

MODERN INDIAN HISTORY

आधुनिक भारत का इतिहास

Class Notes (English)



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Modern period

The history of Modern India can be studied by dividing it into the following sections-

- 1- History of 18th century
- 2- Colonialism
- 3- Nationalism
- 4- India after independence

History of 18th century

We shall analyse it by dividing it into two parts -

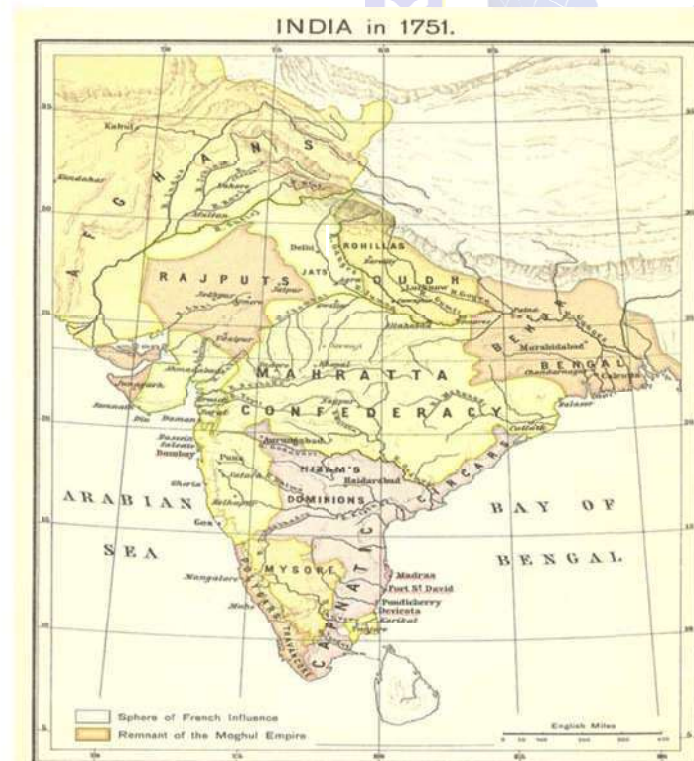
- 1- First half of 18th century
- 2- Second half of 18th century

First half of 18th century

During the course of our, our emphasis will be on the following aspects:

- 1- Decline of the Mughal Empire and establishment of regional states.
- 2- Why did the Marathas fail to displace the Mughal Empire?
- 3- Whether the first half of 18th century should be considered a 'Dark Age' or it a period of new possibilities?

Political scenario of India after disintegration of the Mughal Empire



After disintegration of the Mughal Empire, many regional states were established. These states can be divided into the following subgroups -

1. Successor States:-

Founders of these states were former officials of the Mughal Empire. Weakness of the Mughal Empire allowed them to behave like an independent ruler. These states have been discussed below-

Bengal: The founder of Bengal as independent state was Murshid Quli Khan, who was initially appointed as the Diwan of Bengal by Aurangzeb. However, by taking advantage of Aurangzeb's death, he assumed the post

of Subedar of Bengal, but he did not formally sever links with the Mughal empire. Since the beginning, there were two separate posts in the Mughal provincial administration i.e. Subedar and provincial Diwan. These two officers were expected to maintain mutual check and

balance. But, Murshid Quli Khan later, assumed the post of Subedar as well and thus, he became the virtual Nawab.

Then, in 1727 AD, he was succeeded by his son-in-law Shujauddin (1727-1739 AD) who in turn succeeded by his son Sarfaraz Khan (1739-40 AD). Then, after killing Sarfaraz Khan, Alivardi Khan captured the throne in 1740 AD and continued to rule till 1756 AD. He established an efficient administration in Bengal. However, he was frustrated with constant Maratha invasions. So, in 1751 he signed a treaty with the Marathas whereby he surrendered a large territory of Orissa province along with paying Chauth to the Marathas.

Awadh: By 1722 AD, the Mughal Wazir, 'Saadat Khan Burhan-ul-Mulk' made Awadh an independent state but he did not make any formal announcement regarding it. He received the title 'Burhan-ul-Mulk' from the Mughal Emperor. In 1723, he introduced a fresh revenue settlement and fixed a fair rate of land revenue on peasants. After his death in 1739 AD, he was succeeded by Safdarjung, who was also appointed on the post of Mughal Wazir. Hence the Nawab of Awadh was called 'Nawab-Wazir'. Safdarjung was succeeded by Shuja-ud-Daula who participated in the Battle of Buxar.

Hyderabad: Nizam-ul-Mulk was the founder of Hyderabad state. His real name was Chin Qilich Khan, but title of Nizam-ul-Mulk was conferred upon him by the Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah. He assumed the post of Mughal Wazir from 1722 to 24. But due to petty court politics, he turned to Hyderabad in 1724 AD and there he founded his independent state. Similar to Bengal and Awadh, he did not sever his links with the Mughal imperial centre. He ruled as a virtually independent ruler till 1748 AD.

2. Rebel states:-

These states came into existence within the territory of Mughals by revolting against the Mughal Empire. These states were-

The Sikh State: - Sikhism was founded in 16th century by Guru Nanak. The 5th guru, Guru Arjandev established Golden Temple in Amritsar and organized the Sikh religion and even introduced some kind of a religious tax. In fact, since the very beginning, this religion promoted the feeling of togetherness due to its two elements-

- 1- Sangat (True Congregation)
 - 2- Langar (Community Kitchen)
- Further, this state fell into conflict with the Mughal Empire and then the Fifth and the Ninth Sikh gurus were martyred against Jahangir and Aurangzeb respectively. However, the Sixth Guru Hargobind Singh attempted to militarize the Sikh religion, but it could only be realized by Guru Gobind Singh, the Tenth Guru, who laid the foundation of a strong military organization in the form of Khalsa. After him, Banda Bahadur tried to challenge the Mughals, but neither Guru Gobind Singh nor his disciple Banda Bahadur proved successful in establishing a Sikh state.
 - Then, in order to fill the void created by the Third Battle of Panipat (1761), an independent Sikh state was established in Amritsar in 1764. It extended from the river Satluj to

Peshawar in the north-west and Kashmir in the north. Later, under Ranjit Singh, the Sikh state emerged as a powerful state in India.

The Maratha State: - Marathas were organized under Shivaji into a separate Maratha state despite the opposition of Bijapur Kingdom and the mighty Mughals. The Maratha state turned into a large empire under the Peshwas. There was a time when the Maratha state emerged as a strong regional challenge to the Mughals but could not sustain the momentum. By the time of Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao, a Maratha confederacy had come into existence. The Peshwa of Poona was at the helm of this confederacy and its other constituents were the Scindias of Gwalior, the Holkars of Indore, the Bhonsles of Nagpur and the Gaekwads of Vadodara. The Marathas not only established their supremacy over Delhi, but also tried to drive out Afghans from Punjab region. However, after their defeat in the Third Battle of Panipat, the Marathas returned to the south.

The Jat State: - Jats were a farming community in Delhi, Agra, Mathura, Bharatpur etc. Gokul was a Jat leader who revolted against the Mughals in 1667 AD. But this rebellion was suppressed. Then, Rajaram Jat rebelled in 1685, and met the same fate. Later, Jat state was established under the leadership of Churaman Jat and Badan Singh.

The Afghans: - The Rohilla state was established in the north of Awadh by the Rohilla Afghans. This state was located in the Terai region of Himalayas. The Rohillas were constantly in conflict with Delhi and Jats. Najib-ud-Daulah and Hafiz Ahmad Khan were some of the most important Rohilla chieftains. Muhammad Khan Bangash founded an independent state of Farrukhabad in Uttar Pradesh.

Independent States

Mysore: - It was a successor state of the Vijayanagara Empire and being ruled by the Wodeyar dynasty. But Haider Ali, a military commander, led a coup and became the ruler of Mysore. He modernized his army with the help of France and also established modern armories. He even captured spice producing Malabar region. In fact, Mysore became a powerful state under Haider Ali and his successor Tipu Sultan.

Calicut: - Calicut was an important coastal state, ruled by Zamorin. This state was known for its foreign trade.

Travancore: - Kerala region remained outside the Mughal Empire. There were many states present in this region including Travancore state, established under the leadership of Martanda Varma and Rama Varma. Marthanda Varma brought economic reforms and modernized the army. The credit for defeating and washing out the Dutch from India goes to Martand Varma.

Controversy regarding the 18th century:

The basis of portraying this era as the Dark Age:

- 1- This period (first half of 18th century) is marked by political disintegration.
- 2- It was also considered as the period of economic decay.

But recent studies present a different view in the context of 18th century. According to this view, instead of calling this period as a period of decay and disintegration, it should be seen as a period of new possibilities and opportunities. On the following grounds, the concept of Dark Age has been discarded -

- 1- Multiple-state system has always remained an important feature of Indian polity. This multiple state system suits the geographical and cultural diversity of India.
- 2- Even though the Mughal Empire was on the verge of decline, but the successor states as well as some other states established competent administration in their respective territories. They ensured law and order situation and encouraged commercial activities. Examples are Bengal, Awadh, Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore etc.
- 3- Economically, it should not be considered as a period of decay due to following reasons -
 - There was increase in trade due to involvement of the European companies. During this period, huge amount of bullion, in form of gold and silver, was flowed to India.
 - Due to contact with the European Companies, tobacco, potato and maize cultivation started in 17th century.
- 4- On one hand, although the Mughal Empire disintegrated, but the tradition of Mughal art, architecture, painting and music remained at regional level. Even the regional rulers promoted the policy of religious harmony.

Due to the aforementioned reasons, the second half of the 18th century is now considered as the Early Modern period.

Question: Why did the Marathas fail to provide a political alternative to the disintegrating Mughal Empire?

Answer: The Maratha kingdom expanded rapidly from Southern India to North India and was beginning to acquire feature of an all India Empire. Apart from this, the Maratha state seemed to challenge to the authority of Mughal Empire. But due to its structural weakness and policy discrepancies, it failed to emerge as a consolidated empire. This can be explained as follows-

- 1- **Feudal character of Maratha confederacy:** - The Peshwa was at the helm of Maratha confederacy and its other constituents were Scindia, Bhonsale, Holkar and Gaekwad. High aspirations for powers among chieftains led to the weakening of Maratha state.
- 2- **Weak financial base:** - Economic structure of the Maratha state was very fragile. Thus, they were dependent on Chauth and Sardeshmukhi for additional income. Consequently, the Maratha state became military and feudalistic in nature.
- 3- **Economic activities were not promoted by the Maratha state-** The Maratha Empire, similar to the Roman Empire, relied on the money received from outside. It did not show any interest in the growth of agriculture, while they had direct control over the fertile plains of Krishna-Tungbhadra doab and Ganga-Yamuna doab regions.
- 4- The Maratha leaders failed to form a united front even during the time of crisis. A vivid example of it is the Third battle of Panipat .

Question: Clarify how mid-eighteenth century India was beset with the spectre of a fragmented polity? (150 words, UPSC 2017)

Answer: The emergence of multi-state system remained to be a striking feature of political scenario of mid-18th century India. In fact, on one hand the powerful Mughal Empire disintegrated and on the other hand, many regional states came into existence. We can divide these states into the following two groups:-

- 1- Successor States
- 2- Rebel States

In the first group, we can include the states like Awadh, Bengal and Hyderabad. These states had been established by the Mughal officials. Awadh, Bengal and Hyderabad were established by Saadat Khan, Murshid Quli Khan and Nizam-ul-Mulk respectively. As far as the Rebel States are concerned, it included the states like the Sikh state, the Maratha state, the Jat state and the Afghan state as well.

Once these states had asserted their independence, the Mughal power remained only symbolic in nature. In fact, the Mughal Empire lost its real sovereign power. Above all, there was competition and enmity among these states. However, the British company took advantage of this situation and established itself as a political power.

Thus, we can conclude that India in the 18th century was under the shadow of fragmented polity.



The Second half of the 18th century

The characteristic of this period is arrival of the European trading companies in India, their relations with each other and with the Indian states, and the transformation of the British Company from a trading company into a political power.



Arrival of European companies in India

1- Portuguese company: -

- After discovering an alternative route to India, the Portuguese established their trade relation with India. First of all, they built a fort in Kochi (Kerala) and created the post of governor in 1505. De Almeida became the first Governor and later he was succeeded by Albuquerque.

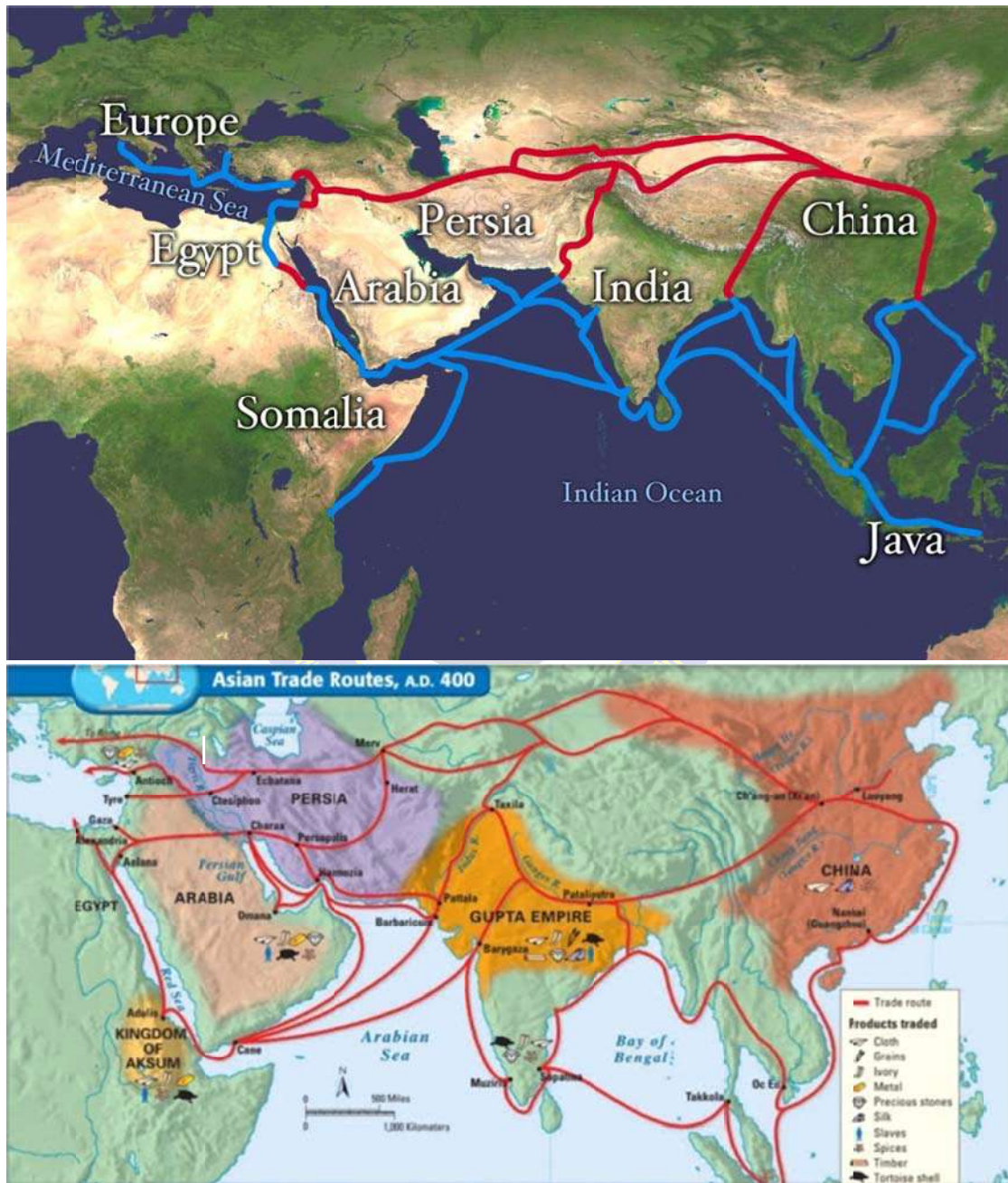
- The Portuguese captured Ormuz in 1509. In 1510, they conquered Goa. Then they built a fort at Bhatkal. The Portuguese established a large maritime empire from Ormuz to Malacca and called it 'Estado da India'. Above all, the Portuguese violated the Asian open sea policy and tried to control all the activities in the ocean. The Portuguese merchants tried to establish their monopoly over trade of spices, horses, ammunitions and of some other goods. They established a new system, known as the Cartaz system. It was a kind of passport which was obtained by Indian merchants from the Portuguese as a permit to take their ship into the ocean, otherwise their ship would be considered as a war ship and would be plundered. Main interest of the Portuguese was spice trade and their primary objective was limited to collecting duties on sea voyages.

2- The Dutch and the British company: -

- The Portuguese trade monopoly ended when the Dutch and the British arrived in the early 17th century. Initially, like the Dutch, the British Company also came with the purpose of spice trade. Later, there was intense competition between the British and Dutch companies.
- The British company had a different structure from the Portuguese Company. While the Portuguese Company functioned under the state monopoly, the British and Dutch companies were joint stock companies, which can be considered as the predecessors of present day MNCs. These companies received support from their respective nations. Their government itself granted trading charters to them and when needed, provided military support.
- By 1622, the British seized the region of Ormuz from the Portuguese and thus, the British company established its control over the trade of the region from Ormuz to the Bay of Bengal, while the Dutch established their control over the region from Bay of Bengal to Malacca. These joint stock companies were the companies of modern age.
- The Battle of Chinsurah (Battle of Bedara):** The Battle of Chinsurah of 1759 was fought between the British and the Dutch. In this battle, the Dutch had to face defeat.

Consequently, the Dutch power left India and remained confined to the islands of East Asia.

- Main interest of the Portuguese Company was in spice trade, while the Dutch and the British companies established a large market for Indian cotton and silk textiles in South-East Asia and Europe respectively. Apart from this, the British and the Dutch companies also exported indigo, opium, salt petre etc. They significantly boosted exports from India, which came to be termed as the '**Mercantile Revolution**'.



3- French company: -

- The French Company was established in 1664 AD. It was the last European company to come to India, and it established its first factory in Surat in 1668. There on, its factories were established in Masulipatam, Pondicherry and other parts of India. The most interesting fact

about the French company is that, although it was the last to come, but it expanded in India very quickly and posed a big challenge for the British. Following reasons can be attributed for this-

1. France established as a powerful state in Europe and gave a strong challenge to the British Company on the front of building a global empire.
2. Like the British Company, the French Company also received the support of its Government.
3. The struggle between the British and the French companies in India was part of global Anglo-French struggle.

Foundation of British rule in India

Why did the British Company move from commercial activities towards gaining the political power?

- 1- The company was desperately in search of additional resources to finance its trade in India.
- 2- The British Company intended to eliminate other European rivals from Indian trade.

The Carnatic Wars

The Carnatic Wars were not merely a conflict between the British Company and the French Company; rather, it was a conflict between the two Empires i.e. the British Empire and the French Empire. Thus, these wars not only decided the future of French Company in India but also the balance of power in Europe and America. More than one factors were responsible for the Carnatic wars, these are as follows-

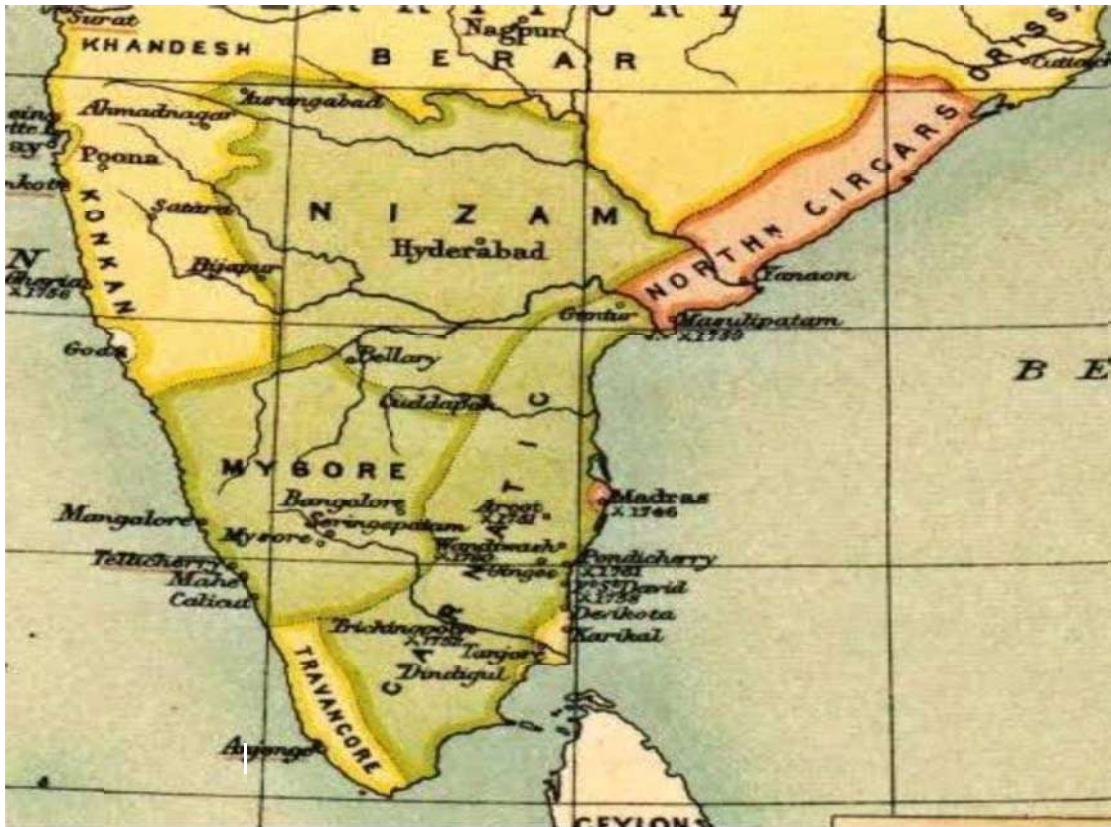
1. These wars were linked to the European politics where Britain and France were imperial rivals trying to expand their sphere of influence.
2. These wars were also linked with the political ambition of the French and the British Company.
3. Both the companies were constantly making efforts to take advantage of the rivalry between the Indian states.
4. One of the objectives of both the companies behind the Carnatic wars was to establish control over the southern trade.

First Carnatic War (1744-48 AD)-

- This war started on the issue of Austrian succession and was indecisive in its outcome.
- In fact, under the influence of continuous wars in Europe, a British Commander captured French warships in enmity. In response to this incitement, French governor Dupleix called French forces from Mauritius and captured Madras. However, as peace was restored in Europe through the Treaty of Aix-La-Chapelle in 1748. The war also ended in India and Madras was returned to the British.
- This war is famous particularly for the Battle of St. Thomas which proved the superiority of European warfare technology over that of the Indians.

Second Carnatic War (1749-54 AD):-

The second Carnatic war was also an extension of Anglo-French rivalry, but this time political ambitions of the French company was a major reason. During this war, French governor Dupleix tried to take advantage of rivalry between the Indian rulers to increase the political influence of France in India. In fact, the second Carnatic war was linked with the war of succession in Hyderabad and Carnatic which started immediately with the intervention of Dupleix into these wars of successions. At the end, Hyderabad came under the control of France and Carnatic came under the influence of British.



Third Carnatic War (1758-63 AD):-

- The Third Carnatic War broke out again on the European matter, as it was an extension of the Seven Years' Wars in Europe. Due to the absence of a visionary administrator like Dupleix and excess intervention of the French government, the French Company weakened and finally it faced decisive defeat in the Battle of Wandiwash in 1760.
- On the other hand, during the Seven Years' War in Europe, the defeat of French Empire at the hands of the British Empire shattered its dream of establishing a global empire, as defeat of France in this war resulted into the loss of important regions like Canada and India.

Establishment of British rule in India

Reasons behind the success of British in India

- The British Company was more professional and successful in its trade and commerce.

- Unlike the French Company, the British Company was a joint stock company, so there was negligible undue interference from the British government and also it could take decisions independently.
- The British Company was served by able military commander such as Robert Clive and Sir Eyre Coote etc.
- After the Battle of Plassey, the British Company gained plenty of resources in Bengal.
- The superior naval power of Britain as compared to that of France, also played a significant role in establishing British supremacy over India. Then, engagement of France in the European politics was also significantly responsible for their defeat.

Correct sequence of advent of European companies:-

- **Portuguese-Dutch-British-Danish-French**

Question: “The Carnatic wars not only decided the future of the British and French companies in India, but also decided the future of the British and the French Empires outside India.” Examine the statement.

Answer: Although the Carnatic Wars were fought in India, but its roots lay in Europe. These wars were an extension of the struggle between France and England to establish a formidable empire. Therefore, future of the French Company in India depended on the future of French Empire.

Dupleix, the French governor in India, turned the French Company towards the goal of political domination. This policy became visible during the Second Carnatic War when Dupleix made efforts to establish French control over the states of Hyderabad and Carnatic. But due to unnecessary interference of the French government, and efficient management and better resources of the British company, the French company lagged behind after losing the battle of Wandiwash (1760 AD), its dream of empire-building was completely shattered.

On the other hand, the French Empire itself had lagged behind the British Empire. This was due to the structure of the British government and successful mercantile policy of Britain. Finally, after losing the Seven Years' War, France lost Canada in the American continent and India in Asia.

Thus the Carnatic war shattered the dream of both the French Company and the French Empire together.

Question: Do you agree with the statement that the government intervention was responsible for the failure of the French Company against the British Company in India? Answer in favor of your opinion.

Answer: The Carnatic Wars of the 18th century were the outcome of a prolonged struggle for political supremacy between the British Company and the French Company within India, and between the British Empire and the French Empire outside India.

Definitely, undue government intervention in the decision making of the French Company was one of the most important factors responsible for the French Company to lag

behind the British Company in India. But there were some other factors as well which resulted into the defeat of the French Company.

1. The decision of sacking a capable administrator like Dupleix and sending Count de Lally directly from Paris to lead in battle proved disastrous for the Company.
2. Mercantile policy of the British Company was more successful than that of the French company and also the British company had able commanders like Robert Clive and Sir Eyre Coote.
3. The British company procured abundance resources from Bengal.
4. The French Empire lagged behind the British Empire in global politics.

In this way, more than one factor were responsible behind the defeat of French Company.

Bengal

- Bengal was the most prosperous province of India. Around 40% of goods exported from India were produced in Bengal.

What were the reasons responsible behind the Battle of Plassey?

Important reasons for the Battle of Plassey as follows -

- 1- Misuse of Dastak had been a burning issue right from the reign of Nawab Murshid Quli Khan. It was misused in two ways. First, the Dastak was given to the British Company, but the British officials were using it for their private trade. Secondly, the Company official used to sell this Dastak to the Indian merchant also. However, Nawab Siraj-ud-Daulah took an aggressive stand on this issue since the time of his coronation.
- 2- Similarly, factionalism and petty politics in the court of Nawab and discontentment among the merchants and bankers of Bengal was also not a new thing.

Immediate Reason: - However, the situation in Bengal continuously deteriorated due to following two reasons-

- 1- Nawab Siraj-ud-Daula, since his coronation, had a personal grudge against the British Company. Therefore, any mistake committed by the British was enough to instigate the Nawab further. For example, Siraj-ud-Daulah, invaded Fort William on the issue of fortifications in June 1756. Then, in March 1757 the British forces captured the French region, Chandranagore.
- 2- The new Nawab was too inexperienced to understand court politics and the British company, while taking advantage of this precarious court situation, influenced officials of the Nawab to favour the British.

The Battle of Plassey: A Battle or a Betrayal?

In fact, it was not a real battle, rather this battle was based on a betrayal and its outcome was predetermined. Mir Jafar, the Mir Bakshi of Nawab, and one more military official Rai Durlabh, both had joined their hands with British. Therefore this battle was nothing more than a skirmish. At the end of this battle, Siraj-ud-Dualah was assassinated and Mir Jafar became new the Nawab of the Bengal.

Impact of the Battle of Plassey:

- The Company established its supremacy over the Nawab of Bengal.
- The Company was able to get easy access to vast resources of Bengal to finance its trade.
- After this battle, Mir Jafar was compelled to pay a large sum of 1 Crore 77 lakh to the Company. Also, Robert Clive at a personal level received a sum of 20 lakh rupees along with the Jagir of 24 Parganas.
- The British Company became more powerful and capable to drive out its European rivals from Bengal.

New Nawab of Bengal in 1760:

- Nawab Mir Jafar was replaced and Mir Qasim became the new Nawab of Bengal, because Mir Jafar was not able to meet the monetary demands of the British Company. Also, the Company itself used to bear the cost incurred for Nawab's security. Thus, Vansittart made Mir Qasim as the new Nawab of Bengal. In return the Company received a sum of 50 lakhs and Midnapore, Chittagong and Burdhaman districts as gifts from the Nawab.
- The British Company portrayed this event as the 'Bengal Revolution'. However, it was far away from being a revolution.

Conflict between Mir Qasim and the Company and the Battle of Buxar

- 1- New Nawab was strongly determined to act as an independent ruler-
 - He shifted his capital from Murshidabad to Munger in Bihar.
 - There, he established a Gun Factory.
 - He sought help from the Mughal emperor Shah Alam II.
- 2- Further, he put restrictions on the misuse of Dastaks. Thus, finally it led to the Battle of Buxar on 22 October, 1764. In this battle, along with Nawab Mir Qasim, Nawab of Awadh Shuja-ud-Daulah and the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II were also defeated. Consequently, this battle established the supremacy of the Company over the Indian powers.

Treaty of Allahabad

- Robert Clive signed two separate treaties with the Nawab of Awadh and the Mughal Emperor. The Nawab of Awadh was compelled to pay war indemnity of 50 lakhs rupees along with surrendering the region of Allahabad and Kara.
- On other hand, the region of Allahabad and Kara was given to the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II along with amount of 53 lakh rupees as administrative expenditure and 26 lakh rupees for personal expense. In return, the Company received the Diwani rights of Bengal from the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II. Thus, the Nawab of Bengal was now reduced to merely an administrator whereas the Company became real Nawab of Bengal with the Diwani rights.

Impact of Battle of Buxar

- After the Battle of Buxar, the Company attained a higher stature as it emerged as a dominant political power apart from a trading company.
- The events set in motion by Battle of Plassey were concluded with the Battle of Buxar. The Battle of Plassey was a betrayal but the Battle of Buxar proved military superiority of the British.
- With this battle, the sphere of Company influence did not remain limited over Bengal but also expanded to Awadh and the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II.
- As the Company received the Diwani rights of Bengal, it resolved the problem of financing Indian trade.



Question: The Battle of Plassey was not a great battle but was a great betrayal. Examine this statement.

Answer: The Battle of Plassey was not an open struggle. There was no similarity between the army of Nawab and that of the Company. In the battlefield, the larger section of Nawab's forces under Mir Jafar remained to be mute spectators. Due to the treacherous suggestions of Mir Jafar, Nawab's army collapsed soon.

In fact, the Battle of Plassey is often referred to as a skirmish or 'pre-fixed match'. But nonetheless, its impact cannot be dismissed entirely because-

- a) A large war indemnity received by the company.
- b) Established control over Bengal's trade
- c) Greater control over local artisans via dastak.

Question: Do you agree with the statement that, as the Battle of Plassey was not an open conflict, so it should be considered as an insignificant event. Should only the Battle of Buxar be considered as the decisive battle?

Answer: It is true that the Battle of Plassey was not an open conflict. It was a great betrayal rather than a great battle. It did not prove military superiority of the British Company. Similar to a pre-fixed match in cricket, its result was already decided. Moreover, it is also true that if the British lost any war after this, they would have been deprived of the benefits they had received.

But there is other remarkable side of the picture as well. The British Company had received many direct and indirect benefits from the Battle of Plassey. These benefits are as follows -

- 1- After the Battle of Plassey, the British Company received a large amount which was invested in Company trade.
- 2- The Company could establish its control over Bengal trade and was able to oust other rivals.
- 3- Due to the Company's control on Bengal artisans, the Company could purchase items at a cheaper rate.

As a result of these strategic benefits, it became victorious in the battle of Buxar comfortably. Therefore, instead of considering the Battle of Plassey and Buxar as two separate events, it should be considered as two stages of a single war.

Question: - The British victory in the Battle of Plassey was confirmed by the Battle of Buxar. Examine this statement.

Colonialism

Colonialism is an ideology which believes that the interest of a colony is subordinate to the interest of its mother country. It means, a mother country exploits its colony in order to serve the interest of its own economy. While studying colonialism, we must take following points into the consideration-

1. Colonialism should be studied as a structure and not as a policy, that is, the policy changes with the change in officers, but the structure remains the same. Therefore, whether it was Warren Hastings or William Bentinck or Lytton or Ripon, they could not bring about any change in the structure on the basis of their policies.
2. Colonialism should be studied as a series of contradictions, such as 'backwardness versus development'.

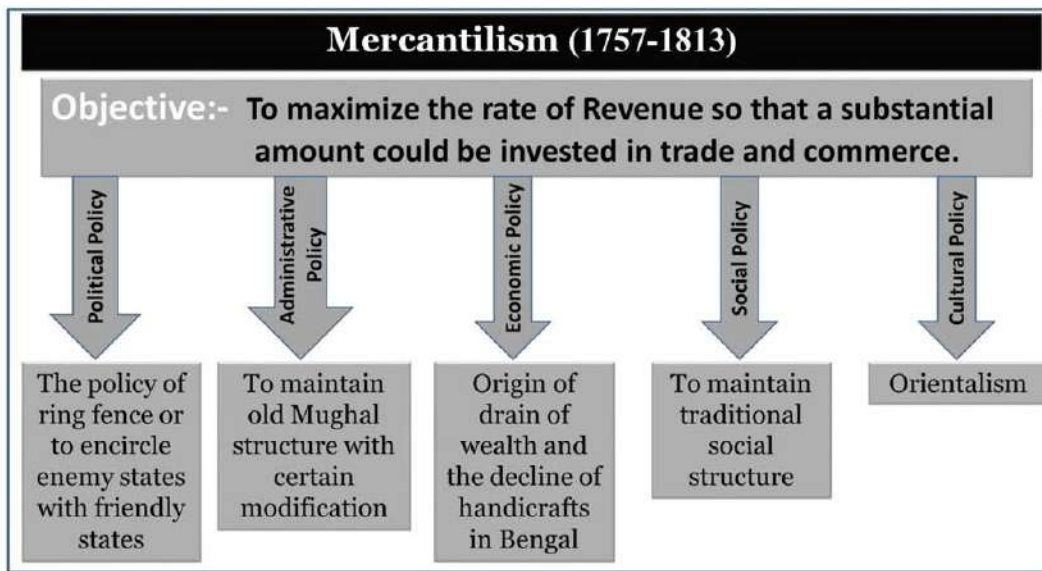
In other words, poverty and backwardness were the natural consequences of colonialism, whereas development of any kind was an unintended consequence. For instance, the economic burden on the masses, the spread of illiteracy among the masses and also the collapse of traditional education system, were the immediate negative impact of the construction of railways and introduction of modern education (English) in India, but at the same time, the railways and English education played a significant role in promotion of nationalist consciousness in India.

3. Though colonialism was basically an economic relation but it affected the political, social and cultural structures as well. The relationship between India and Britain reflected the elements of colonialism. In fact, the British capitalism led to the colonialism in India. The economic policy of British towards India changed with the change in interest of British Capitalism and the same even guided the political, social and cultural policies of Britain.

We can divide colonialism into three phases-

1. Mercantile Phase of Colonialism (1757-1813)
2. Industrial Phase of Colonialism (1813-1858)
3. Financial Phase of Colonialism (1858 and onwards)

Mercantile Phase of Colonialism (1757-1813 AD)



The policy of British Company towards India was to maximise its revenue collection in India and invest a major part of it to finance the Indian trade, so that the profit of the Company increases and the shareholders get benefitted.

We know that, initially the British Company, in order to finance the Indian trade, had to bring large quantities of precious metals in the form of gold and silver (bullion) from Britain. Moreover, when the Company started maintaining its army, construction of forts and purchasing arms and ammunitions, it required huge amount of additional monetary resource. Although the Company used to get some revenue by levying duties in cities like Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, but it was not sufficient to fulfil the rising needs of the Company. However, after the battles of Plassey and Buxar, the Company got the Diwani of Bengal, thus it started financing Indian trade with the revenue it collected from Bengal.

Thus, the main emphasis of the Company during this period was on maximizing the collection of revenue as well as savings, so that a maximum amount could be invested in trade. Thus, the British company intended to keep its responsibilities minimum, because more responsibility created the problem of additional expenditure, less savings and less investment. Therefore, all the political, social, cultural and economic policies of Britain during this phase were guided primarily with the objective to serve the interest of British commercial capitalism.

Political Policy

The policy of the British Company towards the Indian states during this phase was largely guided by the interests of British commercial capitalism and it aimed at promoting the mercantile interests of the Company. Although during this period, the British Company fought some wars and even annexed some regions, but by and large, official British policy sought to avoid wars as far as possible. For example, the British captured the region of Malabar during the course of war against Mysore and it even captured the cotton-producing

west coast from Marathas. Infact, the policy adopted by the British company during this period is called 'the policy of Ring Fence', in other words, to surround enemy states with friendly states. In fact, even the Subsidiary Alliance, introduced by Lord Wellesley, was an extension of this policy, which helped the British create a large army on the expenditure borne mostly by the Indian states.

Governors :-

- **Robert Clive (1765-67 AD)**

After victory in the Battle of Buxar in 1764 AD, for the second time, Clive was appointed as the Governor-General of India. Then, he signed two separate treaties with Mughal emperor Shah Alam II and Nawab of Awadh, Shuja-ud-Daulah in 1765 AD. It was known as the Treaty of Allahabad and on the basis of this treaty, the Company received the Diwani of Bengal from the Mughal emperor. On the other hand, Avadh was converted into a buffer state.

- **Lord Verelst (1767-69 AD)**

First Anglo-Mysore War

The Kingdom of Mysore initially served as a feudatory under the Vijayanagara Empire. It was ruled by a Hindu ruler Chikka Rajakrishnadeva. Hyder Ali served as a capable military commander in Mysore administration. In future, he built an armoury at Dindigul in 1755 AD and thus by strengthening his position, he captured the throne of Mysore.



Causes behind the conflict between Mysore State and the British Company:-

1. Hyder Ali captured the spice producing region of Malabar and the Company was eager to snatch it from Hyder Ali.
2. The proximity of Mysore with the French company, a big rival to the British, also created suspicion in the British mind.
3. The British considered the presence of a powerful state like Mysore close to the Madras Presidency, as a major threat to their security.

Course of the War :-

On one hand, Hyder Ali and Tipu were trying to establish effective relations with the French Company and France, while on the other hand the British were trying to form a tripartite alliance including Marathas and the Nizam. In fact, the company was in need of large amount of money to consolidate its military power. Thus, they were determined to conquer Mysore at any cost. Therefore, the British Company incited the Marathas and Nizam against

Hyder Ali, but Hyder Ali purchased their neutrality in his favour and then attacked the British. Finally, the British Company succumbed under the pressure created by Hyder Ali and thus was forced to sign the Treaty of Madras in 1769 AD.

Governor General: -

- **Cartier (1769-1772 AD):** - After Verelst, no important war occurred during the tenure of Cartier, however a new era of struggle began during the regime of Warren Hastings.
- **Warren Hastings (1772-85 AD) :-**
Warren Hastings was the last Governor of Bengal and the first Governor-General. In fact, after the Regulating Act of 1773 AD, the nomenclature of the post of the Governor of Bengal was changed to the Governor-General. On one hand, Warren Hastings adopted a defensive approach and invented the policy of 'Ring Fence', while on the other, he fought two important wars with an objective to establish the British Company as a strong political power in India.

The Policy of 'Ring Fence': Warren Hastings, in order to define the relationship of Company with the Indian Princely states, adopted the policy of Ring Fence. The ultimate objective of this policy was defence of the British territory in India. Under this policy, the Company while adopting a defensive approach established a buffer state between its conquered territory and enemy state and even took the responsibility of defence of the buffer state. For instance, the Company created Awadh as a buffer state to give protection to the state of Bengal from regular Afghan and Maratha invasions and also created Hyderabad as a buffer state in its defence during the Mysore War.

First Anglo-Maratha War (1775-82 AD):-

Causes :-

1. British attempted to capture the cotton producing region of Maharashtra.
2. The Company intervened into internal matter of succession in Poona court.

Course of the War:

In fact, while taking advantage of the untimely death of Peshwa Madhavrao I in 1772, his uncle Raghunath Rao became desperate for the post of Peshwa. As a result, there started a war of succession in the court of Marathas. Even though Raghunath Rao was successful in assassinating the newly appointed Peshwa Narayan Rao, but still he could not establish himself as Peshwa, because Nana Fadnavis and other Maratha chieftains installed the posthumous son of Narayan Rao, as the new Peshwa and kept him under protection.

Then, frustrated Raghunath Rao went to the British camp. There, Raghunath Rao offered to cede crucial maritime region near Bombay to the Company. Thus, the British concluded the Treaty of Surat with Raghunath Rao in 1775 AD. However, Governor-General Warren Hastings sensed the political threat involved in this treaty, thus the Governor-General mediated and concluded the Treaty of Purandar in 1776 between the British officials at Bombay and the Marathas. However, this treaty could not ensure peace for long and thus the war resumed. As it was feared by the Governor General, the Marathas gave a crushing defeat to the Bombay officials in the Battle of Telgaon and compelled them to sign the Treaty of Wadgaon in 1779 AD. But Warren Hastings refused to accept the terms of this

treaty and continued with the war. Finally, the Marathas were forced to conclude the Treaty of Salbai with the Company in 1782 AD.

As per this treaty, the British Company received the territories of Salsette and Elephanta Island and also, a 20 years long peace prevailed between the Marathas and the Company. This peace ultimately benefitted the Company, as during this time, the Company could eliminate its other rivals including Mysore and Nizam of Hyderabad.

Second Anglo-Mysore War (1780-1784 AD):-

Causes : -

In 1779 AD, the British company invaded the French territory Mahe to capture it, while Hyder Ali considered Mahe to be under his protection. Thus, Hyder Ali considered it as a direct challenge to his sovereignty.

Course of the War-

The leadership to this war, between 1780 and 1782, was provided by Hyder Ali. Firstly, with his diplomatic acumen, Hyder Ali won over the Marathas and Nizam on his side. Then he attacked Arcot in July 1780 and captured it. However, when Hyder Ali died in 1782 AD, then Tipu Sultan took over the command of the war. He achieved immense success in his war efforts against the British. Finally, the Treaty of Mangalore was signed between the British and Tipu in 1784 AD and the war was concluded. It was an honourable treaty for Tipu, because he signed this treaty at par with the British, as there was no provision for war compensation in it.

- **Lord Cornwallis (1786-93 AD):-**

Third Anglo Mysore War (1790-92) :-

Causes:-

In 1789, Tipu Sultan invaded the state of Travancore, while the British Company considered it as its protectorate state. During this time, Lord Cornwallis was the Governor-General.

Course of the War:

Tipu invaded the region of Travancore because the Maharaja had transferred the region of Jaikottai and Cranganore located in the princely state of Cochin, which Tipu considered as a part of his territory, to the Dutch. Then, Cornwallis in order to protect the Maharaja of Travancore along with Marathas and Nizam as his allies, waged a war against Mysore. Finally, Tipu Sultan was defeated in 1792 AD and was compelled to sign the humiliating treaty of Srirangapatnam. As per the terms of this treaty, Tipu had to surrender half of his territory to the British. Apart from that, he had to give 3 crore 30 lakh rupees as war compensation. Then the British Company itself occupied important areas like Malabar, Dindigul, Baramahal, while a small part of the territory was also shared with its other allies, Marathas and Nizam.

John Shore (1793-98) : -

Lord Wellesley (1798-1805) :- Lord Wellesley came India to put a check over the French expansion. This was the time when it was feared that Napoleon Bonaparte, after invading Egypt, would move towards India. He adopted two fold strategies to achieve his objective –

1. The method of war.
2. Subsidiary Alliance System.

The Method of War:

Fourth Anglo-Mysore War (1799 AD): -

Tipu Sultan was not going to accept his defeat so easily and thus by enlisting French support, he tried to establish new military armoury. Apart from that, Tipu Sultan, by sending his ambassadors to Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey, Mauritius and France, also made efforts to create a global joint front against the British.

Thus, while getting insecure with the proximity of Tipu and the French Company, Wellesley decided to target him first. In fact, to legitimise the cause of his war, Wellesley accused Tipu of conspiring against the British Company along with its enemies Marathas, Nizam and other anti-British states. Then in 1799, Major Stuart and Arthur Wellesley were sent against him. During course of the war, Tipu Sultan was killed in the fort of Srirangapatna, but he never surrendered to the British. Once the war ended, the British installed a prince of the Wodeyar dynasty as the ruler of a much truncated territory and the rest of the state of Mysore was merged with Madras. Thus the Madras Presidency (1801 AD) was established.

Second Anglo-Maratha war: -

Causes:

The earlier generation of Maratha rulers had been highly capable, but none of them was alive by the end of the 18th century. However, later generation of the Marathas lacked that political vision and foresight. Thus, the Maratha leaders including Peshwa Bajirao II, Daulatrao Scindia and Yashwant Rao Holkar were involved in conflicts against each other. During the course of these conflicts, Yashwant Rao Holkar defeated Peshwa Bajirao II and establish his rule over Poona. Thus, the Peshwa moved to the British camp and on December 31, 1802, he signed the Treaty of Bassein with Lord Wellesley.

As per the terms of this treaty, the Peshwa agreed to maintain a subsidiary army as well as a British Resident at the court of Poona. He also agreed to not allow any European enemy of the British in his court and assured to regulate his foreign policy in consultation with the Company. This policy of the British enraged other Maratha chiefs, as they considered it as an intervention of British into the internal matters of the Marathas. Thus, there was a reaction from these chiefs.

Course of the war: -

During this war, Scindia and Bhonsle joined their hands to form a united front against the British, while Yashwant Rao Holkar formed a separate front, whereas Gaikwad remained neutral. Even during this time of crisis, the Marathas were not able to show the strength of their unity as they largely remained divided. Consequently, they could not adopt an

effective strategy against the British. On the contrary, Wellesley formed two commands against the Marathas –

1. Northern Command - under the leadership of Lord Lake.
2. Southern Command- under the leadership of Arthur Wellesley

The war started in 1803 and continued till 1805. In the south, both Scindia and Bhonsle were defeated by Arthur Wellesley and then in 1803 the Company signed the 'Treaty of Deogaon' with Bhonsle and the 'Treaty of Surji- Anjangaon' with Scindia. On the other hand, in the north, Lord Lake defeated the army of Scindia and captured Delhi and Agra in 1803. This event symbolically established the British control over the Mughals while displacing the control of Marathas. However, Yashwant Rao Holkar, along with the Jat ruler, continued his war efforts against the British. Finally, fed up with the costly war, the Court of Directors recalled Wellesley to London. In his place, George Barlow, a senior member of the Council, was appointed as the Governor-General, who concluded the Treaty of Rajpur ghat with Yashwant Rao Holkar in 1805. Thus the second Anglo-Maratha war ended.

The Subsidiary Alliance System and its major provisions:

Subsidiary Alliance was a system in which the process of peaceful merger of new territories could be expedited while protecting maximum resources of the British Company. Even though, the rudimentary elements of this system could also be traced in early policies of Dupleix, Robert Clive and Cornwallis, but the credit for its formal beginning is given to Lord Wellesley.

In fact, when Wellesley became the Governor General of India, his main objective was to establish the Company as the supreme power in India. This was the time when British colonialism was getting insecure of Napoleon's advancement towards India. Moreover, this was also the time when the success of Industrial Revolution was visible in Britain. In fact, the Industrial Revolution made it necessary for the British to create a large and a stable market for the British goods. In this background, Lord Wellesley decided to create a unique political system which could secure British interest and could also facilitate the trade and consumption of the British goods. He sought to achieve his objective by maintaining friendly relations with major states. Therefore, with the above mentioned plans and objective in mind, Wellesley started the system of Subsidiary Alliance.

It had the following provisions:-

1. A British regiment was to be stationed in the concerned state
2. Its expenses were borne by the concerned state.
3. A British Resident (political advisor) was to be placed in the state concerned, who would be consulted for conduct of foreign policy of the concerned state. Under this provision, any state with subsidiary alliance could neither start a war against any state nor could it declare peace.
4. The concerned state was not free to take any European other than British into service of the state without the Company's permission.
5. Even though the terms of this treaty did not allow the Company to intervene into the internal matters of a concerned state, but in practice it was hardly followed.

The Subsidiary Alliance of Lord Wellesley proved to be highly successful for the British. As a consequence of this policy, many major Indian states depended for their protection on the Company and even their external relations were controlled by the Company.

The British Company had following advantages-

1. Subsidiary alliance system weakened the military capability of the Indian states and they lost their control over foreign relations.
2. As a result of this system, the Company managed to create a large army without undue burden on its exchequer, which was used to suppress internal rebellions in India and protect its mercantile interests against other powers.
3. Subsidiary Alliance brought an end to any competition against the Company and thus the Company continued to carry out arbitrary export of the Indian goods.
4. The increasing discontentment among the masses due to British policies could be channelized towards Indian states, because through Subsidiary Alliance Indian states were dependent on the British.

Practice Question: 'The Subsidiary Alliance System established the supremacy of the British Company in India.' Examine this statement.

■ **Earl of Minto (1870-13)**

No major war took place during his tenure, but the Treaty of Amritsar was signed with the Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh in 1809 AD. This treaty was signed between Charles Metcalf and Ranjit Singh. As per the terms of this treaty, river Sutlej was declared to constitute the border between state of Punjab and the British territory. Besides, an army was stationed at Ludhiana under a British resident.

Question: 'Among all the British conquests, none was so sudden and involuntary as was the British conquest of India.' Do you agree with the statement?

Answer : - The above statement reflects the British imperialist approach of history writing. Here, the British Imperialists scholars try to establish that the British conquered India in a fit of absent mindedness. However, on close examination of the above statement we reach to another conclusion.

Although it is true that when the East India Company was formed in London and when it got the charter for the eastern trade, it neither had plans to conquer India nor the circumstance were such that it could conquer India, because of political dominance of Mughal Empire. But the following factors gave rise to the political ambitions of the British Company and then it decided to go for the military conquest.

1. Political vacuum was created after disintegration of the Mughal Empire.
2. The Company wanted to substitute the influx of precious metals with the Indian resources, so that Indian money could be used to purchase the Indian goods.

Moreover, after the Battle of Plassey and Buxar, the Company got the Diwani of Bengal and thus the political ambitions of the Company increased further. Thus, by 19th century,

the British Empire was established, as the Company continuously expanded through the Policy of Ring Fence and through the method of war and annexation.

From the arguments given, it is difficult to believe that the British Conquest of India was done in a fit of absent mindedness.

Administrative Policy

What was unique about the administrative policy of British during this phase?

During this phase, the British Company, in order to keep its responsibilities to the minimum, did not intend to cause any major change in the administrative structure. Thus, the Company continued with the Mughal administrative structure with few modifications. Even if the Company was interested in any administrative reforms, then those were linked to the revenue system and judicial system, primarily because, the civil justice was linked to the revenue justice.

The background or the causes behind the Regulating Act of 1773

1. The influential class of Britain were protesting against the trade monopoly of the Company, as it also wanted benefit from the Indian trade.
2. The supporters of the policy of free trade also opposed the trade monopoly of the Company.
3. The politics in Britain was influenced by the drained wealth from India, as it gave rise to the problem of horse-trading within the British Parliament.
4. **Immediate cause:** Due to increase in losses of the Company, it applied for huge loans from the British government. In fact, it was a shock for the British Parliamentarians that, if the Company reported heavy losses, then how did the Company officials become so rich?

Important Provisions:

1. Through this Act, the British Parliament for the first time intervened into the internal matters of the Company. In fact, the Company had to annually report its economic, financial as well as military expenses to the British Parliament.
2. The number of Directors in London were increased from 18 to 24.
3. The Governor of Bengal was made the Governor General i.e. he was given the authority to supervise the British officials at Bombay and Madras presidencies as well.
4. A four member executive council was created to assist the Governor General whereby all the major decisions were taken by a majority vote, however in case there is no majority then Governor General had the casting vote.
5. It provided for establishment of a Supreme Court at Calcutta and jurisdiction of this court was limited to Calcutta.

Pitt's India Act, 1784:

Objective (Causes):

1. Its objective was to rectify the defects of the Regulating Act of 1773 and create an effective control of the British Parliament over the activities of the Company.
2. Based on the Treaty of Paris, Britain lost its old Empire (America). Thus, this Act was intended to create a new empire for Britain in India.

Important Provisions:

1. A system of double government i.e. the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, was established in India. The Board of Control was a 6 member council, which was representative of the British Parliament.
2. The membership of the Governor General's Council was reduced from 4 to 3, so that the power of Governor General vis-à-vis his other member of the Council increased. In fact, now the Governor General was able to get his resolutions passed even with the support of a single member of the Council.
3. The powers of the Governor General were defined more clearly with respect to the Bombay and Madras presidencies. In fact, the Governor General was made superior to the Governors of Bombay and Madras in the military, diplomatic and financial matters.

Significance:

1. Pitt's India Act established a real control over the activities of the Company through the Board of Control.
2. In a way, the Board of Control became the precursor to the post of British Secretary of State of India.
3. The powers of Bengal in relation to the Bombay and Madras were crystalized further.

The period of Governors

Robert Clive, Verelst and Cartier:

- **What was the system of Dual government in Bengal and what was its impact?**

During this period, the Company avoided to take the responsibility of administration into its own hand, because neither the Company had enough trained officers nor the Court of Directors were interested. Thus, the Company in order to fulfil its objective enforced a system of government in Bengal which came to be called as system of Dual Government.

The Dual Government means dual role of company in the administration of Bengal. In other words, the Company had its direct control over the Diwani of Bengal and indirect control over the Nizamat (administration). In fact, the Company created a post of Deputy-Nizam and transferred the power from Nawab to the Deputy-Nizam. But any appointment to this post was done only after the recommendation of the Company. Therefore, the real power was transferred to the Company.

In reality, the power without responsibilities proved disastrous for Bengal. It led to rampant corruption, which resulted into severe famine of 1770s, in which almost 1/3rd of the population of Bengal perished. This system of Clive even caused disruptions in the agricultural activities, which had its direct impact on the trade of Bengal as well as on the shareholders of the Company. Even the Court of Directors were unhappy with the administrative set up.

Warren Hastings:

Land Revenue Reforms:

- Warren Hastings introduced the Farming Method or the 'Izaredari System' for reforms in the revenue arrangement. Under this system, the highest bidder used to get the right of revenue collection.
- Initially, there was a five year settlement of land revenue and thus it was also known as the Quinquennial Settlement. Then, Warren Hastings made conscious efforts to keep the Zamindars out of this system so that most of the agricultural surplus can be secured for the Company. However, in 1776 Warren Hastings discontinued with the Quinquennial settlement and started a system of annual settlement. Moreover, Hastings learnt that the Zamindars were the experts of the land revenue matters and also they had a very strong hold in the countryside, therefore any land revenue settlement could never be made successful without their participation. Thus in his system of annual settlement, Zamindars were given the preference.
- This method of bidding caused much exploitation of the peasants and also the agricultural economy was badly affected. Moreover revenue of the Company became unstable, as it changed annually.

Judicial Reforms:

- **The Diwani Adalat (the Civil Court) and the District Faujdari Adalat:**

The British judicial system in India was established during the tenure of Warren Hastings. He founded two separate courts for civil and criminal cases, the Diwani Adalat and the Fauzdari Adalat respectively, and made the Mughal system as the basis of judicial reforms. The Muslim laws were followed in the Faujdari Adalat, while separate laws for Hindus and Muslims based on respective codes were maintained. Warren Hastings codified laws under titles of 'the Code of Gentoo Laws', 'the Colebeooke's Digest of Hindu Laws' etc. Then Sadr Diwani Adalat in Calcutta and Sadr Faujdari Adalat in Murshidabad were established. Also, Warren Hastings codified the Hindu and Muslim laws.

Question: To what extent can it be justified that, if Robert Clive was the founder of the British Empire in India, then Hastings should be credited for organizing the British administration?

Answer: Often Robert Clive and Warren Hastings both are credited for the establishment and organization of British rule in India, but on close observation we realize that, though Robert Clive was the founder of British rule in India, but Warren Hastings had played a significant role in organizing the British administration of India.

Robert Clive, after getting victorious in the Carnatic War, the Battle of Plassey and by obtaining the Diwani of Bengal, founded the British rule in India, but did not dare to take the responsibility of British administration. Rather he introduced the system of Dual Government in Bengal. On the other hand, Warren Hastings played the role of an initial consolidator in the following way-

1. In 1772, he abolished the system of Dual Government and took the responsibility of administration into his own hands.
2. He organized and standardised revenue collection as a part of revenue reforms.

In the same way, in order to bring the judicial reforms, he established the District and Sadr courts for civil and criminal matters and also codified the laws

Lord Cornwallis

- Many administrative reforms were carried out during the tenure of Lord Cornwallis (1786-1793), however the basic structure was not disturbed. During this time, the British had already lost their important colony America and thus, were trying to establish their control over India. The main objective of his reforms was to provide a stable financial system to the Company.

Lord Cornwallis is known for which reforms in India?

- **Land Revenue Reforms:** The main responsibility of Cornwallis was to develop a satisfactory model of land revenue administration. Thus, Cornwallis developed the Permanent Settlement, an organized model of revenue administration. In fact, the settlement reached between Cornwallis and the Zamindars of Bengal was known as the Permanent Settlement. It had following feature-
- The Zamindars were made the owners of land, consequently the peasants were converted into tenants at will.
- The land revenue to be paid by the Zamindars was fixed permanently by the government.
- According to the sunset clause, if any Zamindar failed to pay his due before sunset of designated date, then District Collector would seize his Zamindari rights and auction it off.
- If tenants failed to pay their land revenue on time, then their property, both movable and immovable, was seized by the Zamindar and was auctioned off.
- The community land was placed under the control of Zamindar.

The Objective of Permanent Settlement:

1. In fact, the Company was intended to increase its revenue collection so that it could invest in trade and could also meet its military expenditure, whereas the revenue of the Company under the Izaredari System of Warren Hastings was highly unstable. Thus, the major objective of Lord Cornwallis was to stabilize the revenue collection.
2. The Permanent Settlement was also introduced to make collection of land revenue easy and corruption free. In fact, it was easier for the Company to collect land

revenue from few hundreds of Zamindar than to collect it from lakhs of peasants. In this way, the Company would also be relieved from a huge administrative burden. Apart from that, collection of land revenue from few hundreds of Zamindars would also reduce the scope of corruption.

3. Cornwallis even believed that, if the payment of land revenue to the Company was fixed permanently, then Zamindars would be motivated to invest in agriculture, as any increase in surplus was going to benefit them directly. Consequently, agricultural production would increase which would increase trade of the Company, as agricultural products constituted major portion of the export of the Company.
4. Yet another objective of the Permanent Settlement was to create Zamindars as a friendly class to the British, which could perpetuate the British rule in India.

An Analysis:

Cornwallis achieved only partial success in his objective. Although, it is true that the Company received a stable income without much fluctuations, but it is also true that the Company was deprived of any future increase in agricultural production. Thus, the Permanent Settlement was never introduced again by the government. Moreover, the Zamindars were not progressive in their approach and they were least interested in investment in agriculture. Although, the Zamindars emerged as friendly class to the Company, but their exploitative policies created intense peasant unrest, which the Company had to deal with.

Impact of the Permanent Settlement:

1. This system encouraged feudalism at the upper level and agricultural slavery at the lower level of the Indian society. In fact, the Zamindars became the feudal lords and peasants were reduced to the status of tenants.
2. The peasants lost their customary occupancy rights and were reduced to the status of tenants.
3. The peasants even lost their ancestral rights over the community land. Whereas, earlier peasants used to collectively exploit community land.
4. Before 1859, the peasants were not protected. However, in 1859 and 1885 there were tenancy legislations which to some extent protected occupancy rights of peasants. But the real beneficiary of these legislations were the rich Jotedars.
5. The purchasing power of the peasants was reduced significantly.
6. Under pressure of high rates of land revenue, the peasants moved ahead with the cash crops. Consequently, the production of coarse grains declined. Thus, the instances of starvation intensified in rural areas.

Police Reforms:

It was Cornwallis, who for the first time introduced an organised Police structure in British India. In fact, he modernized the system of police stations (Thana). He divided each district into different regions and established one station in every region. He made Daroga the in-charge of these stations. At the district level, he created the post of Policing Superintendent. At the village level, he gave the police powers to watchmen (Chowkidars). In this way, modern police system was institutionalised in British India.

Judicial Reforms:

- A hierarchy in Civil and Criminal courts was provided by reforms under Lord Cornwallis. In fact, reforms affected by Warren Hastings were not sufficient, thus large scale judicial reforms were carried out under the reign of Lord Cornwallis. His biggest achievement was the concept of 'separation of power', which he also introduced in the judicial system. In fact, he separated the Land Revenue System from the Judicial System. It was the Cornwallis Code of 1793, which took away the administration of civil justice from the Collector and left him with only the responsibility of revenue collection.
- He reconstituted the Civil and Criminal courts. For Civil cases, the court of Munsif was at the lowest level, above that there was the court of Registrar and above that the District Court was present. Above District courts, there were four Provincial Courts which were established in Calcutta, Murshidabad, Dhaka and Patna. At the apex of the Civil Justice system, existed the Sadr-Diwani Adalat which was under jurisdiction of the Governor General and his council. The council dealt only with matters involving the sum of more than 5000 rupees. Similarly, he created a stratified and integrated system even within the Criminal Justice system. Then, the District Faujdari Adalats were presided over by four circuit courts, which toured the districts twice a year. Then, at the apex level the Nizamat Adalat was present.

Civil Court:

- King-in-Council
- Sadr Diwani Adalat
- Provincial Courts
- District Courts
- Registrar Courts
- Munsif Courts

Criminal Court:

- Sadr-Nizamat Adalat
- Circuit Court
- District Court

Civil Services:

- Cornwallis is considered as the father of Civil Services in India. Its function was to implement government policies. Thus, the Civil Services was considered to be the Steel Frame of British India. Cornwallis, on the basis of the Code of 1793, took away the judicial powers of District Collector, while maintaining his powers related to revenue collection. He even increased salary and other facilities of District Collector.
- During this period, the appointment of Civil Servant was under the jurisdiction of the Court of Directors. While making any appointment, the Court of Directors also obliged to the recommendation tendered by the Board of Control. However, even after strong opposition by the Court of Directors, their appointment power was curtailed through the

Charter Act of 1853 and thus, an open competitive exam was conducted to appoint Civil Servants in India, but the Indians were not allowed to participate.

Question: Explain the system of Permanent Settlement and also highlight its impact?

Answer: Permanent Settlement had the following important features-

1. Lord Cornwallis made zamindars as the proprietor of land, and reduced the status of independent peasant to tenants.
2. The sale and purchase of land was allowed.
3. The zamindars were given proprietorship rights even over community land.
4. According to the Sunset Clause of 1793, if a zamindar was not able to pay his due before the sunset of the decided date, then the auction of his zamindari rights was conducted.
5. On the other hand, the zamindars, in case of non-payment of revenue, were granted the right to seize all movable and immovable property of peasant.

Impact:

Its worst impact was on the peasants of Bengal. In a way, Cornwallis perpetuated feudal tendencies on the peasants.

Question: Was the Permanent settlement of Bengal guided by the interest of the British Commercial Capitalism?

Answer: Though there were many factors responsible for introduction of the Permanent Settlement, but definitely it was guided by the interest Commercial Capitalism. In fact, there were two important needs of British Commercial Capitalism in Bengal-

1. A large amount of money was needed to invest in trade.
2. A large quantity of goods be made available so that, trade of the Company could expand.

The Permanent Settlement was intended to achieve both the above mentioned objectives. It had the provision of a fixed stable annual income for the British Company. Moreover, the zamindars were expected to invest in agriculture as it was going to benefit them directly. As a result availability of tradable goods would increase. However, these objectives of the Company could not be achieved, but the objective behind introduction of the Permanent Settlement was to serve the interest of the British Commercial Capitalism.

The Economic Policy

- During this period, Indian economy was reduced to a colonial economy and thus the Drain of Wealth started from India to Britain.

What does the Drain of Wealth imply in the context of colonialism in India?

Drain of wealth means the transfer of surplus money out of India, through reducing its influx and increasing its export. In other words, earlier the Company purchased Indian goods with

the imported precious metals from Britain, but after the Company received the Diwani of Bengal, it financed the Indian trade with the revenue collected from the Bengal, thus any influx of precious metals from Britain nearly stopped. It meant that, the goods and money both were collected from India itself.

The Decline of Handicraft Industry in Bengal:

When the Company rule was established over Bengal, it created a strict control over the artisans of Bengal. In fact, the artisans were sold raw materials at higher prices, whereas the finished goods were purchased at lower costs. Consequently, the artisans of Bengal were impoverished.

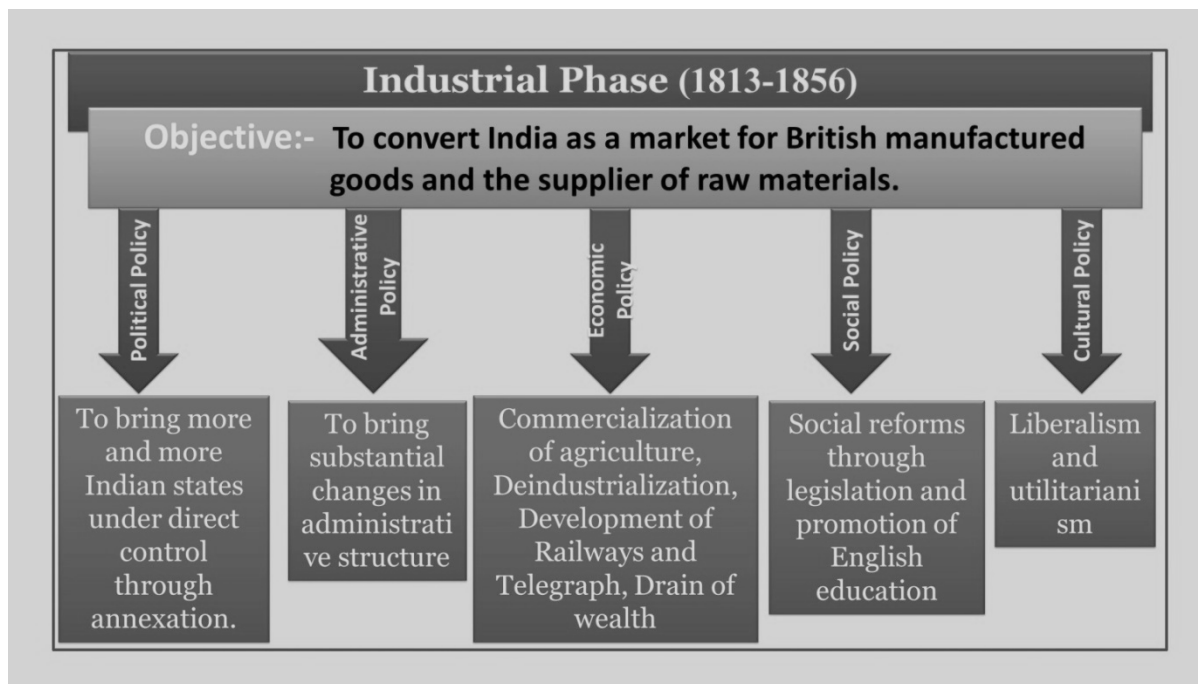
The Social Policy

- The main emphasis of the Company during this phase was to avoid any intervention into the social fabric of India. In fact, the British had no interest in social reforms, because any intervention in the social aspect would mean additional responsibility and reactions from the masses. Thus, the British Company did not make any efforts to abolish even a social evil like that of Sati. In fact, the objective of the Company during this phase was limited to maximize the collection of revenue. Therefore, the Company chose not to take any measures for social reforms.

The Cultural Policy

- The mercantile phase required the Company, not to disturb the traditional social and cultural fabric of India. Thus, during this phase orientalist ideology was promoted.
- Orientalism glorified the Indian past and culture and emphasised that, even though the Indian culture was different from the western culture, but it was not inferior to it. Then, to make a thorough study of Indian culture i.e. the Oriental studies, William Jones established the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784.
- The British government believed that, India should be ruled according to the cultural traditions of India. Thus, during this phase there was codification of Hindu and Muslim laws in the name of the 'Code of Gentoo Laws', the 'Colebrooke Digest' etc. Warren Hastings even promoted the children of Muslim clergies into the government service and thus, he established the 'Calcutta Madarsa' in 1781. Then a Sanskrit college was also established in Banaras by Jonathan Duncan in 1791.

The Second Phase of British Colonialism – Industrial Phase (1813-1858)



By this time Industrial Revolution had already begun in Britain and the cities like London, Manchester, Birmingham, Glasgow etc. emerged as major Industrial centers. In this background a powerful industrial capitalist class came into existence and it started influencing state policies in Britain. The Act of 1813 was a result of pressure coming from this capitalist class. This Act opened the gates of Indian market for the British manufactured goods and the British East India Company was expected to take the responsibility of administering India and also work for creating a market for British goods in India.

Then, this was the time when British industries were in need of raw material and the urban population of Britain was in need of food grains. Thus, started the export of food grains and raw material from India to Britain. In this way India was converted into an exporter of raw material and an importer of finished goods.

Now, the new British colonial interest became the bedrock of all its political, social, cultural and economic policies.

Political Policy (Industrial Phase)

The Company, with the objective to create a strong market in India, gave emphasis over establishing a direct control over most of the regions in India. Thus the Governor-Generals during this phase adopted expansionist policy and caused wider expansion of British Empire in India.

Lord Hastings (1813-23)

Anglo-Nepal War (1814-16) - The Nepalese forces were defeated and were forced to sign Treaty of Sugauli (1816). According to the terms of this treaty the Nepalese control over Sikkim was lost. The regions of Kumaon and Garhwal as well as a significant portion of Terai belt was assimilated into the British Empire.

Third Anglo-Maratha War (1817-18) - This war proved to be the final nail in the coffin of Maratha states. In this war, British forces under leadership of Lord Hastings defeated the joint forces of Peshwa, Bhonsle and Holkar. Then British signed a treaty with Peshwa in 1818 which led to an end of Maratha Confederacy and Bajirao was sent to Bithoor with an annual pension of 8 lakh.

Lord Amherst (1823-28)

During his tenure the first Anglo-Burmese war (1824-26) was fought, which resulted into defeat of Burma and Treaty of Yandabu was signed (24 February, 1826). On the basis of Treaty of Yandabu, the company availed many concessions from Burma.

William Bentinck (1828-35)

While continuing with the policy of imperialist expansion and assimilation, Bentinck integrated Cachar in 1830, Mysore in 1831, Coorg in 1834 and Jaintia in 1835 into the Empire.

Auckland (1836-42)

During his tenure, the first Anglo-Afghan war was fought (1839-41), but this war proved to be a fiasco for the British adventure. In this war British forces were almost defeated.

Ellenborough (1842-1844)

He annex Sindh in 1843.

Lord Harding (1844-48)

During his tenure the First Anglo-Sikh war (1845-46) was fought. In this war Sikhs were defeated and they were made to sign Treaty of Lahore (1816). According to the terms of this treaty, Kashmir was added to the British.

Lord Dalhousie (1848-56)

He adopted two different approaches to cause the territorial expansion of the British empire-

1. By the way of fighting wars

The Punjab was brought under British control after the second Anglo-Sikh war (1849)

Acquisition of Sikkim(1850)

The region of Lower Burma or Pegu was annexed following the Second Anglo Burmese war.

In 1853, the cotton producing region of Berar was annexed from Nizam.

2. By the way of ideology

Doctrine of Lapse: The states which were created by the British power itself, were not given a right to choose their successor. In fact, Lord Dalhousie imposed Doctrine of Lapse with the utmost cruelty on these states. Under this policy, the region of Satara, Jaitpur, Sambalpur, Baghat, Udaipur, Jhansi and Nagpur were assimilated into the British Empire.

On the basis of Doctrine of Misgovernance: Annexation of Awadh in 1856.

Question: "The British Policy towards Indian states during first half of 19th century was guided by the interest of British industrial capitalism." Examine the Statement.

Answer: Growth of British Industrial Capitalism during 19th century led to a paradigm shift in the British policy towards Indian States. Now, in the interest of British Industrial Capitalism, India had to be created as a market for the British finished goods, so therefore it was necessary for British to exercise direct control over the maximum possible region of Indian States. This was a major reason why all the administrators beginning from Lord Hastings to Dalhousie adopted the policy of war and annexation.

Lord Hastings, following Anglo-Nepal war, acquired a large territory from Nepal. Similarly Lord Amherst, following the first Anglo-Burma war, acquired some territory from Burma and Dalhousie in future annexed the Burma completely.

In fact Auckland, Ellenborough and Harding all continued with the policy of war and annexation. Then Lord Dalhousie, aggressively pursued this policy, when he made the use of both, the ideologies and method of wars to annex the region from Punjab to Awadh into British Empire and thus soon he completely restructured the map of British India.

In this way, we can clearly establish a direct link between British Industrial Capitalism and British Imperialism.

Question: Whereas the predecessors of Dalhousie, so far as it was possible, intended to avoid annexation of Indian States, but Dalhousie did not miss any opportunity to pursue the policy of annexation. Examine the statement.

Answer: The difference between the policy of Dalhousie and that of his predecessors need to be understood in the context of changing British colonial interest.

Till 18th century British policy towards India was guided by the interest of commercial capitalism. During this phase British interest in India was limited to the investment in trade. Therefore, as far as possible, the Company intended to avoid war against and annexation of Indian states. But during 19th century British Policy of India was guided by the interest of Industrial capitalism. Thus, now it was inclined to exercise direct control over more and more Indian states, so that India could be converted into an exporter of raw material and importer of finished goods. Therefore we find that all the administrators during this phase gave emphasis over the policy of war and annexation. In fact, the zenith of this policy was manifested during the tenure of Lord Dalhousie.

In fact, Lord Dalhousie did not let any opportunity go unutilized and for that he adopted the methods of wars as well as of ideologies. For instance, by the way of wars he annexed the regions of Punjab, Lower Burma etc. While in addition to wars, he even used the ideologies like the Doctrine of Lapse and the doctrine of misgovernance.

On the basis of Doctrine of Lapse he annexed seven states including Satara, Sambalpur, Jhansi, Nagpur etc. Then, due to economic and strategic significance of Awadh, he annexed it while following the doctrine of misgovernance or misrule.

Model Question

Question: Dalhousie brought rapid changes in the map of British India, which could have not been possible only with the help of wars. Examine the statement.

Administrative Policy (Industrial Phase)

❖ **Reinforcement of Law and Order:** The Company gave emphasis over the administrative reforms especially for growth of market for British manufactured goods in India. We can prove it through following- Lord Hastings suppressed Pindaris during 1816-17. Pindari was a group of plunderers which included Hindu and Muslim both. They accompanied in the Maratha army.

Thuggee was another challenge to law and order in British India. Therefore, William Bentinck appointed colonel Sleeman for the end of Thuggee.

❖ **Judicial Reforms:**

The utilitarian ideology influenced even the process of judicial reforms. In this sequence, Bentham attracted the attention of British towards the fundamental weaknesses of the Indian Judicial System. According to Bentham, Indian Judicial System was having following weaknesses- Lack of codification of laws as well as the dearth of habeas corpus laws. So following measures were taken-

With the objective of codification of law, a provision for appointment of a law member was introduced in the Charter Act of 1833. Consequently the Macaulay Code was prepared. Then Indian Civil Code and Indian Penal Code came into existence respectively in 1859 and 1860.

Through Indian High Court Act, 1861, the old Supreme Court as well as Sadar Diwani and Nizamat Adalats were abolished and High Courts at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay were established.

❖ **Land Revenue Reforms:**

By this time a situation of conflict between the British capitalist class and Indian government emerged. On one hand, the British capitalist class, while keeping in mind higher purchasing power in Indian markets, demanded lower rates of land revenue. On other hand, the British Indian government had its own compulsions. Thus, it was decided to eliminate roles of the Zamindars.

Apart from that, David Ricardo's 'Theory of Rent' also declared Zamindars as rentiers and intermediaries appropriate surplus without any role in the productive process.

Thus, the land revenue system like Ryotwari and Mahalwari encouraged direct collection of land revenue from tenants as well as village. Thus, efforts were made to keep Zamindars and other intermediaries out of the land revenue system.

❖ **Ryotwari System:**

This was implemented in Bombay and Madras Presidency as well as some other parts of British India. It covered about 51 percent area of British India.

Every registered peasant was recognized as the proprietor land and a land revenue settlement was signed at individual level (patta).

Land became a marketable commodity.

Common land like pasture land, barren land, irrigation land, forest etc. were kept under the government control instead of farmers.

Amount of land revenue was not fixed but it was to be reassessed periodically based on land revenue surplus.

Objective:

1. Madras Presidency remained indulged in wars constantly. So, the company needed huge amount of money.
2. The Company could not get benefitted under the Permanent Settlement because revenue rates could change with increase in agriculture production. Thus, the Company got disillusioned with Permanent Settlement.
3. There was no clearly identifiable class of intermediaries like zamindars in Western and Southern India.

Impact:

1. In Ryotwari system, objective of ryot security could not be answered because the British government itself behaved like a Zamindar by appropriating all the profits via high land revenue demands.
2. In order to pay larger sums of land revenue, peasants were compelled to borrow money from money lenders. Thus rural indebtedness became a major issue of this region.

❖ Mahalwari System:

This system was introduced in Northern and North Western India. It covered roughly 30 percent area of British India.

Under this system, land revenue settlement was determined on village level.

In general, land revenue was collected with the help of Muqaddam (village headman)

Under this system, rent payment was individual responsibility as well. If any farmer could not pay rent on time, so his Mahal would be subject to acquisition.

Similar to the Ryotwari system, amount of land revenue was not fixed permanently. It was subject to change after periodic assessment in the future.

Objective:

1. Expanding British Empire needed more revenue to meet its expenditure.
2. Investment in the British Industry required huge sum of money.

Impact:

Under this system, rate of land revenue was high. Thus, discontent persisted among peasants of Awadh, which came into light during the Revolt of 1857 in form of violent peasant rebellion.

Question: During 19th century, the administrative structure of British India was guided by the interest of industrial capitalism. Examine this statement.

Answer: The period beginning from the middle of 19th century, has been identified with the advent of 'Industrial Capitalism' due to changing nature of British colonialism – in search of new market for British industrial goods.

Therefore, the Company took measures for better law and order, efficient judicial system and reforms in land revenue system.

Law and Order: Lord Hastings and William Bentinck took measures to suppress Pindaris and Thugs respectively.

Judicial System: The codification of laws was prioritised. A law commission was set up under Lord Macaulay for codification of Indian laws. Also, high courts were established in the Presidency towns based on High Court Act (1861).

Land Revenue System: The main objective behind these reforms was to maximise revenue for the British. Therefore, Mahalwari and Ryotwari systems were introduced whereby efforts were made to eliminate zamindars. Settlements were done with peasants and Mahals or villages directly in Ryotwari and Mahalwari system respectively.

Thus, we can see that British industrial capitalism completely transformed administrative structure of the British India.

Question: To what extent the judicial reforms in British India were inspired by the philosophy of Jeremy Bentham? Examine

Answer: Ideas of 19th century British philosopher Jeremy Bentham undoubtedly marked its imprint on the Indian judicial system. Bentham highlighted following weaknesses of the judicial system-

Most of the laws were ambiguous.

Regional variations in laws i.e. there was lack of standardization of laws.

Absent of well-established legal procedures like writ of habeas corpus.

Under the influence of above mentioned ideas, following steps were taken to bring reforms in the judicial system-

1. Through Charter Act of 1833, Lord Macaulay was appointed as law member of Governor General in Council, to codify laws. Macaulay codified laws in 1837 which were implemented as Indian Civil Code (1859) and Indian Penal Code (1860).
2. To end diarchy prevailing in the Indian Judicial system, Sadar Adalat and Supreme Court both were dissolved and through the High Court Act of 1861, high courts were established in the presidency towns.

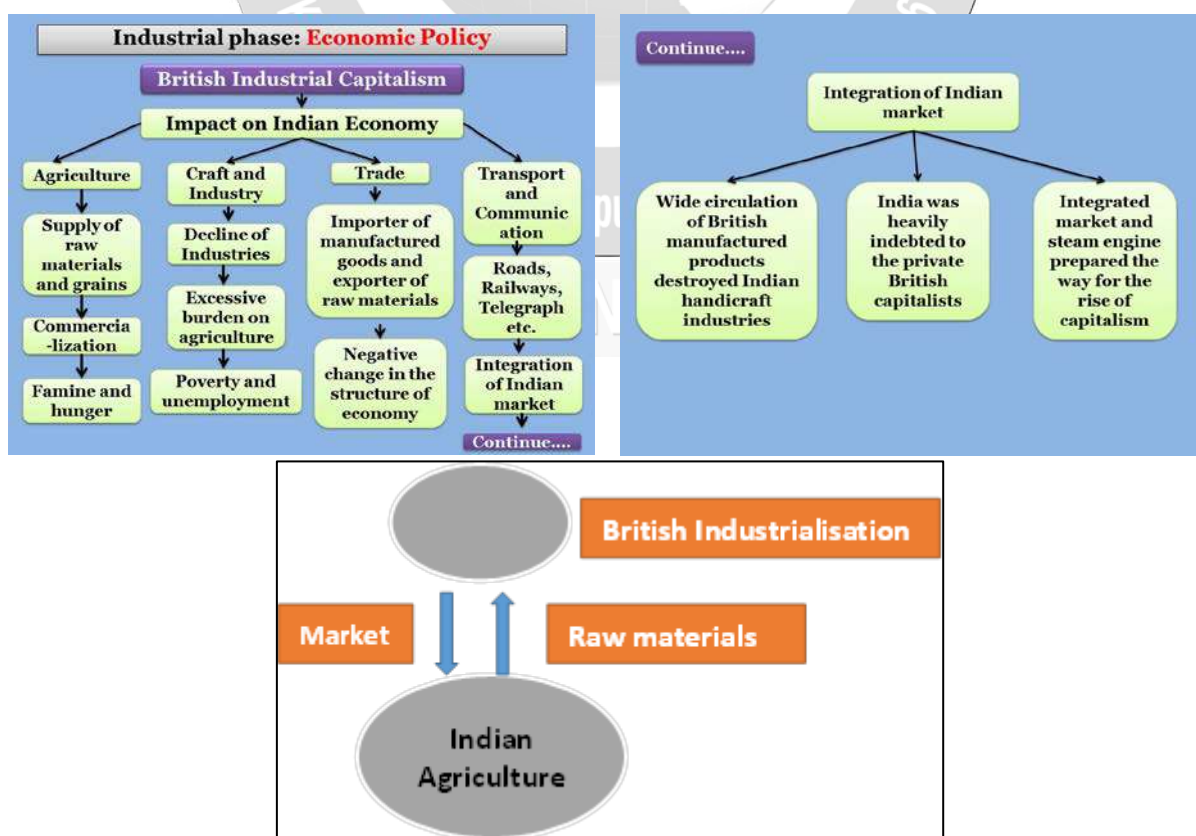
However, if we observe minutely, we realize that not the Benthamite Philosophy, but primarily British industrial capitalism guided judicial reforms in British India. Resultantly, India could be transformed into a stable market for the goods manufactured in Britain.

Question: How did Ryotwari and Mahalwari system affected the rural life of British India?

Answer: Upon analysing, the Ryotwari and Mahalwari systems, we realize that they were introduced primarily to serve the British interests predominantly. Peasant interests were secondary. Thus, following negative impacts on rural people can be observed-

1. Rate of land revenue was very high under both the systems. It resulted into decline in purchasing powers of peasants and consequently, there were extreme incidence of poverty as well as of indebtedness in rural India.
2. As individual ownership right over land was recognized and land became a marketable commodity, it resulted into fragmentation of land. Thus, after independence, land consolidation programme was launched.
3. Due to sale and purchase of land as well as increasing tax burden, the numbers of landless labourers was on rise constantly.
4. During this period, emphasis was given to cash crops. As a result, production of subsistence food crops like sorghum, millet and corn etc. decreased. It became a major cause behind frequently occurrence of famines.

Economic Policy (Industrial Phase)



Commercialization of Agriculture:

Indian agriculture was exploited excessively to serve the interest of British Industrialization.

Although, commercialization of agriculture was not a new thing in India, but under the British rule it was promoted at large scale.

Following factors encouraged commercialization of agriculture:-

1. Exorbitant rates of land revenue.
2. Need of raw materials for the British industries.
3. Demand of food grains to feed the British urban population.
4. Development of modern means of transport and communication along with completion of Suez Canal.

Limitations:

1. The colonial rule promoted only those crops which were in high demand in Britain.
2. This system was imposed on peasantry.
3. Under the colonial rule, the beneficiary class had no economic liability but this burden was transferred on the lower classes.
4. Production of commercial crops led decline in production of coarse grains which was the staple diets of poor masses in India. Consequently, it intensified hunger problem in rural India.



Deindustrialization:

Decline of Indian Handicraft Industry:

Reasons:

1. With the Charter Act of 1813, trade monopoly of the Company ended and Indian markets were consequently flooded with industrial goods of Lancashire and Manchester. This whole process impacted Indian handicraft industries negatively.

2. The British government imposed heavy import duties on Indian handicraft items and distorted their market in Britain as well.
3. Railway geared inflow of British goods with high speed and Indian markets flooded with the British goods.
4. The British expansionist policy annexed most of the princely states into the British India. These princely states were patrons and markets majorly for the Indian handicraft industry. Thus, Indian handicraft industry shrunk as well due to this expansionist policy.
5. The British education and social policies gave birth to an English educated middle class with a taste for British goods.

Impact:

The British destroyed traditional structure of Indian economy without compensated with the establishment of modern industries. Consequently, balance between agriculture and industry was disturbed, which made agriculture overburdened in India. Thus, poverty and indebtedness became an ugly reality for India.

Modern Transport and Communication System

➤ **Railway:**

Objective

1. To transport the British goods each and every corner of India.
2. To bring raw material to coastal area from remote areas of India.
3. Development of Indian railways presented a guaranteed return to the British capitalists on investment in India.
4. Make ready Indian markets for the British Iron and Steel industry.
5. To ensure swift mobility of soldiers every part of India.

Positive Aspects:

1. Railways integrated Indian markets.
2. Railway engine led to the foundation of modern industry in India.
3. Development of railway and other modes of modern transports connected different parts of India with each other. It led political integration of India unknowingly.

Negative Aspects:

1. Home charges increased and impacted Indian treasury negatively.
2. Export of raw material and import of finished goods discouraged industrial growth in India and handicraft industry reached on the verge of decline.
3. Export of food grains from India became major cause of famines in India.

➤ **Famines**

Reasons:

1. Exorbitant land revenue declined purchasing power of peasantry significantly. As a result, they were unable to bear even food cost.
2. Promotion of commercial crops led decline in the production of coarse grains, staple diet of the mass in India.
3. Agriculture was overburdened with population pressure.
4. Railway further supported cultivation of commercial crops and sped up export of food crops even when there was shortage of food grains in India, the British continued to export it.

➤ **Drain of Wealth**

Change in nature of Drain of Wealth:

Till 1813, the Company used its revenue receipt for trading purposes.

After 1813, there was a change in nature of Drain of Wealth. After losing its trading monopoly, the Company encouraged export of agricultural produce, especially opium export to China to retain its profit.

However, Opium Wars between Britain and China were outcome of this opium trade.

Question: What do you understand by commercialization of agriculture? How did it encourage the incidents like famine, poverty and indebtedness in India? Explain.

Answer: Commercialization of agriculture refers to giving priority to commercial crops over traditional crops. It was promoted by the British colonial rule in India. The British government emphasised on only those crops which were beneficial to the British, for example cotton, indigo, opium, sugarcane, wheat, pulses, rice, jute etc. These agricultural products were exported to Britain.

On other hand, it was a forced process for Indian peasants. Most of the peasants were compelled to it. As the benefits of commercial crops did not reach to the peasants, rather it remained confined only to traders and moneylenders, thus peasants had to face incidence of extreme poverty, famine and indebtedness.

Poverty: Rural poverty became a common phenomenon of British India due to decline in per capita income, higher rates of land revenue and loss in commercial crops.

Famine: Over emphasis on cash crops led decline in the production of coarse grains significantly which resulted in an increase in the incidence of famines and hunger.

Rural Indebtedness: There was need of higher investment in cash crops, which forced peasants to borrow from moneylenders. On other hand, its real benefit did not reach to the farmers. Resultantly, peasants could not repay borrowing and became indebted.

Question: Examine, how the decline of traditional artisanal industry in colonial India crippled rural economy? UPSC 2016

Answer: Every step taken by the colonial government made the mother country prosperous but brought misery to the colony. Thus, the colonization gave impetus to decolonization in India and almost ruined the rural economy of India.

British trade policy, railway policy, cultural policy all proved fatal for Indian handicraft industries. The Charter of 1813 opened forcefully Indian market for British goods. Railways delivered British goods to remote areas quickly. In addition, the British cultural policy created English-educated Indian class in India who were acting as a market for British goods. All this led to the decline of traditional artisanal industries in India. The both urban and rural artisan industries were affected. India became a majorly importer of cotton textiles.

India's rural economy had to bear major setback. Before the British rule, handicraft industry was also an important source of income for villagers. Women were engaged in spinning and weaving yarn at home. In spare time, peasants employed with rural artisans. But due to decline of handicraft industries, rural life faced two major effects. Firstly, the means of additional income of farmers snatched away, secondly, agriculture became overburdened.

Consequently, purchasing power of farmers came at low level and rural poverty, rural indebtedness and incidence of famines increased unprecedentedly. A pity aspect is that the government of independent India did not adopt agriculture-centric development model, therefore no fundamental change could be seen in the scenario and superficial steps taken for relief proved to be insufficient.

The rural economy, therefore, has not recovered from the crippling that had set in during the colonial period.

Practice Questions:

Question: What according to you was the real nature the economic policies adopted by the company- transformation or colonization? Give arguments in favour of your opinion.

Question: As opposed to Europe where railway had played a significant in the process of industrialization, in India it became instrumental in accelerating deindustrialization. Examine the statement.

Social Policy (Industrial Phase)

A colonial government not only exploits economic resources of its colony but also impacts it socially as well as culturally. The British industrial capitalism gave emphasis over reforms in social structure of India.

The ulterior objective behind such reforms was that, a reformed Indian society would be a better and stable market for British manufactured goods. British believed that, under the influence of social reforms, Indians would accept English education while leaving their traditional outlook behind. This would give birth to a class of 'brown Sahibs' British in tastes and preferences.

Apart from that, another prominent factor behind social reforms is considered to be the role of British thinkers. The liberal British thinkers and Christian missionaries were demanding reforms and changes in India and in order to make India civilized society.

For Instance-

Sati Regulation Act (1829-30).

Laws were implemented strictly in 1830s to prevent infanticides.

The law related to abolition of slavery was implemented in 1843.

The law related to widow remarriage was implemented in 1856.

Cultural Policy (Industrial Phase)

English Education or Macaulay Education System

What is the Orientalist-Anglicist controversy related to the field of Education?

It was based on the following-

1. What should be the basis of education?
2. What should be the medium of instruction?

There was no controversy related to the first issue, rather it was with the second issue. During that time, the General Committee on Public Instruction was divided into two factions- Orientalist and Anglicist. Orientalist believed that the medium of instruction for Indians should be vernacular languages, only then Indians would learn the western scientific education.

On other hand, Anglicist favoured English education. However, when Lord Macaulay became president of the General Committee on Public instruction, naturally Anglicist group dominated. Then on 2nd February, 1835 Lord Macaulay presented his education policy.

What is the Downward Filtration Theory?

It was not possible for the British to provide English Education to larger section of Indian masses. Thus, Macaulay put forward a plan whereby first a handful of Indians would be educated in English Education and then

they would further impart this knowledge to rest of the masses in Indian languages. However, this plan could not be successful.

Objective behind introducing Macaulay Education policy:

To create a market for British finished goods

To create a class of servicemen at lower administrative posts.

To propagate Christianity.

To give birth to a class of Indians who would favour the British rule.

Negative impacts of Macaulay Education Policy:

Indian traditional education system like madarsas and pathashalas, was completely dismantled.

The task of producing knowledge was assumed by the English. Indians were meant to reproduce knowledge bestowed upon them.

Indians were not given scientific and professional education. Rather, they were mainly taught literature and philosophy.

There remained a clear division between Bharat and India due to the Macaulay's Educational Model.

Contribution:

Due to English education, a class of Indian intellectuals came in touch with western philosophy, thus Indian nationalism could receive a boost.

English education helped India during IT Revolution of 1990s, due to availability of a vastly market of qualified English speaking professionals.

Liberalism and Utilitarianism:

Similarities:

1. Both were the products of Industrial Revolution in Britain.
2. Both were staunch critics of Orientalist ideology as they believed that Orientalist had done undue praise of India.
3. Both perpetuated the myth of a regressive Indian society and a culture in decline. While putting forward the need to civilize Indians and take them on the path of development, they justified the presence of a strong British rule over India.

Differences:

1. The liberals believed that, though India was currently passing through a phase of decline, but through English education and British political institutions, it could be taken on the path of development. In India, this view was represented by Lord Macaulay and Trevelyan. But, on the other hand, utilitarian like Jeremy Bentham rejected this view and emphasized that Indians could never proceed towards the path of development on their own, thus the British Government in India should act as a schoolmaster and encourage development in India through good governance.
2. The liberals believed that a time would come in future when Indians would get independence by moving on the path of development. However

the utilitarian, while rejecting this view, emphasized that the British, on behalf of the Indians, should always be there to promote development for Indians. They also believed that, the need of Indians was not freedom, but 'happiness', which could be provided only through an effective and competent government. Thus, it was only the British government which could bring happiness to Indians.

3. Liberals believed that the objective of British rule in India must be to civilize Indians. But the utilitarian rejected this view by negating the possibilities of Indians becoming cultured and capable of self-governance.

Question: The British Industrial Capitalism not only exploited Indian economy but also guided changes in the socio-cultural aspects of Indian life. Comment

Answer: During 19th century, British industrial capitalism was the primary force behind shaping the British policy in context of India. Along with Indian economy, it also left its imprint on Indian society and culture as well.

The objective of the British policy was to exploit the Indian economy to serve interests of the British industrial capitalism and transform India into an importer of manufactured goods and an exporter of raw materials. In order to achieve this, the British Company took initiative to bring reforms in the socio-cultural aspects of Indian life. Its main objective was to create a stable market for British goods in India. On other hand, a pressure for reforms was also developed by the British liberal and utilitarian thinkers, so the following steps were taken in this direction -

1. Legislations for social reforms were enacted i.e. abolition of Sati System (1829-30), abolition of Slavery (1843), Widow Remarriage Act (1856) etc.
2. Efforts were also made to change cultural outlook of Indians through English education. In fact intention was to produce, in Macaulay's words, a class of Indians which would like British in taste and opinions, morals and intellect.

Thus, the British industrial capitalism transformed Indian economy as well as society and culture.

Charter Act of 1813

- 1- The trade monopoly of the British East India Company was abolished. It meant that now other British merchants could also trade in India. Now they were free to come to India for the sale of British industrial goods without any restrictions. But, it is to be remembered that monopoly of the Company in trade with China and trade in tea still existed.
- 2- There was a pressure from the British capitalists that the government should take the administrative control of India in its own hands, but till

then the government was not ready to take up this responsibility, so through this Charter Act, the responsibility of administering India for the next 20 years was left with the British Company itself.

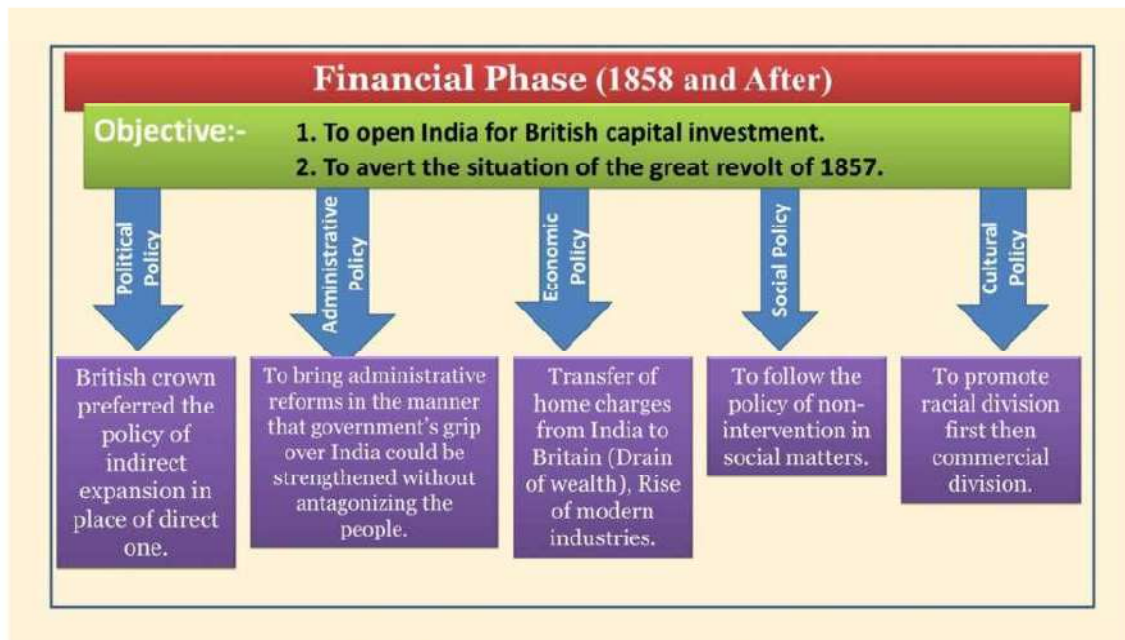
- 3- In order to legitimize the claim of British liberal thinkers that their aim was to civilize India, a provision of annual allocation of Rs 1 lakh was brought for the spread of scientific education and literature in India.
- 4- Christian missionaries were allowed to propagate their religion.

Charter Act of 1833

- 1- Under this Act, the Governor General of Bengal now came to be known as the Governor General of India. On this basis William Bentinck became the first Governor General of India.
- 2- Under this Charter Act, a law commission was established for legislating laws and Lord Macaulay was appointed as the first law member.
- 3- Under this act, there was a provision for abolition of slavery in India. On this basis, slavery was abolished in 1843 during tenure of Lord Ellenborough.
- 4- It was also declared that Indians would not be discriminated against in government services on the basis of caste, birth and race.

Charter Act of 1853

- 1- The administration of India still continued under the British Company, but this time the charter was not approved for fixed time period.
- 2- Through this act, competitive examination became the basis of appointment in civil services.
- 3- The number of directors was reduced from 24 to 18. Then the Board of Directors received powers to create new presidencies or alter their boundaries.
- 4- For the first time, the formation of Legislative Council took place.



The financial phase of colonialism

Objective:

1. To open Indian Economy for British capital investment:

As a result of industrialization, huge amount of capital was accumulated in Britain. So, the capitalists of Britain were in search of investment avenues where the maximum profit over capital could be earned. In fact, as labor was cheap, so the scope of profit was more in the colonies. Thus, after 1858, there was large scale influx of British capital in India which was invested in railways, mining, shipping, government expenditure, plantation of tea and coffee etc. Moreover, a major responsibility of the Indian government during this phase was to promote British capital investment in India and repayment of loan from India to Britain.

2. To prevent recurrence of an event like the Great Revolt of 1857 in India

During the course of the Great Revolt of 1857, the British rule in India was almost on the verge of decline. Thus, the British learnt a big lesson, so after 1857, the main emphasis of British policy post had been to prevent the recurrence of any event like the Great Revolt of 1857.

Political Policy

The Revolt of 1857 emerged to be a major landmark in terms of the British political policy towards India. The British came to realize that, the revolt was violent only in those regions, where the British had established their direct control, while the regions under indirect control were relatively at peace. Thus, in future, the British crown preferred the policy of indirect control over direct control.

In this sequence, there was a proclamation from Queen Victoria on 1st November 1858, and in this proclamation, it was lauded clearly that, the British crown had discarded the policy of annexation of Indian States. Also, the Indian states were given the assurance that any past agreement or contract between them and the Company would be honored.

But, this declaration did not imply any change in the basis of relationship between the British crown and the Indian states, rather only the approach of British had changed i.e. it emphasized on indirect control instead of direct control. In fact, this declaration was more about continuity than change. In reality, it developed an asymmetrical relation between the British

crown and Indian states whereby the British crown was gaining power, while the Indian states were losing it. This could be proved on the following basis-

1. In 1876, Lord Lytton introduced the Royal Title Act of 1876. On the basis of this Act, the title of 'Kaiser-i-Hind' was conferred on Queen Victoria. Thus, Queen Victoria now became the Queen of India i.e. an insider from an outsider. Moreover, in 1877 the Delhi Durbar was organized, in which Indian rulers also had to participate. In reality, the Indian rulers were reduced to the status of feudatories under the supreme authority of the British crown and even the titles as well as the accompanying paraphernalia (e.g. gun salute) for the Indian kings and princes were decided by the British crown.
2. After the Great Revolt, Lord Canning came up with a new policy towards Indian rulers. He realized that, the Indian kings and nobles were leaders of the masses in India. Thus, he believed, as long as they were controlled by the British, the British rule would be safe in India. So, the British provided protection to the Indian states. However, it was indicated to the rulers of the princely states that, the protection of the British would last only till the point they exercise effective control over the masses, because, otherwise these rulers were of no use to the British.
3. Also, railways and telegraph developed, as a means of modern transport and communication during this period. Thus, the Indian rulers were compelled to allow the passage of railway and telegraph lines through their states. In this way, through railways and telegraph lines, the Indian princely states were enchained with the British India.

Administrative Policy

During this period, the main objective of the British administrative policy was to establish strong hold over administration in India, without creating any discontent among the masses-

1. After the Revolt of 1857, the control over Indian administration was transferred from the Company to the British crown.
2. For establishing control over the Indian administration, the office of 'Secretary of State' was constituted in London. He was placed at the apex of administrative structure in India and for his assistance a 15 member council was constituted.
3. However, the administration of India was still in the hands of Governor General of India and the Governors were present in the provinces, but the post of Governor General of India came to be called as the Viceroy of India, as now he represented British crown in India.
4. Then, the process of decentralization began with the Indian Council Act of 1861. For instance, the power to legislate was transferred again to the provinces. This process was completed by the Government of India Act of 1919.
5. The process of financial devolution began in the reign of Lord Mayo, later Lord Lytton and Lord Ripon encouraged it further.
6. Initiatives were taken even for the civil services reforms. In fact, a new category of service was created in the form of 'Statutory Civil Services', in which some Indian aristocrats were to be recruited on the higher posts.

7. Following steps were taken for the military reforms:

- A better balance was created between the number of Indian and European soldiers in the Army.
- Important departments like artillery etc. were placed only under British command.
- Indian regiments were consciously classified on the basis of race and caste.
- The concept of 'martial race' was put forward so that, the recruitment from the politically conscious regions like Awadh, and Bengal could be discouraged.

8. Through the Act of 1861, the Police administration was reorganized in India.

Question: After 1858, the basic objective of the administrative reforms brought about by the British Crown in India, was to prevent the recurrence of an event like the Great Revolt of 1857. Examine the Statement.

Answer: The year 1858 marked the beginning of a new era of British rule in India. In 1858, the British crown took the control of administration of India and also inducted many administrative reforms in India. But on close observation, we realize that, these were only superficial in nature, while basic objective remained the same.

For the administration of India, the office of Secretary of State of India was created and to assist him a council of 15 member was also constituted. However, the post of Governor-General of India and Governor in provinces continued to exist, but the Governor-General of India was now called the Viceroy.

Then, on the basis of the Act of 1861, legislative decentralization was initiated and later the financial decentralization was also encouraged, but Indians were not allowed to participate.

Moreover, initiatives were also taken for military and police reforms, but

the objective was to maintain a strict control over India. Similarly, reforms in the civil services or in local government were initiated just to pacify the Indian nationalists.

In the end, we can conclude that, all the reforms carried out by the British crown were superficial in nature and their major objective was to establish a strict control over India without giving birth to any discontent among the masses.

Economic Policy

▪ **Agriculture**

1. The British continued with the old land revenue systems including the Permanent Settlement, Ryotwari system and Mahalwari system.
2. The government, in order to expand the sphere of dominance, took measures to protect the interest of peasants in India. Through the Bengal tenancy legislations of 1859 and 1885, efforts were made to protect interest of peasants against zamindars, whereas through the Dekkhan Relief Act of 1879 and the Punjab Land Alienation Act of 1900, the efforts were made to protect peasants from the moneylenders.
3. The issues of famine and rural indebtedness were raised by the nationalists.

▪ **Home Charges:** Every year money in the form of repayment of debt and payment of interest was transferred from India to Britain.

▪ **Industrialization in India:** It was on the initiatives of Indian capitalists that, the Industrialization in India began.

Influx of British Capital in India and the issue of Home Charges

- After 1858, a huge amount of British capital was being brought to India. This capital was brought in following way-
 - I. **In the form of debt:** Loans were taken for the purpose of investment in the construction of railways as well as to meet with

the government expenditure. Thus, the money was draining back to Britain in the form of repayment of debt and payment of interest.

II. In the form of investment:

Investment in shipping industry, mining industry, tea and coffee plantation industry etc. This investment along with profit was taken back to Britain.

What does Home Charges imply?

- Home Charges implies the regular transfer of a substantial amount of money from India to Britain. The payment of this amount was liability of the Indian government. It consisted of different items of payments -

1. Guaranteed profit of railway.
2. Interest on government loans.
3. Military expenditure for Indian Army done in Britain, expenses of the office of Secretary of State for India etc.
4. Pensions to retired British officers (it is to be noticed that Home Charges include the loan amount borrowed from Britain but not the investment.)



Debate regarding Home Charges

- Dadabhai Naoroji, while criticizing Home Charges, declared it to be the drain of wealth. He criticized Home Charges on the following grounds-
 1. The British borrowed money on a higher rate and invested that in railway and not in development of irrigation infrastructure, while the utmost priority of investment in

India must have been irrigation projects.

2. Also, the capital invested by the British in India was the money they had taken back as the part of profit and remittance. So, no additional capital was added from the British pockets.
 3. Apart from that, if there was indigenization of the civil services, then there would have been no need to send the amount of pension to retired officers in Britain.
- However, the British apologist scholars like Morrison denied the phenomena of drain of wealth. He argued that, the amount of money transferred as Home Charges was not much and also it was a necessity for the development of India.

- A balanced view:** Even though the entire amount of Home Charges did not constitute Drain of Wealth, but definitely a large part of it was appropriated by the British.

Should only Home Charges be included under the sphere of drain of wealth or other items should also be considered as a part of it?

Following items should be included under it-

1. The remittances transferred to Britain by British officials working in India.
2. The profit earned by the British merchant which they transferred to Britain.
3. During 1870s, there was devaluation of Indian rupee against pound sterling. Consequently, the real value of drained wealth to Britain also increased.

Explain the limitations of Dadabhai Naoroji's view on drain of wealth -

1. He was intended to prove that the amount transferred from India to Britain was not simply money, but capital.
2. He held only handful of British responsible for exploitation of India.

3. He only accounted for the amount transferred by the Indian government, but not by the private capitalists.

Still, the contribution of Dadabhai Naoroji can never be undermined, as he was the only thinker after Marx to strongly criticize the colonial model of economy.

Emergence of modern industries in India

- The Indian capitalists led the foundation of cotton goods industries on west coast of India. For instance, Cowasjee Nanabhai is credited for the establishment of first cotton textile industry in India, in Bharuch, Bombay Presidency. After that, very soon many cotton textile industries got established in western India.
- Then, in 1855, a British entrepreneur, George Auckland founded a jute mill in Risra, Bengal Presidency. Following that, Bengal emerged to a center of jute mill industries in India.
- The emphasis of British policy was not on the industrialization in India. Thus, there were many bottlenecks on the way of Industrialization, which were as follows-
 1. Lack of scientific and technical education and lack of skilled labor in India.
 2. Unavailability of credit to finance the Indian industries.
 3. Biased approach of British management agencies.
 4. The British government avoided giving protection to the Indian industries.

Growth of industrialization in India

1. **First World War-** As an aftermath of the First World War, a crisis had emerged in European economy. However, Indian economy was benefitted from this situation of Crisis in Europe. During this period, Indian

capital was invested in cement industry, paper industry, glass industry, iron and steel industries etc.

2. **World Economic Depression (1929-30 AD)** - This event is considered to be the second crisis of capitalism. During the global economic depression, supply chains in western capitalist countries, were disrupted badly. As a result, there was significant reduction in imports from Europe. Consequently, indigenous capitalists got the benefit. In fact, these capitalists established new industries in order to fulfil the domestic demands in India.
3. **Second World War-** During this period also, Indian industries developed further.

Question: The British used to express benevolent approach towards Indians, but frequent famines under the British rule seemed to expose their reality. Comment

Answer: British put strong efforts for Indians to realize that, they were well-wishers of Indians. But frequent famines and response of the government during that phase, reflects a different picture all together.

While most of the famines during the course of Indian history have been caused by climatic factors but during the colonial rule British economic policies became instrumental behind famine. For example-excessive burden of land revenue on peasants, decline of artisanal industries, cultivation of cash crops and thus decline in production of coarse grains, export of food grains from India etc.

Most of all, the British government did not take concrete steps to deal with the menace of famines. However, after the famines of Gujrat and Deccan, Strachey Commission was constituted. On the basis of its recommendation, Famine Code was prepared. It had a provision that, if three fourth of the crop was destroyed, then land

revenue would not be collected, but in practice, generally it was not followed.

Moreover, the most pressing demand was to reduce the burden of land revenue on peasants, but the British government was not ready to give any concessions to the overburdened peasants.

Thus, what government expressed and what government followed in context of Indians, were miles apart.

Question: Critically comment on the growth of modern industries in India under the British rule.

Answer: The British imperialist scholars, give credit to the British for the industrialization of India. But on minute observation, following things can be highlighted. First, the British government consciously discouraged growth of industries in India so that, the market of the British manufactured goods was not disrupted. Thus, the British officials, in the fields of banking, managing agencies etc., adopted a biased approach against the Indian industrialists.

Secondly, Indian capitalists, even after strong British resistance, took initiatives for industrialization on their own. However, the real growth of indigenous industries became possible only when the British industrial control on India was weakened. For this, following reasons can be held responsible-

1. Impact of the First World War: During this period, the focus of British capitalism was on Britain and thus India was released from the burden of the British capital. As a result, Indian capitalist, while grabbing this opportunity, invested their capital in new areas including iron and steel industries, paper industries, glass industries, matchbox industry etc. Apart from that, initiative were taken for establishing industries in Bengal by Ghanshyam Das Birla and Hukum Chand. Thus, a natural consequence of Indian capitalism during this period was formation of FICCI organization in 1927.

2. The World Economic Depression of 1928-30: During this period, there was outflow of British capital from India, as a result indigenous capital received space to grow.

3. Second World War: During the Second World War, Indian capitalists took advantage of the crisis of British capitalism and invested in new sectors.

Question: Explain how did the Revolt of 1857 prove to be a landmark event in conduct of the British policy towards India?

Answer: The Great Revolt of 1857 had posed an existential threat for the British rule in India. Thus, after this revolt, the major objective of the British policies towards India was to avoid recurrence of any such revolt again.

So, the British policy in relation to India adopted after 1858 should be understood with the following perspectives

1. The administration of India was now under the direct control of the British crown. Also, the famous proclamation of Queen Victoria tried to create a trust between the crown and the Indian rulers.
2. The administrative changes were meant to ensure on one hand, that a strict British control could be established over India and on the other, no discontent among the masses was fueled. It can be understood with the following examples- the office of the Secretary of State for India was created, administrative decentralization on the basis of the Act of 1861 and the beginning of financial decentralization by 1870s and also, introduction of the Statutory Civil Services, whereby for the first time, some Indians were allowed on higher posts.
3. Then, in order to provide a strong base for the British rule in India, it was also necessary to strengthen apparatus of internal security. So, the measures for police and military reforms were taken.

For military reforms, following decisions - creating a better balance between the Indian and European soldiers, keeping arsenal under the control of British officials and dividing the regiments on the basis of cast and region were taken.

4. Last but not the least, the policy of divide and rule was adopted in order to make the British rule permanent. Thus, the efforts were made to divide Hindus and Muslims.

In this way, the Great Revolt of 1857 became a watershed in the conduct of British policy towards India.

Social Policy

- As the lesson was learnt from the Revolt of 1857, the British crown adopted the policy of non-intervention into the social aspects of India. However, even if some reforms were carried out by the British, they were under the pressure created by the Indian nationalists. For example, it was due to the initiatives of B M Malabari, the Age of Consent Bill was introduced in 1891. On the basis of this act, the minimum age of marriage for girls was increased. Similarly, later as the result of initiatives of Harvilas Sharda, the Sharda Act was passed in 1929-30. On the basis of this Act, the age of marriage for both boys and girls was increased.

Cultural Policy

- The British, while adopting the policy of racial discrimination, declared Indians to be savage and uncivilized. Even the 'Victorian racial sciences' supported this racial division.
- British adopted the policy of divide and rule against the Hindu and Muslim unity.
- British consciously adopted the population census based on religion.

What does Nationalism imply?

- In general, we can define nation as a community of people who reside in a specific geographical region and share a common past and culture. In fact, factors like common traditions, culture and geographical integration play a significant role in the growth of nationalism.
 - The concept of nationalism first emerged in Western Europe. It evolved during the course of transformation of feudal system into capitalist system in Europe.
 - However, nationalism in India evolved through a different process. It can be understood in the following way-
1. The earlier phase or proto nationalism in India was expressed in the form of reaction against the British colonial exploitation.
 2. The second phase or modern nationalism manifested itself as a consequence of exchange of ideas with the western world.

Western thoughts on Indian Nationalism

- **First view** - British official John Strachey and British Prime Minister Churchill believed that, India was neither a nation in the past and nor it would ever be in the future, primarily because of its wide socio-cultural diversity.
 - **Second view** - A western scholar Benedict Anderson (in his book 'Imagined Communities') gave credit to the British colonial rule for the growth of nationalist consciousness in India. He believed that, modern nationalism in India was an unintended consequence of the British rule. In the end, the growth of modern nationalism can be attributed to the colonial rule, albeit unintentional, but following were the contributions of the British rule-
1. Due to **English education**, a class of Indians came into contact with Western ideas, which created an opportunity for them to adopt a modern, rational and scientific worldview. As a result, Indian intellectuals realized the importance of freedom, equality and representation.

Moreover, they were exposed to political ideas germinating in contemporary west, like- the American Revolution, the French Revolution as well as the revolutions in Italy, Spain, and Greece. In this way, Indian intelligentsia familiarized itself with the works of Milton, Shelley, Byron, Voltaire, Rousseau etc.

2. **Modern Transport and Communication:** Due to growth of railways and communication lines, people to people contacts improved, leading to greater national integration. Moreover, exchange of ideas as well as interactions among leaders became easier, leading to greater consolidation. Naturally, the growth of an all India movement became possible.
3. **Print Media:** The growth of modern journals and newspapers resulted into rapid spread of ideas. In fact, uninterrupted flow of modern ideas like representative government, independent democratic institutions, freedom etc. became possible.
4. **Population Census:** It created a sense of single and unified community among people.
5. **Administrative unification:** British clearly defined the geographical boundaries of India and thus, the expression of India as a nation-state became a reality. So, while guided by the economic and political interests of the metropolitan, the British perpetuated economic and political integration of the whole country.

The opposition by the Indian scholars

1. The British always tried to suppress the vernacular press and journals.
2. The population census was consciously done on religious and caste lines against the unity of India.
3. Nation of India as a geographical entity existed since ancient times.

Difference between the western model and Indian model of nationalism

1. Uniformity versus diversity i.e. the western nation-states was based on homogeneity,

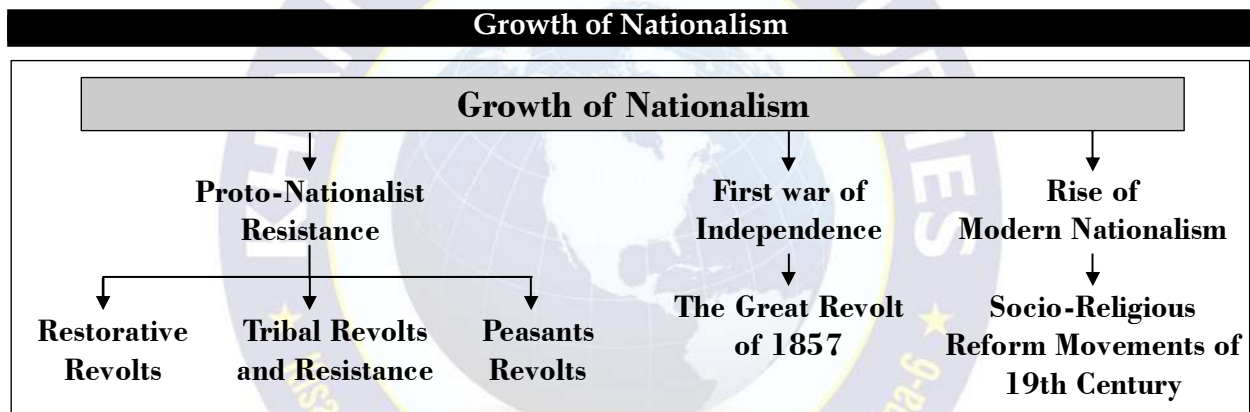
whereas nation building in India was based on the idea of 'unity in diversity'

2. Instead of single national language, India had adopted Hindi and English as the official language concurrently and has included 14 regional languages in the Eighth schedule, which has presently been increased to 22.
3. By adopting a practical approach on the question of reorganization of linguistic states and determining the official language of the country, India has set an example of accommodating 'unity in diversity'.

Question: Can we state that, the rise of nationalism in India was contribution of the British rule?

Answer: Though, the British encouraged factors which played a significant role in the growth of nationalism in India, still we cannot attribute growth of modern nationalism in India to the British. For this following reasons are responsible-

1. Since the ancient past the concept of Jambudvipa has persisted in India, which was an expression of India as a geographical unit.
2. As the Cambridge scholar Cristopher Bayly also has rightly pointed out that, patriotism, effective government and many such elements have persisted in India since the ancient past.



The British colonial rule produced a differential impact on different social groups who in turn responded differently. For instance, the British rule displaced the old kings and nawabs and exploited the peasants and tribal groups. Thus, many revolts and movements were organized against the imperial structure. On the other hand, its impact on educated middle class Indians was somewhat beneficial.

Proto-Nationalist Resistance

■ Restorative Revolts:

The kings, nawabs as well as zamindars were displaced from their positions during the imperial rule. Along with that many officials and soldiers working in the native army were rendered unemployed leading to frequent revolts. Not only local rulers but also their subjects participated in the revolts due to the

bond they shared with the zamindars. For instance, we can see following examples:

1. **Sanyasi Revolt (1763-1800 AD):** The new imperialist order established in Bengal affected all the social groups including peasants, soldiers (as they were unemployed), zamindars as well as the local religious leaders. Thus, they all participated in Sanyasi revolt against the British rule. It was mostly carried out by the peasants, but they dressed up as hermits (Sanyasi). The main centres of this revolt were Bengal and Bihar. In the end, the British government mercilessly suppressed the uprising through strong military action. But, Hindu-Muslim unity was a striking feature of this resistance.
2. **The Revolt of the Raja of Vijayanagaram (1794 AD)-** In 1765, the British acquired Northern Circars. In 1794, restrictions were

put on the independence of the ruler of Vijaynagaram and also his troops were disbanded. Consequently, people in this region revolted.

3. **Revolt of Diwan of Travancore, Velu Thampi (1805):** The British imposed the policy of Subsidiary Alliance on the ruler of Travancore. Strict restrictions were put on the state. Thus, Diwan Velu Thampi revolted against cruel policies of the British.
4. **The revolt of Queen Chennamma of Kitturu in Tamilnadu (1824):** After death of the ruler of Kitturu in 1824, the British refused to accept the adopted son as successor in the regional state. Thus, the widow of deceased king Queen Chennamma revolted against the British.
5. **Mysore Revolt:** After Tipu Sultan was killed in the battle field, a smaller portion of the Mysore was given to Krishanraja III the policy of Subsidiary Alliance was imposed. As the king was supposed to give a large amount to the British, thus increased the burden of land revenue on the peasants. Consequently, people revolted.

Tribal Revolts and Resistance

- As British colonial expansion gradually extended to tribal areas, resentment among the tribal population increased. In order to exploit maximum forest and natural resources, the colonial government intervened into the pristine tribal customs and their way of life. As a result, tribal revolts became more frequent.

Causes of resentment:

1. The concept of community ownership of land (Khuntkatti System) was prevalent in the tribal region, whereas the British imposed the concept of private property and collected excessive land revenue.
2. The tribal people were forcefully employed as indentured or contract laborers in tea plantation and other industries.
3. In tribal region, there was prevalence of forced labor, and tribal people were forced to provide labor without pay.
4. Tribal people revolted against the ban on opium cultivation as well as on Jhum cultivation (shifting cultivation).
5. Excise duty was imposed by the British on each house for toddy tapping.

Important Tribal Revolts and Resistance

1. **Kol Uprisings (1831 AD):** the Kol tribe of the Chhota Nagpur region was highly resentful due to movement of outside cultivators into their region, imposition of excise duty on toddy, forceful opium cultivation. In 1831, under the leadership of Budhu Bhagat, Kol rebels killed thousands of outsider cultivators. The British had to launch an extensive military campaign to restore law & order. A unique feature of this revolt was that, after suppressing of the revolt, the government carried out many administrative reforms to make administration simple and flexible in the backward region.
2. **Santhal Rebellion (1855-56 AD):** It was one of the most important tribal rebellion of the 19th century. It was more intense in the region of Daman-i-Koh, spread from Bhagalpur to Rajmahal hills. Here, zamindars and moneylenders exploited peasants and grabbed their land. There were two prominent leaders of this revolt, Sidhu and Kanhu. However, this revolt was suppressed mercilessly by extensive military operations. After this revolt, the British government created district named Santhal Pargana in this region. With this, any transfer of land by a Santhali to a non-Santhali became illegal.
3. **Rampa Rebellion (1879):** This revolt was organized for the first time under leadership of Raju Rampa in the Rampa hill region of Godavari district in Andhra Pradesh. It was a reaction against the exploitation of moneylenders and against the Forest Act, which had the provisions to restrict Jhum cultivation and to increase grazing tax. The rebels labelled themselves as the 'army of the Lord Rama' (Ramdandu). However, the British government suppressed this revolt in 1880. This revolt resumed again under the

leadership of Alluri Sitarama Raju in 1922 and continued till 1924.

4. Munda Ulgulan or Munda Revolt (1899):

Led by Birsa Munda, the Munda tribes revolted in 1899-1900, in the southern region of Ranchi. It was an important tribal revolt. In fact, the practice of collective farming, known as 'Khuntkatti system', was prevalent among the Mundas. But encroachment and violation of Khuntkatti rights by zamindars, forced labour etc. gave birth to the Munda tribal revolt. The unique feature of Munda revolt was that, the Mundas earlier relied on legal means to resolve their problems, but upon failure of Judicial relief for them, thus they resorted to the violent revolt.

- Also, during the course of this revolt, a messianic or a heroic approach towards political and social objectives was witnessed. In fact, Birsa declared himself to be the younger brother of the Lord Vishnu or 'Lord Birsa' (Birsa Bhagwan). The movement initiated by Birsa Munda was a social, religious and political movement. In the end, even though this revolt was suppressed, but due to exceptional leadership of Birsa, this revolt is uniquely placed in the history of Indian struggle for independence. Even participation of women was also a prominent feature of this revolt.

Peasant Revolt and Movements

- The British control over India, in real sense implied control over Indian villages. Thus, it affected rural India the most and victimized the Indian peasants.

Impact of the British rule on Indian peasants:

1. Indian peasants were over burdened with exorbitant rates of land revenue and which was collected even during severe famines.
2. The alien nature of the British rule was also one of the factors. The British imposed entirely an alien institutions and land settlement upon the peasants.

3. Excessive emphasis on the cultivation of cash crops, increased the incidence of famines and starvation.
4. British trade and industrial policy caused much harm to handicraft industries in India. As a result, this labor intensive industry collapsed. Consequently, agriculture was overburdened with population pressure, which resulted into extreme rural poverty and rural indebtedness.
5. The expansion of British rule in India was at the cost of some popular rulers and zamindars. On many occasions, peasant revolted in support of these displaced indigenous elements.

Some important peasant revolts and movements

1. Sanyasi and Fakir Rebellion, Bengal (1763-1800 AD)

2. Pagal Panthi Rebellion, Ferozpur (1824): It was led by Karam Shah. The major cause behind this semi-religious revolt was the exploitation of peasants by zamindars. Later on, peasants declared Tipu (son of Karam Shah), a fakir, as their leader. Tipu was a follower of the Baul sect', whose people otherwise called each other as 'Pagal'. In future, this revolt transformed into a legal battle, thus peasants appointed a legal representative and a board of permanent representative in Mymensingh district.

3. Faraizi Movement: From 1838 to 1851, Haji Shariatullah of Faridpur organized peasants against forced cultivation of opium. The major cause behind this revolt was exorbitant land revenue and exactions on zamindars. Later, his son Dudu Mian carried forward this revolt.

4. Moplah Revolt: Moplahs were the peasants of Malabar Coast. The British land revenue policy created discontent among the peasants in this region. In fact, the British rule supported the rights of landlords. Thus, in the process of creating new land relations, it reinstituted the powers of high class Hindu social groups like Nambudiri and Jenmis. Earlier, Tipu had displaced

them towards further south and distributed their land to the Muslim cultivators, i.e. Moplahs. But, the mass eviction of Moplahs from their land, resulted into strengthening of unity within Muslim community. In fact, the newly introduced British system reduced Moplah peasants to the status of tenants. Consequently, Moplahs revolted against Jenmis. In fact, from 1836 to 1854, there were 22 revolts against the exploitation caused by Jenmis in this region. In this way, Moplah revolt turned to be violent, in the sense that, attacks were made over Jenmis properties and their temples were demolished. But the roots of Moplah uprisings lied in the agricultural system of that region.

5. **Indigo Revolt (1859-60):** After Moplah revolt, Indigo revolt of 1859-60 was the most violent and widespread peasant revolt. It broke out in Nadia district of Bengal, by Digambar Biswas and Vishnu Biswas and it soon spread to whole of Bengal. The main reason for this uprising was that, most of the Europeans forced peasants to grow indigo and sell it on a much cheaper price to the British. On top of this, huge arrears of pending payments kept mounting. The revolt was so intense

and widespread that, the British constituted Indigo Commission, which declared the demands of indigo planters to be genuine. The 'Nil Darpan' written by Dinbandhu Mitra describes the condition.

6. **Pabna Revolt of Bengal (1873):** In the second half of 19th century, peasants revolted against the exploitation of the zamindars, in the Pabna district of Bengal. In fact, legal provisions, for the protection of peasants, were introduced in the form of Bengal Tenancy Act of 1859. Naturally, the peasants wanted to use this legislation in their favour, but zamindars most often created hurdles against them. Therefore, a unique feature of this revolt was that, the peasants targeted only the zamindars and not the British government. Then, as the results of the peasants' efforts, the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885 was introduced. This Act gave some relief to the cultivators. Based on this revolt, Mir. Mosharraf Hossain wrote a dramatic novel named 'Jamindar Darpan'.

Model Question:

- It is an irony in history that, the earliest reaction against the British colonial rule came from the so called illiterate and uncivilized people. Explain with example.

The Great Revolt of 1857

With the gradual establishment of British rule in India by the 18th century, the interests of various social groups came in conflict with the British colonial rule. As a result, a number of small scale revolts and movements were organized for the next hundred years. In the end, after hundred years, the Great Revolt of 1857 occurred, which was much larger in its geographical reach, scale and intensity from the previous revolts. In fact, it was the end result of discontent and aggression accumulated over a period of time among the Indian masses.

Causes

- 1. Political Causes:** As a result of the British expansionist policy, many native kings and nawabs were displaced from their respective states. Consequently, a number of officials and soldiers were left unemployed. These resentful elements played a significant role during the course of the Great Revolt.
- 2. Economic Causes:** In the process of creating market for the British manufactured goods, the Indian handicraft industry was hit hard. Consequently, lakhs of artisans and craftsmen were left unemployed.
- 3. Social and Cultural causes:** During 19th century, the British government was interested in bringing social reforms in India, thus it enacted several laws in this regards; for instance- Abolition of Sati Act (1829) and Widow Remarriage Act (1856). Also, Lord Dalhousie enacted Religious Disability Act, in 1850. The objective of this Act was to encourage the spread of Christianity in India. Though, the British government had already granted Christian Missionaries the right to propagate their religion, via the Charter Act of 1813, but continuous intervention into socio-religious life fuelled discontentment among the Indian masses.
- 4. Military Causes:** The contribution of the Bengal Army had been immense in the success of British imperialism. This army had played a significant role in fulfilling the imperialistic aspirations of territorial expansion from Burma in the east to Afghanistan in the west. Even after such contributions, they had to face racial discrimination within the army structure. For example, they were paid less salary and allowances as compared to their British counterparts. Even more outrageous for them was the imposition of a uniform military measure that interfered with their personal religious customs. For instance, in the name of common standards of discipline during drill in the army, their religious identities; like applying tilak on the head etc., were strictly restricted.
- 5. The issue of greased cartridges (immediate cause):** The British government was oriented towards recruiting literate and educated sepoys into the army. Thus, it recruited high caste Indians from northern Bihar and eastern Uttar Pradesh. Naturally, caste sensitivity prevailed among these sepoys. Thus, the issue of greased cartridges took the form of a violent revolt. As, before loading the new Enfield rifles, the sepoys had to bite off the paper on the cartridges. Moreover, there was a rumor circulating among the sepoys that, the cartridges were greased with fat of cow and pig, which later proved to be true. Thus, the sepoys refused to use those cartridges. When the company took strong action against these sepoys, they revolted.

The Nature of the Great Revolt

- **Why is there a controversy?** The main reason for controversy is the lack of sources of study.
- **Due to following reasons, those who participated in this revolt could leave any written document behind-**
 1. Some of them were afraid of getting caught, so they destroyed their documents.
 2. A large number of them were illiterate, thus they could not leave any textual record behind.

As a result, the scholars studying the Great revolt, made the government archives their basis of study. These imperialist archives were bi-

as and presented this revolt as merely a law and order problem or sepoy mutiny.

Why should this revolt not be considered as 'sepoy mutiny'?

1. Those who participated in this revolt were not only the sepoys, but also civilians participated in large numbers. In fact, along with the soldiers, different social groups like the aristocrats, peasants, artisans and craftsmen, labors, tribal people, participated in this revolt.
2. Moreover, the sepoys were no different than the peasants, because they themselves belonged to the peasant family. Thus, their participation even expressed the peasants' resentment as well. In this way, we can declare them as peasants in uniform.

Why is this revolt considered as the India's first war of independence?

Due to following reasons-

1. As the new sources of study, including contemporary Urdu literature, Bhojpuri folk literature etc. have been accessed, so additional information on the Great Revolt is available.
2. The revolt was spread across a wide geographical area across the country, i.e. its spread was not limited to northern and central India only, but it also affected the regions of Madras, Karnataka and Malabar as well.
3. There was large scale social participation during the course of this revolt. Earlier, it was believed that, only elites and sepoys constituted the rebel population. But, later on it was discovered that, a large number of peasants, laborers, artisans and craftsmen, tribal people had also been an integral part of the Great Revolt. Moreover, new studies reveal that, along with women from elite class, lower class women also participated. For example, in Kanpur, rebels met secretly at courtesan Azizun Bai's place of residence. Similarly, a number of low caste women namely, Awanti Bai, Jhalkari Bai etc. also participated in this revolt.
4. Moreover, during the course of this revolt, even regional divisions were minimized. Because, as the revolt proceeded, the events

occurring in a specific region would often influence other parts of the country as well. Not only this, but, voices of regional leaders were heard across the country.

5. Most importantly, a popular aspiration for independence was expressed in the Bhojpuri Folk literature of that time. For example, 'Ab Chhod De Firangi Humar Deswa' etc.

Causes of failure of the Great Revolt of 1857:

- There was lack of clear objectives and programs among the rebels.
- There was lack of coordination among the leaders of different regions.
- The British government was supported by a number of rulers and elites. Even the newly emerged middle class also favored the British.
- The Company possessed modern and effective weapons.
- The British government was served by some qualified officials like- Nil, Hudson, Hugh Rose, Nicholson etc.
- Even the international situation favored the British, for instance- by this time the Crimean war was over, so the British could comfortably deploy their army in India.
- The rebel soldiers were believers of superstitions. Especially, when the comet had appeared in 1857, they considered it as a bad omen.

Significance

1. It encouraged revolutionary nationalism. Even though, the revolt of 1857 was not able to achieve immediate success in terms of its objectives, but it became a symbol of resistance against the British rule. In fact, revolutionary nationalist under the leadership of V.D. Savarkar remembered this great revolt on its 50th anniversary.
2. This revolt even symbolized Hindu-Muslim unity. Thus, during the course of the independence movement, it was often alluded for promoting harmony among both the communities.
3. The way British rule was uprooted from rural India during 'Quit India Movement' of 1942, it was reminiscent of the 1857 revolt.

Question: “The issue of greased cartridges was not big enough to decide the fate of an empire.” Examine the relevance of this statement in the context of the Great Revolt of 1857.

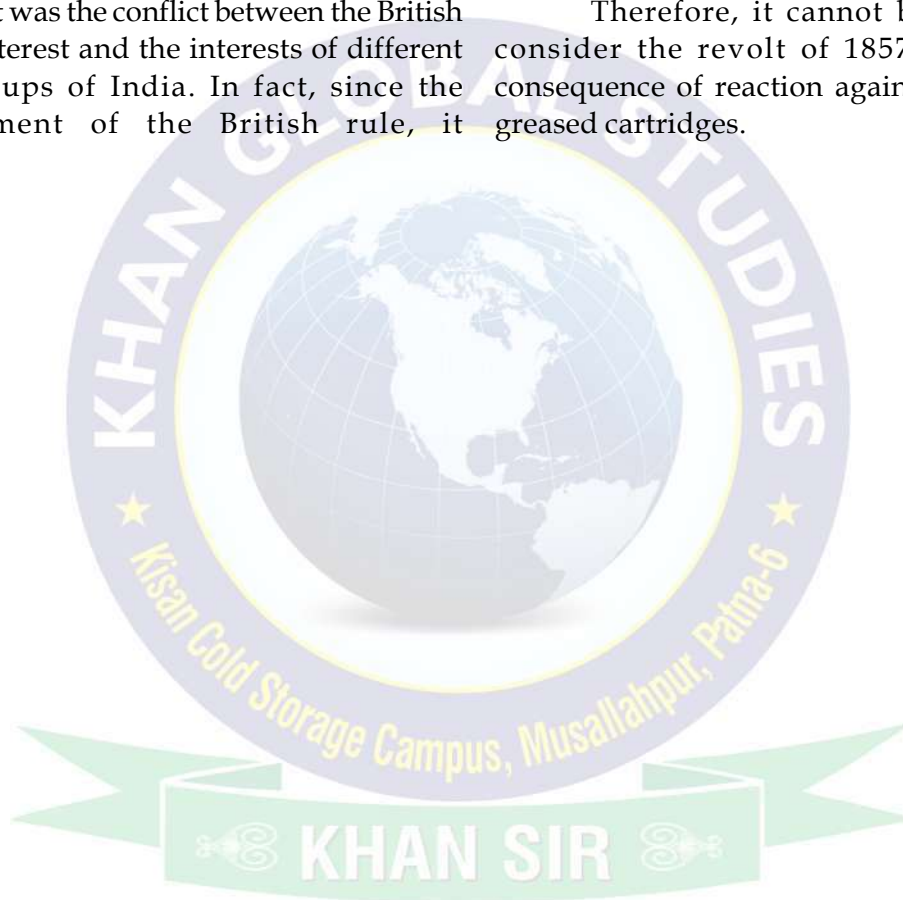
Answer: Due to a biased approach of history writing, there has always been a controversy regarding the cause and nature of the Great Revolt. In fact, The British scholars were determined to prove this revolt merely as a sepoy mutiny and thus they to link the origin to the issue of greased cartridges.

However, the major cause behind this great revolt was the conflict between the British colonial interest and the interests of different social groups of India. In fact, since the establishment of the British rule, it

continuously exploited various social groups, including - peasants, artisans and craftsmen, tribal groups, several rulers, nawabs and zamindars etc. As a result, for the next hundred year i.e. from 1757 to 1857, a large number of small scale revolts occurred across the country, for example- the Santhal rebellion.

So, Indians were already resentful against the British Empire, then the issue of greased cartridges fueled the fire. Gradually, this revolt transformed into a mass movement. Thus, some scholars like V. D. Savarkar hailed it as ‘war of Indian independence’.

Therefore, it cannot be justified to consider the revolt of 1857 merely as a consequence of reaction against the issue of greased cartridges.



Modern Nationalism

(The socio-religious reform movements of the 19th century)

Why is the term Indian Renaissance used?

- The way European renaissance led to the modernization of Europe during 14th century, in the same way 19th century Indian renaissance encouraged modernization in India.
- The renaissance was a kind of intellectual movement, which transformed Indian society from medieval to the modern age.

Causes for the rise of modern nationalism

• Following factors led to the rise of modern nationalism: -

1. The orientalist praise of Indian past and culture, filled Indians with renewed confidence.
2. Due to English education, a section of Indian intellectuals came in touch with the western political concept like, 'liberalism' and 'nation-state.'
3. The Christian Missionaries, with an ulterior motive of spreading Christianity, promoted English education, which further encouraged nationalist consciousness in India.
4. After the invention of printing press, new journals, newspaper and books were published. Thus, new ideas could spread easily.
5. Due to the British colonial policies, a new social class including capitalists, educated Indians etc. emerged, which readily accepted modern ideas.

■ Why should the socio-religious reforms of 19th century be linked to the modern nationalism?

- A modern nation-state emerges only when people living in that state have a sense of belongingness to each other. However, instead of such sense of togetherness, widespread internal divisions like, the caste based, gender based and region based divisions, were prevalent during the 18th century India. But, the 19th century socio-religious reform movements played a crucial role in minimizing such internal

divisions and thus, it also promoted sense of togetherness among the masses in India.

Emphasis of the socio-religious reforms

Its emphasis was on followings-

1. **Rationalism:** The socio-religious reform movement was essentially a rationalist movement. It implies that, in order to study Indian pasts and culture and to eradicate social evils from Indian society, the Indian social reformers referred not only to the ancient texts, but also adopted a modern scientific approach. In fact, based on rationalist principles itself, they raised their voice against social evils like, sati system, child marriage and poor condition of women etc. For instance, their opposition to child marriage was not based on religious texts alone, rather they put forth scientific arguments that, child marriage was extremely harmful for health of the girl child.
2. **Humanism:** It emphasized on 'this worldliness' as opposed to other worldliness and it also promoted dignity of man vis-a-vis God.
3. **Individualism:** By emphasizing on rational principles and identity of an individual, it promoted an individualistic consciousness. During this period, religious texts were made accessible to the common masses. Consequently, value of priests as the masters of religious texts declined.
4. **Religious universalism:** Religious universalism implies- to avoid the religious divisions and to emphasis on oneness of God. It promotes harmony and brotherhood among different religious communities.

Characteristics of the socio-religious reforms:

1. **Impact verses Reaction:** Due to English education, a section of Indian intellectuals were influenced by the western thinkers, but soon they were able to understand the dichotomy between what the western intellectuals professed and what they actually did. Thus, while reacting against the western model, they turned towards

traditional knowledge. In this way, western ideas and traditional knowledge both influenced the reformers.

2. Although, the Indian renaissance began under the influence of western ideas, but in future, it posed a challenge to the western philosophy itself.
3. It was basically a social reform movement. But, both religion and society were so intricately combined with each other that, most of the social evils were legitimized using religious principles. Thus before initiating social reforms, it was necessary to bring reforms in the religion.

The nature of the socio-religious reform movements

Even though influence of both, western philosophy as well as traditional elements can be observed on the reformers and institutions of social reforms, but the degree of influence greatly varied. In fact, some were dominated by western ideas, some maintained a fine balance between both these elements whereas, some were influenced only with traditional elements.

Movements dominated by Western ideology

■ Young Bengal Movement:-

- It was organized by Henry Vivian Derozio. He was assistant headmaster at Hindu college. He inspired a group of young followers and launched the Young Bengal Movement. Though, this movement was determined to bring reforms, but its biggest limitation was the dominance of western ideas. Under such influence, it dissociated itself with Indian past and culture. Consequently, it was not able to get acceptance among masses in Bengal.

Contribution

1. It raised its voice against orthodoxy prevailing in Bengal and thus, promoted rationalism.
2. It encouraged individual freedom as well as freedom of thought and expression.
3. It promoted modern nationalist consciousness.

Balance between western ideas and indigenous traditional principles

■ Raja Ram Mohan Roy:

- A proper blend of eastern and western ideas can be traced back in the ideology of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. In fact, he was influenced by various cultural strands, including the Hindu-Buddhist, Arabian-Persian and Western culture.
- He encouraged socio-religious reforms and considered these reforms necessary for modernization of India. In 1828, he founded the Brahmo Samaj, with the objective of bringing necessary reforms in Hinduism and promote monotheism or non-dualism.
- He directed his efforts towards promotion of modern education and for publishing newspapers and journals. As a result, both Hindu college and Vedanta college were established in Calcutta. Moreover, his emphasis was over western education, which he considered necessary for modernization of India. He is generally hailed as the father of Modern India.

■ Prarthana Samaj:

- In 1867, Dr. Atmaram Pandurang, inspired by Keshab Chandra Sen, established 'Prarthana Samaj' in Maharashtra. Later, R. G. Bhandarkar and Mahadev Govind Ranade also joined this organization. In fact, the credit for popularizing this institution of socio-religious reforms, is given to Ranade.
- It strongly pitched in favor of abolition of caste system, remarriage of widows, promotion of women education, abolition of child marriage etc. It believed in oneness of god, i.e. non-dualism and made efforts against the orthodox caste system.

■ Swami Vivekanand:

- **Neo-Vedantist:** Swami Vivekanand was called Neo-Vedantist because, on one hand, he highlighted universal relevance of the Vedantic philosophy, on the other, he interpreted it according to the needs of the modern times. The Vedantic philosophy preached by Swami, is considered as Practical Vedanta, because he professed

that god was present in the exploited and depressed people. In this context, he is ailed as Daridra Narayan.

- **A Social reformer:** Swami Vivekanand considered social upliftment necessary for India's progress. He believed that, until social evils like caste system, racism and regional divisions would be eliminated, India could never move ahead on the path of becoming a great nation. He believed that, as long as, any section of our population remained exploited and suppressed, social upliftment would remain a distant dream.
- **A religious reformer** - He strongly condemned religious rituals. On the one hand, he considered religion and spirituality to be the greatest strength of the Eastern culture, while on the other hand, he was opposed to religious pomp.
- **A social thinker** - He believed that the Varna divisions existed not only in India, but in almost all the countries of the world. Earlier, it was the Brahmanas who enjoyed the power, then gradually it was transferred to the Kshatriya and Vaishyas respectively. Thus, now Shudras, who constituted the majority, must hold the power. However, by Shudras he implied the working class.

Dominated by Traditional elements

■ Arya Samaj:

- Arya Samaj was established as an important and effective organization in North India. It was founded by Dayanand Saraswati in 1875. Dayanand Saraswati stressed over the importance of Vedas and considered them as the real basis of Hinduism.

Contribution-

- On the basis of Vedas, he attacked religious rituals like idol worship, polytheism, priesthood, etc.
- He raised his voice against social evils like child marriage and encouraged social practices like inter-caste marriage, women education etc. Also, he vehemently opposed untouchability, and criticized the

caste based divisions, but supported the Varna divisions based on Vedas.

- The Arya samajists established D.A.V. schools and colleges and thus promoted education in India.

Limitations:

- Due to its extreme revivalist tendencies, it gave birth to animosity against Muslims.
- As it referred to Vedas, so it could attract only high caste people, whereas it failed to attract the majority of the masses i.e. people from lower caste.

Question: The Arya Samaj movement expressed a natural reaction against the religious conversion policy of the Christian missionaries.

Answer: A colonial government not only exploits economy of a country or a society, but creates cultural tensions as well. Thus, Christian missionaries, during the British rule, gave birth to similar problems in India.

Through the Charter Act of 1813, the Christian missionaries were permitted to preach their religion within territory of the British India. So, the missionaries continuously propagated their religion and converted a large number of tribal groups and Dalits into Christianity. As a result, the 1881 census reflected a steep surge in the Christian population in India, which caused discomfort for many Hindu social reformers.

Thus, Arya Samaj reacted against the conversion policy of the missionaries. However, no such model of conversion was followed under Hinduism, but Dayanand Saraswati conceptualized an alternative model, i.e. 'Shuddhi Movement' of Arya Samaj. The objective of this movement was to reconvert those Hindus back to Hinduism, who were earlier converted into another religion. In fact, he launched extensive campaign to promote 'Shuddhi Movement'.

However, the remedy proved to be worse than the disease. In fact, the reconversion approach provoked preachers of other religions as well. Consequently, communalism became a harsh reality of Indian society.

Question: 'In spite of all its unique features, the Arya Samaj failed to modernize India.' Examine this statement.

Answer: Similar to any other reform movements, the Arya Samaj was also determined to establish India as a modern nation. So, it took the following steps in the direction of modernization:

1. **Religious Reform:** Religious reforms were considered necessary for social reforms. The Arya Samaj criticized the priesthood, ritualism, idol worship etc. to promote religious reforms.
2. **Social reform:** - In order to improve the condition of women, Arya Samaj made an attack over social practices like child marriage, sati system, pathetic condition of widows etc. It also criticized caste based exploitation and untouchability. In this way, it weakened the divisions based on caste and gender.
3. **Promotion to the modern education:-** The college faction of Arya Samajist promoted modern education by establishing DAV School and College.

But due to the following reasons, the Arya Samaj largely failed to bring modernity in India.

1. It considered Vedas to be the source of all knowledge, thus it was too traditional and orthodox in its approach.
2. The slogan of 'go back to the Vedas' could not attract people from the lower castes.
3. As the Shuddhi movement encouraged communalism, so it produced more negative and less positive results for India.

Muslim reform movements

1. **Revivalist movement**
2. **Reformist movement**

Factors that inspired the revivalist movement

1. Muslims had been associated with the ruling class in the past. So they had a bitter feeling about losing political power.
2. As a result of the British revenue policy, there was intense exploitation of the Muslim peasants.

3. As Muslims lacked a modern political organization, so they adopted religion as the basis of resistance.

• Movements like the Faraizi and Wahabi encouraged revivalist tendencies.

■ Faraizi movement

- The Faraizi sect was organized by Haji Shariatullah. This movement continued in Bengal between 1838 and 1858. Initially, the Faraizi movement began as a struggle against higher revenue assessment and dispossession of peasants. But later, under the leadership of Dudu Miyan, this movement became intended to cause radical religious, social and political changes.
- The objective of the Faraizi movement was to establish Islam in its original form, by relieving it of all kinds of non- Islamic activities. At the same time, it also made efforts for the Quran to be recognized as the main spiritual guide. Thus, even though it was the result of discontent among the peasants, but it soon adopted religious colors.

■ Wahabi movement

- The earliest pioneer of this movement was a prominent Arab saint, Shaikh Abdul Wahab. His followers in India organized Muslims on the basis of Wahabi principles and successfully converted peasant discontent into a religious movement. In India, this movement was popularized by Syed Ahmad Barelvi. This movement was active in north- western, eastern and central India.
- The main objective of this movement was to restore the Islam professed originally by Prophet Muhammad, i.e. to change 'Dar-ul- Harb' (the land of Idol worshiper) into 'Dar- ul- Islam' (the land of Islam). Earlier, the Wahabis declared Jihad against the Sikhs of Punjab, but when the British had captured Punjab, then it was declared against the British.
- Due to its communal perception among people, the Wahabi movement could never take the form of a national movement.

Reformist movements

- **Aligarh Movement-** it was organized by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Qazi Nazrul Islam and Chirag Ali.

Contribution:

1. It worked in the direction of the upliftment of women and opposed the Purdah system.
2. The Quran was interpreted based on modern principles.
3. Efforts were made for promotion of education. In 1875, the Anglo-Oriental College was established in Aligarh.

Limitations:-

1. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan fell prey to the misconception that, development of Muslims was not possible without the favor of the British.
2. He became biased towards the protection of the Muslims and even vehemently opposed growth of representative institutions in India.

Women at the center of religious reforms in Modern India

- The subordinate position of women was the biggest cause of concern for most of the 19th century social reformers. British thinkers like James Mill had declared that, the success of a civilization could be tested with the status of women. The Indian social reformers accepted it as a challenge. They even accepted that the cause for most of the social problems in India was rooted in the inferior position of women.
- During that period, the social evils associated with women included infanticide, child marriage, sati system, widowhood etc. Thus, the reformers of the 19th century took the following steps to improve their condition:
- **Infanticide:** Infanticide was prevalent more among the Rajputs, i.e. the girl child was killed as soon as she was born. Governor General John Shore in 1795 and Wellesley in 1804 imposed prohibitions on infanticide.
- **Sati System:** Steps were taken for the abolition of Sati System by enforcing the Bengal Regulation of 1829. In 1830, this law

was enforced in Madras and Bombay as well.

- **Abolition of Child Marriage:** The evil practice of child marriage has been present in India since the ancient past. However, during modern times, Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar made a valorous attempt to end it. In 1860, under the pressure created by Vidyasagar and his followers, the minimum age of marriage for girls was fixed at 10 years. In fact, marriage below 10 years was declared as a crime. Then, over a period of time, the British government introduced three legislations to prohibit child marriage; the Civil Marriage Act or the Native Marriage Act (1872), the Age of Consent Act (1891) and the Child Marriage Restraint Act (Sharda Act) 1929.
- **Widowhood:** Widowhood was also a major problem during this period. In a way, the most rational end of the Sati System was possible only when it was accompanied with widow remarriage. In fact, abolition of Sati System largely had no meaning for a woman who had to bear curse of being a widow for her entire life. Thus, due to determined efforts made by Ishwarchand Vidhyasagar, Widow Remarriage Act was introduced in 1856.
- **Women's education:** The women's education and literacy was a major cause of concern for the 19th century social reformers. In fact, it was not possible to improve the condition of women without their education. So, the social reformers made remarkable efforts in this direction.
- In future, even some conscious women also came forward to work for the upliftment of women. For instance, the Begum of Bhopal established a school for girls' education in Aligarh. Similarly, Begum Rokeya Sakhawat and a Maharastrian woman Tarabai Shinde established an education curriculum and also wrote a book named 'Stree- Purusha Tulna', whereby they questioned the privileges enjoyed by the men. Also, Pandita Ramabai, a reformer woman from Poona, established 'Sharda Sadan' an ashram for widows, in Bombay.

The Depressed Class Movements

- A major thrust of the 19th century socio-religious reform movements was also on reforming the caste system, so it criticized the caste divisions. The earliest initiative in this regard was taken by the upper caste leaders. In fact, various reformers beginning from Raja Ram Mohan Roy to Swami Vivekananda criticized the caste system. However, no active efforts were made to end the exploitation. Finally, some depressed class leaders (Dalit leaders) emerged and started a struggle against the caste based exploitation.

Maharashtra

- **Jyotiba Phule** - He founded Satyashodhak Samaj and through his work 'Gulamgiri', he spread radical ideas. He declared upper caste Hindus as Aryans or foreigners, while he declared people belonging to lower castes as original inhabitants of India. Then, he even established a school for lower caste girls in Poona
- **Gopal Baba Walangkar** - By the end of the 19th century, efforts were made by Gopal Baba Walangkar to organize the people of Mahar caste.
- **Bhimrao Ambedkar**- During 1920s, Ambedkar organized the people of Mahar caste and launched a movement against the caste based exploitation. In fact, Dr. Ambedkar took the following steps to improve the condition of the Mahars:
 1. He burnt the Manusmriti and protested against the Brahminical system.
 2. He advised the Mahars to refrain from carrying carcasses.
 3. Temple Entry Movement was started in 1930s.
 4. Demanded constitutional protection for the depressed classes.
 5. To improve the condition of the untouchables, the All India Schedule Caste Federation was founded by Ambedkar.
- **Difference in approach of Gandhi and Ambedkar regarding the upliftment of the depressed classes.**
 1. Ambedkar considered the transfer of political and economic power essential for

improving the condition of the depressed classes, whereas Gandhiji believed in social reforms for improving the condition of the Dalit class.

2. Ambedkar favored separate electorates to improve the condition of Dalits, while Gandhiji opposed it.
3. Ambedkar even preferred an aggressive approach like the Temple Entry Movement, against the caste system, while Gandhiji advocated the policy of conciliation for improving the condition of lower caste people.
4. Ambedkar considered it necessary to dissolve the caste system, whereas Gandhiji favored reforming the caste structure.
5. Ambedkar was an intellectual, but he was practically not connected with the masses, whereas Gandhiji was a popular leader as well as a social worker.

Travancore

- **Sree Narayana Guru** - He organized the Dalit caste Ezhava and established an organization 'Sree Narayana Guru Dharma Paripalan Yogam'. Its slogan was- 'One God, One Religion and One Caste.'

Madras

- **E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker 'Periyar'** - In Madras, E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker alias Periyar emerged as a prominent leader in organizing protest against the oppressions. Initially, he actively participated in the Non- Cooperation movement, but later he dissociated himself with the movement. Then, V. Ramaswamy Naicker organized the Dalits and started the 'Self- Respect Movement'. During the course of the Self-Respect Movement, the supremacy of Brahmins was challenged and people were asked to openly protest against Brahminism. He is referred to as the father of Dravidian politics.

Importance of Socio- Religious Reform Movements

- As the socio-religious reforms began, modernity was gradually transfused into Indian society. In fact, Indian society was so modernized that, now it was prepared to face all the contemporary challenges of the time.

- It strongly pitched against the rigid caste system. It opposed the religious rituals as well as priesthood and also made efforts in direction of improving the condition of women. In this way, reforms were encouraged in Indian society.
- It made an attack over the prevailing feudalistic social norms. Thus, there was growth of modern nationalist consciousness.
- As the social challenges like regionalism, casteism and gender disparity were reduced to an extent in Indian society, so it resulted into growth of modern nationalist consciousness.

Limitations of Socio- Religious Reform Movement

- The Indian renaissance of the 19th century remained confined to the field of religion and philosophy. Unlike European renaissance, it could not receive the support of geographical discoveries or scientific inventions.
- Indian reformers of the 19th century failed to bring about an alternative modernization in India. In fact, earlier their efforts were oriented to creatively combine indigenous elements with western elements. However, they largely failed to do so. Thus, the dichotomy between western and indigenous elements continued to exist and the Indian intellectuals remained divided between the western and the indigenous models. Therefore, even today, the supporters of western elements have emerged as strong supporters of globalization, whereas the supporters of indigenous model are involved in traditional and religious revivalism.
- Also, many institutions of social reform were extremely backward in their approach. Consequently, the revivalist tendency was strengthened and communalism was encouraged.
- Some Hindu reformers insisted on the superiority of the Vedas and were not ready to accept post- Vedic developments, but the Vedic tradition could not sync in harmony with the modern times and even some of

the Vedic principles had been questioned by the Gita itself.

- Undoubtedly, the social reformers were successful in their efforts against some serious social problems, but at the same time, they neglected other critical social evils. For example, no determined efforts were made to end the practice of untouchability, it was only after the arrival of a social reformer like Gandhiji that, some serious efforts were made in this direction.
- The socio-religious reform movement of the 19th century had an elite social base, so it remained confined largely to the urban areas only.

From the Socio-Religious movement towards the political movements

The 19th century socio-religious reform movements proved to be instrumental for Indian society, in the sense that, it completely transformed India. In fact, due to these reform movements, modernization of India became possible.

It is believed that, though the 19th century reform movements appeared to be religious in nature, but its basic framework was nationalistic in nature. In fact, there was gradual transformation of Indian nationalism from the socio-religious reform movements to the political movements. As we have learnt that, the Indian middle class had favored the British rule during the course of the Great Revolt of 1857, but gradually they were disenchanted with the British rule. Thus, many regional organizations were established by them.

In this line, in 1870 Mahadev Govind Ranade founded the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha. In 1866, Dadabhai Naoroji formed the East India Association. In 1876, Surendra Nath Banerjee and Anand Mohan Bose founded the Indian Association. In terms of its extent and influence, it was an all India organization. It raised two major issues - the first was to increase the age limit for entry into the British civil service and the second was the independence of the country.

In future, following this trend, the Indian National Congress was established in Bombay in 1885.

Question: Examine the relationship between the 19th century Indian renaissance and rise of the national identity.

Answer:- 19th century Indian renaissance refers to the socio-religious reform movement, which appeared to be religious in nature, but was deeply interspersed with liberal and nationalistic ideas.

In fact, there existed several obstacles in the path of nation building in India. One such major obstacle was prevailing internal divisions in Indian society, such as gender division, caste division, regional division etc. Moreover, one of the essential conditions for emergence of a modern nation-state, is the prevalence of sense belongingness and togetherness among the people living in that state. Therefore, it was necessary to dissolve such internal divisions. Thus, the 19th century Indian renaissance, by way of diluting such divisions, played a significant role in promoting nationalist consciousness in India.

The emphasis of the Indian Renaissance was on extensive reforms in India, which are as follows-

1. Religious reform: Religious reform was a necessary condition for social reforms, because religion and society were intricately meshed with each other. In fact, most of the social evils were rooted in

religious customs. Therefore, all the social reformers beginning from Raja Rammohan Roy to Ranade targeted idol worship, priesthood and other rituals. Moreover, Swami Vivekananda had declared that the greatest dharma for the next 50 years was the Rashtra Dharma.

2. Social reform: - The 19th century social reformers made remarkable efforts to improve the conditions of women. They also targeted the caste divisions and practice of untouchability. Consequently, their efforts led to dilution of such internal divisions in Indian society. Especially, the reformers like, Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar, Bires Lingam and D.K. Karve made exceptional efforts for the upliftment of the condition of women.

3. Encouraged Modernism: - As we know that, there was emergence of ideologies like rationalism, humanism, individualism in modern India. These modern ideologies were adopted by the newly emerged educated middle class in India. Thus, regional divisions were dissolved to a great extent.

In this way, the reform movements of the 19th century gave impetus to the nation building in India.

Indian National Congress

- The 'Indian National Congress' (INC) has generally been perceived as the sole representative of the 'Indian National Movement', but such perception about the INC is inconsistent with the reality. Undoubtedly, the Congress was a dominating force during the course of the Indian national movement, but some portion of the Indian National movement was always outside the ambit of the Congress. Moreover, the Congress also changed its character with time.
- During the moderate phase, the Congress remained relatively inaccessible to the masses. Then, during the extremist phase, its social base expanded to some extent. However, during the Gandhian phase, its social base was wider. But, for the entire history of the Congress politics i.e. since its genesis till the Indian independence, the Congress can never be recognized as the sole representative of the Indian National Movement.

The Moderate Phase	The Extremist Phase	The Gandhian Phase
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■ The Foundation of the Indian National Congress

- The Indian National Congress was founded in December, 1885. Its first session was held in Gokul Das Tejpal Sanskrit College and was attended by 72 representatives from across the country. In fact, it was the first organized expression of Indian nationalism at all India level.

The controversy related to the foundation of the Indian National Congress

■ What is the theory of safety-valve?

- This theory was propounded by Lala Lajpat Rai, whereby he emphasised that the Congress was an organization which was founded primarily to serve the British interest and quell protest.

■ What is the basis of the theory of safety-valve?

- The biography of A.O. Hume, written by a British official as well as a close friend, William Wedderburn, expressed that, Hume was apprehensive about a possible revolt. So, he consciously planned the genesis of a representative body in the form of the Congress,

which would serve as 'safety-valve' against any possible uprising.

■ Counter to the theory of safety-valve-

- The theory of safety-valve fails to give a logical explanation for the genesis of the Indian National Congress. In fact, the origin of an organization with an all India character cannot be attributed simply to the efforts and conspiracies of a handful of individuals. Thus, the safety-valve theory can be challenged on the following grounds:
 - Up to the 1960s, Dufferin's papers were published by his family. In these papers, Dufferin had admitted that, though A.O. Hume met him in Shilma, but Dufferin showed little interest in the proposal of foundation of the INC.
 - After independence, no such secret documents alluded to by William Wedderburn have been found either in Indian library/archives or in the British library/archives, which could prove the safety-valve theory.

■ Theory of lightning conductor:

- Gopal Krishna Gokhale gave an alternative theory i.e. "the Theory of Lightning Conductor". He intended to prove that, it was not A.O. Hume who used Indian leaders to serve the British interest, rather it was the Indian leaders who used A.O. Hume and his political clout in favour of India.

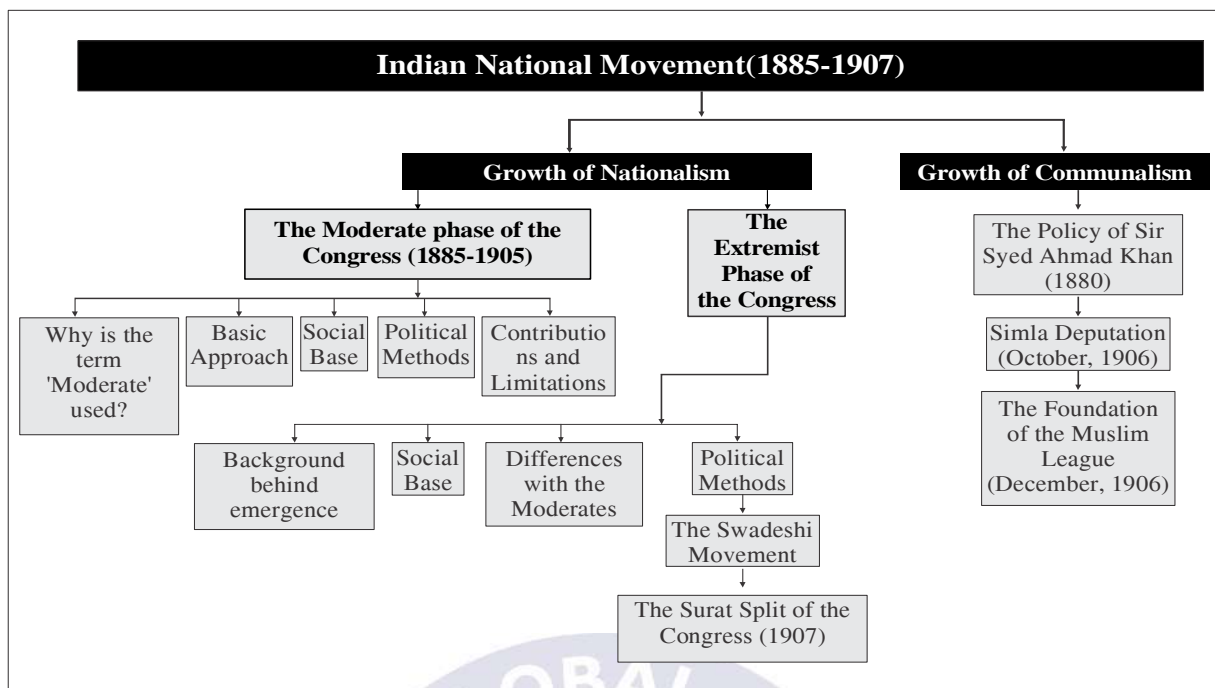
Question: Does the safety-valve theory convincingly explain the genesis of the Congress?

Answer: Lala Lajpat Rai, while expressing his extreme disapproval towards the moderate leadership of the Congress, propounded the safety-valve theory. He stressed that, the Congress was founded, on the advice of Lord Dufferin, by retired British official A.O. Hume, with the sole purpose of serving the British interest.

Moreover, to support his argument, Lala Rajpat Rai alluded to the biography of A.O. Hume written by William Wedderburn. It had the reference of seven secret reports presented to the British government, containing information about future uprisings against the British rule. But the Weddenburn's arguments have been rejected on the following grounds-

- After independence, no such documents could be traced either in the Indian library/archives or in the British library/archives.
- Dufferins papers, published after independence did not support this theory.

So, to accept the theory of safety-valve, would be an injustice against the nationalist uprisings during the 19th century. In fact, the foundation of the Congress should be explained in the context of evolving nationalist consciousness during 1870s and 1880s.



Moderate Phase (1885-1905 AD)

■ Why is the earliest phase of the Indian National Congress called as the moderate phase?

- The earliest phase of the Congress i.e. from 1885 to 1905, is called as the moderate phase, due to the following reasons-

- During this phase, the western liberal thinkers like J. S. Mill and Edmund Burke remained the prime ideological influences on the Congress leadership.
- The emphasis of moderate leaders was on adoption of constitutional methods. They gave the slogan of 'no taxation without representation'.
- They believed in gradual changes, not in radical reforms, i.e. achieving their objectives bit by bit, instead of longer jumps.
- They believed in parliamentary politics and had little faith in the strength of movements.
- They adopted the methods of prayer, petitions and memorials. In fact, they used to meet three to four times on an annual basis, whereby they would generally stress on their previous petitions and would also submit some fresh ones. Then, after some discussions among them, they returned to their respective professions until the next session. Thus, the politics remained to be only a part time activity.

■ The Social base of the Indian National Congress during moderate phase:

- The dominance of elite class during the moderate phase:

- It included zamindars, lawyers, businessmen, doctors, preachers etc. In fact, the representation of common people was negligible.
- There were 90 percent Hindus and 6.5 percent Muslims in the Congress.
- There was majority of Savarnas or high caste people i.e. around 40 percent were Brahmins in the Congress.

■ Contribution of the moderate phase

- Indians were introduced to modern political methods.
- It was due to pressure created by the moderates that, the British government passed the Act of 1892 (Voting Rights).
- Most importantly, the moderate leaders propounded the theory of 'Drain of Wealth' and criticized the colonial economic model. Thus, they even questioned the philosophy of white man's burden and ideological basis of colonialism.
- Politics based on secular values was promoted.

■ Limitations of the Moderate Phase

- The moderate leaders believed in constitutionalism, so they preferred gradual changes rather than longer jumps.
- They had little faith in the strength of the masses. In fact, they considered only educated middle class people as real political-citizen.
- For them, it was not the British government rather the East India Company officials, who were responsible for the deteriorating conditions of India.

4. Moderate leaders had an elite social base, for whom politics remained to be only a part time activity.
5. During the moderate phase, the Congress was dominated by the zamindars and capitalists. So, the Congress during this phase, often opposed the legislations enacted in favour of the peasants and labourers. For instance, Congress leaders were against the introduction of the Bengal Tenancy Act 1885 and also the Punjab Land Alienation Act, 1900.

Question: Throw light on the social base of the Congress during the moderate phase. How did it affect Congress politics?

Answer: During the moderate phase, social base of the Congress was constituted by the middle class and the high class Indians. In fact, the first session of the Congress was dominated by the presence of lawyers. Along with lawyers, a large number of journalists, businessmen, moneylenders, religious preachers were also present in that session. So, such elite social groups definitely left their imprint on the Congress politics. These impacts were the followings-

1. As Congress leaders were successful in their respective professions, so politics remained only a part time activity for them.
2. The leaders during the moderate phase of the Congress, largely belonged to the English educated middle class. Thus, there was visible disconnect between leadership and the masses.
3. Their demands mostly favoured the interest of the middle class.
4. Moreover, in order to secure the interest of the zamindars and moneylenders, they protested against the legislations introduced for the protection of the peasants and labours. For instance, they opposed the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885, the Punjab Land Alienation Act of 1900 etc.

Question: "The congress leadership during the moderate phase represented an elite social base and hence refrained from taking the cause of the common man." Do you agree with the statement?

Question: Why did the 'moderates' fail to carry conviction with the nation about their proclaimed ideology and political goals by the end of the nineteenth century? (UPSC-2017, 150 words)

Question: To what extent did the role of the Moderates prepare a base for the wider freedom movement? Comment. (UPSC-2021, 150 words)

Answer: The foundation of the Congress in 1885 can be traced back to the rising political consciousness during 1870s and 1880s. In fact, during this period, many regional organizations like Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, Madras Mahajan Sabha etc. were established.

Then, the Indian National Congress, an organization with all India character, was created with the objective to provide a common platform for active regional politicians across the country. Thus, the Congress was associated with the larger nationalist aspiration. Apart from that, they also introduced Indians to modern political methods. Most importantly, they raised some crucial demands of national interest, like the demands for representative government, freedom of press, indigenization of the civil services, protection of the Indian Industries, reduction of land revenue etc.

Moreover, their most important objective was to bring out the acute nature economic exploitation of India. Thus, the moderate leaders of the Congress are also hailed as the 'father of economic nationalism.' For instance, the moderate leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji highlighted the link between colonialism and economic impoverishment by propounding the theory of 'Drain of Wealth'.

However, along with the above mentioned contributions, there were the following limitations as well-

1. Politics was only a part time activity for moderate leaders. In fact, it was more like an annual conference, whereby they deliberated and adopted some resolutions and after some debate and discussions, they dispersed.
2. Also, the Congress during this phase was like a club of handful of English educated intellectuals.
3. The Congress during this phase was completely alienated from the masses and it did not also believe in the strength of the masses.
4. The extremist reacted against the moderates for being too wary of the British and rejected their methods of prayer, petition and memorials. Also, frustrated with the moderates, the extremist criticised their politics as the 'politics of mendicancy.'

So, the moderate phase of the Congress remained to be highly limited in terms of its goals, programmes, achievements, and participation vis-à-vis the nationalist aspirations.

Extremist Phase (1905-07)

- By the end of the 19th century, a systemic criticism of the moderate politics was started.

Aurobindo Ghose in his series of articles 'New Lamp for the Old', exposed the weaknesses of the moderate politics. Then, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, a prominent extremist leader from Maharashtra, rejected the moderate politics, while stereotyping it as the 'politics of mendicancy'. Similarly, Lala Lajpat Rai, a significant extremist leader from Punjab, was so frustrated with the moderate phase of the Congress that, he boycotted all its sessions held from 1893 to 1900 AD. Thus, as a reaction against the moderate politics, an alternate trend emerged within the Congress by 1900.

■ **Causes for the rise of Extremism:**

- **Was the rise of extremism during the course of Indian National movement embedded in the failure of the moderate politics?**
 - Though, one of the major reasons responsible for the emergence of extremism was disillusionment with the Moderate politics, but there were other important factors as well. In fact, the origin of extremism was rooted in contemporary national and international situations.
1. The colonial economic exploitation caused enough resentment for the extremist elements to rise in the contemporary Indian politics. In fact, as the Indian economic situation was much deteriorated during the British rule. As a result, there was exponential increase in the incidence of poverty. Even, natural calamities, famines, pandemics were almost regular and severe in intensity. Not only this but, even after prevalence of such precarious and disastrous situations, the metropolitan remained busy exploiting the valuable resources of the country.
 2. There was resentment amongst educated youths against thriving unemployment in British India.
 3. Indian reformers including Dayanand Saraswati, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Swami Vivekananda inculcated the feeling of national pride among the masses, which also played a major role in the rise of extremism.
 4. Curzon's policies further increased discontentment among nationalists in India. In fact, following an approach of racial arrogance, he was reluctant to appoint educated Indians on administrative posts. Also, under the influence of despotic imperialism, he intended to establish centralized control over administration. Thus, he reduced the number of elected representative in the Calcutta Corporation through the Municipal Amendment Act of 1899, increased dominance of government over higher education through Indian University Act 1904 and restricted the

freedom of press through enforcement of Indian Official Secrets Amendment Act of 1904.

5. **International scenario:** The defeat of Italy against Ethiopia in 1896 and the defeat of Japan against Russia in 1905.

■ **Difference between the moderate and extremist leadership and its impact over the Congress Politics.**

The following points of differences can be highlighted

1. **Social Base:** The moderate leaders belonged to the elite class, whereas the social base of the extremist leaders was the lower-middle class.
 2. **Objective:** There was no difference in terms of objective between both the factions. In fact, similar to the extremists, the moderates also adopted 'Swaraj' or 'Self-rule' as their objective.
 3. **Ideology:** The moderate leaders were influenced by Western liberal ideas. They had deep faith in the western institutions, whereas the extremist leaders considered the moderate politics of prayer, petition and memorials as national humiliation. In fact, the extremist had a nationalist pride in Indian pasts and culture. They believed that, though the west moved ahead of India in the field of science and technology, but culturally, India was much prosperous than the west.
 4. **Political Methods:** The extremists called the moderate politics of prayer, petition and memorials as the politics of mendicancy, while they adopted the method of 'passive resistance'. Under such method, they emphasised on swadeshi, boycott, self-rule and national education.
- **Impact:** Under the influence of extremist elements, there was a change in the Congress politics. The Congress, while rejecting the methods of prayer and petition, turned its course towards the mass movements. Thus, the Swadeshi Movement was launched in 1905.

■ **Limitations of the Extremists**

These were the following limitations of the extremist policies:

- Though, 'Swaraj' was their ultimate declared objective. But, the term 'Swaraj' implied different meaning for different extremist leaders.
- The extremist leaders encouraged Hindu revivalism. Though, such revivalism catered to uneducated masses to some extent, but in the long run, it caused much harm in the form of nascent communalism.

- They never took up the cause of the peasants. They never encouraged no-taxation movements, primarily because most of the extremist leaders belonged to the category of zamindars and landlords. Therefore, they reasoned that, the issue of Indian peasants would bring rifts within Indian society.

Question: ‘Lord Curzon played role of an unconscious catalyst and thus provided a new energy and momentum to the Indian National Movement.’ Do you agree?

Answer: Even though, Lord Curzon came to India with the objective of ensuring a gradual end to the Indian National Congress, but instead of weakening the Congress, his policies revitalised it. As a result, the Congress was transformed from a middle class pressure group into a nationwide mass movement.

In order to weaken the national movement, Lord Curzon regularly adopted a number of reactionary policies. For instance, he enacted the Calcutta Municipal Act, 1899 to reduce the number of elected representatives, then he also introduced the Indian University Act of 1904 and placed Calcutta University under strict control of the Government and above all, he divided Bengal in 1905 and thus weakened the national movement.

However, yet another significant consequence of Curzon’s policies was the rise of extremist elements within the Congress. In fact, earlier the extremist trends were confined to the sidelines as mere ideological influence. But after the division of Bengal, such trends were visible in the mainstream nationalist movement. For instance, these new extremist elements were best expressed in the form of the Swadeshi Movement, which further increased the intensity of the national movement.

Swadeshi Movement

- During the course of the national movement, the 20th century began with an organized reaction against the British rule i.e. the Swadeshi Movement. Its primary centre was Bengal, however it gradually spread to other parts of the country as well. In fact, both rural and urban population including young students, middle classes, women, participated in an organized political movement for the first time. Moreover, uniqueness of this movement was that, it not only manifested itself into the political sphere, but it also marked its influence in the fields of art, literature, music, science, industries and in the other aspects of life as well.
- The Swadeshi Movement was an anti-partition agitation against the division of Bengal. In fact, Curzon, while ignoring the emerging Bengali

identity, partitioned Bengal and thus spread much discontent among the masses. However, the Curzonian administration defended their policy decision on the ground of improved administrative efficiency in Bengal province, but their ulterior motive was to weaken the political opposition, by driving away the Muslims from the wave of the national movement. But, the intensity of the nationalist storm against the partition much beyond Curzon’s imagination. The nationalist reaction was in the form launch of the Swadeshi Movement. In fact, on 16 October, 1905 the order of the partition of Bengal was formally implemented on the ground. Thus to resist the partition, on this day, as encouraged by Rabindranath Tagore, a large number of Hindus and Muslims tied Rakhi threads as symbol of unity to each other as well as a symbol of anti-partition protest.

■ **Three important trends are observed during the course of the Bengal Swadeshi Movement**

1. **The Constructive Swadeshi or the Self Reliance (Atmashakti):** The leaders of the movement believed that, in order to launch any mass movement, it was necessary for the masses to be self-reliant. In fact, for them being self-reliant was linked with national pride, esteem and national morale. Thus, Rabindranath Tagore, through his writings, since 1904, was encouraging masses to be self-reliant. So, keeping this objective in mind, a large number of constructive programmes like Swadeshi (indigenous) industries, vernacular education etc. were promoted. In this line, the first Indian Industrial Conference was held under the chairmanship of Romesh Chandra Dutta, in 1905, in Banaras. Then Prafulla Chandra Ray founded the popular Bengal Chemical Works. Moreover, Ashwani Kumar Dutta founded Swadesh Bandhab Samiti in Barisal district, Bengal, which primarily organized constructive works in rural India. Also, Dawn society was established by Satish Chandra Mukharjee for the promotion of national education.
2. **Political Extremism:** The major emphasis on political extremism came from Aurobindo Ghosh and Bipin Chandra Pal. In fact, it was Aurobindo Ghosh who put forth the method of passive resistance, which promoted objectives like Swadeshi, boycott, self-rule and national education.
3. **Revolutionary Nationalism:** It was being promoted by young leaders like Pratham Mitra and Barindra Kumar. They founded a revolutionary organization ‘Anushilan Samiti’ in 1902.

■ The Spread of the Swadeshi Movement

- This movement started in Bengal and gradually spread in the region of Punjab, Maharashtra and Madras. However, it got popularised as ‘Vande Matram Movement’ in Andhra Pradesh
- Swami Vivekanand had been one of the major ideological influences during the course of the Swadeshi Movement, but gradually the militant nationalism of Tilak dominated the movement. However, the Swadeshi movement in Bengal was primarily based on economic discontentment.
- Even Maharashtra was also a major center of the Swadeshi Movement. In fact, Bal Gangadhar Tilak had consolidated the movement in this region. However, unlike Bengal, religion became the main driver for the masses to participate in the movement.
- In 1896, Tilak founded the Gau Raksha Samiti and organised the masses on the issue of cow protection. Then, in the beginning of the 20th century, he celebrated Ganesh and Shivaji festivals which became a major source of inspiration for the people.

■ Contribution

1. The Congress, for the first time, transformed its political methods of prayer and petition into mass movement.
2. The trends which emerged during the Swadeshi Movement including- swadeshi, boycott, the promotion of vernacular education, continued to influence the course of the national movement in India. It even paved the way for Gandhian politics in India.
3. Due to excessive pressure created by the Swadeshi Movement, the British government itself annulled the partition of Bengal.
4. It also led to the establishment of Indian industries, like the Bengal Chemical Works by P.C. Ray and the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company by V O Chidambaram Pillai. In fact, even the method of boycott promoted indigenous industries. Apart from that, Indian capital was even directed towards banking and insurance sectors.
5. In order to propagate their extremist ideas among the masses, the extremist leaders introduced journals and newspapers in vernacular languages. Consequently, it led to the promotion of Indian languages.
6. The contribution of this movement can also be assessed in terms of the growth of Indian Art.

For instance, Abanindranath Tagore made efforts to revive the art of Mughal paintings.

■ Limitations

1. The leaders of Swadeshi Movement were not able to gain the support of the Muslims, primarily because Muslims supported the partition of Bengal. Moreover, promoting Hindu religious edifices as the means to reach the masses, also became a major cause for the Muslim disillusionment with the movement.
2. The Swadeshi movement even failed to attract the peasants of Bengal, as leaders did not adopt any progressive agricultural programmes.

■ The End of the Swadeshi Movement

1. The British government had already apprehended the Swadeshi Movement. Thus, the movement was brutally suppressed due to its anti-imperialistic character.
2. Due to growing rift between the moderates and the extremists, there occurred a split within the Congress in 1907.
3. The Swadeshi Movement lacked an effective organization.

■ The difference between the moderates and the extremists during the course of the movement

1. The moderates considered the effects of the partition of Bengal to be limited to the Bengal province, thus they wanted the movement to remain within the confines of Bengal itself. At the same time, the extremists perceived the partition of Bengal to the whole country and national movement at large.
2. The moderates intended to use the policy of boycott only against imported British goods, whereas the extremists favoured the extension of boycott to other fields as well.

The Surat Split

- In 1906 Calcutta session of the Congress, the extremist proposed Tilak's name as the Congress president, but the moderates proposed Dada Bhai Naoroji to be the president of the Calcutta session. Thus, the moderates defeated the extremists, because the extremists could not oppose the nomination of the highly respected Dada Bhai Naoroji. However, under Extremists' pressure, the Congress adopted four resolutions- 'Swaraj', 'Swadeshi', 'Boycott' and 'development of national education.'
- So, the moderates felt humiliated in the 1906 session. Then, the 1907 session was scheduled to take place at Nagpur. But as the Nagpur was

the stronghold of the extremists, thus the Gokhale-Mehta faction shifted the venue to Surat.

- On the other hand, the extremists were getting anxious that the moderates were conspiring to reject the four Calcutta resolutions. Thus, the extremists were determined to secure the next Congress president in their favour.
- So, again Tilak was proposed to be the next president by the extremists, but at the same time, the moderates nominated Ras Behari Ghosh as the next Congress president. So, the extremists staunchly opposed the Ras Behari's nomination. Thus, the open session of the Congress turned to be a complete pandemonium with shoes flying, chairs toppled and men running for cover. It ended with the split in the Congress, popularly termed as the 'Surat Split' i.e. the moderates reconstituted the Congress while expelling out the extremist elements.

The Growth of Communalism

- The communalism is a modern ideology, which flourished under the influence of the British rule. The main emphasis of the Communalism is that, the political, economic and social interests of one specific religious community are generally different than those interests of the other religious community. However, such communalism can be considered as a liberal communalism.
- But, when a specific religious community considers its political, economic and social interests to be against the similar interests of other religious community, then it should be considered as radical phase of the communalism.
- **The factors encouraging the communalism in the Indian politics**
 1. The 19th century socio-religious reforms encouraged the revivalist tendencies and thus promoted the communalism.
- 2. **The British History Writing and the Population Census:-** As James Mill divided Indian history as Hindu period and Muslim Period, thus the communal elements were encouraged in Indian politics.

3. **The Opportunistic Policy of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan** and his promotion of separate Hindu and Muslim identities. In fact, during the course of the 1857 revolt, both Hindus and Muslims had participated. But, the British considered it to be a conspiracy led primarily by the Muslims. Thus, after this revolt, the British adopted an anti-Muslim approach. Consequently, the already backward Muslim community, started to lag further behind in the fields of education and government service.

- It was Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, who for the first time realized the basic cause behind such backwardness among the Muslims. Thus, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, who earlier was a nationalist during 1870s, tilted towards the British rule since 1880s. The primary reason for such a shift in his approach was his realization that, without the favour of the British, the Muslims could never be set on the path of development.

- In a way, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan himself laid the foundation for the growth of Muslim communalism in India. Moreover, he even discouraged the growth of representative institutions in India. In fact, he believed that, such institutions would never be in interest of the Muslim minority in India.

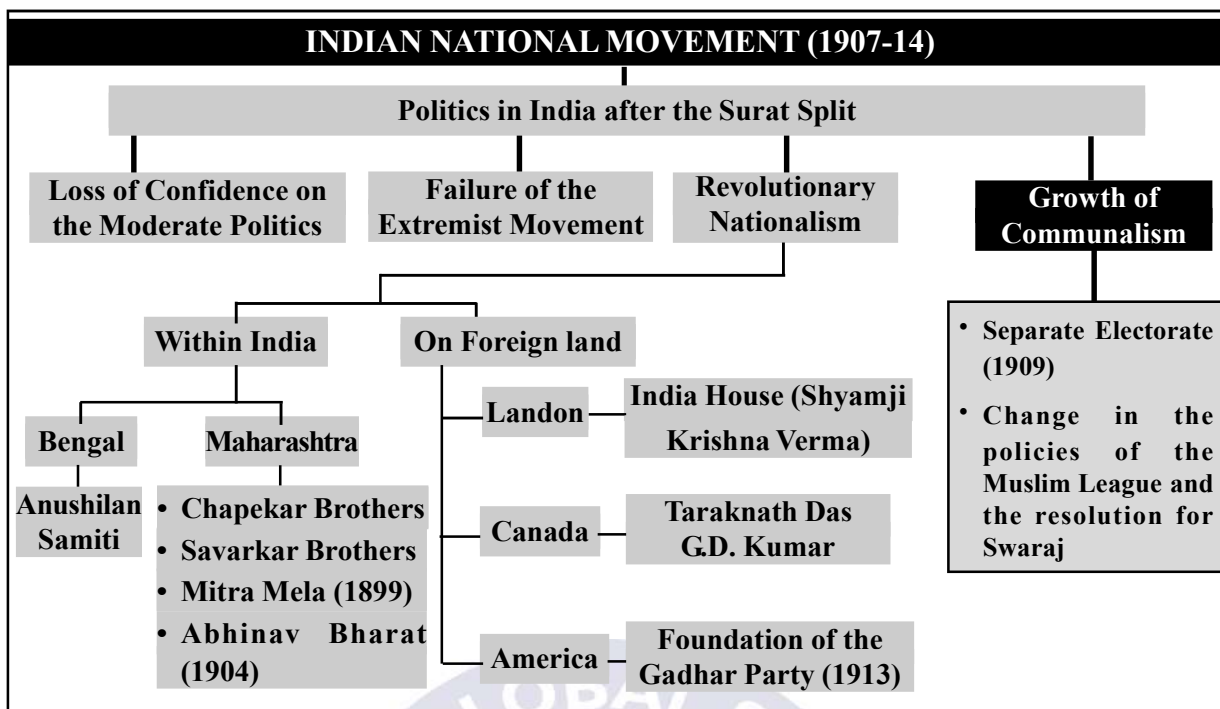
■ **The Simla Deputation**

- In October, 1906, the 35 delegates under the leadership of Nawab Salimullah and Aga Khan met with Viceroy Lord Minto. In this meeting, they kept forward their demand of 'separate electorates' for the Muslims in front of the viceroy, in lieu of their favour to their loyalty towards the British.

■ **The Organization of the Muslim League**

- The Muslim league was organized in 1906, in Dacca, under the leadership of the Aga Khan, the Nawab of Dacca, Salimullah and the nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk. Its first president was Waqar-ul-Mulq. Since its genesis, the Muslim league continued to favour the British rule.





The nature of Indian Politics after the Surat Split

Dissatisfaction with the moderate politics

- After the split at Surat, the Congress sessions were attended only by a handful of the Moderate leaders, whereby it again resorted to the politics of prayer and petitions. In fact, due to ineffective moderate politics, Congress was not able to sustain its ground among the youth. Not only this but, the moderate leaders failed to popularise their objectives amongst the masses. Consequently, the Congress lost the confidence of the Indian people.

Failure of the Extremist movement

- After the Surat split, even the extremist movement was not able to survive. In fact, Tilak was imprisoned in Mandalay jail for six years, Aurobindo Ghosh turned towards spirituality, whereas Lala Lajpat Rai moved to America. Also, Ajit Singh was arrested and deported from India and after his release, he moved to France.

Revolutionary Nationalism

- Revolutionary nationalism emerged to fill the political void created during the course of Indian National Movement. Thus, revolutionary tendencies were encouraged during this period. These

nationalists were even inspired by thinkers like Dayanand Saraswati, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Vivekananda. Moreover, even international events like the Irish Revolution also influenced the revolutionaries in India.

- The main emphasis of these revolutionaries was on individual heroism, which included assassination of unpopular officers and anti-nationalist elements, organising Swadeshi dacoities to accumulate funds and acquiring arms and weapons from the enemy countries of the British.
- The revolutionaries were spread across the country and in foreign territories as well. In fact, Bengal and Maharashtra became major centers within India.
- Revolutionary nationalism began in Maharashtra with the assassination of Plague Commissioner Rand and Ayerst in 1897. Further, Savarkar brothers founded an organization 'Mitra Mela', in 1899. Then, Vinayak Damodar Savarkar founded 'Abhinav Bharat' in 1904, in London.
- Apart from that, Rash Behari Bose and Sachindra Nath Sanyal organised

revolutionary activities in the regions of Punjab, Delhi and United Province.

- The credit for laying the foundation of revolutionary movements on foreign land must be given to Shyamji Krishna Varma. In fact, with the support of some British friends, he published a newspaper, 'Indian Sociologist'. He founded the 'India House' and the 'Home Rule Society' in London. However, a revolutionary group of Nasik, under the leadership of V D Savarkar, established their dominance over 'India House'. In fact, Madan Lal Dhingra, who assassinated Col. Wyllie in 1909, belonged to the same revolutionary group.
- Moreover, a brave revolutionary, Madam Bhikaji Cama was active in Paris and Geneva. She spread revolutionary ideology through her journal, 'Bande Matram'.
- In 1913, the 'Ghadar Movement' was started by the revolutionaries in San Francisco, America. The pioneers of this movement were Sohan Singh Bhakna and Lala Hardayal. It was organized around a weekly newspaper, named 'Ghadar'. The major objective of this movement was to overthrow British rule from India through an armed revolt. It also intended to establish a democratic government after independence, which would be based on the principles of liberty and equality.
- The contribution of revolutionary nationalists was unparalleled in revitalising and reenergising the Indian National Movement during its lukewarm phase. In fact, they played a significant role in promoting the sense of national pride and national esteem amongst the masses. Above all, they were the pioneers of the demand for 'Purna Swaraj', which the Congress put forward much later in its Lahore session of 1929.
- **Komagata Maru incident (1914):** This incident was also an expression of the revolutionary nationalism, which was

linked to the entry of Indians in Canada. In fact, the Canadian government had restricted the immigration of Indians not coming directly from India. Therefore a merchant from Indian origin, Baba Gurdit Singh, on a Japanese ship named 'Komagata Maru', along with 376 passengers from East Asia and South East Asia, voyaged towards Vancouver.

But due to the strictness of Canadian administration, the ship had to leave the Canadian territory. Moreover, the British had ordered the return of the ship to Calcutta. As the ship anchored in Calcutta, there were skirmishes between the passengers and the police. In the end, around 18 passengers were killed and rest were imprisoned.

Growth of Communalism

- **The Government of India Act, 1909:-** The British introduced the Act of 1909 with the objectives to appeal to the Muslim minority, to strengthen the moderates and to hammer down the extremists. Moreover, the Act is also named as the 'Morley-Minto' Reforms, based on the names of the then Viceroy of India, Lord Minto and the Secretary of State for India, Lord Morley.
- The Act of 1909 is perhaps criticised the most for introducing the provision for separate electorate, which had caused much harm to the Indian society. In fact, by introducing 'religion' as a separate political category, it created ground for the growth of communalism in Indian politics.
- In fact, the Act of 1909, instead of geographical representation, provided for representation based on class, religion and caste interests. For instance, university students and presidents, Municipal Corporations, plantation owners, zamindars and business class people were given separate franchise.
- The provision of separate election for Muslim candidates was called as the System of Separate Electorate. Thus, the Act proved much controversial,

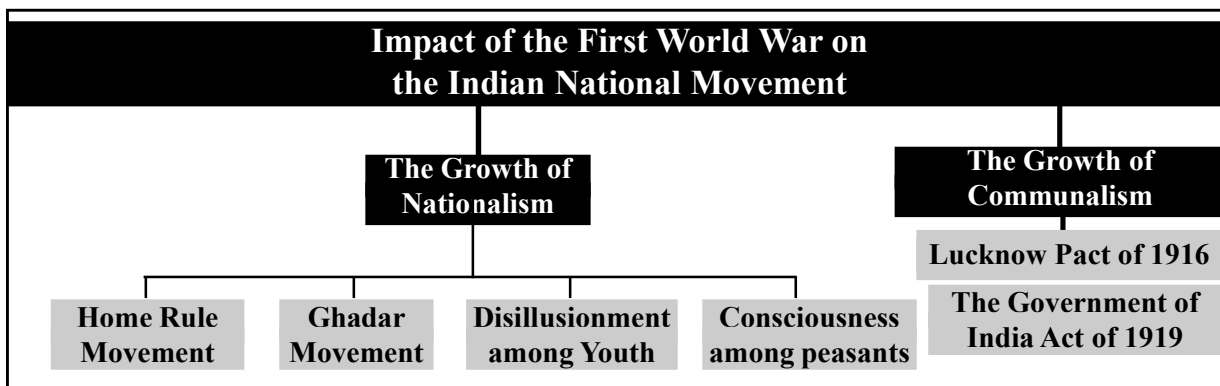
especially on the issue of separate electorate for the Muslims.

Finally, the ultimate consequence of the provision of the separate electorate was the emergence of the Two Nation theory.

- **Change in the policy of the Muslim League and the Resolution for the Swaraj (1913):-** In 1912-13, there was change in the character of the Muslim

league. It was primarily due to the emergence of leaders of younger generation including, Muhammad Ali, Shaukat Ali, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Hassan Imam, Zafar Ali Khan and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. As a result, proximity between the Muslim League and the Congress increased. Thus, the Muslim League also adopted 'Swaraj' as their ultimate goal in the Lucknow session of 1913.





The Impact of the First World War on the Indian National Movement

- The British declared India also as a party to the First World War. It deeply influenced the course of the Indian National movement in all the spheres including political, economic and revolutionary activity.

Home Rule Movement

- While Gandhiji and the other Indian leaders decided to co-operate with the British in their war efforts, Tilak and Annie Besant organised two separate Home Rule League and launched the Home Rule Movement. The term, 'Home Rule', was adopted from the Irish Home Rule movement, which implied 'Swaraj' or 'Self Rule'.
- Tilak founded his Home Rule League in 1916 and spread consciousness in the regions of Karnataka, Maharashtra (excluding Bombay), Central province and Berar. Whereas, Besant's Home Rule League founded in September 1916, worked in rest of India.
- The main programs of this movement included, the publication and sell of the books related to political issues, social service and to organize public meetings. In fact, Tilak published newspapers namely, 'Maratha' and 'Kesari', to promote the nature and objectives of the Home Rule Movement, whereas Besant published journals like, 'Commonweal' and 'New India' to popularize her objectives behind the movement.
- Tilak integrated the demands of vernacular education and linguistic

states with the demand for Swaraj or Self Rule. In order to boost the masses, he gave the slogan that, "Swaraj is my birth right and I shall have it."

- Though it is true that, the Home Rule Movement declined without achieving its ultimate objective, but it successfully achieved some other important goals. In fact, the Home Rule Movement spread revolutionary tendencies across the country, thus it provided an all India character to the movement.
- During the course of this movement, many visionary nationalist leaders emerged. For instance, Satyamurti from Madras, C R Das from Bengal, Jawahar Lal Nehru from United Province etc. Above all, the unique feature of the Home Rule Movement was that, it was the only concerted movement with an all India character before the Gandhian Phase. In fact, it permanently integrated masses with the national movement, consequently, the popular mass movements led to the Indian independence.

Ghadar Movement

- The activities of the revolutionary organizations had further increased during the course of the First World War. During this period, the revolutionaries, while taking foreign help, tried to overthrow the British rule from India. In this context, the Ghadar party was founded by Lala Hardayal, Sohan Singh Bhakna and Bhai Parmanand in 1913, in San Francisco, in America. While taking

advantage of the First World War, this party created an extensive network ranging from Europe to India. In this way, it made efforts to overthrow the British rule.

- Though, it could not achieve its declared objectives, but it definitely boosted nationalist consciousness. In fact, this organization had published the newspaper, 'Ghadar' in Hindi, English and Gurmukhi in order to spread the nationalist consciousness amongst the masses.

Disillusionment of the Younger generation

- In general, for younger generation the Western civilization had remained to be a motive for progress in life. Thus, youths were highly influenced by the elements of western society. But, the bloodshed during the course of the First World War caused significant disillusionment. This also became a major reason for emergence of the revolutionary tendencies.

The Peasant Consciousness

- The soldiers sent on foreign land during the course of the First World War, narrated the weakness of the Western civilization after their return to their villages. Thus, a political consciousness emerged among the peasants.

Growth of Communalism

- **Lucknow Pact of 1916:** The Muslim League since its genesis had adopted a pro-British approach, but since 1910, it was influenced by the Muslim nationalist leaders. So under nationalist influence, the Muslim League also adopted 'Swaraj' as its objective in 1913. In this way, ideologically the Muslim League came near to the Congress. Thus, the Lucknow Pact of 1916 was signed.
- Under this pact, both the Muslim League and the Congress agreed to unite for the demand of Swaraj. In return the Congress accepted the League's demand for separate electorates. However, it proved to be a wrong decision on the part of the Congress. In fact, by accepting

separate electorates, the Congress unconsciously justified the relevance of religion in politics.

- **Government of India Act of 1919:** The ultimate objective of the Home Rule Movement was to gradually establish Self-rule. Moreover, in August Declaration of 1917, it was clearly mentioned that, the objective of the British rule was to promote Self-rule in India. But instead, the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 promoted communalism in India.
- In principle, this Act criticised the system of separate electorates, but in reality, it had the provisions to sustain it further. Now, even the Sikh, Anglo-Indians and other Europeans were also given this political right of separate electorates
- It had the provisions to extend franchise, but in a limited way. In fact, inclusion of rural elites was more than that of the urban intellectuals, because rural elites were British loyalists, who would strengthen the position of the British in provincial legislatures.
- This Act introduced diarchy at provincial level. It even encouraged communalism. In fact, there was no scope for meaningful participation of Indians at central level, but at provincial level, there was some scope for Indians. Thus, Indian leaders detached themselves with the central politics and concentrated their energy in provincial politics. In fact, it adversely affected the politics in India, as Hindu leaders turned towards Hindu majority area, and Muslim leaders turned towards Muslim majority provinces. In this way, there was communalization of Indian politics.

Practice Question: 'The First World War added international dimensions to the Indian National Movement.' Examine this statement.

(Question Analysis: - This question is hypothetical in nature. The Key Words are- 'the First World War', 'National Movement', 'International Dimension.')**)**

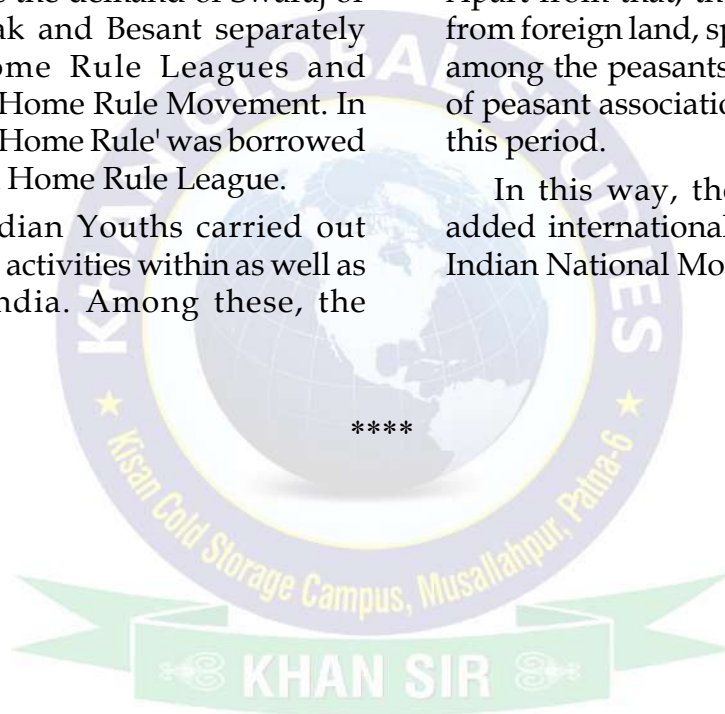
Answer: The First World War affected the Indian National Movement in two ways, firstly- it boosted the intensity of the movement and secondly- international dimensions were added to the national movement. It can be explained in following way-

- To popularize the demand of Swaraj or Self-rule, Tilak and Besant separately founded Home Rule Leagues and launched the Home Rule Movement. In fact, the term 'Home Rule' was borrowed from the Irish Home Rule League.
- Similarly, Indian Youths carried out revolutionary activities within as well as outside of India. Among these, the

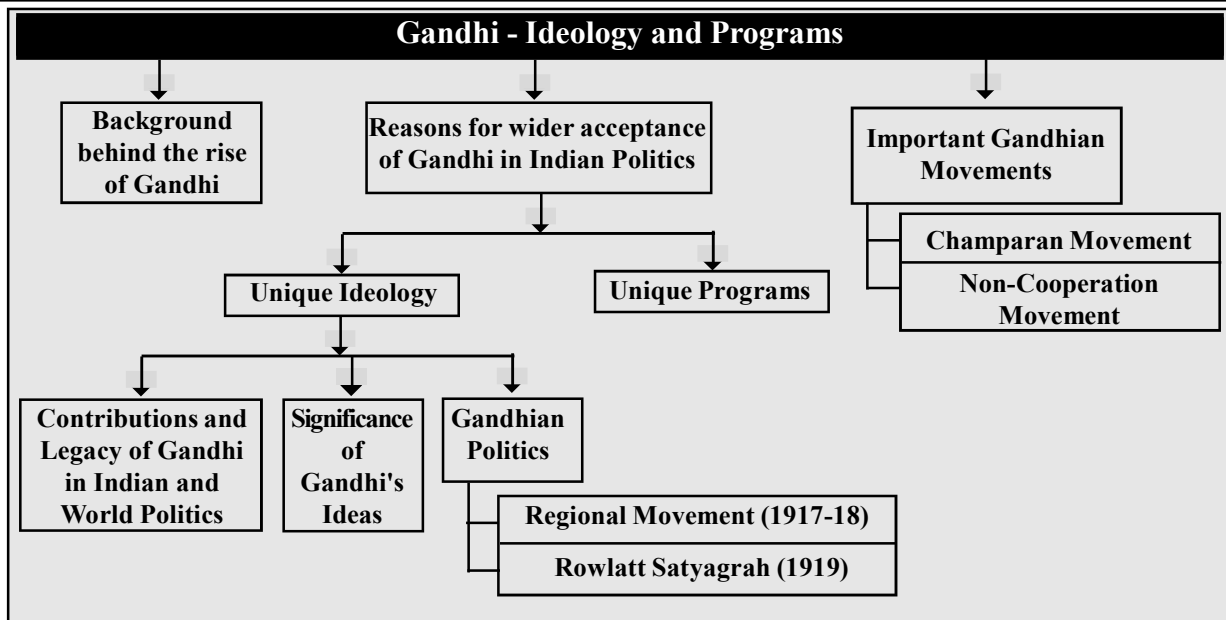
Ghadar movement played the most significant role. It was the time when, anti-imperialist movements across the world were leaving deep imprints on the Indian revolutionaries.

- After the War had ended, Gandhiji provided leadership to Rowlatt Satyagrah. In fact, Rowlatt Satyagrah to some extent was also influenced by the anti-imperialist movements in other parts of the world.
- Lastly, the issue of Ottoman Caliphate emerged during the course of the First World War, which became the basis of Khilafat (Caliphate) Movement in India.
- Apart from that, the soldiers returning from foreign land, spread consciousness among the peasants, so a large number of peasant associations emerged during this period.

In this way, the First World War added international dimensions to the Indian National Movement.



The Emergence of Gandhi



- Gandhi began his political career in South Africa. He arrived India in 1915, during the course of the First World War. Initially, he adopted the policy of co-operation with the British. He appealed to the masses to give their maximum support to the British government and join the Allied army in large numbers during the First World War. In fact, during the First World War, he gained widespread popularity due to his leadership in the movements like Champaran, Ahmedabad and Kheda. Then he participated in the first all India movement i.e. Rowlatt Satyagrah.

The Background for the emergence of Gandhi

- Upon the advent of Gandhi, there existed a political vacuum in India. In fact, the Moderate politics had already lost the confidence of the people, whereas the Extremist failed to organize the masses. Thus, Gandhi could easily fill this vacuum.
- Even before coming to India, Gandhi already enjoyed an international fame due to his role in South Africa. Moreover, he had already experimented with non-violence, methods of Satyagrah and constructive work programs in South Africa. Thus, the experience earned in South Africa helped him in India as well.
- The First World War had detrimental impact over different social groups of India.

The capitalist class was angered due to excessive taxation over industrial goods during the course of the First World War and laborers were distressed with the lay off in industrial sectors. Similarly, rich peasants were troubled with the falling prices of agricultural goods, whereas the lower class peasants were facing the crisis of starvation and frequent famines. Apart from that, the evil side of the West was revealed to young Indians for the first time during the course of the War. In fact, the use of chemical and biological weapons against humanity led to widespread disillusion with the west. Thus, the Gandhian Nationalism received the support of all the socio-economic classes in India.

- In fact, post war world was marked by mass upsurge which manifested itself in different forms- as socialist movements in Capitalist Western Europe and as nationalist uprising in colonies. So, the Gandhian nationalism was encouraged by the events occurring at the global level as well.

The causes for the success of Gandhi in Indian Politics

The Gandhian ideology

- Gandhi's ideology was remarkable in the sense that, it could easily attract the masses. It had the following important elements:

- **Satyagraha:** Gandhian Satyagraha was opposed to the use of brute force and it made a humanitarian appeal for reforms. In fact, it becomes difficult for the opponent to violently suppress such movements. Thus, it proved to be a successful political method of protest, which practically neutralized modern weapons.
- **Non-Violence:** The concept of Non-Violence has a great significance in the Indian society. Thus, Gandhi made it a political weapon against the British, which was unique in itself. In fact, for mass movements, it was necessary to stress on non-violent protests. Through this method, larger participation of the masses could be ensured in Gandhian politics. Even Women also participated in this movement. Moreover, Non-violent Satyagrah gave an assurance to the richer section that their interest would not be harmed. So, even they participated in Gandhian movements.
- **Swaraj:** Gandhian perception of Swaraj was unique in itself. While, for the Congress leaders, Swaraj simply implied political freedom, but for Gandhiji, it primarily implied moral freedom instead of political freedom. In this way, there was ambiguity in Gandhi's hypothesis of Swaraj, due to which it became even more relevant, because different classes interpreted it in their own way.
- **The criticism of Western civilization:** He criticized Western civilization. In his famous text 'Hind Swaraj', Gandhi declared that, India was not being trampled under the feet of the British, but it was being trampled under the feet of Western civilization. His criticism of modernism attracted those, who were left behind on the path of modernization in India.
- **The theory of Class Collaboration:** The Trusteeship Theory of Gandhi was propounded in the context of class collaboration. He emphasized that, the capitalists should work as 'trustees' of society and spend their additional income on welfare of the people. In fact, on the basis of this theory, Gandhi was able to create a

united front during the course of the national movement and integrated the efforts of capitalists, zamindars, laborers and peasants within the freedom struggle.

The Gandhian Programs:

- Unlike most of the Congress leaders, who used to dress in western attire, Gandhi adopted simple clothing of a common Indian peasant. Moreover, he used to travel in third class compartments in Trains and recited couplets from Ramayana, which easily attracted the masses in India.
- Gandhi through his rural constructive programs, including spinning Charkha, creating village panchayats, cleaning roads and organizing regular prabhatferis etc., integrated lakhs of villages of India with Congress politics.
- Gandhi was able to understand the pluralist character of Indian society and thus, planned his programs accordingly. In fact, Gandhi adopted mass based politics rather than specific class based politics.

Role of Rumors

- The rumors also played a great role in popularizing Gandhi, because masses always had an enlarged figure of Gandhi in mind. In fact, masses perceived Gandhi as a liberator, who would liberate them from excesses committed by exploitative groups.

The Contribution of Gandhi in the Indian National Movement and his Legacy

- Gandhi introduced an innovative approach in Indian politics i.e. the methods of Satyagrah and Non-violence.
- He started a politics based on religious morality. Before him, politics and religion were considered as two separate domains. The term 'religion' in this context implied 'faith in a particular moral system', instead of any extremist ideology.
- Before the arrival of Gandhi, the social base of the Congress was confined only to some specific sections of the society including Bhadrals of Bengal, Chitpawan Brahmans of Maharashtra and Tamil Brahmans of Madras. But after his arrival, social bases of

the Congress was much diversified and masses were integrated with the national struggle for independence.

- Under Gandhian leadership, the Indian National Movement also got associated with the contemporary social issues. Thus, nation building and social reforms progressed. He encouraged participation of women in the movement and launched a massive movement against untouchability.
- While criticizing Western civilization, he provided an alternative model of modernism. For instance, he promoted a sense of community as against individualism and gave emphasis over manual labor instead of mechanization.
- Even after Gandhi, his legacy continues to influence politics in India and the world. In India, Gandhi's legacy manifested itself in the form of Bhoodan movement, Chipko movement, Narmada Bachao movement etc. At the same time, the movements led by Martin Luther King in USA, Albert Luthuli in South Africa etc. also reflect the Gandhian legacy at global level.

Relevance of Gandhi in today's world

- Gandhi discarded violent methods and adopted non-violent means of protest. In fact, it can be a solution for one of the biggest threats of 21st century i.e. religious fundamentalism and terrorism.
- Gandhi advocated the idea of decentralization in administration. It can be considered as a solution for present day exploitative administrative machinery.
- Currently, the world is facing the problem of excessive mechanization. For instance, threats posed by artificial Intelligence to some highly skilled jobs. In such scenario, Gandhi's idea to promote manual labor over mechanization is highly relevant.
- The problem of over production has emerged as one of the biggest threats for modern civilization. Even problems like terrorism and environmental crisis are rooted in the problem of over production. Thus, some of the scholars consider Gandhi as a post-modernist thinker as his ideas gave

a hint about the future environmental problem. Environmentalists, from Vandana Shiva to Baba Amte have been inspired by the Gandhian philosophy.

Gandhian Politics

Regional Movement

- In the beginning, Gandhi became popular through his regional movements, like Champaran Satyagrah, Ahmedabad Mill Strike (1918) and Kheda Satyagrah (1918)

Champaran Satyagrah, Ahmedabad Mill Strike and Kheda Satyagrah (1918)

- Gandhi organized his first movement in Champaran, Bihar. On the invitation of Rajkumar Shukla, Gandhiji reached Champaran and launched a movement against Tinkathiya System in that region. Under Tinkathiya System, peasants were expected to grow indigo in 3 parts (Kattha) for every 20 parts of their land. In the end, Gandhi was successful in ensuring the end of Tinkathiya system.
- In 1918, he started a movement in favor of workers in Ahmedabad textile mills. It was launched in response to the withdrawal of plague bonus by the mill owners- causing a furore amongst mill workers. Ambalal Sarabhai, a mill owner and friend to Gandhi, supported him in taking up the cause of mill workers to the tribunal. The tribunal ordered payment of 35 percent of the plague bonus. In this way, this movement also ended successfully for Gandhi.
- In 1918, he started a movement in Kheda district, Bihar. In fact, there was a situation of crop failure in Kheda. But, the government was not ready to implement the Famine Code, which had the provision of relief from payment of land revenue during the crisis. The members of Servants of India Society- Vitthal Bhai Patel and Gandhi, after a thorough research, concluded that the demand made by peasants was fair and thus, following the Famine Code, there must be a complete relief from payment of land-revenue.
- In this movement, the most significant role was played by the Gujarat Sabha, which was

presided over by Gandhi during the year of this movement. He even got the support of Indulal Yagnik. Gandhi received success in this movement as well.

There were the following benefit of these movements:

- Due to the success of these movements, Gandhi won the confidence of the masses. They could see positivity in his leadership that, he not only promised but fulfilled the aspirations of the masses.
- Most significantly, a generation of young leaders was moulded under the leadership of Gandhi. For example, during the course of movements in Bihar, Gandhi was supported by Shree Krishna Singh, Anugrah Narayan Singh, Bhulabhai Desai, Dr. Rajendra Prasad etc. Similarly, during the movements in Gujarat, he was supported by Vallabh Bhai Patel, Indulal Yagnik, Shankarlal Banker etc. for example, these local leaders later emerged as prominent figures in India's national movement.

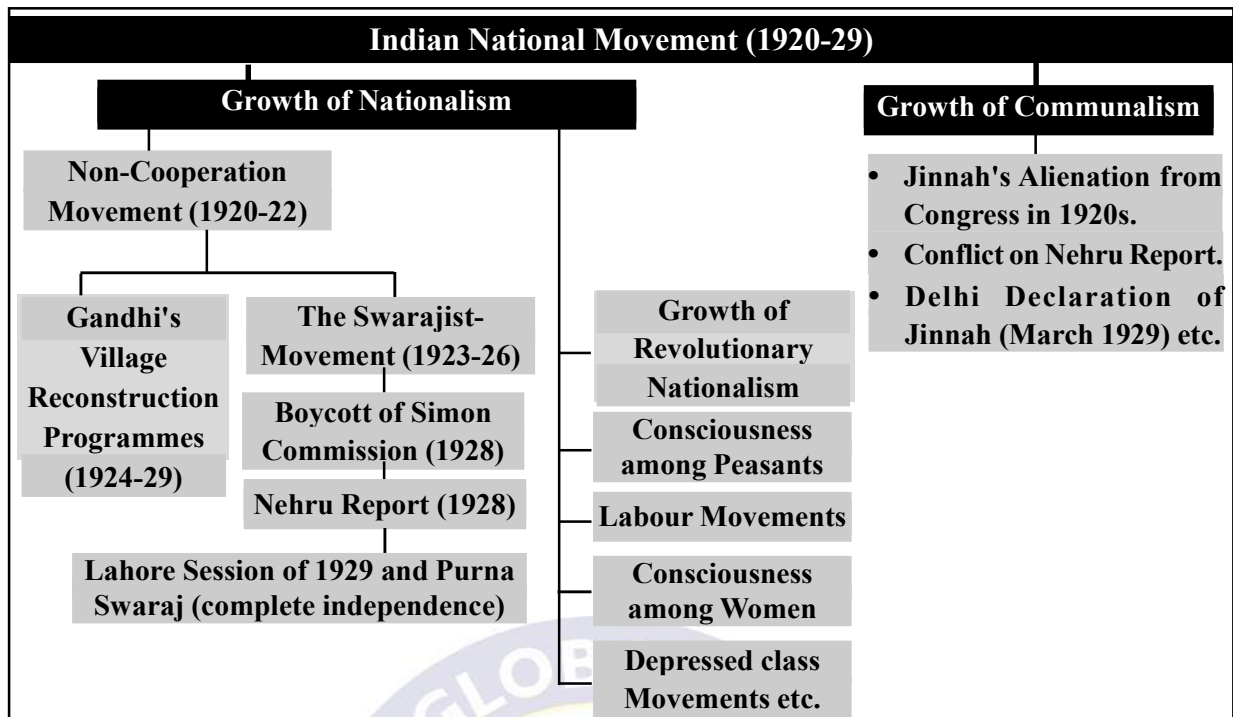
Rowlatt Satyagrah:

- It was during the course of the Rowlatt Satyagrah that, Gandhi had emerged as an all India leader. In fact, in order to prevent any revolutionary activity in the future and to prepare a framework for legal reforms, Sedition Committee, under the chairmanship of Sidney Rowlatt, a judge of the British High court, was constituted on September 10, 1917. Based on its

recommendation, the Rowlatt Act was rammed through the Legislative Council, despite a nationwide unanimous opposition.

- Rowlatt Act was a draconian law, which contained a provision for arbitrary arrest without any warrant, as per the government's will. In fact, it propagated the slogan, "no vakil (lawyer), no daleel (argument), no appeal. In the hope of receiving self-rule after the end of the First World War, Gandhi had massively supported British in its war efforts. But, instead of self-rule, Indians were betrayed with the draconian Rowlatt Act.
- Thus, Gandhi decided to launch a nationwide movement against this Act. In this sequence, a Rowlatt Satyagrah Committee was constituted and Rowlatt movement started on April 6, 1919. Since, Punjab was still teeming with atrocities committed during the WW1, the movement was quite intense there. Then, the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre took place on 13th April 1919. As a result, Gandhi called off the movement on 18th April 1919. However, it had the following positive outcomes-
 1. Though this movement continued for the next three years, but the British had no courage to make even a single arrest.
 2. The experience earned during the course of this nationwide movement benefitted Gandhi in the future.





Non-Cooperation Movement (1920)

- The launch of Non-Cooperation movement in 1920-21 marked the beginning of mass movements in the history of the Indian freedom struggle. It was unprecedented in the sense that, non-violence, as a means of political protest, was adopted for the first time at an all India level. In fact, non-violence became a major tool in all the future mass movements launched by the Congress. Moreover, it was for the first time that the Congress officially sanctioned a movement mounting a strong opposition to the British colonial government.

Causes:

- Rowlatt Act (1919):** Indians had hoped for concessions in lieu of their support to the British war efforts, once the First World War ended. But, all their hopes were dismayed, as the imperialist bureaucracy had other plans. In fact, instead of any favor, a draconian law, the Rowlatt Act, in March 1919, was imposed on the Indian masses. It was draconian in the sense that, it perpetuated the wartime restrictions in India. It provided arbitrary powers to

the imperialist government, whereby it could arrest any individual without any warrant and without subsequent trials.

- Jallianwala Bagh massacre:** The brutal massacre of the masses protesting against the Rowlatt Act, exposed the barbaric nature of the British rule. In fact, people gathered in Jallianwala Bagh, on the day of Baisakhi, April 13, 1919, to protest against the arrest of their popular leaders Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal. Then, Amritsar Commander General Dyer, without any warning, ordered to open fire on an unarmed crowd of several thousands. Consequently, thousands of people were killed mercilessly and many were wounded.
- Hunter Committee report:** The Hunter committee report on the massacre exasperated the Congress leadership further more. In fact, this report justified the inhumane massacre on various grounds and it even acquitted General Dyer.
- The Khilafat issue:** Gandhi considered the emergence of Khilafat issue as yet another opportunity to launch a mass struggle against the British. Khilafat movement was basically a politico-

religious movement, launched by the Muslims in India. It intended to pressurize the British to reinstate the post of Khalifa of Turkey.

In fact, in order to get Muslim support during the course of the First World War, the British had promised to respect the integrity and sovereignty of Turkey. But, as the war ended, the British adopted a punitive approach towards Turkey.

Causes of the Khilafat movement:

- After the end of 1912-13 Balkan War, the London conference was organized in 1913, whereby an anti-Turkish policy was adopted by the European powers. As a result, the Muslim League was disheartened by the British.
- Then, in Paris Peace Conference, organized after the end of the First World War, Turkey was badly humiliated by the victor parties. In this way, the post of Khalifa was abolished. However, Khalifa was considered as a religious guru by the sunni Muslims. Thus, it caused discontent among the Muslims.
- Similarly, even though consistent demands were made by the Muslim League, but the government refused to provide autonomy to Aligarh Muslim University. So, it also antagonized the members of the Muslim League.

Causes behind Gandhi's support to the Khilafat movement

- Gandhi sympathized with the cause of the Khilafat movement. Moreover, he considered this movement as a golden opportunity to strengthen Hindu-Muslim unity.
- He intended to oppose the British policy of 'divide and rule' with the policy of 'unite and fight'.
- Moreover, Gandhi's support to Khilafat must be understood in the context of contemporary geopolitics. In fact, after the end of the First World War, almost all the powers considered Western

imperialist forces to be invincible. But, Turkey under the leadership of Mustafa Kamal Pasha stood strong against those imperialist forces. So, while supporting the cause of Khilafat, Gandhi also joined the anti-imperialist faction against the West.

Events

- Under nationalist influence, the Muslim League passed the resolution for Non-Cooperation. Moreover, Gandhi created pressure on the Congress to launch an all India movement on the issues of Punjab wrong, Khilafat wrong as well as on the issue of Swaraj. Though, most of the Congress leaders were against the resolution of Gandhi, but it did not stop him from launching the Non-Cooperation movement on August 1, 1920. However, Congress accepted this resolution in the Calcutta session of September, 1920 and approved it in the Nagpur session of December, 1920.

Programs under the Non-Cooperation movement

- The Non-Cooperation movement included two different programs i.e. destructive programs and constructive programs. The destructive programs included renunciation of government honours and titles, boycott of government schools and colleges, boycott of law courts, boycott of foreign goods etc.
- On the other hand, constructive programs included, establishment of national education institution, establishment of village panchayats, promotion to spinning and knitting, Hindu-Muslim unity, abolition of untouchability and emphasis over discipline of non-violence. Gandhi had assured the masses that, if the above mentioned programs were implemented successfully, then the Swaraj would be achieved within a year itself.

- Thus, Gandhiji and Jamanlal Bajaj renounced their titles 'Kaiser-i-Hind' and 'Rai Bahadur' respectively. Moreover, some of the renowned lawyers of their times like Motilal Nehru, Tej Bahadur Sapru and Saifuddin Kitchlew renounced the practice of law in courts. In order to make the movement sustainable, a large number of indigenous schools and colleges were opened to support the education of Indian youth. Some important institutions included, Jamia Milia Islamia, Kashi Vidhyapeeth, Bihar Vidhyapeeth and Gujrat Vidhyapeeth.
- Charkha was widely promoted and Tilak Swaraj fund was institutionalized. Even the membership of the Congress had seen an unprecedented increase and one crore rupees were collected in the Swaraj fund. Moreover, Khadi became a symbol of the national movement.
- The boycott of foreign goods was more convincingly followed so that Swadeshi elements could be strengthened further.
- After an intense violent Chauri-Chaura incident on 5th February, 1922, Gandhiji decided to call off the Non-Cooperation movement on February 12, 1922.

Social Participation during the Non-Cooperation movement

- It was for the first time that peasants, students and intellectuals, Muslims as well as women participated in a movement.

Contribution of the Non-Cooperation

- Non-Cooperation movement was the first mass movement under leadership of the Congress. In fact, there was participation of different social groups during the course of this movement. Thus, Congress no longer remained to be an organization of handful of elites.
- The movement was spread extensively at regional level as well. Unlike earlier Congress movements, which spread only in the politically active regions, this

movement deeply influenced the regions like Bihar, United Province and other unconventional parts of the country.

- The policy of Boycott and Swadeshi benefitted indigenous industries. In fact, under constructive works programs of the Congress, various institutions for promotion of national education were established; for example- Kashi Vidhyapeeth, Jamia Milia Islamia etc. Moreover, Charkha was promoted in the rural areas and anti-untouchability movements were organized.
- There were structural changes in the Congress and committees were constituted at the village, taluka and district levels.
- Hindu-Muslim unity was also promoted during the course of this movement.

Limitations of the Non-Cooperation movement

- As Gandhiji called off the movement, a widespread discontent prevailed among the masses, especially among the youth. For instance, Jawaharlal Nehru expressed his disagreement and Subhash Chandra Bose considered it as a national crisis. At the same time, a joint front created between the Non-Cooperation and Khilafat movement dissolved.
- By promoting a religious issue of Khilafat to launch a nationwide movement, a wrong precedent was set in the Indian politics. It was later misused by Muslim League and thus communal elements were encouraged in the Indian politics.

Question: Discuss the background behind correlation between the Non-Cooperation and Khilafat movements?

Answer: Due to the emergence of nationalist elements within the Muslim League, it was already distancing itself from the British. Then, due to some immediate events, the Muslim League under the influence of young leadership, adopted a resolution to launch the Khilafat movement.

1. During the struggle between Ottoman Empire and the Christian states of Eastern Europe, the Western world sided with the Christian states.
2. Even after strong opposition by the League, the government established its control over the management of Aligarh Muslim University.
3. After the end of the First World War, Turkey was severely punished under the secret Treaty of Sevres.
 - Muslim League passed Khilafat resolution, in June 1920, in Lucknow. It was supported by Gandhi. Moreover, he even put pressure on the Congress to launch an all India movement on the issues of Punjab excesses, Khilafat excesses and also on the issue of Swaraj.
 - Though, everyone in the Congress was not in support of Gandhi's proposal to launch the movement but, a special session of the Congress was convened in September 1920, in Calcutta, whereby it formally accepted the resolution of the Non-Cooperation movement. However, Gandhi had already begun canvassing for the movement in August 1920 itself. Finally, the Non-Cooperation resolution was approved by the Congress in its Nagpur session of December 1920.
 - In this way, a correlation between the Non-Cooperation and Khilafat movement was established during the course of the Indian National Movement.
- Gandhi challenged the British approach of 'divide and rule' with his 'unite and fight' policy.
- Prof. Irfan Habib has highlighted a global perspective of the Khilafat issue. He emphasized that, after the end of the First World War, almost all the powers considered Western imperialist powers as invincible. But, Turkey under the leadership of Mustafa Kamal Pasha single handedly stood strong against Western imperialism. So, against this background, while supporting the cause of Khilafat, Gandhi also joined the anti-imperialist faction against the West.
- Gandhi believed in composite nationalism, as a result various socio-religious and caste groups while professing their separate identity could become an integral part of the common national identity.

So from the above arguments, it can be concluded that Gandhi's intention was not to promote religion in politics, rather to serve the national interest. Thus, his secular image should not be questioned upon.

Question: Critically examine the contribution of Non-Cooperation Movement during the course of the Indian National Movement:

Answer: Non-Cooperation movement can be credited with popularizing Congress leadership in nationwide politics. It also transformed the structure and objective of the Congress. It can be understood in following way-

1. The Congress movements were often limited to certain affluent sections, castes, classes in specific regions like, Bhadrak of Bengal, Chitpawan Brahmins of Maharashtra and Brahmans of Madras. But, Non-Cooperation movement influenced even unconventional areas like- Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka.
2. Participation of Indian populace was massive in this movement. It had seen

Question: Does Gandhi's decision to launch a nationwide Non-Cooperation movement on the Khilafat issue put a question mark on his secular image? Give arguments in support of your view.

Answer: Intermixing religion with national politics definitely proved to be a long term irritant due to short sightedness, but still it is wrong to question Gandhi's secular approach. For this, the following reasons can be highlighted-

the participation of various social groups including educated middle class, peasants, laborers, women and Muslims. It was the first mass movement under the leadership of the Congress.

In a way, it was the largest mass movement across the contemporary world. Thus, Lord Dufferin could no longer declare Congress to be a representative of microscopic minority.

3. Also, Non-Cooperation movement widened the objective of independence. In fact, along with political freedom, its emphasis was also on social freedom. Thus, one of its important campaigns was against the evil practice of untouchability.
4. Non-cooperation movement while emphasizing the policy of boycott, promoted indigenous industries. Also, through its constructive programme, it established institutions for promoting national education. For example, Kashi Vidhyapeeth, Jamia Milia Islamia, Bihar Vidhyapeeth etc.
5. During the course of the Non-Cooperation movement, organisational reforms were also encouraged. For example, in order to further strengthen the Congress as an organization, it was stratified into different branches at village level, taluka level, district level, provincial level and national level as well.

But, there is another side to the picture as well. Non-Cooperation movement also had its own limitations, which were as follows-

1. To launch a nationwide Non-Cooperation movement on the Khilafat issue merged religion with politics.
2. When Gandhiji called off the movement abruptly, it created discontent among the masses. For instance, Jawahar Lal Nehru, expressed his disappointment, and Bose portrayed it as a national calamity. Moreover, a joint front between the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation also dissolved.

Even after above mentioned limitations, contribution of the Non-Cooperation movement was immense during the course of the Indian National Movement.

Question: Highlight the importance of the new objectives that got added to the vision of Indian Independence since the twenties of the last century. (250 words, UPSC-2017)

Answer: The twenties of twentieth century proved to be a constructive phase during the course of the Indian National Movement. In fact, during 1920s, new objectives and programs were integrated and thus, a new dimension was added to the national movement.

Earlier freedom struggle was limited to political freedom only, but during this phase meaning of freedom was widened to include economic and social freedom as well. These newly integrated objective completely transformed the nature of Indian politics.

During the 1920s, political and economic fronts of the national movement came near to each other. Moreover, emphasis was also given on elimination of internal conflicts prevailing within Indian society. These conflicts primarily prevailed between industrialists and labourers as well as between zamindars and peasants. Also, leftist i.e. communist and socialist groups became quite active during this period and continued to mobilize peasants and labourers. Apart from that, Trade Union movement was encouraged and even provincial Kisan Sabha such as Bihar Kisan Sabha, U.P. Kisan Sabha etc. were founded. During this period All India Trade Union was formed.

Objective of Social freedom

Along with caste movements, the movements to secure women's rights also added widened social dimensions of the national movement. During 1920s, Ambedkar in Maharashtra and Ramaswami Naicker in Madras made the issue of caste based exploitation as the national priority and even Gandhi also accepted it. Similarly, Annie Besant and Sarojani Naidu

campaigned for securing voting rights for women.

In this way, since the third decade of the twentieth century, Indian National movement turned to be more inclusive in nature.

Trends emerged in the mainstream national movement during the period between the Non-Cooperation Movement and Civil Disobedience Movement

- Non-Cooperation and Civil Disobedience movements were major landmarks in India's freedom struggle, but the period between these two seminal developments was not politically stagnant either.

Rural Constructive Programs

- Gandhi along with a group of Congress workers turned towards rural constructive programs and he remained engaged in those programs since 1924 to 1929. The rural constructive program included popularising the use of Charkha (spinning wheel), Prabhatpheris, cleaning of roads, organization of village panchayats, abolishment of untouchability etc.
- Bipin Chandra declared it as a strategy of struggle-truce-struggle i.e. Gandhi launched a movement and then while taking a pause, consolidated gains of that movement and also prepared the ground for the next struggle. Upon superficial observation, Gandhi's rural constructive program seem to be only symbolic and practically ineffective in nature, but in reality it had played a significant role in promoting Gandhian nationalism in rural India and widening the social base of the Congress.

Swaraj Movement

- After Gandhi called off the Non-Cooperation movement, the Congress got divided into two groups i.e. 'No-Changers' and 'Swarajists'. 'No-Changers' emphasised that, Congress should concentrate all its energy towards rural constructive programs. Some of the

important leaders associated with this group were- Chakravarty Rajagopalachari, Rajendra Prasad, Vallabhbhai Patel, M.A Ansari etc. The No-Changers believed that, Gandhian constructive programs were essential to spread consciousness among rural masses before the launch of a movement.

- On the other hand, leaders like C.R. Das, Motilal Nehru and Vitthal Bhai Patel refused to agree with the No-Changers. Instead of boycott of elections, this group preferred to contest upcoming elections and enter into the legislative councils. In this way, they intended to carry forward the ideals of Non-Cooperation movement into the councils' works and thus, to continue their protest against the British Raj. They believed that, with the membership of the council, they would be in a better position to expose the British hypocrisy of constitutional reforms. Thus, on January 1, 1923 they declared foundation of a new party as 'the Swaraj Party'.
- Even Swaraj Party also adopted the programs of the Congress and also emphasised on the importance of constructive programs. The only difference was that, this party was in support of contesting upcoming elections
- Then, Swaraj Party not only contested but registered a massive success in the elections held on November 1, 1923. In fact, it secured 42 out of the total 105 seats in the central assembly. Moreover, it secured majority of the seats in Central province, whereas, it emerged as the largest party in the Bengal assembly. Even in Bombay and United Province, its performance was praiseworthy. However, due to caste based politics and communalism, it failed to secure majority in Madras and Punjab.
- However, even after all their efforts and the support of all the social groups, the Swarajists failed to produce any long term impact through their politics of 'council entry'. Thus, the movement

disintegrated soon and the Swaraj Party was dissolved by the year 1926. Despite this, a significant contribution of the Swaraj Party was that, it reenergised the movement during its lukewarm phase.

Simon Commission (1927)

- In order to assess the functioning of the system of Diarchy, a commission was to be constituted ten years after its introduction in 1919. In this context, Simon Commission was constituted with the membership of seven, in November 1927. However, all the political parties in India opposed the commission on the following grounds-
1. The commission was constituted two years before its stipulated time.
 2. All the seven members of this commission were whites, while Lord Sinha (Satyendra Prasanna Sinha) and Saklatvala were the members of the British parliament.
 3. Indian nationalist stressed that, only a nationalist body could frame a constitution for India.
 4. Indian nationalists declared that, Swaraj was their birth right. So, Indians need not to prove their qualifications to receive it.
- As the Simon Commission arrived at Bombay coast on February 3, 1928, a nationwide boycott movement was started by almost all the political groups in India. Even, the Indian Liberal Federation, founded under the leadership of Surendra Nath Banerjee, and the Muslim League under Jinnah vehemently opposed the commission. Moreover, Hindu Mahasabha also participate in this boycott movement against the commission.
 - In United Province, Jawaharlal Nehru and Govind Ballabh Pant protested against it. In Lucknow, Khaliquzzaman organized a protest to oppose the commission. Moreover, in Punjab, Lala Lajpat Rai led the movement to oppose the Simon Commission, but he

succumbed to the injury caused due to lathi charge against the protestors. However, Simon Commission published its report in 1930.

Significance of the boycott movement against the Simon Commission

- It mobilized Indians to protest against the British Empire. Thus, it revitalized the national movement.
- There was large scale participation of students in this movement. In fact, it was for the first time that, a large number of students participated gained experience in a political movement. Consequently, various student unions emerged in the future.
- The demand of Self-rule gained much more importance for the masses during the course of this movement. Moreover, the demand for a nationalist constitution was greatly emphasized.

Nehru Report (1928)

- The development of the first self-drafted constitution of India i.e. Nehru report, is linked with the issue of Simon Commission. In fact, the secretary of state for India, Lord Birkenhead, had challenged political parties in India to prepare a constitution for India, whereby a common consensus among majority of the political groups could be developed. Consequently, Congress session was organized in 1928 and a committee with the mandate to draft a constitution for India was constituted under the chairmanship of Motilal Nehru.
 - In December 1928, Nehru Report was presented to the All Parties Conference in Calcutta. It had the following main features-
1. The report proposed the "Dominion Status" for India, on the model of Dominion Status prevailing in other states under British Control. Under this system, the British would control defense and foreign affairs whereas, India would enjoy an autonomous jurisdiction in all other internal matters.

2. There was emphasis over the provision of citizenship of India along with the declaration of the fundamental rights.
3. Similar to the center, a responsible government was proposed at the provinces, which would be under the Executive Council of Governor. However, the overall structure of government was maintained to be unitary in nature, whereby residuary powers were to rest with the center.
4. Nehru Report proposed to discontinue with the system of separate electorates and create a joint electorate, whereby interests of minority groups were to be accommodated. In fact, a Universal Adult Suffrage was proposed in this report.
5. It also proposed an equal status for women, freedom to form an organization and separation of state from religion.
6. Moreover, it was declared in this report that, if the demand of Dominion Status was not accepted by the government by December 31st, 1929, then the Congress would demand complete independence (Purna-swaraj).
- **Failure:** In fact, there was conflict between the Muslim League and the Congress on some crucial issues like the issue of separate electorates. At the same time, the Nehru Committee was under pressure of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Sikh League and thus did not accommodate the demands made by Jinnah. Consequently, the Muslim league decided to part its way from the All Parties Conference.

Lahore Session of 1929 and Demand for Purna Swaraj (Complete Independence)

- There was rising influence of youth on the Congress. These youth favored the demand of Complete Independence over Dominion Status. In fact, in order to create a wider acceptance for the resolution of Purna Swaraj, Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhash Chandra Bose founded a pressure group, the

‘Independence for India League’ within the Congress.

- Due to Gandhi’s backing, Jawaharlal Nehru was elected as the president of the Lucknow session of the Congress in 1929. In this session, many important decisions were made, which were as follows-
 1. In this session, resolution for Purna Swaraj was accepted by the Congress.
 2. Also, the resolution for Civil Disobedience Movement was accepted.
 3. In the midnight of 31st December, 1929, the Indian Tricolor flag was hoisted on the bank of the river Ravi and also, Congress asked the masses to observe 26 January, 1930 as Independence Day in the entire country.
- In a way, the Lahore resolution and declaration of Purna Swaraj was no less than a movement, because with this resolution, India moved ahead towards a new objective.

Participation of various social groups in the national movement during 1920s

Growth of Revolutionary Nationalism

- The failure of Non-Cooperation movement led to widespread discontent among the youth. Thus, a section of young population, disenchanted with the Gandhian means of protest, turned towards Revolutionary Nationalism. Consequently, Hindustan Republican Army was founded by revolutionaries Sachin Sanyal and Yogendra Chandra Chatterjee, in Kanpur, in 1924. It was founded with the objective to overthrow the imperialist power through armed resistance and to establish a federal, republic and a unified state of India.
- In order to gather funds, Hindustan Republican Army robbed a train carrying ammunition, at town of Kakori, in central Uttar Pradesh. But, most of the revolutionary leaders were arrested and tried under Kakori Conspiracy case. In the end, Ram Prasad Bismil, Thakur Roshan Singh, Ashfaqullah Khan and

Rajendra Lahiri were awarded with death sentences.

- However, after the Kakori robbery case, the party was reorganized by a revolutionary Chandra Shekhar Azad. Then, in a meeting at Firoz Shah Kotla, in 1928, the party was renamed on the initiative of Bhagat Singh, as 'Hindustan Socialist Republican Army'. In fact, it was deeply influenced by Socialist ideology.
- When Civil Disobedience Movement was at its peak in the country, then Surya Sen, a teacher in a national school at Chittagong, raided Chittagong armoury and captured it on 18 April, 1930. After this raid, Surya Sen declared establishment of a Provisional Revolutionary Government in India, whereby he himself became the president. Also, there was a large scale participation by women in the revolutionary organization.
- In the end, the revolutionaries failed to displace the British rule. However, the contribution of the revolutionaries can never be undermined because, they had always emerged to fill the void during the lukewarm phase of the mainstream national movement. In fact, through their priceless self-sacrifices, they always inculcated nationalist sentiments amongst the masses and thus, revitalized the whole national movement.

Consciousness among Peasants:

- During 1920s, various peasant organizations were constituted at the level of provinces. For instance, Kisan Sabha was founded in Awadh, which started the Bedakhli (Summary Evictions) Roko Movement in 1920-21. Then, under leadership of Madari Pasi, Eka movement was organised in North-Western United Province in 1921-22. Moreover, on the Kerela coast, Moplah peasants revolted against the Hindu landlords, which at times turned into intense communal riots between both the communities. Then, in 1928, peasants at Bardoli invited Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

to lead the Bardoli Satyagraha, whereby all the peasants resolved not to pay any taxes. Also, Sahjanand Saraswati founded Bihar Kisan Sangh in 1929.

Labour Movements

- During this time, a consciousness emerged even among the laboring classes. They participated in large numbers, in the 1920 Non-Cooperation Movement. Then, the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) was founded in the year 1920, presided by Lala Lajpat Rai.
- In fact, Communist leaders also played a significant role in organizing the laborers. During this period itself, "Peasant and Workers Party" and "Girni Kamgar Union" were founded by the Communists

Consciousness among Women

- During 1920s, a consciousness among women also emerged. In fact, women leaders like Annie Besant and Margaret Cousins founded various women organizations. Moreover, they also established the Women's Indian Association as an Indian branch of the International Women's Association.
- Then, women leaders like Annie Besant and Sarojini Naidu raised the issue of female franchise in a serious manner. Due to their efforts, women could get voting rights in Bihar province between 1921 and 1930.
- In 1927, All India Women's Conference was founded in 1927. It raised many issues ranging from Women's education to female franchise.
- Moreover, Gandhian movements also played a significant role in spreading consciousness among women. It is believed that, as compared to other popular movements of the world, including the movements under Lenin of Soviet Union, Mao Tse-Tung of China and Ho Chi Minh of Vietnam, participation of women was much larger

in the movements under Gandhian leadership.

Depressed Class Movements:

- During 1920s, the scope and meaning of 'freedom' widened to include both social as well as economic freedom. Thus, the depressed class movements should be understood in this context.
- E V Ramaswamy Naicker and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar played a significant role in spreading consciousness among the people of lower castes. In order to oppose the caste system, they burnt the copies of Manusmriti. Also, E V Ramaswamy started the Self Respect Movement against the caste system and published the journal Kudi Arasu to spread his ideas. Thus, he prepared the base for Dravidian movement.
- Dr. Ambedkar not only organized Mahars but throughout his life, he struggled for the rights of lower caste people and women. Also, he promoted the idea of social justice for their upliftment.
- **Dr. B R Ambedkar took the following steps to protect the interest of depressed classes:**
 1. He instructed Mahars to give up on cleaning activities and carrying corpses.
 2. He focused British efforts towards the upliftment of Dalits.
 3. He raised the issue of fundamental rights and separate electorates for Dalits, before the Simon Commission and Round Table Conference.
 4. He raised the issue of exploitation of Dalits within the legislative council and he ensured the protection of Dalit rights in the Constituent Assembly.

Model Questions

1. **Since the decade of the 1920s, the national movement acquired various ideological strands and thereby expanded its social base. Discuss. (250 words, UPSC-2020)**

2. **Many voices had strengthened and enriched the nationalist movement during the Gandhian phase. Elaborate. (250 words, UPSC-2019)**

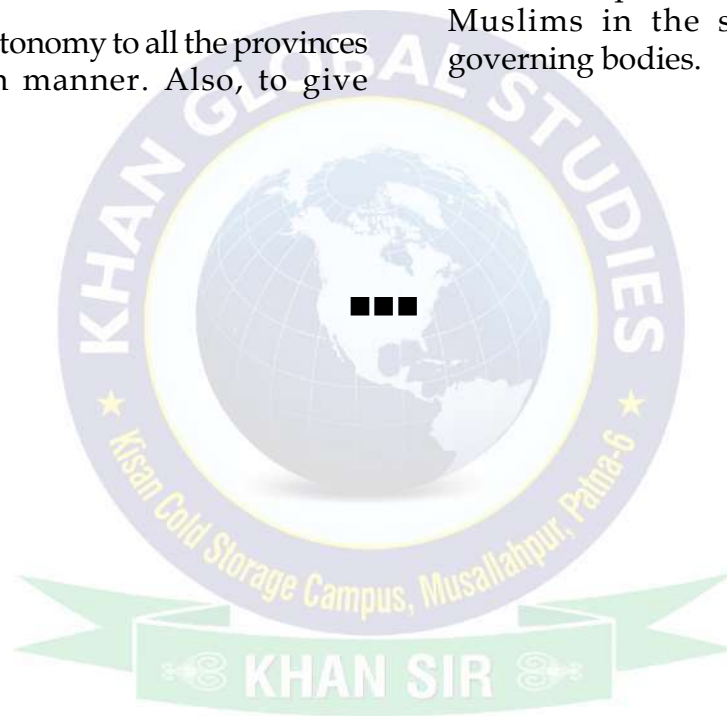
Growth of Communalism

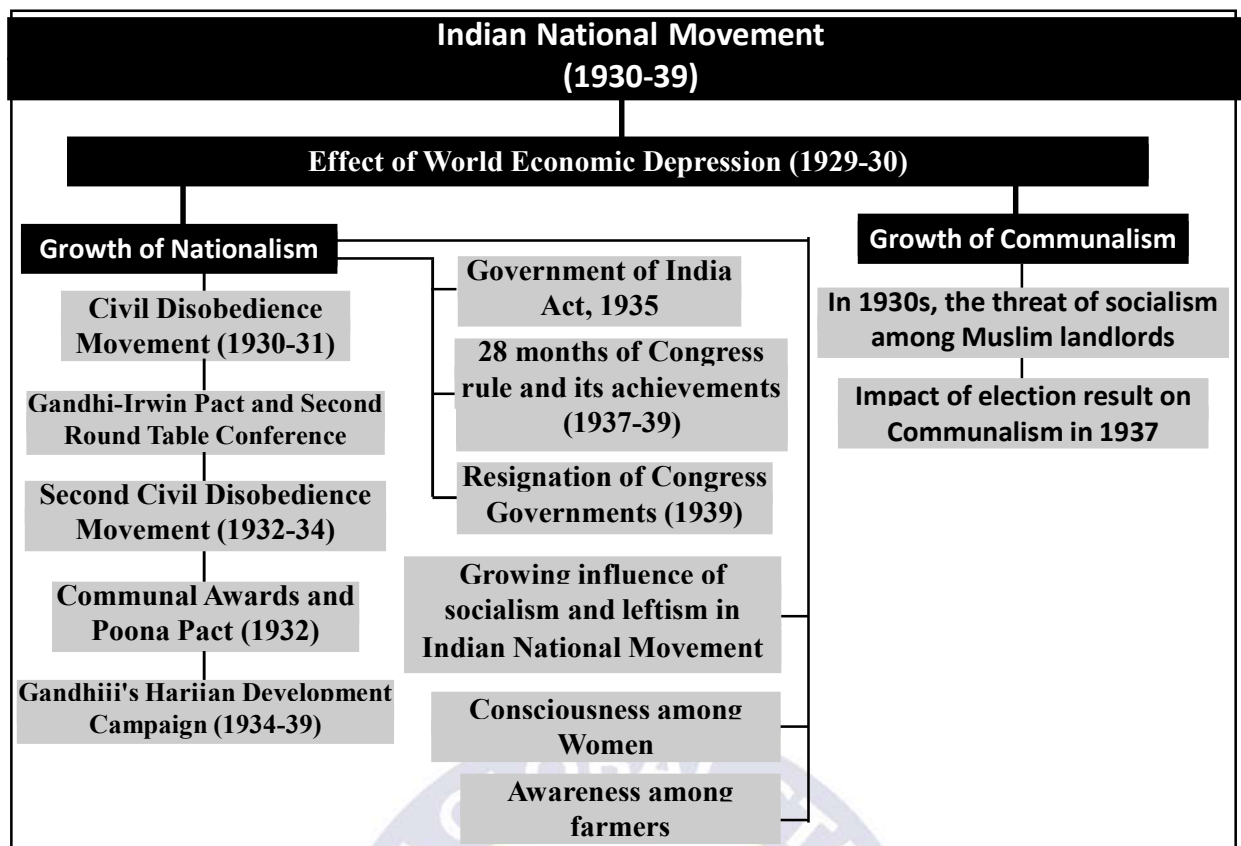
Jinnah's alienation from Congress during 1920s

- As the mass movement began under the leadership of Gandhi, Jinnah became insecure about his political status among the masses. As a result, Jinnah diverged from the Congress and emerged as a leader of the Muslim League. Thus, He promoted his communal identity among the Muslim populace.
- However, he still remained to be a liberal communalist. It could be well observed in opposition of Simon Commission by a faction of Muslim League under his leadership. Moreover, though a faction of Muslim League under Shafi Khan was completely against the joint electorates proposed by Nehru Report, but Jinnah was ready for talks on this issue.
- In fact, Nehru Report was put forth for consideration in the All Parties Conference on 22 December, 1928, in Calcutta, presided over by Dr. Ansari. During this conference, Jinnah proposed three amendments in Nehru Report with the intentions to develop consensus on the system of joint electorates and also to protect the Muslim interests. These proposals were as follows-
 1. One third seats to be reserved for Muslims in Central Legislative Councils.
 2. Muslims to be given representation based on population in five Muslim majority provinces.
 3. Residual powers to be transferred to the provinces.
- But, the All Parties Conference failed to develop a consensus. Consequently, Jinnah joined the Muslim League faction of Shafi Khan and the gulf between the League and Congress widened.

The Delhi Declaration of Jinnah

- After failure of the All Parties Conference in Calcutta, Jinnah came up with Delhi Declaration, whereby he put forth his fourteen points formula. These fourteen points demand became the basis of Muslim communal politics in India. Some of the important demands in Jinnah's declaration were-
1. The constitution of India to be federalist in nature, whereby residual powers would remain with the provinces.
 2. At least one third of the seats to be reserved for the Muslims in Central Legislative Council.
 3. To provide autonomy to all the provinces in a uniform manner. Also, to give
 4. In order to ensure the representation of all the communal groups, the system of separate electorates to be adopted.
 5. No bill or resolution to be passed by any legislature, if three fourth members of a particular community consider it to be against their interests.
- Apart from these, the fourteen points demand also included; full religious freedom for all the communities, separation of Sindh from Bombay and to have adequate representation of Muslims in the services and self-governing bodies.





■ **Civil Disobedience Movement:–**

- By 1930, the Civil Disobedience Movement started in India. The following factors contributed to this-
- 1. The economic depression of 1929-30 affected each and every section of Indian society.
- It adversely affected the rich farmers. These farmers used to produce for sale in the market. On one hand, the price of agrarian products dropped by about 50% while the government did not reduce the amount of land revenue. The poor farmers were also upset because they were also incurring losses due to excessive fall in the price of agrarian products. Then there was also a burden of land revenue on them. Due to the depression, the availability of loans was scarce so they were forced to sell a part of the land to pay the amount of land revenue.
- Similarly, the capitalist class was also dissatisfied with the government because Indian rupee was strengthened against the British pound. This gave a blow to exports while encouraging imports. Further, to

counter the recession, the British Government introduced the provision of 'imperial preferences'. This meant that British imports had to be given preference over imports from other countries. The capitalists of Bombay, led by Homi Modi, signed a pact with the British on this issue, but other capitalists led by Ghanshyam Das Birla were opposing it. On the other hand, during the economic recession, there was a possibility of retrenchment of workers. Due to this factor belligerence of workers declined and they resisted from going on strike.

2. A new upsurge was visible among the youths. The recessionary situation caused unemployment. Therefore, two types of trends were visible among the youths. On the one hand, they were influenced by the socialism of young leaders like Subhash Chandra Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru or joined the communist party, on the other the youths began to join revolutionary organizations such as H.S.R.A (Hindustan Socialist Republican Army). But Gandhi tried to bring them into the mainstream of national movement again.

3. Through constructive village reconstruction program, Gandhiji already prepared the mass-base of the Congress and now he was ready to start a new movement.
4. A resolution of complete independence was passed in the Lahore session of 1929 under the presidency of Jawaharlal Nehru. Upto this period, even Gandhi was ready for taking over the leadership of the Congress. Congress authorised Gandhi to launch an all India movement if necessary. Gandhi wrote a letter to Viceroy Irwin presenting his eleven demands. Irwin didn't reply to this letter and Gandhi decided to launch the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930s.
- **Beginning of the movement**– On 12th March, 1930, Gandhi, in association with 78 volunteers, started a march to Dandi coast. It wasn't simply a physical march, it was an attempt to establish an extensive communication with the people. It was a technique of mass mobilisation. On 6th April, he reached Dandi and tried to violate the salt law through making an attempt to manufacture salt.
- **Programs**– Gandhi formulated a well-planned programme for this movement such as the boycott of British clothes and educational institutions, violation of salt laws in different parts of the country, protests outside liquor shops and at the shops selling other intoxicants (women took part in large numbers in such protests), no-tax campaign in Ryotwari areas and no-chawkidari tax campaign in Zamindari regions etc.
- **Spread of the movement**– After Gandhi's arrest, this movement spread to different parts of India. Chakravarti Rajagopalachari broke the salt law at Tanjore coast in Tamil Nadu. A group of revolutionaries carried a salt march at Noakhali in Bengal. Quite surprisingly, there were three violent incidents during this movement. Revolutionary activist, Surya Sen, along with his 5 associates, captured the Chittagong armoury on 18th

April, 1930. On 23rd Oct 1930, when Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan was arrested at Peshawar, the volunteers of Khudai Khidmatgar turned to be violent against police. On 7th May, the mill workers of Sholapur went on strike on a violent note. But despite of all these sporadic violent incidents, Gandhi didn't call off this movement. It means that he realised by this time that a mass movement cannot be completely non-violent.

• **Why did Gandhi choose salt as the main issue?**– The issue of salt suited to the Gandhian method of mass mobilisation. It proved to be a unifying factor between the rural poor and the urban intellectuals. For millions of rural poor, it was an economic issue. On the other hand, it was an emotional issue for Indian intellectuals. So, by choosing salt as the major issue of the non-cooperation movement, Gandhi tried to bridge the gap between the two classes and created a united front against the British.

• **Social participation in the movement**– There was larger participation of farmers & women in Civil Disobedience Movement in comparison to Non-cooperation Movement. A remarkable feature of the movement was participation of the capitalist class. But on the other hand, there were partial participation of intellectuals and students in comparison to Non-cooperation Movement. Apart from this, like Non-cooperation Movement this movement did not enjoy the support of Hindu-Muslims amity. Similarly, unlike Non-cooperation Movement there was limited participation of workers.

• **Differences between the Non-Cooperation and Civil Disobedience Movements**–

1. The Non-Cooperation movement was launched with an objective of 'Swarajya', while the Civil Disobedience Movement started on the issue of 'Poorna Swarajya' (complete independence).

2. The Non-Cooperation Movement's objective was to bring the government to a standstill by not cooperating with it. The Civil Disobedience Movement's objective was to consciously break some selected laws.

- Indian capitalist class pressurized the Congress to end the movement as this class was suffering due to continuous labor strikes, agitation and political upheavals. On the other hand, tribal insurgencies in the central provinces, Maharashtra and Karanataka were becoming uncontrolled.

■ Thus, '**Gandhi-Irwin Pact**' was concluded on March 5, 1931. The following were the major provisions of this pact -

1. Release of prisoners who had not participated in violent acts.
 2. To return the seized property, if that property had not been sold to a third party.
 3. Right to protest near liquor shops in a peaceful manner.
 4. Right to make salt for their own use to people living on the seashore.
- In return, as per this pact, Congress agreed to halt the Civil Disobedience Movement and join the Second Round Table Conference.
 - In a way, it seems to be the success of the Congress because for the first time Congress had bargained with the government on equal level, but further developments prove that this pact could not prove durable. But there was discontentment among the peasants as the movement was withdrawn in the mid course. Also, many Congress leaders, including Jawaharlal Nehru, were not satisfied with this agreement.

■ **Second Round Table Conference (1931):-**

- Congress did not participate in the First Round Table Conference, but Gandhi along with various political parties and groups participated in the Second Round Table Conference. Gandhiji along with all of them wanted to pursue India's constitutional issue but he was disappointed when he observed that the depressed class, Anglo-

Indians, Christians, Europeans, all demanded a separate electorate like Muslims. Gandhi rejected these demands. Gandhi was then deeply disappointed when he felt that the British were treating the Congress like any other interest group or pressure group. Then he restarted the Civil Disobedience Movement.

■ **Second phase of the Civil Disobedience Movement:-**

- After returning to India, Gandhi realised that the Indian political scenario had changed under the new viceroy, Wellington. Even the government intensified reprisals on the movement. Hence, Gandhi again restarted the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1932 but his movement did not get much support from different sections of the society. Wellington's government, on the other hand, introduced a policy of extreme repression. Congress declared as illegal organization thus government started the repressive attitude. Now the movement was likely to die but then Ramsay MacDonald's government announced a communal award.

■ **Communal Awards and Poona Pact:-**

- The British prime minister Ramsay MacDonald, on August 16, 1932, announced Communal Award. It tried to extend the policy of separate electorate even to depressed class people. Actually, Muslims, Sikhs and Anglo-Indians already enjoyed the separate electorate. Gandhiji considered it as an attack on Indian unity and nationalism. So, Gandhi started a fast unto death in Yerwada jail from September 20, 1932.

- Finally, it was resolved in September 1932 through the Poona Pact. 'Poona Pact' was signed between Dr. Ambedkar and Gandhi with the mediation of Madan Mohan Malviya. On the one hand, seats for the depressed class people were increased in the Central Legislative and Provincial Legislatures, on the other in return the provision of joint electorate was reintroduced. Gandhi withdrew the Civil

Disobedience Movement in April 1934 and then he vigorously got associated with the Harijan upliftment Program.

Question: Mahatma Gandhi and B. R. Ambedkar, despite having divergent approaches and strategies, had a common goal of amelioration of the downtrodden. Elucidate. (UPSC, 2015)

Interpretation of the question- The question is hypothetical in nature. The demand of the question is to mention the positive aspect of the contribution of Gandhi and Ambedkar both in the upliftment of downtrodden.

Answer:- The name of both Gandhi and Ambedkar comes to the fore whenever the question of the upliftment of the downtrodden emerges. Both were equally inclined to extend the concept of the freedom to the doorstep of the downtrodden although there was some difference in their approach and method in tackling the issue.

Ambedkar believed that the economic redistribution is essential prelude to the upliftment of depressed caste people. For him economic self-reliant was essential condition for improving social condition. On the other hand, Gandhi came to believe that untouchability is a social problem so it should have been tackled at social front.

Likewise, Ambedkar favoured a militant protest against high caste Hindus but Gandhi's strategy was rather to awaken a sense of compassion among high caste Hindus for their own brethren (lower caste people). In this way both worked according to their own conviction.

Whereas Ambedkar led militant temple entry programme Gandhi emphasized depressed caste people amelioration programme and tried to persuade high caste Hindus to change their attitude towards them.

Even on the issue of reservation Gandhi and Ambedkar were having divergent views. Gandhi views that reservation would create a permanent cleavage in society but Ambedkar took reservation essential for the upliftment of

the deprived classes. Later Ambedkar's view got acceptance in the constitution of India.

Last but not the least, Ambedkar was an intellectual and social scientist so he started a long debate in the parliament, in the Constituent Assembly and also on different political platforms on the issue of the upliftment of the downtrodden, while Gandhi was a social activist and he moved from village to village working tirelessly for amelioration of the downtrodden.

Thus we can say that upliftment programme of the depressed class people is indebted to the both Ambedkar and Gandhi.

■ **Gandhi's Harijan upliftment Program:-**

- After the Poona Pact, Gandhiji started 'Harijan upliftment Program' for the eradication of untouchability. During this time, Gandhi gave much emphasis on untouchability rather than Swaraj. He called the untouchables as 'Harijan'. He published a weekly newspaper, 'Harijan' and founded an organization 'Harijan Sevak Sangh'. By this time, Gandhiji diverted from the Civil Disobedience Movement. In fact, he withdrew the Civil Disobedience Movement informally on May, 1933, and formally it came to an end on April, 1934.

Question- "Gandhism proved to be the most dangerous weapon against the British". Comment.

Answer: The whole culture of western imperialism was based on violence and the mainstay of the administration and internal security was punitive power. The production system was based on competition and the expansion of capitalist market also involved war and conflict. In this sequence, Gandhism proved to be more dangerous weapon against the British empire as imperialist power had no solution for Gandhian approach. This can be understood through the following points-

- All classes of society like farmers, landlords, traders, children and women attracted towards Gandhian non-violence and satyagrah which strengthened the

national movement. Thus, Gandhi introduced an alternative method of politics through it and this method became more fatal to British imperialism.

- Likewise, he emphasized class collaboration rather than capitalist model of competition and imperialism.
- Gandhi's concept of Swaraj was also unique, through which he tried to emphasize moral freedom. In fact, in the book 'Hind Swaraj' he tried to explain the actual meaning of swaraj for him.
- He openly criticized the materialistic culture of west, unlike west, Gandhi emphasized the Panchaytiraj and presented the model of decentralization.
- Through village constructive programme he connected lakhs of villages with the politics of the Congress.
- Apart from this, he provided a weapon of non-violence and satyagrah to the oppressed people living in different parts of the world to fight against the imperialist power. For example, Martin Luther King an activist of USA, Nelson Mandela a leader of South Africa etc., adopted the method of non-violence and satyagrah.

In this way, Gandhian philosophy proved to be fatal for the British imperialism.

■ **Government of India Act, 1935:-**

- **The main provisions of this act were as follows-**
- 1. There was a provision of federal government at the centre. It consisted of the region of British India and Princely states both with the condition that at least half of the princely states should be ready to join the Union. The central legislature was to be bicameral, but 30-40% of members of both the houses were to be nominated by the princely states. As princely states didn't reflect their interest, thus, the federal system remained on the paper only.
- 2. Some type of diarchy was to be introduced at the level of central government and the viceroy was given so many discretionary

powers in the matter of external affairs, defence, internal security and finance that elected members were powerless in practice before him.

3. Provincial autonomy was introduced for the first time. It means that a responsible government was to be formed in the provinces. But, this provision had its own limitations. The governor was given some discretionary and veto powers. Above all, there was a provision under the article 93 of the act which empowered the governor to take the provincial government in his hand in special conditions.
4. The act of 1935 had the provisions for the establishment of a Reserve Bank of India and a Federal Court.
5. By this act, Burma was separated from India.

■ **28 months of the Congress rule and its achievements:-**

- The Government of India Act, 1935 was disappointing for the congress in many ways. For example, the act had no provisions for dominion status and adult suffrage. In fact, the federal setup was a ploy to stop the progress of the Congress. So, initially, the Congress criticised the Act of 1935. J.L. Nehru compared it with a 'machine with all brakes, with no engine'. But, despite of the disagreements, the Congress accepted this act in Lucknow session of 1936 and decided to contest the elections in 1937.
- In the election of 1937, the Congress got the massive success. It got clear majority in 5 out of 11 provinces and the Congress was able to form government in 7 provinces. These provinces were- Bihar, Central province, United province, North west frontier province, Madras, Bombay and Orissa. Later it formed government in one more province, thus a total of 8 provinces. But then a dispute started between the left and right wing under the Congress on the issue of government formation.
- According to left wing, Congress should demonstrate its power through elections,

but it should not join the government because the interference of governor would cripple the government and then it discredited the government among Indians but the right wing faction was ready to contest the election as well as to join the government. Lastly, with the mediation of Gandhiji and assurance from viceroy, that governor would not interfere unnecessarily, afterwards the Congress established the provincial government.

- Fazlul Haque, the leader of Krishak Praja Party in Bengal first gave a proposal to the Congress to form a coalition government but the Congress refused, then he formed the government with the support of the Muslim League.
- During 28 months rule, the Congress tried to implement the programme which had been mentioned in the Congress manifesto. In 1938, Subhash Chandra Bose formed a National Planning Committee through which the Congress governments made efforts for the development of policies.
- Political prisoners were released from jail, Ryotwari system was introduced in the provinces, protection of freedom of press was ensured. Wardha Basic scheme was presented in order to promote the education but it rejected by Muslim league and Hindu mahasabha.

■ Resignation of Congress governments:-

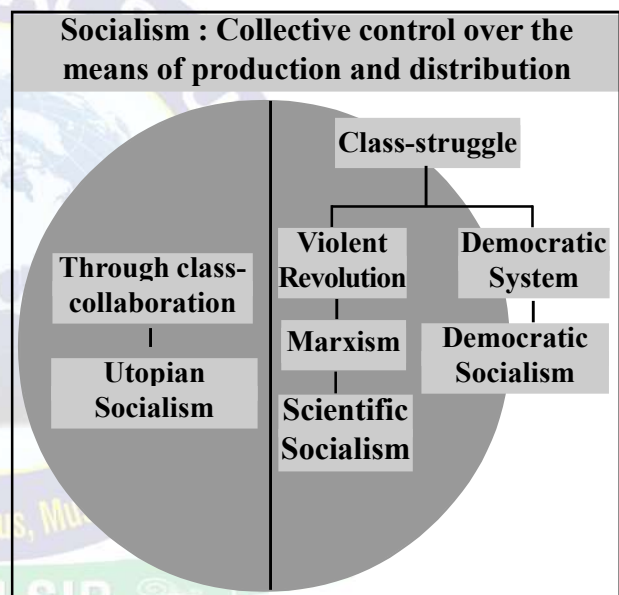
- The Second World War started in September 1939 and Britain declared India's support for war without consulting Indians. Gandhi made it clear that this time India will not give the unconditional support to the British government. There were two demands of the Congress, firstly, there should be the provision for a responsible government at the centre. Secondly, it demanded the formation of a constituent assembly by Indians immediately after the war.
- Government's response was entirely negative. Congress decided not to support

the war and passed a circular to the provincial ministries to resign.

- The day Congress government resigned, the Muslim League celebrated it as a 'Deliverance day'. Ambedkar and his party also supported the Muslim League in the celebration.

■ Growing influence of Socialism and Leftism in Indian National Movement:-

- During the later phase of 1920s and during 1930s, the objective of national movement was redefined. This was due to the convergence of political and economic aspects of national movement. Till now the main goal of the national movement was to get political independence but now Left was successful in bringing 'socio-economic' content into the freedom struggle.



• Causes for the rise of leftist ideas in National Movement-

1. The Russian Revolution of 1917 is considered to be the main driving force behind the emergence and propagation of leftist ideology in India. Bolshevik party led by Lenin overthrew the autocratic ruler of Czar on November 7, 1917, and announced the establishment of the world's first socialist state in Russia.
2. The Indian youths were not satisfied with Gandhian techniques. The disappointed

youth found Marxism an alternative and effective path for freedom.

3. The World Economic Depression of 1929-30 also revealed the weaknesses of the capitalist economy. The way Soviet Russia protected itself from the worldwide recession, the communist ideology further gained popularity.

Different streams of socialism:

- **Communist Movement** - The Communist Party was formed at Tashkent in 1920 at the initiative of M.N. Roy. The All India Conference of Communist Party took place at Kanpur under the presidentship of M. Singaravelu in 1925. Many other leaders like Sripad Dange, Neli Sengupta, Muzaffar Ahmad, Shaukat Usmani etc. joined this party. This party founded the “Workers’ and Peasants’ Party” in 1927 and started to publish various types of journals and magazines.

- **Contributions-** The Communist Party worked as a pressure group within the Congress. It also made Indian nationalism more inclusive through organizing farmers and workers.

- **Limitations-** Unlike the communist party of China, it didn’t chalkout its programmes according to the Indian condition. Factors like economic division, social division, gender division and caste exploitation were clearly visible in India but the communist party failed to take advantage of them. Apart from that, the model of the violent revolution was suitable for an autocratic government of Soviet Russia but not for India. Here the model of democratic socialism could have proved more suitable than the Communist model.

- **Congress Socialist Party (CSP)** – Some youth leaders in Nasik jail planned to form the Congress Socialist Party in 1933. The Congress Socialist Party was finally formed in 1934. It defined its objectives in 1935 in the Meerut thesis. Prominent leaders were Acharya Narendra Dev, Jayaprakash Narayan, Ashok Mehta, Sampurnanand

Singh, Meenu Masani etc. This party decided to work within the Congress and to channelise the Congress policy and programme towards socialism.

Contributions:

- It clarified the objective of national movement (from political freedom to economic and social freedom).
- The Congress linked itself to the programs of workers and peasants.
- The Congress adopted socialist programs during its Karachi session (1931), Lucknow session (1936), Faizpur session (1937) and Haripura session (1938) etc.

Limitations:

- Socialist and Communist parties couldn’t established their hegemony on the Indian national movement.
- They couldn’t form a united front even during the time of crisis.
- The Congress Socialist Party remained vague in its objectives. Its primary goal was Indian independence while socialist transformation remained to be a secondary one.

- **Role of Jawahar Lal Nehru and Subhash Chandra Bose:** The youth leaders, like J.L Nehru and S.C Bose, were widely influenced by socialist ideas.

- J.L. Nehru presided over the Lahore session of Congress in 1929. There, he declared himself to be a socialist and a democrat.
- He presided over the Lucknow session of Congress in 1936. There, he encouraged socialist consciousness among the youths. While addressing the session he declared that I think there is only solution to the problem of India and the world was socialism.
- He presided over the Faizpur session of Congress in 1937 and introduced progressive programs for the peasants.
- The Haripura session of Congress was presided over by S.C. Bose in 1938. A ‘National Planning Committee’ was setup during this session. In 1939, S.C. Bose also

presided over the Tripuri session of the Congress.

- In 1938 and 1939, Subhash Chandra Bose presided over the Haripura and Tripuri session respectively. A 'National Planning Committee' was setup during the Haripura session. However, during Tripuri session a conflict broke out between left and right wing of the Congress. Subhas Chandra Bose was unanimously elected as a president which shows the progress of the left wing.

■ **Consciousness among women:-**

- The issue of women's suffrage got momentum by the efforts of Dr. Sarojini Naidu and Mrs. Annie Besant.
- By 1930, women had got the right to vote in the election to the provincial legislatures. Then in 1935, women got the right to vote in the central legislature and seats were also reserved for them.

■ **Awareness among farmers:-**

- During 1920s provincial Kisan Sabha was founded. Then, in 1936, the All India Kisan Sabha was formed under the presidency of Sahjanand Saraswati.
- In 1937-38, the Bakasht Movement took place in Barhiya Tal of Bihar under the leadership of Karyanand Sharma.

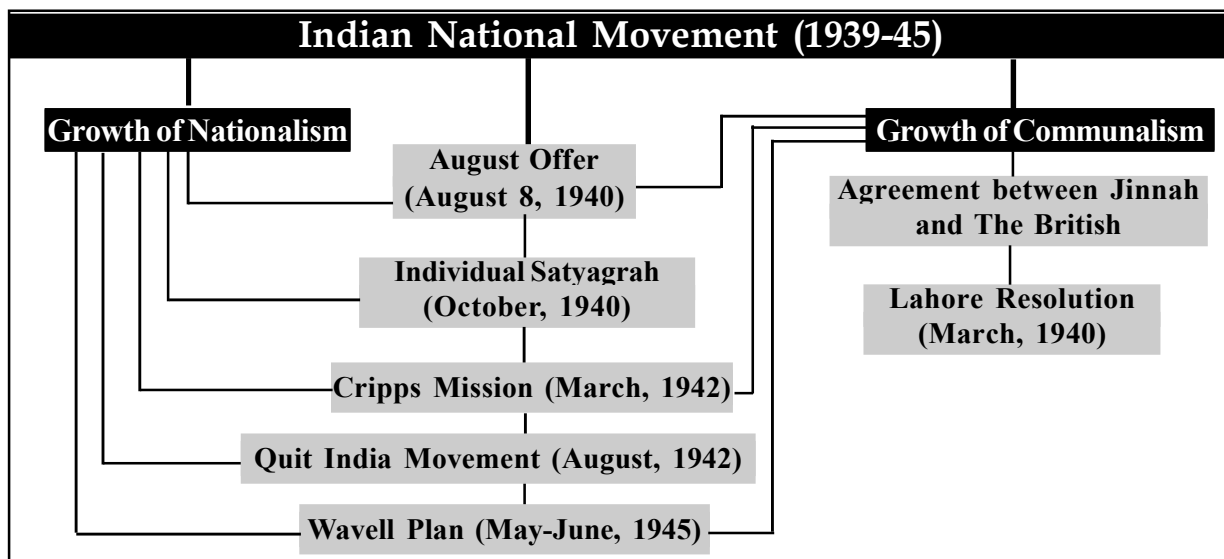
Rise of Communalism

- **In 1930s, the threat of socialism among Muslim landlords** – Muslim landlords were afraid of growing socialism in India. As it might divide society on economic basis, so the Muslim elites encouraged communal division to counter it.

■ **Impact of election result on communalism in 1937 -**

- The performance of the Muslim League in the elections of 1937 was very bad. Its government could not be formed in any province and it could not get success even on Muslim reserved seats. A major reason behind this was the Muslim League not having any clear programme in its election manifesto. In fact, the 14-point communal demand brought by Jinnah in Delhi Declaration in 1929 was almost accepted by the Communal Award (1932). Therefore the league did not have any clear issue at the time of the elections. Therefore, taking lessons from this failure, the League brought the Lahore Proposal of 1940 in which the resolution of separate Muslim states were accepted. Now the league had a clear issue. The Muslim League also got the support of the Ulemas to spread communal politics at the level of masses.
- On the other hand, the performance of the Hindu Mahasabha was worse. Therefore, Madan Mohan Malaviya resigned from the post of president of Hindu Mahasabha on health ground and V.D. Savarkar became the new president. At the same time, M.S. Golwalkar became the new president of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh in place of Dr. Hegdewar. His approach was more aggressive. In this way, the extremist phase of communalism, i.e. the phase of Jinnah, Savarkar and Golwalkar started.





- Second World War encouraged the ideology of Nationalism and Communalism simultaneously.

Growth of Nationalism

August Offer (August 8, 1940)

- In the backdrop of German success in Europe, Britain was forced to adopt a conciliatory position. To get Indian cooperation in the war efforts, the viceroy announced the 'August Offer' (8 August, 1940, Linlithgow proposal). This proposal rejected the demand for the formation of an interim government. Therefore, this proposal was rejected by the Congress and the Muslim League both. Nehru declared the dominion status as 'dead as a door nail'.

Provisions of August Offer-

- After the war the dominion status as the objective for India.
- Formation of the constituent assembly after the war and the Constituent Assembly had to be formed solely by Indians.
- There would be the formation of a War Advisory Council.
- No future constitution to be adopted without the consent of minorities.

Individual Satyagrah (October, 1940)

- Gandhi launched 'Limited Civil Disobedience' i.e. Individual Satyagraha that consisted of speeches and 'other mild demonstrations against Indian participation in the war' in October, 1940. In fact, disagreements surfaced within the Congress over the issue of launching an all India movement. Both, Nehru and Gandhi felt that political atmosphere is not in favor of all India movement as they believed that it would strengthen the position of fascist power.
- Individual Satyagrah was based on Gandhian ideology. This individual satyagraha was intended to disprove the British claim that India was helping the War effort wholeheartedly. Vinobha Bhave was chosen as the first Satyagrahi and second one was Jawaharlal Nehru, but this movement did not prove effective.

Cripps Mission (March, 1942)

- In the backdrop of the Japanese onslaught in the South-East Asia and the Pacific theatre and the pressure from Roosevelt and Chiang Kai Shek to get the popular Indian support for the cause of war, the Cripps mission was sent to India in March 1942 with constitutional proposals. It was headed by Sir Stafford

Cripps. The following were the proposals of the Cripps Mission-

1. Dominion status for India after the war.
 2. Constituent assembly to be formed with Indian members after the war.
 3. Though, the defense of India was to remain in the hands of British, it called for the participation of Indian elements in the interim government.
- **Reasons for rejection-** The Congress demanded complete independence instead of dominion status. But it offered nothing concrete immediately. That's why Gandhi characterised it as 'post-dated cheque'.

Quit India Movement (August, 1942)

Strategy and Program:-

- The meeting of All India Congress Committee was held in Bombay on August 7, 1942 under the chairmanship of Abul Kalam Azad. The 'Quit India' resolution was adopted and it was passed after some amendments on August 8, 1942. On this day, Gandhiji gave a slogan 'Do or Die'. While talking about August Resolution, Gandhiji called for non-violent mass movement.
- The British government gave no chance to Gandhi. He and all other leaders of the Congress Working Committee were arrested on August 9, 1942. The movement remained non-violent in the initial stage. But, the repression by government made it violent. Large-scale violence occurred in the city of Calcutta and Bombay between 9th and 14th August.
- By August 15, Quit India Movement spread in rural areas as well. It spread all across the Bhojpuri region of Bihar and United Provinces. A Parallel Government was formed in Ballia and Ghazipur under Chittu Pandey. Similarly, a Jatiya sarkar was established in Midnapore. Although the effect of this

movement was seen in all over India but there were four major centres; Bihar, Uttar Pradesh , Orissa , Bengal, Maharashtra-Karnataka.

- The Government geared all its forces to suppress the popular upsurge. Consequentially, the movement collapsed in villages, so the students and intellectuals taken the command of movement and proceed it with gureilla-tactics.

Significance of Quit India Movement :-

- By the following ways, this movement brought the agenda of Independence in lime light -
1. The nationalism reached to the lower strata after this movement.
 2. It became clear that it was becoming harder to rule the Indians without their consent.
 3. It put forward the demand of complete independence as an immediate agenda of national movement.
 4. It was a big warning for the British that in future whatever movement would take place, it would not be possible to make a distinction between violent acts and non-violent method.

Question:-" The Quit India Movement brought the issue of India's independence to the first list of priority." Comment.

Answer:- The Quit India Movement proved to be a turning point in Indian Independence Movement. This movement not only proved to be the most powerful and vocal against the British Empire, but also put forward the demand of complete freedom as an immediate agenda of national movement. It can be understood by following points-

- The Quit India Movement was the most massive anti-imperialist struggle, it spread all over the country. In fact, the main agenda of the movement was loud and clear as it demanded complete

freedom and India couldn't settle down by any means of agreement.

- This movement nullified the class interest and now the Indians were ready to defeat the real enemy.
- Above all, till now the British believed that the movement under the leadership of Gandhi would be non-violent, but the Quit India Movement proved that in future it would be difficult to demarcate the non-violent and violent movement. So it was an alarming bell for the British.
- This movement varied from the earlier one because it showed the extreme form of non-compromising nature between nationalist and imperialist powers. Now, the demand for independence became the immediate agenda of the national movement. So, any future talks with the colonial government were to be held on the issue of transfer of power only.

In this way, we can say that the Quit India Movement brought the issue of India's independence to the first list of priority.

Wavell Plan

- The new viceroy presented a plan and it contains the following provisions :-
 1. With the exception of the Viceroy and Supreme Commander in Viceroy's Council other ten members were to be Indian.
 2. Viceroy would have the veto power, but he would seldom use it.
 3. Among 10 representatives, the Congress and the Muslim League had to send 5 members each. In fact, it was a non-progressive move by the government, as it placed the Congress and the Muslim League on the same equilibrium.
- Congress was ready to cooperate in the Shimla conference and it had already sent the list of its nominees. But the problem emerged when the Congress nominated Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan as their

representatives. Jinnah insisted that the League alone should have the right to nominate Muslim members to the council. This put the government in a pickle.

- Congress opposed this demand on the grounds that it would portray Congress as a 'Savarna Hindu' Party. To resolve this issue a conference held at Shimla between 14 to 25 June but the Shimla Conference failed to resolve the political deadlock. Instead of rejecting the demands of Jinnah, Wavell decided to dissolve the Shimla conference.

Growth of Communalism

- **Agreement between Jinnah and the British and Lahore Resolution (March, 1940):-** As the British government had lost the support of the Congress in its war efforts, the British government surrendered to communalism in order to get the support of the Muslim League. Firstly, no constitution had to be accepted in India without the sanction of the League. Secondly, the imperialist government acknowledged Jinnah as the sole leader of the Muslims. Before this, in Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League Jinnah proposed demand for a separate Muslim state i.e Pakistan.
- **Role of August Offer in the rise of Communalism :-** It gave veto power to the Muslim League as it brought the provision that no future constitution would be adopted in India without the consent of Muslims (minorities).
- **Role of Cripps Mission in Muslim Communalism :-** It brought the provision of 'local option', i.e., at the end of the war, a Constituent Assembly would be set up with the power to frame the future constitution of India, but if a province did not approve this constitution, then it had the right to form a separate Constituent Assembly. Therefore, this was the setback for the

unity and integrity of India, and in turn, it supported the agenda of Pakistan.

- **Role of Wavell plan in the field of Muslim Communalism :-** The Muslim League exercised its veto power in the Wavell Plan for the first time, when an interim government was to be formed with five members of the Congress and the League both. But Jinnah opposed the nomination of Muslim member by the Congress in the interim government. In the end, Wavell dropped the plan because of Jinnah's veto.



Indian National Movement (After the Second World War)

1945-47

Towards Freedom

■ Factors compelling the British to leave India-

- Decline of the British Empire.
- Dissemination of nationalist consciousness in lower strata of society.
- Trial of Indian National Army (Azad Hind Fauz) and Mutiny of Royal Indian Navy.
- Change of Government in Britain.
- In March, 1946, the government changes its policies towards minorities.
- "Cabinet Mission Plan" in May-June, 1946
- Formation of Interim government in September, 1946.
- Attlee's Declaration on 20th February, 1947.
- Arrival of Mountbatten in March, 1947 and India got independence on the basis of Mountbatten Plan of June, 1947.

Towards Partition

- Increasing influence of Jinnah in Muslim majority provinces.
- Success of Jinnah and Muslim League in the election of 1945-46.
- Refusal of Cabinet Mission Plan in July, 1946.
- Declaration of Direct Action Day by the League on August 16, 1946. With this, riots began in Calcutta, Bombay, Noakhali in Bengal and Munger in Bihar.
- Riots in Punjab in March, 1947.
- Obstruction by the Muslim League in the Interim Government.
- Mountbatten Plan in June, 1947 and Partition of India.

Towards Freedom

1. **Decline of the British Empire:-** The British Empire had collapsed in the midst of the Second World War. At that time, British economy was heavily damaged so Britain was not in a position to sustain in India itself. Actually, Britain received a large amount from India in the form of Home Charges, through which it tried to compensate its trade deficit. But during the Second World War, Britain itself became India's debtor.
- During the Second World War, Britain made India its military headquarter and operated the war from here. In this sequence, the British raised large army of 2.5 million soldiers in India and they also strengthened the artillery and other

departments. Now India became more powerful than Britain itself. So, it ended the British authority to rule in India.

2. **Dissemination of nationalist consciousness at the lower level in India:-** The National Movement in India intensified. The Quit India movement demonstrated that the British Raj to be ended in India soon. In fact, this movement led the issue of Independence of India in the forefront.
- Moreover, the incidence of Trade Union and the Labor Movements got a momentum during 1945-46. Not only this, the All India Trade Union Congress demanded independence from the government. On the other side, in 1946 the peasant movements like Tebhaga

- Movement of Bengal and Telangana peasant movement also terrified the British as they indicated them to continue in India is a greater challenge for the British now.
- Apart from this, the consciousness of nationalism influenced the main pillar of the British empire i.e., police and army. Furthermore, civil services also came under nationalist influence.
3. **Azad Hind Fauz (INA) Trials and Naval revolt:-** Subhash Chandra Bose founded Indian National Army (Azad Hind Fauz) and he installed an independent government with the help of Japan, in Singapore, in 1943. Though, it achieved only limited military success, but during the trial of INA cops earned the sympathy from whole nation.
 - Naval uprisings or revolts started at the Bombay coast in February 1946. In fact, it began from a ship HMS Talwar and soon it spread to all the 22 ships. M. S. Khan emerged as a prominent leader in this revolt. In fact, this incident proved to be a major threat for the British rule in India.
 4. **The change of government in Britain and change in government's policy towards minority:-** In Britain, the Labour party came to power while displacing the Conservative party. In March 1946, the new Prime Minister Clement Attlee announced that, the minority do not have any right to halt the progress of majority. This declaration marked a significant change in government's approach towards India. It gave a signal to the minority that government would not work as a custodian to its interest.
 5. **Cabinet Mission Plan:** In March 1946, the Cabinet Mission arrived in India. It published its report in June 1946. It had following recommendations-
 1. It denied partition as it was not feasible.
 2. As an alternative, it recommended for a three tiered structure in India-
 - **Central Government:** A weak federal government, only with the power of defence, foreign policy and communication.
 - **The group of provinces:** The provinces were to be classified into three different groups. Group- 'A' would consist of 6 Hindu majority provinces, Group 'B' would consist of 3 Muslim majority provinces of North-Western region- Sindh, Punjab and Baluchistan, while Group-'C' was to include 2 Muslim majority provinces of North East- Assam and Bengal.
 3. An elected Constituent Assembly was to be formed.
 4. An interim government was to be installed.
 6. **Formation of an interim government:-** As per the Cabinet Mission Plan, an interim government was constituted under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru and the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly was held on 9th December, 1946. Initially, Muslim League refused to be the part of the government. However, on the special request of Lord Wavell, the League finally joined the interim government under the leadership of finance minister Liaquat Ali Khan.
 7. **Announcement of Indian Independence by the Atlee's government:-** On 20th February 1947, Atlee's government announced that, the British would transfer power to Indians by June, 1948.
 8. **The Arrival of Mountbatten and the independence of India based on the Mountbatten Plan:-** Lord Mountbatten

became the viceroy of India in March 1947. He came to India with an overt agenda as well as a covert agenda. According to this overt agenda he had to make serious efforts to enforce Cabinet Mission Plan. But his covert agenda was to take a smart retreat from India with proper caution so that it should not be taken as escapist tendency on the part of the British government.

- Mountbatten initiated talks on the issue of partition with the Indian leadership. Firstly, he discussed it with Patel, then Nehru, then Gandhi and finally with Jinnah.
- The initial plan of Mountbatten is known as 'Dickie Bird Plan'. It is also called the Plan Balkan. In this plan there was a proposal that all the provinces and the states should be set free and they would decide their future. However, when Mountbatten discussed this plan with Nehru in Shimla, he vehemently rejected it.
- On 3rd June 1947 what was proposed as Mountbatten Plan, was originally formulated by VP Menon in association with Vallabh Bhai Patel. According to this plan British India had to be divided between two dominions-India and Pakistan and Princely states had to be free to join any of them contiguous to their region.
- This plan was finally approved by the British Parliament on 4th July, 1947. Then, the British Crown also accepted this plan on 18 July. Then it was implemented in context of Pakistan and India on 14th August and 15 August respectively.

Towards Partition

- **The rising influence of Jinnah in Muslim majority provinces:-** After the beginning of the Second World War, the resignation of Congress ministers in the provinces proved to be fatal for the Congress. In fact, their resignation created a situation of political void in the provinces, which was soon occupied by the Muslim League.
- **The success of Jinnah and the Muslim League in the elections of 1945-46:-** In the elections of 1945-46, the Congress came up with a major victory, but at the same time the Muslim League also got success in this election. It was for the first time for the Muslim league that, it formed the government in two of the Muslim majority provinces, sind and Bengal. Moreover, it also got success on the reserved seats in the central legislative councils. This political success clearly reflected tremendous progress made by the Muslim League between 1937 and 1945. Thus, it brought Muslim Communalism from elite class to mass level. ★
- **Boycott of the Cabinet Mission Plan in July 1946 and call for the Direct Action:-** Initially, the Muslim League accepted the Cabinet Mission Plan, but later it rejected the plan on the issue of compulsory grouping of provinces. After withdrawing from the Cabinet Mission Plan, the Muslim League under Jinnah observed the Direct Action Day on 16th August, 1946. Although the overt objective of Direct Action Day was peaceful demonstration but on this fateful day Calcutta killing was unleashed by the Muslim League government under Suhrawardi. It resulted into outbreak of Hindu-Muslim riots in Bombay, in Noakhali of East Bengal and also in Munger district of Bihar.

- **Disruptions by the Muslim League in the functioning of the interim government:-** As the formation of interim government was not free from internal cleavage, so it became difficult for the government to function without hurdles. Muslim League's members started obstruction in running the government. Such a gesture from the side of the Muslim League irritated Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel so much so that he started to think on the option of Partition. On 20th February the government of Clement Attlee made a historical declaration that India would get freedom necessarily up to June 1948. Moreover, this announcement also indicated towards the possibilities of more than one centre of political authority.
- **The Punjab Riots of March, 1947:-** To specify a date of freedom proved fatal as it gave a target to the Muslim League which pulled down the non-League governments of Khizra Hayat Khan in Punjab and that in North-West Frontier Province. But the adventure of the league resulted into the outbreak of riots in Punjab.
- **The Mountbatten Plan of June, 1947 and partition of India:-** Mountbatten arrived as the viceroy of India in March, 1947, with the mandate to implement the Cabinet Mission plan. But, Mountbatten realized that, prevailing circumstances in India did not favour the implementation of the Cabinet Mission Plan. Thus, Mountbatten preferred partition of India. Then, following the discussions with various Indian leaders, he proposed Mountbatten Plan on 3rd June 1947. This became the basis of the Partition of India and creation of Pakistan on 14th August and independent India on 15th August.

Question: "The Second World War encouraged the partition along with the freedom of India." Examine the statement with suitable example.

(Question Analysis- the question is hypothetical in nature. The key words are, 'Second World War', 'Independence', 'Partition', 'encourage', 'examine with example'.)

Answer: During the course of the Indian national movement, the progress in the direction of freedom and partition was made in parallel manner and the Second World War worked as catalyst in the decision.

The Second World War encouraged freedom in following way:

- It created a widespread discontent among the masses in India. Consequently, the Quit India Movement was launched. With this movement, the issue of freedom of India became a national priority.
- Formation of Azad Hind Fauj (INA) and Naval uprisings reflected that, the nationalism deeply penetrated in the military structure of the empire as well.
- The British Empire itself declined during the course of the Second World War. Thus, there was no option left for the British, but to leave India.

On the other hand, at the same time, the Second World War also promoted partition in India. In fact, in order to get the support of the Muslim League, the British granted veto power to the League against the process of constitutional development of India. The League widely misused this veto power and thus it rejected a significant constitutional proposal in the form of Wavell Plan.

In this way, the Second World War, encouraged both the freedom as well as partition of India.

Post-Independence Era To fight British colonial legacy and nation-building

1. Partition, holocaust & trauma and its impact on polity and foreign policy of India
2. Integration of princely states and nation-building
3. Transformation of colonial state into democratic state through a framing of constitution
4. To concede polyphonic character of Indian nation – Official language policy, Formation of linguistic states, To defer the issue of uniform civil code
5. To ensure social justice to those who had groaned under the pressure of feudal and colonial exploitation since centuries
6. To restructure Indian economy- Agrarian Reforms, Abolition of Zamindari, Bhoodan Movement, Green Revolution, Development of Irrigation and multipurpose project, Nehruvian Economic Model and Economic planning.
7. Foreign policy of India – Formation phase under the British rule, Impact of anti-imperialist policy, Non-alignment, Relations with neighbours, Relations with Asia-African countries and with two super powers.

Partition, holocaust and trauma and its impact on polity and foreign policy of India

- India achieved independence along with painful partition. This partition was not peaceful. Basically Punjab and Bengal had to face ugly side of partition. Around 45 lakh Hindus and Sikhs had to flee from western Punjab whereas 55 lakh Muslims had to leave India. This led the refugee crisis in both the countries. The population exchange between the newly established Pakistan and India was not the part of the Mountbatten plan whereas both the governments were given the direction to provide security to the minorities of their respective countries. But on August 15, 1947, the violence erupts and the migration of the population started.
- The Nehru-Liaquat Pact was signed on 8th April, 1950 between the then Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan to safeguard the interests of minorities in their respective countries. But it could not inculcate much confidence among refugees. Therefore, migration of population became a big challenge before the Indian government. In fact, around 10 lakh people died during the partition and about 20 million people migrated from one region to another.

Impact of Partition

■ **Impact on the Constitution :-**

1. Initially it was thought that a federal system would be established in India, but the partition frightened the constitution-makers. Therefore, federal system was worst victim. The term 'Union of States' was preferred over 'Federation of States' The residual powers were vested in the Centre and the provision of emergency was inducted into the constitution.
2. In India, the scheduled caste got the reservation in the legislature but Muslim did not get any reservation even after the abolition of separate electorates.
3. Initially, it was decided that Hindustani which might be written in Devanagari or Urdu script would be the common language of India. It is interesting that ultimately the Constitution of free India adopted Hindi

language written in Devnagiri script as an official language. Even Urdu language did not get included in the list of 14 languages mentioned in the 8th schedule of the Constitution.

4. Partition created complications in citizenship clauses. The constituent assembly could not take any decision and deferred the issue for future to be solved. Later in 1955 the parliament passed the law on the matter of Citizenship.

■ **Impact on India's domestic policy –**

- Communal tension has become an intrinsic feature of Indian society. Its ill effects can be seen even in present days. It created distrust between two communities. People could not forget the scars of riots during partition. They suffered from great trauma, especially women and children. Even literature and art were affected by the partition. Movies like 'Tamas' and 'Pinjar' are based on partition. Indo-Persian composite culture got tarnished. That's why the issue of minorities remained the main issue in Indian politics.

■ **Impact on India's Foreign Policy and politics of South Asia :-**

- a. India's unity and integrity was given high priority in India's foreign policy. Creation of three nations, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, gave birth to border tensions.
- b. India adopted secular and liberal approach in its foreign policy.
- c. Refugee problems i.e. Chakma and Rohingya refugees also affected India's foreign policy.
- d. India wanted prosperity in the South Asia but due to hostile relation between India and Pakistan, SAARC proved a failed organisation.
- e. India's nuclear programme, high defence expenditure etc. became important issues.
- f. Due to partition, India had to face difficulty in establishing relation with Sunni dominated nations like Saudi Arabia, Turkey etc.
- g. Presently, security and terrorism are two important component of our foreign policy.

Integration of Princely States with Indian Union

- British India consisted of 3/5 part while the princely states remaining 2/5 part of India. However, even after 1857, the British continued its expansionist policy indirectly in India, and established indirect control over these states. So, at the time of departure of the British from India, the question of the future of these princely states got surfaced.
- **Development of Nationalism among the masses of the Princely States –**
- Despite the British pressure and the hostile behaviour of the native rulers, the people of the Princely States too could not remain unaffected by the spirit of modern ideology. The following factors were responsible for this -
 1. Non-cooperation and Civil Disobedience movement widely influenced the consciousness of the Princely States, because as a result of these movements, on the one hand State People's Conference was formed in these states and on the other the Congress adopted the progressive policies in relation to the princely states.
 2. The Government of India Act, 1935, also attracted them. Actually, there was a provision of federal government at the centre, consisted of the region of British India and Princely states both.
 3. The formation of provincial governments in 1937 also inspired the people of the princely state and agitation started in many states.
 4. In the 1940s, the Cripps Mission, the Cabinet Mission, the formation of interim government, the formation of Constituent Assembly, etc. attracted the people of princely states towards freedom.
- **Approach of the Congress towards Princely State-**
- Initially, the Congress kept themselves away from the issue of princely states but for the first time in Nagpur Session in 1920, it declared that princely states were the integral part of India. Therefore, the Congress supported the State People's movement and many 'Praja Mandal' (state people's organisation) came into existence. Under the leadership of Balwant Rai Mehta, Manilal Kothari and G.R. Abhayankar, the All India States People Conference was founded in 1927. Then this conference started movements in different states.
- At Tripuri session, Congress decided that in future, the Congress movement would be launched in the British India and the Princely States simultaneously .
- Further, the All India State People's Conference was deeply disappointed because the Cabinet Mission Plan of 1946 had no provision for the people of the princely state. Therefore, it was decided that only the members elected by the subjects would have the right to participate in the Constituent Assembly. This demand was also supported by the Congress. Further, the State People's Conference also decided to merge with the Congress and the Congress recognized them.
- **Challenges behind integration of Princely states-**
- Some of the princely states were ambitious and they chose to remain independent.
- Even the British political department was secretly fanning their ambition. Because the British government wanted to maintain its influence in the Indian sub-continent even after the independence.
- Md. Ali Jinnah too provoked princely states to remain independent. Infact, Jinnah was ready to accept the demand of princely states to remain independent.
- **Supportive factors behind integration:-**
- 1. **Role of mass movement –** The impact of National Movement inspired the people of princely states also and the people's movement in the princely states had a psychological impact over Indian rulers.

2. **Unrelenting efforts of the Congress and its uncompromising approach**– The Congress stated that princely states were not sovereign entities, and could not opt to be independent. The princely states must therefore accede either to India or Pakistan. Further, Jawaharlal Nehru declared that any princely state which refused to join the Constituent Assembly would be treated as hostile force.

3. **The diplomatic acumen and iron will of Vallabhbhai Patel** – Vallabhbhai Patel and his secretary V.P. Menon played an important role in the merger of the princely states. Patel adopted a pragmatic approach towards the princely states, which is known as policy of Carrot and Stick.

- **Carrot policy**- The policy was designed to be attractive to the rulers of princely states so that they should not hesitate to integrate with India. They adopted the following procedures –
- **Standstill Agreement:** A standstill agreement was an agreement which confirmed that the agreements and administrative practices that had existed as between the princely state and the British had to be continued with India. Patel appealed to the rulers that they have to give up their limited rights such as defence, external affairs and communication. In fact, these were those rights which had previously been used by the British.
- **Instrument of Accession** – According to this, the rulers of the princely states were to agree upon the accession of their kingdom to Indian union and their merger with India would be final and irrevocable. In return, the government of India guaranteed them a tax-free privy purse. Further, they were allowed to retain their personal property (money, ornaments etc.) and their titles and they were completely free to decide their future successors.
- **Stick policy**– On the other, Vallabhbhai Patel tried to keep pressure on these rulers and also made it implicitly clear that if they

do not merge their states by the time of Indian independence, they might have to face the wrath of the people of the native states and the approach of the Government of India will also be tough towards them.

■ **The main administrative issues and socio-cultural problems in the integration of princely states :-**

Administrative Issues :

1. What will be the position of the ruler after merger?
2. What will happen to the soldiers of the concerned state?
3. How will the princely states be represented in the Constituent Assembly?
4. The geographical size of the princely states were different and they were at different levels of development. For example, Hyderabad was formidable in size while 70 princely states were having the size not more than 1 square mile.
5. In some princely states, some backward areas were getting reservation. So the issue was what would be their position in the Indian Union? For example, Telangana region in Hyderabad.

Socio-Cultural problems :-

- At the time of freedom, India was suffering from communal division, the princely states were not exception to this. The rulers were also divided on communal lines. For example, Bhopal and Hyderabad represented the Muslim group and were inclined towards Pakistan, while Bikaner and Patiala were inclined towards India.
- The subjects of princely states were also divided. Somewhere the ruler was a Muslim and the majority of population were Hindus and vice-versa. For example, Junagarh and Hyderabad were ruled by Muslim rulers but majority of people were Hindus while Kashmir was ruled by a Hindu ruler but majority of population were Muslims.

Practice Question:- *Assess the main administrative issues and socio-cultural problems in the integration process of*

Indian Princely States. (150 words, UPSC-2021)

Integration of Princely States

- Up to 15th August, 1947 all princely states except Kashmir, Junagarh and Hyderabad, signed the Instrument of Accession. Initially, Hyderabad, Junagarh, Travancore, Bhopal and Kashmir resisted but before Independence, Bhopal and Travancore accepted the merger.

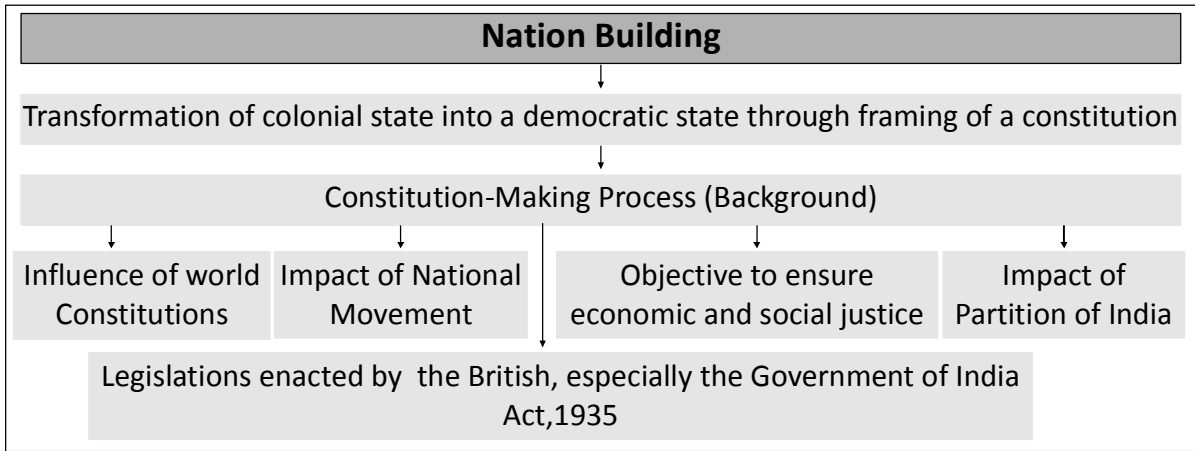


- **Kashmir :-** When Kashmir was attacked by Pathan tribals in association with Pakistani soldiers on 22 October, 1947, its king, Hari Singh, was forced to sign the Instrument of Accession on 22th October. Then started a war in Kashmir as the result of which India occupied two third region but brought this matter to UNO. But UNO under the influence of Britain and USA tilted in favour of Pakistan and a ceasefire was enforced on Kashmir in beginning of 1949.
- **Junagarh :-** In Junagarh, Nawab was Muslim but majority of the people were Hindus. Nawab was in a mood to join Pakistan but due to popular movement Nawab had to flee away to Pakistan. Then PM, Shah Nawaz Bhutto, conducted plebiscite in Feb, 1948 on the basis of which Junagarh was integrated with India.
- **Hyderabad :-** It was the largest and wealthiest of all princely states. Nizam Mir Usman Ali ruled over a predominantly

Hindu population in the princely state. Nawab of Hyderabad signed Still Stand Agreement with India and promised to promote democratic institutions but he secretly planned to suppress the popular movement through his armed fanatics (Razakars). Finally through a police action i.e. under 'Operation Polo' Hyderabad was integrated with Indian Union in September, 1948.

- **Pondicherry :-** French surrendered this colony to Indian government peacefully in 1954.
- **Goa :-** In Goa Portuguese opposed the integration and tried to crush the popular movement. Actually, Portugal had been a Cold War partner with America and Britain, so it was being encouraged by them as well. But the Indian government intervened and finally Goa was integrated in 1961.
- **Evaluation of Vallabhbhai Patel's achievement :-**

- Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the first home minister of the independent India, played a historic role in negotiating with the rulers of the princely states firmly and brought most of them into the Indian Union diplomatically. In respect of this great task, he has often been compared with the Chancellor Bismarck who unified Germany in 19th century. But Patel's achievement is far more remarkable than that of Bismarck. This can be understood as follows:-
 1. Bismarck was representing the strongest and most powerful army in Europe, while India's army was disorganized and divided.
 2. Bismarck took nearly 8 years to complete this task, but Vallabhbhai Patel completed it in 15 months only.
 3. Above all, this revolution in India proved to be a bloodless revolution and it was carried in a non-violent manner. In fact, when Nikita Khrushchev, the president of Soviet Union who visited India in 1956, significantly observed, "You Indians are a remarkable people. You have liquidated the princely states without liquidating the princes."



■ **Background :-**

- Political independence was achieved by India on August 15, 1947, but we had to ensure economic and social justice through a democratic constitution. The Indian Constitution was the means to ensure that economic and social justice. Therefore, whereas other countries celebrate one Independence Day, India has a tradition of celebrating two Independence Days i.e. 15 August, 1947 and 26 January, 1950.
- Based on the Cabinet mission plan, the Constituent Assembly was formed to frame the Indian constitution. It held its first meeting on 9th Dec, 1946. But the whole process got stalled due to partition. The members of the League left the constituent assembly. Then its meeting resumed on the second day after Nehru's speech at midnight of 15th August.
- Practically, the Indian Constitution was probably the first democratic constitution of the Third World. Therefore, there was a big challenge before the constitution-makers of India to draft a democratic constitution.

1. Influence of World Constitutions :-

- As Britain had a long connection with India, so naturally India was more attracted to the British Westminster model. However, India was a vast country and continental in size like America with certain diversity, so it adopted some

provisions from American Constitution as well, such as, Federal model, independent judiciary, fundamental rights, elected president etc. But the makers of the Indian constitution did not precisely imitate the features or aspects of British and American constitutions. Instead, the makers made the necessary and possible adjustments to the features from the other constitutions as well. They adopted Directive Principles from Ireland, Emergency provision from the Weimar Republic of Germany, Fundamental Duties from Soviet Union etc.

2. Impact of the National Movement :-

- The Constitution of independent India was inspired from the ideals of national movement as well. During the national movement the Congress promoted constitutionalism by using slogans like 'No taxation without representation' and 'Swaraj' or self-government. The methods like 'Satyagrah' and 'Non-Violence' of Gandhi, also strengthened the constitutionalism. Apart from sporadic incidents of violence, the Indian National Movement was mainly dominated by non-violence. Even during the course of national movement, mutual disputes were resolved through debate and discussion. Dr. Ambedkar calls it constitutional morality. Apart from this, constitutional questions raised by the Congress and various parties

from time to time, also strengthened the sense of constitutionalism. For example- the proposal of fundamental rights in the Karachi session of 1931.

3. Legislations enacted by the British, especially the Government of India Act, 1935:-

- Indian constitution was widely influenced by Indian Council Bill of 1919 and that of 1935. Along with this, 'Nehru Report' presented by the Indian political parties also impacted the Indian Constitution. The Government of India Act, 1935 left the indelible mark on Indian constitution. Infact, it would have been difficult for the Constituent Assembly to complete its historic task of drafting the Constitution for Independent India in just three years without the support of Indian Council Bill of 1935. 250 clauses were taken directly from this Council Bill. The idea of a Federal court is taken from the Council Bill of 1935. Apart from that, Article 356 of the current constitution is inspired by the article 93 of the Council Bill of 1935. Even the Federal system which had been proposed in Indian Council Bill of 1935 might had some influence on the constitution of post-independence era. Apart from that, many members of Constituent Assembly had the experience of working in provincial governments formed on the basis of Indian Council Bill, 1935.

4. To ensure social and economic justice:-

- The concept of individual freedom which had been taken from western constitution, was counter-balanced by Indian need of social welfare.

5. Impact of Partition of India:-

- The partition of the country affected the nature of federal structure and the constitution-makers leaned towards a strong centre. Before partition, the Constituent Assembly had been in favour of strong province along with elected Governor. But after the partition the

Constituent Assembly brought the provision of strong centre with weak provinces. Apart from this, it brought the provision of emergency and limited the fundamental rights.

■ Special features of Indian Constitution :-

1. The Constituent Assembly was decorated by educated and well qualified members. More than 300 members were associated with constitution-making process.
2. The Constituent assembly adequately represented the different ideological strands which include Left-Wing, Right-Wing, religious leaders, secularists, elites and common people. Therefore, it represented a relatively broad national outlook.
3. Although very like as Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Malaya, even in India the constitution-making started under a colonial government but unlike these constitutions Indian constitution was framed independently. In other Asian countries either colonial power appointed some supervisor or the constitution was approved after close scrutiny.
4. Unlike other Asian countries in Constituent Assembly of India there was a provision for open discussion. That's why democratic process relatively proved successful in India.
5. If our constitution-makers could not reach upto the point of conclusion on certain issues, they did not suppress the issue rather deferred the issue for future generation to be solved. For example, the provision of Directive Principles, the issue of Uniform Civil Code, Secularism, the issue of official languages etc.
6. **Not a blind imitation of the western Constitution** – It is alleged that the Indian Constitution is entirely an alien document, borrowed article by article from western constitutions so it does not correspond to the cultural ethos of the Indian people. K. Hanumanthaiah made the remark, 'we wanted the music of Veena or Sitar, but

here we have the music of 'an English band'. However, the above allegation does not hold true. It was never a blind imitation rather it was an innovative borrowing, because when we were drafting our Constitution, efforts were made to amalgamate western and traditional Indian values. It was a process of selective adaptation and not borrowing.

■ **Limitations of the Indian Constitution :-**

1. The Constituent Assembly which ensured universal adult suffrage and Democracy to India, had itself been constituted on the basis of limited franchise and indirect elections.
2. In the Constituent Assembly there was the predominance of the members of the Congress Party and most of the members were having the elite and Savarna (high caste Hindu) base, they were having a separate approach to the issues like nationalism, democracy and secularism.

Question: Did the Government of India Act, 1935 lay down a federal constitution? Discuss.

[UPSC-2016]

Answer: The British imperialist scholars try to establish that the constitution provided in the form of Government of India Act, 1935, proved to be satisfactory to all the sections of the society. Through this, an attempt was made to amalgamate both British India and the princely states and redefine the relationship between the union and the provinces. But as per the nationalists' view, the British parliament under the pressure of the British Conservative Party, brought the provision of federalism to obstruct the progress of constitutional development in India. If we examine both the views, the second one view appears to be more reliable.

There were following limitations of the federal system established by the Act of 1935-

- 30-40 percent seats were reserved for the princely states in both houses of the Central Legislature. Apart from this, these seats

were to be filled up through nomination by the kings rather than election.

- One of its demerit was the absence of responsible government at the Centre. It made the entire federal system undemocratic.
- It provided the discretionary power to the viceroy and could overtake the control of any government. While in provinces, the governor had also many discretionary powers and he could dismiss the elected government.
- At last, we can say that this federal system remained only on paper because it required the consent of at least 50% of the native states, which was not received.

Therefore, it can be said that it was not a true federation, rather a pseudo model was presented by the Government of India Act, 1935.

Question:- It would have been difficult for the Constituent Assembly to complete its historic task of drafting the Constitution for Independent India in just three years but for the experience gained with the Government of India Act, 1935. Discuss. [UPSC-2015]

Model Answer- Indian constitution was a huge effort in the making of the constitution and this is the first and successful democratic constitution of the third world. Nearly more than 300 experts participated in the constituent assembly and made an attempt to draft a constitution through taking inspiration from the various constitutions of the world. One major inspiration behind this constitution was Indian Council Bill of 1935. As many of the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935 were based on the imperial interests, the makers of the Constitution of India adopted only some of its important provisions. Nevertheless, it gave the basic structural framework to the constitution and eased the work of the constituent assembly to a greater extent.

The Government of India Act, 1935 was the longest act passed by the British

government with 321 sections and 10 schedules in which 250 clauses were taken directly from the Council Bill of 1935. Similarly, the first experiment of provincial autonomy was done in Government of India Act, 1935. It also outlined the federal system, although it could not be implemented. Article 356 of the current constitution is inspired by article 93 of the Council Bill of 1935. Furthermore, the idea of a Federal court (the current Supreme Court) is taken from the Council Bill of 1935. Apart from that many members of Constituent Assembly had the experience of working in provincial governments formed on the basis of Indian Council Bill, 1935. Therefore, their experience definitely helped the present constitution.

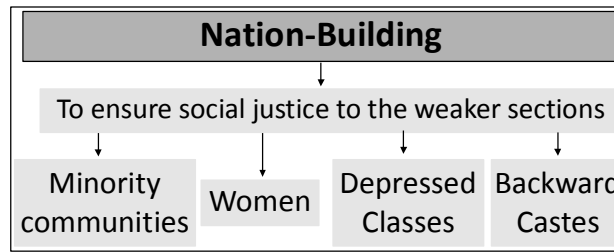
Finally, through the experience of our neighboring countries in constitution-making, we better understand how the Council Bill of 1935 eased the work of the framers of constitution of independent India. Nepal could not able to draft a generally accepted constitution even after the efforts of ten years and the Sri Lankan government has initiated drafting a new constitution fourth time. If there was a structural framework of previously draft constitution before those countries, the situation might have different. Based on the above facts, we can understand how the Government of India Act of 1935 contributed to the constitution making program in independent India.



To concede polyphonic character of Indian nation – official language policy, formation of linguistic states, to defer the issue of uniform civil code

- Initially, the model of nation-building was prepared in Western Europe, but these countries were relatively smaller in size and culturally less diversified, while India was continental in size and culturally diversified. That's why, the various British scholars from John Strachey to Rudyard Kipling questioned the capability of nation-building of India. But India developed an exceptional model of nation-building. Challenges of nation-building as Indian society was having pluralistic nature-
- **The issue of official language and National Language-** Earlier on western model in course of national movement there was a slogan 'one Language one Nation.' But after independence protests started in non-Hindi states exclusively in Tamil Nadu. Then the government took reconciliatory approach and according to the rules of 1950 first and then those of 1963 Hindi got the status of official language and English that of Associate Official Language for an indefinite period. In the eighth schedule of the constitution 14 languages were accepted as national languages. Presently their number has increased up to 22.
- **Reorganization of Linguistic States-** Earlier the Congress decided to form its regional committees on linguistic basis in its Nagpur session of 1920. It was also decided that in future linguistic states would be created in place of British Presidency provinces. But Partition created a sense of caution among Indian leaders that's why both Dar Committee (1948) and JVP Committee (1948) rejected the proposal of Linguistic States. After much disturbances and the death of a Satyagrahi Sri Ramulu in Andhra region, Andhra was accorded the status of first state on linguistic basis in 1953. Then it was in 1953 itself, State Reorganization Commission (SRC) was formed and at its recommendation there was the formation of 14 states and 6 Union Territories on linguistic basis. In 1960, the separate Gujarat and Maharashtra states were created. The process was almost completed in 1966 with the separation between Punjab and Haryana on linguistic basis.
- **To defer the issue of Uniform Civil Code-** Given the pluralistic nature of Indian society, the Constitution-makers deferred the issue of Uniform Civil for the future generation.

To ensure social justice to those who had groaned under the twin pressure of feudal and colonial exploitation since centuries



- One of the major challenges before the framers of the constitution was to ensure social justice to the weaker sections of society like minorities, women, dalits and backward classes.
- **Safeguards to Religious and Linguistic minorities :-** The fundamental rights grants protection to both religious as well as linguistic minorities. Article 25 to 28 of fundamental rights ensures the safeguard to the religious rights, whereas article 29 and 30 ensures the safety of rights to linguistic minorities. Therefore, it was the great achievement of India as a nation.
- **Protection of women :-** After independence, the women empowerment was a major priority of the government. In 1951, the proposal of 'Hindu Code Bill' was brought in order to uplift the condition of women but the various Hindu organizations opposed the move. Later, Nehru withdrew the proposal. Later, government passed four different Acts, i.e. The Hindu Marriage Act, The Hindu Succession Act, The Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act and Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act.
- **Schedule Caste or Depressed classes :-** The Constitution laid the basis for reduction of social disparity by putting an end to any discrimination on grounds of religion, caste or sex. The Constitution provided reservations for safeguarding and promoting the interest and rights of the Scheduled caste. For their upliftment, it provides the reservation in educational institutions, employment and in the legislatures. Initially, this reservation meant for ten years, but later on, it extended to an indefinite period. A number of social reforms and welfare laws were passed. Landlordism was abolished and a law was passed making untouchability an offence.
- **Schedule Tribe :-** After independence, one of the important challenges before the Government of India was to work for the development of tribals. Therefore, Article-46 of the constitution shows commitment towards the economic-social development of the tribal people. For their upliftment, the constitution provides the reservation in educational institutions, employment and in the legislatures. Then, special powers have been given to the President of India for the development of tribal region. Special powers have been given to the governors also in the states having majority of tribal population.
- **Backward Classes :-** There was no provision made for the backward classes initially. But later in 1953, Kaka Kalekar Committee was formed and in 1955 it recommended the caste reservation in government services but it was not implemented. Later, on the recommendation of the Mandal Commission (1980), the provision of reservation was made for the backward classes.

Question: Has the formation of Linguistic states, strengthened the cause of Indian unity?

Answer: Despite being a linguistic region, the separation of Telangana from Coastal Andhra Pradesh, raised a question-mark on the efficacy

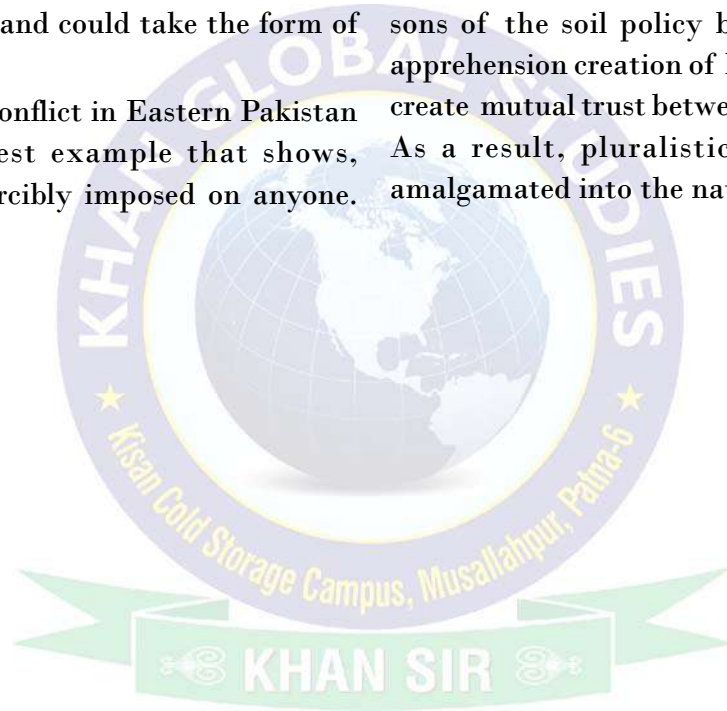
of linguistic states. Naturally, the brainstorming started. Was the formation of states on the basis of language a wise move?

But we should consider the facts in totality. In fact, India is a vast country having continental size and wide cultural diversity. Then the partition hampered the federal system and the centre was made very powerful parallel to the states. In such a situation, apprehension arose among the states about their linguistic cultural identity. Till now they were under the subjugation of the British presidency, therefore, for them freedom implies linguistic-cultural freedom as well. In this situation, if the central government might have rejected this demand, then possibly a mistrust would have arisen and could take the form of mutual tensions.

The linguistic conflict in Eastern Pakistan is perhaps the best example that shows, nothing can be forcibly imposed on anyone.

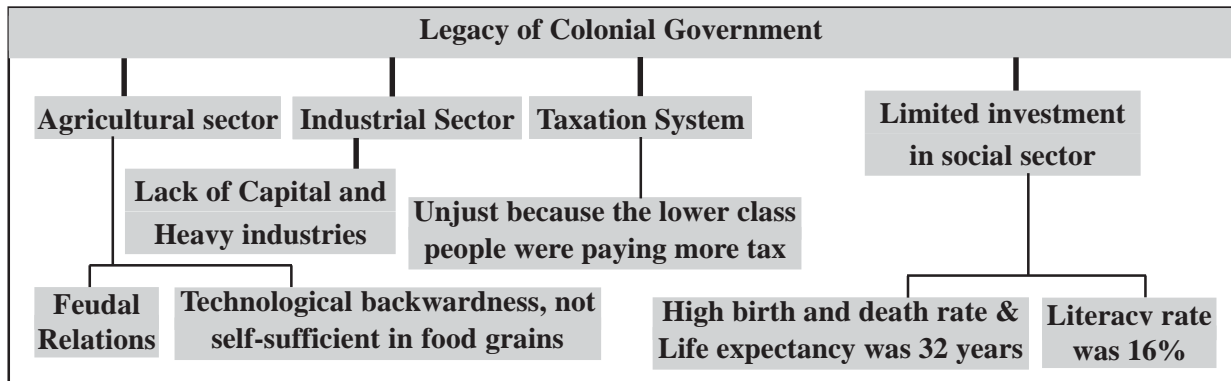
Despite being a minority, the Pakistani ruling elite continued to impose the Urdu language on East Pakistan's majority Bengali community. Once Muhammad Ali Jinnah announced, 'Urdu shall be the only state language of Pakistan'. This culminated into the emergence of Bangladesh as a free and independent nation in 1971. Similarly, in 1956 Sri Lanka was trying to impose the Sinhala language on Tamil minority. Eventually, Sri Lanka fell a victim of civil war.

On the other, the Government of India showed a pragmatic approach by organising the states on linguistic basis. Earlier, it was supposed that it might unleash subversive forces and might result into the emergence of sons of the soil policy but believing earlier apprehension creation of linguistic state could create mutual trust between centre and states. As a result, pluralistic regional cultures amalgamated into the national culture.



TOPIC - 06

To restructure Indian economy- Agrarian Reforms, Nehruvian Economic Model and Economic Planning



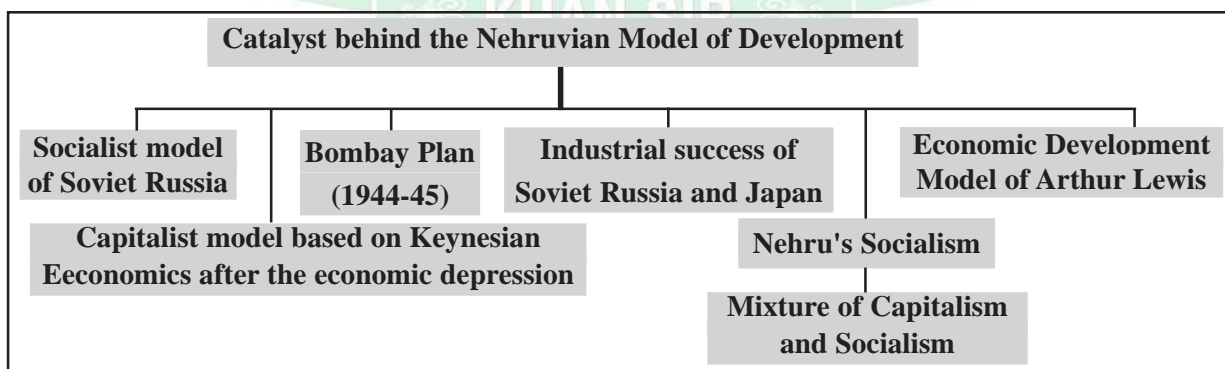
■ The legacy of British rule in post-independent India-

1. **Economic sector-** India was suffering from poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, food crisis, economic and technological backwardness as a result of colonial legacy. Out of 800 million hectares of cultivable land, only 300 million hectares were cultivated, in that only 17 percent of the land was irrigated. Apart from that, landlordism prevailed in agricultural sector and the distribution of land was also unequal. On the other, the **agricultural sector** was technologically backward. In this way, agriculture was overburdened, maximum number of population was dependent on agriculture in one way or the other. Even the **taxation system** was unjust,

the lower class people were paying more tax than the upper one. Out of the total tax, 52% was coming from land revenue and 16% from salt tax. **Manufacturing sector** was dwarfed in relation to service sector.

2. **Social sector-** The society was divided on the line of caste and community. There was high birth and death rate. Infant mortality rate was very high. At the time of independence literacy was 16%. Female literacy rate was just 8%. Gender inequality was a big social problem.

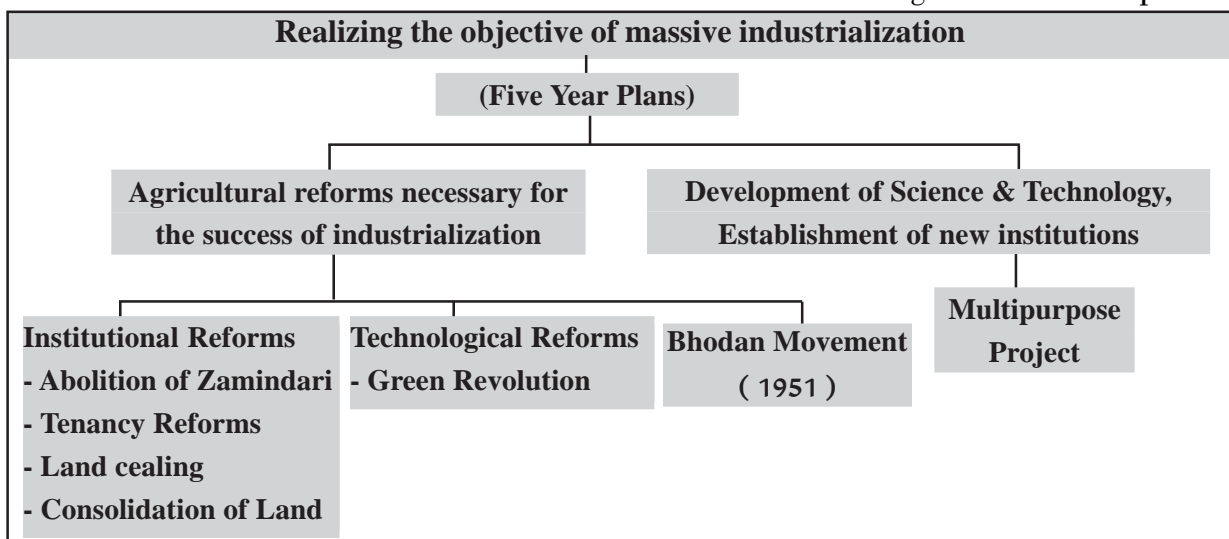
3. **Cultural sector-** Even after the departure of the British, western culture maintained its supremacy through English language. Based on language and culture, the country remained divided between India and Bharat.



■ What worked as a catalyst behind economic reforms introduced by the first government of Independent India-

1. To remove toxicity of colonial elements from Indian economy. Indian economy was suffering from following loopholes-
 - Feudal relations in agriculture and unequal distribution of land

- Unjust taxation system
 - Dearth of infrastructure facilities
 - Excessive burden of the population on agriculture
 - Poor facilities for health, education and technical education
2. **Socialist Model of Soviet Russia** - This model was first developed in Soviet Russia after that China also adopted this model. It established the state control over the means of production and that of distribution. Under this model, emphasis was given on the collectivization of land. By abolishing private ownership on the land, it was put under collective control.
 3. **Capitalist model based on Keynesian economics after economic depression** – The world economic depression of 1929-30 ended the era of capitalism based on free economy (Laissez faire). Then a British economist John Maynard Keynes overturned the then-prevailing idea of free market. According to Keynesian economics, state intervention is necessary to moderate the booms and busts in economic activity, i.e. the business cycle.
 4. **Bombay Plan (1944-1945):-** Even Indian capitalist class demanded from the government for active intervention in economy to promote growth and purchasing power. Bombay Plan is an example in this case. Through this plan, 8 prominent industrialists of India proposed that the state should have an active role in the economy and the state should come forward for investment, so that primary education, adult education and health sector etc could be developed.
 5. **India's ambition to be an industrial power on the pattern of Russia and Japan-** Extensive industrialization was considered necessary for the development of India. There were the example of two countries– Japan and Soviet Russia. Japan, despite being an Asian country, progressed a lot due to industrialization, while Soviet Russia also successfully withstand the Nazi invasion. Jawaharlal Nehru was greatly influenced by the industrialization of Soviet Russia and Japan.
 6. **Nehru's Socialism** - Nehru's socialism tried to strike a compromise between economic equality and individual freedom. He developed a third path while mixing the method of capitalism and that of socialism i.e. a model of mixed economy in which there would be space for both the private sector and the public sector. Normally emphasis of socialism is on distribution but main emphasis of Nehru's socialism was first on production then on distribution.
 7. **Economic model of Arthur Lewis** – The Nehruvian economic model was based on the model of an economist Arthur Lewis in some way. According to this model, an underdeveloped economy has an agricultural sector where surplus labor is available. If that labor is diverted to the modern industrial sector, it would not adversely impact the agricultural production rather the productivity of those workers in the industrial sector would increase significantly that may be used for further growth and development.



Measures taken for realizing the objective of massive industrialization

- **Development of agriculture-** In order to pursue massive industrialization, providing a strong agrarian base to the economy was essential. That's why steps had to be taken for promoting agriculture. Agriculture needed two types of reforms - institutional reforms and technological reforms. Initially the government preferred institutional reforms as without institutional reforms the benefit of agriculture could not accrue to lower strata of peasantry. Apart from that technological advancement involved heavy investment but the government prioritized investment in Industrialization.

Institutional Reforms-

1. **Abolition of Zamindari-** In 1949 on the recommendation of Govind Vallaba Pant Committee, laws for Zamindari abolition was introduced but the laws were challenged in the supreme court on the basis of the provisions of the Fundamental Rights. Then in 1951, the government was compelled to introduce the first constitutional amendment bill and on that basis abolition of Zamindari became possible in 1954. But the limitation of the measure was that a large tract of the land was placed under the control of zamindars.
2. **Tenancy Reforms-** This law had two main objectives. First, to ensure the ownership of tenants on land and second to reduce the rate of land revenue from 1/4 to 1/6 of the total production. But limited success was achieved through this reforms.
3. **Land Ceiling-** It was in Nagpur session of 1959 that the Congress gave instruction to the state government to enforce land ceiling laws. Then in 1960 the state government took initiative but Land Ceiling Act was having following limitations-
 - The limit of ceiling was fixed on the head of individual but not on the family.
 - Orchards and some other types of land were exempted.

- As the implementation of laws was delayed so many persons did Benami transfer of their property in the name of their relatives.

4. **Consolidation of Land-** One detrimental impact of the British rule was fragmentation of land. It affected production. Therefore in order to remove this lacuna, consolidation of land was introduced but this programme got success only in Punjab, Haryana and Western U.P.

Bhoodan Movement (1951)

- It was a peaceful means for the redistribution of landed property based on Gandhian ideology. A Gandhian thinker and activist, Binoba Bhave, initiated this programme. It started from Pochampally village in Telangana in 1951 and a big land holder Ram Chandra Reddy initiated the donation of land. Later even Gramdan (donation of the village) was added to it. Under this programme nearly 4 lakh acres of land was acquired.
- **Positive Side-** It presented a model of peaceful transformation of country side creating harmony between the rich and the poor.
- **Negative Side-**
 1. Under this programme mainly infertile land and disputed land was distributed.
 2. Its covert motive was to counter communism in Telangana.
 3. Through providing some land to landless labour its objective was to tie labour to the village so that they could provide labour to landed class.

Technological Reforms :-

- After institutional reforms, technological reforms were given priority and it culminated into the Green Revolution. At the time of Indo-Pak war, American approach to India compelled the PM Lal Bahadur Shastri to give slogan 'Jai Jawan Jai Kisan'. The initiative was identified as Green Revolution. Through this slogan he

tried to link the question of national security to food security. The revolution truly developed under Indira Gandhi with the support of Food Minister C. Subramaniam.

Features –

- Use of HYV seeds
- Chemical fertilizer
- Insecticides
- Sufficient water

Benefits-

- India became self-reliant in grain-production. The production of food grains increased from 50 million tonnes to 180 million tonnes.
- Production of agrarian tools, chemical fertilizer and insecticides encouraged the industrialisation.
- Increase in per capita income among a group of peasantry.

Limitations-

- It benefited only limited regions of India, such as Punjab, Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh.
 - Now investment in agricultural was a big challenge, so it intensified economic inequality in country-side.
 - It benefited only rich peasants.
 - Due to excessive use of chemical fertilizers and irrigation, the salinity of the land increased. So, it affected bio-diversity and fertility of land.
- **Development of science and technology and foundation of new institutions:-**
- Jawahar Lal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, emphasized on the development of science and technology, foundation of steel industries and multi-purpose project to encourage massive industrialization.

Nehru as a great institution-builder:

- He was assisted by three great scientists – M. Vishwesraiya, Homi Jahangir Bhabha and Meghnad Shaha.

- He founded the National Physical Laboratory and established a chain of 17 research centres.
- Nehru presided over CSIR and established Five IITs on the pattern of MITs.
- Nehru's government laid the foundation of Nuclear Power Commission and that of Nuclear Power Department in 1948 and 1954 respectively. Nehru also founded the first Nuclear Reactor at Trombay in Bombay in 1956.

The establishment of Iron and Steel industries-

- At the time of independence, two Iron and Steel industries were established in the private sector. They used to produce 1 million tonnes, but Nehru's government set a target of producing 6 million tonnes of steel. For this purpose, prior to the second five-year plan, agreements were made with three nations to establish Iron and Steel industries. The Bhilai Steel Plant was set up with the collaboration of the U.S.S.R., the Rourkela Steel Plant with the collaboration of West Germany and the Durgapur Steel was constructed with the collaboration of Britain.

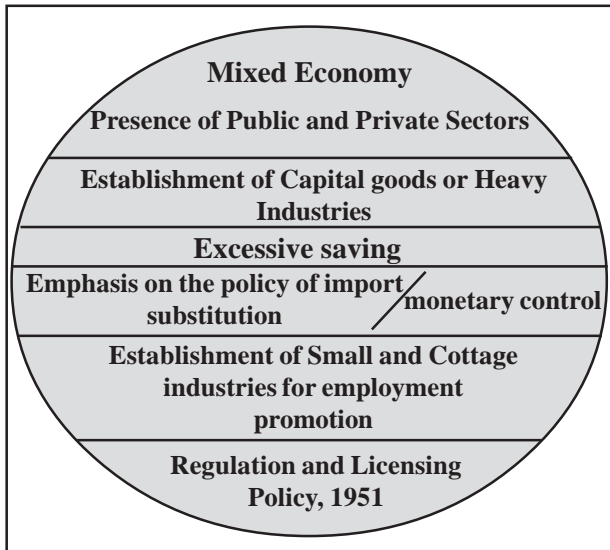
Multi-purpose Projects-

- Once Nehru declared that dams are the temples of India. Having been inspired by American model of Tenessy valley project as well as Russian model of multi-purpose projects, Indian government initiated the construction of Bhakhara Nangal project and Damodar Valley project. They were multi-purpose projects. Bhakhara Nangal project was the second largest project in the world.

■ Different models of Economy before Indian government

British Model	American Model	Russian Model
↓	↓	↓
Capitalist economy based on Keynesian	Capitalist model based on New Deal Policy	Based on State Control

■ **Mahalanobis Model or Nehruvian Model
(Second Five Year Plan)**



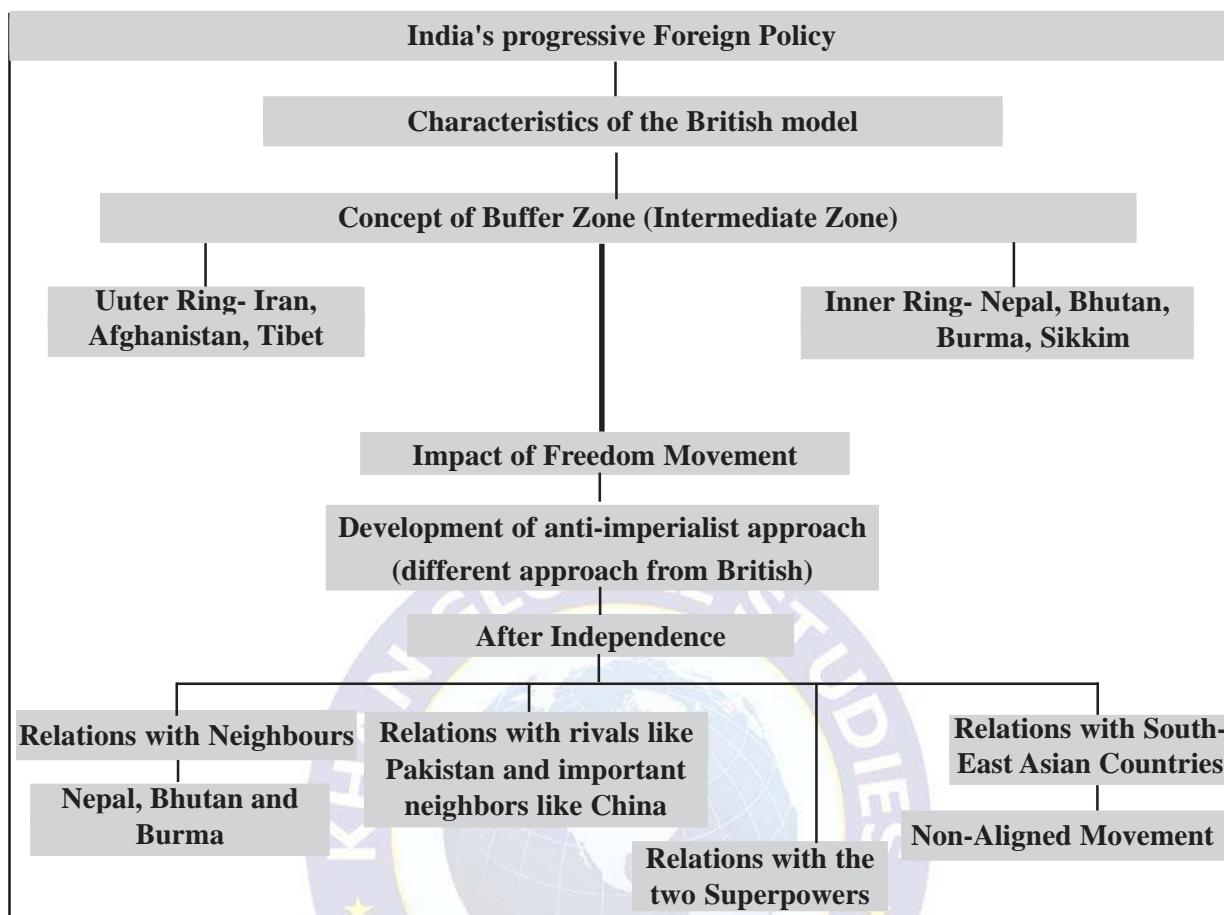
□ **Features of P.C. Mahalanobis Model-**

1. Mixed economy- Presence of both public and private sector.
2. Emphasis on the policy of import substitution- To limit the import of goods by imposing excessive customs duties.
3. Establishment of capital or heavy industries (on the model of Soviet Russia).
4. To encourage savings for investment and monetary control policy to increase savings.
5. Emphasis over the establishment of small and cottage industries for employment-generation.
6. Imposition of Regulation and Licensing control Act, 1951 to prevent the concentration of industries in the hands of a few capitalists.

- The Second Five Year Plan laid emphasis on rapid industrialization and in the same plan Mahalanobis model was prepared by the head of the statistics department, P.C. Mahalanobis.



Foreign policy of India – Formation phase under the British rule, Impact of anti-imperialist policy, Non-alignment, Relations with neighbours and two super powers



■ **Colonial government's foreign policy**

- India's foreign policy under the colonial government needs to be understood in the context of British imperial interest. The concept of buffer zone was first introduced by the British to protect their colonial interests in India. The buffer was the area that existed between the British Empire and its rival empire. The British built two circles around their empire- the Outer Ring and the Inner Ring. Coming from west to east, the outer circle, in which Iran and Afghanistan (buffer area against Russia) and Tibet (buffer area against Russia and China) were included. Whereas, the inner circle included Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim and Burma, which acted as a buffer zone against China.
- To control Russian expansion and ensure the security of the North-Western frontier,

the British demarcated the boundary between India and Afghanistan in 1893 which is known as Durand Line. Similarly, in the North-East, the British decided to clarify their border with Tibet and in 1914 the McMahon Line was drawn.

■ **The foreign policy of India after independence-**

- The foreign policy of India after independence is the result of an extended ideological development over a long period of time. Its basis started taking shape during the freedom struggle. In course of the freedom struggle, India developed an anti-imperialist attitude. In 1927, the conference of oppressed nations was held in Brussels and in this conference one presidential post was given to Jawaharlal Nehru.

- India prominently raised the issue of racism and disarmament under its foreign policy. India considered disarmament as the key to world peace.

■ Relations with Neighbours

- **Nepal:** In July 1950, India entered into a treaty with Nepal under which India recognized Nepal's sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence. It was also agreed upon that both the countries would make each other aware of any dispute and misunderstanding on any issue.
- **Bhutan:** Bhutan is a small country on the southern slopes of the eastern Himalayas, landlocked between China and India. This country is strategically very important for India. In August 1949, India and Bhutan signed a treaty for perpetual peace and friendship. The Government of India undertook to exercise no interference in the internal administration of Bhutan. On its part the Government of Bhutan agreed to be guided by the advice of the Government of India in regard to its external relations.
- **Burma:** Under the leadership of U Nu, the relationship of Burma with India was cordial. But he was overthrown in an army coup and a military government was established there. After 1962, Burma's foreign policy remained confined to itself, although India being a neighbour maintained a friendly relationship with Burma.
- **Pakistan:** From the time of its birth, Pakistan took an anti-India stand and tried to project itself a rival to India in all possible domains. In all international forums, Pakistan started competing with India and adopted various tactics to gain prominence. For example, Pakistan began to establish religious relations with the Muslim states of West Asia. It also joined the Western bloc and thus became a participant in the Cold War.
- Immediately after independence, Kashmir became an important issue between India

and Pakistan. Pakistan attacked over Kashmir and captured the North-western part of it. Indus river water dispute is another major issue between these two countries.

- **China:** In 1949, India was the first nation to establish diplomatic relations with the new communist government formed under the leadership of Mao Zedong. Nehru tried his best so that the Communist China could get a right position in the United Nations. But China could not live up to India's trust. In 1950, without taking India into confidence, China occupied Tibet. Despite this, India accepted China's sovereignty over Tibet in 1954, while giving priority to the relationship with China. India signed the Panchsheel Agreement with China in 1954. In this agreement the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-Existence was accepted.
- In 1959, the issue of political asylum in India to the Dalai Lama, the ruler of Tibet, widened the rift between India and China. Then in October, 1962 China invaded India. Further in 1962, after occupying about 20,000 square miles of Indian territory China declared a unilateral ceasefire.
- **India's relations with the superpowers**
 - **United States of America (USA):** India-US relations have not been cordial ever since India's independence. In fact, after Independence, India expected technological and economic assistance from USA for the purpose of nation-building. But USA demonstrated the anti-India stand on Kashmir issue. Apart from that, It provided economic and military support to Pakistan in 1952 and made it a member of the SEATO and Baghdad Pact. USA called the Non-Aligned Movement as an immoral movement. It further supported the Portuguese on the issue of Goa.
 - In fact, USA was irritated by India's independent foreign policy because it expected India's support in the Cold War. Secondly, USA was inclined towards

Britain and because of India's anti-imperialist stand, Britain's attitude was also anti-India.

- **Soviet Russia :** Initially, India was not having warm relations with USSR because USSR apprehended that India was still under imperialist influence. But from pre independence era, India was a great admirer of the economic success of Russia. When Soviet Russia realized that India was free from imperialist influence, it leaned towards India. After 1951, Soviet Russia provided relief assistance during the famine in India. On Kashmir issue, India got significant support from the Soviet Union. After the death of Stalin, relations between India and Russia improved rapidly. Khrushchev, the new President of Soviet Russia, and Nehru developed a close friendship.
- Soviet Russia helped India in carrying out economic planning and industrialization, on the other USA showed reluctance. Especially after the India-China war i.e. in 1963 Soviet Russia started providing military assistance to India.
- **Non-alignment:**
- Non-alignment simply means taking decisions independently on important international issues on the basis of the merit of issues while remaining unaffected

by the influence of both the factions (capitalist and communist). But non-alignment does not mean neutrality in international affairs. Non-aligned countries do not remain neutral to international events, but they adopt such a clear and constructive policy which is helpful in maintaining world peace. India played an important role in Non-Aligned Movement.

- In the Bandung Conference of 1955, term 'Non-Aligned' came to the fore. The base for the Non-Aligned Movement was prepared in Bandung Conference, but it was formally launched in Belgrade Conference of 1961. The newly independent nations of Asia and Africa organized a conference in Belgrade in 1961 with a common purpose of maintaining autonomy in their foreign policy. Jawaharlal Nehru, Colonel Nasser and Marshal Tito played an important role in NAM. Marshal Tito (President of Yugoslavia) presided over the conference.
- Emphasis of the Preliminary Committee of the First Non-Aligned Conference was on adopting an independent policy on the basis of co-existence and non-alignment, supporting national independence, not participating in any multilateral military treaties, not allowing super powers to build military bases in their territory.

- After the death of Jawaharlal Nehru in May, 1964, Lal Bahadur Shastri became the Prime Minister of India. He remained in his post from 1964 to 1966. During his tenure, internally India was facing the problem of economic crisis, while externally it faced war with its immediate neighbor, Pakistan. To deal with the economic crisis, Lal Bahadur Shastri initiated Green Revolution. Apart from this, he is also given the credit for establishing India's military prestige at the international level.

Economic Policy-

- In the midst of Indo-Pak War, Lal Bahadur Shastri gave the slogan 'Jai Jawan, Jai Kisan'. It shows the intrinsic relationship between military security and food security. In fact, in the 1960s, India was depended over American food aid under PL-480 agreement or "Food for Peace". But when America stopped this food aid, India gave first priority to food security. He believed that food security is necessary for conducting an independent foreign policy. In these circumstances, Lal Bahadur Shastri's government laid the foundation of Green Revolution, but its actual implementation took place during Mrs. Indira Gandhi's tenure because its real impact came to fore after a decade. The seeds of a high-yielding variety (HYV) of wheat was imported in collaboration with M.S. Swaminathan, an agronomist from the Indian Agricultural Research Institute, and Norman Borlaug from Mexico. Also, the Green Revolution was carried forward through the use of chemical fertilizers, pesticides and extensive irrigation.
- India was largely benefitted from the Green Revolution. The production of food grains increased from 50 million tonnes to 180 million tonnes, industrialization was encouraged and India became self-sufficient in food grains.

Foreign policy-

- Just after Nehru, Shastri had to face two major challenges in foreign policy- to counter Pakistan's aggression and to decide India's stand on the policy of nuclear non-proliferation.
- India was a supporter of the policy of nuclear non-proliferation, but it feels they are discriminatory — while non-nuclear states aren't allowed to have nuclear weapons, nuclear-weapon states have no obligation to give them up. But when China conducted nuclear tests in 1964, the Indian government also feel internal pressure to make nuclear weapons. Despite of the Chinese nuclear threat, Lal Bahadur Shastri had made up his mind not to go for nuclear weapons. Instead, he resolved to rely on international nuclear security guarantees, particularly from the United States and the Soviet Union. But at that time the US was determined to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons due to the situation arising out of the Cuban Missile Crisis, so it did not approve.
- On the other, encouraged by the weapons received from USA, Pakistan invaded India in 1965. Lal Bahadur Shastri showed a lot of practical wisdom in this war. Although this war remained indecisive, but India had the upper hand in this war. The war ended due to the intervention of the United Nations. Then in January 1966, Tashkent Agreement was concluded between Lal Bahadur Shastri and General Ayub Khan under the mediation of Soviet Russia. According to the agreement, the following points were to be followed by both countries:
 1. India and Pakistan would both fall back to their previous positions held prior to August 5 1965.
 2. Neither would interfere in the internal affairs of the others and would discourage toxic propaganda against each other.

3. There would be an orderly transfer of prisoners of war, and the two leaders would work towards improving bilateral relations.
 4. The agreement was reached to restore trade and economic relations as before.
- Indira Gandhi succeeded Lal Bahadur Shastri. Foreign policy was a big challenge before her after coming to power. She encouraged realism in India's foreign policy.
 - As she came in power, she got a bitter experience of western imperialism. US and the International Monetary Fund, both were pressurising India to devalue its rupee. Therefore, within 4 months of coming to power, she devaluated the Indian currency by 35.5%. Despite of this, India could not get help from the IMF.
 - Indira Gandhi categorically refused to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) because it was discriminatory. Then in 1974, India conducted a nuclear test in Pokhran and declared its peaceful purpose.
 - One aspect of Indira Gandhi's foreign policy was also to clarify India's stand on environment at the global level. In the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held in Stockholm in 1972, Indira Gandhi described Poverty as the Worst Source of Pollution.

■ **Freedom struggle of Bangladesh:**

- The biggest challenge to Indira Gandhi's foreign policy was the Indo-Pak war of 1971 and the creation of Bangladesh. In fact, in the elections held in Pakistan in 1971, The leader of East Pakistan Mujibur Rahman and his party Awami League got a big victory. Despite this, Military General Yahia Khan and the government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto did not allow the Awami League to form the government. The Awami League launched a Civil Disobedience Movement to protest this, but the government of Pakistan started to suppress it brutally. Mujibur Rahman was

arrested. Mukti Vahani Sena was formed in East Pakistan to face the brutal repression of Pakistan.

• **The compulsions which prompted India to play a decisive role in the emergence of Bangladesh:-**

1. **Genocide in East Pakistan-** It disturbed India's eastern border. Due to atrocities on East Pakistani people by Pakistani army including arson, rape and murder it was a humanitarian crisis due which India had to intervene.
2. **Refugees Crisis:-** The border of East Pakistan is shared with India. So, due to migration of people to escape from persecution was proving to be unmanageable. The arrival of refugees, imbalanced the north-eastern states, West Bengal, Bihar, Odisha. In order to solve the crisis, Indira Gandhi's government had to step in this direction.
3. **Attack of Pakistani Air Force:-** On December 2, 1971, Pakistani Air Force attacked over many air bases of Indian Air Force, due to which India was forced to go with war. Although India was already prepared for this, Pakistani started the war on both the borders i.e. eastern and western border. On December 16, 1971, India defeated Pakistan and arrested more than 93000 Pakistani soldiers. Then Shimla Agreement was signed between the newly elected Prime Minister of Pakistan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Indira Gandhi. In this agreement, a concession was made with Pakistan, except for a small region between Ladakh and Leh, all the territory were returned to Pakistan. Apart from that, India and Pakistan agreed to solve Kashmir issue bilaterally without any intervention of third party, Pakistan agreed to respect LOC and India returned their prisoners of war and Pakistan recognized Bangladesh as a nation in August 1973.





