UNIT 10 INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS: MODERATES AND EXTREMISTS

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10.0 OBJECTIVES

In this unit we will discuss the evolution of Indian National Congress and role of early nationalist leadership. After reading this unit you should be able to:

- describe the character of the early Congress,
- know how two diverse viewpoints i.e. moderates and extremists emerged in the Congress,
- know what were the points of differences between the two groups,
- know how the differences in moderates and extremists led to the split of Congress in 1907.
- know how this split effected the Congress and national movement.

10.1 INTRODUCTION

In Unit 7 you have studied how as a result of several factors operating on the Indian scene the Indian National Congress came into existence in 1885. The declared aims of the Congress were:

- the promotion of friendly relation among political workers hailing from different parts of the country,
- development and consolidation of the feeling of national unity irrespective of caste, creed, or region, and
- the education and organisation of public opinion for the welfare of the country.

The early years (1885-1905) saw the evolution of Indian National Congress. During this period the Congress was dominated by moderate leaders. Gradually a section emerged which did not agree with the moderate policies and believed in aggressive action. Due to their aggressive posture this group was called the extremists. Both the groups believed in different political methods to oppose the British rule. Their differences led to the split in Congress in 1907. In this unit we will study these developments in the Congress and how they affected the national movement.

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10.2 COMPOSITION OF THE CONGRESS

Beginning with its first session at Bombay in 1885, the congress became by 1886 (second session at Calcutta) 'the whole country's Congress'. In 1885, only 72 delegates had attended the Congress session, whereas at Calcutta (1886) there were 434 delegates elected by different local organisations and bodies. Here it was decided that the Congress would meet henceforth annually in different parts of the country.

10.2.1 Middle Class Organisation

Representing as it did the entire nation, the Congress could be only a platform of all the races, castes, creeds, professions, trades and occupations, as well as of provinces. But this broad sweeping description does not give a correct picture. As a matter of fact there was a great disparity in the representation of various castes, creeds, races, professions, trades and provinces. Among the classes, the educated middle class had the largest share. The legal profession was most heavily represented among the professions. The Brahmins among the castes were comparatively larger in number. Among the provinces, as Anil Seal has shown in his book, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism* (Cambridge, 1968) the presidencies—Bombay, Calcutta and Madras took the leading part. The masses were conspicuous by their absence. So was the case with the landed class. So the Congress was by and large an entirely middle class affair. A look at the figures of the members who attended the early sessions of the Congress will bear out this statement.

Place and y of Session	ear	Lawyers	Journalists	Doctors	Others	Tota
Bombay	1885	39	14	01	18	72
Calcutta	1886	166	40	16	212	434
Madras	1887	206	43	08	350	607
Allahabad	1888	435	73	42	698	1248

 Table 1 : Composition of the Members of Indian National Congress, 1885-1888

As is clear from Table 1 over half the delegates at the first Congress were lawyers, and for decades to come more than a third of the delegates continued to belong to this profession in most of the sessions of the Congress. Journalists, doctors and teachers formed an overwhelming majority. There were only two teachers at the first session but their numbers increased to 50 at the fourth. Many who were not directly represented also sympathised with the movement. Though the old aristocracy was not interested in public affairs, the Congress tried to enlist its support as well. The idea behind this move was that the support from the princes and aristocracy would demonstrate the unity of British and princely India. This was likely to impress the conservatives in Britain and also help in financing the movement.

10.2.2 The Methods of Work

Early Congressmen had an implicit faith in the efficacy of peaceful and constitutional agitation. The press and the platform at the annual sessions were their agencies. However, the press was the only agency through which the Congress propaganda was carried out throughout the year. Many leaders, in fact, were editors of either English or Indian language newspapers and wielded their pen powerfully. The holding of the annual session was another method of Congress propaganda. At these meetings the Government policy was discussed, and resolutions were passed in a forceful manner. The annual sessions attracted the attentions of both the educated sections of the middle class, and the Government. But the gravest drawback was that the Congress sessions lasted only for three days a year. It had no machinery to carry on the work in the interval between the two sessions.

The Congressmens' belief in the essential sense of justice and goodness of the British nation was strong. They worked under the illusion that all would be well if the British could be acquainted with the true state of affairs in India. They thought that it was only the bureaucracy which stood between the people and their rights. So their aim was to educate Indian public opinion and making it conscious of its rights. It also intend to inform British public about the problems faced by the Indians and remind it of its duty towards India. To fulfil the latter aim, deputations of leading Indians were sent to Britain to present the Indian viewpoint. In 1889, a British Committee of Indian National Congress was founded. To carry on its propaganda the Committee started its organ *India*, in 1890.

It was to present the Indian viewpoint to the British authorities, that Dadabhai Naoroji spent a major part of his life in England. He got elected to the British House of Commons and formed a strong Indian lobby in that House.

Check Your Progress 1

1 List three main aims of the Congress at the time of its formation.

i) ii) iii) Was Congress a middle class organisation in the early years? Write in eight lines. 2

10.3 THE MODERATES

The Congress programme during the first phase (1885-1905) was very modest. It demanded moderate constitutional reforms, economic relief, administrative reorganisation and defence of civil rights.

10.3.1 The Demands and Programme

The more important of the demands were:

- the organisation of the provincial councils,
- simultaneous examinations for the I.C.S. in India and England,
- the abolition or reconstitution of the Indian Council,
- the separation of the Judiciary from the executive,
- the repeal of the Arms Act,
- the appointment of Indians to the commissioned ranks in the Army,
- the reduction of military expenditure, and
- the introduction of Permanent Settlement to other parts of India.

The Congress expressed opinions on all the important measures of the Government and protested against the unpopular ones. These demands were repeated year after year, although there was hardly any response from the Government. During the first twenty years (1885-1905) there was practically no change in the Congress programme. The major demands were practically the same as those formulated at the first three or four sessions.

This phase of the Congress is known as the Moderate phase. During this period the leaders were cautious in their demands. They did not want to annoy the government and incur the risk of suppression of their activities. From 1885 to 1892, their main demand continued to be expansion and reform of the Legislative Councils, the membership of the Councils for elected representatives of the people and also an increase in the powers of these Councils.

The British Government was forced to pass the Indian Councils Act of 1892, but the provisions of this Act failed to satisfy the Congress leaders. They demanded Indian control over the public purse and raised the slogan that had earlier been raised by the Americans during their War of Independence, 'No taxation without representation'. By 1905 the Congress put forth the demand for *Swaraj* or self-rule for Indians within the British Empire on the model of the self-governing colonies like Australia or Canada. This demand was first referred to by G.K. Gokhale in 1905 (at Banaras) and later explicitly stated by Dadabhai Naoroji in 1906 (at Calcutta).

Indian National Congress : Moderates and Extremists

Modern India 1857 - 1964

Economic Drain of India

A strong point made by the nationalists during this phase was about the economic drain of India. Dadabhai described the British rule as 'an everlasting and every day increasing foreign invasion' that was gradually destroying the country. In the nationalist opinion, the British were responsible for the destruction of India's indigenous industries. The remedy for the removal of India's poverty was the development of modern industries. The Government could promote it through tariff protection and direct government aid. However, after seeing the failure of the Government in this regard the nationalists popularised the idea of **Swadeshi** or use of Indian goods and boycott of British goods as a means of promoting Indian industries. They demanded:

- end of India's economic drain,
- the reduction of land revenue in order to lighten the burden of taxation on the peasants,
- improvement in the conditions of work of the plantation labourers,
- abolition of the salt tax, and
- the reduction in the high military expenditure of the Government of India.

They also fully recognised the value of the freedom of the press and speech and condemned all attempts at their curtailment. In fact, the struggle for the removal of restrictions on press became the integral part of the nationalist struggle for freedom. The progressive content of these demands and their direct connection with the needs and aspirations of the Indian middle class is clear by these demands. Most of them opposed on grounds both economic and political, the large-scale import of foreign capital in railways, plantations and industries and the facilities accorded to these by the Government. By attacking expenditure on the army and the civil service, they indirectly challenged the basis of British rule in India. By attacking the land revenue and taxation policies, they sought to undermine the financial basis of British administration in India. The use of Indian army and revenue for British imperial purposes in Asia and Africa was identified as another form of economic exploitation. Some of them even questioned the propriety of placing on Indian revenues the entire burden of British rule itself. In the form of the *drain theory*, they impressed upon the popular mind a potent symbol of foreign exploitation of India.

The Indian leaders were concerned with the problem of economic development as a whole rather than economic advance in isolated sectors. The central question for them was the overall economic growth of India. Developments in different fields were to be considered in the context of their contribution to the economic development of the country. Even the problem of poverty was seen to be one of lack of production and of economic development.

Nature of Economic Demands

As we have noted earlier, even though their political demands were moderate, their economic demands were radical in nature. The Indian leaders advocated basically anti-imperialist economic policies. They laid stress on basic changes in the existing economic relations between India and England. They vehemently opposed the attempts of foreign rulers to convert India into supplier of raw materials and a market for British manufacturers. They criticised the official policies on tariff, trade, transport and taxation. These were regarded as hampering rather than helping the growth of indigenous industry.

10.3.2 Evaluation of Work

Whatever may be the drawback in the demands put forward by the Congress, it was a national body in true sense of the term. There was nothing in its programme to which any class might take exception. Its doors were open to all classes and communities. Its programme was broad enough to accommodate all interests. It may be said that it was not a party, but a movement.

It must be said to the credit of the nationalist leaders that though they belonged to the urban educated middle class, they were too broad-minded and free from narrow and sectional class interests. They kept in mind the larger interests of the people in general. Their economic policies were not influenced by the short sighted vision of a job-hungry middle class.

This challenging critique of the financial foundations of the Raj was a unique service that the early Congress leadership rendered to the nation.

The British Hostility

The political tone of the Indian National Congress might have been mild but from the fourth session of the Congress onwards, the government adopted a hostile attitude towards it. Time passed and nothing substantial was conceded to the Congress. Elements hostile to the Congress were encouraged by the British. For example they encouraged the Aligarh

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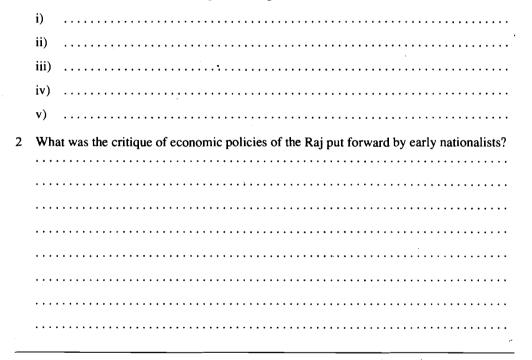
https://iasexamportal.com/study-kit movement against the Congress. As the century was drawing to its close, the British attitude became more hostile to the Congress under Lord Curzon. His greatest ambition was to assist the Congress to a peaceful demise. However he took certain steps which only fanned the nationalist discontent. In an autocratic manner he tried to control the university education and decreed the partition of Bengal. This led to a strong national awakening.

During this period general impression grew that they (the Moderates) were political mendicants, only petitioning and praying to the British Government for petty concessions. As you have studied earlier, the Moderates had played an important role at a critical period in the history of Indian nationalism. If fact, the flowering of the Moderate thought was the culmination of a tradition which can be traced back to Raja Rammohun Roy, who stood for the rational, liberal tradition of contemporary Europe. His ideas of reforms ultimately provided the basis for the demands put forward by the early Congress. As with Rammohun, so with the early Congress leaders, the presence of the British administration was important for continued political progress. Quite understandably, their language was cautious and their expectation moderate. But with changing times, the Moderates also began to alter their position. By 1905 Gokhale had started speaking of self-rule as the goal and in 1906 it was Dadabhai Naoroji who mentioned the word Swaraj as the goal of the Congress.

Even so, the Moderates found themselves in a tight corner with the emergence of extremist leadership within the congress. The British authorities also doubted their bonafides. The extremists were attracting youthful section among the political activists. The well-meaning, loyal, but patriotic, Moderates could no longer cut ice before the manoeuvring of the British bureaucracy. In the changed situation Extremists came to the centre stage of the Congress.

Check Your Progress 2

List 5 main demands of the Congress during 1885-1905.



10.4 THE EXTREMISTS

Extremism in the Indian National scene did not spring up all of a sudden in the first decade of the twentieth century. In fact it had been growing slowly but invisibly since the Revolt of 1857 itself.

10.4.1 Ideological Basis of Extremism

The nationalist ideas behind the Revolt of 1857, according to the Extremists, were Swadharma and Swaraj. Attachment to rationalism and western ideals had almost alienated the 'Liberal' (Moderate) school from the masses in India. That is why despite their high idealism, they failed to make any effective impact on the people. In due course a section was bound to come to fill this gap. In the place of adoration and imitation of all things Western, there was a movement by the eighties of the nineteenth century urging people to look to their ancient civilisation. An under-current of this type had existed earlier but during the

Revolt of 1857 it had suddenly burst into open. However, the English educated community by and large had kept itself aloof from the main current of Indian life and remained untouched by this trend. The historic task of bridging the gulf between the educated few and the general people was accomplished by Paramahamsa Ramakrishna and his Englisheducated disciple, Swami Vivekananda. Swami Dayananda, who was well-versed in Vedic literature and the Arya Samaj founded by him also played a vital role in this direction. The Eclectic Theosophical Society of Annie Besant too made a contribution. These social reform movements gave impetus to political radicalism. There was instinctive attachment to native culture, religion and polity. The political radicals who derived inspiration from their traditional cultural values were ardent nationalists who wanted to have relations with other countries in terms of equality and self respect. They had tremendous sense of self respect and wanted to keep their heads high. They opposed the moderates who were considered by them to be servile and respectful to the British. To the Extremists, emancipation meant something much deeper and wider than politics. To them it was a matter of invigorating and energising all departments of life. They thought that a trial of strength between the ruler and the ruled was inevitable, and argued for building a new India of their dreams in which the British had no contribution to make.

There were three groups of the Extremists—the Maharashtra group, headed by B.G. Tilak; the Bengal group represented by B.C. Pal and Aurobindo and the Punjab group led by Lala Lajpat Rai. The Bengal Extremists were greatly influenced by the ideas of Bankim Chandra, who was a liberal conservative like Edmund Burke. He wanted no break with the past which, he thought, might create more problems than it would solve. He was opposed to precipitate reforms imposed from above. In his view, reforms should wait on moral and religious regeneration which should be based on fundamentals of religion. Bankim blazed the trail for the Extremists in his contemptuous criticism of the Moderates.

This nationalism of the Extremists was emotionally charged. The social, economic and political ideals were all blended in this inspiring central conception of nationalism. Carrying this message to the West Vivekananda generated tremendous self-confidence and will-power. Aurobindo even raised patriotism to the pedestal of mother worship. He said in a letter, "I know my country as my mother. I adore her. I worship her."

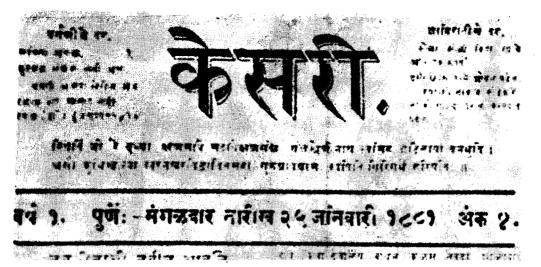
Aurobindo was very much attracted by the teachings of Dayananda who was hardly influenced by any ideas from the West. He credited Dayananda with more definite work for the nation than any other reformer. Bankim Chandra, Dayananda and Vivekananda had thus prepared the ideological ground on the basis of which the Extremists drew up their political programme.

10.4.2 Extremists in Action

Tilak resented any interference by an alien government into the domestic and private life of the people. He quarreled with the reformers over the Age of Consent Bill in 1891. He introduced the Ganpati festival in 1893. Aurobindo published 'New Lamps for Old' in the *Indu Prakash* between 1893 and 1894. Tilak threw a challenge to the National Social Conference in 1895 by not allowing it to hold its session in the Congress pavilion in Poona. The National Social Conference was under the influence of Moderate Wing. In the same year the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha was captured by the Extremists from the Moderates. The Shivaji festival was first held on 15 April, 1896, with the foundation of the Deccan Sabha on November 4, 1896, the division between the Extremists and the Moderates in Maharashtra was complete, but it was not so all-over India. Pal, for example, the leader of the Bengal Extremists was still in the camp of the Moderates. He wrote in 1897 "I am loyal to the British Government, because with me loyalty to the British Government is identical with loyalty to my own people and my own country; because I believe that God has placed this Government over us, for our salvation". Only in 1902, he could write, "The Congress here and its British Committee in London, are both begging institutions".

Because of the soft and vacillating policy it pursued, Lajpat Rai also was not interested in Congress programme. Between 1893 and 1900 he did not attend any meeting of the Congress. He felt during this period that the Congress leaders cared more for fame and pomp than for the interests of the country.

While one disillusionment after the other demoralised the Moderates and weakened their cause, the victory of Japan over Russia (1904-05) sent a thrill of enthusiasm throughout Asia. Earlier in 1896 the Ethiopians had defeated the Italian army. These victories pricked the bubble of European superiority and gave to the Indians self-confidence.



10. Newspaper Kesari

10.5 THE MODERATES AND EXTREMISTS : AN ANALYSIS

There was much in common between the Moderates and the Extremists. But they also shared certain differences in political perspective and methods. In this Section we will deal with the differences which existed between the Moderates and Extremists, culminating in the Surat split in 1907, and how this affected the National Movement.

10.5.1 Differences

Tilak remarked that the Old (Moderate) and New (Extremist) parties agreed on the point that appeals to the bureaucracy were useless. But the Old party believed in appeals to the British nation, the New Party did not. Like the Moderates, Tilak also believed that under the British rule, the industries had been ruined and wealth drained out of the country, and Indians reduced to the lowest level of poverty. But the way out was not. Tilak affirmed, through petitioning. The extremists believed that Indians should have the key of their own house and Self Government was the goal. The New Party wanted the Indians to realise that their future rested entirely in their own-hands and they could be free only if they were determined to be free.

Tilak did not want Indians to take to arms, rather they should develop their power of selfdenial and self-abstinence in such a way as not to assist the foreign power to rule over them. Tilak advised his countrymen to run their own courts, and to stop paying taxes when time came. He asserted, "*Swaraj* is my birthright and I will have it".

The philosophical radicalism of Aurobindo went even further. According to him the existing condition of the Government in India suffered from corrupt western influences. To escape it, she must get rid of these conditions and seek refuge in her own superior civilisation. The work of nationalism, he added would be to:

- i) win Swaraj for India so that the existing unhealthy condition of political life, full of germs of the social and political malaise which was overtaking Europe, might be entirely and radically cured, and
- ii) ensure that the Swaraj when gained would be a Swadeshi Swaraj and not an importation of the European variety. This is why, in his opinion, the movement for Swaraj found its first expression in an outburst for swadeshi sentiment directed not merely against foreign goods, but against foreign habits, dress, manners and education and sought to bring the people to their own civilisation.

From the foregoing it may appear that through the Extremists used much stronger and sharper language, but as far as the goals were concerned they were substantially not very different from the moderates. As referred earlier, Gokhale in his Presidential Address (Benaras, 1905) and Dadabhai Naoroji in his Presidential speech (Calcutta, 1906) had

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respectively advocated self-government and *Swaraj* as the goal of the Congress. The differences were related to the methodology for achieving the goals.

10.5.2 Personality Clash

Besides these differences of attitude and emphasis mentioned above, the controversy between the Moderates and the Extremists raged round the personality of Tilak. Both Tilak and Gokhale hailed from Poona. Tilak was militant, as Orientalist who would use any stick to beat the Government with. He wielded a powerful pen and exerted great influence on public opinion through his papers, the *Mahratta* and the *Kesari*. Gokhale was gentle and soft-spoken. He had wounderful mastery over Indian financial problems, was at his best in the imperial Legislative Council being an expert in exposing the hallow claims of the Government. He was Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale (Mahanama Gokhale). He had established at Poona the Servants of India Society with a view to training a band of dedicated workers who were expected to give their all to the service of the motherland. The members of the Society had to take an oath of poverty, had to observe strict code of conduct. They were given only a subsistence allowance and had to perform hard duty.

The difference between Gokhale and Tilak may be traced back to an earlier period. There had been intense clash of personalities at Poona from the beginning of the nineties of the last century. A quarrel ensured between Tilak and G.G. Agarkar although they had been co-workers in the Deccan Education Society. Ultimately Tilak was pushed out of the Society. Thereafter there had been a constant tussle between the followers of Tilak on the one hand and his opponents on the other. The opponents rallied round Mahadev Govind Ranade and Gokhale, backed in Congress affairs by Pherozeshah Mehta from Bombay. Gokhale enjoyed the support of the Congress establishment. As the Moderates were losing their popularity and the Extremists were capturing the imagination of the country because of the growth of the new spirit, the conflict between the two contending groups in Maharashtra and Poona also became more pronounced.

There was ferment, all over India. The *Bande Mataram* under Aurobindo was not only challenging the right of the British Government to rule India, but also the right of the veteran leaders to speak for India. Outside Bengal Tilak was the first to recognise the potential of the ferment in Bengal. The Partition of Bengal was to him not so much a British blunder as Indian opportunity to build up strength. He extended support to the anti-partition movement and encouraged the emerging Extremist leaders in Bengal. Gokhale had seen this alliance growing since the Benaras Congress (1905). This Tilak-Pal alliance caused a deep concern not only to the Government, but also to many Congress Leaders. Tilak was regarded as a dissident, if not a rebel. Pherozeshah Mehta, D.E. Wacha and the whole Bombay Group distrusted him since the controversies raging in the 1890s. The differences were partly temperamental. For at least 15 years there had been a cold war between the Congress Establishment headed by Mehta on the one hand and Tilak on the other.

Check Your Progress 3

1 What was the ideological basis of the rise of extremism?

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10.5.3 Open Conflict and Split

Tilak was unpopular with the Moderate group in Bombay. He was a shrewd tactician waiting for the opportunity to show his hand. The unity forged at the Benaras Congress (1905) with the Bengal Extremists proved advantageous to Tilak at the Calcutta Congress (1906). Gokhale also had his premonitions about the Calcutta Congress. He apprehended trouble. This mutual distrust did not augur well for the Congress. To begin with there was controversy over the Presidentship. Pal and Aurobindo wanted Tilak to be the President, but the Moderates were in no mood to accept him. To have their way the latter resorted to an extraordinary manoeuvre, and without consulting the Reception Committee, wired Dadabhai Naoroji to accept the presidentship. After the latter's acceptance, the Extremists were presented with a faint accompli. Thus having failed in their attempt to get Tilak installed as President, the Extremists—Tilak, Aurobindo, Pal, Ashwini Kumar Dutt, G.S. Khaparde etc.--formed themselves into a pressure group to press their points. The Extremists were in majority and they had substantial local support. There was much heat in the atmosphere and the meeting of the Subjects Committee was stormy. Resolutions were discussed and amended under pressure from the Extremists. Pherozeshah Mehta was the target of their special fury. Mehta, M.M. Malaviya and Gokhale were heckled and booed. Ultimately a compromise was hurriedly made, and the resolutions on the partition of Bengal, Swadeshi and Boycott were re-phrased and secured a smooth passage in the open session. There was however, no union of the minds and hearts among the antagonists. The danger was averted for the time being but a festering sore was left.

Though the Extremists had failed to get Tilak elected the President of the Calcutta Congress (1906), they were satisfied with what they had achieved there. They had emerged as a strong, coherent and powerful force. They had thwarted what they believed to be determined attempts to water down the Congress programme. The Moderates left Calcutta with mixed feelings of bewilderment, humiliation and dismay. What worried them most was the "rough behaviour" adopted by the Extremists.

Both the Moderates and the Extremists participated in the Swadeshi movement, but there were real differences between the views of the Moderates and Extremists on Swadeshi. To Tilak, Pal and Aurobindo boycott had double implications. Materially it was to be an economic pressure on Manchester, producing thereby a chain reaction on the Government of India. Spiritually it was a religious ritual of self-punishment. Swadeshi had primarily an economic message for Gokhale the message of industrial regeneration which he had imbibed from Ranade. To Surendranath the Swadeshi movement was in spirit a protectionist movement. It appealed to the masses because they had the sense to perceive that it would "herald the dawn of a new era of material prosperity for them". To Tilak and Lajpat Rai it was a moral training in self-help, determination and sacrifice as well as a weapon of 'political agitation'. To Aurobindo Swadeshi was not 'secularity of autonomy and wealth', but a return to the faith in India's destiny as the world-saviour. This Swadeshi had a far richer and meaningful content for the Extremists than for the Moderates.

Differences of temperament and ideology and clash of personalities were to create bitter feelings among the rival groups. Persistent criticism by the Extremists alarmed the Moderates. The latter were afraid that the former had already captured Bengal. Maharashtra, Berar and the Punjab and there was danger of the rest of the country also being lost to them. So they were desperate.

At Calcutta it has been decided to held the next session of the Congress at Nagpur where the Moderates thought that they would be in majority. The election of the Congress President for the ensuing session (1907) developed into an occasion for trial of strength between the Moderates and the Extremists. The Moderates were determined not to allow Tilak to hold the presidential chair. This attitude was an ominous sign and betrayed the determination of the Moderate to wreck of Congress if Tilak got elected as President and the Extremists had an m_{e} per hand.

The Moderates were unanimous on the exclusion of Tilak but not on who should be elected. Gokhale had his eyes fixed on Rash Behari Ghosh, a renowned lawyer and powerful orator. But the Moderates found themselves unnerved at Nagpur and Pherozeshah Mehta changed the venue to Surat where he thought he would have his way. The Extremists did not like this. The tense atmosphere and the intemperate language used by both sides pointed to the inevitability of the coming crisis at Surat. Rash Behari Ghosh was elected the Congress President. The relations between the two groups worsened still further. In the meeting there was open conflict to the proposal of Ghosh being elected as President. Tilak was not allowed India 1857 - 1964

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to express his views in the matter. This was a signal for pandemonium. There were shouts and counter-shouts, brandishing of sticks and unrolling of turbans, breaking of chairs and brushing of heads. There were allegations and counter-allegations as to who was responsible for this episode. There is no use debating this question now. But the fact that the internal conflict had taken this form should have been a matter of concern for all.

10.5.4 Consequences of the Split

But whoever may be responsible for the split and whatever may be its cause, it was a great national calamity. Gokhale was aware of this great disaster. The British bureaucracy was in jubilation. Lord Minto, the Viceroy, exultingly told Lord Morley, the Secretary of State that the 'Congress Collapse' (Surat split) was 'a great triumph for us'. But Morley knew better. Almost prophetically he told the Viceroy that, their immediate collapse notwithstanding, the Extremists would eventually capture the Congress. The split did immense harm to the Congress in particular and the national movement in general. It can be said that the Moderates were the brain of the Congress and the nation and the Extremists were the heart; the former were the 'law' and the latter 'impulse'. The unified action of the two was absolutely necessary for the proper functioning of the organisation and growth of national movement. With the extremists in the wilderness, the Moderates were to achieve little. For about a decade, the Moderates were not in a position to show the kind of strength that was needed to seriously oppose the British. It was only after 1916, with the re-entry of the Extremists in the Congress and exist of the Moderates from it (1918) that the Congress could be reactivised. But then it was a new story. Mohandas Karamchand Ghandhi, Gokhale's political disciple, associating himself with the programme of the Extremists, with his emphasis on the synthesis of the reason and faith, law and impulse, representing the abiding strength of the Indian people was to activise and rejuvenate the Congress and carry a new phase of action.

Check Your Progress 4

1 What led to the split in Congress in 1907 at Surat?

2 How did Surat split hamper the growth of National Movement?

10.6 LET US SUM UP

The first twenty-five years of Congress were very important in so much as they witnessed the articulation of the major demands of the National Movement. Initially the Congress started with moderate demands and sought to realise these demands through mild constitutional methods. The early leaders analysed how the British were draining India's wealth in a systematic manner. They realised that this drain was increasing the poverty of the masses. Within few years a section of the Congressmen felt that the moderate methods were of little help. This section wanted more vigorous action against the British rule and put forward *Swaraj* (self-rule) as the major demand. This internal conflict led to the split in Congress in 1907. The split weakened the organisation for the shortwhile.

However, the biggest achievement of Congress in its early phase was that it could mobilise the significant sections of the Indian population against the British through Swadeshi Movement (launched against the partition of Bengals).

and the Assessment day

10.7 KEY WORDS

Indian National Congress : Moderates and Extremists

Aristocracy: Big zamindars, big landlords, princes etc.

Arms Act: An act according to which Indians had to pay a tax for possessing arms.

Dissident: A person who doesn't agree.

Electic: Taking up just one aspect of an idea or philosophy.

Executive: Organ of government looking after legal matters and justice.

Indian Councils Act of 1892: According to this act the Governor General's legislative-Council was to have nominated members thus a representative principle was introduced into the councils, the functions of councils were enlarged, and although the official majority remained but the act marked a notable step forward in Indian participation in governmental functioning.

Radical: Left of centre.

Self-abstinence: Self-denial.

Tariff protection: Imposing a tax on imported goods so as to protect to own industry.

10.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

1 See Section 10.1 2 See Sub-sec. 10.2.1

Check Your Progress 2 1 See Sub-sec. 10.3.1 2 See Sub-sec. 10.3.1

Check Your Progress 3 1 See Sub-sec.10.4.1 2 See Sub-sec.10.4.2

Check Your Progress 4 1 See Sub-sec. 10.5.3 2 See Sub-sec. 10.5.4