

### CONCLUSION

The preceding chapters have presented a critical study of the first phase of the Socialist Movement in Maharashtra since its beginning to 1948. When the Socialist Party, as well as The Peasant's and Worker's Party were formed. Industrialization and the growth of Worker's and Peasant's Movement that took place during the British Raj served as a background to the rise of the Socialist Movement. Therefore, in the first chapter a analytical study of the revolutionary change that took place in the Indian economy and society at large and in Maharashtra and its impact on the economy of Maharashtra in particular, as a result of the industrialization and the introduction of modern means of transport and communication has also been attempted.

The efforts of social reformists and nationalists in Maharashtra, who exposed the social and economic evils in the society and their attack on the exploitative nature of British Imperialism have been taken into account, which gave an impetus to social awakening. Besides, the effect of the Russian Revolution of 1917 on the Indian leaders and thinkers is also stated. The spread of Socialists and Communists ideas after 1920 through newspapers, magazines and books, written on the subject has been taken into account. The work also considers the circumstances in which the Congress Socialist Party was formed in 1934 and also its ideology and its differences with the communists has also been probed.

Activities of the socialists in Maharashtra during 30's and 40's of this century have been discussed. In which the account of the formation of Rashtra Seva Dal - a youth organization, active participation of the Socialists in the Quit India Movement of 1942, and the writings of Marxist and Socialist literature in Marathi is also examined.

Ultimately, the factors that were responsible for the formation of an independent Sociality Party and also The Peasant's and Worker's Party in 1948, have been examined.

Thus, this study brings forth certain conclusions - after the end of the British era and the conquest in Maharashtra in 1818, the new rulers introduced individual ownership of land, which was done in two different forms - (1) Zamindari Settlement and (2) Royatwari Settlement. By this 'land settlement' the government gave proprietorship of land to cultivators. But at the same time it fixed the rate of the revenue demands. Secondly, the introduction of modern means of communication and transportation commercialized agriculture and integrated it to the complex of international market. The inflexibility of revenue demands and the commercialization of agriculture products, coupled with occasional failure of monsoons leading to the intense famine, made the peasants condition miserable which forced them to live under triple burden of government officials, landlords and the money lenders. These conditions were responsible for the rise of the peasants movement in Maharashtra which began in the second half of the 19th century and became more organised after 1920.

1880's marked the beginning of modern industries in India. This led to the emergence of a new class-structure in the Indian Society - by creating industrial bourgeoisie and the working class. With the growth of industrialization the working class base also expanded which ultimately gave rise to the Labour Movement in India. Which in course of time took socialistic orientation.

Industrial development in Maharashtra was better than that in any other region in India. And Bombay was the most industrially developed city in India. Naturally the spread of Labour Movement was rapid in Maharashtra. In fact, the real and effective beginning of the Trade Union Movement in India took place in the textile industries, and Bombay being the main centre of the textile industries in India, it naturally became the main centre of trade union activities.

The second half of the 19th century was the period of the emergence of Socialist and Communist ideology in Europe. During the same period - which became known as the 'Indian Renaissance' period, many social reformists and nationalists in Maharashtra - as in the other parts of India - exposed the social and economic injustices in the society, as well as the exploitative nature of imperialistic policies and sought to lay the ground for the total transformation of the society. Though by no means they were the socialists, their efforts created the atmosphere favourable to the growth of the movement like the socialist.

Though the socialist ideology developed in Europe during the second half of the 19th century, it was only after 1920 that the Indian élites got attracted towards it. The Russian Revolution of 1917, gave the real impetus to the rise of the Socialist and Communist Movement in India. The revolution not only attracted the attention of the political leaders, but also of many writers and thinkers. This resulted in the emergence of the Marxian and Socialist literature in Marathi which was very important development in Maharashtra.

It was during 1930's that the socialist began to organize themselves. Socialist groups sprang up in various parts of the country. One of such groups was also formed in Bombay viz., - Bombay Socialist Party. In 1934, The Congress Socialist Party was formed and these groups merged into it. The C.S.P. was the first effort of the formation of socialist organization at the national level.

From the very beginning many Maharashtrian leaders were associated with the Congress Socialist Party. Naturally, through the activities of these leaders in Maharashtra, Maharashtra became one of the few regions in India where the Socialist Movement from the very beginning of it, gained grounds.

Ideologically there was never unanimity among the leaders of the Congress Socialist Party. Nevertheless, Marxism exercised a great influence upon all the top rank leaders of the party. And the leaders of Maharashtra were not exception to this. The Socialists were not toally

committed to Marxism. While the concepts like historical materialism and class-struggle appealed to them, they were opposed to the ideas like proletariat dictatorship.

Gandhism also exercised its influence on the Socialists. Some of the top rank Socialist leaders of the C.S.P. were closely associated with Mahatma Gandhi, and were under the influence of Gandhism. Although the principle of non-violence was not wholly acceptable to the Socialists, the method of 'Satyagraha' formulated by Gandhi appealed to them. They wanted to avoid violence and dictatorship and also wanted to combine socialism with democracy. This was a unique development in Indian condition.

The rise of Socialist Movement in India was the result of urges, that were different in some important respects from those that inspired similar movements in the West. In the West it was the protest against exploitation capitalism. There the main attack of the Socialists was on the doctrine of the survival of the fittest at the end of a fierce competition between owners of the means of production and the working class. With the Industrial Revolution new classes i.e. Capitalists and the proletariat emerged destroying the old order of the society. The social order in the Capitalist system based on the class hierarchy of power, according to the Socialists was ethically evil, restrictive to the development of human personality and destructive of individual responsibility and integrity.

The pioneers of the democratic socialism in India were faced with quite a different situation. India during this period was governed by the Western Imperialistic power. The Indian masses were exploited not only from aristocracy and capitalists, but also from foreign imperial rulers. And the immediate task before the socialists was not the creation of a socialistic society in India, but to achieve freedom from the imperialistic rule. Therefore, during the freedom struggle, nationalism and not socialism remained the foremost aim of the socialists.

In fact, the Congress Socialist Party was formed to make the national movement more powerful and mass based, when it was undergoing the stage of frustration. The commitment of the socialists, to nationalism is clear from the fact that they always supported the cause of the freedom struggle and an outstanding example of it was the work they did during the Quit India Movement of 1942. The Socialists have sacrificed much to support the efforts of Indian National Congress for the cause of Indian freedom.

The Socialists in the Congress took lead in creating the 'Socialist Unity' in India and thus joined hands with two other leftist groups - Royists and Communists. But the alliance was short lived and tragic, which was quite natural as there were basic differences between the Socialists and Communists not only in their tactics and methods, but also in their attitude and beliefs.

Socialists differed from the Communists, in respect of their approach towards Marxism. While the communists

relied greatly, if not exclusively on Marx, Engles and Lenin, the socialists, apart from Marxism had other sources in inspiration like Western Democracy, nationalism and Gandhism. Thus, the Socialists were not whole hearted Marxists considering the Indian society and needs and nature as such.

Secondly, the Socialists fundamentally disagreed with the communists on the attitude that should be adopted towards Gandhi and the Indian National Movement. Throughout the period of Gandhi's leadership of the national movement, the Indian Communists contended that Gandhi was the leader only of the national bourgeoisie, and accordingly, they agitated for the development of the independent working class movement. On the contrary, the Socialists took inspirations from Gandhism and they always considered first of all, nationalism and freedom of India as their first objective.

The Socialists were never satisfied with the programmes of the Congress, but as their foremost aim was to achieve freedom, they remained in the Congress Organisation. As India achieved its freedom, their differences with the old leadership of the Congress, and their unsympathetic attitude towards them, led them to think of forming an independent political party. The personality of Mahatma Gandhi was also an important factor who kept together the two factions. But with his assassination this factor also disappeared. The Congress passed a resolution which outlawed the formation of political parties within the Congress and

there was no other way to the Socialists except the formation of independent political party, which eventually they did in 1948.

The year 1948 can be considered as important year for the Socialists Movement in Maharashtra. Because it was in this year the formation of the Peasant's and Worker's Party, which also have Marxist ideology was established.

Some of the non-Brahmin leaders who joined the Congress Movement in 1930's were dissatisfied with the policies of Congress. They wanted the revolutionary programmes. They thought that if the capitalists took control of the government machinery, the miserable conditions of the Bahujan Samaj will remain the same. And they formed an autonomous party within the Congress viz., Peasant's and Worker's Party. But as in 1948, Congress passed a resolution which outlawed the formation of political parties within the Congress, the leaders of the Peasant's and Worker's Party also decided to form an independent political party.

Thus, with the elimination of the alien rule, the foremost aim of the Socialists during the period of freedom struggle was achieved; as the complete independence from the British formed their first demand. Once that was achieved, the Socialists were free to focus their attention towards organising the Socialist forces, for the destruction of capitalism and the creation of a new society based on the principles of Socialism.