

# INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

FROM RANADE TO BHAVE



GOKHALE,  
TILAK,  
AJPAT RAI,  
NEHRU  
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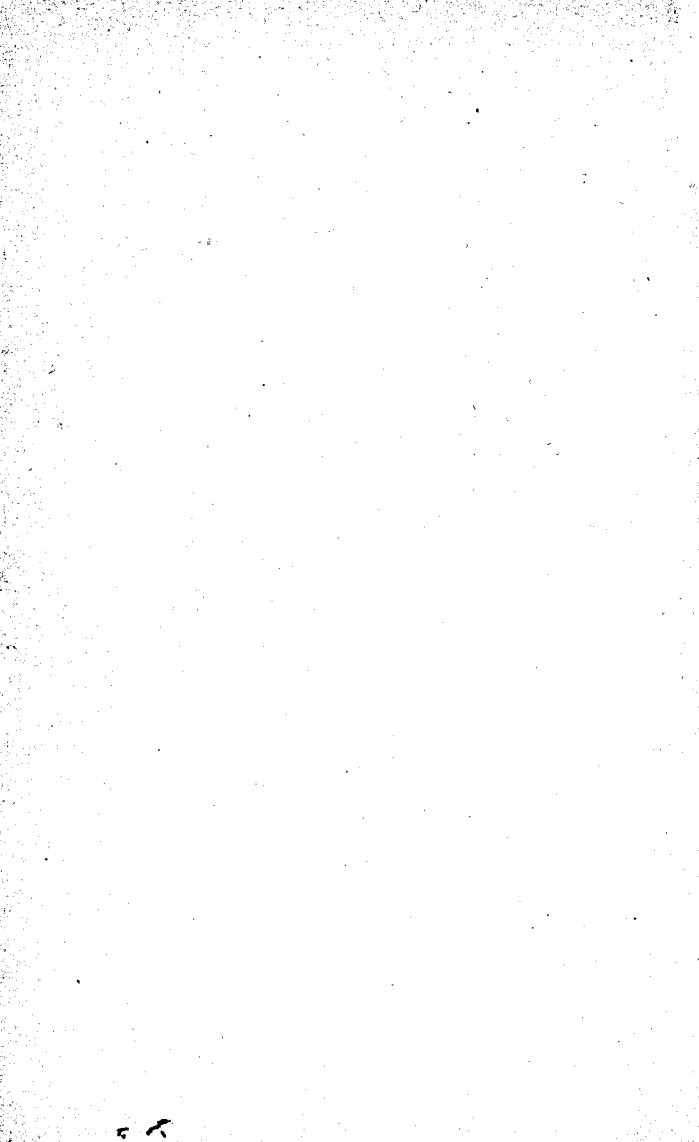


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HERE.....  
*The  
Nationalist Movement*  
by D. Mackenzie Brown

THE FIGURES SELECTED  
FOR TREATMENT IN  
THIS BOOK ARE INDEED  
CENTRAL TO THE  
NATIONALIST MOVEMENT  
IN INDIA AND  
EMBODY ITS CHIEF  
ASPECTS.



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“The Nationalist Movement is an account of how Hindu theory helped to meet the crises that were precipitated by the inroads of Western culture and by the struggle of Independence.”

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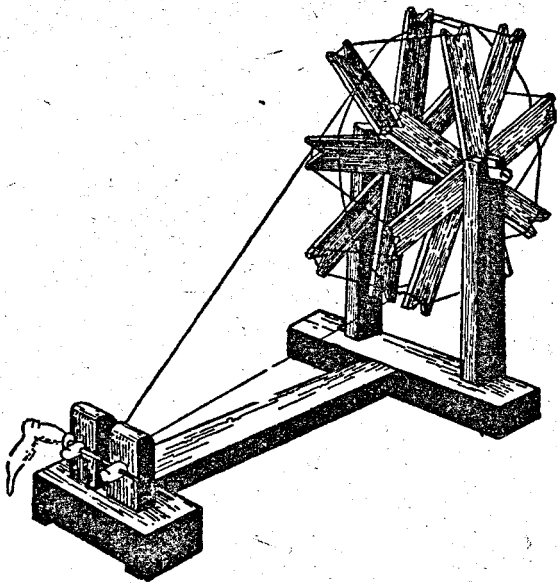


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## **The Nationalist Movement**

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*Indian Political Thought from Ranade  
to Bhave. By D. Mackenzie Brown*



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FROM RANADE TO BHAVE

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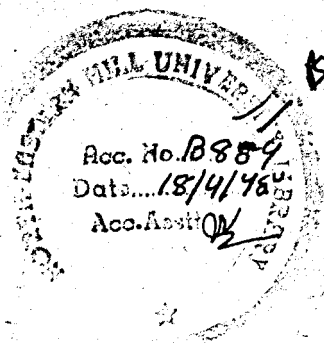
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## Preface

IN AN EARLIER ANALYSIS of the Indian political tradition published under the title *The White Umbrella—Indian Political Thought from Manu to Gandhi*, I dealt in large part with the early periods and philosophic roots of India. This sequel is concerned with recent and contemporary events. But the two differ in more than chronology, though there is some overlapping in the periods covered. More important, *The White Umbrella* was an interpretation of Hindu theory as it developed in Indian history, whereas *The Nationalist Movement* is an account of how that theory helped to meet the crises of modern India—crises that were precipitated by the inroads of Western culture and by the struggle for independence.

While I have again chosen to build around a framework of the life and thought of leading Indian personalities, there is this difference: Manu, Vyasa, Vivekananda, Ghose were primarily theorists; Gokhale, Tilak, Lajpat Rai, Nehru are primarily statesmen or men of political action, although their writings are often profound. The decision to include certain figures and to omit others is always a matter for debate; this is especially true in choosing representative men from the latter group. Nonetheless, I am confident that the figures selected for treatment in this book are indeed central to the Nationalist movement in India and embody its chief aspects.

The bibliography is limited to English-language

## PREFACE

works cited in the text, commentaries, and notes. Detailed citations have been given with each chapter to suggest sources of additional material. These are not always of even quality, since some are given merely as examples of a particular viewpoint.

I wish to express sincere appreciation to those in India and America who have rendered services in the gathering and interpretation of material for this book. Acknowledgment is hereby made to various individuals and publishers for permission to use certain copyright material: Ganesh and Company, Madras, India, for excerpts from *The Indian Nation Builders*, by Mahadev Govind Ranade and others, and for quoted material taken from *Bal Gangadhar Tilak—His Writings and Speeches*; G. A. Natesan and Company, Madras, India, for portions of the *Speeches of Gopal Krishna Gokhale*; B. W. Huebsch and the Viking Press, Inc., New York, for passages from *The Political Future of India*, by Lajpat Rai; The Navajivan Trust, Ahmedabad, India, for excerpts from *Gandhi's Autobiography—the Story of My Experiments with Truth* and *Bhoodan Yajna*, by Vinoba Bhave; the John Day Company, New York, for passages from *Toward Freedom—the Autobiography of Jawaharlal Nehru*; Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan and the International Book Service, Poona, India, for material quoted from *Education, Politics and War*, by S. Radhakrishnan; and Sarvodaya Prachuralaya, Tanjore, India, for excerpts from *A Picture of Sarvodaya Social Order*, by Jaiprakash Narain.

I am indebted to the Government of India Information Services and to Consul Z. L. Kaul for the

## PREFACE

photographs used for the portraits of Indian leaders. My wife, Peggy Cheever Brown, did the title page spinning wheel sketch from material loaned by Professor J. M. Mahar of the Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona.

A research grant from the Social Science Research Council has aided in the gathering of material for this book.

D. M. B.

University of California

Santa Barbara

3 January 1961



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BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

*cover*

GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE

*following 86*

LALA LAJPAT RAI

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

VINOBA BHAVE

The drawing on the title page was adapted from a common type of spinning wheel used in Indian villages. The wheel became a symbol of Gandhi's political program.

# I

## INDIA MEETS THE WEST

The inrush of a totally different civilization put an end to all creative work for a time and an uncritical admiration for all things Western took possession of the mind of the educated classes, coupled with contempt for things of native origin. This was the first time that the Indian mind was thrown off its balance.

D. S. SARMA

---

### CONQUEST

In A.D. 647 the Indian king Harsha Vardhana died without heir, leaving his empire in confusion. Thus ended an age which, under the preceding Gupta rulers, had seen the finest flowering of that magnificent culture which had begun perhaps 3,000 years earlier and developed a civilization firmly grounded in universally accepted concepts of philosophy, religion, and political thought. While the death of Harsha was not in itself a major cause of the decline of Indian culture, it marks conveniently a great

# II

## **PATTERN OF CONFLICT**

The policy of divide and rule is the sheet-anchor of all imperial governments. British rule in India has been persistently following that policy.

LAJPAT RAI

---

### **T**RADITION AND REFORM

The traditional religion of the Hindus was a dual system. On the one hand it offered a philosophy of life with concepts and ideals which might appeal to the keenest of minds. But in addition to this theoretical system there existed an elaborate institutional complex of duties, privileges, ceremonies, and superstitions, which gave form and meaning to the everyday life of the individual. Theoretical Hinduism managed to hold its own against the pressures of Western agnosticism and Christianity. But practical Hinduism suffered serious disintegration in the face of Western standards and values.

# III

## THE CONGRESS

The Congress is the oldest political organization we have in India. It claims to represent all Indian interests and classes. It is a matter of the greatest pleasure to me to state that it was first conceived in an English brain.

M. K. GANDHI

---

### I TS RISE

The patterns of internal conflict in India had many aspects, touching the lives and institutions of each area and each stratum of the varied population. Nowhere is this so well revealed as in the founding, development, dissensions, and triumphs of the Congress Party, the one supreme vehicle of the Nationalist movement which had for decades been gathering strength in India. Here, in caucus room and at conference table and locked in floor debate, are to be found the Maratha and South Indian traditionalist, the Bengali reformer, the die-hard nationalist, and

# IV

## MAHADEV GOVIND RANADE

If Dadabhai Naoroji was the greatest Indian patriot of the nineteenth century, Ranade was India's greatest thinker.

C. Y. CHINTAMANI

### Introduction

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**A**MONGST THE SUCCESSIVE LEADERS of the Nationalist movement Mahadev Govind Ranade (1842-1901) stands out as the first Hindu and the immediate inspiration of the great Gokhale. The grand old Parsee professor, Dadabhai Naoroji, had fathered the Nationalist cause in mid-century, and no doubt he was the model for Ranade when the latter was a student in Bombay. But only a Hindu could have penetrated so deeply into Indian social life or influenced so profoundly the attitudes of Hindu intellectuals toward their own religious and cultural heritage. Ranade taught and inspired a whole generation of Indian

# V

## **GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE**

Gokhale never abated his insistence upon these twin principles: that advance must be constitutional advance, deserved through the spread of enlightenment and education; and that the British connection was essential to the well-being of India.

J. S. HOYLAND

### **Introduction**

---

**R**ANADE'S WORK and his social philosophy were continued after his death by another Maratha Brahman who had been his disciple for twelve years, Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915). True to the Ranade tradition, Gokhale worked closely and, on the whole, cordially, with the British government and people. He played the often thankless role of interpreting the Indian people to the British and the British administration to the Indians. He served on

# VI

## BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

If any one can claim to be truly the father of Indian unrest, it is Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

VALENTINE CHIROL

### Introduction

---

PRIOR TO THE ENTRANCE of Lokamanya Tilak (1856-1920) upon the political stage, Indian leadership afforded the spectacle of a rather polite debating society which accepted British ideals and values as almost axiomatic.<sup>1</sup> Protests against government policies consisted of thoughtfully worded petitions calculated to appeal to the sense of reason and fair play of officials. Tilak saw little profit in such method and ridiculed his rivals in the Nationalist leadership, particularly Gokhale, who were wedded to the traditions of British parliamentary procedure.

As a Chitpawan Brahman, Tilak inherited a tradi-

# VII

## LALA LAJPAT RAI

Lalaji means an institution. From his youth, he made of his country's service a religion. Men like him cannot die as long as the sun shines in the Indian sky. His love of service was insatiable.

M. K. GANDHI

### Introduction

---

**T**HOSE NATIONALISTS who chose to oppose British rule more or less openly had a choice of three alternatives: parliamentary criticism, jail, exile. Men like Ranade and Gokhale chose the first; Tilak, Gandhi, and Nehru courted the second; Lala Lajpat Rai (1865-1921) followed the third course. To say that some enjoyed the freedom and dignity of official debate while others languished in prison or exile is not to condemn the former as cowardly nor to praise the latter unduly for courage. Each of the Congress

# VIII

## MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

His revolutionary application of moral and spiritual principles to group life would never have succeeded if Gandhi had not been able to assess properly the political and economic situation in the country and take requisite action at appropriate and psychological moments.

J. B. KRIPALANI

### Introduction

---

**O**F ALL THE LEADERS of the Indian nationalist movement, M. K. Gandhi (1869-1948) is least susceptible of analysis in point of either theory or action alone. He did not consider himself a philosopher, yet his ideas have permeated the political and social life of modern India. Refusing emphatically to separate thought and practice, he must be considered

# IX

## JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Clear in thought and in language, extreme in opinion, determined in action, reckless of consequence, it has been the lot of Mr. Jawaharlal, who might have lived a life of ease and luxury, actually to lead a life of hardship in the service of the Motherland.

C. Y. CHINTAMANI

### Introduction

---

**F**EW PERSONS have embodied so strikingly the crisis in modern Indian thought as the undisputed leader of post-independence India, Jawaharlal Nehru (1889- ). His entire career is a testimony to the complexity of the revolutionary problem and in itself illustrates each facet of the multiple pattern of conflict in India.

The descendant of a Kashmiri Brahman family, he was introduced to the issue of reformist Hinduism at

# X

## **SARVEPALLI RADHAKRISHNAN**

The tradition of the Rishi is alive in India today. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan is the twentieth century equivalent of the ancient Hindu Rishi. He is a presence felt and known in the councils of the nation.

D. B. DHANAPALA

### **Introduction**

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**I**NDIA'S BEST KNOWN PHILOSOPHER entered the political scene rather late in life and only after he had established a brilliant reputation as author and lecturer on Oriental thought and culture. Born near Madras and educated in that city, Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan (1888- ) taught philosophy there from 1909 to 1917. For the next twenty years he taught at Mysore and Calcutta Universities and was called to lecture at

## **Social and Human Reconstruction**

BY JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

---

In days gone by men tried to be good, impelled by some higher moral force in which they believed; and goodness meant such things as truthfulness, honesty, kindness, chastity, unselfishness. Men felt that it was the highest moral duty to try to be good. Whether they succeeded in their trial, or whether they tried at all, was a different matter. The important point is that society provided every individual with the motive to be good: it was the command of religion, of God; it was necessary for one's highest growth, for self-realisation; it brought peace and supreme happiness; it brought salvation and freedom from births and deaths.

In present society, with the hold of religion gone, faith in God shaken, moral values discarded as dead-weights of the dark ages of history; in short, with materialism enthroned in men's hearts, are there any incentives to goodness left? Indeed, has the question any relevance at all to present facts, problems and ideals of human society?

# XII

## VINOBA BHAVE

As I watched Vinoba, I understood for the first time what a powerful force is employed when a moderate begins conducting a revolution, when an individual walks quietly among millions and is able to command by whispers.

J. H. NOYES

### Introduction

---

**F**OR SOME YEARS after the death of Gandhi, early in 1948, many in the Western world mourned his passing as a near-fatal blow to the nonviolent Satyagraha movement which he had so ably led. Jawaharlal Nehru, despite his loyalty to Gandhi, frankly questioned certain aspects of his theory; the administration of independent India used force in the Hyderabad dispute and in Kashmir, though in both instances such measures were considered as

# XIII

## **RESPONSE TO THE WEST: THE INDIAN WAY**

Your revolution must be bloodless; but that does not mean that you may not have to suffer or go to jail.

B. G. TILAK

---

**T**HE PRECEDING ESSAYS demonstrate the complexity of Indian political philosophy during the long struggle with Western ideas and institutions. At first, Hindus (especially the University graduates) seem to have been shamed by what appeared to be the gross superstition, barbarous customs, ignorance and poverty in Indian tradition and society. At this stage, Indians felt that European civilization promised freedom and power and affluence and sanity. The British were the transmitters of this progressive culture, and they provided a happy partnership with the Indian peoples

## Notes

Short titles are used throughout the notes. Full data for all references will be found in the bibliography.

### SOURCES OF CHAPTER EPIGRAPHS

The sources of the quotations used as chapter epigraphs are as follows:

Opposite title page, from Gokhale's 1905 London speech before the New Reform Club, in his *Speeches of Gopal Krishna Gokhale*, p. 941; chapter i, "India Meets the West," from Sarma, *The Renaissance of Hinduism*, p. 67; chapter ii, "Pattern of Conflict," from Lajpat Rai, *Unhappy India*, p. 400; chapter iii, "The Congress," from Gandhi's speech at the second Round Table Conference of 1931, London, quoted in Sitaramayya, *The History of the Indian National Congress*, I, 20; chapter iv, "Ranade," from Chintamani, *Indian Politics Since the Mutiny*, p. 58; chapter v, "Gokhale," from Hoyland, *Gopal Krishna Gokhale*, pp. 30-31; chapter vi, "Tilak," from Chirol, *Indian Unrest*, p. 41; chapter vii, "Lajpat Rai," from Tikekar, *Gandhigrams*, p. 37; chapter viii, "Gandhi," from Kripalani, *Gandhi the Statesman*, p. 1; chapter ix, "Nehru," from Chintamani, *Indian Politics Since the Mutiny*, p. 195; chapter x, "Radhakrishnan," from Dhanapala, *Eminent Indians*, pp. 63, 72; chapter xi, "Narayan" from Dhanapala, *Eminent Indians*, p. 144; chapter xii, "Bhave," from "Vinoba Bhave—The Man and His Mission," by J. H. Noyes, in *Vinoba Bhave*, P. D. Tandon, ed., p. 56; chapter xiii, "Response to the West," from Tilak's speech at Poona, 25 June 1907, in *Bal Gangadhar Tilak—His Writings and Speeches*, p. 75.

## SOURCES OF QUOTED TEXT MATERIAL

*The sources of the excerpts from Indian writers in the text of various chapters are as follows:*

Chapter iv, "Ranade," from *The Indian Nation Builders*, I, 12-32; chapter v, "Gokhale," from *Speeches of Gopal Krishna Gokhale*, pp. 937-946; chapter vi, "Tilak," from *Bal Gangadhar Tilak—His Writings and Speeches*, pp. 56-78, 155-169, 391-393 (also from editorial entitled, "The Country's Misfortune," in the Poona newspaper, *Kesari*, May 3, 1908); chapter vii, "Lajpat Rai," from *The Political Future of India*, pp. 181-189; chapter viii, "Gandhi," from *Autobiography*, pp. 501-519; chapter ix, "Nehru," from *Toward Freedom—The Autobiography of Jawaharlal Nehru*, pp. 128-138; chapter x, "Radhakrishnan," from *Education, Politics, and War*, pp. 28-47, 67-91; chapter xi, "Narayan," from *A Picture of Sarvodaya Social Order*, pp. 31-44; chapter xiii, "Bhave," from *Bhoodan Yajna*, pp. 3-18.

CHAPTER I: *India Meets the West*

1. Although Moslem power was not established until the eleventh century, political disintegration in northern India continued after the collapse of Harsha's empire. In southern India, however, classic Indian culture and political systems survived throughout the Moslem conquest, indeed, continued with some vigor right up to the beginning of India's independence.

2. Signed into law in 1956.

3. Article 40, part IV. See Indian Government, *The Constitution of India*, p. 20.

4. See, for instance, M. K. Gandhi's *Young India*, 1924-1926, pp. 604-5.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 613-615.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 599-600.

7. Ram Gopal, *Lokamanya Tilak*, p. 234.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 233. The Swadeshi movement supported the use of Indian as against imported goods.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 285. Swaraj: literally "self-rule." For an excellent summary of modern usage of the term, see Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence*, p. 114.

10. Rabindranath Tagore, *Nationalism*, p. 53.

11. Nehru tells how Japanese victories stirred his youthful enthusiasms and caused him to purchase a large number of books on Japan. Jawaharlal Nehru, *Toward Freedom*, p. 29.

12. Swami Vivekananda, *Complete Works*, V, 288.

## CHAPTER II: *Pattern of Conflict*

1. Manuel Komroff, ed., *The Travels of Marco Polo*, p. 284.

2. Nalin C. Gangulay, *Raja Ram Mohun Roy*, p. 106.

3. *The London Times*, Nov. 17, 1891, p. 9.

4. W. H. Moreland, and A. C. Chatterjee, *A Short History of India*, p. 430. But Pattabhi Sitaramayya pays tribute to Curzon's vision, courage, and sense of justice in initiating the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act and in punishing British soldiers guilty of criminal offences against Indian civilians; see his *History of the Indian National Congress*, I, 68.

5. Abbé J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, pp. xxiii-xxiv.

6. Sitaramayya, *op. cit.*, I, 101. For material on Sir Surendranath Banerjea, consult his *A Nation in the Making*.

7. See Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, *Philosophy Eastern and Western*, I, 488; W. E. Duffett, A. R. Hicks, and G. R. Parkin, *India Today*, pp. 16-19.

8. Percival Spear, *India, Pakistan and the West*, p. 80.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

10. Consult, for example, H. S. Jarrett, trans., *Ain-I-Akbari*, Vol. III, Ch. 4, "The Learning of the Hindus."

11. For an account of Dadu's career, consult W. G. Orr, *A Sixteenth Century Indian Mystic*.
12. For a brief summary of Hindu-Moslem cultural differences, see Spear, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-91.
13. For a popular account of the life of Shivaji, consult Dennis Kincaid, *The Grand Rebel*.
14. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, *Bal Gangadhar Tilak, His Writings and Speeches*, p. 50.
15. S. L. Karandikar, *Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak*, p. vi. Tilak, in the newspaper *Kesari* of the 27th of September 1904, strongly disapproved of the murder of British officials on the ground that "English administration is not arbitrary individual rule. Therefore it is unmanly to incite to the murder of officers." Karandikar, *op. cit.*, p. 205.
16. Sitaramayya, *op. cit.*, I, 380. For a clear analysis of the meaning of Satyagraha and related Gandhian concepts, consult Bondurant, *op. cit.*, especially Chs. II, IV, VI.
17. Jaiprakash Narain, *A Picture of Sarvodaya Social Order*, p. 31.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
19. R. P. Masani, *The Communist Party of India*, p. 24. For a detailed account of Roy's career consult Gene D. Overstreet and Marshall Windmiller, *Communism in India*, especially pp. 44-58.
20. M. N. Roy and K. K. Sinha, *Royism Explained*, p. 12.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
23. Quoted in M. R. Masani, *op. cit.*, p. 244.
24. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, *Kalki*, p. 22. On this problem of democracy in Indian tradition consult Brown, "Traditional Concepts of Indian Leadership," in Richard L. Park and Irene Tinker, eds., *Leadership and Political Institutions in India* (Ch. I).
25. Radhakrishnan, *The Hindu View of Life*, pp. 116-117.
26. For an excellent summary of this attempt consult

Margaret W. Fisher and Joan V. Bondurant, *Indian Approaches to a Socialist Society*.

### CHAPTER III: *The Congress*

1. For a concise picture of Hume's life and character see Sitaramayya, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-79.

2. Gladstone himself strongly supported the Congress and was greatly admired by Indians. He also supported freedom for the Indian native press. Sitaramayya, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

3. For a thorough analysis of the role of Bengal in the Independence movement consult Richard Leonard Park, "The Rise of Militant Nationalism in Bengal." Regarding the Bengal Revolution of 1905, he summarizes (p. 3), "Here were posed for the first time in organized form both a demand for political independence for India and a philosophy of action, as well as working institutions, by which such independence could be achieved more rapidly." But he adds (pp. 4-5), "One can say that the Bengal revolutionary movement does not compare as regards political effectiveness either in a qualitative or quantitative sense with the Gandhi-led, non-violent resistance campaigns fostered through the Indian National Congress."

4. Both Jinnah and Gandhi were impressed by Gokhale's ideas, but Jinnah, of course, broke completely with Gandhi and the Congress. In a sense, therefore, Jinnah does not quite belong in the "main line of succession."

5. R. P. Masani, *Dadabhai Naoroji*, p. 9. This entire work is a basic source for the career of Naoroji. For other sources see Sitaramayya, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 83-85; C. Yajneswara Chintamani, *Indian Politics Since the Mutiny*, pp. 20-21, 56-57.

6. A collection of writings under this title was published in 1901, but a smaller volume entitled *Poverty of India* appeared in 1878.

7. He was thereafter dubbed "narrow majority," a nickname that stuck to him for some time. (See R. P. Masani, *op. cit.*, pp. 257-285).

8. Quoted in Sitaramayya, *op. cit.*, I, p. 9.

9. *Loc. cit.*

10. For other actions and activities of this Congress meeting see *ibid.* pp. 18-19. Also consult Berjoy Krishna Bhattacharya, *A Short History of the Indian National Congress*; Hemendranath Dasgupta, *Indian National Congress*.

11. Regarding Ranade's position in public affairs during this period, see Banerjea, *A Nation in the Making*, p. 139.

12. Sitaramayya, *op. cit.*, I, 97.

13. For subsequent Home Rule activities, see D. V. Tahmankar, *Lokamanya Tilak*, pp. 250-258.

14. See Sitaramayya, *op. cit.*, I, 125. In 1916, Tilak rejoined the Congress, at Lucknow, for the first time since the Surat split. On this occasion, even Moslems worked harmoniously with Hindus.

15. Sitaramayya, *op. cit.*, II, 611. When the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, narrowly escaped death in 1912 from a bomb thrown at him in Delhi, the Congress from Patna sent him a telegram expressing "sorrow and indignation at the outrage." (Sitaramayya, *op. cit.*, I, 73). For the comments of another Nationalist, consult the Bengali leader, Bipin Chandra Pal, *Memories of My Life; Nationality and Empire; Swaraj*. In the fast of these Pal opposes armed revolt on the ground that it would "only be able to replace present foreign autocracy by a native autocracy."

#### CHAPTER IV: *Ranade*

1. Ranade eventually held the highest judicial position open to any Indian. Working in Marathi, Sanskrit, and English, he wrote and spoke on such vital subjects as re-

## NOTES

ligion, reform, and economics. His collection of *Essays in Religious and Social Reform* was edited by M. B. Kalaskar (see bibliog.).

2. For additional biographical material, consult G. A. Mankar, *Justice M. G. Ranade*; J. K. Kellock, *Mahadev Govind Ranade*.

3. Malabar and Coromandel were the western and eastern areas of South India.

4. This was in 1018.

5. Russian Turkestan.

6. Kutbuddin Aibak assumed the title of Sultan of Delhi after the Assassination of Muhammad of Ghur, in 1206.

7. A loin cloth.

8. Mlechchhas: Foreigners.

9. The Din Ilahi was the Emperor Akbar's attempt to establish a syncretic religion for his empire. It did not survive his death.

10. Vaishnavism, worshipping Vishnu in his various incarnations, especially those such as Krishna and Rama, is tolerant in its outlook. Even Non-Hindu personages may be looked upon as avatars, or manifestations of Vishnu.

11. The term "community" is used to refer to specific cultural groups such as Moslem, Hindu, Christian.

### CHAPTER V: Gokhale

1. Sitaramayya, *op. cit.*, I, 89.

2. But Gokhale did refuse a knighthood. See *ibid.*, I, 64.

3. *Ibid.*, I, 90. For material on the period, consult Minto, Ranade.

4. See *Indian Nation Builders*, I, 206.

5. Chintamani, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

6. See D. S. Sarma, *Renaissance of Hinduism*, p. 141.

7. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, *Writings and Speeches*, pp. 304-305. For other biographical material consult Sastri, *Life*

of Gopal Krishna Gokhale; John S. Hoyland, *Gopal Krishna Gokhale*; M. K. Gandhi, *Gokhale—My Political Guru*.

8. European and native.
9. Lord Curzon served as Viceroy from 1899–1905.
10. Lord Ripon served 1880–1884.
11. Queen Victoria issued a proclamation November 1, 1858 which pledged Great Britain to recognize rights of Indian subjects.
12. Gokhale's speech here was delivered just two months after Japan's astonishing victory over Russia had been formalized by the Treaty of Portsmouth, 5 September 1905.

#### CHAPTER VI: *Tilak*

1. Lokamanya: "revered by the people." For an analysis of Tilak's ideas consult D. Mackenzie Brown, "The Philosophy of Bal Gangadhar Tilak."
2. For a commentary on the role of the Chitpawan Brahmans in Indian politics, consult Sarma, *op. cit.*
3. Speech of February, 1908. Quoted by D. P. Karmarkar, *Bal Gangadhar Tilak*, p. 165.
4. See Tahmankar, *op. cit.*, pp. 23–25.
5. See Karmarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 43–44.
6. Actually the Nationalists felt that they had virtually been excluded by the constitutional provisions forced through by the Reform wing of the party. See Sitaramayya, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 96–98.
7. The Swadeshi movement was designed to encourage the production and consumption of Indian native goods in place of British imports.
8. Quoted in Karmarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 163.
9. Dadabhai Naoroji.
10. The proclamation of 1858.
11. Chanakya was the political advisor of Chandragupta,

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who conquered the ruling Nandas and established the Maurya Dynasty in India at the end of the fourth century B.C.

12. Lord Morley was Secretary of State for India, 1905-1910.

13. Sir Raghunath Purushottam Paranjpe served as a member of the India Council in London and attacked Tilak's stand on untouchability. See Tahmankar, *op. cit.*, p. 50. S. K. Damale was once the editor of one of Tilak's newspapers, the *Rashtra Mata*. See *ibid.*, p. 157.

14. *Manusamhitā*, VII, 27-29.

15. They were the sixth and seventh incarnations of the god Vishnu. Paśhurama was defeated in combat by Rama, the hero of the epic *Rāmāyaṇa*.

16. In the later Vedic writings, Asuras are pictured as demons or enemies of the gods.

17. Tilak refers frequently to Japan, in his public speeches.

18. In 1907.

19. A bombing outrage in Bengal which British authorities contended was incited by articles in Tilak's newspaper, *Kesari*. In 1908, Tilak was sentenced to six years' hard labor.

20. Note this appeal to passive resistance by one whom the British looked upon as an advocate of extreme violence.

21. The work referred to is *Indian Unrest* by Valentine Chirol (see Bibliography).

22. The Peshwas were the hereditary ruling powers of the Maratha Confederacy after 1720. From the capital in Poona, these Brahman prime ministers controlled a large area in western India.

23. Nana Phadnavis was the leader of the Maratha ministers at Poona with whom the British negotiated the 1776 Treaty of Purandhar, after war over the possession of

the island of Salsette. Malik Amber, an African slave who rose to become prime minister of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar, led its defense against Mogul attacks during the emperor Jahangir's reign in the early 17th century. Akbar was Jahangir's father. Aurangzeb (1658-1707) was the last of the great Mogul rulers.

24. As used here, "Dharma" means duty or nature.

#### CHAPTER VII: Lajpat Rai

1. Chintamani, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

2. Among these are: *The Arya Samaj, Young India, India's Will to Freedom, England's Debt to India, The Political Future of India*. See bibliography for these titles and for his extensive series of articles published in American periodicals.

3. See Lajpat Rai's "Gandhi and Non-Cooperation."

4. For an account of his death see "Lajpat Rai Obituary, *The Nation*, 127 (November 28, 1928), p. 563. Whether or not his death was due to the beating has been disputed. See Nehru's comments on this in the quoted selection of Chapter IX.

5. The Montagu-Chelmsford *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms* was published in 1918. E. S. Montagu was Secretary of State for India; Lord Chelmsford was Viceroy, 1916-21

6. The Public Service Commission of 1886 issued a report which laid the foundations for later development of the Indian Public Service. It recommended the division of services into two branches: "Indian," recruited in Britain, and "Provincial," recruited in India.

7. Both Chandra Pal and Lajpat Rai had supported Tilak in the earlier struggle over the partition of Bengal.

8. Ibbetson served as Census Commissioner and as Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab.

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### CHAPTER VIII: *Gandhi*

1. See M. K. Gandhi, *Autobiography*, p. 185. This is the prime source for material on his life up to the time of the Champaran campaign recounted here and covers events up to 1921.

2. At its inception, the Ashram was a group of about twenty-five men and women. Some were from South Africa, others from different Indian provinces. They shared a common kitchen and common living responsibilities. See Gandhi, *op. cit.*, p. 482.

3. For a thorough analysis of these techniques, consult Bondurant, *op. cit.*, especially pp. 36-45.

4. King Janaka was traditionally the father-in-law of Rama and was king of ancient Videha in northern India. The first three sentences are taken from an early chapter in Gandhi's *Autobiography* entitled, "The Stain of Indigo."

5. The ryots were the Indian peasant laborers.

6. Kothis: companies or firms.

7. Ahimsa: non-injury.

8. Vakils: attorneys.

9. Darshana seekers: In this context the term refers to the privilege of seeing a famous or saintly person and receiving inspiration thereby.

10. C.I.D. officers were responsible for controlling criminal or treasonable activities in India.

11. Raj: rule.

### CHAPTER IX: *Nehru*

1. Jawaharlal Nehru, *Toward Freedom*, p. 29.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

3. See Chintamani, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

4. Nehru, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

6. For his attitudes on "Communalism," see Frank

Moraes, *Jawaharlal Nehru—A Biography*, pp. 222-236.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 292.

8. From his letter from Central Prison, Allahabad, to Gandhi at Yeravada Jail, in Poona, dated 28 July 1930. Quoted in Sitaramayya, *op. cit.*, I, 640.

9. Nehru, *op. cit.*, pp. 229-230.

10. 1928.

11. The Simon Commission was appointed in 1927 to study the operations of government under the Indian Constitution. Since the Commission included members of the British Parliament only, it was boycotted in India by those who resented the failure to include a single Indian member.

12. The Mahasabha was an organization of Hindu Nationalists in opposition to Non-Hindu communal groups. See also Nehru, *op. cit.*, pp. 288, 329.

13. The Gandhian Satyagraha campaign and other struggles after the Amritsar Massacre.

14. Singh was one of two persons who threw bombs from the gallery onto the floor of the Indian Legislative Assembly.

15. Pant was a fellow inmate of Dehra Dun jail where Nehru's *Toward Freedom* was written.

#### CHAPTER X: *Radhakrishnan*

1. Quoted by D. B. Dhanapala, *Eminent Indians*, p. 67.

2. UNESCO carried on the program of the old League agency.

3. 1938.

4. The Government of India Act of 1935.

5. *History of Rome*, 1866.

6. The Manchurian Incident.

7. Churchill.

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### CHAPTER XI: *Narayan*

1. At the University of Wisconsin he was deeply impressed by the "socialist" views of his instructors. For a brief summary of Narayan's early life, consult Yusuf Meherally's introduction to Jayaprakash Narayan's *Towards Struggle*, pp. 7-14. An exciting though inaccurate account is to be found in Dhanapala's *Eminent Indians*, pp. 144-151.

2. For his own opinion of America see Narayan, *op. cit.*, p. 54. He states there: "I spent the best part of my youth in your great country and seven of my happiest years. I went there as a student and learned much, not only from its Universities but also from its factories and farms . . ."

3. See Weiner, *Party Politics in India*, pp. 25-26.

4. Quoted by Dhanapala, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

5. Quoted in Joan V. Bondurant's "The Nonconventional Political Leader," in Richard Leonard Park and Irene Tinker's *Leadership and Political Institutions in India*, p. 293.

6. Nai Talim: New Education.

7. Bhoodan: Land Gifts.

8. Sampattidan: Money Gifts.

9. Gandhi's "march to the sea" in Western India, 1930, to make salt in defiance of the government.

10. Charkha: Spinning Wheel.

### CHAPTER XII: *Bhave*

1. Sitaramayya, *op. cit.*, II, 219. Bhave is placed last after Narayan in this series. Though he is six years older, his active political career began later than Narayan's.

2. Indian Government publication, *Acharya Vinoba Bhave*, p. 23.

3. Ghandi, *op. cit.*, p. 365.

4. Quoted in *Acharya Vinoba Bhave*, p. 8. The "three-fold revolution, is "a change in people's hearts," "a change in their lives," and "change in the social structure."

5. For a readable first-hand account of Vinoba's program and activities, consult Hallam Tennyson, *India's Walking Saint*.

6. Quoted in *Acharya Vinoba Bhave*, p. 13.

7. See *Time* (Dec. 29, 1958), pp. 20-21.

8. The last part of this selection, beginning "Six months ago, I had not the least idea that God was going to make me an instrument . . ." is taken from a later speech at Sagar. Both talks were given in 1951.

9. Note how closely Bhave's views on Hindu-Moslem relations, and on communal problems in general, coincide with Ranade's outlook as expressed in the first selection in this book.

10. For the ideology behind the land gift movement consult Vinoba Bhave's *Philosophy of the Bhoodan Yajna*. See also his *Swaraj Sastra*, pp. 52-54. The Vamana incarnation of Vishnu: the God is born as a dwarf and appears before King Bali who has achieved dominion over the three worlds. The dwarf asks this king to grant him as much land as he can cover in three steps. The king agrees, and Vamana walks over the earth and heaven in two paces. He refrains from taking the third step over the infernal regions, thus leaving them in control of Bali.

11. One lakh equals 100,000. One crore equals 10,000,000.

12. Bhave had received an invitation from Prime Minister Nehru, earlier, to come to Delhi to present his ideas to the Planning Commission.

13. Bapu: Gandhi.

14. Narada was an ancient sage described in the Rig-Veda and the Mahābhārata. He is said to have been born of Brahma, to have visited the infernal regions, and to

have written the great legal textbook, the *Code of Narada*.

15. Daridranarayana refers to the poor or destitute.

16. Bhave has exhibited considerable contempt for American institutions and attitudes. In comparing the U.S. and Russia he comments, "On the surface it might seem that the two contestants occupying the [international] arena are the Communists led by Russia and the Capitalists under the mask of Democracy by the U.S. But ideologically the latter has lost all vitality and though it might appear doughty on the strength of its military force I do not regard it as really existent as a rival against Communism. On the other hand . . . I believe that ultimately it will be Gandhism with which Communism will have its trial of strength." K. G. Mashruwala, *Gandhi and Marx*, p. 15.

#### CHAPTER XIII: *Response To The West*

1. At least as a prerequisite for the effective handling of political issues.

2. Amritsar has been described above. Chauri Chaura was the scene of a later clash between Indians and police which prompted Gandhi to suspend for a time his Satyagraha program. The march to the sea to break the government's salt monopoly took place in 1930, in Gujerat.

3. Dharma: law or duty.

4. This literature, the best known example of which is Kautilya's manual of government, provided practical advice on public administration in a spirit which at times resembled the Machiavellian. For a discussion of Machiavellian realism in Indian and Western traditions consult D. Mackenzie Brown, *Indian and Western Realism*.

5. See D. Mackenzie Brown, *The Philosophy of B. G. Tilak*, p. 205.

6. Consult Giles T. Brown, "The Hindu Conspiracy."

7. See, for instance, his 1914 Poona speech, above. The

sincerity of his denial of intent to incite to violence was questioned by British officials during his court trials—resulting in his convictions. For a scholarly discussion of Tilak's motives, consult Stanley Wolpert, *Revolution and Reform in the Making of Modern India*. For a brief comparison with Gandhi's outlook, consult D. Mackenzie Brown, *Gandhi and Tilak*.

8. For an analysis of the Subhas Chandra Bose movement, consult Richard Leonard Park, *Militant Nationalism in Bengal*.

9. Kabir, Tulsidas and Ram Mohan Roy each minimized sectarian religious issues in favor of devotion and tolerance. "Bhakti" involves the worship of a personal god and stresses the concept of love.

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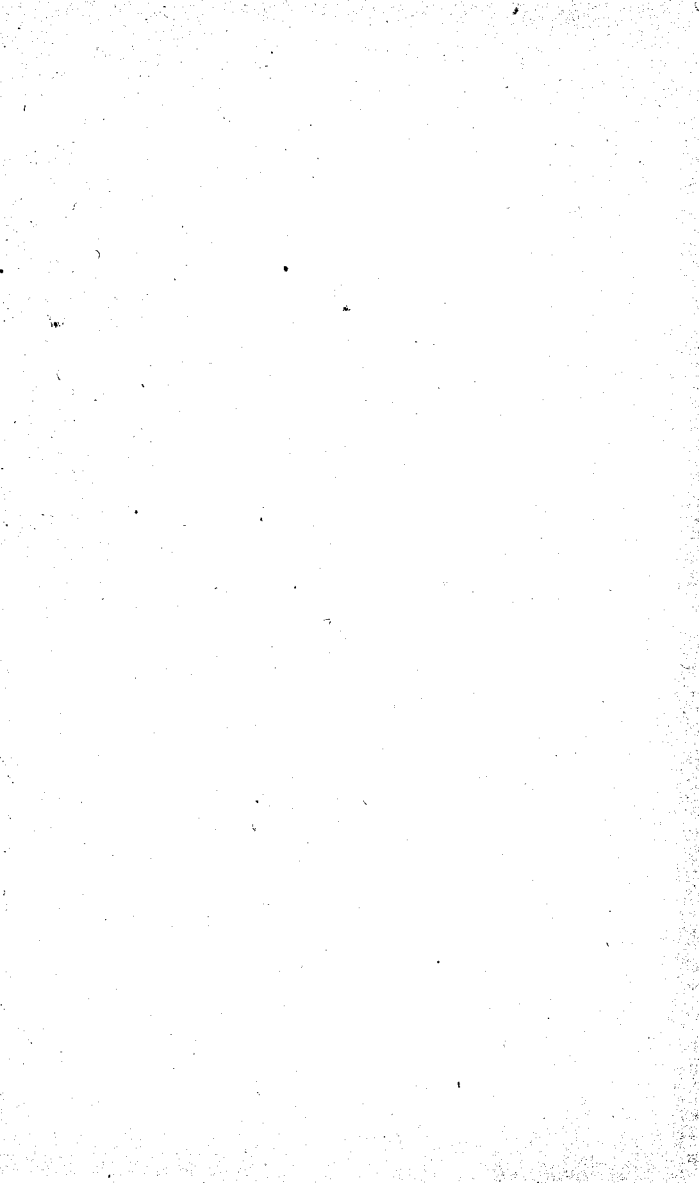
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