

HISTORY OPTIONAL NOTES

PART -II

NAME- AMARTYA BANERJEE

NB-I. (PROVIDING A BASIC INSIGHT INTO THE WHOLE SYLLABUS)

NB-II- NEEDS TO SUPPLEMENTED BY PRIMARY SOURCES- I.E- BOOKS

❖ **MEDIEVAL INDIA –**

➤ **BABUR ABOUT IRRIGATION IN NORTH INDIA**

- **GREATER PART = LEVEL LAND**
- **RUNNING WATER = NOT REQUIRED, RAINS ENOUGH**
- **HE WAS AMAZED AT THE SIGHT OF CROPS GROWING WITHOUT WATER**
- **IN LAHORE, DIPALPUR (PUNJAB) – DRAWING OF WATER BY WHEELS, USING A ROPE**
- **USE OF BULLOCKS = TO TURN THE WHEEL**

- IN AGRA, BAYANA (UP) = USE OF A BUCKET ALONGSIDE A WHEEL- 1 PERSON DRIVE BULLOCK, ANOTHER EMPTY THE BUCKET

➤ IRRIGATION & TECHNOLOGY-

- EXPANSION OF AGRICULTURE TOOK PLACE DUE TO –
 - I. ABUNDANCE OF LAND
 - II. AVAILABLE LABOUR
 - III. PEASANT MOBILITY
 - MONSOONS BACKBONE – YET IRRIGATION NEEDED IN PLACES
 - IRRIGATION PROJECTS – REQUIRED STATE SUPPORT – NEW CANALS (NAHAR, NALA) + REPAIR OLD ONES (DG- IN PB, SHAH JAHAN'S TIME)
 - TECH USE- WOODEN PLOUGH WITH IRON TIP
 - A DRILL PULLED BY A OXEN- TO PLANT SEEDS
 - NARROW IRON BLADE WITH WOODEN HANDLE= FOR WEEDING + AS A HOE

➤ STATE OF AGRICULTURE –

- MINIMUM 2 CROPS- DO FASLA , EVEN 3 CROPS IN FEW PLACES
- NOT JUST SUBSISTENCE AS OFTEN IS IMAGE- JINS E KAMIL- (PERFECT CROPS) – COTTON, SUGARCANE
- HENCE = SUBSISTENCE + COMMERCIAL PRODUCTION
- 17TH CENTURY- MAIZE INTRODUCED, BY 18TH, WAS A MAJOR CROP OF WESTERN INDIA
- LATER= PINEAPPLE, PAPAYA

➤ CASTE & RURAL SOCIETY-

- LARGE NO OF CULTIVATORS- LARGE SECTION OF POPULACE
- LOW POSITION IN CASTE HIERARCHY
- EG- IN MUSLIMS COMMUNITIES HALAKHORAN (SCAVENGERS) OUTSIDE THE VILLAGE
- NOW THEN (MALLAHZADAS) = CONDITION SLAVE LIKE
- DIRECT CORRELATION BETWEEN CASTE , POVERTY & SOCIAL STATUS AT THE LOWER LEVEL -NOT SO MUCH AT THE INTERMEDIATE LEVEL
- E.G.- RAJPUTS ARE OFTEN MENTIONED AS PESANTS BUT STILL AT A HIGHER RANK THAN JATS WHO WERE COMPARABLE TO THEM

➤ PANCHAYATS & HEADMEN-

- PANCHAYATS = IMP PEOPLE OF THE VILLAGE WITH HEREDITARY RIGHTS ON LAND
- LOWER CASTES = NOT USUALLY REPRESENTED THERE + DECISIONS BINDING
- HEADMAN = MUQADDAM/ MANDAL.

- SOME SOURCES = HEADMAN CHOSEN BY CONSENSUS AMONGST VILLAGE ELDERS + TO BE RATIFIED BY ZAMINDAR

✓ FUNCTIONS-

1. SEEING THAT TAXES ARE DULY PAID
2. PREPARATION OF VILLAGE ACCOUNTS ASSISTED BY PATWARI
3. SETTLE DISPUTES - OFTEN CASTE RELATED

- MAIN FUNCTION- ENSURE CASTE BINARIES MAINTAINED
- IN EASTERN INDIA- ALL MARRIAGES REQUIRED PRESENCE OF MUQADDAM
- PANCHAYAT = HAD AUTHORITY TO LEVY FINES + EXPULSION / SOCIAL BOYCOTT = EXTREME CASES

- JATI PANCHAYATS - CONSIDERABLE POWER
- EACH CASTE = OWN JATI PANCHAYAT
- MEDIATED = CONTESTED CLAIMS, EVEN MARRIAGE DISPUTES

- PANCHAYATS = DERIVED FUNDS FROM CONTRIBUTIONS FROM COMMON POOL

✓ FUNCTION OF SUCH POOL-

1. ENTERTAINING REVENUE OFFICERS WHO VISITED THE VILLAGE FROM TIME TO TIME
2. TIDING OVER NATURAL CALAMITIES - FLOOD, DROUGHTS
3. DIGGING BUNDS, CANALS ETC

- MANY PETITIONS ARE FOUND FROM MH, GJ = WHERE PEASANTS HAVE COMPLAINED ABOUT - EXHORBITANT TAXATION + BEGAR
- OFTEN THEY HAVE COMPLAINED ABOUT EXCESS TAXATION + ABSENCE OF REMISSION IN CASE OF DROUGHT / FLOOD WHICH WAS A CUSTOMARY PRACTICES
- THUS , WE CAN SEE, RIGHT TO A BASIC MINIMUM = SANCTIONED BY CUSTOM

➤ VILLAGE ARTISANS-

- ELABORATED RELATIONS BETWEEN ARTISAN CLASSSES & DIFFERENT PRODUCERS
- ARTISANS = POTTERS, GOLDSMITHS , DYERS, TEXTILE WORKERS, POTTERS, CARPENTERS
- ARTISANS = SOMETIMES AS HIGH AS 25% OF VILLAGE POPULATION
- OFTEN= NO DISTINCTION BETWEEN ARTISANS + PEASANTS , FLUID
- TIME BETWEEN WEEDING & HARVESTING = TIME WHEN CULTIVATORS COULD ENGAGE IN ARTISAN ACTIVITIES AS WELL
- VILLAGE ARTISAN = SERVICES FOR WHICH COMPENSATED BY DIFFERENT MEANS , E.G.- SHARE OF HARVEST, ALLOTING OF LAND ETC
- IN MAHARASHTRA = THESE LANDS BECAME THE ARTISANS MIRAS/ WATAN
- EG- 18TH CENTURY BENGAL = DAILY ALLOWANCE PAID TO BLACKSMITHS, CARPENTERS

➤ **WOMEN & AGRARIAN SOCIETY-**

- OFTEN MEN & WOMEN = WORK SIDE BY SIDE IN FIELDS
- MEN= TILLED, PLOUGHED, WOMEN = SOWED, WEEDED
- IN MEDIEVAL INDIA = GROWTH OF NUCLEATED VILLAGES + EXPANSION INDIVIDUAL PEASANT TERMING = BASIS OF PREDICTION WAS THE ENTIRE HOUSEHOLD & HENCE GENDERED DIVISION OF LABOUR = NOT POSSIBLE
- BIASES STILL PREVIEWED, EG- MENSTRUATING WOMEN NOT ALLOWED TO TOUCH POTTERS WHEEL
- FEMALE LABOUR = SPINNING YARN, KNEADING CLAY FOR POTTERY = WOMANS JOB
- MORE COMMERCIAL A ORIDCT7, GREATER IS THE FEMALE PARTICIPATION

- WOMEN WERE IMP ALSO= CHILD BEARERS
- HIGH MORTALITY RATES AMONGST WOMEN- MALNUTRITION, DEATH DURING CHILD BIRTH - SHORTAGE OF WIVES
- MARRIAGES = BRIDE PRICE , MANY RURAL AREAS = REMARRIAGE OKAY
- CONTROL OVER WOMEN = BY MEN. FATHERS, HUSBANDS , SONS = ALL EXERCISES CONTROL OVER WOMEN SUCCESSIVELY
- OFTEN DRACONIAN PUNISHMENTS METED OUT, IF SUSPICION KF INFIDELITY , NOT THE SAME FOR MEN THOUGH

- MANY PETITIONS FROM WESTERN INDIA FOUND, WIVES SEEKING JUSTICE FROM PANCHAYATS FOR MALE INFIDELITY
- PANCHAYATS = OFTEN DIDN'T PUNISH MEN BUT ENSURED THAT FAMILY WAS PROVIDED FOR

- RECORDS FROM PB = WOMEN PARTICIPATING NIN RURAL LAND MARKETS , SELLING + MORTGAGING
- 1 OF THE BIGGEST ZAMINDARIS , RAJSHAHI = HEADED BY WOMAN

➤ **ZAMINDARS**

- DIDN'T PARTICIPATE DIRECTLY IN PRODUCTION – ENJOYED SUPERIOR STATUS IN SOCIETY

- ✓ **SOURCE OF THEIR STATUS-**
- ✓ CASTE FACTOR
- ✓ PERFORMED CERTAIN FUNCTIONS (KHIDMAT) FOR STATE- EG- REVENUE COLLECTION
- ✓ HELD EXTENSIVE LANDS (MILKIYAT)

- ✓ MILITARY POWER – HAD FOREST (QILA) + PVT ARMED FORCES
- ✓ ABUL FAZAL = BRAHMIN- RAJPUT COMBINE = CONTROL OF RURAL SOCIETY
- ✓ CONTEMPORARY IMPERIAL DOCUMENTS = INDICATE THAT OFTEN CONQUEST OF NEIGHBOURING AREAS BY A POWERFUL CHIEFTAIN MAY HAVE BEEN THE SOURCE OF ORIGIN OF MANY ZAMINDARS

ZAMINDARI CONSOLIDATION-

- COLONISATION OF NEW LANDS , TRANSFER OF LAND RIGHTS, PURCHASE ETC
- COMBINATION OF THESE FACTORS ALLOWED CLAN OR LINEAGE BASED ZAMINDARS, EG- RAJPUT/ JATS IN NORTH OR SADAGOPAS IN BENGAL

RELATIONSHIP OF ZAMINDARS WITH PEASANTRY-

- RECIPROCITY- PATERNALISM + PATRONAGE
- PATERNALISM- PROTECT PEASANTS FROM EXPLOITING REVENUE COLLECTOR + LOAN WAIVER IN CASE CROPS FAILED
- PATRONAGE = ARTISANS, EMPLOYMENT FOR ORDINARY PEOPLE

EVIDENCE-

- BHAKTI SAINTS (WHOMWEREOFTEN AGAINST CASTE / CLASS BASED EXPLOITATION) CONDEMNED THE TAX COLLECTOR NOT ZAMINDAR
- IN AGRARIAN UPROSODG7= ZAMINDARS + PEASANTS WORK TOGETHER

➤ LAND REVENUE-

- DAFTAR (OFFICE) OF DIWAN = CENTRE POINT OF REVENUE MATTERS
- MUGHALS = CONCENTRATED 1ST ACQUIRING SPECIFIC INFO ABOUT EXTENT OF AGRICULTURE LAND IN EMPIRE - THEN FIX TAXES

✓ LAND REVENUE – 2 STAGES

- A. ASSESSMENT
- B. COLLECTION

✓ 2 TYPES OF AMOUNT-

- A. JAMA= ASSESSED AMOUNT
- B. HAASIL = ACTUAL AMOUNT

- BOTH CULTIVATED + CULTIVABLE LAND = ASSESSED
- AIN I AKBARI = COMPILED LISTS OF SUCH LAND
- 1665 = AURANGZEB INSTRUCTED REVENUE OFFICERS TO PREPARE ANNUAL RECORDS OF NUMBER OF CULTIVATORS

➤ AIN I AKBARI-

- BY PRODUCT OF A LARGE HISTORICAL, ADMINISTRATIVE PROJECT UNDERTAKEN BY KABUL FASLA ON ORDEDS OF AKBAR
- PART OF A MUCH LARGER PROJECT OF HISTORY WRITING CALLED AKBAR NAMA
- AIN = 3RD BOOK OF AKBAR NAMA, DETAILED ACCOUNT OF ORGANISATION, ADMINISTRATION, COURT , GEOGRAPHY, CULTURE ,CUSTOMS

✓ 5 BOOKS (DAFTARS)-

- 1ST- MANZIL ABADI = IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD
- 2ND- SIPAH ABADI = MILITARY, ADMINSTRATIVE ASPECTS. INCLUDES BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF OFFICERS, MANSABDARS ETC
- 3RD- MULK ABADI = FISCAL SIDE OF EMPIRE – REVENUE RATES = DETAILS DOWN TO SARKAR LEVEL
- 4TH & 5TH – RELIGIOUS, CULTURAL TRADITIONS OF PEOPLE

✓ CRITICAL EVALUATION OF AIN I AKBARI AS A SOURCE OF HISTORY-

- EVEN THOUGH OFFICIALLY SPONSORED BY AKBAR, IT WAS MUCH MORE THAN A REPRODUCTION OF OFFICIAL PAPERS
- REVISED 5 TIMES BY AUTHOR = SUGGESTS CAUTION FORM AUTHENTICITY BY ABUL FASLA
- NUMBER OF ERRORS DETECTED = HOWEVER MINOR & DONT TAKE AWAY THE VERACITY OF THE ACCOUNT
- SKEWED INFO = EG – CASTE COMPOSITION OF ALL ZAMINDARS IN GIVEN, EXCEPT FOR – BENGAL, ODISHA
- VITAL PARAMETERS SUCH AS WAGES , PRICES = FOR MANY SUBAS NOT GIVEN
- PRICE LEVELS REFLECT PRICES AROUND AGRA (CAPITAL AREA), NOT WHOLE COUNTRY

➤ EVOLUTION OF PERSIAN LANGUAGE IN INDIA-

- CAME WITH TURKS- ADOPTED PERSIAN CULTURE
- SPOKEN IN GARRISONS OF TURKISH SOLDIERS – INFLUENCE OF LOCAL LANGUAGES
- UNDER SULTANATE- COURT + LITERARY LANGUAGE
- UNDER MUGHALS – IMPETUS . BABUR WROTE – CHAGHTAI TURKISH
- UNDER AKBAR = CONSCIOUSLY SET OUT TO MAKE PERSIAN = COURT LANGUAGE
- FACILITATED - REGULAR CONTACTS WITH IRAN, CENTRAL ASIA, EMIGRANTS FROM THESE AREAS
- PERSIAN – ELEVATED STATUS TO THOSE WHO KNEW IT, REVENUE OFFICERS + ACCOUNTANTS , CLERKS = LEARNT IT AS IT WAS THE LANGUAGE IN WHICH GOVT BUSINESS WAS CARRIED OUT . EG – EVEN TILL TIME OF RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY = PERSIAN WAS REQUIRED FOR A CAREER IN PUBLIC SERVICE
- PERSIAN- INFLUENCED LOCAL LANGUAGES- RAJASTHANI , MARATHI , EVEN TAMIL
- LOCAL IDIOMS OF PERSIAN + INDIAN LANGUAGE = RISE TO URDU

➤ MUGHAL PAINTING-

- BELIEF = NOT JUST ENHANCE BEAUTY , ALSO – COMMUNICATED IDEAS
- ABUL FAZAL = PAINTING = MAGICAL ART
- CONSTANTLY TUSSELE BETWEEN ORTHODOX ELEMENTS + LIBERAL ONES = REGARDING PAINTINGS
- IRANIAN ARTISTS – ABDUS SAMAD + MIR SYED ALI = ACCOMPANIED HUMAYUN TO INDIA
- LATER – DASAWANT , BASAWANT – INDIAN IDIOMS
- OVERWHEMINGLY SECULAR- COURT SCENES, NOBLES, HUNTING SCENES
- UNDER EUROPEAN INFLUENCE- FOE SHROTENING- PACKING OBJECTS IN PERSPECTIVE

✓ ABUL FAZAL ON PAINTINGS

- AKBAR SHOWED INTEREST IN PAINTINGS FROM AN EARLY AGE
- EACH WEEK SEVERAL PAINTINGS WOULD BE SUBMITTED TO THE EMPEROR- HE WOULD REWARD THE ONES HE LIKED
- MENTIONS EUROPEAN PAINTERS
- ALSO MENTIONS THE SKILL OF INDIAN PAINTERS IN BOTH SECULAR + RELOGIOUS THEMES

✓ ABUL FAZAL-

- GREW UP- AGRA.
- WIDEST READ – ARABIC, PERSIAN, GREEK, SUFISM
- INDEPENDENT THINKER + DEBATER – OPPOSED ORTHODOX ULEMAS
- THIS – IMPRESSED AKBAR, MADE HIM = ADVISER

➤ AKBARNAMA-

- TOOK 13 YEARS TO BE COMPLETED
- SOURCES – CHRONICLES OF EVENTS, OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS, ORAL TESTIMONIES

✓ 3 PARTS –

- 1ST – HISTORY OF MAKING FROM ADAM TO FIRST 30 YEARS OF AKBAR'S REIGN
- 2ND – FROM 30TH - 46TH YEAR OF REIGN
- 3RD - AIN- AKBARI

- SYNCHRONIC ACCOUNT OF GEOGRAPHIC, SOCIAL, ADMINISTRATIVE INFO IN MUGHAL EMPIRE WITHOUT REFERENCE TO CHRONOLOGY
- ORNATE LANGUAGE – LATER OTHERS INFLUENCED BY STYLE

➤ IDEAS EXPRESSED ON AKBAR NAMA & BADSHAHNAMA-

✓ DIVINE LIGHT-

- FARR IZZADI - EMANATING FROM GOD
- MAY HAVE ORIGIN- IN IDEAS OF PLATO WHERE GOD WAS REPRESENTED AS RAYS OF SUN
- THIS LIGHT – SOURCE OF SPIRITUAL GUIDANCE FOR MONARCH
- MUGHAL PAINTINGS FROM 17TH CENTURY ONWARDS (AFTER EUROPEAN INFLUENCE) - SHOW EMPERORS WITH HALO, LIKE AROUND JESUS , VIRGIN MARY

✓ UNIFYING FORCE-

- EMPIRE – OF HETEROGENEOUS COMMUNITIES/ FAITHS
- SULH – I KUL = ALL SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT WELCOME AS LONG AS THEY DON'T FIGHT THE STATE
- IDEAS – IMPLEMENTED MORE OR LESS IN THE CREATION OF A DIVERSE NOBILITY

✓ SOVEREIGNTY AS A SOCIAL CONTRACT-

- EMPEROR PROTECTS –
- JAN – LIFE
- MAAL- PROPERTY
- DIN – FAITH
- NAMOOS – HONOR
- IN RETURN - OBEDIENCE , SHARE OF RESOURCES

➤ ROLE OF WOMEN IN MUGHAL COURTS –

✓ NUR JAHAN-

- IMPORTANT ADVISER OF JAHANGIR, SOMETIMES – DE FACTO RULER

- COURT POLITICS – PLACED RELATIVES NON IMP POSTS + CARRIED OUT PVT TRADE

- AFTER NUR JAHAN – MUGHAL LADIES = FINANCIAL RESOURCES
- ROSHANARA , JAHANARA - DAUGHTERS OF SHAH JAHAN - ANNUAL INCOME EQUAL TO A HIGH MANSABDAR
- JAHANARA = INCOME FROM CITY OF SURAT ALSO
- CONTROL OVER VAST RESOURCES HELPED THESE LADIES COMMISSION BUILDINGS, BAZAARS . EG- JAHANARA DESIGNED CHANDNI CHOWK IN DELHI

- HUMAYUN NAMA BY GULBADAN BEGUM- HIGH QUALITY
- NOT JUST IDEALISED PICTURE – BUT DETAILS OF DIFFERENCE OF OPINION, VISION – PORTRAYED

❖ MODERN INDIA –

➤ DATA-

- ✓ BY END OF 17TH CENTURY- OUT OF 8000 MANSABDARS, ONLY 440 CONTROLLED – 61% OF REVENUE OF EMPIRE
- ✓ INCREASING INFLATION - 17TH CENTURY
- ✓ BY CONQUEST OF DECCAN – 23% INCREASE IN KHALISA LAND , MOST OF IT KEPT FOR CENTRAL TREASURY
- ✓ 1700-1722 = REVENUE COLLECTION INCREASED BY 20%
- ✓ GOODS FROM BENGAL = 60% OF IMPORTS FROM ASIA – FOR EIC
- ✓ PLASSEY PLUNDER –
 - a) COMPANY RECEIVED - £ 22.5 MILLION FROM MIR JAFAR
 - b) CLIVE AMASSED A PERSONAL FORTUNE OF APPROX - £ 34,000
- ✓ REVENUE DEMAND DOUBLED BETWEEN 1765-93

- ✓ BETWEEN 1780'S-1810 = LAND YIELDING NEARLY 45% OF REVENUE WAS AUCTIONED – PERMANENT SETTLEMENT
- ✓ DECCAN, 1830'S = LAND REVENUE FIXED AT 55% FOR A TIME.
- ✓ BETWEEN 1840-60 = 50 TO 60 EXTENDED FAMILIES CONTRIBUTED TO THE MAJORITY OF ICS .
- ✓ BY WW I – INDIA CONSUMED = 85% OF COTTON GOODS OF LANCASHIRE + 17 % OF BRITISH IRON & STEEL = INDIAN RAILWAYS
- ✓ BY 1922 – INDIANS ONLY 15% OF ICS. BY 1941 = INDIANS OUTNUMBERED EUROPEANS .
- ✓ DRAIN OF WEALTH- BY LATE 19TH CENTURY- £ 17 MILLION PER YEAR / 2% OF NATIONAL EXPORTS – THOUGH IT MAY SEEM SMALL BUT ACCORDING TO DADABHAI NAOROJI - WHAT WAS BEING EXPORTED WAS POTENTIAL SURPLUS WHICH COULD HAVE BEEN RE INVESTED IN INDIA
- ✓ TOTAL CROPPED AREA DOUBLED BETWEEN 1900-1939 , ONLY IN ABSOLUTE TERMS. IN RELATIVE TERMS ONLY 25% INCREASED
- ✓ BY 1947- FOOD CROPS BEING GROWN ON 80% OF AREA. HOWEVER WAY BEHIND THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE POPULATION AT THAT TIME
- ✓ NEARLY 70 % OF AGRICULTURE POPULATION WERE NON OWNERS OF LAND
- ✓ BY 1900 = 20% OF TOTAL LAND WAS UNDER COLONIAL FOREST ADMINISTRATION
- ✓ NO OF STUDENTS – 4 MILLION BY 1896-97, DOUBLED BY 1920
- ✓ BETWEEN 1892-1909 = CONGRESS DELEGATES –

LAWYERS (40%) > LANDLORDS (19%) > TRADERS (15%)

- ✓ BETWEEN 1892-1909 – INC DELEGATES – 90% HINDUS, 6.5% MUSLIMS
- ✓ INDIANISATION OF INDUSTRY- 1944 – 62% OF LARGE & 96% OF SMALLER UNITS = INDIAN
- ✓ WOMENS EDUCATION- BY 1890'S - 98% OF WOMEN IN SCHOOL GOING AGE = ILLITERATE
- ✓ DURING PARTITION – 75,000 – 1 LAKH WOMEN SEXUALLY ABUSED / ABDUCTED
- ✓ BENGAL FAMINE DEATH TOLL- 3 MILLION , 1943 – BY PROF AMARTYA SEN .

- ✓ 1886- REPORT OF PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION – 18,000 EDUCATED IN MADRAS, 16K IN BENGAL
- ✓ 300% INCREASE IN DEFENCE EXPENDITURE DURING WAR YEARS.
- ✓ IN 1951 = LITERACY WAS -16.6%

DATA ON ECONOMIC HARDSHIPS ON WW I

1. NATIONAL DEBT = INCREASED BY RS 3 MILLION - 1914-23
 2. PRICE INDEX ON AN ALL INDIA LEVEL = ROSE FROM 147 TO 281 (1914-23)
 3. LIVING COSTS – INCREASED BY 60-70% BUT WAGES , 15-20%
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- ✓ CDM = BOYCOTT OF FOREIGN CLOTHES REDUCED IMPORT OF FOREIGN CLOTHES DOWN FROM £ 26 MILLION TO £ 13 MILLION IN 1930
 - ✓ EXAMPLE OF UPPER CASTE DOMINATION- IN MADRAS PRESIDENCY – UPPER CASTES = 3 % OF POPULATION BUT 42% OF JOBS
 - ✓ IN PARTITION – 1 MILLION DIED , 10 MILLION DISPLACED
 - ✓ WHEN INDIA GAINED INDEPENDENCE- 80% OF INVESTMENTS WERE OF BRITISH + 25% OF TRADE WAS WITH BRITAIN
 - ✓ DATA ON 1901 ON DE INDUSTRIALIZATION-
 - DECLINE IN POPULATION DEPENDENT UPON INDUSTRY- 18% TO 8%
 - MASSIVE DROP IN WEAVERS, SPINNERS ETC
 - ✓ DATA TO SHOW EFFECTS OF DEMOCRATIC DECISION MAKING & EFFECT UPON SOCIETY
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 - WHEN EDUCATION WAS TRANSFERRED TO POPULARLY ELECTED MINISTRIES UNDER 1919 ACT – STUDENT POPULATION JUMPED FROM 5 % TO 7%
 - ✓ DATA ON INDIAN ECONOMY IN 1947-

1. SAVINGS- ONLY 2.75% OF GDP
 2. NEARLY 50% OF INCOME = MILITARY
 3. LANDLORDS, PEASANTS , MONEYLENDERS = APPROPRIATED 20% OF NATIONAL INCOME
 4. DUE TO COLLAPSE OF INDUSTRIES - OVERCROWDING IN APRIL- INCREASE IN AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS FROM 13% (1870) – 28 % BY 1947
- ✓ PROOF THAT HIGH POPULATION GROWTH WAS NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR POVERTY & UNEMPLOYMENT -
- GROWTH RATE OF POPULATION – ONLY 0.6% BETWEEN 1870-1947

✓ REGIONAL INEQUALITY IN DEVELOPMENT POST INDEPENDENCE-

- AT 1947 – BOMBAY + BENGAL UNACCOUNTED FOR NEARLY 65% OF INDUSTRIAL CAPACITY
- PER CAPITA INCOME WAS NEARLY 100 RUPEES MORE THAN OTHER STATES

➤ NATURE OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MARATHA & MUGHALS-

1. IRFAN HABIB = ZAMINDARI REVOLT AGAINST OPPRESSIVE MUGHAL BUREAUCRACY
2. SATISH CHANDRA - REGIONAL NATURE OF MOVEMENT. EVEN THOUGH BAJI RAO MADE A MOVE TOWARDS NORTH WEST, MAJOR CONCENTRATION = DECCAN
3. ANDRE WINK - MARATHAS WITHIN MUGHAL TRADITIONS – AS THEY ADOPTED MUGHAL ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM + ACKNOWLEDGED SYMBOLIC AUTHORITY OF THE MUGHAL EMPEROR

➤ TRENDS OF BRITISH THINKING THAT INFLUENCED THE ADMINISTRATION

- EVANGELISM + UTILITARIANISM = AGREED THAT INDIA WAS CONQUERED BY FORCE (SINFULLY) & HENCE NEEDED REFORM NOT DISCONTINUANCE OF BRITISH RULE
- COMBINATIONS OF THESE 2 IDEOLOGIES PRODUCED THE IDEA THAT ENGLISH SHOULD REMAIN PERMANENTLY IN INDIA

✓ EVANGELISM-

- CHANGE NATURE OF HINDUSTAN , MISSIONARIES IN SERAMPORE
- CHARLES GRANT = EXPONENT, SAID THAT BRITISH IDEAS NEEDED TO REFORM INDIAN TRADITIONS
- HELP FROM WILLIAM WILBERFORCE = IN PARLIAMENT
- NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN EVANGELISTS, UTILITARIANS AS FAR AS ASSIMILATION & ANGLICISATION WAS CONCERNED

✓ LIBERALISM-

- THOMAS MACAULEY= TASK OF ADMINISTRATORS TO CIVILISE NOT CONQUER
- C E TREVELYAN = WANTED TO LEAVE INDIA AS THE PROUDEST MONUMENT OF BRITISH LIBERALISM

✓ UTILITARIANISM

- BENTHAM, MILL – GOOD LAWS, ENLIGHTENED RULE = HAPPINESS OF MAXIMUM
- JAMES MILL = TURNED IT MILITANT , NOT APPRECIATION OF INDIAN TRADITION LIKE WILLIAM JONES RATHER CONTEMPT.
- LAW COMMISSION ,1833 = IPC DUE TO HIS EFFORTS
- BENTINCK = FOLLOWER OF MILL, ABOLISHED SATI+ INFANTICIDE

✓ DIFFERENCE BETWEEN UTILITARIANISM & LIBERALS-

- THE FORMER WANTED INDIAN EDUCATION IN VERNACULAR WHILE LIBERALS IN ENGLISH
- LIBERALS WON = 1835 MACAULEY'S MINUTES = ENGLISH WAS DECIDED

✓ POST 1857 –

- VICTORIAN LIBERALISM WON
- EXPERIENCE OF 1857 MADE BRITISH WARY OF REFORM
- DIDN'T ABANDON AT ALL = COUNCILS ACT, 1861 + RIPON'S RESOLUTION 1882 ETC
- HOWEVER APPRECIATION OF INDIAN CULTURE REPLACED BY ARROGANCE

✓ CONCLUSIONS ABOUT REVOLT OF 1857-

- SOMETHING MORE THAN A MILITARY MUTINY BUT LESS THAN A NATIONAL REVOLT
- 1857 WAS NOT ONE MOVEMENT BUT MANY- MULTIPLICITY OF MOVEMENTS + CAUSES
- REBELS WANTED TO BRING BACK THE OLD ORDER WHICH DIDN'T MEAN THAT THEY WANTED TO RESTORE THE MUGHAL EMPIRE BUT RATHER THE DECENTRALIZED POLITY WITH MUGHAL EMPEROR AS THE FIGURE HEAD
- COLONIAL RULE AFFECTED EVERYONE DIFFERENTLY & HENCE EVERYONE REACTED DIFFERENTLY TO IT.

➤ ACT OF 1858 - MORE CONTINUITY THAN CHANGE?

- REPLACED GOVT GEN WITH VICEROY
- DUAL CONTROL – REPLACED WITH SINGLE POINT OF ANSWERING – SECY OF STATE FOR INDIA – PART OF CABINET
- PROCESS OF CROWN/ PARLIAMENT CONTROL SLOWLY PROGRESSING FROM 1773 ONWARDS – HENCE NOT VERY DIFFERENT
- STRUCTURE OF CIVIL SERVICES + ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES = SAME
- COUNCILS ACT OF 1861- SOME INDIANS INCLUDED, BUT RULERS/ UPPER CLASS

✓ WHAT CHANGED-

- ABANDONMENT OF EVANGELICAL REFORM. OFTEN SIDED WITH ORTHODOXY.
- PROMISES OF REFORM ABANDONED, PERMANENT BRITISH PRESENCE
- AWARE OF FACT THAT BRITISH WERE A MINORITY- CULTIVATED RULERS (BREAKWATERS IN THE STORM COMMENT) + DIVIDE & RULE
- RACIAL SUPERIORITY

✓ EVALUATION-

- DIDN'T CHANGE FUNDAMENTALLY THE WAY INDIA WAS ADMINISTERED – JUST SUPERFICIAL CHANGES

● PEASANT REBELLIONS -

1. 1830's - INDIGO
2. 1870 BENGAL - AGRARIAN LEAGUES, AGAINST ZAMINDARI OPPRESSION+ DENY THEM OCCUPANCY

3. 1874-75 - DECCAN RIOTS, MONELYLENDERS

- CHARACTERISTICS OF POST 1857 PEASANT REBELLIONS-

1. LED BY PEASANTS, AS ZAMIDARS / PRINCES EITHER CRUSHED OR CO OPTED
2. SPECIFIC REGIONAL GRIEVANCES
3. NO ACTIVITY AGAINST COLONIAL REGIME OR INEQUITOUS RURAL AGRARIAN RELATIONS
4. LIMITED IN REACH, PEASANTS DEVELOPED SENSE OF RIGHT OR WRONG, THAT IS DIDN'T FIGHT AGAINST LANDLORDISM BUT AGAINST EVICTION + ILLEGAL LEVIES

WEAKNESSES-

1. NO CONCEPTION OF A WIDER ANTI IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE
2. BRITISH RAJ CONCILIATED THE MODERATE ONES & RUTHLESSLY CRUSHED THE MORE RADICAL ONES
3. NO CONCEPTION OF AN ALTERNATE SOCIETY, NO PAN INDIA VISION

➤ COMMON FEATURES OF ALL ENGLISH LAND SETTLEMENTS –

- OVER ASSESSMENT
- REASON = MAIN AIM = REVENUE MAXIMIZATION

✓ RESULTS-

- ARREARS OF PAYMENT
- MOUNTING DEBTS
- INCREASING LAND SALES
- DISPOSSESSION
- LAND AS A SALEABLE COMMODITY + COMMERCIALISATION OF AGRIL

➤ EXAMPLES OF BRITISH AGENTS INTERVENING TO CHANGE SOCIAL EQUILIBRIUM IN INDIAN STATES-

✓ SIROHI-

- RJ – RULER + RULING GROUPS = BALANCE OF POWER
- BRITISH AGENTS = DISTURBED IT AS THEY THREW THEIR WEIGHT BEHIND THE KING
- TRADITIONALLY SUPPORT MECHANISMS COLLAPSED

✓ TRAVANCORE-

- PRESSURE FROM MADRAS PRESIDENCY
- GRADUAL OPENING UP- ENERGETIC DIWAN = MADHAVA RAO
- WESTERN EDUCATION, A POPULAR ASSEMBLY, SEMBLANCE OF MERITOCRACY

➤ ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA & EMPIRE – (SUCCINTLY SUMMED UP)

- INDIA SUPPLIED TO PAY FOR ITSELF + INDIAN RESOURCES TO BE AVAILABLE TO EMPIRE
- INDIAN EMPIRE TO BE A MARKET FOR BRITISH GOODS + SOURCE OF RAW MATERIALS
- Eg- BY WW I – INDIA CONSUMED = 85% OF COTTON GOODS OF LANCASHIRE + 17 % OF BRITISH IRON & STEEL = INDIAN RAILWAYS

➤ HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT-

✓ C A BAYLY-

- PRE-EXISTING SENSE OF NATIONALISM-
- COMMON TERRITORY
- TRADITIONAL PATRIOTISM
- TRADITIONALLY ETHICAL + MORAL VALUES

✓ NATIONALIST-

- INDIAN NATIONALISM - DUE TO COLONIALISM GLUE THAT HOLDS TOGETHER –
- ANTIPATHY + EFFECTS PRODUCED

CRITIQUE-

- NO EMPHASIS UPON CONTRADICTION OF SOCIETY

✓ CAMBRIDGE-

- BRITISH RULE – NEEDED COLLABORATORS
- ELITES DEVELOPED – ENGINEERED THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT FOR THEIR OWN PURPOSE
- COMPETITION – COLLABORATOR SYNDROME
- CRITIQUE- NO PLACE FOR NATIONALISM , IDEOLOGY

✓ NEO TRADITIONALIST -

- POLITICIZATION OF INDIAN SOCIETY ALONG TRADITIONAL LINES- CASTE, RELIGION, LANGUAGE ETC
- MOST IMP FACTOR- COLONIAL RULE – THE TRADITIONAL ELITES (BHADRALOK IN BENGAL, CHITPAVAN BRAHMINS IN MH) BENEFITTED MOST
- THUS ELITE CHARACTER TILL = GANDHIJI CAME IN WITH MASS POLITICS

✓ MARXIST-

- CONCENTRATE- DEVELOPMENT OF COLONIAL ECONOMY, INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISM TO EXPLAIN INDIAN MOVEMENT

✓ BIPAN CHANDRA, PANNIKKAR-

- MARXIST VIEW WITH A NATIONALIST ORIENTATION
- 2 KINDS OF CONTRADICTIONS- A) BETWEEN INDIAN & BRITISH INTERESTS B) BETWEEN INDIANS THEMSELVES (CASTE, RELIGION ETC)
- GANDHIJI, NEHRU = RECOGNISED INDIA IS A NATION IN THE MAKING
- INDEPENDENCE ACHIEVED BUT MANY OF THE INTERNAL CONTRADICTIONS = NOT SOLVED

✓ ASHISH NANDY – NATIONALISM AS A DISCOURSE DERIVED FROM THE WEST FOR INDIA

- ✓ AUTHOR CONCLUDES- POLYPHONIC NATIONALISM WHERE EACH TUNE PLAYS IN HARMONY WITH THE OVERALL WITHOUT LOSING ITS OWN DISTINCTIVENESS .
NUMEROUS CONTRADICTIONS PRESENT BUT THEY ARE NOT YET SOLVED.

➤ ISSUES OF HINDU MUSLIM CONFLICT-

1. COW PROTECTION
2. HINDI VS URDU
3. INVOCATION OF GODDESS & GODS

➤ RAILWAYS-

- 1850'S LORD DALHOUSIE, 2 OBJECTIVE-

- ✓ SMOOTH ARMY MOVEMENT
- ✓ EASY EXTRACTION OF RESOURCES FROM HINTERLAND

- ARGUED THAT RAILWAYS WAS FOR BENEFIT OF PEOPLE-

- ✓ PVT DEVELOPERS GIVEN 5% GUARANTEE ON CAPITAL INVESTMENT

- ✓ LEASE FOR 99 YEARS, AFTER WHICH WILL REVERT BACK

- ✓ HOWEVER EVEN A FEW MONTHS BEFORE 99 YEAR LEASE WAS TO EXPIRE, PVT COMPANY COULD GIVE BACK LAND + GET FULL 5% INTEREST ON CAPITAL

- ✓ PREFERENTIAL FREIGHT RATES = LOWER FREIGHT FOR GOODS TRAVELLING FROM INTERIOR TO PORTS THAN VICE VERSA

- ✓ **MANUFACTURING - BENEFITTED BRITISH COS**
- ✓ **NO TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY**
- ✓ **HENCE = RAILWAYS GOOD EXAMPLE OF PVT ENTERPRISE AT PUBLIC EXPENDITURE**
- ✓ **DATA ON DE INDUSTRIALIZATION-**
 - **AT THE ONSET OF BRITISH RULE – INDIA ACCOUNTED FOR 25% MANUFACTURING OF THE WORLD. AT END = LESS THAN 1%**
 - **PROPORTION OF ARTISANS AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL INDUSTRIAL POPULATION- FELL FROM 62% TO 15% BETWEEN 19TH & 20TH CENTURY**
 - **BETWEEN 19TH & 20TH CENTURY = OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF INDIA- AGRIL= 70%, 10% = MANUFACTURING, SERVICES = 10-15%**

➤ **COLONIAL CHARACTER OF SOCIAL REFORM-**

- **THE ATTITUDE OF REFORMERS MIRRORED COLONIAL ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT INDIAN SOCIETY-**
- ✓ **RELIGION WAS THE BASIS OF INDIAN SOCIETY**
- ✓ **EVERYONE WAS SUBSERVIENT TO SCRIPTURES (NOTWITHSTANDING THE EXISTENCE OF NASKTIKA SCHOOLS)**
- ✓ **ALL DISTORTIONS WORK OF CUNNING PEOPLE, EG BRAHMINS**
- **COLONIAL RULERS ATTEMPTED TO CHANGE ONLY AFTER GETTING SCRIPTURAL ACCEPTANCE**
- **THE BRUTALITY, IRRATIONALITY OF CUTOM = SUBSERVIENT TO THE DEBATE**

➤ **RESTORATIVE REBELLIONS-**

- **KATHLEEN GOUGH- REBELLIONS OF RAJA CHAIT SINGH, BUNDELAS, POLIGAR REBELLION**

COMMON FEATURES-

- 1) **STARTED BY DISAFFECTED ZAMINDARS, LOCAL LAND OWNERS, EX MUGHAL OFFICIALS**
- 2) **OFTEN HAD SUPPORT OF PEASANTRY**
- 3) **REINSTATE EXISTING ORDER OF AGRARIAN RELATIONS**

➤ WHY DID THE BENGAL PARTITION UNITE THE BENGALIS INSTEAD OF DIVIDING THEM?

- EMERGING BENGALI IDENTITY- DUE TO RISE OF A POWERFUL VERNACULAR LITERATURE
- GREATER GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY
- SPREAD OF NEWSPAPERS + IDEAS
- SUCCESSION OF FAMINES + EPIDEMICS = NO BRITISH ACTION DESTROYED BELIEF IN PROVIDENTIAL NATURE OF BRITISH RULE
- PRICE RISES HIT MIDDLE + LOWER CLASS BOTH

CONCLUSION-

- GAVE RISE TO A POWERFUL COALITION BETWEEN CALCUTTA BASED LEADERS + THEIR FOLLOWERS
- THIS WAS CALLED = *SWADESHI COALITION* BY RAJAT RAY
- ALSO CALLED THIS COALITION = *REVOLUTIONARY*

➤ USE OF CENSUS-

- MADE RELIGION THE MAIN DEMOGRAPHIC CRITERIA
- IT DISCUSSED-
 1. RELATIVE SIZE OF EACH RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY
 2. THEIR % AS A PART OF THE TOTAL POPULATION
 3. RELATIVE / ABSOLUTE DECLINE
 4. POPULATION IN EACH REGION/ COUNTRY AS A WHOLE

- RELIGION WAS DEFINED AS A SET OF INDIVIDUALS UNITED BY SOME FORMAL DEFINITION RATHER THAN = IDEAS
- BY CENSUS – BRITS UNDERSTOOD – MUSLIMS -49.2% OF POPULATION OF BENGAL IN 1890'S + CONCENTRATED IN EASTERN DISTRICTS
- PUNJAB- MUSLIMS = 51% OF POPULATION
- HENCE = CONCENTRATED EFFORTS ON COMMUNAL DIVIDE - EASTERN VS WESTERN
- THE GEOGRAPHICAL SPREAD + COMMUNITY WISE DISTRIBUTION MADE OVERALL BRITISH POLICY REGARDING DIVIDE & RULE EASIER. THEY KNEW WHERE TO POST OFFICERS HAVING BIAS TOWARDS ONE COMMUNITY OR OTHER IN WHICH AREA
- LATER MUSLIM LEAGUE POLITICS WERE ALSO SHAPED BY CONSIDERATIONS OF MAJORITY / MINORITY IN CERTAIN AREAS
- CRIES OF ISLAM IN DANGER = STEMMED FROM FEAR PSYCHOSIS CREATED BY REALISATION ABOUT BEING MINORITY

➤ MUSLIMS IN INDIA –

BENGAL-

1. MUSLIMS = 23% OF SCHOOL GOING POPULATION, HINDUS = 70%
2. COLLEGE GOING , HINDUS -94% , MUSLIMS = 6%

NORTH INDIA

1. EVEN BY 1882, MUSLIMS = 35% OF GOVT JOBS
2. HOWEVER WITH TIME , THEIR POSITION IN SUBORDINATE JUDICIARY + SERVICES , DECLINED FROM 63% (1857) TO 34% IN 1913
3. HINDUS INCREASED FROM 24% TO 60%

MUSLIM CONSCIOUSNESS

- W. W. HUNTER 'S BOOK = *INDIAN MUSSALMANS , 1871*
- POSTULATE = MUSLIM EXCLUSION FORM JOBS + SERVICES LED TO SUPPORT FOR WAHABI + FERAIZI MOVEMENT
- FAVOURED = SPECIAL GOVT REPRESENTATION OF MUSLIMS IN EDUCATION + SERVICES
- SUBORDINATE SERVICES ORDER, 1897 = 66% POSTS IN SUBORDINATE SERVICES TO BE FILLED BY NOMINATION TO BALANCE BOTH COMMUNITIES
- THE INCREASING DEMANDS OF MUSLIM ORGANISATION'S STEMMED FROM CONSCIOUSNESS OF THEIR NUMBERS & THEIR MAJORITY STATUS = CENSUS
- LATER PARTITION OF BENGAL = OSTENSIBLY FOR MUSLIMS GETTING A LARGER SGARE OF POWER + JOBS
- SWADESHI MOVEMENT , RELIGIOUS OVERTONES OF MOVEMENT ALIENATED THE MUSLIMS
- MADE PLAUSIBLE MOBILISATION

● SUB ALTERN HISTORIOGRAPHY ON THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT-

1. IT CONTENDS - ONLY 2 CONTRADICTIONS IN SOCIETY - BETWEEN ELITES & SUB ALTERNS
2. DURING BRITISH RULE - BETWEEN SUBALTERNS & BOTH INDIAN & BRITISH ELITES
3. INDIAN MOVEMENT - DIVIDED INTO 2 -
 - A) ELITE - CONGRESS
 - B) SUB ALTERNS - PEASANTS,POOR
4. IT IS SIMILAR TO COLONIAL HISTORIOGRAPHY EXCEPT THAT IT DOESN'T DIVIDE NATIONAL.MOVEMENT INTO 2 STRANDS
5. PRAISE - ALL MILITANT ,RADICAL MOVEMENT BY PEASANT & POOR
6. EQUAL CONTEMPT FOR ANY MOVEMENT BY INTELLIGENTSIA

➤ FOUNDATION OF MUSLIM LEAGUE-

- M. S JAIN BELIEVES = ML WAS A LOGICAL CULMATION OF ALIGARH MOVEMENT
- GROWTH OF IDEAS + SEAPRATE CONSCIOUSNESS + DEMAND FOR GREATER OF POWER, JOBS = FROM ALIGARH

- OTHERS – THINK THAT ML WAS A LOGICAL OUTCOMES OF POLITICIZATION OF BENGAL MUSLIMS
- AS IT'S THE BENGAL SITUATION (PARTITION) THAT ACTED AS A CATALYST IN FORMATION OF ML

➤ WHY REFORMS INITIATED ?

1. WEAK IMPERIALISM

- ✓ BY CAMBRIDGE SCHOOL- AS EMPIRE WAS WEAK, NEED COLLABORATORS
- ✓ STRONG CENTRE BUT DEVOLUTION OF POWER TO DRAW IN MORE SECTIONS
- ✓ HENCE – INDIANISATION OF CIVIL SERVICES

2. FINANCIAL EXIGENCY-

- ✓ FISCAL CRISIS – ILLEGAL OBLIGATION UNFULFILLED
- ✓ HENCE = HIRE INDIANS WHO CAN DO THE WORK IN LESSER COSTS + MOBILISE MORE RESOURCES THAN EUROPEANS

- HOWEVER - DIFFICULT TO EXPLAIN CONCESSION PURELY ON THE BASIS OF FISCAL CRISIS
- 1906 – MORLEY ASKED LORD MINTO TO BALANCE BENGAL PARTITION BY REFORMS – REALISE THAT INDIA CANNOT BE RULED SOLELY BY A CAST IRON BUREAUCRACY
- HENCE = MAAIN REASON COULD BE GROWONG STRENGTH OF NATIONALISM IN INDIAN MASSES

➤ SELF RULE-

- POST WW I THERE WAS A GREATER RECOGNITION OF SELF RULE WITHIN BRITISH POLOTICAL CIRCLES
- HOWEVER- AS GOVT OF INDIA'S DESPATCH TO THE SECY OF STATE MAKES IT CLEAR, THIS WOULD BE GRADUAL

FACTORS TO DETERMINE THE TIME TABLE OF REFORM-

1. SPREAD OF EDUCATION
 2. RESOLUTION OF RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES
 3. ACQUIRING POLITICAL EXPERIENCE
- HENCE – KEEPING UP WITH THE LIBERAL VISION OF “ INDIAN SELF GOVT WITHIN THE EMPIRE “

➤ WHY GANDHIJI SUCCEDED?

- NOT TAINTED BY ASSOCIATION WITH EITHER MODERATES OR EXTREMISTS
- NEW IDEAS – SATYAGRAHA, PASSIVE RESISTANCE, NON VIOLENCE
- HARNESSSED POWER OF MASSES – IDENTIFIED WITH THEIR CAUSES, EVEN DRESSED LIKE THEM (LANGOT - SHAWL)
- ALREADY TRIED OUT TACTICS IN SOUTH AFRICA

➤ FACTORS THAT AIDED RISE OF GANDHIJI-

ECONOMIC

1. INCREASE IN DEFENCE SPENDING WHICH WASNT CUT BACK
2. RS 3 MILLION NATIONAL DEBT
3. PRICE INDEX = 147 TO 281 IN 1920
4. IN SPITE OF GRAINS SHORTAGE – EXPORT OF RICE TO FEED ARMY OUTSIDE
5. LIVING COSTS – INCREASED BY 60-70% + WAGES ROSE BY- 15-25%

SOCIAL

6. FORCED RECRUITMENT FOR ARMY - DISCONTENT
7. INCREASE IN PEASANT DISPOSSESSION – RURAL ANGER

CONCLUSION-

- WW I BROUGHT ECONOMIC , SCOWL PROBLEMS FOR ALL CLASSES OF POPULATION
- NECESSARY CONDITIONS FOR SOCIAL MOBILISATION

➤ GANDHIAN VIEW ON INDIA

- FULLY AWARE OF INDIAN PLURALISM – CARE NOT TO OFFEND ANY ONE
- POPULAR LOYALTIES BASED UPON RELIGION / LANGUAGE NOT CLASS
- INDIA – NATION SINCE ANCIENT TIMES
- INDUSTRIALISATION - DIVORCED WORK FROM MORALITY + RISE TO AGGRESSION
- INDIANS THELMSelves WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR ENGLISH CONQUERING THEM

SOLUTION-

- NO GREED, COOPERATIVE LIVING
- GOVERNANCE- SELF SUFFICIENT VILLAGE COMMUNITIES
- SWARAJ NOT JUST DRIVING AWAY ENGLISH BUT RATHER FREEDOM FROM WANT OR EXPLOITATION

➤ INFLUENCE UPON GANDHIJI-

- EMERSON, HENRY DAVID THOREAU, TOLSTOY

➤ WAS GANDHIAN POLITICS ENTIRELY NEW?

- NO . TILAK IN MAHARASHTRA, SWADESHI (1905-08) FORESHADOWED THE RISE OF AGITATIONAL POLITICS
- HOME RULE LEAGUES = HUGE MEMBERSHIP + POPULAR FOLLOWING
- INFACIT – ROWLATT SATYAGRAHA USED HOME RULE LEAGUES LISTS
- GANDHI ALIENATED NEITHER SECTIONS (EXTREMISTS & MODERATES) – USED GOALS OF MODERATES WITH MEANS OF EXTREMISTS

➤ EXPLANATION OF GANDHIAN POPULARITY-

✓ SUB CONTRACTOR THEORY

- JUDITH BROWN
- GANDHI'S RISE SIGNIFIED RISE OF WESTERN EDUCATED ELITE OF BACKWARD AREAS RATHER THAN ELITE OF PRESIDENCY TOWNS
- EG- PATEL, KRIPALANI, RAJENDRA PRASAD
- THESE LEADERS – SUB CONTRACTOR – MOBILISED POPULAR SUPPORT FOR GANDHI

CRITIQUE- GROSSLY UNDERESTIMATES GANDHIAN CHARISMA

✓ REASONS FOR GANDHI'S POPULAR APPEAL

- SIMPLE ATTIRE
- USE OF COLLOQUIAL HINDI + USE OF LOCAL / RELIGIOUS IDOMS & COMPARISONS- MADE HIM POPULAR
- SHOWS – PEOPLE BELIEVING IN HIS ABILITY TO HEAL PAIN + DELIVER COMMON PEOPLE FROM MISERY – AS A HOLY MAN

➤ EFFECTS OF ROWLATT SATYAGRAHA-

- WHOLE OF INDIA = NOT AFFECTED , JUST TOWNS
- GRIEVANCES SUCH AS PRICE RISE/ VERACITY OF GOODS MATTERED MORE THAN PROTEST AGAINST ROWLATT BILLS
- EFFECTIVENESS OF LOCAL LEADERS TO RELATE LOCAL GRIEVANCES TO NATIONAL ISSUE

● EFFECTS OF THE HOME RULE MOVEMENT-

1. CREATED A GENERATION OF NATIONAL WORKERS WHO WOULD PLAY IMP ROLE UNDER THE GANDHIAN PHASE
2. CREATED URBAN-RURAL LINKAGES
3. STEP UP - FROM SWADESHI

- WITHDRAWAL OF NCM- SIGN OF CONCERN FOR PROPRTIED CLASS?

PREMISE-

1. THEORY BY R PALME DUTT. CONCERN THAT MASSES WERE GETTING MILITANT WANTED TO CONTROL
2. PROOF - THE NCM WITHDRAWAL RESOLUTION CONTAINED DIRECTIONS TO PEASANTS TO PAY TAXES

REFUTATION-

1. MILITANCY IN A PARTICULAR VILLAGE NOT CAUSE OF WITHDRAWAL.
2. INDIA DIVERSE , 1 FACTOR IN UP NOT BE SAME IN SAY BENGAL
3. MOVEMENT WAS SHOWING SIGNS OF EBBING- PEOPLE TIRED OF PRICE RISE + SHORTAGES , COLLEGE WITHDRAWALS HURTING
4. NOT WANT TO GIVE GOVT EXCUSE TO CRACK DOWN - THEN NON VIOLENT NON COOPERATION WOULD BE DISCARDED WITHOUT PROPER TRY
5. CROWD AT CHOWRI CHOWRA ATTACKED POLICE ,NOT LANDLORDS , NO ANTI PROPERTY SLOGAN
6. PEASANT MOVEMENTS IN AWADH (EG- EKKA) WERE NOT AGAINST LAND TAXES, RATHER = ILLEGAL TAXES

CONCLUSION

1. WITHDRAWAL PART OF GANDHIAN STRATEGY
2. ALREADY SHOWING SIGNS OF EXHAUSTION
3. HENCE - IDEOLOGICALLY + TACTICALLY SOUND

➤ EFFECTS OF NON COOPERATION MOVEMENT

- COUNCIL ELECTION BOYCOTT – SUCCESSFUL , POLLING AVG - 5-8%
- LARGE INDUSTRIALISTS = PRO GOVT, SMALLER BUSINESSMEN = PRO SWADESHI
- IMPORT OF FOREIGN CLOTH FELL
- TEMPERANCE = SUCCESSFUL IN MANY PLACES
- CHARGE OF CONGRESS REPRESENTING MICROSCOPIC MINORITY BY LORD DUFFERIN COULDN'T BE TRUE
- HINDU MUSLIM ALLIANCE = UNSHAKEN EXCEPT IN MALABAR (MAPPILA)

- PEASANT MOVEMENTS DURING THE 1920'S

UP-

1. STARTED BY ACTIVE MEMBERS OF UP HOME RULE LEAGUE. INDRA NARAIN DWIVEDI + GAURI SHANKAR MISHRA
2. POST 1856 (AWADH ANNEXATION) - OPPRESSION OF TALUQDARS INCREASES- INCREASED RENT DEMAND, ILLEGAL LEVIES ETC
3. KISAN SABHA MOVEMENT - PROTEST AGAINST SUCH INCREASED LAND DEMAND , FEUDAL LEVIES ETC , BAREILLY,FAIZABAD
4. EKKA MOVEMENT - BABA RAMACHANDRA ,CONTACT WITH CONGRESS - LATER AWADH KISAN SABHA - PRATAPGARH- LOWER + UPPER CASTES BOTH
5. LATER RADICAL TREND - MADARI PASI , NOT FOLLOWING NON VIOLENCE TOO MUCH - CONTACT WITH CONGRESS LESS

KERALA- MAPPILA

1. INITIALLY - PROTEST AGAINST ILLEGAL op EXACTION OF LANDLORDS WHO WERE HINDUS
2. MAPPILA PEASANTS TOOK CARE NOT TO HARM ORDINARY HINDU
3. LATER - TURNED COMMUNAL - SEVERELY SUPPRESSED

OVERALL -

1. NOT RADICAL TREND
2. RATHER WANTED TO PRESERVE PRESENT AGRARIAN RELATIONS , ONLY JUST RELATIONS

- PEASANT MOVEMENT IN 1930-40

1. BIHAR - SWAMI SAHAJANAND - BIHAR KISAN SABHA
2. KARSHAKA SANGHAMS - KERALA ,DIE TO CSP ACTIVISM
3. COASTAL ANDHRA - NG RANGA - SUMMER SCHOOL OF INDIAN ECONOMICS
4. BENGAL- BANKIM MUKHERJI- PEASANTS OF BURDWAN
5. PUNJAB + NWFP = AGITATION OVER CANAL TAXES
6. TEBHAGA - DEMANDS - RENT TO BE $\frac{1}{3}$ NOT $\frac{1}{2}$ + BEFORE DIVISION CROP TO BE STORED IN THEIR OWN GODOWN NOT JOTEDARS

WEAKENESSES -

1. DEMANDS OF AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS NOT BECAME PART OF DEMANDS EXCEOT IN PLACES- ANDHRA ,GJ
2. CASTE STRUCTURE WITH MOST LOWER CASTE ALSO BEING LANDLESS - NOT TOUCHED

ACHIEVEMENT OF BOTH PHASES

1. NOT DIRECT SUCCESS BUT AWARENESS OF PEADANT ISSUE
2. LATER - CREATE CLIMATE IN WHICH LANDLORDISM COULD BE ABOLISHED IN POST INDEPENDENCE INDIA

- PEOPLE ASSOCIATED WIH WORKING CLASS MOVEMENTS

A. FROM CONGRESS

1. AITUC,1920- LALA LAJPAT RAI- 1ST PREZ.
2. LATER - CR DAS , J M SENGUPTA, SUBHASH BOSE, NEHRU

B.FROM COMMUNISTS-

SA DANGE, MUZAFFAR AHMED

- SWARAJISTS -

WHY SPLIT BETWEEN NO CHANGERS & PRO CHANGERS WAS AVOIDED?

1. NEED FOR UNITY FELT BY BOTH
2. BOTH UNDERSTOOD - ONLY WAY TO WRING CONCESSIONS FROM BRITISH WAS MASS MOVEMENT
3. GANDHIJI'S LEADERSHIP

THREE FOCUS AREAS OF SWARAJISTS-

1. CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT LEADING UPTO SELF GOVT
2. CIVIL LIBERTIES
3. DEVELOPMENT OF INDIGENOUS INDUSTRIES

WHY SWARAJISTS RESIGNED ?

1. REACHED LIMITS OF OBSTRUCTIONISM
2. IMPERATIVES OF COALITION POLITICS LED THEM TO COMPROMISE
3. LIMITED NATURE OF MANDATE
4. SOME SWARAJISTS RESPONDED TO POWER, PRIVILEGES & PERKS
RISE OF RESPONSIVISTS - NC KELKAR, MALVIYA

➤ FEATURES OF INDIAN ECONOMY AT INDEPENDENCE-

1. INTEGRATION OF INDIA INTO WORLD CAPITALIST SYSTEM BUT IN A SUBSERVIENT POSITION
2. INDIA = MARKET FOR BRITISH GOODS + SOURCE OF RAW MATERIALS
3. EXTREMELY LOW SAVINGS – 2.75% OF GDP AT 1947
4. LARGE APPROPRIATION BY PRINCES, LANDLORDS ETC – ESTIMATE -20% OF NATIONAL INCOME
5. COLONIAL STATE – DRAIN UP TO £ 17 MILLION PER YEAR
6. NEARLY 50% SPENDING ON MILITARY + EQUALLY LOW SPENDING ON SOCIAL SECTORS, EG- HEALTH, EDUCATION
7. HIGHLY INEQUITOUS TAX STRUCTURE - HIGH TAX BURDEN ON PEASANTS , FARMERS

SOCIALISM IN INDIA

- 1917 REVOLUTION INSPIRATION + THEY RENOUNCED COLONIES - IMP FOR ANTI IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE
- SOME DISILLUSIONED WITH GANDHIAN METHODS
- YOUTH PARTICIPATION ,HRSA TURNED TO SOCIALISM
- WORLDWIDE DEPRESSION -1929 + SUCCESS OF USSR
- SUBHASH BOSE + NEHRU + ACHARYA NARENDRA DEV + J P NARAYAN = SOCIALIST BLOC

- LATER CONGRESS SOCIALIST PARTY + WORKERS & PEASANTS PARTY'S (WPP)
- 1936-39 SOCIALIST LEADERSHIP OF CONGRESS

NEHRU AS SOCIALIST VOICE -

- INFLUENCED BY FABIANISM
- FREEDOM NOT JUST IN POLITICAL TERMS BUT ALSO SOCIAL, ECONOMIC ETC
- 1928 - INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM
- 1931 - KARACHI SOCIALIST DEMANDS
- ADDRESS TO LUCKNOW 1936 - MADE CLEAR HIS PREFERENCE FOR A SOCIALIST VISION OF INDIA

NEHRU VS GANDHIJI-

- COMPLEX RELATIONSHIP- AGREE & DISAGREE
- CRITICISE FOR IGNORING CLASS FACTOR + PREACHING AMITY BETWEEN EXPLOITER & EXPLOITED
- HOWEVER- RECOGNISED IMPORTANCE & CENTRALITY OF GANDHIAN LEADERSHIP

NEHRU VS SUBHASH

- NEHRU RECOGNISED 2 STRANDS -
- POLITICAL FREEDOM - BY CONGRESS
- SOCIAL FREEDOM - SOCIALIST STRUGGLE
- HOWEVER- PRIMACY TO POLITICAL + NEVER CARRIED OPPOSITION TO VERGE OF SPLIT AS SUBHASH DID AT TRIPURI 1939
- RECOGNISED CENTRALITY OF CONGRESS.
- NEHRU WANTED TO STAY IN PRESENT CONGRESS STRUCTURE & WEAN IT AWAY FROM BOURGEOISE LEADERSHIP & GIVE IT A PRO POOR ORIENTATION

- SOCIALIST TINGE -

1. ANTI IMPERIALISM, EG- NAM
2. ANTI LANDLORDISM,EG - LAND REFORMS
3. SOCIALIST VISION OF SOCIETY, EG- ART 39A, 43 ,46
4. SOCIALIST MODEL OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ,EG - 2ND PLAN
5. ANTI WAR ,ANTI FASCIST FOREIGN POLICY ,EG- ART 51

- EVALUATION OF LEFT-

1. FAIL TO GIVE OVERALL LEADERSHIP
2. FOUGHT RIGHT WING ON WRONG ISSUES- NOT IDEOLOGY RATHER METHODS
3. ALWAYS ASSUMED THAT MASSES WERE READY FOR STRUGGLE
4. OVERESTIMATED THEIR OWN POPULARITY
5. MISINTERPRETED ANY STRATEGIC PREPARATION + COUNCIL ENTRY AS COMPROMISE WITH IMPERIALISM
6. NOT UNITED LIKE RIGHT WING - EG- SUBHASH, NEHRU DIFFERED, COMMUNISTS , SOCIALISTS FOUGHT

➤ SNIPPETS-

TRIBAL CONSCIOUSNESS DURING NCM, 1920-

- ✓ HILL MEN IN KUMAON = RAISED SLOGANS FOR AN INDEPENDENT INDIA + FAVOUR OF GANDHIJI.
- ✓ SHOWED WIDER UNCONSCIOUSNESS THAN TRIBAL MOVEMENT OF LATE 19TH CENTURY

MAGIC OF GANDHI-

- ✓ REVERED IN MANY PLACES AS A HOLY MAN , MIRACULOUS POWER
- ✓ TRIBALS IN CHHOTANAGPUR BELIEVED THAT BY CHANTING HIS NAME = NO HARM WORLD COME
- ✓ TRIBALS IN BENGAL = AMULETS WITH GANDHI'S NAME = PROTECT FROM BULLETS

STRUCTURE OF GANDHIAN LEADERSHIP-

- ✓ NCM = 1ST TRULY ALL INDIA MOVEMENT
- ✓ MANY SEGMENTS INVOLVED, HOWEVER DOUBTFUL HOW MUCH PEOPLE ACCEPTED INC IDEOLOGY/ GANDHIAN PHILOSOPHY
- ✓ DEPENDED UPON REGIONAL LEADERSHIP – NEHRU (UP), CR DAS (BENGAL), PATEL (GUJARAT) ,RAJAGOPALACHARI (MADRAS)
- ✓ THEY IN TURN DEPENDED UPON 2ND RUNG LEADERSHIP – BABA RAMACHANDRA (UP), KUNWARJI MEHTA (GJ)
- ✓ GANDHIAN MESSAGE WENT TO MASSES BUT WAS INTERPRETED IN THEIR OWN WAY BY LEADERS & FOLLOWERS
- ✓ THUS EACH SECTION = HAS DIFFERENT INTERPRETATIONS OF GANDHIAN IDEAS , MADE IT MULTI FACETED + DYNAMIC

1. ECONOMIC FACTORS IN CDM-

2. GREAT DEPRESSION 1929- CRISIS IN EXPORT ORIENTED ECONOMY
3. FALL IN PRICES OF COTTON, JUTE, WHEAT
4. FALL IN REVENUE OF FARMERS BUT REVENUE DEMAND OF THE STATE = SAME , HENCE PRESSURE UPON FARMERS
5. AS FARMERS WERE LOOKING FOR CREDIT TO REPAY LOANS, INCREASING DISPOSSEION IF LAND TOOK PLACE
6. RURAL CREDIT DRIED UP

✓ DID CDM REPRESENT A DEFINITE ADVANCEMENT OF RADICALISM OVER THE 1920 MOVEMENT?

- STARTED WITH DANDI MARCH – LARGE SCALE MANUFACTURE OF ILLEGAL SALT + BOYCOTT OF FOREIGN CLOTH & LIQUOR
- LATER – CHITTAGONG ARMOURY RAID + UNREST IN PESHAWAR (ARREST OF BADSHAH KHAN)

- **THUS, PICTURE OF AN ALL INDIA MASS MOVEMENT THAT DIDN'T JUST ENGAGE IN NON COOPERATION BUT ACTUAALLY BROKE LAWS TO ACHIEVE INDEPEDENCE**
- **EVEN VIOLENCE COULDN'T DETER**
- **CONCLUSION- DEFINITELY CDM WAS A STEP UP IN TERMS OF RADICALISM OVER NCM**

✓ **UNIQUE FEATURES OF CDM-**

- **1ST TIME , PARTICIPATION OF CAPITALIST CLASS**
 - **THEIR HELP REDUCED IMPORT OF FOREIGN CLOTH FROM £ 26 MILLION TO £ 13 MILLION IN 1930**
 - **HELPED IN 2 WAYS – FUNDING + SUPPORT**
 - **PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN –**
1. **PARTICIPATED IN DROVES , DANDI MARCH**
 2. **PICKETED LIQUOR SHOPS**
 3. **MARCHED IN PROCESSIONS. FROM RESPECTABLE FAMILIES**
 4. **GANDHIJ'S NAME = LEGITIMIZE THEIR PRESENCE**

✓ **CONTROVERSY OVER 1931 PACT –**

- **RJ MOORE – BOURGEOIS PRESSURE CRITICAL BEHIND PACT**
- **SUMIT SARKAR – CAPITALISTS - CRITICAL BEHIND LAUNCH + WITHDRAWAL**
- **GORDON – CAPITALISTS FRIGHTENED BY VIOLENCE , DEPRESSION ,BOYCOTT ETC- HENCE EITHER STOP MOVEMENT / COMPROMISES**

CRITIQUE-

1. **CAPITALISTS THEMSELVES NOT A HOMOGEIOUS CLASS**
2. **LARGER INDUSTRIALISTS MAYBE LOOKING FOR A COMPROMISE , SMALLER TRADERS, MARKET = STILL BELIEVED IN GANDHIAN STRATEGY**
3. **BUSINESS COMMUNITIES CAN CLAIM SOME INFLUENCE BUT NEVER IN A DICTATING POSITION.**
4. **GANDHIAN MASS MOVEMENT - MULTI CLASS / CASTE / SECTION (RAINBOW COALITION)**
5. **HENCE – WOULDN'T WITHDRAW MOVEMENT BASED UPON 1 SECTION ONLY**

CONCLUSION-

1. **SOME RADICALISM + VIOLENCE PRESENT**
2. **MOVEMENT WAS SLIPPING FROM THE HAND OF INC**

✓ IDEA OF PAKISTAN –

- 1930 – MD IQBAL SPOKE OF CENTRALISED TERRITORY FOR ISLAM IN THE SUBCONTINENT
- THAT IS - UNITE MUSLIM MAJORITY PROVINCES – PB + NWFP + SIND + BALUCHISTAN
- 1933 – CHOUDHARY REHMAT ALI (CAMBRIDGE STUDENT) = PAKISTAN TO BE CONSTITUTED - 4 MUSLIM MAJORITY AREAS + KASHMIR
- 1940 KARACHI RESOLUTION OF THE ML = POLITICAL SELF DETERMINATION OF 2 SEPARATE NATIONS – HINDUS/ MUSLIMS

CONCLUSION-

- IN 1 STROKE – MUSLIMS = FROM A MINORITY TO A SEPARATE NATION
- THAT IS – ANY FUTURE NEGOTIATION ON FATE OF INDIA = NOT WITHOUT THEIR PARTICIPATION + CONSENT

✓ REACTIONS OF SECTIONS SCHEME OF FEDERATION TO 1935 ACT –

- MUSLIMS- SAW IN FEDERATION CHANCE TO GUARANTEE THEIR FREEDOM – HOWEVER PREFERRED DECENTRALISATION WITH A WEAK CENTRE
- INC – DIDN'T LIKE THE FEDERAL STRUCTURE AS 1/3RD OF SEATS TO PRINCES WHO WERE A SOLID CONSERVATIVE BLOCK
- PRINCES- GOVT OF INDIA STILL HAD POWER TO INTERVENE / OVERTHROW THEN IF NEED BE- HENCE PARAMOUNTCY WAS THE CRITICAL ISSUE.
- ULTIMATELY- FEDERAL PART DIDN'T COME INTO BEING AS PRINCES REFUSED TO JOIN IT ,

✓ ROLE OF WOMEN IN QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT & THEREAFTER-

- INITIALLY ALL MALE LEADERS OF INC = BEHIND BARS
- WOMEN TOOK LEAD , EG- SUCHETA KRIPLANI = NON VIOLENT RESISTANCE, ARUNA ASAF ALI- UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT
- ARUNA ASAF ALI = POLITELY TURNED DOWN GANDHIJI'S REQUEST TO SURRENDER
- IMP ASPECT – PARTICIPATION OF RURAL WOMEN
- LIFTING OF BAN ON COMMUNIST PARTY = HELPED
- IN 1920-30 MANY RURAL WOMEN JOINED – WORKERS PEASANTS PARTY
- LATER LEFTIST ORGS = WOMEN'S SELF DEFENCE LEAGUE – WORKED DURING BENGAL FAMINE, 1943
- TEBHAGA MOVEMENT – NARI BAHINIS FORMED TO RESIST JOTEDARS
- TELENGANA – WOMAN DALAMS (SQUADS) – RESIST NIZAM + FEUDAL OPPRESSION

✓ PHASES OF QIM- SUMIT SARKAR

- 1ST PHASE- URBAN REVOLT- STRIKES, BOYCOTT + PICKETING- SUPPRESSED
- 2ND PHASE- FOCUS ON COUNTRY SIDE – DESTRUCTION OF COMMUNICATIONS (RAILWAY , TELEGRAPH) OR ANY OTHER SYMBOL OF GOVT
- 3RD PHASE- NATIONAL GOVTS – VIOLENT AACTIVITIES - SABOTAGING WAR EFFORTS – GOVT IN SATARA, TAMLUK,
- HERE BANDS OF PEASANTS / YOUTH – SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES QT NIGHT- KARNATAKA METHOD

✓ 3 STREAMS OF UNDERGROUND ACTIVITIES-

- 1ST- NEPAL- BIHAR BORDER- JAYPRAKASH NARAYAN, RADICALS
- 2ND – CONG SOCIALISTS- ARUNA ASAF ALI – ALL INDIA SABOTAGE
- 3RD- GANDHIAN GROUP- SUCHETA KRIPALANI- CONSTRUCTIVE ACTIVITIES + NON VIOLENT

✓ WAS VIOLENCE IN QIM DUE TO GANDHIJI?

- IN CASE OF QIM – GANDHIJI REMARKABLY AMBILAVENT ABOUT VIOLENCE- BELIEVED THAT STAGE HAD COME FOR A SHOWDOWN+ WAR TIME ATROCITIES
- HOWEVER- 12 POINT PROGRAMME- CIRCULATED – PROMOTE STRIKES, HOLDING RAILWAYS ETC
- HOWEVER- SINCE LEADERS IN JAIL- PROVINCIAL LEADERS INTERPRETED THEM IN THEIR OWN WAY – ACCORDING TO CONDITIONS
- ALSO – MANY ASSOCIATED ORGANISATIONS OF INC TOOK THE LEAD DURING QIM- AIKS, FORWARD BLOC, AITUC , CSP – DIDNT ALWAYS PRESCRIBE RIGIDLY TO GANDHIAN NOTIONS OF NON VIOLENCE

CONCLUSION-

- GANDHIJI + NATIONAL LEADERS ENJOYED UNPRECEDENTED PUBLIC LEGITIMACY IN MINDS OF PEOPLE
- HOWEVER- AS A PERSON DIDN'T HAVE ANY CONTROL OVER MICRO LEVEL HAPPENINGS

✓ SYMBOLISM OF INA TRIALS

1. SOLDIERS FIGHTING TO FREE INDIA + AGAINST MIGHTY BRITISH RAJ
2. SOLDIERS FROM 3 OF INDIA'S BIGGEST FAITHS – HINDU, SIKH, MUSLIM AT A TIME WHEN COMMUNAL CONSCIOUSNESS GROWLING . HENCE INA AGITATION SHOWED REMARKABLE COMMUNAL HARMONY.
3. PLACE OF TRIAL- RED FORT- CONNECTION WITH 1858 TRIAL OF BAHADUR SHAH

4. INC- SAW AN OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE INROADS INTO ARMY AS THOSE ON TRIAL ALSO SOLDIERS , EG- MUCH FUNDS + SUPPORT WAS ELICITED FROM THE ARMY, NAVY ETC

✓ 1943 BENGAL FAMINE - SYSTEMIC FACTORS-

- RESEARCH HAS SHOWN – PER CAPITA RICE CONSUMPTION IN BENGAL GOING DOWN SINCE EARLY 19TH CENTURY

TRIGGER FACTORS-

1. UNSUPERVISED RICE DISTRIBUTION SYSTEMS- LED TO HOARDING, BLACK MARKETING
2. GOVT PROCUREMENT POLICY- PRIORITISE MILITARY NEEDS
3. HARSH DENIAL POLICY- NO COMPENSATION FOR ASSETS SEIZED
4. WAR TIME STRESSES – NO BURMESE RICE IN MARKET
5. INCREASE IN REFUGEES FROM BURMA

- RESULT- 3 MILLION DEAD (APPROX) – AMARTYA SEN

✓ 3 IMPORTANT FUNCTIONS OF INDIA IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE-

1. MARKET FOR BRITISH GOODS
2. SOURCE OF RAW MATERIALS
3. REMITTER OF POUNDS - STERLING. THAT IS – HOME CHARGES
4. MILITARY POWER TO PROTECT THE EMPIRE

✓ WAS 15TH OF AUGUST, 1947 , LABOUR'S GIFT TO INDIA?

B N PANDEY –

- ATTLEE + STAFFORD CRIPPS WERE ALWAYS COMMITTED TO INDIAN INDEPENDENCE
- ATTLEE- PM, CRIPPS – PRESIDENT IF BOARD OF TRADE – INFLUENCE USED

V.P. MENON

- LABOUR VICTORY MAIN REASON FOR EARLY WITHDRAWAL
- OTHERS- LABOUR'S PARTING GOVT WAS INDEPENDENCE

REALITY-

- LABOUR'S ELECTION MANIFESTO SINCE 1935 = PROMOSED INDIAN INDEPENDENCE
- HOWEVER- WAR YEARS – SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN ATTITUDES OF LABOUR LEADERS
- POST WAR YEARS- HUGE AMERICAN DEBT + ECONOMIC PROBLEMS + RECONSTRUCTION CHARGES - TOO EXPENSIVE TO HOLD ONTO INDIA
- HENCE – HAD TO LET GO EVENTUALLY
- NEW IMPULSE – BIND INDIA TO THE COMMONWEALTH + SECURE IT AS A GOOD MARKET FOR BRITISH GOODS & SECURE BRITISH INFLUENCE

- COMMONWEALTH- NEW EXPRESSION FOR EMPIRE

✓ DELHI PACT- 1950

- NEHRU – LIAQAT ALI KHAN
- OBJECTIVE- RESTORE MINORITY CONFIDENCE + MAINTAIN COMMUNAL HARMONY

PROVISIONS-

- MINISTERS FROM MINORITY COMMUNITIES TO BE APPOINTED BOTH AT CENTRAL & STATE LEVEL IN INDIA & PAKISTAN
- MINORITY COMMISSIONS = BENGAL, ASSAM, EAST BENGAL
- INQUIRY COMMISSIONS = CAUSE BEHIND RIOTS + MEASURES TO BE TAKEN
- AGENCY TO RESCUE + REHABILITATE ABDUCTED WOMEN

WHAT THE GOVT HOPED TO ACHIEVE?

- RESTORE MINORITY FAITH IN GOVT
- STOP MIGRATION FROM EAST BENGAL
- START REVERSE MIGRATION BY ASSURING REFUGEES OF SAFE RETURN TO THEIR ORIGINAL PLACES

RESULT-

- NO MAJOR RESULT
- VERY FEW PEOPLE WENT BACK + VERY LESS WOMEN RESCUED

✓ MUSLIM ALIENATION IN POST INDEPENDENT INDIA-

- FOR SOME- PARTITION HAD PERMANENTLY DEMARCATED THE POLITICAL SPACE IN THE SUB CONTINENT
- MUSLIMS- PAK, HINDUS = INDIA
- THIS VIEW WAS SHARE – LEADERS , BUREAUCRACY
- MUSLIM LOYALTY WAS QUESTIONED
- LARGE HINDU REFUGEES ARRIVED IN CITIES SUCH AS DELHI, CALCUTTA ETC – LED TO ALIENATION OF MUSLIMS IN MAJOR URBAN CENTRES
- LED TO GHETTOISATION OF MUSLIMS + EMERGENCE OF *LITTLE PAKISTANS*

➤ *SOURCE- SUMIT SARKAR*

✓ INDIA'S EXPORT SURPLUS AS A PART OF BRITISH TRADE STRATEGY-

- INDIA HAD A MAJOR TRADE SURPLUS WITH ALL OTHER COUNTRIES DUE TO OUTFLOW OF TEXTILES, AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS ETC . THUS SHE MAINTAINED POSITIVE TRADE BALANCE
- THIS HELPED THE BRITISH BALANCE THEIR DEFICITS IN ALL OTHER TRADE RELATIONSHIPS, ESPECIALLY BECAUSE BY THE BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURY = ALL THE MAJOR NATIONS (US, GERMANY, FRANCE) HAD BEGAN ERECTING PROTECTIONIST WALLS
- THIS WAS A MAJOR REASON WHY BRITISH WANTED TO RETAIN CONTROL OVER INDIA

✓ DE INDUSTRIALISATION-

- SUFFERING CAUSED BY DECLINE OF HANDICRAFT = IN ENGLAND BALANCED BY MASSIVE RISE IN EMPLOYMENT IN FACTORIES , INDUSTRIES ETC
- SAME NOT IN INDIA- NO CONCURRENT DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY

PHASES OF DECLINE -

1. LUXURY MANUFACTURERS - SILK, ZARDOZI, METAL WORKS ETC- 1ST TO DECLINE = AS DEMAND DRIED UP , DUE TO CONQUEST OF PRINCELY STATES + RURAL ELITES
2. HANDICRAFTS IN RURAL INTERIORS - SURVIVED DUE TO REMOTENESS. DECLINE ONLY WHEN RAILWAYS PIERCED THEIR ISOLATION
 - ARGUMENT- INDIAN MANUFACTURES BENEFITTED FROM LOWER PRICES OF YARN.
 - REALITY- COST REDUCING TECH INNOVATIONS IN ENGLAND NOT INDIA , HENCE DROP IN PRICES NOT SUSTAINABLE OVER TIME
 - ALSO – INDIAN ,MANUFACTURERS HAD TO COMPETE WITH MACHINE CLOTH FROM ENGLAND

DATA –

- DROP IN POPULATION DEPENDENT UPON INDUSTRY- 18% TO 8%
- MASSIVE FALL IN NUMBERS OF WEAVERS, SPINNERS

✓ PHASES OF COLONIAL ECONOMY-

1. 1757-1813- CRUDE PLUNDER + EXPORT

2. 1813-1858- FREE TRADE , INDUSTRIAL EXPLOITATION , TRADE BARRIERS FOR INDIAN PRODUCTS
3. 1858-1947- FINANCE CAPITALISM, BUSINESS HOUSES,

✓ IMPORTANT STATEMENT ABOUT MIDDLE CLASS INTELLIGENTSIA-

- IN ALL MIDDLE CLASS – GENERALLY UPPER CASTE
- EG- BENGALI BHADRALOKS, CHITPAVAN / SARASWAT BRAHMINS IN MH OR TAMIL BRAHMINS IN MADRAS
- BASE IN – GOVT JOBS, LAW, EDUCATION ETC
- ALL HAD SOME FORM OF LAND HOLDINGS & CONNECTION WITH LAND , EG- IN BENGAL – ABSENTEE LANDLORDISM

CONCLUSION-

- THIS CONNECTION WITH LAND PREVENTED GROWTH OF REFORMIST & RADICAL THINKING ABOUT AGRARIAN RELATIONS AMONGST THIS CLASS.
- THIS WOULD HAVE MONUMENTOUS CONSEQUENCE FOR BENGAL AS THERE WAS A MASS OF MUSLIM PEASANTRY THERE WHICH WERE MOSTLY HINDU LANDLORDS
- THIS WAS TWISTED TO GIVE A COMMUNAL COLOUR IN THE SWADESHI & DAYS LEADING UPTO PARTITION

➤ PRINCELY STATES-

- CURZON'S PATERNALISTIC IMPERIALISM - SOURED RELATIONS, MINTO = LAISSEZ FAIRE, REVIVED TIES
- WW I = PRINCES CONTRIBUTES SOLDIERS + FUNDS
- CHAMBER OF PRINCES DEMANDED - 1919 ACT CONCEDED A 120 MEMBER HOUSE
- STATES WERE NOT COMPLETELY ISOLATED FROM NATIONAL ACTIVITIES , EG- ALWAR, BHARATPUR = ARYA SAMAJ ACTIVITIES
- PRAJA MANDAL MOVEMENTS, NATIONAL BODY AISPC – 1927
- 1928 , INC ASKED PRINCES TO GRANT RESPONSIBLE GOVT
- MOST OF THESE STATES, OUT OF TOUCH WITH RISING TIDE OF DEMOCRACY PRESSURIZED BY INC + BRITISH OFFICERS IN

- THE POLITICIAN DEPTT WHO PRESSURISED THE PRINCES = DOUBLE ENVELOPMENT
- BUTLER COMMITTEE= PARAMOUNTCY WOULD NOT BE TRANSFERRED WITHOUT THEIR CONSENT
- 1928 NEHRU REPORT = ALL INDIA FEDERATION , 1932 = DELHI PACT WHERE FEDERATION WAS DECLSRSD AS THE GOAL OF THE PRINCES
- BRITS LIKED FEDERATION AS THEY WOULD ACT AS A CONSERVATIVE ALLY
- OVER TIME THEY DEVELOPED OPPOSITIONS TO FEDERATION & OPPOSED IT WHEN IT CAME IN 1935
- WANTED INSTRUMENT OF ACCESSION TO EXPLICITLY RECOGNISE-
 - A- ISSUE OF PARAMOUNTCY
 - B- GUARANTEE OF INTERNAL AUTONOMY
- 1938 – INC REVERSED ITS POLICY OF NON INTERVENTION IN PRINCELY STATES AT HARIPURA
- SMALLER STATES BUCKLED UNDER INC PRESSURE BUT LARGER ONES HELD OUT, BACKED BY BRITISH TROOPS

➤ DALIT MOVEMENT –

- UNTOUCHABILITY - 5TH -6TH CENTRES CE , CONSTITUTED AS 5TH CATEGORY OF VARNA – ATI SHUDRAS, CHANDALAS ETC
- DHARMA – KARMA DOCTRINES = IMP
- FROM 1930'S BEGAN TO CALL THEMSELVES AS DALITS OR OPPRESSED – SIGNIFIED THEIR SOCIO-ECONOMIC POSITION
- COLONIAL RULE- REDEFINED CASTE NOTIONS- BY DISPLACING TRADITIONAL RULERS + BRAHMINS = NEW POWER/ PATRONAGE STRUCTURE
- THEORETICALLY- RULE OF LAW, COMMERCIALISATION OF LAND/ AGRIL. = CASTE FREE
- IN REALITY = BRIT RULE FAVOURED ELITES- ENGLISH EDUCATION, JUSTICE , POLICE ETC. EG – CIVIL / CRIMINAL LAW STILL BASED ON DHARMSHASTRAS = WHICH WERE BIASED
- USE OF CENSUS TO UNDERLINE POSITIONS – EG – RISLEY AS CENSUS COMMISSIONER WANTING TO ENUMERATE THE NUMBER + POSITION OF CASTES
- VOLUNTARY CASTE ASSOCIATIONS = CAME INTO BEING – PRESS DEMANDS + HIGHER CASTE STATUS, LATER = EVOLVED INTO TOOLS OF MODERNISATION
- BRITS- POLICY OF PROTECTIVE DISCRIMINATION- SPECIAL SCHOOLS, RESERVATION IN PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT , RESERVATION OF SEAT IN LEGISLATURES .
- MOTIVE – DIVIDE & RULE + EMANCIPATION OF DEPRESSED CLASSES

TRENDS IN DALIT MOVEMENT EARLY 20TH CENTURY-

1. WESTERNISATION -

- TAKING ADVANTAGE OF EDUCATION OPPORTUNTIES + CLAMOURING FOR MORE – JOBS, EDUCATION, SPECIAL PRIVILEGES .
- CLAIM THEIR RIGHTFUL SHARE FROM RELUCTANT BUREAUCRACY

2. SANSKRITISATION-

- UPWARDLY MOBILE GROUPS - WANTING TO EMULATE HIGHER CASTES, ADOPT-SATI, PURDAH, VEGETARIANISM ETC
- IRONICALLY – ENDORSEMENT OF THE CASTE SYSTEM
- USUALLY- MID LEVEL PEASANT COMMUNITIES

3. MOVEMENTS THAT QUESTIONED THE BASIS OF CASTE ORGANISATION- EG – JYOTIBA PHULE (MH) + JUSTICE PARTY IN MADRAS

- JYOTIBA PAULA- MALI CASTE – SATYASHODHAK SAMAJ - INTER CASTE DINJNG ETC
- CHAMPIONED THE CAUSE OF THE OPPRESSED IN THE ARYAN INVASION THEORY – SEEING THE ARYAN AS OPPRESSORS
- LATER – MOBILISATION OF KUNBI PEASANTS + 'RE ASSERTION OF MARATHA IDENTITY

THUS 2 DISTINCT TRENDS IN ANTI CASTE MOVEMENTS IN MH-

- A- CONSERVATIVE = LED BY RICHER PEASANT CLASSES
- B- RADICAL = SATYASHODHAK SAMAJ

- THESE MOVEMENTS GRADUALLY COALESCED INTO THE WIDER GANDHIAN TREND

✓ LOWER CASTE MOVEMENTS IN SOUTH-

- ASSOCIATED WITH VELLALA (RICHER PEASANTS) + DRAVIDIAN IDENTITY
- BRAHMINS- 3% OF POPULATION, 42% JOBS
- DALIT MOVEMENT STARTED WITH – INVERSION OF ARYAN INVASION THEORY (SEEING ARYANS AS CRUEL INVADERS) + CHAMPIONING OF TAMIL / DRAVIDIAN CULTURE – USE IF TAMIL / NOT SANSKRIT
- JUSTICE PARTY FORMED- RICH PEASANT CLASS- VELLALAS, REDDIS + KAMMAS (ANDHRA) + CHETTIS , NAIDUS
- VICTORY IN ELECTIONS = GAVE UP RADICALISM = FADED IN POWER BY 1929-30
- RADICAL TREND BROUGHT BY – SELF RESPECT MOVEMENT – EV RAMASWAMI NAICKER OR PERIYAR
- SENSE OF PRIDE – DRAVIDIAN CULTURE + SYMBOLS – DEFIANCE OF NORTH INDIAN ASPECTS – CASTEISM + BRAHMIN DOMINATION + USE OF HINDI
- LED IN LATER YEARS TO A SEPARATE TAMIL REGIONAL IDENTITY - BASED UPON ANTI HINDI SENTIMENT

✓ TRENDS IN DALIT MOVEMENTS IN LATE 19TH / EARLY 20TH CENTURY-

- WORK OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES = CREATION OF A SMALL ELITE GROUP AMONGST THE DEPRESSED CASRES
- USE OF CONVERSION AS A MANNER OF PROTEST- TOOK PLACE IN HEFTY NUMBERS IN SOUTH INDIA

- ORGANISED DALIT MOVEMENT IN PART OF INDIA – EZHAVAS/ PULAYAS OF KERALA , NADARS OF T.N., VALMIKIS OF DELHI, MAHARS (MH) , NAMASUDRAS (BENGAL)
- TEMPLE ENTRY MOVEMENTS - VAIKOM, GURUVAYUR
- RESURGENCE OF BHAKTI TREND – SIMPLE LIFETYLE , NO COMPLEX RITUALS + SOCIAL EQUALITY – SNDP YOGAM , MATUA SECT- NAMASUDRAS

✓ MOVE TOWARDS A POLITICAL SOLUTION –

- EARLY 20TH CENTURY – PROMINENT FEATURE
- ROSE- CONSCIOUSNESS OF NUMBERS (CENSUS , COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM – RAIL, ROAD ETC)
- PROTECTIVE DISCRIMINATION BY BRITISH RAJ . OBJECTIVES- DIVIDE & RULE + REDRESS INEQUALITY
- HOWEVER- IN NAME OF PRESERVING SOCIAL EQUILIBRIUM, SUPPORTED THE REFUSAL OF CASTE HINDU STUDENTS TO STUDY WITH DALITS
- DALIT MOBILISATION – ALSO TOOK PLACE AS A REACTION TO UPPER CASTE GROUPS – GLORIFYING CASTE SYSTEM + HARMONY

✓ GANDHIAN APPROACH-

- GANDHIJI – MADE UNTOUCHABILITY SOCIAL ISSUE – POST NCM
- RELIGIOUS APPROACH- TEMPLE ENTRY MOVEMENT, PENANCE BY CASTE HINDUS, IDEALISATION OF THE LOWER CASTE+ HARIJAN
- UNDERMINED THE MORAL, SOCIAL BASIS BUT ACCORDING TO BHIKHU PAREKH = FAILED TO DEAL WITH ECONOMIC+ POLITICAL ROOTS,
- DIGNIFIED THE UNTOUCHABLES BUT FAILED TO EMPOWER THEM

✓ AMBEDKARITE APPROACH-

- POLITICAL SOLUTION THROUGH GUARANTEED ACCESS TO JOBS, EDUCATION , OPPOTUNITY
- THIS GUARANTEE- LATER YEARS - RESERVATION + ARTICLE 17 , ARTICLE 14- OF CONSTITUTION
- 1928 – SIMON COMMISSION – AMBEDKAR WANTED SEPARATE ELECTORATE – REDRESS BETWEEN GANDHIJI & AMBEDKAR
- LATER POONA PACT, 1931 – JOINT ELECTORATE, RESERVED SEATS
- ATTITUDE TOWARDS LOWER CASTES + UNTOUCHABILITY VARIED FROM PROVINCE TO PROVINCE BASED UPON POLITICAL ARITHMETIC, EG – IN BENGAL DALIT LEADERS WERE CULTIVATED , NOT THE CASE ELSEWHERE
- EVENTS OF PARTITION + COMMUNAL HOLOCAUST LEFT LITTLE ROOM FOR DALIT RESURGENCE
- LATER – AMBEDKAR – CHAIRMAN OF DRAFTING COMMITTEE + LAW MINISTER - LATER RESIGNED OVER HINDU CODE BILL
- AS A FINAL ACT OF DEFIANCE- CONVERTED TO BUDDHISM WITH MANY OF HIS FOLLOWERS

VERY BRIEF OVERVIEW OF DALIT MOVEMENTS -

- 2500 YEARS AGO ORIGINATE, USE OF UNTOUCHABILITY TO EXCLUDE
- BRITISH PERIOD , BARRIERS BROKE- COMMERCIALISATION OF AGRIL + RAIL/ POSTS , NEW EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY
- AMBEDKAR - POLITICAL EQUALITY
- POONA PACT - LATER VICEROYS EXECUTIVE COUNCIL
- AMBEDKAR- TRIED TO FORM COALITION WITH LABOUR ,NOT SUCCEED ,LATER FOCUS ON SC'S ONLY
- DRAFTING COMMITTEE - ART 17, 16,14 , UNTOUCHABILITY ACT,1955
- LATER - CONVERSION TO BUDDHISM

POST AMBEDKAR -

- SETBACK- NO CLEAR LEADER
- 1957- REPUBLICAN PARTY- WON FEW SEATS , CO OPTED WITHIN CONGRESS
- 1970'S DALIT PANTHERS - BASED AMBEDKARITE THOUGHT BUT NO CLEAR PROGRAMME
- LATER - DEVELOPED FACTIONS & IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES
- 1980'S BAHUJAN SAMAJ PARTY- KANSHI RAM - MAYAWATI
- BY 2007 BECAME 3 TIMES UP CM - INDIA'S LARGEST STATE

- MAJORITY OF DALITS DISCRIMINATED AGAINST
- LOT OF WORK FOR DALITS - BY NIN DALIT ORGANISATIONS , EG- NGO 'S + AGRICULTURE LABOUR UNIONS
- SOCIOLOGICALLY - AMBEDKAR HAS BEEN ADDED TO THE PANTHEON OF GODS , HINDU GODS HAVE NOT DISAPPEARED IN DALIT HOMES
- DALIT ASSERTION - CELEBRATING CUSTOMS, FESTIVALS DENIED TO THEM UNDER CASTE HINDU HIERARCHY

- State of Agriculture at Independence - data

1. Land man ratio of 0.92 acres
2. Royal Commission on Agriculture ,1928 revealed that there were plots which measured 1/160th of an acre
3. In UP there were almost 50 illegal levies by Landlords
4. In places -75% of produce as rent
5. Rural debt by 1950-51 = \$ 5 billion per year
6. Only 3% of credit by Govt sources , 97% by moneylenders
7. Only 3% used iron ploughs
8. Between 1900-47 - Agriculture declined by 14%

- Features of Colonial Agriculture-

1. Overcrowding
2. Perpetual Indebtedness
3. High rent burden - some places as high as 75%
4. Illegal levies - Vethi, Begar etc

- 1st phase of Land Reforms ,1947-60

1. Zamindari Abolition
2. Tenancy reforms
3. Land ceilings
4. Earn cooperatives

- Tenancy reforms -

1. Security of tenure for tenants who have cultivated for a fixed time
2. Reduction of rent (1/4th - 1/6th)
3. Ownership right of rents of lands they cultivated

Analysis -

- While determining tenancy reforms - was an effort to balance landlord & peasant interest

Two aspects -

While talking of big landlords -

1. Right of resumption - subject to ceiling
2. Couldn't resume entire land

For tenants

1. Right to acquire landlords land - subject to ceiling
2. Couldn't deprive landlord of entire land

Did it succeed?

Planning Commission report 1956 - Protected Tenants in Bombay State reduced by 23% between 1948-51

- Land Ceiling Limit - limitation

1. Wide regional variety - eg- Andhra between 27-312 acres , Assam -50 acres etc
2. Ceilings on individual ,not family ,nallowed many to escape by resigtering in name of relatives
3. Large no of exemptions ,eg- exemptions on tea,coffee, rubber . Even exemption on “ efficiently managed farms “
4. Delays in implementation

Result -

1. Not a single acre declare surplus in states - RJ, Bihar etc
2. Overall - 2.4 million acres declared surplus which is 0.4% of total cultivable area
3. Wide regional variations in surplus- eg West Bengal declared 25% of land as surplus

- Significance of Bhoodan

1. 1st land redistribution movement that depended upon creation of a social consensus via a movement & not legislations

2. Created moral halo
3. Derived from Gandhian idea of trusteeship

Tribal Panchsheel-

1. Tribals to develop along lines of their own genius
2. Tribal right to forest & land to be protected
3. Not over administration
4. To be administered by own people
5. Quality of human beings should be the main factor in judging success

- Integration of Princely States -

June 1947 - States deptt formed , Patel as Minister & VP Menon as Secy

1. Series of lunch parties where requested rulers to help India by joining it
2. Inducements such as Privy Purses , Succession to Gaddis , Flags etc . Many were promised to be appointed Rajpramukhs or Governors
3. Implied threat of not controlling people after August 1947 comes . Many princes cowed down
4. Mountbatten spoke to individual princes (Bhopal) + urged princes to join India

- Factors behind Nehru's China policy -

1. Understanding of Chinese history
2. Sympathy with Chinese people against Western & Japanese imperialism
3. Common goals - poverty elimination + development
4. Desire not to have another hostile neighbour after Pakistan

- Factors behind Chinese Attack of 1962-

1. US isolation policy-
2. Not achieving basic foreign policy goals - Return of Taiwan, Recognition as a great power, seat in UNSC
3. Sino Soviet Split
4. Jealousy over India giving leadership to the newly independent Afro-Asian countries
5. Humiliate India by a limited thrust not a war of occupation

Environment Movement in India -

1. *Chipko-*
 - UK mountains , extraction of resources , outsiders
 - Hugged trees, women participation
 - Govt - no felling of trees for 15 years .
 - Inspiration for many - Appiko , south

2. *Narmada Bachao Andolan*

- Narmada Project - early 80's , 30 big dams + 135 smaller ones , water + irrigation purposes
- Initially - for better compensation + rehabilitation . Late 80's = comprehensive look at the cost benefit analysis of India's developmental projects
- Concept - social cost - impact upon livelihood , vocations , relations etc
- National Policy in Rehabilitation ,2003 = achievement

3. *Silent Valley*

- Save Silent Valley ,1973 , awareness generated
- Pristine are , Lion Tailed Macaque
- Later - Silent Valley National Park , core of Boogie Biosphere Reserve

➤ QUOTES OF HISTORY

ANCIENT-

MEDIEVAL-

MODERN –

- *“ENGLISH GRADUALLY EMERGED AS THE NEW ROMANS CHARGED WITH CIVILISING BANCKWARD PEOPLES “*

CONTEXT-

- ESTABLISHMENTS OF BRITSH EMPIRE , CIRCUMSTANCES, ORIENTALISM . CIVILIANS MISSION- INHERITORS OF ROMAN LEGACY
- *IT WAS NOT IN EITHER WORDS A EVOLUTIONARY CHANGE, AS THE OFFICIALS LOOKED AT TRANSLATES AS INHERITORS RATHER THAN INNOVATORS , AS REVIVERS OF A DECAYED SYSTEM*

CONTEXT-

- EIC FUNCTIONING AS ANY INDIAN RULER, SEEING THEMSELVES AS SUCCESSORS OF THE MUGHALS, GRADUAL CHANGE- CIVIL / POLITICAL/ LEGAL
- ORIENTALISM PRODUCED A KNOWLEDGE OF PAST TO MEET THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE PRESENT , IE- TO SERVICES THE NEED OF THE COLONIAL STATE

CONTEXT- ORIENTALISM- USE OF LANGUAGE / CULTURE TO UNDERSTAND + RULER INDIA .
ORIENTAL VS ANGLICIST CONTROVERSY

- ***"BRITISH RULE HAS TO LEGITIMIZE ITSELF IN AN INDIAN IDIOM"***

- ✓ **CONTEXT-** USE OF ORIENTAL KNOWLEDGE , INDIANS TO BE RULED BY OWN LAWS. GAURI VISWANATH CALLS IT – REVERSE ACCULTURATION.

Eg- RYOTWARI VS PERMANENT NSETTLEMENT DEBATE

- ***WHILE PRESSURE OF THE FREE TRADE LOBBY AT HOME WORKED TOWARDS EVOLUTION OF COMPANY'S MONOPOLY OVER INDIAN TRADE , IT WAS EVANGELICALISM & UTILITARIANISM THAT BROIGHT A FUNDAMENTALS CHANGE IN NATURE OF THE COMPANY'S ADMINISTRATIONS IN INDIA***

CONTEXT- REFORM OF INDIAN TRADITION- INCREASING MISSIONARY- ZEAL. INDIANS SHOULD GET BENEFIT OF GOOD GOVT.

- ***PRINCES SIMPLY HATED THE TYRANNY OF CURZONIAN PATERNALISM –***

CONTEXT-

- DESCRIBING BRITISH – PRINCES RELATIONS. POST 1857 GROOMED AS ALLIES/ JUNIOR PARTNERS (CANNING), NATURAL LEADERS OF INDIAN PEOPLE (LYTTON) . CURZON – SHARED LYTTONS VIEW + INVITED THEM TO DURBAR, 1903 .
- HOWEVER OCCASIONAL DISPLAY OF BRITISH POWER –
- ✓ BAN ON FOREIGN TRAVEL
- ✓ FORCED PRINCES TO PAY MORE FOR TROOPS
- ✓ ANNEXED 63 STATES

- ***“THE INDIAN REBELLION OF 1857 WAS NOT ONE MOVEMENT, IT WAS MANY “ – CA BAYLY***

CONTEXT-

- **THE MULTIPLE AGRARIAN MOVEMENTS + PEASANT REVOLTS + MULTIPLICITY OF FACTORS = MAKES THIS, NOT 1 MOVEMENT BUT MANY**

- ***“THIS LOYALTY STEMS MORE FROM THE HEAD THAN FROM THE HEART”***

CONTEXT-

- **DESCRIBES THE ATTITUDE OF THE BENGALI BHADRALOK TOWARDS THE REBELLION . THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE BRITS WAS SHAPED MORE BY CONVENIENCE THAN GENUINE LOYALTY**
- ***“THE EDUCATED MIDDLE CLASS IN THE 19TH CENTURY FOUND THE DOMAIN OF REASON OPPRESSIVE AS IT IMPLIED THE NECESSITY OF CIVILISING COLONIAL RULE”***

CONTEXT –

- **MIDDLE CLASS, ENGLISH EDUCATED = WANTED TO DEVELOP INDIA ALONG MODERN LINES- MODERNITY BEING A WESTERN CONCEPT , HAD TO RECOGNISE THE REQUIREMENT OF A COLONIAL PERIOD**
- **CAN COMPARED IT TO THE EXTREMISTS – WHO DIDN’T RECOGNISE THE NEED FOR A COLONIAL GOVT & HENCE = INVENTED NON WESTERN IDEAS, IDIOMS- TRADITIONAL VALUES, FOLK ARTS ETC**
- ***THE ENGLISH HAVE NOT TAKEN INDIA , WE HAVE GIVEN IT TO THEM***

CONTEXT-

- **GANDHIAN VIEWS- INDIAN SOCIETY ACCEPTED INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISM & IT’S EVILS – HENCE MADE THEM SUBSERVIENT**
- **DISUNITY - DUE TO GREED HELPED BRITISH CONQUER**
- **INDIANS MUST FREE THEMSEVLES- TO ACCOMPLISH IT**
- ***REMEMBER ONCE AGAIN,NOW THAT THIS FLAG IS UNFURLED , IT MUST NOT BE LOWERED AS LONG AS A SINGLE INDIAN MAN ,WOMAN OR CHILD LIVES IN INDIA***

CONTEXT-

1. **BY NEHRU - 1929 LAHORE SESSION**

2. NEW SPIRIT - DEFIANCE + SALT LAW BREAKING
 3. PEOPLE DID SPECTACULAR THINGS- SOME WALKED FROM SILCHAR TO NOAKHALI
 4. SOUTH - SALT MARCHES ,RAJAJI, K KELAPPAN
 5. DEFENCE OF NATIONAL FLAG BECAME A MOMENT ITSELF, EG- TOTA NARASIAH NAIDU - PREFERRED TO BE BEATEN UNCONSCIOUS THAN GIVE UP THE NATIONAL FLAG, MANY OTHERS INCLUDING NEHRU WITHSTOOD LATHI CHARGES
 6. FLYING OF FLAG - BECAME WAY OF DEFIANCE, POLICE SNATCHED IT- CHILDREN SEW KHADI CLOTHES IN TRICOLOURS & OPENLY DEFIED.
 7. NEHRU'S COMMENT SYMBOLISED THE FIGHT TO THE FINISH MENTALITY
- *I HAD NO IDEA THAT THE CONGRESS ORGANISATION COULD ENLIST THE SYMPATHY & SUPPORT OF SUCH IGNORANT & UNCULTIVATED PEOPLE WHO*

CONTEXT-

1. CDM - HUGE PARTICIPATION , POOR , PEASANTS, LANDLESS, URBAN POOR , WOMEN ETC
 2. GOING TO JAIL - FORM OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION + THOSE WHO WENT LOOKED AS HEROES
 3. MUSLIM PARTICIPATION NOT AS MUCH AS KHILAFAT YET SIGNIFICANT IN NWFP + AREAS IN BENGAL
 4. JAIL GOING STATS REFLECTED THE LEVEL OF PERMEATION OF CONGRESS IDEA
 5. BRITISH DIDNT ANTICIPATE THE MASS UPSURGE
 6. HENCE STATEMENT BY - IG OF POLICE- E J LOWMAN
- *"AFTER ALL WE FRAMED THE CONSTITUTION ...OF 1935 BECAUSE WE THOUGHT IT WAS THE BEST WAY....TO HOLD INDIA TO THE EMPIRE" - VICEROY LORD LINLITHGOW*

CONTEXT-

- 1935 ACT WAS NOT DESIGNED TO SET INDIA FREE FROM BRITISH IMPERIALISM BUT RATHER HOLD INDIA TO IT.

DETAILS-

- 1935 ACT PROVIDED FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVT AT THE PROVINCES , HOWEVER WIDE CUSTOMARY POWERS TO GUVS
- EG- SUMMON LEGISLATURE, ASSENT TO BILLS
- SPECIAL POWERS IN REGARDS TO – CIVIL SERVICE, MINORITIES + EMERGENCY POWERS TO RUN THE PROVINCE UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES
- CRITICAL DEPTTS – FOREIGN, DEFENCE, INTERNAL SECURITY = UNDER VICEROY

- LIMITED VOTING FRANCHISE - ONLY 10 MILLION (DUE TO HIGH PROPERTY QUALIFICATIONS)
- VOTING RIGHTS TO MIDDLE/ RICH PEASANTS WHO WERE INC SUPPORTERS- A PLOY TO CUT THE SUPPORT OF THE INC
- VICEROY NOW HAD MANY POWERS WHICH PREVIOUSLY WERE WITH THE SECY OF STATE

✓ CONCLUSION-

- CONSCIOUSLY CHOSEN FEDERAL STRUCTURE
- DIVERT INC ATTENTION TOWARDS PROVINCES, MAINTAINING STRONG CENTRE – TIE INDIA TO THE IMPERIAL STRUCTURE

- *THESE OFFICES HAVE TO BE HELD LIGHTLY NOT TIGHTLY. THEY ARE OR SHOULD BE CROWN OF THORNS NOT REKNOWN*

CONTEXT-

1. BY GANDHIJI - ACCEPTANCE OF OFFICES UNDER 1935 ACT IN 1937 ELECTIONS
2. AFRAID THAT - CAN LEAD TO PEOPLE ENJOYING POWER, PERKS + FORGETTING THE MASS STRUGGLE
3. BRITISH STRATEGY - PRODUCE CLEAVAGES IN NATIONALIST FRAMEWORK, BASED UPON LEFT & RIGHT, CONSTITUTIONALISTS & NON CONSTITUTIONALISTS - THEN REPRESSION
4. ALSO COULD LEAD TO EMERGENCE OF PROVINCIAL CENTRES OF POWER - WEAKEN CENTRAL LEADERSHIP
5. GANDHIJI WARNED IN “ THE HARIJAN”

- *HINDU MUSLIM FEUD IS THE BULWARK OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA-*

CONTEXT-

- BY CHURCHILL
 - UNDERSTOOD THAT – KEEPING INDIA DIVIDED ON THIS BASIS WOULD ONLY STRENGTHEN BRITISH DESIGNS
 - BUREAUCRACY = HEAVILY PRO MUSLIM LEAGUE
- *INDIA AFTER WAR WILL BECOME A RUNNING SORE THAT WILL SAP THE STRENGTH OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE –*

CONTEXT-

- BY LORD WAVELL- HAD AN IDEA ABOUT THE DEPTH OF ANIMOSITY THAT HAD BEEN BUILT UP DUE TO COMMUNAL POLITICS
- INDIA COULDN'T BE GOVERNED BY SHEER FORCE – NOT PRACTICABLE + UNACCEPTABLE TO THE BRITISH PEOPLE

- **SIMLA CONFERENCE – JINNAH SIMPLY REFUSED TO RECOGNISE CONGRESS AS ANYTHING BUT A HINDU BODY**
- **WAVELL'S CAPITULATION EMBOLDENED THE DEMANDS OF THE MUSLIMS LEAGUE**
- **WAVELL = FORECAST THAT IF INDIA HELD BY FORCE WOULD SAY THE ENERGIES OF THE EMPIRE**

WORLD-