posterity

the ideal of wide-spread mass struggle. With all these, and also with its scheme for "constructive swadeshi", the movement clearly anticipated the Gandhian mass struggles of the post-first world war period. Barring the principle of non-violence, Gandhi's inspiring call from 1920 onwards for achieving swaraj through "non-cooperation," "civil disobedience" and "constructive programme" resembled closely with "boycott", "passive resistance" and "constructive swadeshi" of the Bengali political scenario preached and practised fifteen years ago. The Swadeshi movement had put-up the stiffest Indian resistance to the Government of an arch-imperialist like Curzon, and after his departure from India in November 1905, to the succeeding Government of Minto. It came a contributing factor in the resignation of Fuller, the Lieutenant Governor of East Bengal and Assam, in August 1906, and forced the authorities eventually to annul the partition and re-unify Bengal in 1911. However there were hardly its major achievements in the larger nation-wide context. Its chief success lay in giving Indian nationalism a new imaginative direction, and in raising the state of nationalist unrest to the high plane of bitter anti-imperialist struggle. It also successfully left its deep marks on the cultural and intellectual activities of Bengal; with their fallouts spread over different parts of the country. Apart from a rich crop of patriotic compositions, playwritings and dramatic performances, it generated the Bengal School of Painting under the leadership of Rabindranath Tagore, kindled scientific enquiries under the supervision of Jagadish Chandra Bose and Prafulla Chandra Roy, revived interest in the folk traditions through the labours of Dinesh Chandra Sen and invigorated historical research with the help of the findings of Rakhaldas Baneji, Hariprasad Shastri and several other noblemen.

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SEMESTER- VI

Topic-
1947 Partition
and the Bengal
Experience

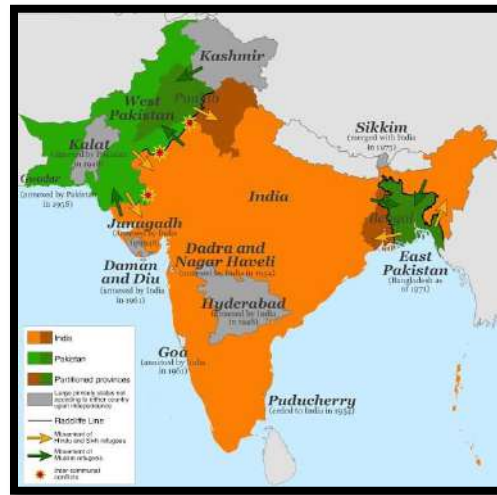
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Introduction



Pic1- Map showing the Partition of India

In August, 1947 the British quit their Indian empire, dividing it into two nations. As a part of that historic division, Bengal and the Punjab, the largest provinces of British India in which Muslims were a majority, were partitioned between the successor state of India and Pakistan. Roughly 2/3rd of the territory of Bengal was carved out to create the province of the East Bengal in Pakistan.

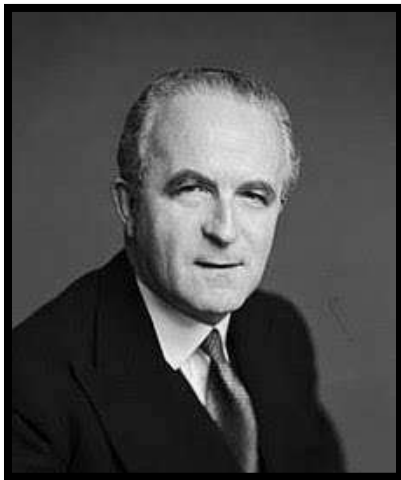
Bengal's partition in 1947 had enormous consequences of partition for West Bengal and for independent India. The political partition of India caused one of the great human convulsions of history. Never before or since have so many people exchanged their homes so quickly. In space of about two months, about **12million** people moved between the new, truncated India and the two wings- East and West of the newly created Pakistan.

Urvashi Butalia is seen commenting that when we look for materials written on Partition, there is no dearth of it, and if they were believed then the Partition was something that happened in the August of 1947 and was preceded by a series of events. She adds, that the 'history' of

Partition seemed to lie only in the political developments. The other aspect- like what happened to the millions of people who had to live through this time, how families were divided, how friendships endured across borders, how people coped with the trauma etc, find little reflection in written history. However modern research does focus of this aspect.

In this project, thus, we shall focus on the Bengal experience of the partition with a little backstory of the political background of the event.

Political Backdrop of The Partition



Pic2- Cyril Radcliff



Pic3- Radcliff Line

As freedom came with the pain of Partition, the immediate concern for everyone was **Sir Cyril Radcliff** who had no experience of India and was entrusted with the responsibility of drawing the international boundary within a short span of time. The deciding factor would of course be religious demography of each district, but other factors such as rivers, administrative units, economic viability, railway and road connections etc. were all taken into consideration.

The Hindus, Muslim prevented their case, but the Sikhs complicated the situation as they were scattered throughout the region, and demanded that all the holy shrines should be in India.

Rational decisions were sacrificed for considerations and boundary lines were drawn hastily, which left many people unhappy. **West Punjab** which went to Pakistan received 62,000 square miles of territory and with 15,800,900 people of which the maximum were Muslims. East Punjab remained in India with 37,000 square miles of area and 72,600,000 people, of which 4,375,000 were Muslims.

In the east, **West Bengal**, that remained in India got 28,000 square miles and East Bengal which would constitute as East Pakistan received 49,400 square miles. Following a referendum in July 1947, the district of **Sylhet** was transferred from Assam to East Bengal and the district of **Khulna** which with a Muslim population of 49.3% was given to Pakistan for no apparent reason, as were the primarily tribal regions of **Chittagong Hill Tracts**. On the other hand, largely populated Muslim majority areas of **Malda, Nadia** and **Murshidabad** were added to West Bengal.

Shekhar Bandhyopadhyay opines that freedom had different meanings for different people in the subcontinent. To the political elite of Pakistan, Partition itself was freedom, that is, freedom from the political dominance of Hindu majority. In India- while a few rejoiced the arrival of freedom, others- the refugees and the minorities paid the heaviest price. As long caravans of thousands of refugees began their uncertain journeys across the borders, rival groups took revenge on one another.

Bengal Experience



Pic4- Overcrowded train transferring refugees during the partition of India,1947.

The partition of the subcontinent into India and Pakistan on the basis of religious divide, left millions of Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims on the ‘wrong’ side of the fence and led to an exodus unparalleled. **Joya Chatterjee** opines that the experience of Bengal refugees, is a subject that still has to engage the growing community of scholars who study refugees in other places.



Pic5- Vultures and corpses in the street of Calcutta, 1946

In the new state of West Bengal, the Muslims were reduced from a ruling majority to a vulnerable minority. Conversely, in East Bengal, the 11 million Hindus became a part of

independent Pakistan. What made this a fearsome vivisection was the memory of the recent slaughter of Hindus by thousands in Noakhali and Tippera and the murderous riots in Calcutta. Every individual and every family of Hindus in East Bengal and Muslims of West Bengal had to make this choice.

In East Bengal, most of the stronghold was with the Hindu chieftains who belonged to higher class whether Brahman or Kayasthas who lived mainly around **Barisal**, **Dacca** and **Bikrampur**. But most Hindus, perhaps a million from these regions belonged to much lower status, namely the Namasudra, Pods and Jalia Kaibartas. In other regions of **Rangpur**, **Dinajpur**, the **Rajbangshis**, and **Santhals**, the **Chakmas** in **Chittagong Hill Tracts**, **Tippera** and **Mymensigh** were in considerable numbers. Most of these were returned as Hindus in 1941 census, even though their place in the Hindu caste was quite tenuous.

In contrast to Punjab's post-partition killings the violence in East Bengal was much contained. Nevertheless, Hindus in East Bengal, [perhaps two million] fled to West Bengal in threat of violence and also because of the **Noakhali** and **Tippera** riots of 1946 and **Khulna riots** of 1950. But **Joya Chatterjee** maintains that the people left East Bengal for variety of reasons and not just because of violence. At the end of a study of refugees in Nadia state stories about how Muslims stole their harvest, cow and goats. Thus, she opines those subtler forms of discrimination and sometimes general malaise about the new dispensation were enough to persuade some Hindus to pack and leave.

Most of the East Bengal bhadraloks had somewhere to go to in West Bengal: they had property, owned 'town houses' and had relatives who could give shelter to them. In contrary to that, majority of Hindu sharecroppers, peasants, agricultural laborers found emigration difficult

as they were illiterates and few had connections in West Bengal. Similar reasons and patterns were seen for the Muslims moving from West Bengal to East Bengal.



Pic6- Refugees in Calcutta.

The data where the refugees chose to settle in West Bengal revealed three districts: **24 Parganas, Calcutta** and **Nadia**. Four other districts, **West Bengal, Dinajpur, Cooch Behar** and **Burdwan** absorbed the remaining. The refugees chose places where they had kins and where they thought they could find work, as they had to start from scratch. Inevitable, the educated middle class chose large towns of Calcutta, 24 Parganas and Burdwan. For similar sort of reasons artisans too were attracted to cities.

The huge increase in West Bengal's urban population after partition was not a direct result of 'adding on' the 5/6 million Hindus. The population of West Bengal increased geometrically due to the influx of refugees. This extraordinarily demographic surge caused severe problems like scarcity of food, land and inflationary prices. Unemployment rose as the population of West Bengal exploded. **Joya Chatterjee** writes, "Calcutta had become a veritable powder keg, but so too had Bengal's other towns, ready at any time to explode from one another of the sparks flying about in its armories of discontent."

- Women of Bengal:-



Pic7- Abandoned and Abducted women refugees getting education.

Ashok Gupta, one of the social workers working for rehabilitation of refugees, has pointed out that the neglect of Bengal camps. She submitted a report to the government according to which, doles for women of Bengal were much less than those in Punjab there were also no separate women homes and latrine as well as no training centers to help them to stand on their own. Through the interviews of the inmates of the PL camps **Subhashri Ghosh** and **Debjani Dutta** it can be heightened that the plight of inmates continued on decades after the Partition.

The hardships of Partition left many women alone with their husbands and the women who were earlier confined to their homes were now compelled to enter public sphere and earn their living. Their jobs ranged from actresses, nurses, teachers to bidi rollers and mill workers. Economic independence also paved the way for women to take a social and political decisions.

The developments also had effects. On one hand, refugee women were thrown into completely different surroundings from lush green countryside where their life comprised mainly of the inner confines of their home, to a crowded city where they had to start from

scratch. It also altered the lives of the women of minority community. The women lost their men and the trauma of communal riots was very disturbing.

Thus, partition was life changing for women who suffered in their homes, thrown into an unknown world or completely isolated and alienated from social life and most importantly successfully adapted to their difficult circumstances.

- **Some First Hand Interviews of People Experiencing Partition:-**

- a. **Anjali Das**



Migrated from- Chittagong, Chittagong Division, Bangladesh.

Migrated to- Burdwan, West Bengal, India.

Interviewer- Deborshi Chakraborty

Camera Person- Deborshi Chakraborty

Her Story- She was recollecting the fact that she had relatives on the other side of the border and hopes that one day she would possibly go there. Anjali Prabha Das was born in the year 1947, in **Aziz Fazilpur** in Feni subdivision of Noakhali District, Bengal. Immediately after she was born, Partition took place and her family decided not to migrate to India. She recalls that there was a deep sense of distress between different communities, which had been present since 1996 riots.

Young Mrs. Das had seen many tragic incidents for which the police seldom took any actions.

Though they had friends from many circles they lived in constant fear. She was also afraid of attending school as a woman of minority community. She was married early and moved to Chittagong from where her husband migrated to India for a job in 1968. When her second child was 6 months and first child five, she migrated to India. She crossed the borders at night, with the help of others. She took refuge at a relative's house in Agartala and flew to Kolkata and came to Burdwan where she has been living since.

She has not visited her in-laws and relatives on the other side of the border since she migrated. She could not attend the funeral of her parents and lives with the hope to go on the other side of the border one day.

b. **Abdul Ali:-**



Location- Basirhat, West Bengal, India. (Did not migrate)

Interviewer- Debraj Banerjee

Camera Person- Debraj Banerjee

His Story- **Sheikh Abdul Azim** was born in 1941 in Saipal in Basirhat district, West Bengal. Mr. Ali's father was a businessman who owned a departmental

store in Basirhat. Mr. Ali's paternal forefathers hailed from Basirhat division of undivided Bengal.

Recalling the situation before 1947, he mentions that he would often see both communities chanting slogans, and very often there would be conflicts pertaining to which country's territory would Basirhat fall. After the partition his mother's familial home fell into the territory of East Pakistan. He recalls visiting there after 1971 and interacting with the people. He was a member of the Muslim League and when asked about the relationship between both the communities, Ali says that the children never felt any communal tensions although the adults did feel it.

Mr. Ali was six when the Partition took place. He says that in Basirhat, the situation was peaceful with little no riots, so they too decided to stay back after 1947. However, during the Holi festival of 1950 there were rumors of upcoming danger and few reports were given about some lumpen elements had set fire to their shops. As a measure safety Mr Ali, and other family members took torches and sticks and hid in nearby bushes. He says after this incident the Muslim community decided not to stay any more.

Conclusion

After the Partition took place, different people had different aspirations and the politics of West Bengal took a turn. The Muslims who were a minority turned to Congress and became a major vote bank. All parties put up Muslim candidates in constituencies where Muslim voters played a key role. **Joya Chatterjee** opines that in constituencies which came to be seen as

'Muslim' seats, the political agenda and language of electioneers came to be stridently and unabashedly communal. Thus, according to her, in West Bengal at least the separate electorates and reserved seats abolished by India's constitution seem to have re-emerged with a vengeance in another guise.

Politics on one side, the personal experience of people puts the negative and atrocious side before us. The Partition left thousands without a home and many more to suffer in many ways. The Partition was the handmade of the political leaders, but the people in a precarious situation and left many to suffer.

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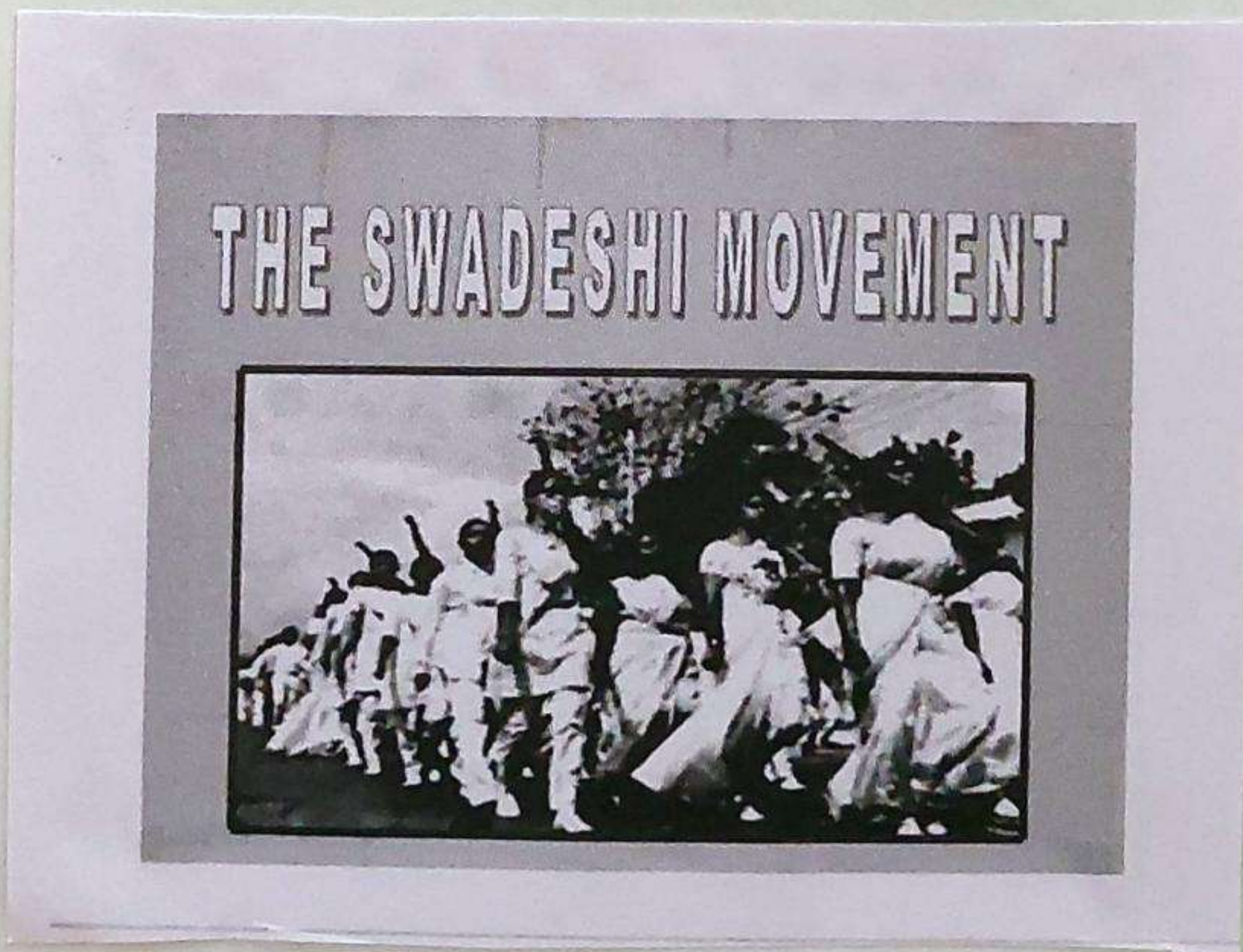
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SEMESTER - VI



PROJECT TOPIC

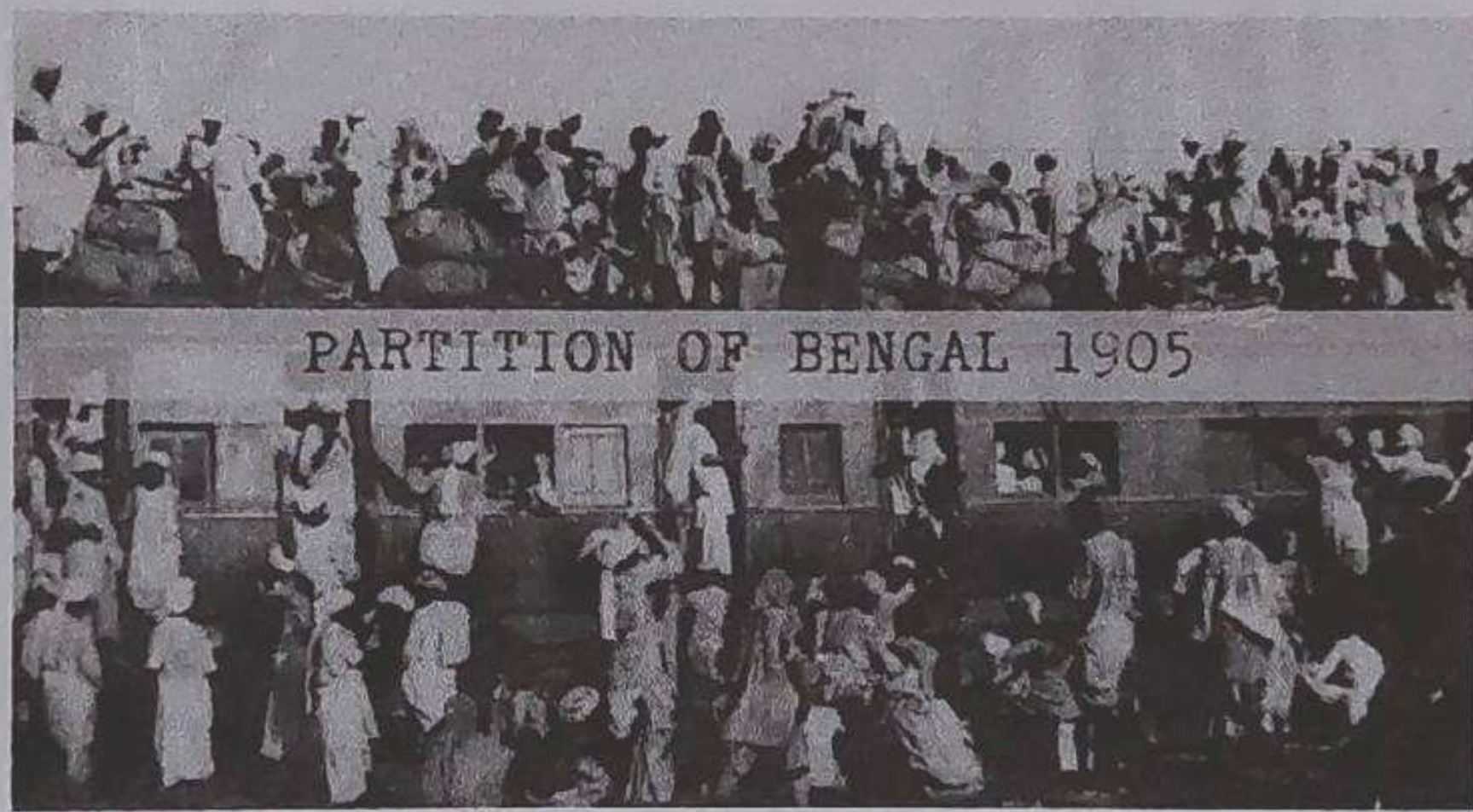
The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal - Patterns
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④



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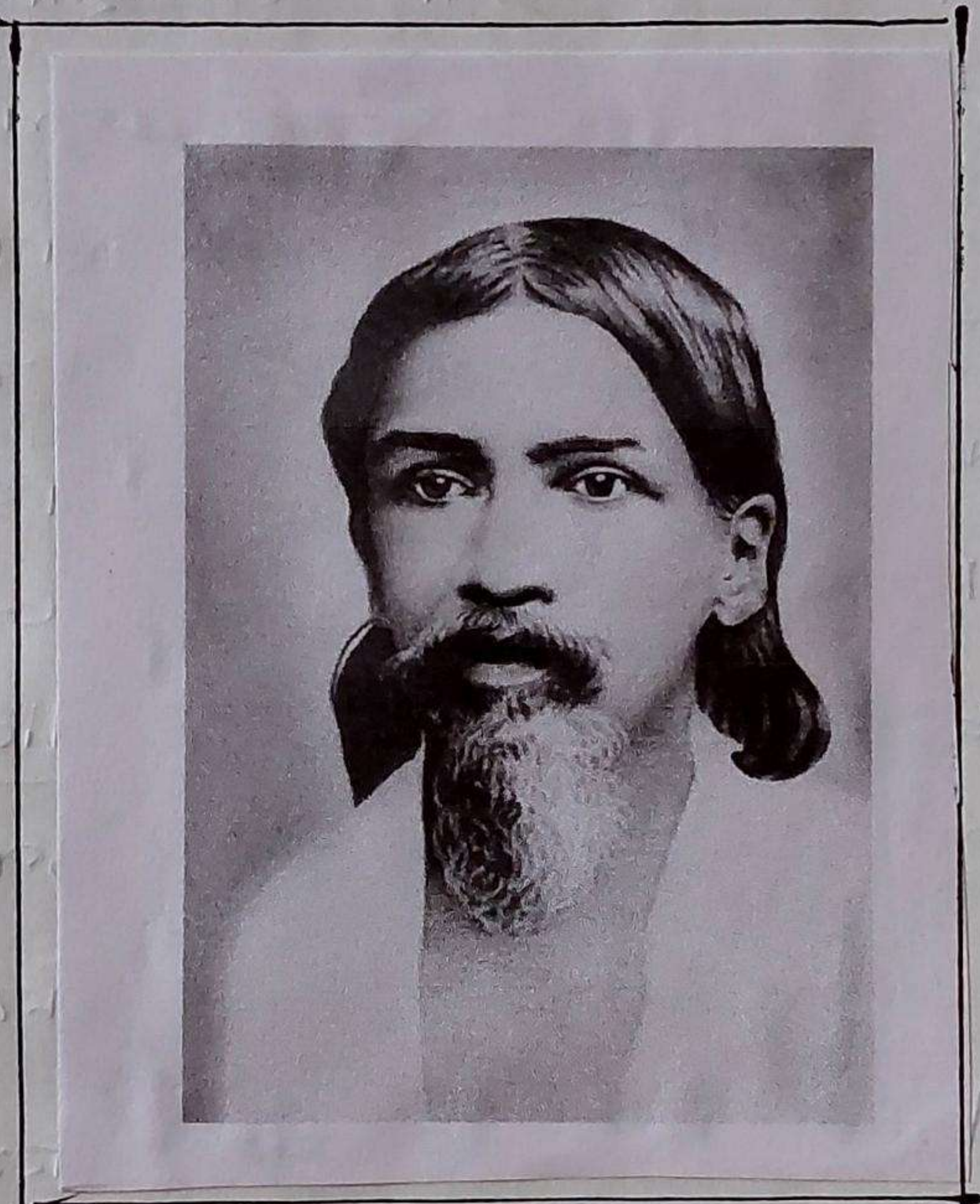
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DEPARTMENT – HISTORY (HONOURS)

SEMESTER – VI

PAPER – DSE-A3

**TITLE – THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT
IN BENGAL- PATTERNS AND FEATURES**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express my special thanks of gratitude to my History teacher “Ms. Shrimoyee Guha Thakurta” As well as our principal “Dr. Madhumanjari Mandal” Who gave me the golden opportunity to do this wonderful project on the topic –“The Swadeshi Movement In Bengal- Patterns And Features”, which also helped me in doing a lot of research and I came to know about so many new things I am really thankful to them. Secondly, I would like to thank my parents and friends who helped me a lot in finalizing this project within the limited time frame.

CONTENT:-

1. **INTRODUCTION**
2. **IMPORTANCE OF THE SWADESHI AND BOYCOTT MOVEMENTS**
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4. **IMPACT OF SWADESHI MOVEMENT**
5. **ESTABLISHMENT OF SWADESHI INSTITUTIONS**
6. **THE GRADUAL SUPPRESSION OF THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT**
7. **CONCLUSION**
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INTRODUCTION

The Swadeshi movement was part of the Indian independence movement and contributed to the development of Indian nationalism. After Partition of Bengal Swadeshi movement was formally started from Town Hall Calcutta on 7 August 1905 to curb foreign goods by relying on domestic production. Swadeshi was a focus of Mahatma Gandhi, who described it as the soul of swaraj (self-rule). The movement took its vast size and shape after rich Indians donated money and land dedicated to Khadi & Gramodyog societies which started cloth production in every household. It also included other village

industries so as to make village self sufficient and self reliant. Indian National Congress used this movement as arsenal for freedom struggle and ultimately on 15 August 1947, a hand spun Khadi 'tricolours ashok chakra' Indian flag was unfurled at 'Princess Park' near India Gate, New Delhi by Pandit Nehru. Swadeshi Movement emanated from the partition of Bengal, 1905 and continued up to 1908. It was the most successful of the pre-Gandhian movements. Initially the partition plan was opposed through an intensive use of conventional 'moderate' methods of press campaigns, numerous meetings and petitions, and big conferences at the

calcutta town hall in March 1904 and January 1905. The evident and total failure of such techniques led to a search for new forms – boycott of British goods, rakhi bandhan and arandhan. Two major trends can be identified in the Swadeshi (Swadeshi) Movement- ‘constructive Swadeshi’ and political ‘extremism’.

‘Boycott’ was the weapon to make Swadeshi movement successful.

Constructive Swadeshi was the trend of self-help through Swadeshi industries, national schools and attempts at village improvement and organisation. This found expression through the business ventures of Prafulla chandra roy or nilratan sarkar, national education

movement laid down by Satishchandra Mukherjee, and constructive work in villages through a revival of the traditional Hindu samaj sketched out by Rabindranath tagore. Swadesh Bandhav Samity of Aswini kumar datta also played a major role in the effort for reconstruction. Rabindranath called such a perspective of development 'atmashakti' (self-strengthening/confidence).

The emergence of Samitis was an achievement of the Swedeshi age. By 1908, most of these Samitis were quite open bodies engaged in a variety of activities – physical and moral training of members, social work during religious

festivals, preaching the Swadeshi message through multifarious forms, organising crafts, schools, arbitration courts and village societies, and implementing the techniques of passive resistance. The Swadeshi movement indirectly alienated the general Muslim public from national politics. They followed a separate course that culminated in the formation of the muslim league (1906) in Dacca. But it also helped to give a new dimension in the Indian nationalist movement by giving the anticipations of Gandhian mass satyagraha without the dogma of non-violence.

Importance of the Swadeshi and Boycott Movements

The Swadeshi and boycott movements were India's first 20th century movements that encouraged mass participation in modern nationalist politics by a large section of society. For the first time, women came out of their homes and joined processions and picketing of foreign-made goods shops. The Swadeshi and boycott movements also changed the character of the Indian National Congress (INC) from being driven largely by moderates to the main agenda now being set by the 'Extremists' who gave the Congress's 1906 Calcutta

session's call for 'Swaraj' or self – government. The ideas of non – cooperation and passive resistance, successfully applied many years later by Mahatma Gandhi, found their origin in early 20th century Swadeshi and boycott movements.

Rise of the Radical Nationalists:

The Extremists (or the Garam Dal) gained a dominant influence over the Swadeshi Movement in Bengal after 1905 till 1908; it is also known as the “Era of Passionate Nationalists”. Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bipin

Chandra Pal (Lal-Bal-Pal) were important leaders of this Radical group.

The reasons for the same were:

Failure of the Moderate-led Swadeshi movement. Divisive tactics of the governments of East Bengal and Western Bengal.

Violent measures of the British to suppress the movement.

In addition to boycotting the Extremists gave a call for boycotting government schools and colleges, government service, courts, legislative councils, municipalities, government titles, etc.

Tilak gave the slogan "Freedom is my birthright and I shall have it". Students of

the Schools and college's students were the most active participants of the movement. Student participation was visible in Bengal, Poona (Maharashtra), Guntur (Andhra Pradesh), Madras and Salem (Tamil Nadu). The police adopted a repressive attitude towards the students. The students found guilty were fined, expelled, beaten, arrested and disqualified for government jobs and scholarships. Women: Traditionally home-centered women too took active part in the movement. Stand of Muslims: Some of the muslims participated, however, most of the upper and middle class muslims stayed away. They supported the partition on the belief

that it would provide them a Muslim-majority East Bengal.

Impact of Swadeshi Movement

Decline in Imports: It resulted in significant decline in the foreign imports during 1905-1908.

Growth of Extremism: Movement resulted in growth of extreme nationalism amongst youth which took to violence and wanted to bring an instant end to British dominance.

Morley-Minto Reforms: It forced British dispensation to offer some concessions to Indians in forms of Morley-Minto reforms in 1909. Gopal Krishna Gokhale

played an important role in framing these reforms.

Establishment of Swadeshi

Institutions: Inspired by Rabindranath Tagore's Shantiniketan, the Bengal National College and a number of national schools and colleges in various parts of the country were set up. In August 1906, the National Council of Education was set up to organise the national education system. A Bengal Institute of Technology was set up for technical education.

Growth in Swadeshi Industries: It led to establishments of swadeshi textile mills,

soap and match factories, tanneries, banks, insurance companies, shops, etc.

It also revived the Indian Cottage Industry. Indian industries saw regeneration with reawakening of use of indigenous goods. **Boycott of Buyers and Sellers:** The foreign goods including clothing, sugar, salt and various other luxury items were not only boycotted, but they were also burned. The Swadeshi movement also led to social boycott of not only buyers but also sellers of foreign goods.

The Gradual Suppression of the Swadeshi Movement

The British had seeded the seeds of communalism quite deep into India's social fabric, and the Swadeshi movement was unable to gain support from the Muslim masses, especially the Muslim peasantry, which in large parts of Bengal was in an inverse class relationship with the Hindu zamindars. By mid-1908, the Swadeshi and boycott movements mass character had nearly ended and the repression of the government took full force. Student participants were expelled from government schools and colleges at public meetings, processions that were banned. The press was subjected to severe controls. It was used by the police

to break up public meetings and meetings. At the Surat session, the Congress split in 1907, further weakening the Swadeshi movement.

The government moved quickly against the movement's leaders, including Ashwini Kumar Dutt, Krishna Kumar Mitra, Lokmanya Tilak, Ajit Singh, Lajpat Rai, Chidambaram Pillai, making it leaderless. Bipin Chandra Pal retired from politics with Aurobindo Ghosh.

Government Repression: By 1908, the Swadeshi Movement was almost over in an open phase due to government's violent repression. Absence of Leaders and Organisation: The movement failed to create an effective organisation. It

was rendered leaderless as most of the leaders were either arrested or deported by the time. Maintaining the high intensity of such a mass movement was a difficult task in absence of effective leaders. Internal Conflicts: The internal conflicts and difference in ideologies among the leaders did more harm to the movement than good. Limited Extent: The movement failed to reach the peasantry and was confined to the upper and middle classes only.

Conclusion

A Boycott Resolution was passed in Calcutta City Hall on August 7, 1905,

where it was decided to boycott the use of Manchester cloth and salt from Liverpool. In the district of Barisal, the masses adopted this message of boycott of foreign-made goods, and the value of the British cloth sold there fell sharply. Bande Mataram became the boycott and Swadeshi movement theme song. Among the movement's various forms of struggle, it was the boycott of foreign-made goods that encountered the greatest visible success on the practical and popular level. Boycott and public burning of foreign clothes, picketing of shops selling foreign goods, all became common in remote corners of Bengal as well as in many major cities and towns

across the country. Another form of mass mobilization widely used by the Swadeshi movement was the corps of volunteers (samitis). Ashwini Kumar Dutt, a school teacher, set up the Swadesh Bandhab Samiti in Barisal was the best – known volunteer organization of all of them. The Shivaji and Ganapati festivals in Western India (Maharashtra) were organized by Lokmanya Tilak to spread the swadeshi message and boycott movements among the masses. The Swadeshi and boycott movements placed great emphasis on ‘ Atmasakti ‘ or self – reliance as a means of reasserting national dignity in different fields.

In the field of national education, this emphasis on self – reliance was most evident. The National College of Bengal was founded as its principal with Aurobindo. Numerous national schools have been established throughout the country in a short period of time. The National Education Council was established in August 1906. In Indians entrepreneurial zeal, self – reliance was also evident. The period saw an explosion of textile mills, factories of soap and match, tanneries, banks, insurance companies, shops, etc.

In the field of culture, Amar Sonar Bangla, written by Rabindranath Tagore

in protest against Bengal's partition, became a rallying point for the Swadeshi and boycott movements and later inspired Bangladesh's liberation struggle.

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Topic :

1942 Quit India

Movement- Bengal as case

study

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Lastly, I would also like to thank my parents for their constant source of inspiration.

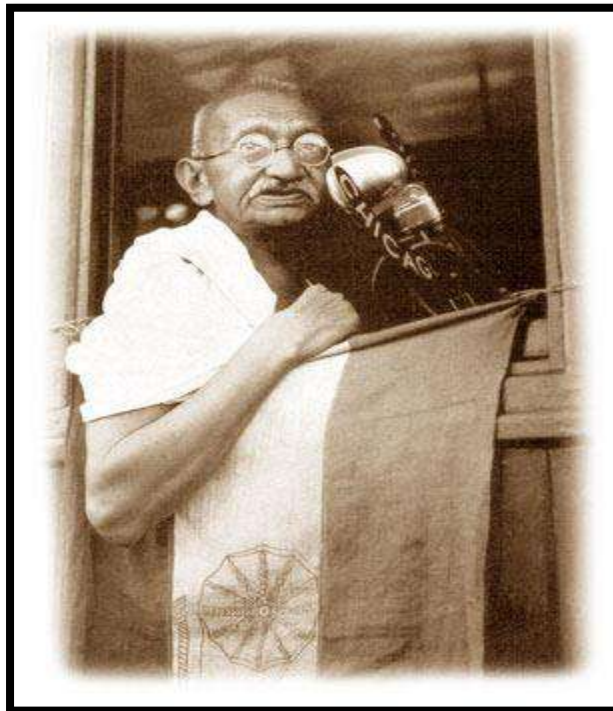
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INTRODUCTION

The Quit India Movement was the last of the great nationwide movement launched by Congress and established the nationalist credentials of a whole range of leaders for years to come. The resolution was passed by Gandhi without the usual policy of law escalation following the declaration to break the law to achieve freedom. The movement was a result of the steady disillusionment of Gandhi with British policies during 1942 and the gravity of the Japanese threat to the security of the country.

Gandhi believed in ahimsa but preferred violence to cowardice. After the failure of the Cripps Mission, Gandhi wrote in 1942 *"leave India to God, if that is too much then leave her to anarchy"*. The All India Congress Committee (AICC) adopted the Quit India Movement resolution on 8th August 1942, proposed to begin this mass civil disobedience, if power was not immediately handed over to the Indians. On this occasion, Gandhi delivered his famous speech of **"Do or Die"** arguing that this was the final battle – a *"fight to finish"*.



**Gandhi delivering his famous speech
of "DO OR DIE"**

A revolutionary period from Tamluk in the Midnapur district of Bengal claimed to have a message from Gandhi where he vehemently spoke against the Raj's scorched-earth policy in Bengal to resist probable Japanese invasion which resulted in the commandeering all means of communication, war-time peace, black marketing, and profiteering. Gandhi remarked it was "*just like the violence of the mouse against the cat*".

It was moderate in the eastern districts as the Congress was opposed to the demand for Pakistan to which the Muslim League had organized its cadres and supporters against the movement considering it a 'declaration of war against the Muslims' and also the steady weakening of the Congress on one hand, and on the other, the ascendancy of the **Krishak-Praja Party (KPP)** since the late 1930s under the leadership of **A.K. Fazlul Huq**.



A.K. Fazlul Huq

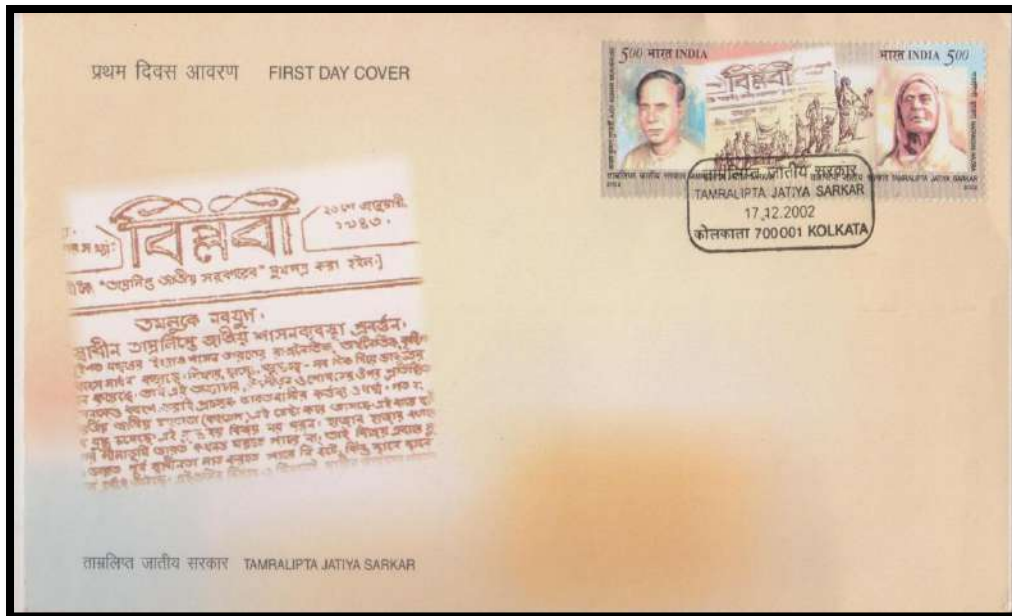
Nevertheless, there were considerable mass mobilizations into the Quit India Movement in many places of Bengal.

QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT IN BENGAL

While the Quit India Movement in the rest of Bengal started as a movement of the educated middleclass 'bhadroloks' it was in Midnapur that exhibited the distinction of mass involvement in its crucial struggle against the British rule. The movement was most vibrant in Tamluk and Contai subdivisions of Midnapur, but in 1942 the other areas of Bengal such Burdwan, Birbhum, Dacca, Murshidabad, Rajshahi, Barihal , Calcutta and in the districts of Hugli, Bankura, Purulia, Dinajpur etc showed innumerable reports exposing the repressive character of the bureaucracy that had changed an unarmed people to "leonine violence", also provided convincing evidence of the extent of damage done by the retaliating mob upon public properties.

Sumit Sarkar in his book 'Modern India' identified that the movement passed through three phases from August 1942 to March 1943. The first phase in Bengal lasted for one month from 8th August to 27th September as it was massive but quickly suppressed, was predominantly urban and included hartals, strikes and clashes with police and destruction of Government institutions. Calcutta witnessed hartals from 10th August to 17th August.

From 28th September to the end of October marked the second phase of concrete and aggressive action. The focus shifted to the countryside with militant students fanning out of centres like Midnapur which also saw the installation of a number of local 'National governments'. The best available account of a rebel 'national government' comes from Tamluk sub-division of Midnapur, the chroniclers being local Congress leaders like **Satis Samanta the first Sarbadhinayak of the Tamluk Jatiya Sarkar.**



The Cover Depicts ‘Biplabi’ the newspaper published by Tamluk Jatiya Sarkar

Sumit Sarkar characterized the third phase by violent activities involving sabotaging of war efforts. The movement from about the end of the September entered its longest but also least formidable phase. This was marked by terroristic activity by educated youth directed against communication and police and army installation.

As remarked by **Hitesranjan Sanyal** “*national movement had by 1930 become a part of the popular culture among peasants*”. The districts of Bengal showed wide participation of Santhal and dalit groups like Rajbansis and Paliyas.

THE MIDNAPUR CASE STUDY

Midnapur district and the Tamluk sub division along with other coastal areas of Colonial Bengal were declared an emergency area with the fall of Pearl Harbor and Singapore by the invention of Japanese troops. The District Magistrate issued an order that all boats of the entire Contai sub-division, the Nandigram Thana and Moyna Thana of Tamluk sub-division must be removed. In April 1942, the government burned hundreds of boats and destroyed thousand rupees of worth valuable property. Thus in matter relating to 'Denial Policy', the government failed to realize the untold suffering into which thousands of people were thrown and the discontent was about to follow.

After 9th August, local Congress leaders started organizing Volunteers Corps. A large number of volunteers were raised in Sutarehata and Mahishadal, as '**Bidyut Bahini**' with **Suhil Kumar Dhara** as a Commander and '**Bhagini Sena Sibir**' in Tamluk with trained women volunteers. Many prominent leaders of the Congress Working Committee such as **Dr Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, Dr Suresh Chandra Banerjee, Panchanan Basu** paid visit to the sub-division and inspired the people from preventing exports of rice and to launch constructive works in rural Midnapur

With police brutality for the August Movement, complicated by general price rise and stringent procurement policy, on 16th October Midnapur witnessed devastating cyclone and tidal wave. The local district officer refused relief as a retaliatory measure.

In the time of the August Movement sub-divisional Congress established '**Mahabharatiya Yuktarashtra Tamraplita Jatiya Sarkar**' on 17th December 1942 against the ruthless British rule. **Satish Chandra Samanta**, a veteran Congress leader was appointed as the **Sarbhadinayaka** by the Committee.

Various initiatives such as many 'Tamluk Thana Jatiya Sarkar' have been set up on the four thanas of Tamluk, Mahishadal, Sutanata and Nandigram from 26th January 1943 and also published a paper Biplabi that carried the news of activities of Tamralipta National Government.



Satish Chandra Samanta

Students and women took an active role in the movement. They joined the hartals (strikes), organized meetings and processions. Huge number of women such as **Kumudini Dakua, Giribala Das, Laxmimoni Hazra**, were member of 'Bhagini Sena Sibir' joined the Bhagini Sena. But the most remarkable contribution that goes without saying was the role played by **Matangini Hazra**. In 1942 at the age of 72 she led a procession of 6000 to ransack a local police station. She took heroic death with tri-colour national flag in her hand when the police opened fired as they were approaching the destination.



**The Picture Depicting the heroic Death
Scenene of Matangini Hazra**

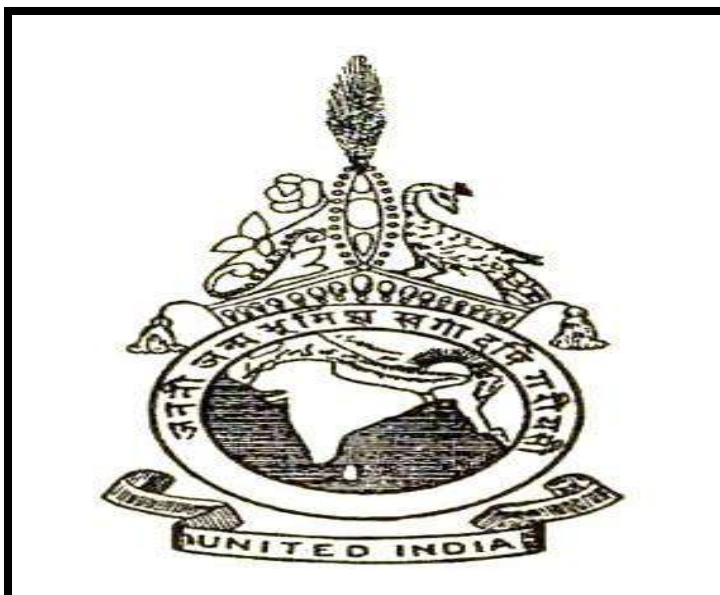
THE EAST BENGAL CASE

STUDY

For a number of reasons, the mass mobilization in the Quit India Movement in Eastern Bengal was moderate. Firstly, the dominant political party of this region, Muslim League was opposed to the movement. Secondly, KPP, the other dominant political party, was running the provincial government of Bengal in coalition with Muslim League and did not support the Quit India Movement. Thirdly, Eastern Bengal in general and its south-eastern parts, in particular, were under continuous threats of Japanese attack since the fall of Burma in March 1942. In the face of continuous Japanese threats, the British government had deployed a large number of soldiers and war amenities and maintained tight security in these regions which, perhaps, squeezed the scale of the Quit India Movement.

Fourthly, **Master Da Surya Sen** and his revolutionary forces were brutally suppressed in the mid-1930s. It is true that his revolutionary activities were confined in Chittagong but the revolutionaries from other parts of Bengal were greatly influenced by his leadership. However, after the suppression of Surya Sen and his comrades, the majority of the revolutionaries of this region had joined the **Communist Party of India (CPI)** which was opposed to the movement, was rather fighting 'the All-People's war against fascism and for world liberation'. Yet, the Quit India agitation took a violent turn in many urban places resulting in burning down and looting of revenue offices, police stations, railway lines, post offices, telegraph wires and poles, government buildings etc.

It is evident in some British secret documents that the **Jugantor Party and Anushilan Samiti** took active participation in the Quit India agitations in the eastern districts. Jugantor's plan was to recruit and trained bands of young men to wage guerrilla warfare for the independence of India.



The Crest of Anushilan Samiti

School students were prominent in organizing hartals in Dacca, Narayanganj, Faridpur and in some other districts of Eastern Bengal. On 13th August, the Munsif's court of Dacca was attacked and burnt down by a large crowd. A police outpost and six post offices were also attacked and records were burnt down. Telephone, telegraph, and the railway lines were cut and roads all around Dacca were blocked. There were strikes in the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills, Chittaranjan Cotton Mills and Laxmi Narayan Cotton Mills in Dacca.

In Barisal, the Jugantor Party, under the guidance of **Sudhir Aich, Kanti Chatterji and Nayanjan Das Gupta** were working to spread the movement to various parts of the district and to get the Namasudras to take part in it. With this purpose, Nayanjan Das Gupta had received some explosives from Sudhir Ghosh. Police had seized patrol from the house of a member. In December, two members from Barisal were reported to be in Calcutta trying to buy explosives from a member of the Khadi Group. The local members had stolen acids from the college. But they were not successful in their plans in the face of heavy police attacks. The District Congress Committee of Bakerganj issued their own course of action and there were attacks on defenseless post offices and telegraph weirs in Bakerganj.

However, the Quit India agitations in Eastern Bengal came to an end by December 1942.

CONCLUSION

Though Gandhian influence had limited influence on Bengal, the Quit India Movement assumed a violent turn in most of the districts. People from many urban places of Eastern Bengal, especially the students were mobilized into this movement and they had accepted all the brutal suppressions and sacrificed many lives for the independence of India.

In terms of achievement, this movement failed because of government's crackdown, weak co-ordination and the lack of a precise course of action. But the martyrs of this movement with enormous popular support had forced the British Raj in India to fall back on its coercive foundations. The ultimate impact of the Quit India Movement was pivotal towards the freedom of India. However, the most interesting part of this movement was that the leadership was passed on to peasants, rickshaw-pullers, ekka-drivers and 'illiterate' villagers. Sekhar Bandyopadhyay argues that when the dalit peasants and other poorer classes participated in the Quit India Movement, their motivation was different from those of the educated youth and the middleclass peasants. They were not even organized either by Congress or the Communist. But the commonly shared dominant tone was of anti-imperialism that united them and, in the villages; it even overshadowed the existing anti-feudal tendencies. Aruna Asaf Ali has rightly viewed that it is the general people who had shown the way in the Quit India Movement.

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Title of the Material: The Symbolic Movement
in Bengali Patterns and Textures

1

The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal - Patterns and Features

The Swadeshi movement was part of the Indian independence movement and contributed to the development of Indian nationalism. The movement, begun in 1906 by Indian nationalists opposed to the Partition of Bengal, was one of the most successful movements against British rule. Swadeshi was a focus of Mahatma Gandhi, who described it as the soul of Swaraj (self-rule). It was

the most significant movement in Bengal and was known as the Vande Mataram movement in Andhra Pradesh. The movement ended in 1911.

The government's decision to Partition Bengal was made in December 1903. The official reason was that Bengal, with a population of 78 million, was too large to be administered, the real reason however was that it was the center of the revolt and Company officials could not control the protests which they thought would spread throughout India.

3

Bengal was divided by language and religion: the western half would be primarily Hindu, and the eastern half would be primarily Muslim. This divide-and-conquer strategy sparked the Swadeshi movement.

• 1850-1904: Dadabhai Naoroji, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Mahadev Govind Ranade, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, G. V. Joshi began organizing to promote Indian nationalism (the First Swadeshi Movement).

~~1850~~

• 1905-1917: The movement opposed the 1905 Partition of Bengal, which was ordered by Lord Curzon. Revolutionary groups in form of local clubs grew. Anushilan Samitee and Jugantar Party made attempts of arm revolts and assassination of notorious administrators.

• 1918-1947: The movement was further shaped by Mahatma Gandhi.

Ram Singh Kuka of the Sikh Namdhari sect is also credited with developing

5

the Swadeshi movement, since his 1871-1872 movement inspired Bengalis and other Indians to fight British rule. Kuka instructed Namdharis to wear only Indian clothes and boycott foreign goods. The Namdharis resolved the conflict in a People's Court, by-passing British law and courts. They also boycotted the educational system since Kuka prohibited children from attending British schools.

The social composition of the Swadeshi

movement was such that it defies any characterization on the basis of class. While sympathy from zamindars or landlords was much talked about, it was the mid-level tenure holder who was more active.

Historian R. P. Dutt has argued that Swadeshi was reflective of the grievances of the petty bourgeoisie, but Sarkar has shown trading communities and the industrial bourgeoisie were in fact indifferent or hostile to the movement. The movement did belong to the Bengali middle class, but this middle class had no links with

Capitalist industry or agriculture, unlike its British counterpart. The only element that distinguished the early nationalist leadership was western education and consequently their attraction to nationalist ideology. The category of Bhadrakalok was therefore more of a social category referring to men of education rather than a particular class and yet they were mostly well-off. Their nationalist ideology was one which sought to reach out to the masses, but its limitations were determined by their class position,

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and that constituted the failure of the movement.

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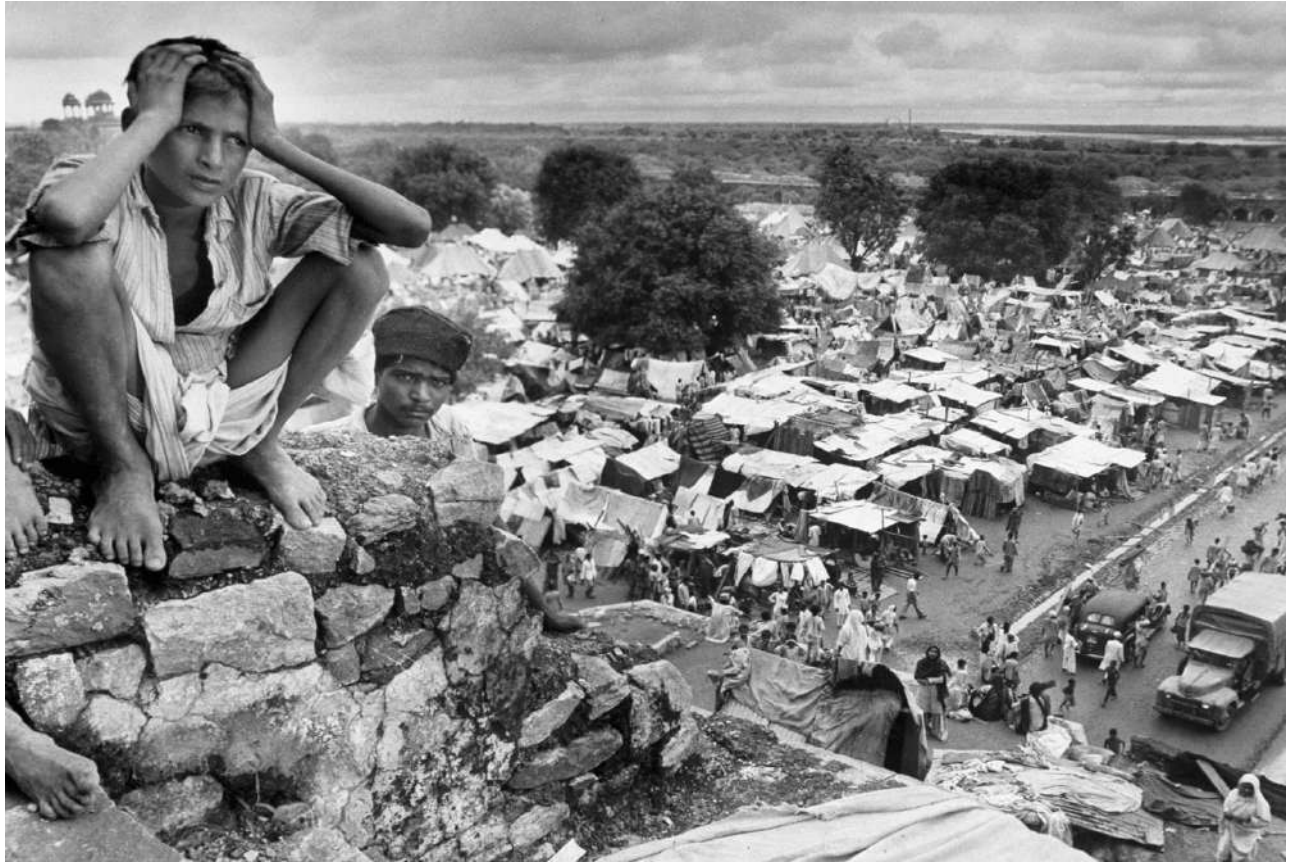
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1947 PARTITION
AND THE
BENGAL EXPERIENCE

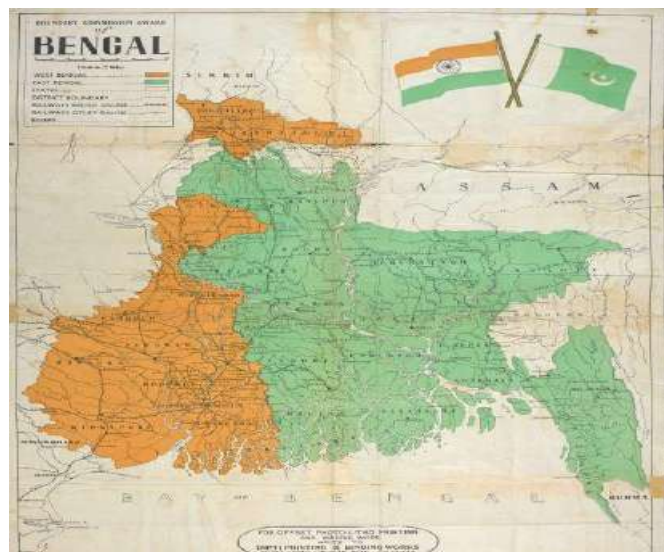
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INTRODUCTION:-

The 1947 partition of India set in motion the largest human migration in history, skewering notions of nationality, citizenship and identity and further subjecting migrants to shocking violence and exploitation as they became refugees within their previously unified state. The effects of partition were, and remain to be, ubiquitous, resulting in a vast overhaul of society from the realms of high politics to the grass root community.

The Radcliff Line implemented under British colonial authority created two new independent sovereign nations with membership of the British Commonwealth. On withdrawal, Britain left in their wake a crisis which led to the uprooting and



displacement of over eight million Indian and Pakistani refugees. Communal tensions ran high as '*humanity was attacked*' and partitioned states the Punjab and Bengal suffered the worst effects of migration. Problems in Bengal remained largely neglected, prolonging identity crises as migrants renegotiated local and state loyalties. The prolonged refugee crisis and extended period of migration ebbed and flowed over several decades with significant social effects, completely undermining

how individuals defined themselves in relation to the nation and state, to their race and ethnicity, to their religion, their family and neighbors, and finally to themselves. Partition politicized identity, establishing labels which created inflexible boundaries that were enforced upon individuals, restricting and oppressing individual character and destroying traditional means of assimilation.

REFUGEES:-



The partition of Bengal resulted in great numbers of Bengali citizens crossing the international border to return to what they considered their national homeland, territory they believed they had an intrinsic right to live on and belong to. The sheer number of migrants from East Bengal led to an overwhelming refugee crisis, whose dependency on the state

enforced the need to limit government responsibility through the articulation of an official refugee definition. On 28th May 1948, the Government stated that:

‘A refugee is a person’:

- ❖ *Who, being displaced from any area outside India on account of civil disturbances, has settled and is engaged or intends to engage in any business or industry in India; or*
- ❖ *Who, having had his business, industry or property, wholly or partially outside India, has lost, wholly or partially, such business, industry or property on account of civil disturbances and who is engaged or intends to engage in any business or industry in India’.*

The West Bengal Government further maintained that persons crossing into West Bengal after 25th June 1948 would be denied refugee status, this was due to the changing rationale behind migration which moved from fear of communal persecution to the hardships suffered under the failing economy of East Pakistan. Entitlement to government aid was ascertained by the first **scientific survey in May 1948** which questioned refugee families on issues such as age, sex and marital conditions of family members, caste group and access to economic resources.

There are no universally accepted statistics for the number of refugees who migrated following the partition of Bengal however many estimates

have been made. The exodus began prior to formal partition, following the 1946 Noakhali disturbances and continued beyond the formation of Bangladesh in 1971. **Dr Manesh Deb Sarkar** estimates in Geopolitical implications of partition in West Bengal that by June 1948 1.1 million refugees had crossed the border into West Bengal. He suggests that by 1951 this number inflated to at least **3.5 million** refugees, a figure which rose by a further million in the following decade. A total of over six million Bengalis were uprooted with 3,964 citizens reported missing in 1951, 1,004 of whom remained unrecovered in 1961. **The Government of West Bengal's Refugee Rehabilitation Committee** estimated that the uprooted accounted for one-sixth of the total state population of Bengal, illustrating the pervasive social affects felt across the state. Refugee numbers were simply staggering and did not account for those who lost their lives crossing the border, many of whom were assaulted, pillaged and raped.

Government policies restricted refugee autonomy through the established perception of migrants as foreign aliens unentitled to assisted recovery and citizenship. The Central Indian Government maintained the belief that as conditions following partition settled, refugees would return to their ancestral homes regardless of the politicized boundary. An attempt to prevent continued migration was made through the 1950 **Nehru-Liaquat Pact** which pledged to protect minorities and encouraged repatriation of refugees. Nehru opposed government

endorsement regarding migration, suggesting that it may lead to 'disastrous consequences'. The Pact failed to ease migration as protection was not adequately extended to minorities in Bengal who faced dangers.

Nehru continued to demonstrate gross misunderstanding of the situation suggesting, **'if they have migrated, they should be invited to go back to their homes'**. However the Central Government occupied by the Punjab, delegated responsibility to the state government and refused to accept responsibility until 1955 when it finally became clear that the refugees were not going to return to East Bengal.

The introduction of passports on **15th October 1952 formalized citizenship entitlement and legally solidified refugee identities**. Prior to 1952, borders between the two Bengals had remained open as central powers did not want to restrict movement between the localities, failing to anticipate the mass exodus which was to follow partition. News of the initiative proceeded formal introduction of passports, and created mass panic as identities became geographically aligned and incited those who found themselves on the 'wrong' side of the border to migrate whilst the opportunity remained. Hindus in East Bengal fled over the border for fear of the government 'plugging the escape route to freedom.'

Women as Refugees-



Refugee women were among the worst affected demographic group. **Deschaumes** estimates that around 100,000 women were ‘abducted, raped, killed, sold into prostitution, taken as wives and married by conversion’. Women were marginalized, subjugated and compromised. Traditional social structures dictated that women were identified in accordance to a male relation within the dominant familial role. Traditionally, women had little autonomy therefore notions of identity were constructed and defined by a male presence to create an otherness. Sheila Sengupta, a relief worker in the wake of partition commented that **women ‘were in tremendous trauma, because their men folk were slaughtered, they were raped, and the men just left them and ran**

away'. Fears over the safety of Hindu women in East Bengal became one of the most prominent reasons for migration to West Bengal. For those who committed such atrocities, religion was seen as the fundamental rite:

'Killing women was not violence; it was saving the honor of the community. It was not violence; it was maintaining the purity of the religion'.

Women who had been molested were considered impure and became social outcasts, disowned by families and caste groups. For some women however, this dissolution of traditional bonds created opportunities to become agencies of their own future and to eventually formulate their own identities. Increased numbers of women became involved in the workforce with a significant number of female refugees becoming teachers, nurses and clerks. **The refugee crisis represented a break with tradition and created a multitude of opportunities, which invested women, for the first time ever, with significant economical power.**

Altering Everyday Life-



The migration process created a psychological change within many refugees. The realities of refugee life failed to satisfy idealized expectations of life in West Bengal, resulting in feelings of frustration and fear, compounded by a crisis of identity. Following an escape from the atrocities of East Bengal, migrants often had high hopes of what life in West Bengal could offer, which many assumed would include a warm reception and freedom from persecution. However the reality was far from ideal, refugees were faced with a *'hell-hole'* in the midst of a crisis, and *'the heartless city went about its way, careless and indifferent'* to the flood of migrants. The very foundations of identification were shaken as the Promised Land failed to materialize. Refugees were tolerated, not welcomed, stigmatized by their dependence on the state and set apart by their suffering. Almost overnight identities

were overhauled as expectations were disappointed and refugees were met with indifference and rejection. Traditional kinship bonds perished as *'the same people were suddenly different'*. Refugees experienced a deep-seated psychological change which had an irreversible impact on social identity and the perception of self.

The psychological state of refugees was most significantly impacted by the deplorable living and healthcare provisions. In 1946 a statistical survey classed sixty percent of refugees in the city as in 'distress' or 'want', with the figure rising to seventy percent in rural localities. Refugee camps had appalling living conditions which verged on the inhumane. Camps consisted of 'Nissen huts' which lacked adequate sanitisation and were often overrun with vermin. Huts were dangerously overcrowded, with a staggering 70,000 refugees sheltered in the largest refugee camp. Crowded conditions lead to an increased spread of diseases such as cholera and dysentery, made worse by the scarcity of water. Food provisions were severely limited and refugees were forced to survive on a meager dole as refugees were forbidden to find gainful employment outside the restrictive camp borders. Refugees were forced to regress into a **'Hobbesian state of nature'** wherein life became 'nasty, brutish and short'. Hundreds of refugees died as a result of the grossly uninhabitable conditions and for those who survived, the psychological impact was resonant. Refugees crossing the border on the border on foot were also hit by a desperate lack of necessary supplies

due to the government failure to mobilise an effective response. For refugees arriving by train, conditions were no better, a reporter for the Amrita Bazar Patrika commented on the state of refugees at Sealdah station, Calcutta:

'Imagine, young women taking their bath in the open with thousands of people. Imagine, again, sleeping in a place a few feet away from a room which is used by thousands as a latrine... Imagine, again, cooking your food on three bricks with rubbish as fuel on the street along which pass hundreds of motor cars'.

Refugees were placed in unimaginable conditions and as they discovered the realities of life in West Bengal, many were gripped by a desperate nostalgia for the homes they had left behind.

REFUGEE IDENTITY:-

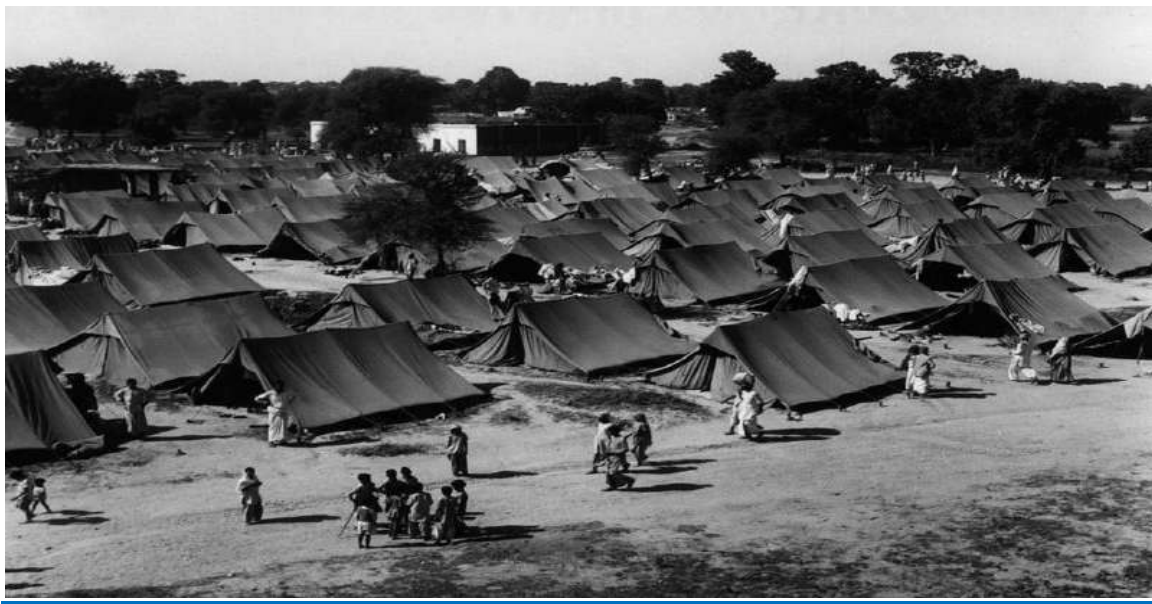
Refugee identities underwent a significant transformation dictated by the changing landscape of West Bengal. The geographical division of land drew a political boundary through a previously unified people creating social divisions and a reformulation of loyalties. The formation of a national identity drew into question existing relationships and local affiliations and loyalties through the political construct of new dominions disputing citizenship and loyalty. India's leaders proclaimed that regardless of the creation of Pakistan India would remain a secular

state; however religion increasingly became the dominant identity-marker. Independence created an overarching national identity for its citizens, categorising and simplifying social variants. In political and statistical terms the cursory reduction of complex identities to ostensibly superficial categories may have been deemed necessary to attend to the situation on a national scale. Identity markers included linguistic, regional, religious, familial and caste identities. Different identities were evoked during different situations; however no one classification was dominant, but dependent on changing contexts. The imposition of a national identity was government initiated, but proved difficult to filter down to affect every day lives. As **Gyanendra Pandey** suggests, '*no nation, no state is natural*', and to suggest that one facet of identity defines a person politically and socially is disingenuous.

The effects of partition bring into question changing notions of refugee identity and loyalties. *Identity reformulation* was often a product the uncontrollable effects of partition and hence refugees had little authority over the reshaping of their everyday lives and loyalties. Refugee identities were fluid and malleable, adjusting to changing conditions and landscape. Identity was not static, but a 'mode of being' subject to continuous re-negotiation and adjustment. Partition led to unprecedented uncertainties and a conflict of past and future loyalties. Identities were re-ordered on a day to day basis and became increasingly politicised as refugees adjusted to the parameters of the new nation state. For many,

‘those whose bodies were whole had hearts that were splintered’. Many were torn from their ancestral homes and had difficulty in redefining their roles both locally and nationally. The transformation of relationships was tested at social, economic and political levels as communities and individuals sought to redefine their social positions. Processes of assimilation were delicate and complicated. Recovery was subject to state expectations and necessary survival. Border assigned identities implemented by the Central Government were often contested on the ground as irrelevant. However, the extreme difficulties of the situation meant that rights, loyalties and notions of belonging were constantly re-evaluated.

RELIEF AND REHABILITATION:-



Government policies regarding the influx of refugees were implemented two-fold on the basis of relief and rehabilitation. The Indian Government initially denied responsibility for migrant persons who they considered to have migrated out of choice and the refugee ‘problem group’ became an increasing liability. At a density of over 9000 people per square mile Calcutta now suffered from severe overcrowding which grew worse with the daily influx of refugees. 54% of the total population of West Bengal lived on just 13% of the state land in and around the urban centre of Calcutta. The Indian Government reacted to the growing crisis with ambivalence, and further, the State Government naively presumed that refugees would return to East Pakistan once the situation had calmed.

The government first and foremost encouraged the repatriation of refugees and refused to consider relief and rehabilitation as fundamental refugee rights. The State established itself as a ‘benevolent despot’ and made decisions regarding refugee rights accordingly.[119] Central powers were concerned with putting an end to the influx which they understood to consist of migrants fleeing economic difficulties, attracted to West Bengal by the generous policies of relief. They did not account for the delicacies of migrants who were rushing to escape religious persecution and a culture of hatred. Nehru commented that *‘relief and rehabilitation were more complex than the creation of Pakistan itself’*.

Uditi Sen outlines three distinct phases of rehabilitation; *from 1947 – 1950* the government denied all responsibility for refugees, *from 1950 –*

1952 responsibility was shifted from the centre to the state, and **from 1952** the government began to shut down all refugee camps. The growing number of refugees forced the government into accepting its responsibility for the provision of relief, and up until 1955 administration of relief became the government's sole policy in dealing with the crisis. On **7th September 1948**, the **Central Relief Committee** passed a resolution in favour of the implementation of refugee relief policies in Bengal. The main authority on the provision of relief was the West Bengal Government who was limited to relying on central government for financial assistance. The approach to providing relief was at best ad hoc. In 1948 Nehru stated that relief in West Bengal was 'not being carried on very satisfactorily. Money doles given and little attempt made to make refugees work'. Refugees were forced to take shelter in government run relief camps which were subdivided into **relief and transit camps**, **permanent liability camps** and **colony camps** to determine the different levels of relief necessary. The government maintained that permanent rehabilitation was unnecessary and only offered limited access to the dole, granting unconditional relief for just one week. Further restrictions were enforced and relief was denied to all able-bodied men who were regarded as fit to work. Nehru complained, that *'This relief business is becoming too great a burden on India to bear and there is a great danger of our having to give it up simply because we just cannot afford it'*. As early as July 1949 the

Indian government announced that it intended to close all relief camps in West Bengal by the 31st October 1949, later extended to the 31st December, claiming that it had satisfied their responsibilities. Finally, in 1955, eight years after the partition of Bengal, the Indian Government recognised that the overwhelming percentage of refugees were not likely to return across the border and began to amend their approach through the implementation of long-term policies.

From 1955 the government shifted its focus from policies of relief to prioritise refugee rehabilitation. The government incorporated refugee rehabilitation into a wider state development programme, necessitated by low resources and a struggling state infrastructure which threatened total collapse. The government initiated a *'no-workno-help'* policy to ease the burden of state dependency and encourage refugees to find gainful employment. Various government loan schemes were set up for refugees to equip themselves with tools and training to become selfemployed and ease rehabilitation. **Ajit Prasad Jain**, the Central Rehabilitation Minister for India stated that rehabilitation incorporated not only the provision of shelter and employment but was *'the process of economic recovery of displaced persons leading ultimately to the disappearance of all distinction between them and other nationals'*. The Central Government invested in and encouraged **Free State Education** for refugees, with a particular focus on child development

and the importance of educating the future generation *‘thus building up the youth of the nation’*.

Dangerous levels of overcrowding led the government to attempt to rehabilitate refugees through the displacement of persons to areas outside of West Bengal such as Bihar and Orissa. Such initiatives failed due to the **reluctance of neighboring states to absorb the refugees** and the **unwillingness of refugees to move outside of the Bengalis peaking region** for fear of becoming linguistically and culturally isolated. This unwillingness to move outside of the West Bengal state borders limited government agency and intensified pressures on land, resources and the state economy.

Many refugees did not rely on the state for rehabilitation and took the initiative to rebuild their lives without government assistance. Refugees established their own squatter colonies through the seizure of vacant and idle land introducing a semblance of refugee power and agency. ‘Cooperative’ activities included land reclamation, the construction of houses and schools and the introduction of small-scale cottage industries. They aimed to build themselves a life by rooting themselves to the land and focusing on education as a means for future material improvement. The refugees became increasingly organised, forming the **United Central Refugee Council** in **1950** under Communist auspices. This launched an articulation of refugee demands which were increasingly verbalized through umbrella organisations which appealed

for equal political and economic rights and autonomy over their rehabilitation. The refugees demanded an increased standard of living through the implementation of free education and healthcare, better sanitation and increased employment opportunities. Refugees demanded to no longer be stigmatised but treated as equal citizens with equal entitlements.

The role of women was overhauled through the process of rehabilitation, opening up new opportunities for education and employment, made necessary by the failing economy and struggle to make ends meet. This led to a significant rise in female literacy rates and increased social mobility granted women greater independence and economic power.

However, for many women the process of rehabilitation was far from positive or progressive. The recovery of women who had suffered assaults or abduction was painful and prolonged. Social rehabilitation was a complicated process which courted tradition and many women who had been victims of sexual abuse were shunned from society and rejected by their kin for sins of sexual impurity. Congress leaders actively and publicly campaigned for the reacceptance of affected sisters and daughters stating that ‘to castigate these girls for having fallen victim to the lust of some monster was less than human’. Some women could not be traced or recovered and Bengali contemporaries have suggested *‘it was thought that after brutal torture, after being raped, they had been killed’*. The process of recovery often took several years

and of those who were successfully traced many did not want to return to their former homes, having built a new life and formed new loyalties. Largely, women did not want to be returned because of fear of social rejection or because they no longer felt displaced and had become settled in their new territory. Many women had married and had children, complicating claims to citizenship and nationality and producing a generation 'born of mixed unions'. Forced rehabilitation of women was not rare and many families pressed for the recovery of their sisters and daughters, even against their will.

Policies of relief and rehabilitation therefore had a massive impact on the construction of identities in everyday life. A new identity emerged as Muslim migrants crossed the border to the east and Hindu refugees were assimilated into the West Bengali state, the formation of which established new parameters in which identities were 'produced, consumed, regulated, sustained and invalidated'. Rehabilitation was a continuous process that required constant re-evaluation of roles and identities within the newly emerging social order.

CONCLUSION:-

Indian Independence and the following creation of Pakistan marked a watershed in the history of India as it moved towards the creation of two separate nations. Such a vast political change had resounding economic

and social effects which pervaded the country and its people. The partitioning of lands led to a partitioning of minds, seemingly destroying any organic unity which existed within the locale of West Bengal. Individuals were suddenly encouraged to define themselves in relation to the great nation, and pledge allegiance to their place within it. Identities became increasingly fixed following the outbreak of the refugee crisis as millions flooded to claim entitlement to relief and rehabilitation. In an attempt to limit their accountability, the government introduced a system of classification to restrict eligibility for government aid. This formal categorisation of refugees failed to reflect the intricacies of refugee identities which were complicated by conflicts of interest and a complex layering of character. Identities were thus simplified and homogenised in order to be recorded and understood by the state, whereas in real terms they remained in a constant state of flux shaped by the inescapable impact of government policies regarding citizenship and entitlement. Partition changed the landscape, the politics and the people of Bengal forever, creating in its wake both an economic and humanitarian crisis which shook India and the state of West Bengal to their very core. The events following the demarcation of the state were to change the parameters of self-perception forever, forging a new history, people and nation.

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