

DISCOURSES ON INDIAN NATIONALISM

III SEMESTER

CORE COURSE

(HIS3 C02)

M.A. HISTORY

(2019-Admission Onwards)



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DISCOURSES ON INDIAN NATIONALISM

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MODULE-I

DISCOURSE AND DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Discourses are arguments, opinions and statements that are represented as facts ('truths') supported by definitions, theories and contentions that are part of a particular discipline. This term was developed by the social theorist Michel Foucault and is often used to provide a deeper understanding of the power relations that often underpin representation of knowledge and the imposition thereof.

Discourse analysis is a broad term for the study of the ways in which language is used between people, both in written texts and spoken contexts. Whereas other areas of language study might focus on individual parts of language—such as words and phrases (grammar) or the pieces that make up words (linguistics)—discourse analysis looks at a running conversation involving a speaker and listener (or a writer's text and its reader).

In the words of Hammersley, M. It is a study of the way versions or the world, society, events and psyche are produced in the use of language and discourse. The Semiotics, deconstruction and narrative analysis are forms of discourse analysis.

Bernard Berelson defined content analysis as “a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of manifest content of communications” (Berelson,1974). It can also be defined as an analysis of speech units larger than the sentence and of their relationship to the contexts in which they are used.

The discourse analysis identifies the linguistic dependencies which exist between sentences or utterances. Anyhow, it is really difficult to define the concept of discourse analysis. Instead of categorising it under the different kinds of research methods, it can be alleged as one of the creative ways of approaching and thinking about a problem. Alternatively, it can be said to be a way of providing a tangible answer to problems based on scientific research. Eventually the method of discourse analysis will help in unveiling the hidden motivations behind a text or behind the choice of a particular method of research to interpret that text. Expressed in today's more trendy vocabulary, Critical or Discourse Analysis is nothing more than a deconstructive reading and interpretation of a problem or text.

Discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary approach and has been widely used by the social scientists and cognitive psychologists. Some of the basic assumption of this approach can be outlined as follows:

Psychologists assume that the human behaviour can only be studied with objectivity that is, without involvement of any biasness or subjectivity of the researcher as well as the subject/people under study. However, this has been disputed – people, including researchers, cannot be objective. A researcher is very likely to hold some position (expectation, belief, or set of cultural values) when they are conducting their research.

The approach also assumes that, reality is socially constructed. It is assumed in a scientific research that 'reality' can be categorised. The constructs generally used by psychologists like – personality, intelligence and thinking are explained as real and naturally occurring categories or events. However, the assumption ignores the fact that it is language which gives a shape to the categories and constructs we use. Since language is a social

and cultural thing, our sense of reality is socially and culturally constructed. It is also assumed that, people are the result of social interaction. In the scientific approach it is assumed that many of the constructs used are ‘inner essences’. That is to say that personality, anxiety, drives, and so on exist somewhere within our heads and our bodies and are revealed only when the individual socially interacts with others. However, it may be the case that many of these so-called essences are actually the products of social interaction.

VARIOUS THEORIES OF DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

(i) Modernism

Modernism is guided by a reality-based orientation. It views discourse as being relative to talking or way of talking. Modernist theorists emphasised that the discourse and language transformations are needed to develop new or more “accurate” words in order to describe new inventions, innovations, understandings, or areas of interest. Both language and discourse are now conceptualised as natural or real products of common-sense usage or progress. Modernism gave rise to various discourses of rights, equality, freedom, and justice

(ii) Structuralism

The structuralism theorists argue that the human actions and social formations are related to language and discourse and they can be implicated or considered as systems of related elements. The approach believed that the individual elements of a system only have significance when they are considered in context to the structure as a whole. The structures can be defined as self-contained, self-regulated, and self-transforming entities. In other words, it is the structure itself that determines the significance, meaning and function of the individual elements of a system.

Structuralism has made an eminent contribution to the world of language and social systems.

(iii) Postmodernism

The postmodern theorists examined and investigated the variety of experience of individuals and groups and emphasised more on differences over similarities and common experiences. Postmodern researchers insisted more upon analysing discourses as texts, language, policies and practices. In the field of discourse analysis, the most prominent figure was Michel Foucault. Foucault has defined discourse as “systems of thoughts composed of ideas, attitudes, courses of action, beliefs and practices that systematically construct the subjects and the worlds of which they speak.” He emphasised that the discourse analysis has a significant role in social processes of legitimating and power. Discourses can help researchers in emphasising the construction of current truths, how they are maintained and what power relations they carry with them. He later added that discourse is a channel through which power relations (for example– power relation between boss and subordinate, professor and students) produce speaking subjects and that power is an in evitable or unavoidable aspect. Foucault argued that power and knowledge are inter-related and therefore every human relationship is a struggle and negotiation of power. Discourse according to Foucault is related to power as it operates by rules of exclusion. Post- modernism was one of the mid- to late 20th century development and believes that the human mind is free from the constraints of tradition, belief, faith and tries to explore the furthest horizons of human development.

(iv) Feminism

Feminists explained discourse as events of the social practices. They investigated the complex relationships that exist among power, ideology, language and discourse. They emphasised on the concept of ‘performing gender’. According to them gender is a property, not of persons themselves but of the behaviours to which members of a society ascribe a gendering meaning.

STEPS IN DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

The analysts or the researchers of the discourse analysis believe that the speech performs an action instead of describing a specific state of affairs or specific state of mind. Much of this analysis is intuitive and reflective, but it may also involve some form of counting, such as counting instances of turn-taking and their influence on the conversation and the way in which people speak to others.

The researchers collect and interpret information in the following steps:

i) Target orientation: First of all, the analysts need to know their target or focus of study. Since beginning, they need to think about the ways by which they will analyse and interpret data after collecting the information

ii) Significance of data: Once the relevant information is collected, the researchers need to judge or examine the value of the collected data, especially those which may have come from more than one source.

iii) Interpretation of the data: As the research progresses the analyst needs to try to understand and interpret the data so that the

researchers as well as others can gain an understanding of what is going on.

iv) Analysis of the findings: Finally, the researcher needs to undertake the mechanical process of analysing, interpreting and summarising the data collected. On basis of the analysis of the information, the findings can be summarised and concluded. There are many qualitative analysis programs available to social researchers that can be used for a variety of different tasks. For example, software could locate particular words or phrases; make lists of words and put them into alphabetical order; insert key words or comments; count occurrences of words or phrases or attach numeric codes. With the help of the software's, the analysts or the researcher can retrieve text, analyse text and build theories. Although a computer can undertake these mechanical processes, it cannot think about, judge or interpret qualitative data.

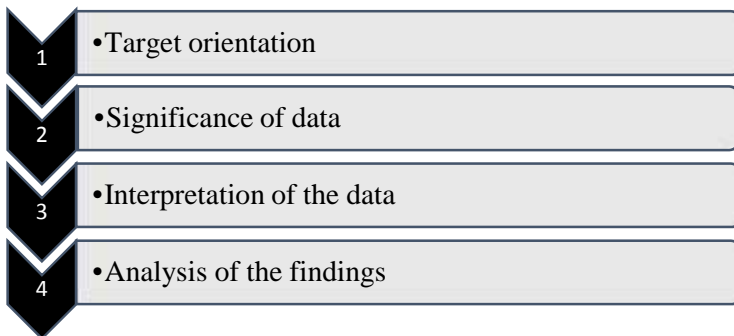


Figure 1. Steps in Discourse Analysis

KNOWLEDGE AND POWER- MICHEL FOUCAULT

Power is usually defined as the ability to impose one's will on others, even if those others resist in some way. "By power is meant that opportunity existing within a social relationship which permits one to carry out one's own will even against resistance

and regardless of the basis on which this opportunity rests” (Max Weber, *Basic Concepts in Sociology*). Power manifests itself in a relational manner. That is, one cannot meaningfully say that a particular social actor ‘has power’ without also specifying the other parties to the social relationships. Also, power almost always operates reciprocally, but usually not equally reciprocally.

The understanding and analysis of power has been critical to sociological thought. One of the prominent delineations of power has been provided by Michel Foucault (1926-1984). His works analyse the link between power and knowledge. Foucault began his intellectual pursuits in philosophy but became disillusioned by its abstractions and “naïve truth claims” and turned to psychology and psychopathology. This resulted in his early writings, ‘Madness and Civilisation’, ‘The Birth of Clinic’ and initiated his lifelong interest in the relationship between power and knowledge.

The main influences on Foucault’s thought were German philosophers Frederick Nietzsche and Martin Heidegger. Nietzsche contended that truth, knowledge and power are inextricably associated. He maintained that human behaviour is motivated by a will to power and that traditional values had lost their power over society. Heidegger criticized what he called ‘our current technological understanding of being’. Foucault’s thought explored the shifting patterns of power within a society and the ways in which power relates to the self. He investigated the changing rules governing the kind of claims that could be taken seriously as true or false at different times in history. He also studied how everyday practices enabled people to define their identities and systematize knowledge; events may be understood as being produced by nature, by human effort or by God. Foucault argued that each way of understanding things had its advantages and its dangers.

According to Foucault “the exercise of power is not simply a relationship between partners, individuals or collective; it is a way in which certain actions modify others. Which is to say, of course, that something called power with or without a capital letter, which is assumed to exist universally in a concentrated or diffused form, does not exist.”



Figure 2. Michel Foucault

Foucault goes on to insist that knowledge and power are always and necessarily interdependent. A site where power is enforced is also a site where knowledge is produced and conversely, a site from which knowledge is derived is a place where power is exercised. In ‘Discipline and Punish’ he sees prison as an example of just such a site of power, and as a place where knowledge, essential to the modern social sciences, is formed. Reciprocally the ideas from which the social sciences were formulated were also the ones that gave birth to the prison. The belief that a scientist can arrive at an objective conclusion, Foucault argues, is one of the greatest fallacies of the modern, humanist era.

Foucault observes that “Modern humanism is therefore mistaken in drawing this line between knowledge and Power. Knowledge and power are integrated with one another, and there is no point in dreaming of a time where knowledge will cease to depend on power; this is just a way of reviving humanism in a utopian guise. It is not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge. It is impossible for knowledge not to endanger power.” So instead of referring to power and knowledge separately, he prefers to compound the term power/knowledge.

The concept of “discourse” is central to many of Foucault’s ideas. He describes discourses as ways of identifying truth and knowledge at historically specific moments, thus providing set of rules that define realities.

Discourses contain power because they establish particular truths and knowledge, and their power is exercised through the creation and sustenance of social norms, practices and institutions. In Foucauldian analysis, power is not monopolised by any one subject through its control of a predominant discourse; the discursive field comprises multiple subjects who manipulate various discourses to some extent. For Foucault, the issue is not origin of discourses, but the implications of their power effects and the types of knowledge they produce and institutionalise. Since power originates in discourses, it has no unitary source but is heterogeneous and pluralistic, coming from everywhere and being everywhere.

POWER KNOWLEDGE AND DISCOURSE

Foucault analyses the relationship between power, knowledge and discourse that develops from the establishment of Enlightenment rationality which presents itself as progressive and emancipatory. The hegemony of Enlightenment rationality and

its institutions, and the marginalisation of other discourses, create and validate a social network of normative power which disciplines and constrains the individual at the micro level. Foucault studies the emergence of several kinds of rationalities in history. The emergence of a particular kind of rationality, then, presupposes that the field of knowledge is tightly linked with an empirical field. Due to its instrumentality, a form of reason as well as any form of knowledge define a set of possible practices and is thus an instrument of power. Further, being embodied in an empirical field, a form of reason (or any form of knowledge supported by it) has no ‘being’ beyond any set of practices. Therefore, the field of knowledge defines a field of power and vice-versa.

Power, thus, is not to be considered as opposite to reason; but on the contrary as the necessary condition for the construction of knowledge. Moreover, because power produces knowledge, it can be, at least partially, grasped by archaeology.

Foucault’s discussion of the nature of modern power is located within the postmodern framework. In keeping with the postmodern perspective, he critiques modernity and the universalising claims of modern rationality, and emphasises multiplicity, discontinuity and fragmentation. Foucault calls for a “theoretical production” (Foucault 1980:81) which is independent, localised and free from traditional discourse, such as his own application of the differing but overlapping perspectives of psychology, medicine, criminology and sexuality in his exploration of modernity.

The two major approaches employed by Foucault in his analysis of power and knowledge were Archaeology and Genealogy. His aim is to establish a genealogy of how power is exercised in our own society basing his analysis on archaeology of the discursive

formations. Hence, his analysis is aimed towards the 'modes of functioning' of power in our society.

NATIONALISM

Nationalism is basically a European concept. It is wholly a European export to the rest of the world. Most of the historians agree that nationalism is of modern origin. Yet many of them have tried to detect it in old times. Their concern with nationalism motivates them to detect it in the old civilization of yore. A strong attachment to the soil where one is born and brought up, to local traditions and to established territorial authority had been prevalent throughout history in varying strength.

Modern nationalism originated in Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the nineteenth century, it became a general European movement and in the twentieth, it has become one of the most explosive political philosophies that rule the world today.

Prof. Hans Kohn defines the concept of nationalism as "a state of mind, in which the supreme loyalty of the individual is felt to be due to the nation state". He further adds that "it is living and active corporate will. It is this will which we call nationalism, a state of mind inspiring the large majority of people and claiming to inspire all its members. It asserts that the nation-state is the ideal and the only legitimate form of political organization and that the nationality is the source of all cultural creative energy and economic well-being."

Nationalism is a doctrine which provides a rationale for a group of people to enjoy a government exclusively of their own and exercise full sovereign rights. It presupposes that mankind is divided into national compartments, each of which can be distinguished by certain common characteristics.

Nationality is not an inborn characteristic. The individual's feeling that he belongs to a nation is the result of a continuous process of social learning and habit forming. Nationality in this sense need not be a political entity. It is primarily a cultural phenomenon, although it often takes political form. Nationality is mainly a matter of psychological feeling. It is a belief on the part of its members that they belong together and have common heritage and common traditions.

Nationalism comprises several basic elements: common race, language, religion, traditions, history, geography, war, etc.; but none of these factors by itself is enough to create a nation or nationalism. For instance, race is an important factor in the formation of nationalism, but not quite essential. It is not necessarily true that every nationality must have one race. In Canada, for example, the two main races - the English and the French - form one nationality. In India, several races contribute to the Indian nationality.

A common language would reveal common tradition and similarity of ideas and thus form a strong tie between the communities. War also helps to develop nationalism in times of danger. Nationalism usually leads to war if unchecked; and war again leads to nationalism. There are wars of independence, imperialism and so on. War-time propaganda convinces the people that their country is in danger and it is their duty to place themselves at the disposal of the nation as patriots.

VARIETIES OF NATIONALISM

(i) Classical Nationalism

Classical nationalism is the political program that sees the creation and maintenance of a fully sovereign state owned by a given ethno-national group ("people" or "nation") as a primary

duty of each member of the group. Starting from the assumption that the appropriate (or “natural”) unit of culture is an ethno-nation, it claims that a primary duty of each member is to abide by one’s recognizably ethno-national culture in all cultural matters.

Classical nationalists are usually vigilant about the kind of culture they protect and promote and about the kind of attitude people have to their nation-state. This watchful attitude carries some potential dangers: many elements of a given culture that are universal or simply not recognizably national may fall prey to such nationalist enthusiasms. Classical nationalism in everyday life puts various additional demands on individuals, from buying more expensive home-produced goods in preference to cheaper imported ones to procreating as many future members of the nation as one can manage

In classical nationalism political sovereignty requires a state “rightfully owned” by the ethno-nation. In a national independence struggle the use of force against the threatening central power is almost always a legitimate means for bringing about sovereignty. However, classical nationalism is not only concerned with the creation of a state but also with its maintenance and strengthening.

Besides classical nationalism (and its more radical extremist cousins), various moderate views are also now classified as nationalist. Indeed, the philosophical discussion has shifted to these moderate or even ultra-moderate forms, and most philosophers who describe themselves as nationalists propose very moderate nationalist programs.

Nationalism in this wider sense is any complex of attitudes, claims, and directives for action ascribing a fundamental political,

moral, and cultural value to nation and nationality and deriving obligations (for individual members of the nation, and for any involved third parties, individual or collective) from this ascribed value.

Nationalisms in this wider sense can vary somewhat in their conceptions of the nation (which are often left implicit in their discourse), in the grounds for and degree of its value, and in the scope of their prescribed obligations. Moderate nationalism is less demanding than classical nationalism and sometimes goes under the name of “patriotism.” (A different usage, again, reserves “patriotism” for valuing civic community and loyalty to state, in contrast to nationalism, centered on ethnic-cultural communities).

(ii) Liberal Nationalism

Liberalism is fairly an old political ideology. Its roots can be traced to the days of the sixteenth century. Since then it has passed through numerous stages. The Western Enlightenment had refused to accept moral goals as absolute truths; the English Glorious revolution (1688) had denounced the divine rights of the kings; The French Revolution gave the cardinal ideas of ‘Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity’ and the American War of Independence a little earlier (1775-76) laid emphasis on the declaration of human rights.

Features of Liberal Nationalism

(i) Individual Liberty: Liberalism is essentially an ideology of liberty. Its love for individual liberty is unquestionable. It has become libertarianism. For the liberals, liberty is the very essence of human personality. It is a means to one’s development.

(ii) Individual-centred theory: Liberalism begins and ends with individual. For liberals, individual is the centre of all activities,

the focal point; individual is the end while all other associations, including the state, are the means, which exist for the individual. individual is the centre around which all things move.

(iii) Capitalistic Economy: Liberalism advocates free-market economy, i.e., the capitalistic mode of economy. It believes in private property system, regarding property rights as sacrosanct; maximum profit as the only motive; capitalistic mode of production and distribution as the only essence; the market forces as the controlling means of economy.

(iv) Limited State: Liberalism advocates the concept of limited state. The liberals view the state as a means for attaining the good of the individual. They oppose every type of totalitarian state. They are of the opinion that a more powerful state means a less free individual. Locke used to say, “because the functions of the state are limited, so are limited its powers.”

(v) Opposed to Traditions/Superstitions: As liberalism rose as a reaction against traditions/superstitions, it is, by its nature, opposed to all reactionary measures. Liberalism, emerging from Renaissance and Reformation, stood, and actually stands, for reason and rationalism. As against the feudal model of man as a passive being, liberalism favours a model of man who is more active and more acquisitive.

(vi) Democracy: Liberalism is an exponent of democratic government. It seeks to establish a government of the people, by the people and for the people; a government that functions according to the Constitution and constitutionalism; a government that upholds the rule of law; a government that secures rights and liberties of the people. Liberalism, McGovern says, is a combination of democracy and individualism.

(vii) Welfareism: Liberalism is closely associated with welfarism. Welfarism, as a state activity, is the idea that state works for the welfare of the people. The liberal concept of state activity is one where the state serves the people. In other words, the welfare state is a ‘social service’ state.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONALISM IN EUROPE

(i) English Puritanism and nationalism

The first full manifestation of modern nationalism occurred in 17th century England, in the Puritan revolution. England had become the leading nation in scientific spirit, in commercial enterprise, and in political thought and activity. Swelled by an immense confidence in the new age, the English people felt upon their shoulders the mission of history, a sense that they were at a great turning point from which a new true reformation and a new liberty would start. In the English revolution an optimistic humanism merged with Calvinist ethics, and the influence of the Bible gave form to the new nationalism by identifying the English people with ancient Israel.

The new message, carried by the new people not only for England but for all humankind, was expressed in the writings of the poet John Milton (1608–74), in whose famous vision the idea of liberty was seen spreading from Britain, “celebrated for endless ages as a soil most genial to the growth of liberty,” to all the corners of the earth.

English nationalism, then, was thus much nearer to its religious matrix than later nationalisms that rose after secularization had made greater progress. The nationalism of the 18th century shared with it, however, its enthusiasm for liberty, its humanitarian character, its emphasis upon individual rights and upon the

human community as above all national divisions. The rise of English nationalism coincided with the rise of the English trading middle classes. It found its final expression in John Locke's political philosophy, and it was in that form that it influenced American and French nationalism in the following century.

American nationalism was a typical product of the 18th century. British settlers in North America were influenced partly by the traditions of the Puritan revolution and the ideas of Locke and partly by the new rational interpretation given to English liberty by contemporary French philosophers. American settlers became a nation engaged in a fight for liberty and individual rights. They based that fight on current political thought, especially as expressed by Thomas Jefferson and Thomas Paine. It was a liberal and humanitarian nationalism that regarded America as in the vanguard of humankind on its march to greater liberty, equality, and happiness for all. The ideas of the 18th century found their first political realization in the Declaration of Independence and in the birth of the American nation. Their deep influence was felt in the French Revolution.

(ii) French Nationalism

Jean-Jacques Rousseau had prepared the soil for the growth of French nationalism by his stress on popular sovereignty and the general cooperation of all in forming the national will (the "general will"), and also by his regard for the common people as the true depository of civilization.

The nationalism of the French Revolution was more than that: it was the triumphant expression of a rational faith in common humanity and liberal progress. The famous slogan "Liberty,

equality, fraternity” and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen were thought valid not only for the French people but for all peoples. Individual liberty, human equality, fraternity of all peoples—these were the common cornerstones of all liberal and democratic



nationalism. Under their inspiration new rituals were

Figure 3. Jean Jacques Rousseau

developed that partly took the place of the old religious feast days, rites, and ceremonies: festivals and flags, music and poetry, national holidays and patriotic sermons. In the most varied forms, nationalism permeated all manifestations of life. As in America, the rise of French nationalism produced a new phenomenon in the art of warfare: the nation in arms. In America and in France, citizen armies, untrained but filled with a new fervour, proved superior to highly trained professional armies that fought without the incentive of nationalism. The revolutionary French nationalism stressed free individual decision in the formation of nations. Nations were constituted by an act of self-determination of their members. The plebiscite became the instrument whereby the will of the nation was expressed. In America as well as in revolutionary France, nationalism meant the adherence to a

universal progressive idea, looking toward a common future of freedom and equality, not toward a past characterized by authoritarianism and inequality.

Napoleon's armies spread the spirit of nationalism throughout Europe and even into the Middle East, while at the same time, across the Atlantic, it aroused the people of Latin America. But Napoleon's yoke of conquest turned the nationalism of the Europeans against France. In Germany the struggle was led by writers and intellectuals, who rejected all the principles upon which the American and the French revolutions had been based as well as the liberal and humanitarian aspects of nationalism.

(iii) The 1848 revolutionary wave

German nationalism began to stress instinct against reason, the power of historical tradition against rational attempts at progress and a more just order, and the historical differences between nations rather than their common aspirations. The French Revolution, liberalism, and equality were regarded as a brief aberration against which the eternal foundations of societal order would prevail.

That German interpretation was shown to be false by the developments of the 19th century. Liberal nationalism reasserted itself and affected more and more people: the rising middle class and the new proletariat. The revolutionary wave of 1848, the year of "the spring of the peoples," seemed to realize the hopes of nationalists such as Giuseppe Mazzini, who had devoted his life to the unification of the Italian nation by democratic means and to the fraternity of all free nations. Though his immediate hopes were disappointed, the 12 years from 1859 to 1871 brought the unification of Italy and Romania, both with the help of Napoleon III, and of Germany, and at the same time the 1860s saw great

progress in liberalism, even in Russia and Spain. The victorious trend of liberal nationalism, however, was reversed in Germany by Otto von Bismarck. He unified Germany on a conservative and authoritarian basis and defeated German liberalism. The German annexation of Alsace-Lorraine against the will of the inhabitants was contrary to the idea of nationalism as based upon the free will of humanity. The people of Alsace-Lorraine were held to be German by allegedly objective factors, pre-eminently race, independent of their will or of their allegiance to any nationality of their choice.

In the second half of the 19th century, nationalism disintegrated the supranational states of the Habsburgs and the Ottoman sultans, both of which were based upon pre-national loyalties. In Russia, the penetration of nationalism produced two opposing schools of thought. Some nationalists proposed a Westernized Russia, associated with the progressive, liberal forces of the rest of Europe. Others stressed the distinctive character of Russia and Russianism, its independent and different destiny based upon its autocratic and orthodox past. These Slavophiles, similar to and influenced by German Romantic thinkers, saw Russia as a future saviour of a West undermined by liberalism and the heritage of the American and French revolutions.

(iv) Twentieth-century developments

One of the consequences of World War I was the triumph of nationalism in central and eastern Europe. From the ruins of the Habsburg and Romanov empires emerged the new nation-states of Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, and Romania. Those states in turn, however, were to be strained and ravaged by their own internal nationality conflicts and by nationalistic disputes over territory with their neighbours.



Figure 4. Lenin, Stalin and Tito

Russian nationalism was in part suppressed after Vladimir Lenin's victory in 1917, when the Bolsheviks took over the old empire of the tsars. But the Bolsheviks also claimed the leadership of the world communist movement, which was to become an instrument of the national policies of the Russians. During World War II, Joseph Stalin appealed to nationalism and patriotism in rallying the Russians against foreign invaders. After the war he found nationalism one of the strongest obstacles to the expansion of Soviet power in eastern Europe. National

communism, as it was called, became a divisive force in the Soviet bloc. In 1948 Josip Broz Tito, the communist leader of Yugoslavia, was denounced by Moscow as a nationalist and a renegade, nationalism was a strong factor in the rebellious movements in Poland and Hungary in the fall of 1956, and subsequently its influence was also felt in Romania and Czechoslovakia and again in Poland in 1980.

The spirit of nationalism appeared to wane in Europe after World War II with the establishment of international economic, military, and political organizations such as NATO, the European Coal and Steel Community (1952–2002), Euratom, and the Common Market, later known as the European Economic Community and then as the European Community. But the policies pursued by France under Pres. Charles de Gaulle and the problem posed by the division of Germany until 1990 showed that the appeal of the nation-state was still very much alive.

INDIAN MIDDLE CLASS AND GROWTH OF NATIONALISM

The history of colonial India is incomplete without the history of India's middle class. Whether in the arena of politics or culture, middle-class actors have been central to most of what conventionally passes as the history of modern India. Movements related to nationalism, feminism, religious revival, social reform, the visual arts, literature, and a myriad of other fields of endeavour have been led by middle-class activists and often reflected their middle-class sensibilities. With decolonization, a middle-class leadership eventually replaced the British ruling class in India.

It is quite difficult to define the middle class. Literally, the middle class presumes a three-class model of society. That is, there is a

top or elite class, a bottom or subaltern class, and in between them, a middle class. But no society has ever had such easy or simple divisions. Of course, it is also true that the term “middle class” has seldom been used in its literal sense of a class “in the middle.” But even so, there has never been a single bounded social group, or one set of economic indicators (or even a single set of uncontested values) that can be conclusively defined as middle class. Rather than looking for conclusive definitions or boundaries, it is much better to realize that the middle class, as the term is commonly used, is a cultural construct and therefore a contingent one that varies over time and context. Rather than expecting the “middle class” to be a bounded sociological category, it may be useful to keep in mind that “class” itself is an abstraction; an analytical category we employ to help us better understand configurations of power in the past and in our present.

It is precisely to understand the ways in which power came to be configured, deployed, and resisted, that it remains useful to use the category of “middle class,” even when we do not use it to refer to a group identified by objective indicators such as income or education. Because being “middle class” was so important to the ways in which power was obtained, exercised, and resisted in 19th- and 20th (and so far in 21st-) century India, it becomes important to study the middle class in its history. The fact that the term means different things in different contexts does not take away from its value. On the contrary, the way the term has been deployed and the connotations it has in different contexts allow us to see it as a cultural construct with an important history—or rather histories. These histories are crucial to understand in order to make sense of some of the ambiguities that surround the use of the term in the 21st century. The middle class of colonial India is a good vantage point from which to understand these ambiguities.

Using the singular—the middle class—should not be taken to suggest that the middle class in India was a monolithic entity. There were, for one, significant regional differences. For instance, due to a different pattern of land tenure in the province, the rentier component in the social group that constituted itself as a middle class in Calcutta was distinct from those in other towns such as Surat where merchant groups had a much higher profile. There was also diversity of other kinds. The religious diversity of Delhi or Lucknow, with a larger Muslim middle class, shaped a different sort of public religiosity as compared to the largely Hindu Madras. Nor should we assume that even within regions perfect unanimity characterized the middle class. There were significant differences and debates within the middle class that can be traced to the different access to material resources that shaped lifestyles and hence cultural preferences. Yet, at the same time, there were more overlaps than differences among those who called themselves “middle class.” It is precisely such intersections that make it possible to talk about a middle class in colonial India.

Emergence of a Middle Class in Nineteenth Century Colonial India

The middle class in colonial India was the product of a relatively long historical process and was predicated on the creation of new forms of politics, the restructuring of norms of social conduct, and the construction of new values guiding domestic as well as public life. All of these transformations, whether political, social, or cultural, reflected the concerns and perhaps the contradictions, constitutive of the middle class. Understanding how this middle class was made, and how it acquired its predominance in public affairs, is critical to comprehending much of the cultural and political world in the 21st century.

Being middle class in colonial India was a cultural and political project. These projects not only shaped the middle class but also much of the world around them. By the last quarter of the 19th century, there were many young Indian men (and few women) who had, through their exposure to colonial educational institutions, bought into the rhetoric of a progressive middle class in Britain. This was the group who now fashioned themselves as an Indian middle class. Through activities in the public sphere they undertook exercises similar to their British counterparts in distancing themselves from the “decadence” of older Indian elites even as they disparaged the cultures of the plebeian classes of Indian society. They represented the middle class as a harbinger of modernity and sought to blend what they perceived as the best of indigenous traditions and Western modernity.

Measured by any set of objective indicators such as income, consumption, occupation, or even education, the social groups described as middle class in colonial India were in the top two deciles of the population. Most of the men who called themselves middle class were upper-caste Hindus, Ashraf (high-born) Muslims, or other such high-status groups. Many came from so-called service communities (i.e., from families and social groups who had traditionally served in the courts of indigenous rulers and large landlords). Not only did this mean they had sufficient economic resources, but they also possessed sufficient educational training to shape and participate in public debates during the colonial era. Exposure to Western-style education was certainly the most important and marketable skill that produced the middle class. But mere knowledge of English, similarity of family background, or even exposure to Western education did not transform these educated people into a middle class. Education and literary accomplishments had been valued for long before the British came to India. What made the middle class of the 19th century different was the initiation of new cultural

politics that allowed them to articulate a new set of beliefs, values, and modes of politics, distinguishing them from other social groups both below and above. Through this endeavour they became a significant player in social and political life of colonial India.

Being middle class in India was a project of self-fashioning. In colonial India, as elsewhere around the world, a middle class emerged from processes by which intellectuals and activists created a new and distinctive social category through a “self-conscious interposition between people of rank and the common people.” To highlight cultural projects as central to middle-class formation is not to deny the significance of either economic structure or indeed historical context of changes in legal and economic regimes that accompanied the transition to colonialism. At the same time, however, it is important not to overemphasize a false dichotomy between “objective” factors versus processes stressing the agency of the middle class. The history of the middle class in colonial India is a near-perfect example of how the two constitute each other. Objective conditions delimited the number and sort of people who could aspire to be middle class, but the efforts of people also created or transformed the objective conditions that made the middle class possible.

British rule in India may have facilitated a public sphere, but this sphere was ultimately created by the efforts of educated Indians. It was they who invested in presses, worked as journalists, created civic and political associations, and published and debated their ideas either in the press or in the forums of their associations. And it was through these activities and through control of the public sphere, that educated, respectable—but hardly among the richest, most powerful or influential of men in colonial India—were able to successfully represent themselves as a middle class. The public sphere universalized middle-class norms and allowed this class to

emerge as the arbiters of social, political, and cultural conduct of society in colonial India. Using new institutions of the public sphere, these men recast ideas of respectability to distinguish themselves from upper and lower classes in society and posited a moral superiority over both. These were crucial elements in the constitution of a middle class.

There were some challenges to the aspirations of the Western-educated Indian from within Indian society, but the most vocal challenges came from the British rulers of India and their representatives. The charge most often levelled against Western-educated Indians was that their Westernization rendered them “inauthentic.” Ironically, leading this critique were Englishmen such as the writer Rudyard Kipling. Much more comfortable with the older, authoritarian, and paternalist style of administration, Kipling lampooned liberal administrators and commentators as fiercely as he did the emerging Westernized middle class of India through characters such as Hurree Chunder Mookerjee in *Kim* or Grish Chunder De in “Head of the District.” Kipling was at his vitriolic best, however, when contrasting the superficial veneer of Westernization in these characters with others whom he represented as “real” or authentic Indians, whether they be the Lama or Mahbub Ali in *Kim*, or the rugged Pathan tribesmen of “Head of the District.”

This distinction between authenticity and inauthenticity found a significant echo in debates within Indian society, too, and were to have a profound impact on the constitution of the middle class in this time. Criticism of the derivative agenda of middle-class reformism also arose from within the middle class. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee’s scathing critiques of the Anglicized Bengali Baboo are well known to readers of modern Indian history. Less known perhaps are people such as Sajjad Hussain, an inveterate critic of Sir Sayyid’s modernizing efforts, and whom Sajjad often

lampooned in his Oudh Punch. Debates between the so-called traditionalists and modernizers were, in fact, staple of the middle-class milieu in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Both modernization and traditionalism were an important part of middle-class interventions and had a formative impact on the shaping the political and cultural milieu of modern India.

Religion was an important sphere of intervention for middle-class activists in colonial India. One example of how middle-class concerns shaped social and cultural life in colonial India is evident in the growth and popularity of the Arya Samaj. Led and supported by people who were hardly traditional elites or religious specialists, the Samaj sought to create a singular “Arya Dharma” from the welter of beliefs and practices that characterized popular Hinduism. They claimed the Vedas to be the foundational texts of this revamped Hinduism. Influences of the colonial milieu were evident. Their arguments about the Vedas were mainly derived from the writings of 18th century colonial scholars, called Orientalists. Even the attraction of creating a Hinduism that would be have a single foundational text may well have been derived from colonial critiques of polytheistic, polymorphous, Hindu religiosity. But the Arya Samaj was not only a somewhat derivative set of ideas, shaping Hinduism in the image of their rulers (and claiming to be superior to them!), it was also an important intervention in Indian social life. The Arya Samajis used their ideas to both undermine the traditional authority of religious specialists and to control and shape behaviours of groups subordinate to themselves. They were as critical of what they thought to be old-fashioned superstitions encouraged by Brahmins, as they were of the eclectic and often syncretic practices of subaltern groups.

The 19th century saw a number of comparable interventions, led by middle-class Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, or other religious

groups. Almost all of them sought to fashion a new sort of religiosity that harked back to a newly fashioned “authenticity” even as they allowed these men a much greater say in the cultural and social life of their communities. In virtually all of these social and religious interventions, lower classes, castes, and women were a particular target of the reformers, and almost all sought to create a new orthodoxy that sought to draw their followers away from popular syncretic practices. This reconstituted middle-class religiosity often meshed well with the parallel move by middle-class men to “recast patriarchy,” imposing upon women the dual burden of being “modern” companions to their educated husbands and simultaneously be the repositories and carriers of “tradition.” As a wide variety of research has demonstrated, these reforms restricted and often took away the limited freedoms they had been permitted within older forms of patriarchy.

Some historians have argued that the Indian middle class “retreated” to an “inner” domain, focusing on religion, culture, and family issues during the 19th century so as to ready the nation for later political contestation. But the political was an important sphere of their activities in the last quarter of the 19th century, too. As the British devolved a little authority to Indians, through local self-government measures, the Indian middle class made demands (for instance via their participation in the Indian National Congress) for greater political representation. However much they may have focused on issues of an “inner domain,” clearly there was enough political activity for an outgoing Viceroy to take them to task as an unrepresentative “microscopic minority” in one of his farewell speeches. Nationalist political activity in the 19th century was led by, and displayed all the contrary pulls of, the middle class.

Benedict Anderson has pointed to one feature common to all nationalist imaginations. He argues that nationalist imaginations

combine the objective modernity of nation-states with a subjective antiquity—as nationalists often claim their nations to have existed since time immemorial. In the Indian case we can certainly trace this to the contradictions of a middle-class imagination produced by the circumstances of their emergence. On the one hand, the Western-educated men who formed political associations such as the INC were working toward a modern secular nation-state with representative institutions that mirrored what they saw in Europe or North America. Their heroes were figures such as Mazzini or Garibaldi. They looked up to liberal members of the Indian Civil Service and British Parliamentarians and indeed had a fair number of supporters among them. On the other hand, though, the search for authenticity and something that was uniquely Indian, was also part of their agenda. So, a commitment to tradition, history, culture, and religion (often derived from the Orientalist texts they had read as part of their education) was also a big part of how they were imagining the nation. Bal Gangadhar Tilak’s attempt to appeal to nationalist sentiments through religious festivals, the casting of the 18th century ruler Shivaji as a nationalist figure, or tracing a long historical genealogy for the Vedas are examples of this.

As with social or religious reforms, so with politics. The polite, almost obsequious, resolutions of the INC, had mostly to do with greater representation for Western-educated Indians in government. Much of middle-class politics had to do with creating forms of politics that highlighted the superiority of the Western-educated men to both the traditional elite (such as former nobility or landlords) as well as plebeian or subaltern groups in Indian society. They participated in the elections that the colonial government instituted 1880s with gusto. In the city of Lucknow, for example, middle-class activists tried to show how both the former aristocrats and current landlords were unsuitable representatives of the people, while the plebeian elements were

deemed to be too uncouth and uneducated to be even considered suitable for representative politics.

It was electoral politics, combined with the search for “authenticity,” that led middle-class politics to transform a complementary religious nationalism to competitive religious nationalism. This was to have profound and long-term impacts on nationalist politics, contributing in some measure to the horrors that accompanied partition of the subcontinent into India and Pakistan in 1947. Seeking “authenticity” through a recourse to celebrating past “nationalist” valour had already led Hindu cultural nationalists to demonize Muslim rulers of the past. This sort of representation led Muslim leaders such as Sir Saiyyid Ahmad Khan, who otherwise termed Hindus and Muslims the two eyes of India, to be alienated from the INC, because he felt the party only represented the Hindus of India. When this alienation was combined with participation in a political arena that actively encouraged the separate representation of Hindus and Muslims, it created competitive religious nationalism. Whereas earlier, the strengthening of Hindu and Muslim communities was perceived in complementary terms, as together strengthening India, over time and under electoral politics, this became a competitive, zero-sum, game. Each gain by one was perceived as a loss for the other. Large-scale riots between groups of Hindus and Muslims over cow protection at the end of the 19th century were a bitter example of the strife whose causes can be traced as much to policies of the colonial state and the politics of an Indian middle-class leadership as they can to the much more local motivations of lower- class and -caste participants in the riots. In 1906, a new political party, the All India Muslim League was created, seeking to represent the interests of what was now deemed to be India’s largest religious minority.

Toward Power: The Middle Class and Nationalist Politics

In many respects the first half of the 20th century is when the Indian middle class “came of age.” Politically, the Government of India Act of 1909 strengthened middle-class representation on decision-making bodies. The partition of Bengal was revoked in 1911, after strong protest movements led by the INC. The Gandhi-led mass political movements in the 1920s and 1930s not only gave them real political heft but also provided the Holy Grail of middle-class politics—a controlled mass movement. These political movements lent credibility to the claims of political leadership made by the INC, once described by Aurobindo Ghosh as simply a “middle class machine.” The 1930s and then the 1940s saw them exercise considerable amount of real political power in the provinces of British India. In 1947 the British transferred power primarily to a middle-class elite in India and Pakistan. A Constituent Assembly dominated by middle-class Indians then set out to write the Constitution for the republic to be.

The apparent hegemony of the middle class extended well beyond the realms of political power in the first half of the 20th century. But even in politics, protests against the colonial state were carried out in a controlled, respectable, almost genteel fashion, with deliberate flouting of rules, courting arrest, and accepting the punishment meted out by the colonial state. Middle class publications thrived, and lent greater public visibility to their causes and sought to normalize middle-class respectability well beyond the limits of the Western educated. Temperance, for instance, was popularized as a national virtue, and liquor shops and vends were regularly picketed by Gandhian activists. Even in the last part of the 19th century, “respectability” had been redefined with the norms of men of the “new light” (usually Western-educated) who termed themselves “middle class” and

replacing those of an older courtly or landowning elite. We can see the full impact of this in the realm of cultural productions, as new tastemakers sought to sanitize popular art, theatre, literature, or music, or otherwise reframed cultural productions to make them more acceptable to respectable middle-class sensibilities. Tapati Guha-Thakurta's work on art, Kathryn Hansen's on theatre, and Francesca Orsini's in the area of literary work, are all useful introductions to the changes initiated in these areas. The "classicization" of dance and music offer two other striking examples of this change. The dance of devadasis, now deemed "temple prostitutes," was made respectable as it was nationalized into "Bharatanatyam" (India's Dance). Musical traditions that had often been kept alive by families of musicians (often Muslims), and also by courtesans, were remade into a Hindu and nationalized classical music through the interventions of two middle-class men, Vishnu Digambar Paluskar and Vishnu Narain Bhatkhande.

Given the sort of political and cultural dominance they enjoyed, and a new Indian middle-class leadership poised to take power from the British, one would assume there would be fewer anxieties about the authenticity of the Indian middle class. Yet even as late as the 1940s, concerns about cultural authenticity were prominent in the writing of one of the quintessential representatives of the Westernized middle class—moreover one who was to take over as prime minister of India within a year of the publication of his magisterial *Discovery of India*. Writing about the era following the First World War, Jawaharlal Nehru contrasted India's sturdy peasants, tempered by centuries of hardship, with "déclassé intellectuals" cut off from the land. This contrast itself is revealing. Romanticizing the hardship of the peasants, Nehru represents them to be somehow more authentic than the middle class, whom he saw as belonging neither to the traditional or the modern world. Reflecting some of the ideas first

articulated by men such as Dufferin or Kipling, Nehru wrote to say that though the middle class was attracted by modernity, “they lacked its inner content.” Frustrated by their inability to be real and authentic, Nehru suggests that among the Indian middle classes “[S]ome tried to cling tenaciously to the dead forms of the past ... [While] others made themselves pale and ineffectual copies of the West.” Because neither was effective, men of the Indian middle class became “derelicts, frantically seeking some foothold of security for body and mind and finding none, they floated aimlessly in the murky waters of Indian life.”

MODERN INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT: COLONIAL INTELLECTUALS

The development of modern Indian thought can be broadly divided into two phases. The first phase was that of what has often been referred to as the phase of ‘Social Reform’. Thinkers of this phase were more concerned with the internal regeneration of indigenous society and because its first effervescence occurred in Bengal, it was often referred to as the ‘Bengal renaissance’.

The second phase, more complex and textured in many ways, is the nationalist phase. The concerns in this phase shift more decisively to questions of politics and power, and of freedom from colonial rule. It is important to remember that what we are calling the ‘nationalist phase’ is merely a short hand expression, for there were precisely in this period, many more tendencies and currents that cannot simply be subsumed under the rubric of ‘nationalism’. At the very least, there are important currents like the Muslim and Dalit, that mark the intellectual and political ‘search for the Self’ in this period.

There was a veritable explosion of intellectual activity throughout the nineteenth century, particularly in Bengal and Western India.

Bengal there was the Young Bengal movement, and publicists, thinkers and social reformers like Raja Rammohun Roy, Iswarchandra Vidyasagar, Keshub Chandra Sen, Michael Madhusudan Dutta, Surendra Nath Banerjee, Swami Vivekananda and such other personalities who embodied this effervescence. In Western India there were reformers like Bal Shastri Jambhekar, Jyotirao Govind Rao Phule, R. G. Bhandarkar, Gopal Ganesh Agarkar and Swami Dayanand Saraswati (whose activity was mainly in North India), such other luminaries who directly addressed the question of internal regeneration of Indian society. They launched the most vigorous critique of their own society, with the aim of bringing it out of its backwardness. As Rammohan Roy put it, it was the "thick clouds of superstition" that "hung all over the land" (i.e. Bengal), that worried him most. As a consequence, he believed, polygamy and infanticide were rampant and the position of the Bengali woman was "a tissue of ceaseless oppressions and miseries". Idolatry and priest craft were often held responsible by thinkers like Dayanand Saraswati, for the destruction of the yearning for knowledge. He believed that it was institutions such as these that had made Hindus fatalist and inert. The issues that dominated the concerns of the social reformers were primarily related to the status of women in Indian society. Sati, widow remarriage and the education of women were central issues raised by the reformers. To this end, they re-interpreted tradition, often offered ruthless critiques of traditional practices and even lobbied support with the colonial government for enacting suitable legislations for banning some of the more obnoxious practices like Sati.

While the position of women was a matter of central concern, there was another equally important question - that of caste divisions and untouchability that became the focus of critique of many of these reformers. However, you must bear in mind that their approach to caste was different from those of reformers like

Jyotiba Phule and later, Dr Ambedkar. Unlike the latter, they did not seek the emancipation of the lower castes, but their assimilation into the mainstream of Hindu society. Most of the reformers held not only that Hindu society had become degenerate, insulated and deeply divided into hundreds of different communities and castes, but also it had become thereby incapable of forging any kind of 'common will'. Hindu society therefore, had to be reconstituted and reorganised into a single community. Swami Vivekananda or Dayanand Saraswati therefore, sought to reorganise somewhat along the lines of the Christian Church. If Vivekananda was candid that no other society "puts its foot on the neck of the wretched so mercilessly as does that of India", Dayanand Saraswati sought to redefine caste 'in such a way that it ceased to be determined solely by birth. He sought to include the criterion of individual accomplishment 'in the determination of the caste-status of an individual.

There are two distinct moves made by the reformers that we must bear in mind. First, their critiques drew very explicitly from the exposure to Western liberal ideas. To many of them British power was the living proof of the validity and 'invincibility' of those ideas. They were therefore, open admirers of British rule. For instance, as Bal Shastri Jambhekar saw it, a mere sixty or seventy years of British rule over Bengal had transformed it beyond recognition. He saw in the place of the "violence, oppression and misrule" of the past, a picture of "security and freedom" where people were able to acquire "a superior knowledge of the Arts and Sciences of Europe". Jambhekar's statement is in fact, fairly representative of the understanding of the early reformers with regard to British rule. It should be remembered that the first generation of reformist thinkers began their intellectual journey in the face of a dual challenge. On the one hand, there was the overwhelming presence of colonial rule that did not simply represent to them a foreign power but also a modern and

'advanced' society that had made breath taking advances in the field of ideas - of science and philosophy. To them, it embodied the exhilarating developments of science and modern ways of thinking that a country like India - which to most reformers was essentially Hindu - had to also adopt if it was to emerge as a free and powerful country in the modern era. On the other hand, there was the continuous challenge thrown before the emerging indigenous intelligentsia by Christian missionaries who mounted a powerful critique of Hinduism and some of its most inhuman practices like Sati, female infanticide, and caste oppression - particularly the abominable practice of untouchability. Questions of widow re-marriage and the education of women, therefore were major issues of debate and contention. These formidable challenges required two simultaneous intellectual moves:

- (a) An acknowledgement of the rot that had set in, in Hindu society and a thorough going critique of it. For this purpose, they welcomed modern liberal ideas and philosophy with open arms.
- (b) As we saw, in the last unit, they were equally anxious to retain a sense of their own Self. Complete self-negation could not make a people great.

So, most of the reformers, drawing on contemporary Orientalist scholarship, claimed a great and ancient past. Even a convinced Anglophile like Rammohun Roy, for instance had the occasion to reply to a missionary critic that "the world is indebted to our ancestors for the first dawn of knowledge which sprang up in the East" and that India had nothing to learn from the British "with respect to science, literature and religion." This awe of Western knowledge and achievements and a simultaneous valorisation of a hoary Indian past, were common features of the reformers of all shades - even though the specific emphasis on different aspects varied from thinker to thinker. For instance, Dayananda was not

really influenced, as many others were, by Western thinkers and philosophers. Nevertheless, he too acknowledged the immense progress made by the West. He attributed this progress to the high sense of public duty, energetic temperament and adherence to their own religious principles, rather than to their scientific and philosophical achievements. He therefore drew very different conclusions from his reading of the modernity and progress of the West, which focussed on the regeneration of Hindu society through religious reform.

There are reasons to believe that the early responses to British rule and the so-called Renaissance were a distinctly Hindu phenomenon. For various reasons that we cannot go into in this unit, it was within Hindu society that the first critical engagement with colonial modernity began. Other responses from communities like the Muslims, had their own distinct specificities and history and we shall discuss them separately. However, we can identify two immediate reasons for this relatively early effervescence within Hindu society. One immediate reason for the Hindu response was of course, the fact that it was precisely certain practices within Hindu society that colonial rule sought to address. A second reason was that, for specific historical reasons, it was the Hindu elite that had an access to English education and exposure to the radical ideas of the Enlightenment. It will be wrong, however, to present what was essentially a response from within Hindu society as an "Indian renaissance".

There was a time when most scholars would consider the Bengal Renaissance in particular, as an analogue of the European Renaissance. More specifically, the "role of Bengal in India's modern awakening" as historian Sushobhan Sarkar argued, was seen as analogous to the role played by Italy in the European Renaissance. Later historians like Sumit Sarkar and Ashok Sen however, reviewed the legacy of the Bengal Renaissance in the

1970s, and came to the conclusion that the portrayal of the intellectual awakening of this period was actually quite flawed. The tendency to see the division between the reformers and their opponents as one between 'progressives' and 'traditionalists' was an oversimplification of the story of the renaissance. They noted the "deeply contradictory" nature of the "break with the past" inaugurated, for instance by Rammohun Roy, which combined with it, strong elements of a Hindu elitist framework. Sumit Sarkar, in fact, presented a much more modest and complicated picture of the Renaissance that had been drawn by earlier historians and scholars. It makes more sense, therefore, to see these responses as Bhikhu Parekh does, as primarily Hindu responses to the colonial encounter. Parekh has suggested that for these Hindu thinkers, their own self-definition and their attempt to understand what colonial rule was all about, were part of the same exercise: they could not define and make sense of themselves without making sense of colonial rule and vice versa.

In this context, an intense soul-searching marked the activities of the early intelligentsia. The encounter with colonialism and through it, with ideas of equality and liberty, made them aware of some of the inhuman practices still prevalent in Indian society. It was the section that was able to avail of Western education and steeped therefore in Western values that became the harbinger of reforms. Since you will read about the positions of the different thinkers in greater detail in the later units, here we will not go into the positions of individual thinkers. From the point of view of political and social thought, however, we will identify below some of the broad strands.

DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN NATION STATE

In Europe The nation-state developed after 1500s, Before that most people did not consider themselves part of a nation; they

rarely left their village and knew little of the larger world. If anything, people were more likely to identify themselves with their region or local lord. At the same time, the rulers of states frequently had little control over their countries. Instead, local feudal lords had a great deal of power, and kings often had to depend on the goodwill of their subordinates to rule. Laws and practices varied a great deal from one part of the country to another.

In the early modern era, a number of monarchs began to consolidate power by weakening the feudal nobles and allying themselves with the emerging commercial classes. This difficult process sometimes required violence. The consolidation of power also took a long time. Kings and queens worked to bring all the people of their territories under unified rule. Not surprisingly, then, the birth of the nation-state also saw the first rumblings of nationalism, as monarchs encouraged their subjects to feel loyalty toward the newly established nations. The modern, integrated nation-state became clearly established in most of Europe during the nineteenth century.

THE RISE OF THE EUROPEAN NATION-STATE	
Time Frame	Major Event
Pre-1500s	Most people lived in small villages; they paid tithes to feudal landlords, didn't travel, and cared little for anything beyond the village.
1485	Henry VII wins the War of the Roses in England, begins the Tudor dynasty, and starts the development of the English nation-state.

1492	Spanish monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella finish taking back all of Spain from the Muslims; the era of Spain as a global power begins.
1547–1584	Ivan the Terrible rules Russia; he unifies the government and creates the first Russian nation-state.
1638–1715	Louis XIV of France creates an absolute monarchy; France emerges as the dominant power in Europe.
1648	Peace of Westphalia cements the legal status of the nation-state as sovereign.
1789	The French Revolution begins; it creates the modern French nation-state and sparks nationalism around Europe.
1871	Unification of Italy and Germany is complete.
1919	Treaty of Versailles ends World War I; it breaks up several multinational empires and creates many new nation-states.
1945	The United Nations forms.

The Thirty Years' War and the Peace of Westphalia

The Thirty Years' War, fought throughout central Europe from 1618–1648 between Protestants and Catholics, laid the legal foundation for the nation-state. The war involved many nations of Europe, including many small German states, the Austrian Empire, Sweden, France, and Spain. Despite a brutal war, the

Catholics were unable to overturn Protestantism. The treaty that ended the war, called the Peace of Westphalia, decreed that the sovereign ruler of a state had power over all elements of both the nation and the state, including religion. Thus, the modern idea of a sovereign state was born.

Centralization of Power

Centralization, or the process by which law- and policymaking become centrally located, helped spur the development of nation-states. Final power rested with the central government, which made the laws and practices more uniform across the country. A single centralized authority, rather than many diverse local authorities, allowed nation-states to quickly develop their economies. Merchants could trade throughout the nation without worrying about local taxes and regulations. Also, the nation-state was much stronger militarily than the feudal state. Rulers were able to create national armies, which were not dependent on the nobility. The armies could receive consistent training so that all units could work well together. In many cases, the newly emerging nation-states dominated the older forms of political organization.

IMAGINED COMMUNITIES - BENEDICT ANDERSON

Imagined communities is a concept developed by political scientist Benedict Anderson to define nationalism. Rather than looking at a nation as one bound by physical boundaries, Anderson defined it as a community bound by people who imagine themselves to be part of the group. The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier is an example of nationalism. These tombs are either empty or hold unidentified remains, but nations with these memorials claim the soldiers as their own, in their own imagined communities.

Benedict Anderson, in his work *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* defines the nation as an "imagined political community": imagined because the members of the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. A nation exists when a significant number of people in a community consider themselves (or, in other words imagine themselves as to form a nation, or behave as if they formed one.

It is imagined because “the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion”. Thus, nation is an abstract phenomenon where members of the community imagine themselves as a nation. It is also limited because “the nation is imagined as limited because even the largest of them encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations”. In fact, Anderson says, all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined. Communities are to be distinguished not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined.

Anderson investigated into the development of the idea of nation in western countries (Europe). He says that various sociological conditions helped in formation of the phenomenon. One such factor was the print media capitalism – the emergence of printing press in Europe. The great sacred communities of the past (Christendom, the Islamic Ummah, the Middle Kingdom) were imaginable through the medium of a sacred language and written script. The rise of print media capitalism needs a large market for maximizing their profit. Though the spoken language of a group

may vary from area to area but the written language is same and mutually intelligible to each other.

The birth of the imagined community of the nation can best be seen if we consider the basic structure of two forms of imagining that first flowered in Europe in the eighteen century: the novel and the newspaper. For these forms provided the technical means for re-presenting the kind of imagined community that is the nation.

The newspaper in particular creates and "extraordinary mass ceremony: the almost simultaneous consumption...". This ceremony is performed in silent privacy, in the lair of the scull. Yet each communicant is well aware that the ceremony he performs is being replicated simultaneously by thousands or millions of others of whose existence he is confident, yet of whose identity he has not the slightest notion.

Today the Internet provides new media and new styles in which communities can be imagined. It is more important to understand these styles of imagining than to argue for or against the "falsity/genuineness" of communities in cyberspace. What are the new "ceremonies" in which participants engage? What are the shared symbolic systems created, recreated and modified in the practices of such communities? It can be argued that these communities can be more participatory and democratic because the "medium of imagining" is more flexible and open for intervention on the part of all members, compared to the newspaper, television, etc.

PARTHA CHATTERJEE-POLITICAL NATIONALISM

Benedict Anderson's ideas on nation and nationalism are one of the most accepted theories in the discourse of nation and nationalism. Anderson argues that nation is an imagined

community which is imagined into existence. For him, nation is an imagined community as well as a cultural artefact “...an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.

Partha Chatterjee, on the other hand, criticising Anderson’s view on imagined community presented a different understanding about formation of the Indian Nationalism. Chatterjee questioned the view of Anderson that nation was a ‘modular’ form developed in Europe and later adopted by the colonies like India and others. The problem of such an assumption is that the west left no space for the colonies to imagine in the name of nation. Chatterjee questions if “the rest of the world have to choose their imagined community from certain ‘modular’ forms already made available to them by Europe and the Americas, what do they have left to imagine?”.

From such assumptions it can be concluded that the colonies of Europe either in Asia and Africa were only the constant consumers of modernity, they already had pre-set versions of nationalism available to them. More apparently, the imagination in relation to the nation is also always colonized.

Chatterjee arguing on the issue holds that Anderson ignores the spirituality – the space inside the internal domain, where he emphasised much on outside material domain to understand nationalism. Chatterjee, thus to analyse the Indian nationalism proposes a new dimension of nationalism i.e. the spiritual domain.

He viewed the spiritual domain which was preserved in the inner space of households or in society as the fundamental feature of anti-colonial nationalisms in India. This inner domain carries the cultural markers of society which is essential for national

imagination through culture. Bringing examples from colonial Bengal to analyse Indian nationalism he gave the examples of language, culture, drama, schools, family, women etc. and their role in nation formation. In discussing language Chatterjee accepts Anderson's idea of print media capitalism for development of a national language. In Bengal though the East India Company and Christian Missionaries published first the books in Bengali language during 18th century but the educated elites of Bengal who were bi-lingual took it as a project – a cultural project to publish more books in Bengali later. Chatterjee says, “to provide its mother tongue with the necessary linguistic equipment to enable it to become an adequate language for “modern” culture”. Newspaper, magazine, were published, printing press was established by 19th century in Bengal. Moreover, literary bodies came up to give a standard shape of the language. All this happened outside the purview of the colonial state. The language of a group is one of the basic domains for nationality formation. It also serves as a distinct cultural identity of a group where the colonial power had hardly any role. From the second half of the 19th century the Bengali elites started schools. It also produced “suitable educational literature” before the state became the contention. Outside the domain, of the state these schools were the space for generalising and normalising the new language and literature.

According to Chatterjee the domain of family played a vital role in preserving the national culture. The European notion of India and many of its traditions, religious practices was considered as barbaric were quite dominant during the 19th and the 20th century. Various practices specially related to women were strongly criticised by them such as the Sati. However, newly emerged elites in India were not ready to give the burden to the Europeans to reform those practices. The members of a nation must reform – they have the right to reform the problems of a

nation themselves. The nation does not allow outsiders to interfere specially in the cultural domain of its society. Such notions could keep the cultural practices alive to sustain their cultural identity. Chatterjee also investigated the role of women in preserving cultural identity. Women are the carriers of cultural traditions. However, a new patriarchy emerged out of such practices but it helped in national imagination. The elites wanted their women to be new women but not like the women of the West.

Thus, criticizing Anderson's argument on imagined communities Chatterjee offers us a new model of Indian nationalism which holds that nationalism in India had a spiritual base. There were certain forms for which imagination of a nation in colonial period was possible.

MODULE-II

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS- IDEOLOGY

Having come into existence at the mid-day on Monday, December 28, 1885, the Indian National Congress with emerging elites of middle-class intellectuals propounded their theory about peaceful political action and public protest. In a society with multifarious religious and cultural manifestations, ethnic diversities and economic higher-ups and lower-downs echelon, it was a pluralist, flexible and open-ended organization, once a movement, able to continue in power and simultaneously



THE FIRST INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, 1885.

Figure 5. Delegates at the first session of Indian National Congress

able to snuff out unprincipled factions upholding at least twin objectives at that time: to arouse nationalism among the Indians and to make India a united nation.

The foundation of the Indian National Congress in 1885 was not a sudden event, or a historical accident. It was the culmination of a process of political awakening that had its beginnings in the 1860s and 1870s and major leap forward in the late 1870s and early 1880s. Solid ground had thus been prepared for the establishment of an all-India organisation. The final shape to this idea was given by a retired English civil servant, A.O. Hume, who mobilised leading intellectuals of the time and with their co-operation organised the first session of the Indian National Congress at Bombay in December 1885.

Safety Valve Theory

There is a theory that Hume formed the Congress with the idea that it would prove to be a ‘safety valve’ for releasing the growing discontent of the Indians. To this end, he convinced Lord Dufferin not to obstruct the formation of the Congress. The extremist leaders like Lala Lajpat Rai believed in the ‘safety valve’ theory. Even the Marxist historian’s ‘conspiracy theory’ was an offspring of the ‘safety valve’ notion.

The safety valve theory is, however, a small part of the truth. This theory has been discarded now. Modern Indian historians dispute the idea of ‘safety valve’. In their opinion the Indian National Congress represented the urge of the politically conscious Indians to set up a national body to express the political and economic demands of the Indians. Historian Bipan Chandra observes early Congress leaders used Hume as a catalyst to bring together.

The first session of the Indian National Congress (1885) was attended by 72 delegates and presided over by Womesh Chandra

Banerjee. Hereafter, the congress met every year in December, in a different part of the country each time. Some of the great presidents of the congress during the early phase were Dadabhai Naoroji (elected thrice), Badruddin Tyabji, Pherozeshah Mehta, P. Anandacharlu, Surendra Nath Banerjee, Romesh Chandra Dutt, Ananda Mohan Bose and Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

The basic objectives of the early nationalist leaders were to lay the foundations of a secular and democratic national movement, to politicise and politically educate the people, to form the headquarters of the movement that is to form an all-India leadership group, and to develop and propagate an anti- colonial nationalist ideology.

The elements of socialism, liberalism, Gandhism, conservatism form the objective tradition of Congress thought. In its first place, i.e., before 1920, the Congress ideology was influenced more by Western thought currents than the Indian philosophy. During the early days of Congress the influence of the liberal writers like Milton, Burke, J.S. Mill, Macaulay, Spencer etc., was the dominant factor in the development of its ideology.

In the first stage of its existence (1885-1905), the vision of the Indian National Congress was dim, vague and confused. It may be referred as the period of Moderate politics. The movement was confined to a handful of the educated middle class intelligentsia who drew inspirations from western Liberal and Radical Thought.

The second state (1905-18) witnessed the emergence of a new and younger group within the Indian National Congress which was sharply critical of the ideology and methods of the old leadership. They advocated the adoption of Swaraj as the goal of the Congress to be achieved by more self-reliant and independent methods. The new group came to be called the Extremist party.

The final stage (1919-47) was dominated by the objective of 'Purna Swaraj' or complete independence to be achieved under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

The Moderate Phase (1885-1905)

The first phase of the existence of the Congress is known as the moderate phase (1885-1905). During this the Congress worked for limited objectives and concentrated more upon building up its organization. The leadership was confined to a handful of educated middle class Indians who drew inspiration from western, liberal and radical thought. It did not challenge the British authority but adopted a constitutional path.

The national leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji, P.N. Mehta, D.E. Wacha, W.C. Banerji, S.N. Banerji, Gopal Krishna Gokhale who dominated Congress policies during this time were staunch believers in liberalism and moderate politics and came to be labelled as moderates. They did not approve of active response policy. They all believed in constitutional method and favoured the policy of protest, prayer and petition. The basic demands of the Congress at this time were constitutional that stressed on larger share of the Indians in the governance of the country, Indianization of higher grades of service, expansion of the legislative council and its power and Swaraj or self-rule within the British Empire.

The early nationalists were very critical of the exploitative economic policy of the British and blamed it for India's economic impoverishment and destruction of its cottage industries. They demanded the promotion of Indian industries through tariff, protection and direct economic aid. The only achievement of the moderate leaders of the Congress was the exposure of the true nature of British imperialism and creation of a national

awakening. However, they failed to achieve desired aims largely due to their method of work. They also failed to draw attention of the common masses at large and were confined mostly to educated middle class and the elite population.

The Congress maintained her attitude of moderation till the end of the nineteenth century. The young leaders like Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghose were dissatisfied with the working of the moderate Congressmen. They began to realize the uselessness of the constitutional methods. It became necessary for them to adopt independent and honourable means to force the government. Lajpat Rai believed the Indians should not be content with begging and was sharply critical of the ideology and methods of the older leadership. This attitude marked the beginning of the era of extremism.

The Growth of Militant Nationalism – The Extremist Era (1905-1919)

The new leadership of the Congress was opposed to the soft policies of the moderates. They believed that independence could not be begged for but achieved through sacrifice. The main cause for rise of extremism in Indian politics can be attributed to the deteriorating economic condition of India under the British rule.

The recurring famines of the nineteenth century coupled with plague that broke out in Maharashtra and the inaction of the British government created a congenial atmosphere for the growth of extremism. Along with these, the contemporary international influences like revolutionary movements in Turkey, Russia, Egypt, etc. had tremendous impact on the Indian youth. The younger generation became convinced of the fact that a united fight by Indians will easily defeat British imperialism.

The extremists aimed at achieving Swaraj that meant complete independence from British rule. They considered the demand of the moderate leaders for Swaraj was for colonial self-government. Tilak remarked, “Swaraj is my birth right and I shall have it. Aurobindo Ghose said, “Political freedom is the life breath of a nation.” The extremists rejected the technique of the moderates and gave up the policy of prayer and preaching. The new leadership sought to create a passionate love for liberty, accompanied by a spirit of sacrifice and a readiness to suffer for the cause of the country.

The revolutionaries advocated boycott of foreign goods, use of Swadeshi goods, national education and passive resistance. The programme of economic boycott of British and other foreign goods and the use of Swadeshi or homemade products were designed to encourage Indian industries. It would provide the people with more opportunities for work and employment.

Soon it was discovered that economic boycott might prove a powerful weapon against the economic exploitation by the Britishers. The extremists also used Swadeshi as the most effective weapon for injuring British interests in India. Tilak preached non-cooperation and advocated abstaining from cooperating with the government directly or indirectly. Thus boycott, Swadeshi, passive resistance and national education remained as primary techniques of the extremists to attain independence.

Besides using the press for creating awareness, the extremists made efforts to strike root in the countryside through social work in villages, songs, *jatras* (theatre), and patriotic festivals. They used religious revivalism for mass contact Tilak started the Ganpati festival in 1893 and Shivaji festival in 1895 for creating awareness amongst the public. However, the extremists could

attain their goals partially. They failed to develop an effective leadership or sound organization. Also their reach remained confined to urban populace and could not establish effective communication with the rural areas. The extremists too remained divided in their opinion regarding the methods of functioning. Their internal conflicts went a long way in destabilizing their efforts to unify the country against the British rule.

Significance of INC in national movement

The birth of Indian National Congress marked an important historical event in the growth of political consciousness and popular resistance in the country. At first, there was only a movement of protest and revolt. A feeling of discontent was developing in the country and the founding of Indian National Congress in 1885 provided an outlet to it. The protest movement had lacked organization and Congress provided it with unified leadership and soon it became the spearhead of nationalist movement. It was the only cementing political factor which unified people from different parts of the country and set a common objective before them. It gave representation to the people of different parts of India belonging to different walks of life. National Congress attempted to fulfil their hope and aspirations. From its foundation on 28 December 1885 until the time of independence of India on August 15, 1947, the Indian National Congress was the largest and most prominent Indian public organization, and central and defining influence of the Indian Independence Movement.

THE COLONIAL DISCOURSE OF INDIAN NATIONALISM

The colonialist paradigm on Indian history was given a mature form during the nineteenth century. Beginning with James Mill's

History of India, the colonialist view could be found in the works of many English historians. Mountstuart Elphinstone, Henry Elliot and John Dowson, W.W. Hunter, and Vincent Smith were some important historians who provided overarching interpretations of Indian history. The colonialist view rejected the idea of India as a nation. The diversity and disunity of India were always emphasized by the colonialist thinkers as justification for the colonial rule which was considered to have united it.

Right since early days of colonial rule, India was depicted as a land of hostile and warring units. W.W. Hunter, Herbert Risley and many others emphatically attempted to prove it by segregating and classifying the country in innumerable tribes and castes. When the Indian national movement began emerging in the late nineteenth century and matured during the twentieth century, the famous British historians such a John Strachey and John Seeley asserted that it was impossible to forge a nation in India because it has never had the characteristics of a nation nor it could ever have it in future. According to them, India was a conglomeration of different and often antagonistic religious, ethnic, linguistic and regional groups which could never be welded into a nation.

With the rise of the nationalist movement and the nationalist assertion of the existence of an Indian nation, it became even more necessary for the colonialist ideologues and historians to counter it. This they did by downgrading it as an agitation by some selfish members of the middle classes or the Bengali Babus. The strongest statement in this regard was provided by Valentine Chirol who, in his *Indian Unrest* (1910), asserted that India was a 'mere geographical expression', and even this geography was forged by the British. In his view, India was a 'variegated jumble of races and peoples, castes and creeds' which could never evolve into a nation, and which, in fact, is 'an antithesis to all that the

word “national” implies’. In effect, India was ‘inhabited by a great variety of nation’, ‘there are far more absolutely distinct languages spoken in India than in Europe’, and ‘there are far more profound racial differences between the Maratha and the Bengali than between the German and the Portuguese’. It was only the British rule which ‘prevents these ancient divisions from breaking out once more into open and sanguinary strife’. Thus, for him, the term ‘India’ was no more than a geographic creation by the British for administrative purposes.

Similarly, according to Vincent Smith, there was a basic lack of unity among the Indians. Except during brief periods of imperial rules, Indian body politic always consisted of ‘mutually repellent molecules. The lack of cohesion among the Hindu states made them ‘an easy prey to fierce hordes of Arabs, Turks, and Afghans, bound together by stern fanaticism’. This situation of disunity could only be corrected when a central authority was imposed from outside, as by the British. And India would again become fragmented ‘if the hand of the benevolent despotism which now holds her in its iron grasp should be withdrawn’.

According to these views, there was no possibility of a movement which could be called national. Even when the national movement became a pan-Indian reality as a mass movement after the First World War, the colonialist historians questioned its effectiveness and attempted to highlight the religious, caste and linguistic divisions to deny it a national character.

SOCIO ECONOMIC AWARENESS – THE DRAIN THEORY

Meaning of the Drain

During the last quarter of the 19th century a great controversy arose over the question of ‘The Drain’ between the nationalist

leaders of India and the Protagonists of Britain. Indian nationalist thinkers developed the theory of Drain mainly for analysing main cause of poverty in India. The main agreement that was advanced in this respect was that “a significant portion of India’s national wealth was transferred to England without any quid pro quo.” The experts described such ‘Drain’ on India’s resources as the transfer of resources from India to England either by getting nothing in return or getting only disproportionately a smaller part of such transfer of resources.

The person who first raised this issue of drain of resources from India to England was Dadabhai Naoroji in his book “Poverty and Un-British Rule in India” published in the year 1871. Dadabhai Naoroji tried to explain in his book the causes of drain, to measure the extent of such drain and to find the consequences of such drain. Thus the British siphoning system adopted to take away India’s resources and wealth has been termed as ‘The Economic Drain’ by economists like R.C. Dutt, Dadabhai Naoroji and others.

Causes of the Drain

Dadabhai Naoroji in his book observed, “The drain consists of two elements the first, arising from the remittances by European Officials of their savings, and for their expenditure in England for their various wants both there and in India ; from pensions and salaries paid in England; and the second that arising from remittances by non-official Europeans.” This indicates that in order to meet the requirements of the economic drain, India had to export much as compared to its imports. Dadabhai Naoroji observed that the following factors were responsible for the economic drain from India:

1. Remittances to England by European employees for supporting their families and education of their children—which may be considered a feature of colonial system of government.
2. Remittances of savings by the employees of the East India Company as they preferred to invest at home.
3. Remittances for purchasing British goods demanded by British employees as well as purchasing British goods in India.
4. Government purchase of stores manufactured in Great Britain.
5. Interest charges on public debt held in Britain (which excluded interest payment on railway loans and other debts incurred for productive works).

As a result of political, administrative and commercial connections established between India and England, the Government of India had to make huge payments to the people of England. All these payments were known as ‘Home Charges’. Home charges were consisting of interest on public debt raised from England, annuities on account of railways and irrigation works and payments to British employees, employed in India as well as pensions to retired employees worked in India. Versa Anstey made an estimate of these Home Charges to the extent of 35 million pounds annually. Moreover, the British rulers realised the cost of battles they fought with native rulers from India by raising loans.

Estimate of the Drain

Although it was impossible to make a correct estimate of the extent of drain from India in the form of resources and gold bullion flowed from India to Great Britain, during the British rule, however some estimates were made on the extent of such drain. Verelst estimated that during the period of five years just after

Battle of Plassey, total volume of drain from India in terms of goods and bullion was 4, 94, 16, 11 pounds sterling. S.B. Saul also made an estimate of such drain based on balance of payments alone and his figure for the year 1880 alone amounted to 4.14 per cent of India's national income.

Dadabhai Naoroji also made an estimate of drain which was around Rs 8 million. Later on, the volume of drain estimated by Naoroji was Rs 12 million in 1870, Rs 25 crore in 1893. In 1897, Naoroji made another estimate of drain for the ten-year period of 1883-92 and found the total drain at Rs 359 crore. In 1905, total amount of drain calculated by Naoroji was Rs 51.5 crore.



Figure 6. Cartoon by famous Indian cartoonist Shankar dated August 29, 1935. Cartoon mocks the way Sir James Grigg, the Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee of Parliament from 1934-38, adopted to allow Great Britain to drain India of its wealth.

Another estimate was made by G.V. Joshi for the period 1834 to 1838 and total amount of drain from India during this period was estimated at nearly 600 million sterling. D.E. Wacha's estimate of drain in 1901 was to the extent of Rs 30 to Rs 40 crore per year. S.N. Banerjee's estimate of average annual drain for the last 30 years of 19th century was of the order of 30 million. R.C. Dutta's estimate of drain was found to be around 20 million per year during the early part of 20th century.

Considering this huge drain of resources from India, Irfan Habib observed, "The fact that India had to have a rate of saving of 4 per cent of its national income just to pay the Tribute must be borne in mind when economists speak of the lack of internal capacities for development or the low per capita income base, from which the British could not lift the Indians, however much they tried."

Consequence of the Drain

The huge amount of drain of resources and bullions from India to England created a serious impact on the economy of India and a favourable effect on the economy of England. Such consequences of drain were studied in detail by various Indian economists like Dadabhai Naoroji, M.G. Ranade, R.C. Dutta, G.K. Gokhale, G.V. Joshi and others and emphasised in detail the extremely deleterious effects of the Drain. While criticising the drain of resources and capital from India to England, M.G. Ranade observed, ".....of the national income of India, more than one third was taken away by the British in some form or the other."

In 1901, R.C. Dutta observed that "the drain from India was unexplained in any country on earth at the present day, one half of the net revenue flows annually out of India verily the moisture

of India blesses and fertilisers other lands..... So great an Economic Drain out of the resources of land would so impoverish the most prosperous countries on earth; it has reduced India to a land of famines, more frequent, more widespread and more fatal than any other known before in the history of India, of the world.”

Effects of the Drain on England

A huge volume of drain of resources and capital from India to England resulted a better standard of living in Great Britain. The Drain also resulted huge investments in England agriculture and industry after 1750. These investments were partially responsible for agriculture revolution in England and the 18th Century and also for Industrial Revolution in England after 1750.

England attained the take-off stage of its growth by utilising the resources drained out of India. Huge amount of remittances from British officials in the form of saving and pensions after serving in India empowered those people to devote on construction of roads, railways and canals, new inventions and also for bringing rapid changes in all different sectors of its economy. Thus Drain of resources were responsible for laying foundation of economic prosperity in England.

Effects of the Drain on India

Huge drain of resources from India into England had resulted disastrous effects on Indian economy and its people. Huge amount of these resources which could be invested in India were snatched and siphoned off to England. Huge public debt undertaken by the Government and its payment of interest necessitated increasing tax burden on the people of India, which were highly regressive in nature. As per Dadabhai Naoroji’s estimates, tax burden in India during 1886 was 14.3 per cent of

its total income which was very high as compared to 6.93 per cent in England.

Moreover, these tax proceeds were mostly used for making payments to British creditors and not for the social services and welfare activities of Indians. This type of drain of tax proceeds from India impoverished the agriculture, industry and trading activities in India and was largely responsible for stagnant stage of its economy during the 18th and 19th centuries. Although the British undertook responsibility of maintaining law and order, centralised political and judicial administration, roads, railways, educational set up etc. but the extent of draining out of resources was too excessive leading to stagnation of the economy and poor and miserable condition of Indian masses.

Nationalist leaders of India analysed the various harmful effects of Drain in different ways. As per Dadabhai Naoroji's opinion, the drain of resources was the major and sole cause of India's poverty. Naoroji, R.C. Dutta and S.N. Banerjee were also of the opinion that the drain had created harmful effects on the level of income and employment of India. Drain had resulted loss of generation of income and employment in the country.

In this connection, R.C. Dutta observed, "For when taxes are raised and spent in a country, the money circulates among the people, fructifies trade, industries and agriculture, and in one shape or another reaches the mass of the people. But when the taxes in a country are remitted out of it, the money is lost to the country forever. It does not stimulate her trade or industries or reach the people in any form."

The national leaders were of the opinion that drain of resources resulted loss of capital rather than loss of wealth. Drain resulted a huge depletion of productive capital leading to fall in the volume

of investable resources in the country. This aspect of the loss of capital was considered as core issue of the Drain theory of Naoroji. This drain of resources resulted industrial retardation in our country G.V. Joshi, in this connection observed, “No nation can stand such a drain and yet hold its own in the industrial field.” R.C. Dutta had also tried to establish a causal relationship between the drain of resources and the improvement of the peasantry. He argued that the drain was paid mainly out of land revenue realised from the peasants.

Methods of Reducing the Drain

In order to reduce the burden of the Drain, nationalist leaders mentioned several measures. The first measure suggested by them was the Indianisation of the civil and military services and thereby reducing the number of British personnel and increase the number of Indian personnel to a reasonable proportion. The second method suggested was the reduction of Home Charges realised from India and bearing a major part such home charges by England. The third method suggested for reducing the burden of drain was to purchase government stores in India and also by checking increasing import of private foreign capital.

Thus, this huge economic drain of resources from India put a serious hurdle in the path of capital formation in India. Moreover, British brought back the drained out capital to India and gradually set up various industrial concerns in India owned and managed by British industrialists. With the active patronage of British government, British could secure nearly a monopoly position in the area of trade and principal industries.

As a result, British industries established in India drained out further resources in the form of regular remittances of interests and profit from India into Britain. Thus, such a large size of

economic drain created a serious hurdle in the path of economic development of India till 1947 and was also largely responsible for growing poverty in the country.

CULTURAL NATIONALISM

The term “cultural nationalism” refers to movements of group allegiance based on a shared heritage as in language, history, literature, songs, religion, ideology, symbols, land, or monuments. Cultural nationalists emphasize heritage or culture, rather than race or ethnicity or institutions of statehood. The idea of nationalism based on culture has significance impact in pluralist societies like India. It must be noted that most pluralist nations are located in the African, Asian and the Latin American Continents. Colonialism played a big role in shaping their history. Through the process of divide and rule, the European colonialists created a sense of confusion between two communities.

In India for example, despite living together for centuries before colonisation, the Hindus and Muslims became increasingly polarised during colonisation. This led to a constant feeling of neglect within both communities. At a macro-level or a more pan-India level, nationalism was viewed as being anti-colonial with the dual aims of getting rid of oppressive colonisers and establishing a sovereign republic. On the other hand, at a more provincial level, one could say that nationalism was a form of cultural consciousness that aimed to protect different cultural communities in their homeland.

Post-independence, India initially faced the difficult task of integrating the surrounding princely states. After the process of accession was complete, the political map of India now consisted of several multi-lingual presidencies of Bombay, Punjab, the United Provinces, etc. and hence, there was a proliferation of

cultural nationalism that aimed at creating provincial units within the Indian union. When the Indian Republic was established in 1950, a parliamentary form of democracy was introduced and a new constitution was drafted for the country. The constitution legitimised the pluralistic nature of the country.

The first instance of cultural nationalism in independent India can be traced back to the demand for a separate province for Telugu speakers. While the movement had its origin in the colonial period, the protests increased as the Telugu population was discontent with the economic and political domination of the Tamils in the Madras province. This struggle finally culminated with the formation of the Andhra state in 1953. The creation of this new state led way to many other subnational aspirations in the country. The demand forced the federal government to restructure the political map of India on the basis of linguistic homogeneity. Finally, in 1956, the parliament constituted the States Re-organisation act that would divide states on linguistic grounds. This linguistic division of states contributed to the creation of multiple identities in India. To give an example of how the provincial state uses its machineries to promote its regional identity, The Madras High Court in a recent judgement has ordered all lower courts pronounce their judgements in Tamil instead of English.

Khalistan Movement

Punjab witnessed insurgency which began in the late 1970s and reached its peak in the first half of the 1980s. This insurgency is also known as Khalistan movement for the establishment of an independent Sikh state called 'Khalistan'. The Khalistan state was to be set up to implement Anandpur Sahib resolution, a resolution which was passed by at Anandpur Saheb in 1971. It was violent movement in which thousands of people were killed. The

Khalistan movement was led by Bhindranwale. To escape arrest, in 1983, Bhindranwale along with his followers occupied and fortified the Sikh shrine Akal Takht inside the Golden Temple Complex from which he led the insurgency campaign. To counter escalating violence, June 6, 1984, Indira Gandhi government at the centre ordered a military action, known as 'Operation Blue Star' into the Golden temple in order to flush out militants from the Golden Temple complex. During the operation, around 200-250 Khalistanis/militants including Bhindranwale were killed. The 'Operation Blue Star' caused resentment among Sikhs against Indira Gandhi-led government. This resulted in assassination of Indira Gandhi in 1984 by two of her Sikh bodyguards. After a few years of 'Operation Blue Star', the insurgency came to virtual halt, especially by 'Operation Black Thunder' in 1991, an operation which was carried out K.P.S Gill, chief of Punjab police.

Various reasons have been given in academic literature for the rise of insurgency in Punjab: political, social-cultural and economic. Citing political reasons, Atul Kohli argues like other self-determination movements, Punjab insurgency happened because of centralization and intervention in the state politics by the central government, and lack of accommodation of self-determination by the central leadership. One stream of argument about the political reason underlines that the Khalistan movement emerged from the competition between the Congress and Akali Dal to dominate political space in Punjab. Those who argue that Social and cultural, and economic reasons led to the rise of Punjab insurgency emphasize that green revolution and changing customs caused economic crisis and erosion in Punjabi culture. These created anxiety among people. Supporters of Khalistan movement understood that establishment of Independent Khalistan state would help to address the social, cultural and economic crisis in Punjab.

Tamil Nationalist Movement

Although the study of the Tamil nationalist and secessionist movement has not been as extensive as the Khalistan1 movement, during the years 1950's and the 1960's, it was witness to a large-scale ethnic movement which was mostly based on linguistic backgrounds. The origins of the Dravidian movement began as an expansion of political and representational access. These men belonged to every ethnic group that lived in the erstwhile Madras Presidency and they eventually formed the Justice Party in the 1916. This party contested the regional elections in the presidency in 1926 in order to increase representation of the non-Brahmin Tamils in the legislature.

Post-Independence, Tamil Nadu went into political and social turmoil. The relationship between untouchables and higher caste Brahmins deteriorated further. This was especially problematic to the Justice Party because most of their prominent leaders belonged to the dominant upper caste Brahmins. Tamil Nadu hence, witnessed large scale conversions to Islam. The Justice Party suffered greatly as they lost their major vote base that constituted people of lower castes and the Muslims.

Secondly, E.V. Ramaswamy led an exodus of the lower caste community out of the Congress Party to start the Self-Respect Movement. This movement for uplifting the downtrodden soon came to be associated with the Anti-Hindi Movement. In the year 1937, C. Rajagopalachari, an eminent congressman introduced Hindi as a compulsory subject in schools in Tamil Nadu. Periyar mobilised mass support to create the anti-Hindi Brigade. In this way, a new equation of Brahmin-Hindi-North India-Aryan and Non- Brahmin-Tamil-Dravidian emerged. However, the movement soon became divided as the Congress too was supporting the linguistic division of states. After the Congress

high Command met in Madras, a decision was made to create separate provincial units called Andhra, Karnataka and Kerala. After the above decision, Madras was the only region remaining that needed some kind of allocation. Soon, there were widespread campaigns to create this region into a separate Tamil speaking state. The Madras Congress Legislative Assembly saw fit to pass a supporting resolution.

During the period before and after Independence, the Dravidian Movement began to demand a separate *Dravida Nadu*. This movement suffered an early split when Periyar continued with his social movements outside of the political spectrum while C. Annadurai led the *Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam* to participate in electoral politics. 1962-63 marked an important event in the history of the DMK as it led them to forego their secessionist demand and later reinforced it.

During the Sino-Indian war of 1962, the party suspended the demand and raised funds to support the war. This is because they believed that there would be no secession if the idea of India did not exist. After the war, the demand for separation featured again. Fearing more of such movements, the Nehru Government amended the constitution in 1963 when it added an anti-secessionist clause. After Nehru's sudden death in 1964, the centre tried to push the usage of Hindi in all states. Not surprisingly, many states protested but Tamil Nadu witnessed one of the most violent reactions. Two students burned themselves to death to protest against this view. The government too, responded with force.

As the number of riots and the brutality of the violence got force, newly elected Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri stepped in and assured the general public that Hindi would not be imposed on states so as to give equally status to other regional languages.

Soon, the DMK amended its constitution and the demand for a separate Tamil State also died overnight. The aim of a *Dravida Nadu* was replaced by establishing a Tamil political unit within the Indian Constitution. Today, there has been little or no talk about a separate state, both political parties, the All India Anna *Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam* (AIADMK) and the DMK continue to demand greater state autonomy and minimal central intervention.

However, the Tamil Secessionist movement was not based on purely linguistic grounds. It was also a movement between the Aryans and the Dravidians. The Tamil leaders used their so-called Dravidian identity to prove their nativity to the land as opposed to the Tamil Brahmins who were allegedly from the *Sanskritised* northern part of the country. There have also been instances where linguistic unity has not ensured the lack of conflicts.

Hence, one could say that nationalism in India acquired a kind of socio-political connotation and both the micro and the macro level. Unlike In Europe, India has many distinct nationalities did not lead to the creation of independent republics but instead, they preferred to retain their cultural identity within a larger sovereign and political framework. According to Nanda, cultural nationalism in India operates mostly within the cultural framework of national identity and political framework of autonomy anchored of homeland.

RELIGIOUS NATIONALISM

Apart from cultural nationalism and economic nationalism, there were other ways also in which the idea of Indian nationalism was being expressed. There came into being, in the second half of the 19th century, a thinking on Indian nationalism which was based on religion. It was leaders like Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay,

Dayanand Saraswati (who founded Arya Samaj in 1875), Vivekanand, and Aurobindo Ghosh who made Hindu religion and its ideas the motivating force behind Indian nationalism. They looked upon the British presence in India as an attempt by the Western civilization to dominate the Indian civilization. They were completely opposed to this domination.

These leaders were convinced that although the British had succeeded in conquering India, the Eastern civilization was superior to the Western one. Bankim Chandra argued that although the British had conquered India with the help of military and technological superiority, Indians should not start blindly following it. He argued about the uniqueness of the Indian society where the ideas of Western civilization could not be applied. These leaders understood the Western civilization to be based on the ideas of individualism (rather than spirituality) and found them to be completely unsuitable for India. Vivekananda believed that the Western ideas had to be re-modelled according to the Indian situation. He said: “In Europe, political ideas form the national unity. In Asia religious ideas form the national unit.”

These leaders derived their inspiration not from the Western texts and other sources but from the traditional Indian texts like Vedas, Upanishads and Gita. They criticized the British colonial rule mainly on the ground that it was trying to impose an inferior material system on India which was a land rich with spiritual resources.

This understanding of nationalism based on religion had a political aspect also. Leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak wanted to take the idea of nationalism to the people. They knew that religion was a very important moral force in the Indian society. Hence they decided to use religion in the propagation of nationalist ideas. In order to be able to speak to people in their language, i.e.

religious language, Tilak introduced the Ganapati festival in Maharashtra in 1893 to create a religious platform from where nationalist idea could be preached and spread.

This understanding of nationalism based on religion led to two different kinds of political mobilizations in the 20th century. On the one hand, leaders like Mahatma Gandhi welcomed the use of religion for nationalist mobilization. But they did not confine this approach only to Hindu religion. They used the symbols and language of Hinduism, Islam and other religions too. Thus, they tried to bring members of different religious communities into the national movement and also promote unity among them.

The second approach was more exclusivist in nature and was reflected in the activities of organizations like Hindu Mahasabha and Muslim League. Whereas the leaders of Hindu Mahasabha confined their activities only to Hindu, those of the Muslim League appealed only to Muslims. They also did not develop any understanding of Indian nationalism either by contributing to the unity of the Indian people or by engaging in persistent opposition to British colonial rule.

In the end it is important for you to understand some aspects of the relationship between various kinds of nationalisms that you have read in this Module. Although they may seem different from each other, they actually had many things in common. They were different from one another only to the extent that they followed different paths so come to the same destination. They were also not opposed to each other in any fundamental sense. They were all opposed to the British colonial rule but their opposition was based on different grounds. The advocates of cultural nationalism believed that the colonial rule had started encroaching into Indian culture which should be resisted. The supporters of economic nationalism argued that the colonial rule was economically

exploiting India and was the main factor in keeping India backward. Similarly, leaders like Bankim and Vivekanand opposed the British rule on the ground that it was tempering with the spiritual resources of India. All the three were opposed to the colonial rule because of its impact on the Indian people. Their ideas helped in the building of a powerful anti-colonial Indian national movement in the 20th century which finally defeated and overthrew the colonial rule from India.

MODULE III

DISCOURSE OF NATIONAL MOVEMENT

(i) Marxist School

The Marxist historians have been critical of both the colonialist and nationalist views on Indian nationalism. They criticise the colonialist perspective for holding a discriminatory view on India and its people, while they criticise the nationalist commentators for seeking the roots of nationalism in ancient past. They criticise both for not paying attention to economic factors and class differentiation in their analysis of the phenomenon of nationalism.

The Marxist paradigm is based on the analysis of the modes of production and classes. The Marxist historians perceive that there was a basic contradiction between imperialism and the Indian society. But they also do not ignore the class-contradiction within the Indian society. They try to explain these processes with reference to the economic changes under colonialism. And finally, they believe that India was not always a nation but rather a nation which was being created in modern times in which the nationalist movement had an important role to play.

It is by the application of these analytical categories of class and mode of production that M.N. Roy, a great figure in the national and international communist movement during the 1920s, placed the India nationalist movement within a universalistic framework. In his book, *India in Transition* (1922), he argued that this movement had developed at a certain juncture in the development of international capitalism. He was of the opinion that India was moving towards capitalism and had already come within the

ambit of global capitalism. Thus, the dominant classes in India were not feudal lords but the bourgeoisie. In the context of feudal dominance, the emerging national bourgeoisie is often revolutionary. However, in India, since feudalism was approaching its end, the bourgeoisie had turned conservative in nature and wanted to preserve the existing order. In this situation, only the workers would be revolutionary.

On the issue of Indian nationalism, Roy believed that it was the political ideology of native capitalism which developed in late nineteenth and early twentieth century in the shadow of imperialism. It matured along with the growth of native capital after the First World War. This period also witnessed the rise of the Indian National Congress. Thus, for Roy, Indian national movement represented the 'political ideology and aspiration of a youthful bourgeoisie'. About 25 years later, R.P. Dutt formulated the most influential Marxist interpretation of Indian nationalism in his famous book *India Today* (1947). Dutt held that the revolt of 1857 'was in its essential character and dominant leadership the revolt of the old conservative and feudal forces and dethroned potentates'. Thus, it is only from the last quarter of the 19th century that Dutt traced the beginning of the Indian national movement. The Indian National Congress, established in 1885, was the main organisation of this movement. Dutt believed that although the previous activities of the Indian middle classes formed the background, the Congress came into existence 'through the initiative and under the guidance of direct British governmental policy, on a plan secretly pre-arranged with the Viceroy as an intended weapon for safeguarding British rule against the rising forces of popular unrest and anti-British feeling.' However, Dutt argues that, owing to pressure of popular nationalist feelings, the Congress slowly abandoned its loyalist character and adopted a national role. This resulted in its

transformation as a strong anti-colonial force which began to lead people's movement against colonial rule.

Applying the Marxist class analysis to the study of Indian nationalism, he argues that the class base of the Congress and the national movement changed over the period. Thus, in the initial years, Indian nationalism represented 'only big bourgeoisie – the progressive elements among the landowners, the new industrial bourgeoisie and the well-to-do intellectual elements'. Later, in the years preceding the First World War, the urban petty bourgeois class became more influential. After the War, the Indian masses – peasantry and the industrial working classes – made their presence felt.

Dutt's book was followed by A.R. Desai's *Social Background of Indian Nationalism* (1948). It is another thoroughgoing account of the colonial period and the rise of nationalism from a Marxist perspective. According to Desai, the Indian national movement developed through five phases. Each phase was based on particular social classes which supported and sustained it. In the first phase, the Indian national movement was basically initiated and supported by the intelligentsia who were the product of the modern English system of education. This phase, which began with Rammohan Roy and his followers, continued till 1885 when the Indian National Congress was founded. Now a new phase began which extended until 1905 when the Swadeshi Movement emerged. In this phase, the national movement represented the interests of the new bourgeoisie which had started developing in India, although it was still in its infancy. The modern education had created a middle class, the development of the Indian and international trade had given rise to a merchant class, and the modern industries had created a class of industrialists. Thus, in its new phase, Indian national movement took up 'the demands of the educated classes and

the trading bourgeoisie such as the Indianisation of Services, the association of the Indians with the administrative machinery of the state, the stoppage of economic drain, and others formulated in the resolutions of the Indian National Congress’.

The third phase of the national movement started with the Swadeshi Movement and continued till 1918. During this phase, the national movement covered a relatively broader social base which included ‘sections of the lower-middle class’. In the fourth phase, which covered the period from the Rowlatt Satyagraha to the end of the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1934, the social base of the national movement expanded enormously. The movement, which was until now confined mainly to the upper and the middle classes, now began to encompass certain sections of the masses. However, according to Desai, the leadership of the Congress remained in the hands of those who were under the strong influence of the Indian capitalist class. From 1918 onwards, the industrial bourgeoisie ‘began to exert a powerful influence in determining the programme, policies, strategies, tactics and forms of struggle of the Indian national movement led by the Congress of which Gandhi was the leader.’ Two other significant developments during this period were the rise of the left groups since the late 1920s, which tried to introduce pro-people agenda in the national movement, and the consolidation of communal forces which sought to divide the society.

In the fifth phase (1934-39), there was a growing disenchantment with the Gandhian ideology within the Congress and the rise of the Congress Socialists who represented the petty bourgeois elements. Outside the Congress, movements of the peasants, workers, depressed classes and various linguistic nationalities had developed. The divisive ideology of communalism had also grown in influence. However, according to Desai, all these

stirrings were not of much consequence and the mainstream was still solidly occupied by the Gandhian Congress which represented the interests of the dominant classes.

Bipan Chandra, in his very first book, *The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India* (1966), he emphasised on the important role of ideas and argued that ideas are not created directly from particular modes of production, even though the latter shape them. Thus, certain autonomy must be given to the ideas as significant vehicle of action and change. It is true, he says, that 'social relations exist independently of the ideas men form of them', but 'men's understanding of these relations is crucial to their social and political action'. Moreover, he argues that the intellectuals in any society stand above the narrow interests of the class in which they are born. It is 'sheer crude mechanical materialism' to define the intellectuals only on the basis of their origins in particular classes or groups. It is because the intellectuals are guided 'at the level of consciousness, by thought and not by interests'. Therefore, the Indian nationalist leaders, as intellectuals, were acting above the interests of the narrow class or group they were born in. This does not mean, however, that they did not represent any class. But this was done at an ideological level and not for personal gain. As Bipan Chandra puts it:

'Like the best and genuine intellectuals, the world over and in all history, the Indian thinkers and intellectuals of the 19th century too were philosophers and not hacks of a party or a class. It is true that they were not above class or group and did in practice represent concrete class or group interests. But when they reflected the interests of a class or a group, they did so through the prism of ideology and not directly as members, or the obedient servants, of that class or group.'

On the basis of his analysis of the economic thinking of the early nationalist leaders, both the so-called moderates and the extremists, Bipan Chandra concludes that their overall economic outlook was 'basically capitalist'. By this he means that 'In nearly every aspect of economic life they championed capitalist growth in general and the interests of the industrial capitalists in particular'. This does not mean that they were working for the individual interests of the capitalists. In fact, the capitalist support for the Congress in the early phase was negligible.

Nationalist support for industrial capitalism derived from the belief of the nationalists that 'industrial development along capitalist lines was the only way to regenerate the country in the economic field, or that, in other words, the interests of the industrial capitalist class objectively coincided with the chief national interest of the moment'. Thus, by abandoning the instrumentalist approach espoused by Dutt and Desai, Bipan Chandra began a major change in perspective in the Marxist historiography of the Indian national movement.

However, despite this change in perspective, Bipan Chandra remained anchored to several points of the paradigm developed by R.P. Dutt. In an essay, 'Elements of Continuity and Change in the Early Nationalist Activity', there were many points where his arguments resembled those of Dutt and Desai. Firstly, he interprets the 'peaceful and bloodless' approach of struggle adopted by the nationalist leadership as 'a basic guarantee to the propertied classes that they would at no time be faced with a situation in which their interests might be put in jeopardy even temporarily'. This understanding of non-violence was the same as that of Dutt and Desai. Secondly, he argues that the relationship between the Indian masses and the nationalists always remained problematic. For the moderate leaders, the masses had no role to play. Even the extremists, despite their rhetoric, failed to mobilise

the masses. Although the masses came into nationalist fold during the Gandhian period, they were not politicised and the lower classes of agricultural workers and poor peasants in most parts of country were never politically mobilised, 'so that the social base of the national movement was still not very strong in 1947'. And even when they were mobilised, the masses remained outside the decision-making process and the gulf between them and the leaders was 'unbridged'. According to him, 'the political activity of the masses was rigidly controlled from the top. The masses never became an independent political force. The question of their participation in the decision-making process was never even raised.' Thirdly, the nationalist leaders in all phases of the movement stressed that the process of achievement of national freedom would be evolutionary, and not revolutionary. The basic strategy to attain this goal would be pressure-compromise-pressure. In this strategy, pressure would be brought upon the colonial rulers through agitations, political work and mobilisation of the people. When the authorities were willing to offer concessions, the pressure would be withdrawn and a compromise would be reached. The political concessions given by the colonial rulers would be accepted and worked. After this, the Congress should prepare for another agitation to gain new concessions. It is in this phased, non-violent manner that several political concessions would be taken from the British and this process would ultimately lead to the liberation of the country.

On the basis of his analysis of the social base, the ideology, and the strategy of political struggle, Bipan Chandra concluded that the nationalist movement as represented by the Congress was 'a bourgeois democratic movement, that is, it represented the interests of all classes and segments of Indian society vis-à-vis imperialism but under the hegemony of the industrial bourgeoisie'. This character remained constant throughout its entire history from inception to 1947. Even during the Gandhian

phase, there was no change. In fact, according to Bipan Chandra, 'the hegemony of the bourgeoisie over the national movement was, if anything, even more firmly clamped down in the Gandhian era than before'.

However, in a later book, *India's Struggle for Independence, 1857-1947* (1988), Bipan Chandra has decisively moved away from the views of Dutt and Desai on Indian national movement. Most of the propositions regarding the Indian National Congress developed in the earlier quoted article are now abandoned. The Congress strategy is no longer seen in terms of pressure-compromise-pressure. It is now viewed in terms of Gramscian 'war of position' whereby a prolonged struggle is waged for the attainment of goal. As Bipan Chandra puts it:

'The Indian national movement ... is the only movement where the broadly Gramscian theoretical perspective of a war of position was successfully practised; where state power was not seized in a single historical moment of revolution, but through prolonged popular struggle on a moral, political and ideological level; where reserves of counter-hegemony were built up over the years through progressive stages; where the phases of struggle alternated with "passive" phases.' This struggle was not violent because the nationalist leaders were concerned with fighting against imperialism as well as welding India into a nation. In the course of a protracted struggle fought at both intellectual and political levels, the nationalist leaders wished to show that the colonial rule was not beneficial to the Indian people nor was it invincible. The Gandhian non-violence also is now re-interpreted. Thus, it was not considered as 'a mere dogma of Gandhiji nor was it dictated by the interests of the propertied classes. It was an essential part of a movement whose strategy involved the waging of a hegemonic struggle based on a mass

movement which mobilized the people to the widest possible extent.’

The national movement was now conceived as an all-class movement which provided space and opportunity for any class to build its hegemony. Moreover, the main party, the Congress, is now regarded not as a party but a movement. In this way, Bipan Chandra now makes a clear break from the conventional Marxist interpretation of the Indian national movement.

Sumit Sarkar presents another famous Marxist interpretation of the national movement which is at variance with and critical of Dutt-Desai view. In his first book, *The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal, 1903-1908* (1973), he terms it as a ‘simplistic version of the Marxian class-approach’. He criticises its contention that the moderate phase was dominated by the ‘big bourgeoisie’ while the extremist phase by the ‘urban petty bourgeoisie’. Instead, he argues that ‘a clear class-differential between moderate and extremist would still be very difficult to establish, and was obviously non-existent at the leadership level’. He thinks that this version of Marxist interpretation suffers from the ‘defect of assuming too direct or crude an economic motivation for political action and ideals’. According to him, the actions of the nationalist leaders could be better understood by using Trotsky’s concept of ‘substitutism’ whereby the intelligentsia acts ‘repeatedly as a kind of proxy for as-yet passive social forces with which it had little organic connection’. He also uses Gramscian categories of ‘traditional’ and ‘organic’ intellectuals. According to Antonio Gramsci, the famous Italian Marxist activist and thinker, the ‘organic’ intellectuals participate directly in the production-process and have direct links with the people whom they lead. The ‘traditional’ intellectuals, on the other hand, are not directly connected with either the production-process or the people. However, they become leaders of particular classes by

ideologically assuming the responsibility of those classes. Sarkar thinks that the leaders of the Swadeshi movement in Bengal who came mostly from ‘the traditional learned castes’ and were not associated with commerce and industry particularly after the 1850s, and can be thought as ‘traditional intelligentsia’ in Gramscian sense. They were not the Gramscian organic intellectuals who generally emerge from the same classes which they lead. This view is quite close to that of Bipan Chandra so far as there is an emphasis on the role of ideology in the formation of the early nationalist leadership. Sumit Sarkar considers that even though the early nationalist leaders were not directly associated with the bourgeoisie, they objectively played a role in paving ‘the way for the independent capitalist development of our country’. In another article, ‘The Logic of Gandhian Nationalism’ (1985), he goes further to argue that the objective stance of the Swadeshi Movement in favour of the bourgeoisie later gets transformed into direct intervention by the bourgeoisie and the subjective position taken in the interests of the capitalists by the leaders of the Civil Disobedience Movement. By studying the social forces involved in the Civil Disobedience Movement and the developments leading to the Gandhi-Irwin pact, he concludes that there was ‘the vastly enhanced role of distinctively bourgeois groups, both in contributing heavily to the initial striking power of Civil Disobedience and ultimately in its calling off’. He qualifies his statement by saying that Gandhi was ‘no mere bourgeois tool in any simplistic or mechanical sense’ and that he can hardly be considered as ‘a puppet’ in the hands of the capitalists. He, however, insists that the Gandhian leadership had ‘a certain coincidence of aims with Indian business interests at specific points’ and ‘an occasional significant coincidence of subjective attitudes and inhibitions with bourgeois interests’.

The Marxist perspective on Indian nationalism is, therefore, is informed by a class approach related to politics and ideology. The basic position is that the nationalist leadership and the nationalist ideology objectively and / or subjectively represented the Indian bourgeoisie and wanted that India should evolve on the path of independent capitalist development.

(ii) Cambridge School

The ‘Cambridge School’ was the name given to a group of historians mostly working in the Cambridge University. Their works during the 1960s and 1970s advanced a certain point of view which resembled in many ways some of the ideas of the colonialist historiography and which was in opposition to the nationalist and Marxist approaches. The ‘Cambridge view’ was offered as an alternative explanation of the Indian nationalism. It sought to completely debunk the Indian national movement against the colonial rule led by leaders who had put their faith in the nationalist ideology. While both the nationalist and Marxist historians argued that Indian nationalism evolved as a result of the contradiction between Indian people and imperialism, the historians associated with the Cambridge School asserted that there was no real contradiction between imperialism and the Indian people and the central contradiction lay among the Indians themselves.

The Cambridge School had its precursor in the writings of John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson who, in their various works such as ‘Imperialism of Free Trade’ (1953), *Africa and the Victorians* (1961) and ‘Non-European Foundations of European Imperialism’ (1972), argued that colonialism was the result of internal political weakness of the Asian and African regimes which then collaborated with the Europeans for setting up the colonial rules. They, thus, emphasized on the continuity from pre-

colonial to colonial periods and stressed the collaborative role of the natives. Gallagher's student Anil Seal, in his early work on India titled *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism* (1968), argued that it was the English education which created a new middle class which clamoured for political representation. The British obliged them by offering posts in various institutions, such as universities, and seats in municipal councils and later in provincial assemblies. However, the claimants were many while the posts were few. This led to intense rivalry among the elite, particularly at regional levels because that is where the new avenues were open. Seal asserted that there was no conflict between the British and the Indians or between imperialist rule and the Indian people. Instead, the main contradiction was among the Indians, particularly among the educated elite, on the basis of caste, community and religion. He argued that 'Much attention has been paid to the apparent conflicts between imperialism and nationalism; it would be at least equally profitable to study their real partnerships. Both British rule and Indian enterprise had a hand in bringing these [nationalist] mobilisations about'.

In opposition to the Marxist historians, Seal argued that Indian nationalism was not the product of 'any class demand or as the consequence of any sharp changes in the structure of the economy'. He asserted that the emergence and growth of Indian nationalism can be comprehended by 'a conceptual system based on elites, rather than on classes. During the colonial era, there was intense competition among the elites for posts and positions offered by colonial regime. But such rivalries took place 'between caste and caste, community and community, not between class and class'. Most of these mobilisations were horizontal, based on prescriptive identities such as caste and religion. In this sense, the Indian nationalism 'did not square with...the genuine nationalisms of nineteenth-century Europe'. Moreover, the so-called struggles which the Indian National Congress waged

against the colonial rule were fake: 'Many of the battles which the Raj and the Congress waged were mere feints between two sides each held back by the unreliable troops in its own front line. Non-co-operation, Civil Disobedience, the new constitution, the clashes of 1942 were all parts of this strange struggle between impotent rivals, a Dasehra duel between two hollow statues, locked in motionless and simulated combat. Towards the end, when they had come to control their own allies, the Muslim League broke up this mimic warfare, and at once a real ferocity appeared—between Indian and Indian'.

The leaders who led the Indian nationalist movement were all disgruntled people whose self-interest had not been met. Thus, according to Seal, Dadabhai Naoroji was raising the issues about drain of wealth and Indian impoverishment solely from the motive to keep himself in comfort in London. Later, the historians of this trend shifted from the idea of horizontal mobilisation around caste and community to vertical mobilisation around factions. These factions are vertically organised structures of patron-client relationship operational in the localities and controlled by local magnates. The local struggles 'were seldom marked by the alliance of landlord with landlord, peasant with peasant, educated with educated, Muslim with Muslim and Brahmin with Brahmin. More frequently, Hindus worked with Muslims, Brahmins were hand in glove with non-Brahmins; and notables organized their dependents as supporters, commissioned professional men as spokesmen and turned government servants into aides'.

These factions extended their reach to the towns and cities by employing the lawyers and politicians to serve their causes. Instead of the regions and the country, the localities were projected as the main centres of power. These vertically organised factions cut across the boundaries of caste, class,

religion and region, and they were the most important factors in Indian politics, including the nationalist politics. Although the Cambridge School still considered that the desire for collaboration with the colonial regime was the predominant motive behind politics among Indians, it was no longer about education or conflict among the elites. It was now the competition for getting seats in various representative institutions such as municipalities and provincial assemblies which were thrown open by the British to the Indians. And this battle was now fought at the level of localities. It was, thus, the locality which controlled the Indian politics, the region (provinces) and the nation were secondary to it. The British had to concede to 'the existence of a legal underworld where the private justice of faction settled conflicts with the blows of lathis, or where, at the best, the strong could get their own way in the courts. In the mythology of empire, the age of Elphinstone, Munro and Thomason seems one of heroic social engineering; but under the pinnacles of their Raj lay a ground-floor reality where Indians battled with Indians, sometimes for the favours of the district officer, sometimes to do each other down without reference to him and his book of rules. At these levels, it might be the British who governed, but it was Indians who ruled'.

According to the Cambridge historians, the British colonial government was the first and the most important motor of change in Indian subcontinent. The emergence and growth of Indian nationalist movement took place within the constitutional, administrative and political matrix created by it. Right from the beginning the Indians were needed to man the lower rungs of administration, but very few Indians were in the decision-making process. Beginning in the later nineteenth century, however, certain constitutional measures at the local, regional and provincial levels gave opportunity to the Indians to participate in policy-making. The two World Wars and the Great Depression

compelled the government to economize at the administrative and legislative levels, leading to the devolution of power. The 1919 and 1935 constitutional and political reforms allowed Indians to hold some amount of real power at the provincial level on the basis of a much-expanded electorate. To properly take advantage of the opportunities offered by the British withdrawal from the administrative and legislative posts, the competing Indians developed broader networks than was hitherto done. Nationalist and anti-imperialist rhetoric was adopted for what were basically related to local issues. The local issues and factions were crucial to understand the wider linkages cutting across the localities and provinces. The regional and national leaders worked in the interests of the local bosses. Even the national organisations, such as the Congress and the Muslim League, contained factions within it whose levers were in the hands of local magnates. In this world of politics, the leaders were not driven by ideology but by pursuit of power. All individuals, all leaders and their followers, in all places were driven by personal self-interest consisting of search for power and resources. All talks of ideology and transforming society were mere façade behind which naked game of power was played out.

KHILAFAT MOVEMENT

Khilafat movement, pan-Islamic force in India that arose in 1919 in an effort to salvage the Ottoman caliph as a symbol of unity among the Muslim community in India during the British raj. The movement was initially bolstered by Gandhi's non-cooperation movement but fell apart after the abolition of the caliphate in 1924.

Fears of Muslim disunity were aroused by the decline of the Ottoman Empire—the preeminent Islamic power whose sultan, as caliph, was seen by pan-Islamists as the leader of the

worldwide Muslim community. The caliphate was endangered first by Italian attacks (1911) and the Balkan Wars (1912–13) and later by the empire's defeat in World War I (1914–18). Fears of the loss of the caliphate were intensified by the Treaty of Sèvres (August 1920), which dismembered the empire, not only detaching all non-Turkish regions from the empire but also giving parts of the Turkish homeland to Greece and other non-Muslim powers.

A campaign in defense of the caliphate was launched, led in India by the brothers Shaukat and Muhammad Ali and by Abul Kalam Azad. The leaders joined forces with Mahatma Gandhi's non-cooperation movement for Indian freedom, promising nonviolence in return for his support of the Khilafat movement. In 1920 the latter movement was marred by the *ijrat* (Urdu: "exodus"; recalling Muhammad's Hijrah from Mecca) from India to Afghanistan of about 18,000 Muslim peasants, who felt that India was an apostate land. It was also tarnished by the Muslim Malabar rebellion in south India in 1921, the excesses of which deeply stirred Hindu India. Gandhi's suspension of his movement and his arrest in March 1922 weakened the Khilafat movement still further. It was further undermined when Mustafa Kemal Atatürk drove the Greeks from western Asia Minor in 1922 and deposed the Turkish sultan Mehmed VI in the same year. The movement finally collapsed when Atatürk abolished the caliphate altogether in 1924.

PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

(i) Role of women in India's freedom struggle

The history of Indian Freedom Struggle would be incomplete without mentioning the contributions of women. The sacrifice

made by the women of India will occupy the foremost place. They fought with true spirit and undaunted courage and faced various tortures, exploitations and hardships to earn us freedom.

When most of the men freedom fighters were in prison the women came forward and took charge of the struggle. The list of great women whose names have gone down in history for their dedication and undying devotion to the service of India is a long one.

Woman's participation in India's freedom struggle began as early as in 1817. Bhima Bai Holkar fought bravely against the British colonel Malcolm and defeated him in guerrilla warfare. Many women including Rani Channama of Kittur, Rani Begam Hazrat Mahal of Avadh fought against British East India company in the 19th century; 30 years before the Revolt of 1857y.

The role played by women in the War of Independence (the Great Revolt) of 1857 was creditable and invited the admiration even leaders of the Revolt. Rani of Ramgarh, Rani Jindan Kaur, Rani Tace Bai, Baiza Bai, Chauhan Rani, Tapasvini Maharani daringly led their troops into the battlefield.

Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi whose heroism and superb leadership laid an outstanding example of real patriotism. Indian women who joined the national movement belonged to educated and liberal families, as well as those from the rural areas and from all walk of life, all castes, religions and communities.

Sarojini Naidu, Kasturba Gandhi, Vijayalakshmi Pandit and Annie Bezzant in the 20th century are the names which are remembered even today for their singular contribution both in battlefield and in political field. Let us elucidate the role of Indian women who participated in the freedom struggle against British

East India Company and British Empire and made great and rich contributions in various ways.

(ii) The First War of Independence (1857-58)



Figure 7. Sarojini Naidu, Kasturba Gandhi and Annie Besant

The First War of Independence (1857-58) It was the first general agitation against the rule of the British East India Company. The Doctrine of Lapse, issue of cartridges greased with cow and pig fat to Indian soldiers at Meerut 'triggered the fire'. Further, the introduction of British system of education and a number of social reforms had infuriated a very wide section of the Indian people,

soon became a widespread agitation and posed a grave challenge to the British rule.

As a result of this agitation the East India Company was brought under the direct rule of the British Crown. Even though the British succeeded in crushing it within a year, it was certainly a popular revolt in which the Indian rulers, the masses and the militia participated so enthusiastically that it came to be regarded as the First War of Indian Independence. Rani Lakshmbai was the great heroine of the First war of India Freedom. She showed the embodiment of patriotism, self-respect and heroism. She was the queen of a small state, but the empress of a limitless empire of glory.

(iii) Jallianwala Bagh Massacre (1919)

General Dyer's Jallianwala Bagh massacre followed the strike wave, when an unarmed crowd of 10,000 Baisakhi celebrators was mercilessly attacked with over 1600 rounds of ammunition. Yet, Gandhi continued to advocate cooperation with the British in December 1919, even as the resistance of ordinary Indians continued. The first six months of 1920 saw an even greater level of mass resistance, with no less than 200 strikes taking place involving 1.5 million workers. It was in response to this rising mass revolutionary tide that the leadership of the Congress was forced to confront its conservatism and give a somewhat more militant face to its program. The "non-violent non-cooperation" movement was thus launched under the stewardship of leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Lajpat Rai and Motilal Nehru.

(iv) Non-cooperation movement launched (1920)

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi returned to India from South Africa in 1915 and took up the demand for self-rule and non-cooperation movement. Sarla Devi, Muthulaxmi Reddy, Susheela

Nair, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Sucheta Kripalani and Aruna Asaf Ali are some the women who participated in the non-violent movement. Kasturba Gandhi, the wife of Mahatma Gandhi, and the women of the Nehru family, Kamla Nehru, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit and Swarup Rani, also participated in the National Movement. Lado Rani Zutshi and her daughters Manmohini, Shyama and Janak led the movement in Lahore.

(v) Civil Disobedience the Dandi Salt March (1930)

Gandhiji inaugurated the Civil Disobedience Movement by conducting the historic Dandi Salt March, where he broke the Salt Laws imposed by the British Government. Followed by an entourage of seventy nine ashram inmates, Gandhi embarked on his march from his Sabarmati Ashram on a 200 mile trek to the remote village Dandi that is located on the shores of the Arabian Sea. On 6th April 1930, Gandhi with the accompaniment of seventy nine satyagrahis, violated the Salt Law by picking up a fistful of salt lying on the sea shore. The Civil Disobedience Movement was an important milestone in the history of Indian Independence. The aim of this movement was a complete disobedience of the orders of the British Government. During this movement it was decided that India would celebrate 26th January as Independence Day all over the country. On 26th January 1930, meetings were held all over the country and the Congress tri-colour flag was hoisted. The British Government tried to repress the movement and resorted to brutal firing, killing hundreds of people. Thousands were arrested along with Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru. But the movement spread to all the four corners of the country.

(vi) The Quit India Movement (1942)

In August 1942, the Quit India movement was launched. "I want freedom immediately, this very night before dawn if it can be had. We shall free India or die in the attempt, we shall not live to see the perpetuation of our slavery", declared the Mahatma, as the British resorted to brutal repression against non-violent satyagrahis. The Quit India resolution, taken against British, directly addressed women "as disciplined soldiers of Indian freedom", required to sustain the flame of war.

Usha Mehta, a committed patriot set up a radio transmitter, called the "Voice of Freedom" to disseminate the "mantra" of freedom-war. News of protest and arrests, deeds of young nationalists, and Gandhi's famous "Do or Die" message for the Quit India movement were circulated amongst the masses. Usha Mehta and her brother persisted with their task of broadcasting until their arrest.

These acts proved that the British could maintain the empire only at enormous cost due to wide spread agitation.

MODERATES AND EXTRIMISTS

The Indian National Congress was founded on 28th December, 1885 in Bombay. This organization initially fought for reforms in the country, and subsequently for the freedom of India-from the foreign Yoke. The political career of this organization can be studied in various phases; one of them is from 1885 to 1920. During this period two major groups became functional one after the other. The first group of leaders was called the Moderates, which dominated the Congress from 1885 to 1905 & the second was the group of extremist leaders, which overpowered the Congress from 1905 to 1920. During this period, the Congress took a major Leap forward. People from all sections including

rural, urban, women, and students became actively involved in politics for the first time in the country. During this period almost all the major political trends of the Indian National movement emerged. From conservative moderation to political extremist from revolutionary to socialism. From petitioning & public speeches to passive resistance & boycott, all had been active in this phase.

The Moderate Congress (1885-1905)

The Indian National Congress founded in 1885, provided a common platform for the nationalist leaders to meet & voice their grievances & place their demands before the British government. The early leaders of the Indian National Congress were Dadabhai Naoroji, M.G. Ranade, Sir P.M. Mehta, G.K. Gokhale, W.C. Banerjee & S.N. Banerjee, they were staunch believers in liberalism & Moderate' politics. They therefore called themselves Moderates, in comparison with the new nationalist of the early twentieth century who were referred to as Extremists. During the first twenty years, the middle-class intelligentsia and journalists dominated the Congress. The moderates had a fascination for British Parliamentary institutions. They were reformers and believed in the British justice.

Programme of the Moderates-Moderates considered the coming of the British as beneficial and providential. They wanted to use the British in their attempts to reform contemporary Indian society. The early nationalist leaders did not expect the Congress to function as a political party. A.O. Hume wanted it to function on the model of the Irish Home Rule League, which sought autonomy in internal affairs under the British suzerainty. Thus, the Western concept of self-government, was the political goal of the moderates. This goal was to be achieved through a gradual process based on the principle, 'First deserve'. The Moderates

realized that India could learn the proper use of western political institutions only after she had gained some experience under the British rule.

The Moderates tried to weld India into a nation. They created a loyalty for the land irrespective of the fact whether one was a Parsee, a Christian, a Muslim or a Hindu. They in fact said that a Parsee should be a better Parsee, a Muslim a better Muslim and a Hindu a better Hindu. In this way he would be more attached to his country & bound in brotherly affection and relations to all the children of the soil. They considered themselves Indian first and Hindus, Muslims or Christians afterwards.

The Moderates wanted a balanced and lucid presentation of their needs before the Englishmen and their parliament. They came from the upper strata and were the product of western education. The Moderate had faith in British fair play and believed that India's connection with the west was a boon rather than a curse. The English literature, the system of education, justice & local bodies loyalty to the British crown was the keynote of the early nationalist leaders.

The Moderates were described as the counterpart of the English liberals in India. The English liberal tradition was their source of inspiration. They had their best friends in the Liberates of England. The Moderate pleaded for reforms in administration, in councils, in services. in local bodies, in defense services. They avoided violence & followed the method of prayer, petition representation and deputations in order to convince the government about the validity of their just demands.

Economic Reforms- The Moderates linked the poverty in India to the economic exploitation of the country by the British.

Dadabhai Naoroji pointed out the root cause of India's poverty & traced it to the drain of India's wealth. The Moderates suggested the development of modern industry as a remedy for the eradication of poverty. They popularized the concept of swadeshi as a means of promoting Indian industries. They carried on agitation for the reduction in land revenue and asked for a radical change in the existing pattern of taxation & expenditure. They urged the government to provide cheap credit to the peasants through agricultural banks and to make available large-scale irrigation facilities. They demanded improvement in the condition of plantation laborers, abolition of salt tax & other taxes. They were critical of the high government expenditure on the army that was employed in Asia & Africa.

Administrative reforms- The Moderates demanded for increasing Indianization of administrative services; criticized the oppressive & tyrannical behaviour of the police & government officials towards the common people and demanded the separation of the executive from the judiciary. They opposed the official policy of disarming the people. The moderates urged the government to undertake welfare activities in favour of the people. They emphasized the need for the spread of education, extension of medical facilities to the people, improvement of the public system and demanded freedom of speech & abolition of press censorship.

Constitutional reforms- The Moderates suggested a step by step approach to attain self & responsible government. They demanded the extension of the existing central and provincial legislative councils with a greater number of non-official Indians and re introduction of the principle of election. Along with this they also demanded the widening of the powers of those councils and an increase in the powers of the members to discuss the budget and to question and criticize the day-today

administration. The Moderates achieved success when the British Government passed the new Indian Councils Act, in 1892. This Act increased the number of non-official members, a few of them were to be indirectly elected. Members of the council were granted the right to speak on the budget.

Assessment of the Moderates- Later critics have pointed out that the Moderates did not achieve much success. The Extremists criticized the programme of the Moderates as political mendicancy. ‘Lala Lajpat Rai, writes that after more than twenty years of futile agitation for concessions and redress of grievances, they received stones in place of bread. One of the serious charges against the moderates was their loyalty to the British crown and the appreciation of the British fair play & sense of justice. In the final analysis it is said that the moderates achieved considerable success. Their contribution in building a strong foundation of Indian national movement cannot be underestimated. The Moderates were the most progressive in Indian society at that time and they were true patriots. They desired all-round progress and modernization of India and wished for the betterment of the Indian society.

The Moderates succeeded in creating a wide political awakening in India and arousing among the Indians the feeling of belonging to one common nation. They popularized the ideas of democracy & civil liberty. They also trained a large number of political workers in the art of modern politics. In spite of their loyalty to the British crown, they exposed the true character of the British imperialism in India and blamed to British rule for the poverty of the Indian people.

Weaknesses of the Moderates- The Moderates Lacked confidence in the masses. They came from the cities. They were sympathetic towards the people of the country but could not keep

close contact with them. The Moderates felt that the masses were backward and lethargic. They did not realize that a prolonged struggle against imperialism could be waged through a mass movement only.

The Moderates apprehended that if they led a mass movement, the British Government would easily break the congress. The Moderates, therefore, did not organize a mass movement on a large scale.

The Extremist congress (1905-1920)

The younger group of nationalists in the Indian national Congress, led by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal; was known as the Extremist Congress. This group was extremely critical of the ideology and methodology of the Moderate leadership. They believed in radical programmes for the attainment of their demands.

According to the extremists the nationalist ideas behind the Revolt of 1857 were not popularized by the Moderates. The Moderates with their elitist background did not succeed in making any effective impact on the masses. Under these circumstances the extremists made their appearance on the Indian political stage. There were several causes responsible for the rise of extremists. Some of them can be studied as: -

The leaders who provided philosophical background to the rise of extremism in the Indian national movement were Rajnarain Bose & Bankim Chandra Chatterjee in Bengal and Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar in Maharashtra. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's call of patriotism & self-sacrifice created a stir, while Swami Vivekananda, Tilak and Aurobindo Ghosh reminded the people of their glorious Past. The famine and bubonic plague between 1896 & 1900 took a heavy toll of life. The government

relief machinery was inadequate, slow-moving and badly organized. People faced poverty, starvation, disease and death. Hundreds of thousands of people perished due to famine & disease.

According to Dadabhai Naoroji, the British rule reduced India to material and moral wretchedness. The tariff & cotton duties Act 1894 & 1896, contributed to the growth of extremist ideas. The excise duty on Indian cotton Safeguarded Lancashire textile industry. Unemployment became so acute that people lost their faith in moderates. Indians were convinced that the purpose of the British rule was to exploit India economically. Naturally, this discontent was responsible for the rise of the Extremist Congress.

Following events from other countries contributed to the rise of extremism: -

- 1) The emergence of Japan as a world power after the Meiji Revolution in 1868 proved that a backward country could become strong through its efforts. The defeat of Russia by Japan in (1904-05) infused a new spirit of self-confidence among the Indians. It was felt that if Japan could defeat a power like Russia, India also could challenge the British Power in India.
- 2) The rebellion in – China against the European imperialists in 1900,
- 3) The revolution in Iran in 1906,
- 4) The Turkish revolution, and the unification of Italy.
- 5) The viceroyalty of Curzon & his reactionary policies contributed to the rise of extremist movement in India. He considered that the main objective of his mission was to strengthen the roots of the British empire in India He curtailed the

number of Indians in the Calcutta Corporation & increased the official control over the Indian universities in the name of educational reforms. He spent Indian money lavishly on foreign missions, the Delhi Durbar & the Tibetan expedition. Curzon 's highhanded action forcing the partition of Bengal against the will of the people, earned unpopularity & alienated the educated classes from the British rule.

Consequently, the extremist leaders such as Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai, and Aurobindo Ghosh advocated stronger agitation and mass action. The extremists differed in ideology and action from the moderates. Unlike the Moderates the Extremists did not want to reconstruct India in the image of the west. They looked more to the past history of India than to the west. The Extremist leaders accepted Swaraj as their political goal. It was their natural right and was to be achieved at all cost.

The most outstanding leader among the Extremists was Bal Gangadhar Tilak. He started a school & founded two newspapers, the *Maratha* in English and the *Kesari* in Marathi. Both the newspapers, by their fearless criticism of the government attained great popularity. In 1890, Tilak opposed the Age of Consent Bill, on the ground that a foreign government had no right to interfere with Hindu religion and social matters and in 1893, also sponsored the cow-protection movement. He reorganized the festival of Ganapati, and started the Shivaji festival to revive the spirit of adventure & liberate the country from foreign domination. Tilak advised the peasants to withhold payment of land revenues when their crops failed because of drought or famine. He called for Swadeshi & boycott of British goods. The British arrested Tilak in 1897 and charged him with spreading hatred and disaffection against the government and was sentenced to eighteen months of rigorous imprisonment.

The partition of Bengal in 1905 marked the beginning of the extremist phase of Indian Congress. Lord Curzon issued an order on 26 July 1905 dividing the province of Bengal into two parts. A new province having the Muslim majority was created consisting of East Bengal & parts of Assam with Dacca as its capital. This province had the Muslim majority. The rest of Bengal including Bihar & Orissa had the Hindu majority. Though administrative efficiency and convenience was projected as the reason for the partition of Bengal, in reality Curzon's policy was politically motivated. Curzon deliberately did this to reduce the strength of Hindus and destroy their unity. Another purpose of the partition was to create animosity between the Hindus & the Muslims of Bengal.

SUBALTERN DISCOURSE- DALIT MOVEMENTS

The term 'subaltern' was coined by Antonio Gramsci. Initially it was widely used to denote inferior rank in army, but nowadays, the term subaltern implies people of inferior rank for his/her various attributes such as economic condition, race, ethnicity, gender, caste, sexual orientation and people are marginalised for such attributes. Thus, subaltern perspective is the way to understand society from the below. The people who are marginalized for various reasons in a stratified society produce knowledge and have politics of their own. The dominant historiography or writing of history and study however excludes them from their concerns. Subaltern perspective looks into those who are neglected and marginalized and contrasts it with the elite perspective.

Italian Neo-Marxist Antonio Gramsci initiated the concept of subaltern in his *Prison Notebooks* to signify marginalised people. In general, subaltern implies people who are of inferior ranks, but Gramsci uses the term in much broader sense than its general

meaning. By subaltern, he meant all kinds of non-hegemonic those who did not occupy powerful and upper-class status groups in a class divided society. As such, subaltern implies group or individuals who are outside the power structure. They are made subaltern or subordinated by the dominant hegemonic power structures and they suffer under dominant power relations.

The subaltern studies emerged in India as a post-colonial theory and attempts to re-write history of the people. These pioneers of Indian subaltern movement are Ranajit Guha and his colleagues such as Partha Chatterjee, David Hardiman, David Arnold, Shahid Amin, Gyanendra Pandey, Sumit Sarkar and Dipesh Chakrabarty. The subaltern historiography is concerned with the “history of the subaltern people”. The basic premise of the subaltern history was to look at the history from below or the history of the subaltern people as opposed to the elitist perspective in history which ignores their contributions in making of history. The subaltern historiography approach seeks to restore a balance by highlighting the role of politics of the people as against elite politics played in Indian history.

According to Ranajit Guha, the subaltern historiography focuses on the peasants and tribal movements during colonial period in India as it has been overlooked by the dominant mainstream elitist historiography. To him, the neglect of the politics of the people – and the contributions of the subaltern classes in the nationalist movement makes Indian history incomplete. Further, according to him, the elitist historiography has the tendency to analyse Indian nationalism and freedom struggle as an idealist venture of the indigenous elites who led people from subjugation to freedom. Such historiography emphasises the role of the individual leaders or of organisations and institutions as the major force during the freedom struggle. D. N. Dhanagare asserts that ‘the followers of this approach argue that elitist historiography,

whether of the neo-colonialist or of the neo-nationalist variety, has always overstated the part the elite played in building Indian nationalism but it has failed to acknowledge and less properly interpret the contributions made by the people (masses) on their own, independently’.

Ranajit Guha in his article entitled “Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India,” argues that the historiography of the Indian nationalism was dominated by the elitists who were the colonial and bourgeois nationalist. This type of historical writing gives the impression that the Indian nation and the consciousness of nationalism was an achievement of only the elites. The contributions made by the people in this regard has no relevance. Although they have made their contribution during the freedom struggle ‘independent of the elite’ in making and development of the Indian nationalism. On the other hand, the elitist perspective of history writing portrays their articulation and uprising as the law and order problem. The one-sided perspective considers Indian nationalism as the response of the charisma of certain elite leaders. Thus, the subaltern historiography overlooks the politics of the people. The subaltern historiographers argue that there was politics of the subaltern classes in the nationalist movement parallel to the politics of the dominant elites. Their politics did not originate from the elite politics and did not depend on their elite politics. For them the subaltern is an autonomous domain.

Thus, subaltern approach in studying the peasants and tribal movements in India is an important milestone because it examines the politics of the people and in opposition to the politics of the elites. D. N. Dhanagare has argued for a twofold division between the ‘people’ and the ‘elite’. Both are viewed as two domains of the nationalist movement. He constructs structural dichotomy or the divisions in the structure of society.

The politics of the people did not come from the politics of the dominant groups. They are the indigenous people, marginalised groups and classes of the labouring population and the intermediate strata in town and country. They are diverse groups of people who do not share common or uniform ideology but the interesting common feature among them was a notion of resistance to elite domination. The divisions and diversions among them create the problem of alliance which was not possible among them.

Ranajit Guha argues that many a times the elitist historiography of Indian nationalism tends to provide a personal account of the “goodness of the native elite who had antagonistic relations with the colonial regime. Although, they had the tendency as collaborationist exploiters and oppressors, with no interest to promote the cause of the people. They were most concerned for power and privilege from the British Raj. According to Guha, the history of Indian nationalism is a sort of spiritual biography of Indian elites.

The movement, protest, resistance of the peasants, tribal and the marginalised groups during colonial period against the colonial power reflects varied intensities. Their mobilisation and resistance independent of the elite, emerged Subaltern Critique from people themselves. The subaltern historiography constructs the binary of the elite and the people. The mobilisation in the elite politics was achieved from above while the mobilisation in the subaltern politics was achieved from below.

The subaltern politics and mobilisation were guided more by the traditional institutions like clan, caste, kinship, territoriality, family network, deprivation. The elite politics and mobilisation was governed more by legalistic and constitutional considerations. The subaltern mobilization was more violent,

aggressive and spontaneous while the elite mobilisation was cautious, controlled and moderate.

Thus, the subaltern studies project was to create an alternative history, 'the history of the people'. Guha discusses in *Elementary Aspects of the Peasants Insurgency in Colonial India* (1983) an interesting account of the peasants' assertions, peasants' consciousness, their mystic visions and religiosity and the social bond of their communities in his study of the 19th century peasant's insurgency in colonial India. David Hardiman is also one of the core members of the subaltern historiography movement in India. He focused mainly on the history of South Asia during the colonial period. In his works, he emphasises on the impact of colonial rule on the rural society and their assertions. His analysis of Indian nationalism and independence movement has given new insights in understanding the local power structure and nationalism. He examined the role of local peasants' activities and Adivasi (tribal) assertions during the colonial time especially in western India. He has used ethnographic and archival sources to analyse movements of western India to promote the subaltern studies in India.

He has studied the Devi movement which took place in Gujarat during 1922-23. It was Adivasi tribal movement by tribal peasants against the moneylenders, landlords and liquor shop owners. Hardiman in his article titled "Adivasi Assertion in South Gujarat: The Devi Movement" (*Subaltern studies Vol. 3*) discusses about the assertion of the Adivasis against the liquor dealers for the harmful effects of liquor on the people of their community. The colonial Abkari Act of 1878 banned all local manufacture of liquor and permitted a central distillery at the headquarter town of the district.

The liquor dealers used to pay large amount of money to the government to run the distilleries in addition to the license to sell the liquor in the tribal villages. The distribution of liquor badly affected the lower caste people, especially the Adivasis. Hardiman narrates the adverse effects in his article. In spite of certain control over liquor sellers they continued to have a monopoly on the sale of factory-made alcohol and its distribution amongst the clusters of villages of Adivasis. The excise officials were being bribed for distribution of factory-made liquor and illicit distillation. The profit made by the money lending and liquor selling by them was huge being and was invested by them in land. The Adivasi community was affected and got addicted to drinking.

Their lands were mortgaged or sold to the liquor shop owners. The Adivasi peasants could gradually realise how the liquor barons in their own villages are exploiting them, although they failed to articulate and protest against such exploitations because of the dominant oppressors like the liquor. But the feeling of exploitation led them to protest among the Adivasi subaltern groups could no longer be suppressed by the dominant liquor barons.

An interesting incident took place in 1922 as a new tradition started in the western part of Gujarat which Hardiman calls as 'Devi' movement. Hardiman found that early in 1922 an epidemic of smallpox broke out in the coastal areas of Gujarat amongst the subaltern fishermen communities. They believed that the smallpox was caused by a goddess and they need to satisfy the goddess to get rid of the epidemic. They started organising ceremonies to satisfy the deity (Shamans by the goddess). It is through Shamans (women being possessed) that the goddess passed the information that she would be satisfied if they gave up eating, fish, meat and drinking liquor, toddy. The people followed

her advice. The Devi movement started to be known as Salahbai. Slowly the process of shamanism through human beings had spread in the Adivasi villages and they also started practicing Shamanism. The Adivasi peasants used to gather together to listen to the women possessed by Devi. To fulfil Devi's demands to refrain from drinking liquor and toddy, flesh and meat, along with having regular bath. The effect of this was that most Adivasis socially boycotted the liquor shop owners and the landlords, resulting into the Adivasis starting social reforms among themselves. Their assertions resulted in loss of business by the liquor barons, although efforts were made by the liquor barons to bring the Adivasis back to their old habits of drinking liquor but they refused and refrained themselves and their belief in Devi helped them to avoid liquor.

Hardiman observed that during the mainstream anti-colonial movement, Gandhiji incorporated Adivasis in his movement because of their tendency of assertion and their political voice. The Gandhian nationalists of Gujarat brought the Adivasis of South Gujarat into the nationalist movement. in alliance with the middle-class. With the help of the local narratives, memories, songs as well as the archival materials,

Hardiman examined the role of Adivasis not only in their assertion against the money lenders, liquor barons and the anti-liquor movement. But also, in the nationalist movement and social reformation. Independent of outside help, they tried to break the feudal structure of money lenders and the colonial resource base.

B.R. Ambedkar was one of the most dominant political thinkers of India who critically looked at the caste system in India and its rigidity. He took up the issues of Dalits and Adivasi subalterns. He studied the impact of caste system upon the lower caste people

and was best analysed by him. Though during the early part of Indian national movement, these issues were not taken into consideration. Being born in a lower caste family, Ambedkar devoted his entire life to fight against the caste system which discriminated and marginalized the Dalit subalterns. After being educated in foreign country, he came back to India and started practicing law. In 1920, he formed *Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha* in Bombay to promote the Dalit interests and to resolve their problems by placing them before the Government. He was not only critical of the caste system but was also instrumental in the movement for eradication of caste discrimination. He also helped the Dalits to claim equal status and equal opportunities with other castes.

The subaltern group of Dalits is one of the most oppressed and discriminated

group of people in Indian society. According to B R Ambedkar, the subaltern communities are those which are discriminated by the dominant castes. In general, the lower caste people are referred to as



Figure 8. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar

Dalits as per the Varna system of Hindu society but in the common political understanding and discourse, the Scheduled Caste people are designated as the Dalits. The term Scheduled Caste was first used by the British colonial Government through the Government of India Act 1935. Gandhiji called them

Harijans, meaning ‘the children of God’. The Dalits are sometimes referred to by such names as ‘exterior castes’, outcaste, ‘depressed classes’, ‘Scheduled Caste’, ‘Harijans’, untouchables, etc.

Ambedkar defines Dalithood as “a kind of life condition that characterizes the exploitation, suppression and marginalization of Dalit people by the social, economic, cultural and political domination of the upper castes’ “Brahminical ideology”. They belong to the lowest strata group in the caste ladder of the Varna scheme of Hindu society, mostly referred as untouchables. Ambedkar was critical of the idea of caste and its related attributes like occupation and hierarchy. He did not consider caste as a natural division but rather a category of social discrimination. He holds the view that the Dalits are the most downtrodden people in Indian society where they are socially, politically and economically backward. They were considered as polluted sections of the society where their touch and even their shadow might pollute the upper castes.

Graded inequality

One of the important concepts introduced by Ambedkar related to the caste system, was the idea of ‘graded inequality’. He differentiates between inequality and graded inequality. Inequality can be seen in various forms like skin colour, racial and occupational or work differences. The Black and White colour differences are common in the Western societies. These are known as racial differences. The social division due to racial differences is the basis of prejudices, dissention, oppression being done against the race considered to be relatively superior. Similarly, in industrial societies, differences are based on different work positions. These are working classes (Proletariat) and the dominant classes (Bourgeoisie). Their socio-economic

conditions and interests are different from each other. They are unequal classes and the conflicting relationship among them is perpetual. At the administrative and professional levels of the industrial societies too there are super-ordinates (administrative and professional elites and bureaucrats) and sub-ordinates (those who work under the super-ordinates). They are also unequal classes where inequality amongst them is based on the nature of productive work in which they are engaged with. Such inequalities based on skin colour, race and occupational or work differences are various forms of inequalities but graded inequality is a unique form of inequality which characterises especially Indian society, in terms of Hindu social order where the ascribed status of caste is the basis of differences and inequality. The Hindu caste system is a graded hierarchical system into four Varnas, viz. Brahmin, Subaltern Critique Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra. The Untouchables are outside the caste system. They are the people graded as the lowest in the caste system. They are not only different from others but also unequal by birth and accordingly their social and economic status is determined.

According to Ambedkar, the caste system in India is a unique form of graded inequality where except Shudras and Untouchables, the rest enjoy privileges according to their hierarchical social status in the traditional social structure. The Brahmins at the top of the ascribed caste hierarchy enjoys the absolute benefits of the caste ideology. Their social and ritual status is the highest but the Shudras and Untouchables are the absolute sufferers in the caste hierarchy. Thus, in the caste system people are divided and arranged in hierarchical orders. This is termed by Ambedkar as the graded inequality. To him, inequality is a social condition where the social status is given it is, predetermined, and achieved by birth into that caste and cannot be changed except by non-ascribed (achievement based) changes. Such a graded system leaves little no or scope or option for

change in the ascribed status. They have no option to fight the oppressive reality of the caste system, although changes are taking place but the structural change (change in the caste status) cannot take place unless the caste system is abolished and there is a casteless society. In other forms of social inequality, the working class has the option to fight against the owner of the industry for discriminatory practices but that is not possible in the system of caste because according to the caste ideology caste, the upper caste have the rights and privileges over the lower castes below them in the caste hierarchy. Similarly, the rights of the caste categories are graded making the radical change almost impossible.

Ambedkar is quite critical of the working of the caste system and the process of social exclusion and discrimination of the lower caste especially of the Dalits. He was very critical to even Gandhiji's idea of 'Varna and religious institutions having nothing to do with caste. The law of Varna teaches how to earn our bread by following the ancestral calling and it defines not our rights but our duties'

Ambedkar argues that caste disassociates work from interest. It disconnects intelligence from manual labour. It denies the right to cultivate vital interest. It prevents mobilization. The civilized society does need division of labour, but in no civilized society the division of labour is accompanied by the unnatural division of labour. The caste is a hierarchy in which the division of labour is graded one above the other. In no other country the division of labour is accompanied by the gradation of labour. Thus, the graded inequality is the soul of the caste system in India and most importantly all the castes have internalised such divisions. The internalisation of the graded inequality has resulted into failure of bringing about all the castes or a combination of castes for necessary reforms in the system of caste.

Further, according to Ambedkar, the graded inequality excludes the lower castes not only socially but also economically. For example, Mahar caste Dalits do not get work opportunity in the weaving department because they are not supposed to touch the thread due to the factor of purity and pollution. The internalisation of the caste ideology by the lower caste subalterns' makes them feel obliged to the upper castes or the Masters'. It makes them unaware of their strength which remains unrecognised. They become submissive and their submission is one of the key issues of their subordination.

Thus, Ambedkar becomes the central figure in anti-caste movement in India. He formed *Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha* to register the protest against the atrocities on the Dalits by the upper castes. The motto of the Sabha was to educate, organise and agitate. He holds that until and unless the Dalits rise and fight, they would not achieve their rights. The self-awakening is one of the best ways to eliminate the social evils like caste-based untouchability etc. He traced the origin of caste system and its ideology of discrimination and said that the sacred Hindu manuscripts like *Manusmriti* and other such writings have legitimised the caste oppression. Such texts set the base for social discrimination based on one's birth. Hence, he advocated destroying such texts. On 25th December of 1927 *Manusmriti* was burned by Ambedkar as a step towards a great struggle (*Maha Sangharsha*) and make Satyagraha to negate the mythological basis of caste hierarchy and untouchability.

MODULE-IV

GANDHIAN DISCOURSE

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869-1948), popularly known as Mahatma Gandhi was a major political and spiritual leader of India. He was undoubtedly the most authentic and celebrated representative of the wisdom and culture of India in our times. He was a social reformer, an economist, a political philosopher and a seeker of truth.

Gandhiji was a deeply religious man. This perspective shaped his politics, his economic ideas and his view of society. However, the religious approach that he imbibed was markedly different from other religious men. He accepts the inner oneness of all existence in the cosmic spirit, and saw all living beings as representatives of the eternal divine reality. Divine presence envelops the whole world and it makes its reflective presence felt in men and women. Gandhiji believed that man's ultimate goal in life was self-realisation. Self-realisation, according to him, meant seeing God face to face, i.e., realising the absolute Truth or, what one may say, knowing oneself. It is only through the means of self-purification that self-realisation can be attained. The fasts, prayers and works of service that he undertook were all directed towards such an end.

(i) Views on human nature

Gandhiji's views on man, human nature and society are in consonance with his philosophical outlook and reflect his convictions regarding morality and ethical pursuit of life. At the same time he was deeply aware of the imperfections of human beings. Gandhiji believed that human nature is, in its essence, one and that everyman has the capacity for the highest possible

development: "The soul is one in all; its possibility is, therefore, the same for everyone. It is this undoubted universal possibility that distinguishes the human from the rest of God's creation."

(ii) View of Politics

The Gandhian view of politics was a politics where people participated in public affairs for purposes of serving others. Hence, for him, all political activities concerned themselves with the welfare of everyone. As political activity is closely related to the cause of the people it is essential that such activity be permeated by religion or at least should be the concern of the people who are religiously motivated. Politics permeated by religion, according to him, means politics dedicated to serve the cause of humanity which eventually leads to a better understanding of truth. For him, the kingdom of God lies here in this world, in the men here, and within men, those whose political activity is directed towards the service of humanity.

For Gandhiji, politics, is one method of seeking a part of the whole truth. Political activity helps man to achieve the capacity to rule himself, a capacity wherein he obeys rules of the society without any external force or external imposition. Religion and politics, so understood, make, a good case for swaraj. He regards concentration of power as detrimental to the individual freedom and initiative.

Gandhiji never considered political power as an end; it was a means to enable people to better their condition in every walk of life. For him political power was a means to regulate public life at various levels in tune with the principles stated above. If the life of a polity becomes self-regulated, there was no need to have representative government. It will then - be an enlightened anarchy. In such a state everyone will be his own ruler respecting

the self-rule of others over themselves. It would then be a completely non-violent society and state. He however felt that no society can ever become completely non-violent but if it does 'it would be the purest anarchy'. The latter is the ideal to strive for. In the ideal state, therefore, there is no political power because there is no state.

(iii) Unity of ends and means

That the ends and means are related to each other is one of the basic tenets of Gandhian philosophy. Gandhiji drew no distinction between the means and the ends implying thereby that one leads to the other and that the latter is the effect of the former, Such an assertion, for him, approximates the scientific principle of the relationship between cause and effect, ' Gandhiji would not like to attain the noblest end if that was to be achieved through impure means.

(iv) Satyagraha

Satyagraha means urge for Satya, or truth. Satyagraha is not merely the insistence on truth; it is, in fact, holding on to truth through ways which are moral and non-violent; it is not the imposition of one's will over others, but it is appealing to the reasoning of the



Figure 9. M. K. Gandhi in South Africa (YEAR: 1908)

opponent; it is not coercion but is persuasion. Gandhiji highlights several attributes of satyagraha. It is a moral weapon and does not entertain ill-feeling towards the adversary; it is 'a non-violent device and calls upon its user to love his enemy; it does not weaken the opponent but strengthens him morally; it is a weapon of the brave and is constructive in its approach. For Gandhiji, a Satyagrahi is always truthful, morally imbued, non-violent and a person without any malice; he is one who is devoted to the service of all.

Truth, he firmly believed, can be attained only through non-violence which was not negative, meaning absence of violence, but was positively defined by him as love. Resort to nonviolence is recourse to love. In its positive sense, non-violence means love for others; in its negative sense, it seeks no injury to others, both in words as well as deeds. Gandhiji talked of non-violence of different people. There is the non-violence of the brave: one has the force but he does not use it as a principle; there is the non-violence of the weak: one does not have faith in non-violence, but he uses it for attaining his objectives; there is the nonviolence of the coward: it is not non-violence, but impotency, more harmful than violence.

For Gandhiji, violence was a better option than cowardice. Through non-violence one appeals to the truth that nestles in people and makes the latter realise it in themselves, come around, and join hands in the common march to truth along with those whom they earlier considered as their adversaries. Given the enmeshing of means and ends, Gandhiji, often saw Love, Truth, God and Non-violence as interchangeable terms. Truth or God or Self-realisation being man's ultimate goal in life, this goal can be attained only through non-violence or ahimsa.

(v) Concept of' Swaraj

Gandhiji's concept of Swaraj was not merely confined to freeing India from the British yoke. Such freedom he desired but he said that he did not want to exchange 'king log for king stork'. Swaraj is not transfer of political power to the Indians. Nor does it mean, as he emphasised, mere political self-determination. For him, there was no Swaraj in Europe; for him the movement of Swaraj involved primarily the process of releasing oneself from all the bondages one is prey to both internal and external. It involves a movement of self-purification too. It is not the replacement of one type of authority by another.

Swaraj is usually translated in English as 'Independence'. Gandhiji, however, gave this term a much deeper meaning. 'The word Swaraj is a sacred word, a Vedic word, meaning self-rule and self-restraint and not freedom from all restraint which 'independence' often means". He saw swaraj as freedom for all plus self-control by all. It is related to the inner strength and capacity of a people which enable them to understand and control their social world: "The outward freedom that we shall attain will only be in exact proportion to the inward freedom to which we may have grown at a given moment. And if this is the correct view of freedom, our chief energy must be concentrated upon achieving reform from within".

Freedom from within means control over oneself, which, in turn, means a life based on understanding one's own self. Gandhi perceived non-violence as the key to attain such freedom and self-control. Non-violence needs to be imbued in our thought, words and deeds. Once non-violence as Love takes possession of these dimensions of the person then a sense of duty prevails over those of rights. We tend to do things for others without expecting returns thereon. "In Swaraj based on Ahimsa, people need not know their rights, but it is necessary for them to know their duties. There is no duty that does not create corresponding rights and

those rights alone are genuine rights, which flow from the performance of duty.

(vi) On parliamentary Democracy

Gandhiji did not subscribe to the view that democracy meant the rule of the majority. He said "true democracy or the Swaraj of the masses can never come through untruthful and violent means, for the simple reason that the natural corollary to their use would be to remove all opposition through the suppression or extermination of the antagonists. That does not make the individual freedom. Individual freedom can have the fullest play only under a regime of unadulterated Ahimsa."

Gandhiji was wedded to adult suffrage. He felt that it is the only way to safeguard the interests of all: the minorities, the poor, the dalits, the peasants and women. He hoped that the voters give weight to the qualifications of the candidates, not their caste, community, or party affiliation. He wanted men of character to enter legislatures for even if they commit mistakes, they would never do anything against the interests of the voters. Men and women without character elected by the people would destroy the democratic system. Referring to parliamentary democracy in 1931, Gandhi envisaged a constitution of independent India "which will release India from all thralldom and patronage, and give her, if need be, the right to sin". He laid down his vision of an independent India as follows: "I shall work for an India in which the poorest shall feel that it is their country in whose making they have an effective voice; an India in which there shall be no high class and low class of people; an India in which all communities shall live in perfect harmony. There can be no room in such an India for the curse of untouchability, or the curse of intoxicating drinks and drugs. Women will enjoy same rights as men. Since we shall be at peace with all the rest of the world,

neither exploiting nor being exploited. We shall have the smallest army imaginable, all interests not in conflict with the interests of the dumb millions will be scrupulously respected whether foreign or indigenous. Personally, I hate distinction between foreign and indigenous. This is the India of my dreams. ... I shall be satisfied with nothing less."

(vii) Gram Swaraj or Development from Below

The building blocks of democracy have to be villages. Gandhiji wanted each village to have an annually elected Panchayat to manage the affairs of the village. Each village following the oceanic circle theory would be autonomous yet interdependent. As Gandhiji argued, "My idea of village swaraj is that it is a complete republic, independent of its neighbours for its own vital wants, and yet inter-dependent for many others in which dependence is a necessity".

(viii) Ideas on the Economy

Gandhiji's political philosophical ideas came to shape his ideas on the economy centrally. His economic thought revolves around the following normative ideas: (i) Economic process must work towards equality and non-exploitation (ii) it must be consistent with full employment (iii) it must provide low priced consumer goods which satisfy the needs of the people (iv) all those industries with sophisticated technology must be in the public sector (v) no mass production without equal distribution.

For Gandhiji, the two cardinal principles in his economic thought are the promotion of equality together with social justice. For the purpose the three principles which he prescribed are:

(a) of non-possession i.e., economic policies to be pursued on need-base and not on the want-base

(b) inequality arises with irrational desires to have more than what one wants

(c) in technologically advanced countries, people do not consume goods in the same proportion they produce; labour-intense technologies are to be preferred to the capital-intensive ones.

Gandhiji's economics stressed on equality, social justice, full employment and harmonious labour-capital relations. The last two centuries produced a good number of social thinkers and scientists. Mam offered an alternative to the capitalistic system articulated by Adam Smith. He called it communism. In between capitalism and communism stood socialism. Capitalism gave rise to colonialism and exploitation of the poor against which Gandhi fought all through his life. But he opposed capitalism as much as communism. For him the individual, his freedom, dignity and satisfying life were more important than mere economic progress, which both capitalism and communism promised to deliver, anything that did not liberate the man was unacceptable to Gandhi.

(ix) Sarvodaya: The Rise of All

Against capitalism and socialism, Gandhi proposed the concept of Sarvodaya, which was based on three basic principles:

- I. that the good of the individual is contained in the good of all;
2. that the lawyer's work has the same value as the barber's, in as much as all have the same right of earning their livelihood from their work;
3. that a life of labour, i-e., the life of the tiller of the soil and the handicraftsman is the life worth living.

(x) Theory of Trusteeship

One of the most original contributions of Gandhiji in the area of economics is the concept of trusteeship. Gandhiji wanted complete equality in so far as the basic needs of the people were concerned. In fact he wanted the basic needs of all including animals to be met satisfactorily. But at the same time, he wanted people to have incentives to remain economically active and produce more. This naturally would lead to some people having more than what they need. They would be rich but there would be no poor because the basic needs of all would be satisfied.

To ensure that those who were rich did not use their property for selfish purposes or to control others, he derived the term "Trusteeship". Explaining the meaning underlying this term he said, 'Everything belonged to God and was from God. Therefore, it was meant for His people as a whole, not for particular individuals. When an individual had more than his proportionate portion, he became trustee of that portion for God's people'.

He wished that the idea of trusteeship becomes a gift from India to the world. Then there would be no exploitation and no reserve. In these distinctions he found the seeds of war and conflict. He elaborated on his idea of trusteeship extensively. He suggested "as to the successor, the trustee in office would have the right to nominate his successor subject to the legal sanction."

The idea underlying the concept of trusteeship was twofold:

1. All humans are born equal and hence have a right to equal opportunity. This means that all must have their basic needs fully satisfied.
2. All humans, however, are not endowed with equal intellectual and physical capacity. Some would have greater capacity to

produce than others. Such persons must treat themselves as trustees of the produce beyond their basic needs.

3. Violence and force as modes of distribution of produce have to be rejected.

(xi) Evils of Industrialism

Gandhiji was against industrialisation on a mass scale because it leads to many insoluble problems such as the exploitation of the villagers, urbanisation, environmental pollution etc. He wanted manufacturing to be done in villages and by the villages. This would keep the majority of the people of India fully employed; they would be able to meet their basic needs and would remain self-reliant. Even modern machines could be used provided they did not lead to unemployment and become the means of exploitation.

Gandhiji considered the prevailing industrialisation as a disease. 'Let Us not be deceived by catchwords and phrases', he admonished. Modern machines 'are in no way indispensable for the permanent welfare of the human race.' He was not against machinery as such; he was against industrialism, i.e. industrial and mechanical mentality. "Industrialisation is, I am afraid, going to be curse for mankind. Exploitation of one nation by another cannot go on for all time. Industrialism depends entirely on your capacity to exploit India, when it begins to exploit other nations - as it must if it becomes industrialised - will be a curse for other nations, a menace for the world".

It is because of this perspective that Gandhi suggested the boycott of mill made cloth and manufacture of handmade cloth in each and every household particularly in the rural areas, The efforts he made to promote Khadi were just a beginning of the movement he wanted to launch to promote village industries in general. One

must see Gandhiji's concept of basic education (*nai taleem*) in relation to his movement for village industries.

(xii) Concept of Swadeshi

Swadeshi is “that spirit in us which restricts us to use the services of our immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more remote”. Swadeshi and self-sufficiency go together. The former is possible only if the latter is accepted as a matter of principle. Each individual, each family, each village and each region would be economically self-reliant, "Self-sufficiency does not mean narrowness; to be self-sufficient is not to be altogether self-contained. In no circumstances would we be able to produce all the things we need. So though our aim is complete self-sufficiency, we shall have to get from outside the village what we cannot produce in the village; we shall have to produce more of what we can in order thereby to obtain in exchange what we are unable to produce".

There are two other concepts, which go together with Swadeshi: they are Decentralisation and Cooperation. "Interdependence is and ought to be as much the ideal of man as self-sufficiency. Man is a social being. Without inter-relation with society he cannot realise his oneness with the universe or suppress his egotism. If man were so placed or could so place himself as to be absolutely above all dependence on his fellow-beings, he would become so proud and arrogant, as to be veritable burden and nuisance to the world. Dependence on society teaches him the lesson to humility".

STRATEGIC AGITATIONS LED BY GANDHI

(i) Champaran Satyagraha

Gandhi gave voice to the cause of the oppressed cultivators in Champaran district of Bihar who were suffering under tyranny of the European indigo-planters. Threatened by the outbreak of large scale Satyagraha struggle, the government finally succumbed to the pressure by passing a law allowing concessions to the peasants in 1917.



Figure 10. Gandhi at Champaran

(ii) Agitation at Kheda district in Gujarat

1918 Gandhi resumed leadership to fight for the cause of plague and famine affected peasants of Kheda district in Gujarat. Some concessions were also granted to these cultivators by the government.

(iii) Industrial dispute in Ahmadabad

The weapon of Satyagraha was employed by Gandhi, yet another time in an industrial dispute between the workers and owners of a cotton mill in Ahmadabad. The consequence was a wage hike for the workers.

(iv) Character of Gandhian nationalism

At a time when the fabric of the Indian society was tearing apart, Gandhi accomplished the Herculean task of unifying the nation. Confronted with diverse political ideologies like hard line extremism, the moderate approach and the newly emerging communist forces the confused Indians found solace in the simple philosophies of Gandhi. Gandhi's leadership infused coherence in the isolated mass movements, which so far was the characteristic feature of the Indian freedom movement. In all his struggles, the weapon of passive resistance reigned supreme and the political consciousness of Indians across class boundaries received an impetus.

He worked assiduously for the upliftment of the downtrodden like the Dalits and gave them a new identity. Women, under his aegis, found back their long-lost confidence and actively participated in the tasks of national cause.

As a visionary, he realized right at the onset that the real strength of India lies in communal harmony and brotherhood. Gandhian nationalism was rooted in its historical past and at the same time welcoming the progressive trends of modernity.

(v) Gandhi's popular appeal

In the year following 1919, the Indian National Movement celebrated the emergence of Gandhi as a national leader, steering

the anti-British movements. The Rowlatt Act of 1919, which catapulted Jallianwala Bagh massacre and the Khilafat Movement that triggered the Non-co-operation movement, brought Gandhi to the center stage of Indian politics.

(vi) Rowlatt Act 1919

The Sedition Committee headed by Justice Sydney Rowlatt led to the passing of Rowlatt Act which empowered the government with powers to use arms to suppress all unlawful and dangerous activities. It was called the Black Act and it was widely opposed. The Rowlatt Act was ruthlessly applied leading to Jallianwala Bagh massacre at Amritsar on 13th April 1919.

A country wide campaign was already launched by Gandhi on 6th April, 1919 against the Rowlatt act. The Jallianwala Bagh massacre added fuel to the fire. Gandhi used Satyagraha for the very first time in this agitation that assumed a national character. The people responded with great enthusiasm and a remarkable political awakening was witnessed in India.

(vii) The Khilafat Movement

The main object of the Khilafat movement was to force the British government to change its attitude towards Turkey and restore the Turkish Sultan (Khalifa) to his former position. The Khilafat committee that was spearheading the movement unanimously asked Gandhi to lead the movement. A programme of non-violent non-cooperation to protest the government behaviour was initiated under Gandhi's leadership. In the Khilafat issue too, the British government failed to keep their promise. These incidents triggered an anti-British feeling in Gandhi and he emerged as a non co-operator.

(viii) The Non-cooperation Movement:

The people were asked to boycott government educational institutions, law courts and legislatures, to give up foreign cloth, to surrender officially conferred titles and honours. Through these negative programmes, the Indians sought to refuse to cooperate with the British government.

The adoption of the Non-cooperation movement by the Congress gave it a new energy and from January 1921, it began to register considerable success all over the country. The general mood of the people became quite rebellious. The Chauri-Chaura incident that took place in Gorakhpur district of U.P on 5th February 1922 that resulted in the death of 22 policemen, made Gandhiji to abruptly call off the non-cooperation movement.

The significance of Non-cooperation movement is that with this the Indian Nationalist movement acquired real mass base for the first time with the participation of peasants, workers, students' lawyers, teachers, etc. The Congress became the organizer and leader of the masses in their freedom struggle. It marked the height of Hindu-Muslim unity. It also marked the emergence of Gandhi as the undisputed leader of India.

With the rise of Gandhi, a whole new philosophy permeated into every sphere of the Indian psyche. Gandhi's political ideals were merely an extension of his spiritual tenets, which were rooted in deep human values. Gandhi's greatness lies not only within pioneering a unique fervour in Indian politics and the rise of the masses, but in the way he revolutionized the entire way of looking at politics as an extension of mankind's inherent greatness, enriched with an innate belief in and commitment to truth.

(ix) The Civil Disobedience Movement

The Civil Disobedience Movement led by Mahatma Gandhi, in the year 1930 was an important milestone in the history of Indian

Nationalism. The prevalent political and social circumstances played a vital role in the launching of the Civil Disobedience Movement.

First phase 1930-31

The Simon Commission was formed by the British Government that included solely the members of the British Parliament, in November 1927, to draft and formalize a constitution for India. The chairmanship of the commission rested with Sir John Simon was accused of bringing an 'All-White Commission.' The Simon Commission was rejected by all political and social segments of the country.

At the Calcutta Session of the Indian National Congress held in December, 1928, the British government was warned that if India was not granted the status of a dominion, a Civil Disobedience Movement would be initiated in the entire country. None of the efforts made by the Congress received any favourable response from the British government. The 11points ultimatum of Gandhiji to Lord Irwin was ignored by the British Government.

The Lahore Congress of 1929 authorized the Working Committee to launch a programme of civil disobedience including non-payment of taxes. The committee also invested Gandhiji with full powers to launch the movement. On the historic day of 12th March 1930, Gandhi inaugurated the Civil Disobedience Movement by conducting the historic Dandi Salt March, where he broke the Salt Laws imposed by the British Government.



Figure 11. Gandhi on his march to Dandi

Followed by an entourage of seventy-nine followers, Gandhi embarked on his march from his Sabarmati Ashram to Dandi that is located on the shores of the Arabian Sea. Dandi Salt March had an immense impact on the entire nation. Each and every corner of the country was gripped in a unique fervour of

nationalism. Soon this act of violation of the Salt Laws assumed an all India character. There were reports of Satyagrahas and instances of law violation from Bombay, Central and United Provinces, Bengal and Gujarat.

The program of the Civil Disobedience Movement incorporated besides the breaking of the Salt Laws, picketing of shops selling

foreign goods and liquor, bonfire of cloth, refusal to pay taxes and avoidance of offices by the public officers and schools by the students. Even the women joined forces against the British. Those from orthodox families did not hesitate to respond to the call of the Mahatma. In North-East Rani Gaidilieu raised the banner of rebellion against foreign rule. In North-western provinces, under the leadership of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, popularly known as 'Frontier Gandhi' the Pathans organized the society of Khudai Khidmatgars (or Servants of God) known popularly as Red Shirts. The people joined hartals, demonstrations and the campaign to boycott foreign goods and to refuse to pay-taxes. In many parts of the country, the peasants refused to pay land revenue and rent and had their lands confiscated.

In a bid to thwart the movement, the British government resorted to ruthless repression, lathi changes and firing. Over 90,000 Satyagrahis, including Gandhiji and other congress leaders were imprisoned and Congress declared illegal.

(x) Gandhi-Irwin Pact

The civil disobedience movement led to Gandhi-Irwin Pact that was signed in March 1931. This was to bring about a compromise between the government and the Congress. The Government agreed to withdraw all ordinances and end prosecutions, release all political prisoners, restore the confiscated property of the Satyagrahis and permitted the free collection or manufacture of salt. The Congress in turn agreed to suspend the civil disobedience movement and to participate in the Second Round-Table conference.

Second phase from 1932-34

Gandhi attended The Second Round Table Conference in London. At this Conference, it was claimed by Mahatma Gandhi

that the Congress represented more than eighty five percent of the Indian population. Gandhi's claim was not endorsed by the British and also the Muslim representative.

The Second Round Table Conference proved to be futile for the Indians and Gandhi returned to the country without any positive result. The political scene in India thereafter assumed an acute dimension.

The Viceroy, Lord Willingdon, in the absence of Gandhi, adopted the policy of repression. The Gandhi-Irwin Pact was violated and the Viceroy took to the suppression of the Congress. The Congress was declared illegal by the government and it arrested most of the leading Congress leaders.

The Congress was held responsible by the government to have instigated the 'Red Shirts' to participate in the civil disobedience movement, led by Khan Abdul Ghaffar and provoking the cultivators of U.P to refuse to pay land revenue. Adding to this was the serious economic crisis that took hold of the country.

Under such circumstances, the resumption of the civil disobedience movement was inevitable. The Congress Working Committee took the decision to restart the civil disobedience movement, as the British government was not prepared to relent.

Gandhi resumed the movement in January 1932 and appealed to the entire nation to join in. The Viceroy was also informed of the stance assumed by the Congress. Four ordinances were promulgated by the government to deal with the situation. The police were given the power to arrest any person, even on the basis of mere suspicion. The movement was gaining strength when it was suddenly side- tracked with the announcement of Communal Award (1932) by the British Prime-minister Ramsay Mac Donald. Gandhi commenced his twenty-one days of fast on

May 8th, 1933, to make amends for the sins committed against the untouchables by the caste Hindus. The second phase of the civil disobedience movement lacked the organization that marked its first phase. Nonetheless the entire nation put up a tough fight and the movement continued for six months.

The Civil Disobedience Movement was suspended, when Mahatma Gandhi withdrew mass Satyagraha on July 14th 1933. The Congress officially withdrew it in May 1934.

Significance of Civil disobedience movement

It had the objective of achieving complete independence. It involved deliberate violation of law and was evidently more militant. There was wide participation of women. Although the Civil Disobedience Movement failed to achieve any positive outcome, it was an important juncture in the history of Indian independence. The leadership of Mahatma Gandhi had a beneficial impact. The warring factions within the Congress united under the aegis of the civil disobedience movement. Satyagraha was put on a firm footing through its large-scale usage in the movement. Last but not the least India rediscovered its inherent strength and confidence to crusade against the British for its freedom.

(xi) The Nehru Report; the Round Table Conferences

The Nehru Report

The Secretary of State, Lord Birkenhead asked Indian leaders to draft a constitution to which all parties would agree. This led to an all parties' conference that was held in May, 1928 which appointed a committee to draft a constitutional scheme. The committee was headed by Moti Lal Nehru and its report came to be known as the Nehru Report. Its other members were Subhash

Chander Bose, Sir Ali Iman, Sir Tej Bhadur Saprū, G.R. Pradhan, M.S. Aney, Shuab Qureshi and Sardar Mangal Singh.



Figure 12. Motilal Nehru

The following were the recommendations advanced by the Nehru Report:

- The report favoured dominion status in which India would be a federation of linguistic provinces.
- There should be federal form of government with residuary powers vested in the center.
- India should have a parliamentary form of government headed by a Prime Minister and six ministers appointed by the Governor General.
- There should be bi-cameral legislature.

- There should be no separate electorate for any community.
- It opposed the system of weightage for minorities and the idea of separate electorates.
- It agreed to reservation of Muslim seats only in the provinces where Muslim population was at least ten percent, but this was to be in strict proportion to the size of the community.
- Muslims should enjoy one-fourth representation in the Central Legislature.
- Sindh should be separated from Bombay only if the Committee certified that it was financially self-sufficient.
- The N. W. F. P. should be given full provincial status.
- A new Kanarese-speaking province Carnatic should be established in South India.
- Hindi should be made the official language of India.

The Nehru report was placed in the annual session of the Congress held at Lucknow on 10th August, 1928 where it was adopted unanimously. The report was rejected by the Muslim League. Muhammad Ali Jinnah put forth his fourteen point demands.

(xii) The Round Table Conferences

The three Round Table Conferences of 1930–32 was a series of conferences organized by the British Government to discuss constitutional reforms in India. The conference was held in London. The conference resulted from a review of the

Government of India Act of 1919, undertaken in 1927 by the Simon Commission. They were conducted as per the recommendation by the report submitted by the Simon Commission in May 1930.

Demands for swaraj, or self-rule, in India had been growing increasingly strong. By the 1930s, many British politicians believed that India needed to move towards dominion status. However, there were significant disagreements between the Indian and the British political parties that the Conferences would not resolve.

First Round Table Conference (November 1930 – January 1931)

The Round Table Conference was opened officially by Lord Irwin on November 12, 1930 at London and chaired by the British Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald. The three British political parties were represented by sixteen delegates. There were fifty-seven political leaders from British India and sixteen delegates from the princely states. In total 89 delegates from India attended the Conference. However, the Indian National Congress, along with Indian business leaders, kept away from the conference. Many of them were in jail for their participation in Civil Disobedience Movement.

The conference started with 6 plenary meetings where delegates put forward their issues. These were followed by discussions on the reports of the sub-committees on Federal Structure, Provincial Constitution, Minorities, Burma, North West Frontier Province, Franchise, Defence, Services and Sindh. These were followed by 2 more plenary meetings and a final concluding session.

The idea of an All-India Federation was moved to the centre of discussion. All the groups attending the conference supported this

concept. The responsibility of the executive to the legislature was discussed, and Dr. B.R. Ambedkar demanded a separate electorate for the so-called Untouchables.

The first-round table conference had 73 representatives, from all Indian states and all parties except the Indian National Congress, which was waging a civil disobedience campaign against the government. Its principal campaign was an insistence on Parliamentary form of government based on an the federal principle and on dominion status as the goal of constitutional development.

It was difficult for progress to be made in the absence of Congress (Indian National Congress) but some advances were made. The princes declared they would join future federation of India as long as their rights were recognized and the British agreed that representative government should be introduced on provincial level.

The Second Round Table Conference (September 7, 1931)

The second session (September–December 1931) was attended by Mahatma Gandhi as the Congress representative; it failed to reach agreement, either constitutionally or on communal representation.

The Gandhi-Irwin Pact opened the way for Congress participation in second Round Table Conference that began on September 7, 1931. Mahatma Gandhi was invited from India and attended as the sole official Congress representative accompanied by Sarojini Naidu and also Madan Mohan Malaviya, Ghanshyam Das Birla, Muhammad Iqbal, Sir Mirza Ismail (Diwan of Mysore), S.K. Dutta and Sir Syed Ali Imam.



Figure 13. Second Round Table Conference

Gandhi claimed that the Congress alone represented political India; that the Untouchables were Hindus and should not be treated as a “minority”; and that there should be no separate electorates or special safeguards for Muslims or other minorities. These claims were rejected by the other Indian participants. According to this pact, Gandhi was asked to call off the Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM) and if he did so the prisoners of the British government would be freed excepting the criminal prisoners. During the Conference, Gandhi could not reach agreement with the Muslims on Muslim representation and safeguards. At the end of the conference Ramsay MacDonald undertook to produce a Communal Award for minority representation, with the provision that any free agreement between the parties could be substituted for his award.

Gandhi took particular exception to the treatment of untouchables as a minority separate from the rest of the Hindu community. He clashed with the leader of depressed classes, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar,

over this issue: the two eventually resolved the situation with the Poona Pact of 1932.

Third Round Table Conference (November – December 1932)

The third and last session assembled on November 17, 1932 to December 24, 1932). Only forty-six delegates attended since most of the main political figures of India were not present. The third session was shorter and less important, with neither the Congress nor the British Labour Party attending. The result of these deliberations was the Government of India Act, 1935, establishing provincial autonomy and also a federal system that was never implemented.

NEHRUVIAN PRACTICE

(i) Nehru's scientific temper

Nehru was basically a scientist in his approach. In fact, he was the first amongst the nationalist leaders who did recognise the importance of science and technology for the modernisation of the Indian society. For a modern educated Indian and this is true as well, Nehru represented the desire to be modern and scientific in one's outlook. To Nehru, Science constituted the very essence of life, without which, he would say, the modern world would have found it difficult to survive. Science, being the dominant factor in modern life, Nehru asserts, must guide the social system and economic structure. Emphasising the achievements of science which include mighty and fundamental changes in numerous fields, what is the most important of all changes is the development of the scientific outlook in man. Together with the scientific method, the new outlook of man alone could offer to mankind hope and expectation of a good life and an ending of the agony of the world, Nehru argued.

Behind every religion, Nehru argued, lay a method of approach which was wholly unscientific. But he did recognise that religion does provide some kind of a satisfaction to the inner needs of human nature and give a set of moral and ethical values of life in general. Religion was acceptable to Nehru only to that limited extent. He was not a religious man, nor would he ever spend time, as a routine, for morning and evening worshipping. Science was much preferable to religion, Nehru used to argue and continued.

(ii) Scientific Humanism

Nehru's scientific humanism had the combination of scientific dimension as well as the spiritual dimension. Unlike Gandhi's uni-dimensional approach, there is a in-dimensional approach in Nehru. According to Nehru, "the way to the spiritualisation of human relationships lay through that of the circumstances environing them". Nehru himself admitted that it was in the interest of matt to have faith in the essential spirituality of manhood, but he emphasised that faith was merely the concluding end of the rationalist process. He was of the opinion that man would never have faith in the spirituality of the human being unless circumstances environing him compelled it. He asserted that the way to the spiritualisation of the social progresses lay through the objectivisation of the spirit of malt alone and to the realisation of the social processes lay through the objectivisation of the spirit of man alone, and to the realisation of it.

(iii) Concept of culture

Nehru's concept of culture was not spiritual, but material; it was not eternal, but humanist; it was, more or less, this worldly, historical and to that extent a blend of secular and temporal, social and economic values. His culture was not dogmatic, fundamentalist, fanatical, narrow, prophetic, angological, divine

and godly. It was one that was an apostle of compassion, altruism, humanism and one which was closer to liberty, equality, fraternity, human rights, and rationalistic.

(vi) Political Ideas of Nehru

Nehru was a great nationalist, though he had no theory of nationalism. He did believe in the objectivity of the fundamental unity of India nurtured on cultural foundations which was, according to him, "not religious in the narrow sense of the term. He did accept the narrow diversities, but, at the same time, he admired the unity running throughout the Indian history. He was, indeed, inspired by the concept of cultural pluralism and synthesis. To him, nationalism was a noble phase of self-magnification.

By nature, Nehru was a nationalist and was a rebel against authoritarianism. He did not like the politics of talks, of too much submission and appeal to authorities and that was why he always found himself akin to Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Nehru's nationalism had its clear distinctive features. It was a composite and a living force and as such could make the strongest appeal to the spirit of man. Only such a type of socialism could be a driving force for freedom, and it alone could give a certain degree of unity, vigour and vitality to many people all over the world. But Nehru did not appreciate the narrow and fanatical type of nationalism. Translated into action, Nehru's nationalism was patriotism and independence of the country. In fact, Nehru's nationalism was a firm commitment to the idea of complete independence of the country.

Nehru was a great champion of democracy, throughout his life, he laid emphasis on the importance of democracy and desired passionately that independent India would go along the full

democratic process. He had a great passion for freedom. Grown in the Western democratic traditions, Nehru absorbed, since childhood, many of the dominant concepts of modern democratic thought. He had read extensively philosophers such as Rousseau, Montesquieu, Mill and made reference of their works in the writings. For Nehru, democracy was an intellectual condition, it was primarily a way of life, based on the hypothesis that the freedom was integral to the being of man. Nehru was a true democrat, for he never doubted the soundness of democracy as a spiritual proposition. In his view, the spiritualisation of a social process was, "synonymous with the maximisation of democracy within it, and the latter called for the objectivisation of not merely the guarantees of rights but also of rights themselves."

Nehru's interest in socialism can be traced to his Cambridge days when the Fabianism of George Bernard Shaw and the Webbs attracted him. He was, during those days, attending the lectures of John Maynard Keynes and Bertrand Russell, which influenced his ideas. The fast changing political, social and economic ideas taking place throughout the world sharpened his socialistic influences. India's millions living in poverty made Nehru a socialist, notwithstanding the Marxist ideology of Marx and Lenin which had its profound impact on him. Nehru was of the opinion that no ideology other than socialism could fit in the democratic pattern as that of India. He was convinced that no democracy could succeed without imbibing socialist pattern.

Nehru's concept of socialism was not the abolition of private property, but the replacement of the present profit system by the higher ideal of cooperative service. His socialism was not the state ownership. of the means of production, but was their societal and cooperative ownership. Nehru brought socialism close to democracy.

Nehru's socialism has the distinctive characteristic of progressive industrialisation through which alone the Indian economic problems (poverty, backwardness, low rate of production) could be solved and through which alone the modern India could be built. He strongly believed that in industrialisation, "the only solution for this lay in utilising modern science and technology for accelerating the progress of industrialisation on which depended also the prospects of agricultural development". For industrialisation, Nehru ruled out the capitalistic model and pleaded the socialist model by limiting the same to nationalisation of certain key industries and cooperative approach in agriculture whjle allowing the private sector to participate in industry and agriculture.

SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE – POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY



Figure 14. Subash Chandra Bose

(i) Idea of History

Subhash interpreted Indian history and asserted that it has to be recorded not in decades or in centuries but in the thousands. India has passed through various vicissitudes of fortune. Neither the individual nor the nation can have an uninterrupted career or progress and prosperity. The same is true for India which has always been characterised by a very high level of culture and civilisation. Bose summarises his readings of Indian history as follows:

- 1) A period of rise has been followed by a period of decline to be followed again by a upheaval.
- 2) The decline is the result chiefly of physical and intellectual fatigue.
- 3) Progress and fresh consolidation has been brought about by an influx of new ideas and sometimes an infusion of fresh blood.
- 4) Every new epoch has been heralded by people possessing greater intellectual power and superior military skill.
- 5) Throughout Indian history all *Figure 15. Subash Chandra Bose* foreign elements have always been gradually absorbed by Indian society. The British are the first and the only exception to this.
- 6) In spite of change in the central government, the people have all along been accustomed to .a large measure of real liberty.

To regain lost glory Subhash wanted regeneration of energy in India.

(ii) Militant Nationalism

Subhash angered that a spirit of militant nationalism is essential to rejuvenate Indians to achieving freedom. Subhash believed in the non-violent path and mobilisation of the people for the cause of freedom; that is why he supported the non-cooperation and civil disobedience movement but its withdrawal at a crucial moment on the pretext of violence and opportunist compromise was severely criticised by him. He wrote, "If our policy had been one of uncompromising militancy, the Bardoli 1surrender of 1922 never would have taken place - nor would the Delhi Pact of March, 1931 when the situation was opportune." He felt that, 'Freedom intoxicated' missionaries who are 'morally prepared' to undergo the maximum sacrifice and suffering. These are necessary to attain success in the mission.

(iii) Militant Nationalism

For Bose a nation is not there merely to satisfy narrow selfish ends. Addressing the students of the Central Provinces at Amravati and Berar, he said. "I have already said that we shall have to change some of our existing ideas of values with regard to good and evil." He advocated the need of a complete overhauling and recasting of the present stereotyped mode of existence, which in turn would lead to genuine national solidarity and would give India a position of glory. For him life, only when inspired above the ordinary by some greater and nobler ideals, has value or significance. Bose asserted that a nation need not exist, or alternately it has no right to exist or live if it has no ambition. However, he also warned that a nation should not strive for progress just to satisfy narrow selfish ends, but should march onwards so that it effectively contributes towards the evolution of the human society. For nation building Bose asserted the need of 'Swadeshi'.

(iv) Swadeshi and Nationalism

Nationalism is not only a political movement but ethical as well, according to Bose. Its ethical aspect is reflected 'in the adoption of Swadeshi which was a common cause to be practised religiously. Because when one buys an indigenous product, even though of the worst quality and on higher price he helps the nation. Swadeshi is better than the protection of the native industry. Thus Swadeshi combines sacrifice for the nation and ensures improvement in the indigenous industry.

(v) Concept of Freedom

Overthrowing the foreign yoke nevertheless was the immediate task towards the ideal of achievement of freedom, which Bose made clear in his address to the students at Lahore in October 1929. He said that the ideal we have to hold up is an ideal which will galvanise our whole life. That ideal is freedom. But freedom is a word which has varied connotations. For Bose freedom is an all-round freedom, i.e. freedom for the individual as well as for the society; freedom for the rich as well as for the poor; freedom for men as well as women; freedom for all individuals and for all classes. This freedom implies not only emancipation from political bondage but also equal distribution of wealth, abolition of caste barriers and social inequalities and destruction of communalism, and religious intolerance. Thus, for Bose, freedom has many facets as there are different aspects of it. He held socialism necessary for really achieving Freedom.

(vi) Conception of Socialism

Subhash Chandra Bose was a believer in socialism. He asserted that he wanted a 'Socialist Republic of India'. However, his concept of socialism was different from that of the others and he called it Indian socialism. In order to be just and impartial, he

advocated treating all men as equal. He asserted that bondage of any kind, economic or political, robs men of their freedom and gives rise to inequalities of various kind. Therefore, in order to ensure equality, it is necessary to get rid of bondage of every kind. However, he also warned that freedom did not mean indiscipline or license or absence of law. It rather means the substitution of law and discipline, which is very necessary for the struggle for freedom the basis of life.

Besides these fundamental principles, Bose asserted that love is the highest principle. Without a feeling of love for humanity neither one could be just to all, or treat men as equal, nor feel called upon to sacrifice, and without that the right sort of socialism could not emerge. Thus, for Bose the cardinal principles of socialism are justice, equality, freedom, discipline and love. He advised his countrymen and women not to ignore the history and traditions of the country while adopting the social and political institutions of the other countries. He asserted that these were all kinds of active nation building programmes and socio-political ideologies in the Western world, such as Socialism, State Socialism, Guild Socialism, Syndicalism, Philosophical, Anarchism, Bolshevism, Fascism, Parliamentary Democracy, Aristocracy, Absolute Monarchy, Dictatorship etc. He accepted some wisdom in each of them. However, he warned that in a progressive world like ours it would not be proper to accept any one of them as the last word for an ideal or the final solution of all the social and political - problems. Because he reasoned that the results of the transplantation of an entire idea or institution in one country from another may not necessarily be agreeable or fruitful. A national institution is the natural result of the history of the people concerned - their thoughts and ideals and the activities of their day to day life. This should be borne in mind. According to Bose social and political institutions cannot be built by ignoring history and the traditions of the people of the country,

besides their present condition or prevailing atmosphere of life. For the above reason, he could not agree with the communists.

AMBEDKAR-POONA PACT

Ambedkar was born on 14 April 1891 in the Mhow Army Cantonment, Central Provinces (present-day Madhya Pradesh) to a Dalit family. His family's low caste status resulted in his early life being marked by discrimination, segregation and untouchability. Ambedkar's academic life was prolific. He obtained a B.A in economics and political science from Elphinstone College, an M.A and doctoral degree from London School of Economics, and another doctoral degree from Columbia University in 1927.

(i) Role in India's Independence Movement

Ambedkar's role in the independence struggle was complex. Unlike the dominant political discourse that focused on persuading the British to cede greater power to Indians, and to eventually leave India, Ambedkar's interventions and advocacy centred more around the protection and furtherance of Dalit rights. As a result, he often clashed with the Indian National Congress.

He worked towards putting in place political safeguards for untouchables, the first of which was his presentation to the Southborough Committee that was preparing the Government of India Act 1919. Other instances of this were the Poona Pact 1932 and his setting up of the Scheduled Castes Federation party.

He also played a key role in social movements that fought for the rights of untouchables to access public utilities and temples, such as the Mahad Satyagraha.

(ii) Contribution to Constitution Making

The Indian Constitution and its drafting process are often seen as synonymous with Ambedkar. He was regarded as the father of the Indian Constitution, and is probably the most well-known of all Constituent Assembly members.

Ambedkar became a key figure in India's constitution-making process due to the offices he held and his interventions and speeches in the Assembly. He was the Chairman of the Assembly's most crucial committee – the Drafting Committee. Ambedkar was also a member of other important Committees. As chairman of the Drafting Committee, he had to defend the Draft Constitution which it prepared, and therefore intervened in nearly every debate.

On behalf of the Scheduled Caste Federation party, Ambedkar wrote and submitted States and Minorities document to the Sub-Committee on Fundamental Rights of the Constituent Assembly. A mini-Constitution in itself, States and Minorities framed strong social and economic rights.

Ambedkar's interventions and speeches, on various aspects of the Constitution, were insightful, well-reasoned and scrupulously researched. This won him the support and respect of other members of the Assembly who allowed him to lead the constitution-making project.

(iii) Later Contributions

Ambedkar was appointed as the first Law Minister of independent India in 1947. Ambedkar's ideas as presented in the Hilton Young Commission served as an inspiration behind the creation of the Reserve Bank of India.

In 1956, Ambedkar with 3,65,000 supporters converted to Buddhism, after having devoted several years to studying the religion. Ambedkar's re-invention of Buddhism in the language of social justice is popularly referred to as Dalit Buddhist movement, Navayana, or Neo-Buddhism.

As a Scheduled Caste Federation party candidate, Ambedkar contested in India's first general elections from Bombay North Central constituency. The elections, dubbed as 'the biggest experiment in democracy in human history' by Sukumar Sen (then Election Commissioner) saw Ambedkar finish fourth in the race – the unknown candidate from the Congress party took home the seat. Despite his loss in the Lok Sabha elections in 1952, he was elected to the Rajya Sabha.

In the later years of his life, his health worsened, and he passed away on 6 December 1956 in his sleep at his home in Delhi. His birth date is celebrated as 'Ambedkar Jayanti' in the form of a public holiday. He was posthumously given the *Bharat Ratna* in 1991.

(iv) Poona Pact

The Poona Pact 1932 was an agreement between B.R. Ambedkar and M.K. Gandhi on the political representation of the Depressed Classes (a loose term that referred to Dalits/Untouchables/Scheduled Castes). A little more than a month earlier, Ramsay Macdonald, the British Prime Minister, announced the Communal Award that gave Depressed Classes separate electorates for central and provincial legislatures. Gandhi viewed this as a danger to the Hindu community that would de-link untouchables from Hindus. Ambedkar and other leaders of the Depressed Classes welcomed the award.

On 20th September 1932, while in prison, Gandhi announced a fast unto death till the time separate electorates were removed from the Award. The British had have given the assurance that it would make changes to the Award if these changes were the result of an agreement between the communities concerned. Indian political leaders realised that the best chance to get Gandhi to terminate his fast was to facilitate an agreement between Gandhi and Ambedkar. Initially, Ambedkar was not fazed by Gandhi's fast. But later, he came around and agreed to negotiate. In the end, Gandhi and Ambedkar came to an agreement - the Poona Pact 1932 - that discarded separate electorates.

The Poona Pact is a very short document written a quasi-legal style. It contained nine points, seven of which laid out the manner and quantum of representation of the Depressed Classes at the central and provincial legislatures. Separate electorates for Depressed Classes did not feature in the document, instead, the Pact put forward a system of the joint electorates with reserved seats. It reserved 148 seats from the general electorate for Depressed Classes, 78 more than what the Award had proposed.

The Pact also called for the non-discrimination of Depressed Classes in public services and urged for efforts towards the fair representation of the community in public services. It also contained a provision that proposed the earmarking of a portion of the state's educational grant for Depressed Classes.

The Pact was sent across to British authorities who then set aside the sections dealing with untouchables. Promptly, Gandhi broke his fast on 26th September 1932. The Pact influenced the Government of India Act 1935, separate electorates were given to Muslims, Sikhs and others, but not to the Depressed Classes.

The leaders of the Depressed Classes, including Ambedkar, were not happy with the Poona Pact. Even though the numbers of seats reserved was double than what the Award had offered, separate electorates were viewed as a critical tool for political representation. Also, as Ambedkar himself argued, the Award had given Depressed Classes a double vote: they could use one vote for the separate electorates and another for the general electorate. Ambedkar felt that the second vote was ‘a political weapon beyond reckoning’ for the protection of Depressed Classes’ interests.

The Pact was a historic moment in India’s constitutional and political history. It brought to bear the tensions between the Depressed Classes and the Hindus, one that would continue to haunt the freedom movement and negotiations between Indians and the British. To a large extent, the Pact further reinforced and augmented the claim that Depressed Classes were a political minority whose interests could not be ignored while drawing up the constitutional future of India.

Poona Pact, Agreed to by Leaders of Caste-Hindus and of Dalits, at Poona on 24-9-1932

The following is the text of the agreement arrived at between leaders acting on behalf of the Depressed Classes and of the rest of the community, regarding the representation of the Depressed Classes in the legislatures and certain other matters affecting their welfare

- 1. There shall be seats reserved for the Depressed Classes out of general electorate seats in the provincial legislatures as follows: -Madras 30; Bombay with Sind 25; Punjab 8; Bihar and Orissa 18; Central Provinces 20; Assam 7; Bengal 30; United Provinces 20. Total 148.*

These figures are based on the Prime Minister's (British) decision.

- 2. Election to these seats shall be by joint electorates subject, however, to the following procedure – All members of the Depressed Classes registered in the general electoral roll of a constituency will form an electoral college which will elect a panel of four candidates belonging to the Depressed Classes for each of such reserved seats by the method of the single vote and four persons getting the highest number of votes in such primary elections shall be the candidates for election by the general electorate.*
- 3. The representation of the Depressed Classes in the Central Legislature shall likewise be on the principle of joint electorates and reserved seats by the method of primary election in the manner provided for in clause above for their representation in the provincial legislatures.*
- 4. In the Central Legislature 18 per cent of the seats allotted to the general electorate for British India in the said legislature shall be reserved for the Depressed Classes.*
- 5. The system of primary election to a panel of candidates for election to the Central and Provincial Legislatures as i herein-before mentioned shall come to an end after the first ten years, unless terminated sooner by mutual agreement under the provision of clause 6 below.*
- 6. The system of representation of Depressed Classes by reserved seats in the Provincial and Central Legislatures as provided for in clauses (1) and (4) shall continue until*

determined otherwise by mutual agreement between the communities concerned in this settlement.

7. *The Franchise for the Central and Provincial Legislatures of the Depressed Classes shall be as indicated, in the Lothian Committee Report.*
8. *There shall be no disabilities attached to any one on the ground of his being a member of the Depressed Classes in regard to any election to local bodies or appointment to the public services. Every endeavour shall be made to secure a fair representation of the Depressed Classes in these respects, subject to such educational qualifications as may be laid down for appointment to the Public Services. (Adult franchise but reservation has been provided for Dalits on population basis, till 1960),*
9. *In every province out of the educational grant an adequate sum shall be ear-marked for providing educational facilities to the members of Depressed Classes,*

E.V. RAMASWAMI NAICKER

The caste-based hierarchical system is one of the most peculiar features of Indian society. In the past, those who were on the top of this hierarchical system (Brahmins) enjoyed all privileges, while people from lower hierarchies did not get access to resources and they were exploited by the people who belonged to higher hierarchical order. Reformation in this caste-based system was one of the prime targets of various social reform movements including Dravidian movement.



Figure 16. Indian Postal Stamp depicting E. V. Ramaswami Naicker.

Justice party

The root of the Dravidian movement lies in Brahmin-non-Brahmin conflict. The non-Brahmans started demanding their right and questioned the dominance of Brahmins in each and every sphere. In 1916, Zamindars and Maharajas in order to counter growing clout of Brahmins in society and politics, established South India Welfare Association in Madras Presidency. The organization had eminent non-Brahman leaders as Dr TM Nair, Theagaraya Chetty, Dr C Natesa Mudaliar, Panagal Raja and Sir A Ramaswamy Mudaliar. It started publishing English newspaper 'Justice', with growing popularity the society came to be known as Justice Party. This Justice party contested the election and for the first time in 1921 Indian cabinet was formed in Madras Presidency.

Self-respect Movement

E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker who was popularly known as Periyar was not happy with the Brahminical dominance in society as well as in Congress Party that he believed was controlled by Brahmins. To assert the rights of non-Brahmins, he established Self-Respect Movement in 1925. The aim was to have a society with equal human rights for backward castes. Anti-Brahminism and Self-respect Marriages were two important aspects of Self-respect Movement. The movement encouraged inter-caste and inter-religious marriages, along with that it also encouraged marriage ceremonies without Brahmin priest. Post-independence, Tamilnadu passed a law and become the first state to legalize Hindu marriage without Brahmin priest.

Dravidar Kazhagam

The justice party could not continue its popularity and in 1936 no party candidate was elected to state legislature. After the defeat, justice party approached Periyar and Justice party came under Periyar who decided to withdraw from politics and transformed Justice party into a social organization Dravidar Kazhagam (Dravidian Organization).

Anti-North Orientation and Dravida Nadu

Dravidian Movement which initiated as a movement against Brahmins, after independence added one more dimension of Anti north orientation. At the time of Independence Periyar boycotted the independence celebration. According to him now the British dominance will be replaced by the dominance of North India and Congress which was led by Brahmins. Therefore, he started the demand for Independent south Indian nation/ Dravida Nadu or *Dravidsthan*. However, this view was not supported by various other party leaders including CN Annadurai. The movement for

Dravida Nadu reached its height during the period of anti-Hindi protests. However, after the 16th Amendment (popularly known as the Anti-Secessionist Amendment), successionist tendency was declared illegal and the demand for politically independent nation faded away.

Split in Dravidar Kazhagam and formation of DMK

The differences among party leaders reached a pinnacle when Periyar married to a woman who was 40 years younger than him. This led to split in the party and CN Annadurai formed a new party *Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam* (Progressive Dravidian Organization).

AIDMK

Tamil cinema star M. G. Ramachandran (MGR), through movies propagated the Dravidian ideologies, however after the death of CN Annadurai, the differences between MGR and party president M. Karunanidhi reached new heights and MGR was suspended for anti-Party activities, in a reaction to that MGR formed a new party All India Anna *Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam*.

Anti-Hindi Movement

Use of Hindi as the official language was opposed by people and politicians of non Hindi speaking states in general and Tamilnadu in Particular. 1938 when Congress government headed by C. Rajagopalachari issued order to use Hindi as compulsory language in schools, it was vehemently opposed by people of Tamilnadu, which forced the government to withdraw the order in 1940.

Post-Independence Hindi was given a special status. When the question of making Hindi as the official language of India came

into the picture, people started agitating. The official language act provided for the provisions to use English for the transaction of business in Parliament, by Centre and states and for certain purposes in high courts for 15 years. Later, in 1967 there was an amendment in an act which allowed continuation of English for official purposes. However, the issue of language has not been resolved for example Tamil Nadu passed a resolution in 2006 to make Tamil the official language of Madras high court.

AIKYA KERALA MOVEMENT AND PROCLAMATION OF STATE

The Aikya Kerala Movement was the concrete expression of the Malayalam speaking peoples to have a state of their own. It aimed at the integration of Malabar, Kochi and Thiruvitamkur into one territory. The Keralites who spoke the same language, shared the common cultural tradition, unified by the same history, rituals and customs were politically separated for a long period.

The Indian national movement instilled the people of Kerala the necessity unification and integration. It taught the people that political unification was to be done on linguistic basis. It was the peculiar political and historical realities that had existed in the state that paved the way for the integration of Kerala in to a single political unit. The Malayalam language with its rich literary heritage served as an important factor in the cultural integration of the people of the three areas of Malabar, Kochi and Thiruvitamkur.

Congress and Linguistic States

The Kerala Provincial Congress Committee which came into existence in 1921 on linguistic basis included the whole of the Malabar District and the States of Travancore and Cochin. This was taken to mean that the Congress had committed itself to the

idea of linguistic states in a free India. The first All Kerala Provincial Conference under the auspices of the Congress met at Ottappalam in 1921.

It was for the first time that representatives from Malabar, Travancore and Cochin attended a conference of such political significance and size. It helped to create a sense of Kerala identity in the minds of the people. In 1927 the Indian National Congress expressed the view that the time was appropriate for the linguistic re-organisation of provinces in India. The question was examined by the Nehru Committee set up in 1928 by the All parties Conference to draft a model constitution for free India.

The committee expressed itself in favour of linguistic states on the ground that such states would promote the cultural wellbeing of the people, ensure greater educational advancement and enable the people to participate actively in public activities. Between 1928 and 1947 the Congress officially endorsed the idea of linguistic states on quite a few occasions. The Election manifesto issued by the Congress in 1945 assured the people that the states of India would be recognized on linguistic basis, as far as possible, in case the party was voted to power.

Demand for 'Aikya Keralam'

The demand for a separate state for the Malayalam speaking people gathered strength since the twenties. Such conferences as the States People's and the All-Kerala Kudiyan Conferences held at Ernakulam in 1928 and the Political Conferences held at Ernakulam in 1928 and Political Conferences held at Payyannur (1928), Vadakara (1931) and Calicut (1935) passed resolutions emphasizing the need for the formation of a separate Province of Kerala in the new constitutional set-up. The Political Conference held under the auspices of the Travancore district

Congress Committee at Trivandrum in 1938 with Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramiah as the Chairman passed a resolution favouring a Sub-Federation comprising of Malabar, Travancore and Cochin. It was, however, only in the logic of things that such a united Kerala State could not have been formed so long as British rule lasted in India and the native States of Travancore and Cochin continued to be under princely rule. During the period after the Second World War (1939-1945) when negotiations for the transfer of power were in progress, the question of formation of linguistic states again assumed importance. The ruler of Cochin extended full support to the proposal. In a message sent to the Cochin Legislative Council on July 29, 1945 the Maharaja of Cochin stressed the need for the formation of a united state of Kerala and expressed his readiness to merge Cochin in such a state in the general interests of the people.

The Cochin state Praja Mandal which was formed in 1941 had also been endorsing the demand for a separate Kerala State at its successive annual sessions. Only the Government of Travancore's reaction was lukewarm to the proposal. Cultural organizations like 'Samastha Kerala Sahitya Parishad' however, welcomed the idea of Malayalam speaking State with great enthusiasm. The Kerala Provincial Congress committee took the lead in this matter and set up a Sub-Committee in 1946 to carry on the movement for Aikya Kerala with the utmost vigour. A meeting of the Sub-committee was held at Cheruthuruthi late in 1946 under the Chairmanship of K.P. Kesava Menon, with leading figures from all parts of Kerala, including Mahakavi Vallathol, participating in it. It was in pursuance of the decision taken at this meeting that the famous Aikya Conference was held at Trichur in April 1947 under the Chairmanship of K. Kelappan.



Figure 17. K. Kelappan.

Hundreds of delegates from all parts of Kerala representing various cultural organizations and political parties were present at the meeting. In fact, the Conference was more representative than any other of its kind held till then. Sree Kerala Varma reigning Maharaja of Cochin, participated in the conference and declared his support to the establishment of a united Kerala State comprising of the three administrative units of Malabar, Travancore and Cochin.

The conference passed a resolution, moved by the Veteran congress leader, E. Moidu Maulavi, demanding the early formation of Aikya Kerala. It also elected an Aikya Kerala Council of hundred members to take appropriate steps for the

achievement of the goal. In 1948 yet another representative convention was held at Alwaye under the auspices of the Aikya Kerala Council. Delegates from Malabar, Travancore and Cochin attended the convention and appointed a more compact Action Committee of 15 members with K. Kelappan as President and K.A. Damodara Menon as Secretary in suppression of the earlier Aikya Kerala Council of 100 members. In a memorandum submitted before the Dhar Commission set up by the President of the Indian Constituent Assembly to consider the question of reorganization of states in India, the Aikya Kerala council demanded the formation of new Kerala State comprising of Malabar, Travancore, Cochin, Coorg, Nilgiris, Guddalore, South Canara, Mahe and Lakshadweep. It may be noted here that the Travancore Government under Pattom Thanu Pillai did not co-operate with the work of the Dhar Commission. The Indian National Congress at its Jaipur Session (1948) set up a high level committee consisting of Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhai Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramiah to consider the Dhar Commission's recommendations. In its report (J.V.P. Report) the Committee counselled the utmost caution in proceeding with the proposal for the linguistic reorganization of states. At the same time, it also made clear that the formation of the linguistic states of Kerala and Karnataka would have to wait till a final solution was found for the Indian States problem.

The merger and integration of princely states was a major step for the formation of the Kerala State. On 1st July, 1949, the two states of Travancore and Kochi were integrated heralding the birth of the Travancore-Cochin State. It was a positive step taken in the right direction, leading to the formation of the Kerala State.

When steps were taken to reorganize the Indian States on a linguistic basis, the state Reorganisation Commission appointed for the purpose recommended the creation of the state of Kerala.

The Commission under Syed Fazl Ali recommended the inclusion of the district of Malabar and the taluk of Kasargode to the Malayalam speaking people's state. It also recommended the exclusion of the four Southern taluks of Travancore viz Tovala, Agastheswaram, Kalkulam and Vilayankode together with some parts of Shenkotta. The new state of Kerala, the long-cherished dream of the Malayalis came in to being on November 1st, 1956 with a Governor at its head. The last vestige of princely rule in Kerala disappeared and Kerala regained its identity to become an integral part of the Indian Union.

COMMUNALISM

The Muslim League

The Muslim League was founded in 1906 as an alternative political group to the Indian National Congress. It was created with the aim of representing the interests of Indian Muslims. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who was also a member of Congress, was elected as president in 1916. Several political events, including the partition of Bengal, introduction of the separate electorates for the Muslims, etc. brought the League into relevance.

In its initial years, the League had remained a loyal political organization to the British and had cooperated to seek benefits to the Muslim community in the social, economic, professional and political spheres. It is in the 1920s that the Muslim league under the influence of the Khilafat movement started getting radicalized. It was in late 1930s after League's dismal performance in the elections of 1937 that the organization got shaken up. Until then even in the Muslim majority provinces of Bengal and Punjab the League was seriously contested by class based, or the regional solidarity-based party like the Krishak Praja Party in West Bengal and the Unionist Party in Punjab. Both

these parties fared well in the 1937 elections even in the face of rout of the League.

After Mohammad Ali Jinnah took over the reins of the Muslim League post 1937 elections the party was revived and revitalized. In the aftermath of the resounding Congress victory in 1937 elections the League was completely written off as the representative of the Muslim interests. Jawaharlal Nehru had declared that the Congress rather than the League was the representative of all sections of the Indian population, including the Muslims. Muslims in the meanwhile started growing apprehensive of certain political developments like the comprehensive domination of the Congress, growing capacity of the Hindu Mahasabha to steer the Congress policy and programmes and the dwindling influence of the League. The Muslims were particularly afraid of living under comprehensive domination of the Hindu rule produced through democratic majority and abstract notion of individual citizenship advocated by the Congress. In order to counter this, League and other Muslim organizations focused on campaigns based on the separate electorate as well as the demand for the minority veto over legislative provisions that affected the interests of the Muslims.

In 1930s such assertions of the minority community gained new momentum, particularly as the prospect for the self-government and possibly independence grew. The second-round table conference of 1932 yielded to such assertions leading consequently to the “communal award”. Ramsay MacDonald, the British Prime Minister acceded to the demands not only of the Muslims to provide special representation but also extended it to other religious as well as secular categories. Thus, Muslims, Sikhs, Anglo Indians, Indian Christians, depressed classes, tribals etc. all were given special measures of representation. Jinnah at

this stage started campaigning for equal partnership of the Muslim community in any further constitutional scheme for India. Symbolic issues like the passing of the Shariat Application Act in 1937, that granted autonomy to the Muslim community from being subject to any other law or custom in personal matters led to galvanization of All India Muslim support for the League as well as Jinnah-its forceful advocate.

The idea of a ‘nation within nation’ nurtured since as early as 1905-1906, by the Muslim elite was now forcefully articulated. In 1930, Mohammad Iqbal as League’s president proposed carving out centralized territory of Islam in India out of four states of Punjab, north-West Frontier provinces, Sind and Baluchistan. This was further refined in 1933, by Rahmat Ali as he demanded “Pakistan” carved out of the four Muslim majority provinces and Kashmir. However, it was at the Karachi meeting of the League presided over by Jinnah that the demand for political self-determination of the two nations, known as the Hindus and the Muslims, was passed and the Muslim League resolved to work for its realization. Finally, the Lahore resolution of the Muslim League in 1940 proclaimed the Muslims as a nation without, however, mentioning partition or Pakistan. It simply declared independent state to be constituted of the Muslim majority provinces without giving any timeline for such formation.

The Hindu Mahasabha

Unlike the Muslim League the Hindu Communal organizations were not separatists. Their aim simply was to align Indian nationalism to the interest of the majority community. It thus reproduced communalism surreptitiously through the secular nationalist forms. However, more often than not, they explicitly generated communal fervours. While the Hindu Mahasabha was formed in 1914 to uphold the interest of the Hindus in the wake

of developments like the granting of the separate electorate to the Muslims, its leaders were active through various forums like the Hindu Sabha and the Indian National Congress. Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya and Lala Lajpat Rai were its early members. The anti-British militant trend in the Indian nationalism, it has been argued was induced by the sympathizers of the Hindu Sabha. In fact, the very basis of Indian nationalism was protecting its sovereignty in the inner cultural domain. It is here that the contest emerged as the early nationalists strongly resisted the colonial intervention in remoulding the cultural practices. Bal Gangadhar Tilak's act of resistance to raise the age of consent by two years—from 10 to 12 for girls' marriage is looked upon as the site of nationalist resistance. The issues like cow protection, (re)conversions of people from Islam and Christianity through *sudhhi* campaigns, etc. were first promoted by the Mahasabha to unify the Hindu community against the Muslims. The Hindu Mahasabha had considerable influence over the Congress policy and programme. The Hindu Mahasabha also took up the battle for political leadership inside the Congress. In fact, until late into 1930s, there was no prohibition of Congress members simultaneously having the membership of the Hindu Mahasabha. It was, however, in the 1920s that the Mahasabha emerged as a discreetly political actor with its focus on the *suddhi* and the *sangathan* campaign. While the *suddhi* movement was for reconverting the Muslims, the *sangathan* campaign was articulated as the means of consolidating the Hindu society, of unifying Hinduism in face of perceived unity of the Indian Muslims. It is noteworthy how even leaders like Gandhi could be undermined at will by the Mahasabha and its leadership when he went to Punjab to promote communal harmony in 1924.

FREEDOM AND PARTITION

The period from 1939 to 1945 witnessed the Second World War that had a devastating effect on humanity. Coming to India, it was a prelude to the declaration of Indian independence and partition of India into India and Pakistan on communal grounds.

This period brought to light primarily the fragile nature of the mosaic of Indian society and polity wherein the internal squabbles of the Congress organization surfaced openly defying the existing traditions in the form of conflict between Subhas Chandra Bose and Gandhi, and the sharpened teeth of extreme communalism hardened the Muslim League to opt for their desired sacred land of Pakistan.

Further, as an indirect effect of the Second World War, the condition of the common people became extremely worse due to the soaring of prices of necessities in addition to the devastating famines.

Unrest of labour and the peasants dominated the Indian scenario. Lord Linlithgow was the Governor General of India between 1936-1944 and he was followed by Lord Wavell, who was the Governor General till 1947. Thus, when the Second World War started in 1939, Linlithgow was the Governor General and when the Second World War ended in 1945, Wavell was the Governor General. Before the war started, the Indian National Congress formed ministries with absolute majority in Madras, Bihar, Orissa, central provinces and united provinces and with a near majority in Bombay in 1937.

The relations between the Muslim League and the Congress were so strained that Jinnah denounced 'congress fascism' in the Patna session of the League in 1938. Thus, throughout the 27 months of the Congress rule in provinces, the League continued its intense

vicious propaganda against the Congress and by March 1940, the League adopted the 'Pakistan resolution', in spite of a compromise made by Congress working committee in 1937 to drop the closing stanzas of the Vandemataram recognizing the validity of the criticism of the League and the Muslim community.

Hindu communalism championed by the Hindu Mahasabha also raised its voice against what it considered to be anti-Hindu sentiment and in 1938 V.D. Savarkar declared in the Nagpur session that we Hindus are a nation by ourselves, Hindu nationalists should not at all be apologetic to being called Hindu communalists. Thus, communal divide began to take deep roots in this period due to the, growth of militancy among the Hindus and the Muslims.

During this period, the Congress ministries tried to implement Gandhian socio-economic reforms, yet Ambedkar and Jinnah joined together and celebrated 'the day of deliverance' when the Congress ministries resigned in 1939.

Interestingly during this period only, there developed a honeymoon of durable alliance between the capitalists of India and the Congress as observed by Claude Markovitz and Sumit Sarkar. Besides communal militancy, the militancy of labour and Kisans become dominant between 1937-1939.

During this period only, states Peoples' Movement strengthened in many princely states. The Left-wing ideology also became a dominant force and tried to persuade the Congress leadership to adopt a more sympathetic attitude towards trade unions and Kisan Sabhas and to give open support to states people's movements.

In such a bewildered maze, the Tripuri crisis or open conflict between Subhas Chandra Bose and Gandhi followers openly

erupted, signifying opposition to the Gandhian policy of non violence. Bose's action was not liked by Gandhi camp and Bose was debarred from holding any office. In such a situation, Linlithgow, the then Governor General, unilaterally associated India with the declaration of joining the Second World War against Germany on 3 September, 1939. Linlithgow never bothered to consult the leaders of the Congress ministries. Dissatisfied by the unilateral action of Linlithgow, the Congress ministries resigned on 29-30 October, 1939.

The six-year period of war has been divided into two phases. The first phase was from 1939 to 1942 and the second phase 1942 to 1945. In the beginning it was felt that the war would affect very little of India and Indians but the collapse of France and the isolation of Britain caused a general feeling of anxiety and the success of Britain won the admiration of the Indians. The delay of granting dominion status until after the war created sourness and suspicion in the minds of the Indians. Gandhi very generously declared in 1940, 'we do not seek independence out of Britain's ruins'. Sensing the mood of the Indians, the government announced the August offer of 1940.

August offer of 1940

In this offer, Linlithgow assured the Muslims that complete protection would be provided to them in case of any settlement taking place between Britain and India. The August offer held out the promise of dominion status for India with the assurance that after the end of the war a representative body would be set up to devise a framework of the new constitution. This offer of August 1940 was rejected by the Congress as well as the Muslim League.

After rejecting the August offer, the Congress launched individual civil disobedience movement in which nearly 25,000

Satyagrahis courted arrest. In the midst of this civil disobedience movement, the Viceroy expanded the council and constituted a National Defence Council with 50 members belonging to provinces and princely states. In 1941 Japan and America entered the war.

Cripps mission

In 1942 on March 11, the British government announced the dispatch of Sir Stafford Cripps with proposals to India. This offer caused great excitement in India and everyone looked with great expectation for the arrival of the Cripps Mission.

The appointment of the Mission was the result of the intervention of the American President Roosevelt with Churchill and also because of request of Sapru and Jayakar. Even Chang Kai Shek during his visit to India expressed sympathy for India's aspiration for freedom. Cripps persuaded the war cabinet to agree to his draft proposals. In this draft proposal he promised post-war dominion status with right of secession, a constitution making body elected by provincial legislatures, with individual provinces being given the right not to join it, and with states being invited to appoint representatives. Finally, Cripps proposals were rejected by the Congress and other sections.

Proposals of Cripps mission

- Setting up of an Indian dominion. This dominion would have the freedom to remain with the British Commonwealth or to secede from it. It would also be at liberty to take part in international organisations.
- A Constituent Assembly would be formed to frame a new constitution for the country. This Assembly would have

members elected by the provincial assemblies and also nominated by the princes.

- Any province unwilling to join the Indian dominion could form a separate union and have a separate constitution.
- The transfer of power and the rights of minorities would be safeguarded by negotiations between the Constituent Assembly and the British government.
- In the meantime, until this new constitution came into force, India's defence would be controlled by the British and the powers of the Governor-General would remain unaltered.

Quit India movement

Gandhi launched Quit India movement which was opposed by the League. Even before the Quit India movement was formally launched, in the early hours of 9, August, the British government arrested all the worthwhile leaders of the movement. Strangely, Rajaji and the communists viewed that there should be an understanding with the League by agreeing to the right of the majority of Muslim provinces to secede through plebiscite after India becomes independent. Keeping aside these views, Nehru moved the resolution of Quit India movement which the communists opposed.

Britain tried to win the world opinion by painting India as a 'fifth columnist conspirator' forgetting its earlier anti-fascist stance. Shifting fortunes of the war also decided the course to be followed by the Congress. By the end of 1942, by brutal suppression the movement was brought under control. Gandhi was kept in jail and was released in 1944. In the meanwhile, the Muslim League made rapid strides and by 1943, it formed ministries in Assam, Sind,

Bengal and North Western Frontier provinces. The slogan of Pakistan gained momentum.

INA

Subhas Chandra Bose, who left India during this period continued his efforts of achieving independence to India by starting Indian Legion in Berlin in 1941. But he left Germany in 1943 by giving his famous call 'Delhi Chalo' and formed Azad Hind Government and the Indian National Army on 21 October 1943. Subhas Chandra Bose sought the blessings of Mahatma for all his efforts.

On July 6, 1944, Subhas Chandra Bose in a broadcast on Azad Hind Radio addressed Gandhi as follows: "India's last war of independence has begun Father of our nation! In this holy war of India's liberation we ask for your blessing and good wishes". Between March and June 1944, the INA was in action on Indian soil which ultimately ended in total failure.

INA men surren- dered to Britain in mid-1945 and became prisoners again. Till even today, we are not certainly sure of what happened to Bose. Some believed that Bose died in an air crash and some really believe that he is still alive. When the British government tried to try the INA men as prisoners of war, there was sponta- neous outburst of anger against British in November 1945.

The Second World War came to an end in 1945 and it was followed by Shimla conference in June 1945. Unfor- tunately, the conference failed to arrive at any consensus due to determined policy of the Muslims and the Hindus.

As explained above, India passed through a most disturbing phase of agony and crisis due to the rigid stand of contending social and economic groups and the adamancy of the British in satisfying the

nationalist aspirations of the Indians. By 1945, the realization of the dream of the Indians to attain independence was only a foot away with a certainty of the unhappy division of India on communal lines.

Cabinet mission plan, 1946

The Cabinet Mission had as its members, Pethick-Lawrence (Secretary of State for India), Sir Stafford Cripps and A.V. Alexander and reached Delhi on March 24, 1946.

It had prolonged discussions with Indian leaders of all parties and groups. As the Congress and the League could not come to any agreement on the fundamental issue of the unity or partition of India, the mission put forward its own plan which was issued on May 16, 1946.

The main proposals

- Rejection of the League's demand for a full-fledged Pakistan.
- Grouping of existing provincial Assemblies into three sections. Section A—Madras, Bombay, Central Provinces, United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa, Section B—Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind (Muslim majority provinces) Section C—Bengal and Assam.
- The full autonomy of the provinces and the provisions for grouping were meant to give the Muslim League the 'substance' of Pakistan.
- A Constituent Assembly to be elected by Provincial Assemblies by proportional representation (voting in groups-General, Muslims, Sikhs). This Constituent

Assembly to be a 389-member body with provincial assemblies sending 292, chief commissioner's provinces sending 4 and princely states sending 93.

- In the Constituent Assembly, members from groups A, B and C would sit separately to decide the constitution for provinces and if possible, for the groups also, then the whole Constituent Assembly would sit together to formulate the Union Constitution.
- There would be a common Centre controlling Defence, Communication and External Affairs.
- Provinces to have full autonomy and residual powers.
- Princely states to be no longer under paramountcy of British government and would be free to enter into an arrangement with successor governments or the British government.
- An interim government to be formed from the Constituent Assembly.

The Cabinet Mission Plan was accepted by the Congress and the Muslim League though with mental reservations (The Objection of the Congress to the Plan was mainly its provision of grouping, that of the League to the rejection of its demand for Pakistan).

In the elections to the Constituent Assembly that took place in July 1946, the Congress captured 205 seats and the League 73. The 4 Sikh seats owed allegiance to the Congress, thus Congress had 209 members in an Assembly of 296.

Alarmed at the overwhelming majority of the Congress the Muslim League withdrew its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission

Plan on July 29, 1946. August 16, 1946 was fixed 'Direct Action Day' by the Muslim League. From 16 August 1946, the Indian scene was rapidly transformed. There were communal riots on an unprecedented scale, which left 5000 dead. The worst-hit areas were Calcutta, Bombay, Noakhali, Bihar, Garhamukteswar (U.P).

The interim government—sept 2, 1946

The Viceroy invited the President of the Congress Jawaharlal Nehru to form the Interim government which assumed office on September 2, 1946. Initially the Muslim League kept out but later on October 13, decided to join the Interim government to safeguard the interests of the Muslim and other minorities.

The Constituent Assembly with the Muslim League remaining aloof meet for the first time on December 9, 1946 at New Delhi. On December 11, 1946 this Assembly elected Dr. Rajendra Prasad as its President and only two days later Nehru moved his famous "Objectives Resolution".

Attlee's announcement—February 20, 1947

On February 20, 1947 the British Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, fixed the deadline of June 1948 by which the British would quit India and envisaged a partition of the country. This was followed by a near chaotic condition in the country as the League resorted to unabashed violence in Calcutta, Assam the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province.

Attlee also announced the appointment of Lord Mountbatten as Viceroy in place of Lord Wavell. Lord Mountbatten, the last British Governor- General and Viceroy arrived in India on March 22, 1947 and immediately began to take measures for the transfer of power.

The Mountbatten plan—June 3, 1947

The prevailing communal violence in the country led Mountbatten to announce the partition plan or the June 3rd Plan. The Congress leaders too had come to the conclusion that partition was the only choice to check the widespread communal violence and bloodshed that was ravaging the country. The Plan provided for immediate transfer of power on the basis of grant of Dominion Status.

The important points of the plan

- The Provincial Assemblies of Punjab and Bengal would meet in two parts, one representing the Muslim majority districts and the other representing the rest of the Province to vote for partition. If a simple majority of either part voted for partition then these provinces would be partitioned.
- The Legislative Assembly of Sind would take its own decision.
- Referendum in North-West Frontier Province and Sylhet district of Bengal would decide the fate of these areas.
- Independence for princely states ruled out, they would either join India or Pakistan.
- Provision for the setting up of a Boundary Commission to demarcate boundaries in case partition was to be effected.

Partition of India

The Plan of 3rd June was accepted by all political parties in the country. The Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab

decided in favour of partition of those provinces. East Bengal and West Punjab joined Pakistan; West Bengal and East Punjab remained with the Indian Union. The referendum in the Sylhet resulted in the incorporation of that district in East Bengal. Two Boundary Commissions one in respect of each province were constituted to demarcate the boundaries of the new provinces. The referendum in the N.W.F.P. decided in favour of Pakistan, the provincial Congress refraining from the referendum. Baluchistan and Sind joined Pakistan.

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