

CHAPTER – II

THE IMPERIAL APPROACH

With the arrival of Europeans in India, historical writings began to change drastically in respect of approach, technique and treatment. Indian and foreign scholars got such a rich harvest of historical material on different aspects of Indian history which was prepared in the forms of minutes, dispatches, consultations, proceedings, secret correspondence, individual collections, diaries, autobiographies etc. In the beginning of the rule of Company, all transactions were done verbally which immensely corrupted the English officials.¹ When such news reached London, the Home Government prescribed rigid rules which required every detail from the village level to the central administration to be furnished in writings to the Court of Directors. It was also made compulsory for the company's officials to seek permission of the Directors on all important aspects in writing. This practice was basically instrumental in the collection of material on vast scale in a variety of ways.²

Now the question arises when the westerns began to take interest in writing about Indian affairs? Alexander Dow was the first English official who wrote, The History of Hindustan first published in 1768. He entered the company's military service in 1760 and rose to the Colonel in 1769. He wrote on other issues also. His work was of general aspects. He did denounce some cruel practices going on in Indian society since immemorial³. Real historical writings achieved great philip when Robert Orme, Claudius Buchanan and J.A. Dubois started their accounts narrow in outlook and subjective in approach. James Mill wrote History of British India in six volumes between 1806-1818. These works were regarded as the first works on the complete history of India and based his works on these British writers.⁴

James Mill asserted that the laws and institutions of the Hindus could not have begun or existed “under any other than of the rudest and weakest states of the human mind.” He specifically argued that if the Hindus had ever been in a high state of civilization, “We know of no such period of calamity as was sufficient to reduce them to a state of ignorance and barbarity.”⁵ He declared that the people of Europe even during the feudal ages, were greatly superior to the Hindus.... In truth, the Hindu, like the Eunuch, excels in the qualities of slaves”⁶. He further wrote that Muslim rule was the better than the Hindu rule and the British rule was better than either. The evangelicalists like H.H.Wilson and R.C. Majumdar have expressed their regret over the fact that Mill was not dispassionate in his views on the Hindus and the ancient Indian civilisation. Majumdar has opined that Mill committed a serious mistake in judging the past on the basis of contemporary events and theories. He was too much influenced by Bentham, Ricardo, Hume and other thinkers who have been propounding the principles of utilitarianism. He had not done justice to the ancient Indian history and culture.⁷

Most of the British officials such as Sir John Strachey, C.U. Aitchinson, C.A. Bayley, D. Mackenzie Wallace, Auckland Colvin and host of others failed to realise the identity of India as a nation. Sir John Strachey after his retirement delivered a series of lectures on India at the Cambridge University. In the course of his lectures, he told his audience : “This is the first and most essential thing to learn about India – that there is not and never was an India”⁸ He patiently stated that there was no need to fear as far as the matter of Indian nationality was concerned. He further remarked : “However long may be the duration of our dominion, however powerful may be centralizing attraction of our government or the influence of the common interests which grow up, no such issue can follow”.⁹ To Strachey, it seemed ‘impossible’ “that men of Bombay, the Punjab, Bengal and Madras should ever feel that they belong to one great Indian nation”.¹⁰

John Strachey failed to understand that significant changes were taking place in India and a new nation was emerging before his eyes. Due to British rule only, the growth of English education, a feeling of nationality was fast developing in the country which needed an organization to crystallize.¹¹ This same feeling of nationality one year after his lectures at Cambridge did emerge in India and found a body in the Indian National Congress. Even few months before the emergence of the Congress, *Englishman* and *St. James Gazette* had written that there was no nation "nor germ of national life discernible in the great peninsula. Whether created amongst those numerous population, differing in race, creed, traditions and qualities from each other for more than the races of Europe amongst themselves, is more than doubtful"¹² The assemblage of Indians under the same roof and for a common object was by no means a trifling thing¹³

The nationalist press even before the emergence of the Congress had started writing about the home rule for India as other colonies had already been granted by the British and "surely British India has a fair claim to similar representation. If taxation and representation go hand in hand in all British colonies, why should principle be ignored in British India Home Rule for India ought to be our cry and it ought to be based upon the same constitutional basis that is recognised in the colonies."¹⁴ The Congress leadership at least for twenty years continued to believe in British fair play and judiciousness and presented its demands through constitutional means. Despite this, the Congress was described as 'a seditious organisation'. The British officials pursued 'a policy of divide and rule' by encouraging Muslims and Indian chieftains. In 1898, Elgin (1894-99), the Viceroy openly declared "India was conquered by the sword and by the sword it shall be held."¹⁵

The Congress started challenging the British raj after the partition of Bengal. The Indian youth also emerged on the national scene by founding revolution organisations throughout the country. Now the historiographical

changes also took place. This revolutionary movement did not confine up to Indian boundaries but went beyond the country. The Indian revolutionaries started organising themselves in Western World i.e. London, Paris, Berlin, San Francisco, Tokyo, Kabul, Moscow etc. Their activities continued upto first World War.¹⁶ When Gandhiji launched Non-Cooperation movement in 1920, a new wave of anti-British feeling strengthened. It was expected that Swaraj would be attained within a year if India pursued non-violent policy. But the situation changed when the Chauri-Chaura incident took place. The movement was withdrawn and created anguishness among the Indian youth. The subsequent events surcharged the political atmosphere of the country and youth again organised and started challenging the British imperialism in a violent way. The sudden withdrawal of the movement caused profound shock to all the nationalists.¹⁷

British Government established Criminal Intelligence Department under the over-all incharge of a Director at the central level. Its branches were also established in all the provinces from where confidential reports about the political activities of different groups of nationalists were sent to the central department. James Campbell Ker was one of the senior officers of the Home Department. He worked as Personal Assistant to the Director of Criminal Intelligence from 1913 to 1970.¹⁸ In this capacity, he had direct access to the highly confidential documents relating to the political activities that had become source of embarrassment to the British regime. Ker had collected the confidential material for the Knowledge of the top-ranking British officers. *The Political Trouble in India, 1917-1970*" as a book was compiled by Ker to keep the executive officers and policy makers well informed about the political activities taking place in India.¹⁹

All the policy-decisions taken by the British Government were to be implemented by the executive officers worked under the supervision of the Home Department, Government of India. The British ruling elite had realised that the

growth of new education system among the Indians, the quest for the political freedom had increased. Such educated young men were not satisfied with their position as babus and petty officers. They opposed the racial discrimination and determined to oppose the political and economic exploitation which brought ruin to their country.²⁰

The imperial masters started hating the Indians as is evident from innumerable official documents in regard to recruitment, pay and status. The colonial rulers proved as the worst exploiters who applied repression for raising voice against any injustice. Those who began to denounce official policies were called anarchists, revolutionaries, terrorists and even traitors by the British officials.²¹ The frustration and resentment among the educated Indians led to the beginning of political activities. The colonial regime adopted all means to divert the resentment into communal hatred among the Indians. The partition of Bengal was the most significant proof in order to buy loyalty of economically backward Bengali Muslims through big landlords and their religious leaders. The government fully realised that 'Bengal united is a power. Bengal divided will pull several different ways.'²²

The Indian revolutionaries affirmed that the partition of Bengal was the part of a well-planned sinister policy to be implemented throughout the country in quite different ways. They were sure that the complete political freedom was the only solution to end the oppressive and exploitative policies of the British rule in India. They organised secret revolutionary organisations in different provinces of India.²³ It was realised that it was necessary to get modern weapons and publish anti-British literature against the British Raj in order to wage a successful struggle on the scientific basis. To fulfill this, many revolutionaries went to Western countries where political atmosphere was to some extent congenial. They raised funds, studied several liberation movements, trained themselves in the use of modern weapon.²⁴

The Indian revolutionaries engaged themselves in seeking support of the anti-imperialist forces and diverting world public opinion in their favour. They forged contacts with foreign revolutionaries including French, Russian, Irish, German, American leading exiled lives out of their respective countries. The British secret reports reveal how they lived and managed revolutionary's activities in collaboration with their exponents living in different countries of the west. In one of the reports, officials quoting an extract from the *Indian Sociologist*, a newspaper started by Shyamji Krishna Verma in England, observed : "It seems that any agitation in India now must be carried on secretly and that the only method which can bring the English Government to its senses are the Russian methods vigorously and incessantly applied until the English relax their tyranny are drawn out of the country."²⁵

The British officials' attitude towards the revolutionaries of the first phase was quite oppressive as they were afraid of the following issues as explained by the revolutionaries :

- i) "How to work among the Indian soldiers with a view to drive a section of them, at any rate into the revolution when breaks out;
- ii) How to arm the mighty Indian people to make them play the role of nation in arms; and
- iii) How to manufacture arms, ammunition, hand-grenades and high explosives for conducting scientific warfare"²⁶

The Imperial historiography becomes evident from the writings and policy decisions taken by the British top-ranking officials. They started collecting the information of their political activities wherever they were living and what were they doing etc. The revolutionaries started publishing their journals such as *Indian Sociologist* (London, Geneva) *Bande Mataram* (Paris), *Talvar* (Berlin), *Ghadr* (San Francisco), *Free Hindustan* (Vancouver, U.S.A.), *Islamic Fraternity* (Tokyo) etc. The British officials became quite astonished and alerted when they came to

know the appeals made by the revolutionaries to the martial races of India.²⁷ All such appeals were published in Gurmukhi, Urdu, Gujrati and Hindi languages. When the war between England and Germany was becoming, Indians also started preparation of an armed revolution among the inevitable Indian troops.²⁸

The confidential reports reveal that the revolutionaries made all feasible efforts to send arms and ammunition to their counterparts in India. They chartered a ship named Komagatamaru to smuggle trained revolutionaries with arms and ammunition to break out rebellion in the Punjab.²⁹ Shiv Dayal, a revolutionary from Kanpur, brought three thousand revolvers from Thailand is an interesting event. Jawala Singh of Rawalpindi was another young revolutionary who had established apase in Afganistan. Sardar Ajit Singh, uncle of Bhagat Singh, smuggled himself into different countries under an assumed name Mirza Hussain Khan and B.N. Dutta reappeared as Dawood Khan.³⁰ The attempts were made to outbreak revolt in Indian army during the World War I. All efforts were also made to seek support of anti-British countries and forces for thwarting the British regime from India but could not succeed.

After the withdrawal of the movement, almost all the cadres of different streams denounced Gandhiji's action. But Gandhiji categorically said that the movement had not been abandoned but suspended. Many leaders did not fully agree with Gandhi's political ideas but the movement had 'raised the political consciousness in the country by one big leap.' The Intelligence reports of the government did not praise the Congress leadership and its concept of unity.³¹ To counteract the newly emerging youth leadership, the confidential report tried to divert the attention of the masses from revolutionary stream by praising Gandhian approach in leading non-violent methods in the following lines : "Never before has any political leader, or perhaps even a religious leader in his own time stirred the masses to their very depths throughout the country and received the homage of so

many people, Hindus and Moslems alike. His influence is certainly phenomenal and quite unprecedented."³²

The government was quite alarmed at the sweep of the movement and it exercised a great influence on the general masses. The same confidential report expressed anguishes over the behavior of the masses : "The factory hands and the railway employees who strike, the convicts who have broken out of the jail, the coolies who have migrated from Assam and the peasants who recently defied law and order in Oudh, all proclaim Gandhi as their leader and appear to think that if they obey what are represented as his orders, the British Raj will disappear and a golden age of prosperity for India will begin".³³

When in September 1928, the Congress and the Khilafat Committees were busy in popularising the decisions of all parties' conference held at Lucknow to consider the Nehru Report, a garbed way of the demand for the Dominion Status' rather than complete independence was made. The members of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha did not take part in the conference as they considered the Nehru Report as capitalist in origin but the demand of the Sabha was for 'a government of labourers and peasants'³⁴.

The British officials in India alleged that youth of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha were under the great influence of the Soviet Union. But the Sabha tried to counter the anti-Soviet panic created by the government among the Indian people. The revolutionaries, however, were in full sympathy with the anti-imperialist policy of Russia and destruction of capitalism. They celebrated Friends of Russia Week' at Lahore and Amritsar where they fully supported the view that the government by the labourers and peasants was the only course towards freedom and prosperity.³⁵

The imperialist ideology was deadly against the increasing influence of the communism on Indian youth. The government tried to seize their

literature//missing to suppress any movement of socialism and communism as these were treated the most dangerous ideologies and totally opposed to the capitalism. The government did not give them any further chance of conducting open activities and soon arrested their three top leaders in the famous Meerut Conspiracy Case of 1929-Sehgal, Majid and Josh. Refuting the charge of the government as nest of terrorism, Sohan Singh Josh told the audience gathered at the Jallianwala Bagh on 16 December, 1929, to celebrate the Kakori Case Martyr's Day: "I want to tell you straight that our Naujawan Bharat Sabha did not believe in terrorism. We understand that individual terrorism has not succeeded anywhere in the world. It is possible to kill a few people by use of terroristic methods; but these could be replaced by other tyrants. This way we cannot change the system nor can we remove injustice and oppression. Our object is that men should not be killed, but that the system be uprooted. That is why we want to prepare for mass civil disobedience or mass no-tax campaign. That is why we lay stress on organisation."³⁹

On the recommendation of the Intelligence Department, the Naujawan Bharat Sabha was declared unlawful organisation on 3 May, 1930 under the Seditious meetings Act. Most of the members were admitted into the Kirti Kisan Party. Sabha's unfinished task was later on taken up by the Hindustan Socialist Republic Association that pronounced new revolutionary programme which firmly believed in the marxist ideology displayed by the successful socialist change in Russia.⁴⁰ In the economic field, New Economic Policy had come to an end by the period of recession. The Russia did enter into an era of new planning. The collectivisation drive in agriculture was a new phenomenon on that attracted the attention of the Indian revolutionaries. They were eager to do betterment of small and marginal peasants as had been done by the Bolshevik regime in Russia.⁴¹

The year 1928-29 marked the beginning of two important problems i.e. economic recession and industrial strikes. The latter resulted in the loss of

31,647,000 working days. The trade union movement especially in Bombay led to the increase in trade unionism which gave birth to the radicalisation of situation.⁴² The workers took part in large numbers in the procession against the Simon Commission. The government reports and other news agencies recorded in their reports that there was a great political consciousness among the workers who did occupy the Congress pandal for many hours demanding the adoption of a resolution for Poorna Azadi.⁴³ This rising consciousness greatly influenced the Indian revolutionaries who were also in search of such moment in the activities of trade unionism.

The government reports, autobiographies and even biographies evidently tell the Indian revolutionaries such as Bhagat Singh, Chandra Shekhar Azad, Bejoy Kumar Sinha, Shiv Verma, Sadashiv, Lalit Kumar Mukerjee, Sukhdev, Phanindra Nath Ghosh started learning the process and technique of bomb making. Jhansi which was the headquarters of such activities was shifted to Agra where the activities of the Hindustan Socialist Republic Association began to take place. Jatindra Nath Das was made incharge of manufacturing the bomb and many other members of the Association were trained in making bombshells, explosives, and other techniques in this regard.⁴⁴

The government agencies came to know the Association's activities at Agra where some revolutionaries were caught by the police. By the end of March 1929, it was decided to close down the bomb-making and other training works at Agra. Saharnpur was chosen an appropriate place to perform such activities under the supervision of Shiv Verma. Gaya Prasad and Jaidev helped Shiv Verma in manufacturing chemicals for bomb making.⁴⁵ But after two months, the police came to know three empty bombshells, large quantities of chemicals, scientific apparatus, three loaded revolvers, published literature on arms and explosives, three photographs with three negatives.⁴⁶

Another important centre of their activities was Lahore where the revolutionaries from U.P., Bihar, M.P, Maharashtra and Punjab hide themselves in the beginning. The frequent visitors were Chandra Shekhar Azad, Jai Gopal, Raj Guru and Mahabir Singh who also asked to visit other centres at Delhi, Agra, Jhansi, Gwalior, Saharanpur, Kanpur and Calcutta.⁴⁷ They returned to Lahore after the completion of their activities. The Hindustan Socialist Republic Association had its branch at Lahore which coordinated their activities in many ways. Sukhdev, Bhagwati Charan Vohra, Kisohri Lal, Prem Dutt, Yashpal and others prepared explosives, mercury fulminate and other chemicals. But the police came to know their activities and raided their headquarters on 15th April 1929. Sukhdev, Jai Gopal and Kishori Lal were arrested. A large number of material and published revolutionary literature were also seized during the raid.⁴⁶

The official reports treated their activities as anti-British *raj*. The government adopted all measures to curb their activities at all cost. The same report also confirms that Delhi was another important centre where accommodations were rented at Sita Ram Bazar, Naya Bazar, Jhandewal etc. Yashpal, Bhagwati Charan Vohra, Bimal Prasad Jain, N.K.Nigam, Kashi Ram, M.P. Jain, Vaishampayan etc. were quite active in manufacturing explosives under a Soap Factory at Jhandewalan.⁴⁹ When the news of the arrests of the members of the Association at Lahore on 26 August, 1930 reached Delhi, it was deemed proper to postpone their activities in Delhi. But in between some of the revolutionaries were arrested in Delhi and one Kailashpatti became a chief approver in Delhi Conspiracy Case divulged some information to the police. He held Azad responsible for starting a bomb factory in Delhi under the guise of a soap factory. He further stated that a meeting was held on 9 June, 1930 which was attended many revolutionaries. Bimal Prasad Jain was made the manager of that 'bogus soap factory'.⁵⁰

The arrests made at Lahore and Delhi gave a Vault to the activities of the revolutionaries but did not bring to a halt. They continued to shift their centres of activities in order to escape from arrests. Many of them were arrested and their bomb-making activities of the Association came to an end. It may fairly be observed that their experiments in bomb-making process was an important development as far as their ideology and programme were concerned. By making bombs and their use at different places created fear among the English officials.

The imperial masters after treated them as the greatest enemies of the *raj*. The officials were dismayed when Indian revolutionaries perceived the close alliance between capitalism and imperialism. It was a rule of western capitalists. They not only studied marxism but other philosophies of the Western world also. The misrule of the Britain had reduced Indians to 'paupers, dishonored and outraged'.⁵¹ The confidential report of the government published in a red pamphlet in Hindi written by Prakash Devi, Secretary, Publicity Department of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association, 1932, recorded : "In British rule is to a great extent the same thing as capitalism and one cannot be banished without expelling the other. If we drive out this rapacious English Government from the country, we can easily put an end to tyranny of capitalism; if we can efface capitalism, the English Government cannot hold its sway over this land... It is the belief of the H.S.R.A. that the easiest and the best method of driving out the British Government from this country is to establish socialism for which a revolution is indispensable"⁵²

The confidential reports of the government firmly believed that the revolutionaries relied on the support of the youth, peasants, workers and radical intelligentsia. The Congress and the government did not like of these classes and role in the politics of India. In their *Manifesto*, it was started : The future programme of preparing the country will begin with the motto 'Revolution by the masses and for the masses'⁵³ In their famous pamphlet, 'The Philosophy of the

Bomb', countrymen-youth, workers, peasants and revolutionary intelligentsia – were requested to come forward and join them in carrying aloft the banner of freedom.⁵⁴ In an appeal to the youth, H.S.R.A. in its *Manifesto* wrote: "Yours is a noble mission. Go out into every nook and corner of the country and prepare the ground for future. Revolution is sure to come. Respond to the clarion call of duty. Don't vegetate.... Sow the seeds of disgust and hatred against British Imperialism in the fertile minds of your fellow youths. And the seeds that sprout and there shall grow a jungle of sturdy trees, because you shall water the seeds with young warm blood".⁵⁵

The Government of India's publication, *Terrorism in India, 1917-36*, a report compiled by J.M. Ewart in 1937 gives detailed activities of the revolutionary movement also the version of the government. The *Manifesto* of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association evidently contradicted the charge of the government that it believed in terrorism. Terrorism was never the aim of the revolutionaries nor did they believe that terrorism alone could bring independence. The revolutionaries undoubtedly thought it rightly that it was the only way to resort to terrorism as most effective means of retaliation.⁵⁶ The government often applied terrorism on the revolutionaries in order to checkmate effectively the bureaucratic bullying. The *Manifesto* further asserted : It is only by infusing a real spirit of sacrifice that lost self-confidence can be restored.⁵⁷

Now the question arises why the revolutionaries resorted to terrorism? They believed that their object was to shed psychological fear of British strength from the peoples' minds. It was deemed essential to carry on the national liberation movement. The Indians did not hate the British rule during the first two decades of the 20th century.⁵⁸ It (terrorism) was looked upon as an instrument against the policies of British regime and not against any individual. When the trial of Lahore Conspiracy Case began, Bhagat Singh and B.K. Dutt stated clearly that they had

full love for humanity and no any malice against any individual. They held that they did treat human life most sacred and even beyond words'.⁵⁹

The Indian revolutionaries became terrorists because they had studied the history of revolutionary movements took place in different countries of the world and more especially of Soviet Russia. It is quite true that the situation of a country entirely depends on the prevailing situation. If any administration / government adopts violent activities, the educated youth always come forward to oppose anti-peoples' policies and programme. As far as the Indian revolutionaries were concerned they were sure that merely terroristic methods would not serve the purpose nor the peaceful ways would be sufficient. Most of the non-Bengali revolutionaries believed in such view point while their Bengali counterparts believed in ultra radical views along with dacoits in Banks, treasuries, rails etc.⁶⁰

The colonial masters often treated the revolutionaries as their foes Who after acted against His Majesty's Government. Several conspiracies, Assembly bomb incident, Saunders assassination etc. were treated as examples of such nature. In their writings and statements, Indian revolutionaries made it clear that they had neither any personal grudge or malice against any one of those who received slight injuries or against any other person in the Assembly.⁶¹ They held human lives sacred beyond words and would never assassinate any human-being. In their statements before the judiciary, Bhagat Singh, Dutt and other implicated revolutionaries made it clear that they did not intend to harm anyone by throwing bomb in the Assembly. Their main motto was 'to make the deaf hear'⁶²

The top-brass British officials finally accepted that the Indian revolutionaries did not direct their bomb 'towards any individual but towards their institution'⁶³ i.e. their administrative machinery. But their slogans such as 'Long Live Revolution'. 'Down with Imperialism', 'Bande Mataram' and 'Inquilab Zinadabad' depicted their political dictum. Even the Indian leaders such as Gandhi,

Nehru and others treated them as person of 'fascist mentally'⁶⁴ These leaders failed to make distinction between fascism and revolutionary tenets. It is generally believed that Gandhi did not raise their issue during Gandhi Irvin Pact. He might have raised it in 'an apologetic manner' in order to avoid 'turmoil in the country'⁶⁵

When the discussion was going in the Central Legislative Assembly over two important bills concerned with the working class, their main aim was to display their solidarity and deep concern with the Indian workers whose leaders had already been implicated in some conspiracies i.e. Meerut Conspiracy Case etc. Besides, there were some other issues such as the withdrawal of the Non-Cooperation movement, appointment of 'Whites Commission' i.e. Simon Commission, its arrival and opposition in several cities and murder of Lala Lajpat Rai which boiled the political atmosphere of India. It is quite true that an ideological developments⁶⁶ are very important in the life of a country where these not only survive but inspire the people throughout. The case of Soviet Union is the best example of this nature. Firmly believing in the same dictum, they made it clear in their famous pamphlet, 'The Philosophy of Bomb', the British police could kill nationalists like Lala Lajpat Rai "but cannot kill ideas. Great empires crumbled but all the ideas survived. The Bourbons and the Cars fell while revolution marched triumphantly ahead".⁶⁷

The British Government became greatly afraid when the Indian revolutionaries started opposing the compromising attitude of the Congress leadership with the British raj. The same folly was committed by Lenin in early phase of the Russian Revolution. Their understanding of both the leaderships (in Russia and India) show how were they correct in their assessment.⁶⁸

The British rule had turned India into an important centre of British capitalism but the revolutionaries opposed the imperial approach which was protecting the interests of capitalists and landlords. The Congress stream was also

struggling for the liberation of India but without liberation of the proletariat, the real liberation was impossible. It was the middle class that gave leadership to all the streams of the liberation movement. The revolutionaries intend to get rid of not only from the capital Britain but also from the capitalists and landlords who suck the blood of the proletariat sections of the society.⁶⁹ They in their writings and speeches made it clear that merely passing power from one hand (British) to another (Indians) would not serve the purpose. Their one and final aim was to bring power to the telling-toiling masses which comprised of the majority population. Such change would be meaningless "if Lord Reading is replaced by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru or Purushottam Das Thakurdas".⁷⁰

Now the question arises why the revolutionaries did not like the concept of Ramrajya boldly presented by Mahatama Gandhi. However, they showed respect to Gandhiji and acknowledged the Non-Cooperation movement which was instrumental in mass awakening throughout India but did not like its withdrawal suddenly. Second point of difference between both the ideologies was that the congress leadership had no vision of future planning or further course of action after independence whereas the revolutionaries had a new perception as far as the social transformation was concerned.⁷¹

Gandhian concept of raj was solely based on the concept of Ramrajya which had different meaning for many Indians. His perception was product of his own imagination in which rational approach was immensely missing on the other. The revolutionary had clear cut understanding of the liberation struggle and formation of the socialist state which had already been experimented in Soviet Union by the socialists. Bhagat Singh firmly stated that cooperation with the government and philanthropy were not needed but only a dynamic scientific, social force was urgently wanted in order to get rid of the British oppression and exploitation.⁷²

The Indian revolutionaries often boasted of their understanding of the global politics. Like Gandhi, they also intended the establishment of socialist state by non-violent methods as was established in Soviet Russia. Bhagat Singh's statement confirms this view point : "The revolutionaries know better than anybody also that the socialist society cannot be brought about by violent means, but that it should grow and evolve from within.... Education is the only weapon to be employed. But every body can easily realise that the present government here or, as a matter of fact, all the capitalist governments are not going to help any such efforts, but on the contrary suppress it mercilessly... We, the revolutionaries are, striving to capture power in our hands, and to organise a revolutionary government which should employ all resources for mass education, as is being done in Russia today. After capturing power, peaceful methods shall be employed for constructive work, force shall be employed to crush the obstacle"⁷³

In the end of the chapter, it may be observed that the British raj adopted all means to curb the revolutionary movement by repressive means. The revolutionaries had exposed the force of British 'Justice and weak end the moral stand of the British regime in the country. Though the Congress and the government treated them on equal footing but the Indian people raised them to the status of national heroes. It is true that it was not their innocence but their dauntless and pride that led to the glorification of the Lahore Conspiracy Case accused. The struggle initiated by the revolutionaries was a gigantic and relentless struggle for the liberation of their motherland. This fight of the revolutionaries encouraged the youth of the colonial countries for their liberation.

The imperial masters did not like the influence of Russian Revolution and Bolshevism which was opposed to the colonialism and imperialism. The government made all feasible efforts to curb the centres and headquarters of the revolutionaries engaged in anti-imperialist activities. The government was afraid of their activities when their activities reached inter provincial level and promoted

the growth of national unity and coordination among all the centres of their activities in U.P, Bihar, Punjab, Bengal, C.P, Maharashtra etc. The government did not like their planning of guerilla war fare by distributing bombs and also revolutionary literature. Though they were committed to socialism but it could not draw a source of inspiration for many of the Congressman and led to the demand of complete independence at the Lahore session of the Congress. Thus a resolution was passed in its favour so that social, cultural, economic and political regeneration could be possible. It was the pressure of the youth inside and outside the Congress that was instrumental in passing the resolution of Complete independence at Lahore in 1929. It was merely a first bend of the road to nationhood.

References

1. Ali, B.Sheikh, *History : Its Theory and Method* (Madras, 1988) p. 331.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Dow, Alexander, *The History of Hindostan*_(London, 1768) pp p-21.
4. Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 235.
5. Majumdar, R.C. *Historiography in Modern India* () pp. 12-13.
6. *Ibid*, p. 13.
7. Philips, C.H., *Historians of India, Pakistan and Cylon* (London 1962 pp. 385-403)
8. Strachey, John, *India* (London (18850) p. 5.
9. *Ibid*, p. 8
10. Ibid.
11. Cotton, H.J.S., *New India or India in Transition*_(London 1885) p. 3
12. *The Englishman*_(Calcutta) 31 January, 1885.
13. *The Indian Mirror*_ (Calcutta) 17 January, 1886.
14. *The Hindoo Patriot* (Calcutta) 24 August, 1874.
15. Sen, S.N., *History of the Freedom Movement in India* (1857-1947) (Delhi, 1997) p. 88.
16. Ker, James Campbell, *Political Trouble in India,*_ 1907-1917 (reprint, Delhi, 1973) p. II.
17. Sen, *op. cit*, pp 178-79.
18. Ker, *op. cit.*
19. *Ibid*
20. *Bande Matram* (Calcutta\) 5 April, 1908.
21. Sarkar, Jagannath, A.B. Bardhan and N.E. Balaram, *India's_Freedom Struggle, Several Streams*_(Delhi, 1986) pp. 76-78.
22. Sen, *op. cit*,_pp. 90.

23. Ker, *op. cit*, pp 170-316.
24. *Ibid*
25. *Indian Socioalogist* (London) January 1905.
26. *Ibid*
27. Ker, *op. cit*, pp. 170-316.
28. Lenin, V. 1, *Collected Works* (Moscow) vol. XXII, p. 354.
29. Ker, *op. cit*, pp. 239-45.
30. *Ibid*, pp. IV-V.
31. *Home (Deptt.) Political* April 1921, No. 17.
32. *Ibid*
33. *Ibid*
34. *Home (Deptt.) Political*, September 1928, No. 1.
35. *Ibid*,_ 1930, No. 130
36. *Ibid*.
37. *Ibid*,_ June 1928, No. 1
38. *Home (Deptt.) Political*, February, 1929, No. 17/29
39. Josh, Sohan Singh, *My Meeting with Bhagat Singh* (Delhi, 1976), p. 22
40. Ram Chandra, *Bhagat Singh and Naujawan Bharat Sabha*, in (ed.) *Homage to Martyrs* (Delhi, 1981) p. 98.
41. Sanyal, J.N., *Sardar Bhagat Singh*_(Allahabad, 1928) p. 103.
42. Dutt, R.P., *India Today*,_p. 375
43. *Ibid*, p. 360.
44. *Home (Deptt.) Political* , File No. 11/15, 1930.
45. *Lahore Conspiracy Case Tribunal Proceedings*,_Part II, p. 191-192.
46. *Ibid*, p. 129
47. *Ibid*, Part-1, pp. 23-26.
48. *The Tribune*, 26 February, 1930.
49. *Home (Deptt.) Political*, File No. 11/15, 1930.

50. *Ibid.*
51. *Punjab Conspiracy Case Papers*, 1930-33(NAI).
52. *Home (Deptt.) Political*, File No. 27/7, 1932.
53. Thakur, Gopal, *Bhagat Singh : The Man and His Ideas* , (Delhi, 1965), p. 39
54. *Ibid.*
55. Ewart, J.M. *Terrorism in India*, 1917-36 (Simla, 1937) Appendix III, p. 241.
56. *Ibid*, pp. 208-11.
57. *Ibid*
58. *Ibid.*
59. *Ibid.*
60. *Home (Deptt.) Political* , 1931, No. 139.
61. Assembly Bomb Case, No. 9 of 1929, Vol. II (VII, *Delhi Court_Papers*) (N.A.I.)
62. *Ibid.*
63. *Home (Deptt.) Political*,_ 1930, No. 244 (Keep with)
64. Nehru, Jawaharlal, *An Autobiography*_p. 262.
65. *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*_Vol. XLV pp. 315-16.
66. Ewart, J.M, *op. cit.*,pp. 199-208.
67. *Ibid.*
68. *The Punjab Kesari* (Jalandhar) 2 February, 1931.
69. Letter of Bhagat Singh to his comrades outside Jail, p. 122.
70. *Ibid.*
71. Sanyal, J.N., *op. cit.*, p. 106.
72. *Ibid.*
73. Trial papers no. 9, 1929, vol. II/ VI, *Delhi Court Papers*_(NAI)