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UNIVERSITY OF NORTH BENGAL

MASTER OF ARTS-HISTORY

SEMESTER -III

INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT AND

AFTER (1857-1964)

OPEN ELECTIVE 304

BLOCK-2

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH BENGAL

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FOREWORD

The Self Learning Material (SLM) is written with the aim of providing simple and organized study content to all the learners. The SLMs are prepared on the framework of being mutually cohesive, internally consistent and structured as per the university's syllabi. It is a humble attempt to give glimpses of the various approaches and dimensions to the topic of study and to kindle the learner's interest to the subject

We have tried to put together information from various sources into this book that has been written in an engaging style with interesting and relevant examples. It introduces you to the insights of subject concepts and theories and presents them in a way that is easy to understand and comprehend.

We always believe in continuous improvement and would periodically update the content in the very interest of the learners. It may be added that despite enormous efforts and coordination, there is every possibility for some omission or inadequacy in few areas or topics, which would definitely be rectified in future.

We hope you enjoy learning from this book and the experience truly enrich your learning and help you to advance in your career and future endeavours.

INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT AND AFTER (1857-1964)

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Unit 2 Emergence Of Organized Nationalism Till 1919

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BLOCK-2 INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT AND AFTER (1857-1964)

Introduction to Block

UNIT 8 - Growth and activities of Communists and Socialists focusses on the growth and expansion of Communist ideology and also non-communist socialist ideology

UNIT 9 -SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE AND INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, FORWARD BLOC, BOSE AND I.N.A discusses about the life of Subhash Chandra Bose, his association with Congress party, birth of Forward Block party and creation of Indian National Army

UNIT 10 PARTITION OF INDIA discusses about Partition of India at the time of Indian independence from British into 2 nations based on religions

UNIT 11 - Emergence of national science focusing on the study and research of science in daily Indian life from ancient times.

UNIT 12 - COLONIAL science discusses about study and research of science from western point of view since British Raj in India

UNIT 13 – INDIAN PRINCELY STATES discusses about the integration of 600 Hindu and muslim dynasties ruled states with India and Pakistan at the time of 1947

UNIT 14 ECONOMY , INDUSTRIAL POLICY, EDUCATION, TECHNOLOGY, WOMEN RIGHTS focusses on the various aspects of advancements done in the economic, technology and social sectors

UNIT 8 - GROWTH AND ACTIVITIES OF COMMUNISTS AND SOCIALISTS

STRUCTURE

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8.3 Lets Sum Up

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8.5 Questions For Review

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8.7 Answers to check your progress

8.0 OBJECTIVE

To learn about the growth of Communism in India

To learn about the expansion of socialism in Indian

8.1 INTRODUCTION

In the broader sense the origin of the communist movement in India can be traced to the very first protest against an inegalitarian social s true In spite of the varying degrees of acceptance of the varna-caste ideology of birth governed system of priviledges and disabilities, never was this ideology having ccomplete and willing acceptance. Most of the religious sects that grew in different parts of the country at different points of history had their source of strength in the egalitarian aspirations of the disabled.

8.2 GROWTH OF ACTIVITIES OF COMMUNISTS AND SOCIALISTS

The history of the Communist movement in India in that specific sense can be traced from the date of Bolshevik revolution in Soviet Russia i.e the victory of the Russian revolution in 1917 and the decisive defeat of the central power in 1918. Though the Czarist Empire had collapsed in 1917 itself, the concept of bringing about changes in the constant social structure by active participation of people, J.ised in 1918. One of the founding leaders of the movement, S.G.Sardesai writes, "The Russian Revolution, the first successful socialist revolution in history, opened up a new horizon before the toiling people all over the world for the abolition of capitalist and landlord exploitation. By freeing all countries under Czarist rule, it also blazed a new path for subject countries struggling for national independence and self-determination".! However, even before the first world war(1914-18) Indian revolutionaries like Madame Cama and Rana were supported by progressive, socialist and labour movements in Europe and America and thus we find some traces of the revolutionary activities of Madame Cama, Rana,Shyamji Krishna Verma, Hardyal etc.2 Later Nalini Gupta(whose real name was Nalini Bhushan Das Gupta), Virendra Nath Chattopadhyaya and M.N.Roy started participating in the revolutionary activities abroad. In a way the Communist movement in India had its precursors in the anti-imperialist socialism-oriented intellectual and practical effort not abjuring violence as means of ushering in the new society. During that time the condition of India7a people was marked by numerous negative features. Abject poverty, ignorance and degradation of immense masses of the people were some of the prominent features. At the same time the Indian society was characterised by a series of divisions and cleavages of race, religion, caste and language which were main hurdles in the way of a realisation of full nationhood. Segmental differentiation was more negative in the sense that the feeling of national solidarity could not be reinforced. There was a yawning gap between the life conditions of rural and urban masses of the population. The Indian peasantry was groaning under debt and was chained in rural indebtedness other hand the Princely States

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which patronised and created by the British rulers to function as intermediaries between the people and the government, scattered all over the country, were providing a model of extreme poverty and ignorance of the common people for the prince!~ order. Masani writes,

" The Indian Maharajas, the big feudal landlords and the rising industrialists stood like lofty mountain peaks above the plains of poverty". The idea to emphasise the contrast between 'the mountain peaks above the plains of pverty' by the historians of the early communist movement was to underline the roles of class disparities in making the movement an attractive proposition for all those who were appalled by the conditions and were moved by humanitarian considerations. The British imperialists were pursuing their tradi tional policy of repression and miserable dose of political reforms. The Sedition Committee Report under Justice Rowlatt which made a review of the revolutionary activities and development in the war period, compared by Lord Sydenham with 1857, formed parts of that policy. Rowlatt Bill proposed a regime of dracon repression and complex suppression of elementary democratic rights and liber.....ties. The impact of war on Indian economy was very negative. There was massive price-rise followed by massive retrenchment and wage cuts in industrial establishments. Against this arose a wave of mass strikes of workers in the latter 4 part of 1918 and 1919, in Ahmedabad, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. On the rural front also there were unrests and uprisings in Punjab, U.P., Malabar and other parts of India. Gandhi had entered the scene and led the Champaran struggle. H~ also opposed Rowlatt Bill and his call for protest, hartal and countrywide non-cooperatio:l movement received unprece::dented response. This all broadened the Indian ~ational Congress into a mass organisation.

The following trends were symptomatic of the Indian· people's reaction to the socio-economic and political life of India of that period :

1. There was persistent and challenging opposition to the administrative measures of the British Govern1lent in India which were regarded by Indian public opinion as being repressive of the agitation for self-government.

2. There was ever widening discontentment with policies and measures which were regarded as evidencing social discrimination.
3. An increasing amount of energy was to be found directed towards social reforms, educational progress and industrial advance.
4. There was a demand which found increasing support in favour of the liberalisation of existing political institutions having as its goal, full self-government on the part of the Indian people.
5. There was growing desire to raise the status of India in the British Empire and the world. The imposition of British sponsored feudalism and destruction of the self-sufficient village community by the British was designed to create a social support in Indian society for the colonialists. To rule the already divided society they created a landlord class which served as their social base. This class became deeply interested in the perpetuation of colonial rule and its system of exploitation.

EMERGENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

In this background there was the embryonic emergence, outside the country, of the Communist Party of India which was formed on 17th October 1920 at Tashkent with M.N. Roy, Evelyn Roy, Abani Mukherjee, Tirumal Acharya, Rosa Fingov, Muhammad Ali and Muhammad Shafiq as the secretary. It was affiliated to the Communist International (popularly known as Comintern) in 1921.

Although M.N.Roy as the representative of Mexico had already put forth Indian viewpoint in the Second Congress of the Comintern in the year 1920, the Communist Party of India as a separate political entity had not come into being in India. However, the 'Communists' had started championing the cause of workers and peasantry even before C.P.I. coming up in 1925. "In the Ahmedabad session of the Indian National Congress the Communists had made an appeal to the Congress to play the leading role in the National movement while at the same time adopting the programmes of the peasantry and the working classes", writes K.Seshadri. He further writes; "Once again the next year in the Gaya Congress the Communists were represented by Sengaravelu Chettiar, who on the instructions from Roy appealed to the Congress to

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include certain demands like liquidation of landed states, nationalisation of all public enterprises, arming of the people to defend national freedom and sharing of profits in the industries by the workers".

And finally and formally, the Communist Party of India was founded in 1925 after the launching of Cawnpur Conspiracy case of 1924. Here we see that the Communist movement in India drew its inspiration and actual strength from

(i) socialist state in USSR and the communist international stationed in Moscow (ii) the radicalisation of Indian National movement as represented by Indian National Congress and (iii) the class consciousness and organisations of the labouring masses. It is difficult to separate these three sources of strength and weakness from each other without distorting history. Much of the tensions that marked the movement in later years were situated in this triple makeup of the original soil. Thus the formation of the Communist Party in India was an attempt in the direction of organising the Indian working class on the basis of revolutionary class ideology propounded by Marx and Lenin. Its message has always been revolutionary in content, e.g. the abolition of landlordism and distribution of land to the tillers of the soil without compensation, the confiscation and nationalisation of British capital in India.

Later in course of time it also incorporated local demands of the exploited humanity in an attempt to bring about changes through the application of revolutionary means of class struggle. The observations of a lower court made in 1930 also testified the objective of the Communist Party of India. According to the observations, the Communist International with its Headquarters at Moscow was the supreme head of all Communist organizations throughout the world. Its chief aim was to establish Worker's Republic in every country and to further that objective in India its immediate goal was to overthrow the sovereignty of the King Emperor in British India by causing a revolution of workers and peasants, to gain control over the working classes by organizing them in unions, teaching them in principles of Communism, inciting them to strikes in order to educate them, it was enforcing solidarity amongst

them. The peasants were also to be organised in a similar manner so as to form an effective reserve force for the proletarian masses

EMERGENCE OF CONGRESS SOCIALIST PARTY

Although the Communist Party of India had emerged as a separate political party after its formation in 1925, it temporarily joined hands with the Royist group in the trade union movement (even though Roy was expelled from the C.I in late twenties) and both of them gave a call for a countrywide strike of all textile workers. The employers supported by the government came heavily on the trade unions. Since the strike hampered production and paved the path of further crisis in industrial establishments, the British government ordered the arrest of many important leaders of the Communist Party and later declared the party illegal along with some dozen unions and the Young Workers League which were controlled by the Communist Party of India. The remaining activists of the party had to go underground and in this situation of 'Left vacuum' the Congress Socialist Party was formed in 1934 with Jayaprakash Narayan, M.R. Masani and others.

The members of the Congress Socialist Party were inclined toward Marxism, yet there were many points of difference between the socialists and the communists. The socialists thought of the stand taken by the communists not to support bourgeois-led freedom movement to be a perverted application of the principles of Marxism to the Indian situation. They were much more influenced by communist ideas rather than communist organization. Their assumption was that the Indian society must work out its own salvation, face and overcome its own differences and must not take its dictates from outside whereas the communists were being guided by USSR. In the words of M.R. Masani, Hence due to the attraction of communist ideas, the Indian socialists passionately wooed the communists despite the hostility of the latter which ultimately helped the CPI in establishing itself because of some common]less in the ideological stand of both the parties.

KISAN ORGANISATION

After 1934 the communist activists kept on working, though of course not in an open and legal form. On the occasion of the National Conference of the Congress Socialist Party held at Meerut in January 15,

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1936 a number of left-minded political workers, including leading members of the CSP., met to discuss the question of the peasantry and the horrible situation created for them by the great depression. The matter culminated in the holding of a conference of representatives of Kisan organisations in different provinces of India at Lucknow on 11th April 1936, at the time of the Lucknow Congress of the Indian National Congress. The delegates were connected with the organisations of the kisans that had been already formed and were functioning independently of one another and in a rather sporadic manner in a number of provinces and districts all over the country. The All India Kisan Sabha was thus formally brought into existence. The organisation was first officially called the All India Kisan Congress. Some people also called it the All India Kisan Sangh. 14 Communist students also emerged as a force to reckon with in the Third Session of the All India Students Conference at Madras in December 1937. Thus the activity of the Communists not only did not cease, even after its being declared an illegal party, but spread over newer sections of the people.

THE SOVIET INFLUENCE

The influence of Soviet Russia on the Indian Communists became apparent in 1939, the year in which there was Stalin-Hitler pact. The Communist Party of India did not question, with independent mind, Russia's Non-Aggressive Pact with Nazi-Germany, and in its eyes England and France became the imperialist war mongers. The Communist Party of India took anti-war stand and condemned England for dragging India into an imperialist war against her will. On the other hand the Congress initially followed moderate policy in opposing the Government. Following the Russian line, the CPI condemned the Congress for compromising with the imperialist Britain and to weaken the British Government it advocated and sponsored strikes.

Whatever be the reality of the international negotiations, the forthright stand of the communist against the war earned them support from the militant nationalist ranks, specially the students. The Congress Socialist leadership was not happy over the growing strength of the Communists. They were perturbed because some communists had concealed their

identity in the C.S.P. and they were not favourably inclined towards Gandhian factions in various Congress Committees.

Thus the relationship of the Communists with Gandhi's individual 'Satyagraha' was not harmonious they acquired ascendancy in AISF, AITUC with liberal support and even in AIKS units. So there was a split led by C.S.P. in the AISF and AIKS. The C.S.P which was standing within the Congress between Gandhians and Communists as a political party decided to expel all communists from its organisation. However, the CSP was also opposing the war effort and so it supported the communist-organised strikes ~ -, in Bombay textile mills as an anti-war sentiment. The British Government with a view to contain the communist and socialist anti-war activities arrested them and concentrated them at Deoli detention camp.

In spite of the repressive measures of the Government and the splitting decisions of the Socialist, the Communists continued to gain mass support and new adherents from nationalist ranks. On 22nd June 1941 when Hitler invaded Soviet Russia, it was conceived by the Communists as a threat to their international bastion and so they declared that the imperialist war has become a 'People's War' every if the British Government did not concede Indian Independence. The British Government in India being assured of their support to the war in the changed international situation, started gradually. Releasing them from detention. Later on 24th July, 1942 the ban on the CPI was lifted which enabled it to function as a legal party after a decade. The legality and the attendant withdrawal of repressive measures created favourable condition for the working of the Communists. On the other hand., they could increasingly alienated from the national mainstream. The new situation while providing them to work for welfare of the basic classes they professed to organise, simultaneously created conditions of their isolation from the Congress masses. They participated in many movements which were directed to ameliorate the conditions of peasants and workers. Though the 'Tebhaga' movement of 1946-47 was led and organised by the Bengal provincial branch of the Kisan Sabha, the objective of the Tebhanga movement was to get the sharecroppers who

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bore the cost of cultivation two thirds instead of half the share 16 of the crop.

Till 1947, the year in which India achieved freedom from the colonial yoke, the Indian Communists following true, line visualised revolution in India through two stages viz, national liberation against colonialism and secondly, anti-federal struggle against landlordism. Thus in 1947 they were not sure that India achieved real freedom as only state political power was transferred to Indians with Indian within the British Commonwealth and real economic power still vested in British capital and the forces created by the colonial rule. Before that also during freedom movement together with pursuing its own course of action, it viewed nationalism as a bourgeois ideology and declared Congress-led freedom movement a bourgeois led one. Shashi Joshi writes,"

A crude search for the class essence of a popular mass movement is based on the assumption that in the long run there can be no discrepancy between the economic positions of agents and their ideological-political position. The natural outcome of this belief is the position that ruling class ideologies may delude sections of the working class, but in the long run, the economically determined development of the struggle will polarise the class forces and bring the mass of the workers to see their class interest and position. It was within the fold of this economic Marxism that the communists in India fell and it was through this definistic logic that they viewed 'nationalism' as bourgeois ideology. But more realistically this could be viewed as aspects or phases in the communist movement than permanent characteristic.

Later also there was a failure on the part of the Communist Party to avail of the objective situation to become a decisive force in Indian society. It was realised by the party also. Ajoy Ghosh while admitting that the communist movement has not been quite a success in India said, "Ideologically and political ally speaking, we have been living from hand to mouth trying to tackle some urgent questions as they arise, evading basic questions and overall assessment. The result is drift, absence of direction and chaos . It will be admitted by all that during the last twelve years our assessment of the situation has been many a time faulty and events have developed differently from what we anticipated. The party

functioning in Independent India has been marked by wavering and indecisions. It sought to mechanically apply the 'Russian path' first and then the 'Chinese path' in total disregard of the actual situation in the country.

MANIFEST CRISIS IN THE PARTY

Because of the above reasons the party was every few years engulfed in an internal crisis resulting into its split in 1964 and further another split in 1967. In the words of Bipan Chandra, "There has been an atmosphere of stagnation and excuse and undefined unease and discontent in its ranks with the leaders bravely whistling in the dark. The party remained troubled from within with regard to its politics and tactics. Yet in the first General Election it did fairly well, although the number of seats captured by it was small, it was second to only Indian National Congress. This only showed that placing exclusive emphasis on tensions within the movement is likely to ignore the historic attraction of the movement for the downtrodden. The kisan sabha under the name united Kisan Sabha also contested the 1952 elections in Bihar, both for the Lok Sabha and the Assembly seats, but could not secure any seat. The death of the veteran Kisan . Leader Swami Sahjanand Saraswati in the meantime had weakened the Sabha.

The base created by the kisan sabha during the course of its prolonged struggle on agrarian front proved to be an asset for the communist Party in elections even if their candidates did not come out victorious. Moreover its success in the First election was more significant in the sense of driving inroads into the monopoly of power of the Congress Party, for it must not be forgotten that the CPI had merged from illegality and started operating as a constitutional force only a few months before the elections.^{2 5} There have been splits within split in the Indian Communist party and each splinter faction charged other with 'petti-bourgeois' revolutionism, 'left deviationsm', 'revisionism', 'neo-revisionism' and so on and so forth a vocabulary not quite intelligible to outsiders. With the growth of ideological and other differences between Russia and China, there took place a split in the international communist movement. The CPI was split into two in 1964 with an official Communist Party(CPO which was ideologically closer to the Russian

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communists and the group which receded from it and formed the Communist Party of India, Marxist(CPI(M), which originally was ideologically closer to the Chinese communists. The 1964 split was largely caused by the feelings of dissatisfaction amongst the militant group within the communist party. The principal reasons for dissatisfaction was the alleged policy of the party of collaboration with the 'progressive' bourgeoisie, under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru, party's subservience to USSR and finally its stand on Sino-Indian border clashes. In fact the Communist party had been adopting a shifting stand. In 1948 at its Second Party Congress (held in Calcutta from 28 Feb to 6 March 1948) it evolved a strategy of armed uprisings and then in 1950-58 shifted to a policy of peaceful transition to socialism.

The resolution to this effect was adopted at Amritsar in 1958. In the 1964 split most of the parliamentarians remained with the parent party while most of the activists joined the CPI(M). It was observed by another Social Scientist: "The CPI continued to enjoy the loyalty of a majority of the leaders who were over fifty-five, who were known as 'intellectuals' and who belonged to the upper caste. CPI's political base was in the Hindi speaking north and in Maharashtra, while the CPI(M) was much stronger in Bengal, Madras, Kerala and Andhra Pradesh". The split weakened the communist movement considerably in the sense that the base of the party eroded and -his party had to align with some others to win election. Initially CPI's preference for alliance was only with 'left and democratic parties.' By Dec.1965 a united Front had been forged among the SSP, the CPI, the RSP, the Socialist Unity Centre, the Jharkhand Party and the right-wing Raja-dominated Janata Party. Such an alliance was perhaps situationally necessitated in the electoral politics but it was a departure from principled politics. The United Front parties agreed in principle to coordinate their activities in the legislatures, in public agitations and in arranging electoral adjustments to oppose the Congress in 1967 elections. But this unprincipled alliance could not continue for long. The PSP and the Jana Sangh had already remained aloof from the United Front and the Janata Party leader withdrew. People became sceptical of the alliance, "Too often being a communist meant simply having a positive attitude towards the Soviet Union often

communism was presented as simply a more radical and consistent species of Congress Socialism".

Both the parties acknowledged their weakness among the peasantry, particularly the poor peasants and the landless agricultural workers. The CPI(M) admitted frankly that apart from their trade union work being permeated with economism, their weakness was more pronounced on peasant front. It said, "For the last several years, the mass organisations of peasants and agricultural workers were getting more and more weakened. At many places, their existence became only formal. This utter neglect of kisans front shows that we were victims of revisionism in our understanding of the role of peasantry in building the democratic front.

Ultra-leftism had always been a force in the communist party. It is obvious from the fact that the first open denunciation of the theory of Mao-Tse-Tung as alien to Marxism-Leninism came from the General Secretary B. T. Ranadive in 1949. A year earlier the Andhra Communists were leading an armed struggle of the Telangana peasantry by turning to Mao-Tse-Tung's 'New Democracy' in their search for revolution based on four-class alliance and the tactics of peasant-partisan warfare. Ranadive's attack on Maoism as a rearguard action in defence of Russian model of Revolution through city based insurrections in a single day, wherein industrial proletariat plays an organic leadership and peasantry the role of the follower. In class alignment terms Ranadive represented ultra-leftism' in terms of path of revolution and blind followers of Mao propagating a new type of struggle and continued prolonged civil war through People's Army represented ultra-leftist tactics. In late period parts of CPI(M) and Naxalite groups represented the same strands.

The CPI was locked in an excruciating interlude which helped further Maoism to consolidate itself within the Indian communist movement. It was in the late fifties and early sixties that the Sino-Soviet ideological dispute, which was building up with the ideological rift came into the open. Secondly, the CPI from Amritsar onwards had adopted a programme of establishing people's democracy and socialist transformation through peaceful means by developing a powerful mass revolutionary movement by combining parliamentary and extra-

parliamentary forms of struggle. The working class and its allies were to try their utmost to overcome the resistance of the forces of reaction and to bring about these transformations through peaceful means. The process was in a way repeated within the CPI(M) soon after its formation in 1964. The persistent but unavailing electoralism of the CPI(M) inevitably bred a left revolt by some of the party's militants who were itching for an instant revolution which ultimately contributed to Naxalite rebellion and later in April 1969 formation of the CPI(ML). Even this attempt to build organised Marxist Leninist party was not considered revolutionary enough by Revolutionary Communist Committee of Andhra Pradesh and other formations who had chosen to keep out of the new party. Though the CPI(M) denounced the dogmatism and left-sectarianism of the Chinese Communist, the CPI(ML) undoubtedly shook the Indian left movement.

ANOMALIES IN INDIA COMMUNISM

The existence of opposing strands within the Indian Communist movement until the death of Ahjoy Ghosh and split in 1964 was discerned as three streams by Bipan Chandra. The three main streams of the communist movement in India had some distinguishable political lines. Bipan Chandra, perceived the tendency of the three in the sense of 'Right', 'Left' and 'Centre' in the Communist movement. The 'Right' more or less correctly perceived the existing and emerging reality and argued in terms of the logic of the policies structured in 1951 and moved towards cooperation with Nehru. The 'Left' objected to any such cooperation, and reconciled to a militant anti-government approach accepting the promises of 1951 as the givens of reality. It, therefore, saw no need to evolve a fresh view of Indian reality or party line. Whereas the 'centre' simultaneously recognised the actual existing reality adopting a radical oppositionist stance towards the government. It simultaneously tried to make an effort to break out of it in crucial aspects, thus gave birth to a host of anomalies.

Bipan Chandra criticises all the streams as untenable as they thought and acted within the programme adopted in 1952, which according to him was historically obsolete as the power in India was transferred to the capitalist in 1947. Enunciation of the objective of the CPI(ML) is clear

from the statement of Satya Narain Singh, a leading Naxalite from Bihar, who was for a long time an associate of Charu Mazumdar. He said on the conception of a revolutionary political party, "This is the party of the proletariat and represents the true aspirations and policies of the revolutionary class. This party gives first reference to 'ideological and political building rather than organisational structure. This party takes up its first task to train revolutionary cadres through revolutionary activity... is the party of the armed struggle, a rural-based party and gives first reference to the work of building base areas in the countryside rather than work in the cities and towns at the present stage of revolution. • gives first reference to the work of preparing the working class to enable it to play the leading role in our revolutionary rather than economic and cultural work in the cities and towns ..•• gives first preference to the work of organising leading teams of the party rather than enlisting party members on a mass scale ••• to the qualities of the party members rather than their number.

This party is established on the basis of democratic centralism and gives preference to the work of ensuring democracy under centralised guidance rather than formal discipline. 33 But this party also could not remain united. A sizeable number of Andhra Naxalites rallied behind the leadership of T.Naga-Reddi, in opposition to the Bengal groups of Naxalites who had nothing to do with the system of parliamentary election agreeing with their attack on parliamentary system but by participating in such a system although with the clear objective of destroying it. The criticism from within the Naxalites ranks also arose from the point of view of impossibility of maintaining an endless war of compilation and in the face of losing mass support. On the other hand the Bengal Naxalites under the leadership of Charu Mazumdar and Kanu Sanyal were laying emphasis on 'Khatam' or annihilation as the only means to mobilise the peasantry.

Their assumption was that only annihilation could solve the problem and extend their base. Though in their writings Charu Mazumdar sought to restore the balance of reiterating that the fundamental point of class struggle was the seizure of political power and not annihilation. However, he maintained that annihilation was 3. higher form of class

struggle.³⁴ During the same period in another note to his comrades he wrote, "Today, the landless peasant the poor peasant, must be told about the need to attack the state machinery about our total politics . To tell them 161 only about the annihilation of class enemies will be economism".

THE DELINE OF NAXALISM

Naxalite politics started petering out within a short span of time. Their main aim of creating base areas and stabilising the peasantry around harvesting of crops and other economic activities to enable them to taste the sense of power and inspire them to protect and enlarge those base areas was lost sight of in their craze for getting rid of the immediate objects of reprisal -the landlords and moneylenders. Secondly, there was internal rift in their rank Thirdly, the Central government decided to deal with such 'demands with strong hand and in this venture according to Naxalites the CPI(M) led Bengal government also cooperated and was disturbed by the ultra-Maoist attacks on the policies and physical assault on cadre. And last but not least the strategy of violent revolution and guerilla warfare could not gain ground. When the established government resorted to not only organised repression but also to ideological offensive and did not rule out compromise and cooptation tactics vis a vis the opponents and isolate the extremists.

Thus the communist movement, despite the fact that it had a very strong theoretical base, had to go through a great deal of inner turmoil and divisions which resulted into a prolonged period of theoretical hair-splitting, organizational fissions and political groping with a yawning gap between the programme and practices of different segments of the communist movement in India. There have been splits within split 0:1 the 'new realisation' of deviations from the theoretical moorings of communism. Adhikari wrote, "When we go into the matter more deeply, we will have to concede that in the pre-Independence period, the main mistake from which our party suffered most was the inadequate understanding of the specific and main task which faced us, viz., the national liberation revolution, 'incorrect understanding and approach towards the national movement and its organ the National Congress, that developed under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, incorrect

understanding and inadequate concrete study of the role of the Indian National bourgeoisie in the revolution. It had a temporary advantage in the sense that on concrete items of socio-economic and political programme, most of the leaders of the 'Right' in the national movement were willing to go quite far in accommodating the 'Left' so long as it remained within the parameters of class adjustment and peaceful change. Another was that they were willing to cooperate closely with Nehru and work alongside the socialists and the communists in the freedom struggle. The level of cooperation between the leftists and the rightists was even greater among lower level workers.

The Growth of Indian Socialism.

The term 'socialism' is generally used in a variety of senses, to connote different politico-economic programmes and courses of action which are often widely divergent. It should be admitted that though socialism is a universal phenomenon in contemporary ideological thinking, ambiguity remains regarding the meaning of socialism. In India a broad socialistic approach has developed within the Indian freedom movement. Some Indian thinkers were influenced and drawn towards socialism. The Indian Renaissance of the second half of the 19th century gave rise to certain national ideals, including democracy, a broad form of socialism, non-violence, anti-imperialism, anti-racialism, Asianism and cooperative inter-nationalism. These ideals were influenced to a certain extent by Western political, economic thought but these ideas bear a distinct imprint of Indian thinking, traditions and culture. These ideas were essentially derived from Indian's own cultural and intellectual tradition and have a linkage with Indian history and historical conditions. V.R. Mehta rightly observes: "By the middle of the twentieth century, Indian thinkers began to move specifically towards socialism, which while deriving its inspiration from the development of socialism in the West, would yet incorporate the specificity and identity of Indian society.

"The growth of Indian socialism during the period, the first and the second world wars, can best be studied in the political and social context of the time. Its growth was not a straight line, rather suffered from false starts and setbacks; it was affected by the hostility of the

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British authorities, recurrent economic crises, the changing international scene and the rather violent shifts in the attitudes of the Communist International towards the national struggle in India. The organisation of 'Left Politics' took place in the face of official opposition and congress suspicion.

There is no doubt that socialist ideas and parties gave a certain social content and occasionally a sharper edge to Indian nationalism as represented by the Indian National Congress. Marx's radical views attracted the Indian nationalist thinkers. They sought to expose the drawbacks and limitations of British rule and revealed the economic plight of the country as the result of her drainage of wealth by the colonial masters. The early nationalist thinkers like Dadabhai Naoroji, B.G. Tilak, Ramesh Chandra Dutt, Gokhale, Justice Ranade did a commendable job in exposing the evil designs of the colonial rulers and in arousing the sentiments of Indian people to revolt against the foreign domination. Bipan Chandra says: "The Indian national movement was basically the product of the central or primary contradiction of colonial India, the contradiction between colonialism and the interests of the Indian people.-This was its material basis."

At this time national consciousness began to grow apace. It is to be pointed out that the development of transport and communications through the railways, post and telegraph and press helped the growth of such consciousness. The first popular movement began under the leadership of B.G. Tilak in Maharashtra in the 1890's and the partition of Bengal (1905) gave a great fillip and a radical turn to the nationalist movement. It is significant that in 1906 Dadabhai Naoroji, in his presidential address to the annual session of the Indian National Congress, placed before the people swaraj or self-government as the goal to be attained.⁶ The writings and speeches of these liberal leaders pointed out the economic maladies of the country but contained no direct idea of socialism, yet the economic unrest generated by their writings helped in the gradual growth of a socialist ideology in the country.

The revivalist movement in the country towards the end of 19th century and beginning of 20th century also generated consciousness through the

socio-religious reforms, and gave direction towards the growth of socialist ideology in the country. The Theosophical society also contributed to the growth of socialistic ideas in the country. Anne Besant saw in Indian thinking rich tradition of socialism. If we seek to analyse the thinking of Indian thinkers on socialism and socialistic ideas we will notice that different thinkers viewed, examined and discussed socialism from diverse viewpoints and angles. It is remarkable that no two of our thinkers agree on what precisely socialism connotes. Vivekananda called himself a socialist. He was a social reformer. He presented a balanced view for both society and the individual. Vivekananda understood that in a perfect society, there should be proper harmony between man and the aim should be a synthesis between spiritualism and materialism. Vivekananda was deeply devoted to the cause of the liberation of the poor, and the downtrodden. Vivekananda harped on the moral foundations of national cohesion and solidarity for the regeneration and rejuvenation of Indian nation.

It should be mentioned that Vivekananda enriched the moral foundations of Bengal nationalism, in theory and practice, by dint of his innumerable writings and speeches.⁹ Bankimchandra Chatterjee was a creative social thinker. He was a keen observer and an analyst of the social realities around him. He depicted in his novels the social maladies and inequalities and provided remedies for their eradication. In 1879 he published his essay on "Samya" in which he made a frontal attack on various forms of inequality in society. Mahatma Gandhi is regarded as the greatest revolutionary of the present century. He is a man of action, a realist and a pragmatist. He is hailed as the greatest mass mobiliser in India. According to Gandhi, equality is the essence of socialism. Gandhi was of the opinion that the virtue of socialism was that it regards all members as equal, none low, none high. He was quite emphatic that since socialism is pure as crystal, it requires crystal-like means to achieve it. He wrote, 'Impure means result in an impure end.' Gandhi's conception of socialism was ethical, based on the possibility of reform in human nature. He was a great exponent of truth and non-violence. Gandhi argued that Western democracy, Fascism and Communism were all

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unacceptable to India, because they were all characterised by the absence of true freedom, whether individual or collective, inequality and exploitation. Gandhi was opposed to communism and the soviet system of government, as he detested violence, regimentation and dictatorship. Gandhi was convinced that true socialism can be established by satyagraha . . . alone. He wrote, "It is the highest and infallible means, the greatest force. Socialism will not be reached by any other means. Satyagraha can rid society of all evils, political, economic and moral."

Sri Aurobindo was emphatic in rejecting capitalism and communism and in suggesting a new type of socio-political order closely resembling democratic socialism, although he discussed the future more from the point of view of humanity as a whole than from that of India. M.N. Roy was a humanist and following Renaissance thought he accepted man as a point of departure: He accepted the principle of the sovereignty of the individual and tried to integrate it with democratic theory. M.N. Roy wanted man to perform his social responsibilities without surrendering his liberty. M.N. Roy was not in favour of a communist revolution. He was a socialist of a kind but was deeply opposed to all forms of totalitarianism. In relation to humanism, his objectives were of libertarian kind. Roy gave almost importance on individual freedom.

The New Humanism of M.N. Roy aimed at a secular, rational morality for opening a new perspective before the world. The New Humanism of M.N. Roy rejected the economic determinism of Marx and considered the human will as the motive force of social evolution. He affirmed that revolution must go beyond the mere economic reorganisation of society for the sake of creating a new world of freedom and social justice. During India's freedom struggle, a serious debate was going on in the country about the goal and purpose of freedom and on what should be the social and economic content of political independence.

It showed the desire of the Indian elite to define the picture of future India when they would be called upon to 'build' after the British has left. One ideologue of the national movement, Jawaharlal Nehru, wanted the country to accept the goal of socialism for free India. "Of the leaders of all-India stature, Jawaharlal Nehru was one of the first to be attracted to socialism," opines Sankar Ghose. Nehru would not like to define

socialism in precise and rigid terms, Nehru once said : 'What I want is ! that all individuals in India should have equal opportunities of growth, from birth upwards, and equal opportunities for work according to their capacity.' Socialism appealed to Nehru 'as a philosophy of life.'

He viewed socialism as 'the only key to the solution of the world's problems and of India's problems.' Nehru sought to evolve a social philosophy for the construction of Indian society on the basis of equality, social justice and individual freedom. Nehru was a pragmatist. He said, "I cannot enamoured of these 'isms', and I want to forget the 'ism' attached to it. Our problem today is to raise the standard of the masses I should like to set them on the right road and I do not care what 'ism' it is that helps me to set them on that road, provided I do it."

Nehru believed that socialism was bound to come to India, even though in establishing socialism India "may evolve her own methods and may adapt the ideal to the genius of her race." Subhas Bose writes in 1931 that socialism, justice, equality, freedom, discipline and love constitute the essence of socialism, According to Jayaprakash Narayan, voluntary subordination of one's interest to the; larger interest of society is the keynote of socialism. Jayaprakash writes : The objectives of socialism are : Elimination of exploitation and poverty; provision of equal opportunities to all for self-development; full development of the material and moral resources of society and utilisation of these resources in accordance with the needs and wishes of society as a whole rather than in accordance with the dictates of profit; equitable appointment of national wealth and social, educational and other services between all who labour and serve society.

Check your progress –

1. Who were the prominent Communist leaders in India?

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2. How socialism expanded in India?

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8.3 LETS SUM UP

Thus we find that the left movement also grew and progressed prior to Indian independence. However, it contributed nothing towards independence. Yet, it succeeded in organizing the labour movement, fighting for the cause of the weaker sections of the society, helping in spreading socialist ideas among people, and attract to establish a society based on economic and social justice.

8.4 KEYWORDS

Communism, socialism, Nehruvian socialism, Socialism

8.5 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Discuss the growth of Communism in India.
2. Discuss how socialism penetrated into Congress party.

8.6 SUGGESTED READING

Krishna Sahai : Socialist Movement in India, Classical Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1986

H.H. Das & P.S.N. Patro : Indian Political Traditions, Sterling Publishers Private Limited, New Delhi, 1992

8.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Hint – 8.2
2. Hint – 8.2

UNIT 9 -SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE AND INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, FORWARD BLOC, BOSE AND I.N.A

STRUCTURE

9.0 Objective

9.1 Introduction

9.2 Life Of Sub hash Bose

9.3 Lets Sum Up

9.4 Keywords

9.5 Questions For Review

9.6 Suggested Readings

9.7 Answers To Check Your Progress

9.0 OBJECTIVE

To know about the life of Subhash Bose

To know about his contributions in freedom of India

9.1 INTRODUCTION

Subhas Chandra Bose (23 January 1897 – 18 August 1945) was an Indian nationalist whose defiant patriotism made him a hero in India, but whose attempt during World War II to rid India of British rule with the help of Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan left a troubled legacy.

9.2 LIFE OF SUBHASH BOSE

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It was a sadder but wiser Subhas who returned to his own arena of political activities after his release from prison (in May 1927) on health grounds and after a sojourn in Shillong for recuperation. Though keenly feeling the absence of his dear departed leader and preceptor Deshbandhu C.R. Das, he realised that the time had come when he himself must hold the reins in strong hands and do his utmost to steer his country to its destination. But to him the task, however difficult it might be, had a strong anchor. It was the idealism of Deshbandhu which was ever alive in his mind. He had learnt from him what is meant by true patriotism. This patriotism cannot be realised if one is incapable of identifying one's life with the life of the nation. He believed that "the man in whom patriotism has been roused as a result of this identification of his own life with that of the nation, he alone can find a new 'idea', can create a new nation. To attain this ideal, Subhas knows, is not an easy task-one has to pass through rigorous test. What is required is sincere and undiluted engrossment with an 'Idea'. This is the real 'Sadhana'. And after this comes the culmination - 'Siddha'. "Those who want to be builders of the nation they must succeed in the 'sadhana', expostulate Subhas. And having learnt this,

... A lesson of idealism from Deshbandhu, Subhas gives his clarion call to the people of Bengal while he was convalescing in Shillong : "I have this to say to young Bengal -if you want to be real men, if you want to create a new nation, if you want to bring into fruition the dreams of a free India - then come, let us lose ourselves in this 'Sadhana' " Thus Subhas ardently wanted young Bengal to emulate the precepts preached by Deshbandhu C R Das. But Subhas knows that this ideal is not a lifeless and motionless entity. It has got "speed, locomotion and life-giving power". This ideal can be detected only by a person endowed with real insight behind all visible phenomena. This ideal, Subhas knows, prompted Swami Vivekananda to lay the foundation of true nationalism in India by preaching the essential unity of all religions and sects. And this ideal became the guiding force in Subhas when he entered the beleaguered amphitheatre of political squabbling. And that is why he emphatically proclaims the dreams nestling in his mind: "One of the dreams that has inspired me and given a purpose to my life is that of a

great and undivided Bengal devoted to the service of India and of humanity - a Bengal that is above all sects and groups and is the home alike of the Moslem, the Hindu, the Christian and the Buddhist. It is this Bengal - the Bengal of my dreams - that Bengal of the future still in embryo - that I worship and strive to serve in my daily life.

But the task was a formidable one. There were problems galore. Subhas, who was in constant touch with his brother Sarat Chandra Bose and others when he was in prison was not unaware of the menacing clouds vitiating the political atmosphere of the country. Those were the days of the darkening doldrums. Subhas, in a letter to a political worker in Calcutta in 1926 before he left Mandalay prison, unhesitatingly expressed his dismay : "All over Bengal there are only groupism and internecine quarrel. Throughout Bengal today a scramble for power is in progress. Those who have power are much too occupied in holding on to it. Those who have none are determined to grab it. "In fact, the general condition of the country was one of mutual suspicion, apathy and sometimes hatred.

The political scenario of the country was so disarrayed at the time e.. that by April 1927, even Pandit Motilal Nehru felt helpless and dejected. The acrimonious political jugglery that was going on at that time was too much for him. He ventilated his feelings to his son Jawaharlal in April 1927 : "Indian politics were low enough when you left India a year ago but even you can have no idea of the almost universal rot which has since set in." 7 Even Gandhiji found the political atmosphere stifling. As Subhas says : "Mahatma Gandhi was suffering from acute mental depression and was living in retirement from active politics. "8 Mr Srinivasa Iyenger who was holding the fort at that time, convened a Unity Conference in Calcutta in November, 1927, to assuage the feelings of the Muslims. But even the nationalist Muslims who were shaken at the demise of C. R. Das were losing their confidence in the Congress. Deshbandhu had a strong hold on the Muslims community who had great faith on him. It was his ardent desire to bring about a lasting Hindu - Muslim entente through a kind of cultural synthesis. While in jail he used to have frequent discussions with Maulana Akram Khan regarding the points of affinity between the two cultures. The death the Deshbandhu on

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16 June, 1925, was nothing short of a national calamity and, when Subhas appeared in the political scene, he had to bear the full brunt of it. It was a dishevelled country torn with dissensions and internecine squabble. Hindu-Muslim relationship so zealously fostered by Deshbandhu during his life-time was at its lowest ebb.

It was the firm belief of Subhas that the Hindu - Muslim problem was nothing but a cleverly concocted ploy of the British to create dissension between the two communities. It was, according to him, somewhat like the Ulster problem in Ireland and the Jewish problem in Palestine. "There are hundreds of examples," says Subhas, "to show you that throughout the history of the British rule, the British have tried by every possible means to divide the Indian people. After having done so much to artificially create differences among the Indian people, the British turn around and say that we are not fit to be free." Also in his Lecture at Opera House on the 'Mission of Young India' on 22 May 1928~ he exhorted the students by making them conscious of the underlying unity of the Indian society and the continuity of her civilization. "There is nothing Hindu or Mahamadan about it. It is the result of confluence of cultures. Look at the vision of Taj in moon-light and realise the beauty of the mind that conleived it. One of our Bengali novelists has exquisitely described it as tears cystalized in stone and if the Moghuls had left nothing more behind them than the Taj, I would be grateful to them."

But the Hindu-Muslim problem was not the only problem that Subhas had to face; he had to grapple with opponents and oppositions at different fronts. Subhas had to confront all these even before he set foot in Calcutta after his release. An interesting and important event was Subhas' election, while he was still in jail, to the Bengal Legislative Council in 1926 which was carried out under the 1919 Act. Subhas ruminates that the election was reminiscent of the early Sinn Fein election in which political prisoners were candidates and the slogan was -'Put him in to get him out'. Subhas had to face stiff opposition from not only his opponent J.N. Basu, who was a Liberal party Leader and had defeated the Swarajist candidate for the same seat in 1923. The Government of Bengal did not give permission even to the release of the election mainfesto of Subhas. The plea was the political prisoners were not

allowed to issue appeals to the people. But in spite of this in the voting that took place on 17 November 1926, Subhas won by a thumping majority. Sarat Chandra was also elected. After his release, Subhas, ignoring the advice of his doctors, entered the Council chamber and took the Oath of Office on 23 August 1927. Subhas' plan was to continue the particular objective formulated by Deshbandhu C.R., Das - 'non-cooperation from within the Chambers.' It is interesting to note that this particular objective acted as a catalyst which caused the formation of the Swaraj Party. Deshbandhu's Swaraj Party which was formed on 1 January, ~ 1923, was the outcome of his disagreement with Gandhiji on this particular issue. Deshbandhu was the President of the Gaya session of the Congress held in December 1922.

He was of the view that non-cooperation would be more effective if it was carried on from within the Council Chambers. He was strongly supported by Pandit Motilal Nehru, General Secretary of the Congress. Ultimately this motion was put to vote. But, in spite of his best efforts, Deshbandhu could not alter the opinion of the staunch Gandhi loyalists and the motion was defeated by 890 to 1748 votes. " Immediately Deshbandhu relinquished the office of President and Motilal Nehru followed suit by resigning from the post of Secretary. And the very next day - 1 January 1923 - a new party, the Swaraj Party was formed with Deshbandhu as its President. Deshbandhu entrusted Subhas with the task of circulating the views of the Swaraj Party through the medium of 'Banglar Katha', a Bengali weekly. This dissension or conflict that started in the Gaya session of the Congress, continued for quite some time. But ultimately good sense prevailed and Gandhiji gave up his hostile attitude. He personally met the two leaders, Deshbandhu and Motilal Nehru and tried to bury the hatchet. An agreement was reached which came to be known as Gandhi - Das Pact. The main term of the pact or agreement was that Gandhiji would concentrate on the Khadi campaign while the Swaraj Party would be in charge of the political activities. This agreement was later ratified at the annual session of the Congress held at Belgaon..

All these happened before the incarceration of Subhas when he was holding the post of the Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Municipal

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Corporation. Subhas came back to the scene after his release in May 1927, and took a plunge in the on-going fray. Fortunately he could see a silver lining : According to him - disgusted with the narrow sectarianism, selfishness and """" fanaticism, which had enveloped the country after the Deshvandhu, the soul, of the people began to stir itself again. A sort of new awakening dawned and people became conscious of the devastating effect of internecine imbroglio. At this time a subsequent move by the government infuriated the people. And he people forgetting all dissensions unitedly took a stand against the government like a solid rock. The move that caused this upheaval was that the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, made an announcement in November 1927 regarding the appointment of the Indian Statutory Commission 16 under section 84(a) of the Government of India Act 1919. Sub has made a succinct analysis of the reasons which might have motivated the Tory Government of England to take this step in spite of the fact that the election was round the corner. The Conservative Party, Sub has opines, apprehended that the Labour Party, in case they came to power, would concede to the Indian demand. And because the next General Election in England was scheduled to be held in 1929, they wanted to throttle any such attempt by the Labour Party. So a Commission was formed under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon.

The Commission, consisting of seven members, had the cooperation of all the political parties of England. The Commission was appointed by a Royal Warrant of 26 November 1927. The main object of the Commission was to investigate the feasibility of the dyarchy system and to chalk out a plan for the introduction of a responsible government for India. But what incensed the Indian leaders was that there was not a single Indian as a member of the Commission. But more than that what enraged the leaders most was the statement of Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State for India challenging the political leaders of India to produce a feasible constitution of India. Subhas was not a person to digest this calmly. He was quite vociferous in strongly expressing his sentiments: "The Secretary of State for India has in a fit of pompous pride challenge India to produce an agreed constitution. If there is a spark of

honour and self-respect left in us, we should take up the gauntlet and give a fitting reply by producing a constitution."

But the insult to the injury was that no Indian was thought fit to be a member of the Commission that envisaged a constitution for the people of India. And so the inevitable outcome of the Government announcement was a decision to boycott the Commission. The call of the boycott of the Commission was endorsed by the Hindu Mahasabha. Even Mohammed Ali Jinnah carrying the majority with him was in favour of boycott. Appreciating the sentiment of the people, Madras Congress (December 1927) decided to boycott the Simon Commission at every stage and every form. Under the pressure of the youthful elements, led by Subhas and Nehru, the Madras Congress passed a resolution adopting complete independence as the goal of the Indian people. Mahatma Gandhi, however, after the Congress was over, .., remarked that it had been "hastily conceived and thoughtlessly passed²⁰. According to Subhas, : "The resolution of the Madras Congress regarding, independence was but the logical fulfilment of a process going on within the Congress for a long time²¹." Sub has also mentions in this connection that : "Lala Lajpat Rai declared that it was passed because many people believed that Dominion Status also meant national independence. At the Lahore Congress in December 1929, a similar resolution was moved by the Mahatma and unanimously adopted."

In the Madras Congress another resolution was passed which directed the Executive Committee to convene another Conference to be called All-India All Parties Conference under the chairmanship of Pandit Motilal Nehru with the main object of drawing up a constitution for India acceptable to all parties.

But Subhas hailed the appointment of the Simon Commission because he felt that the appointment of the Simon Commission had been made at an auspicious moment and it had a wonderful effect in whipping up the enthusiasm of the people. From one end of the country to the other, the country exhibited a solidarity which it had seldom shown in recent times. And this was what Subhas was longing for a long time and he started playing an important role in the affairs of the Congress. He was

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appointed one of the three General Secretaries of the Congress along with Jawaharlal and Mr. S. Quereshi.

The Simon Commission, popularly known as 'Simon Seven' because there were seven members, came to India in February 1928. And, as scheduled, large scale demonstrations and hartals swept the nation. Subhas, who was at that time the President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, was entrusted with the responsibility of organising the hartal in Bengal and he rose to the occasion and started rousing the dormant national feelings of the people. And he got tremendous response from the people. The whole country became agog with excitement and enthusiasm. Subhas, with his keen political insight, could discern that an opportune moment to strike while the iron was hot had come. He personally visited Gandhiji at his Ashram at Sabarmati and requested him to come out of his hibernation and give a lead to the country. He drew Gandhiji's attention to the great excitement that had gripped the whole country. He told him about the no - tax campaign resorted to by the peasantry in the Bardoli sub-division in Gujrat under the leadership of Vallabhbhai Patel to protest against 20 per cent rise in land revenue assessment, Sub has himself had visited Poona in May 1928 to preside over the Maharashtra Provincial Conference. He had witnessed terrific excitement among the populace. He had also been to Bombay after that and had witnessed the same scene everywhere. But Gandhiji was still non-committal. A dejected Subhas remarks : At that time the reply of the Mahatma was that he did not see any light, though before his very eyes the peasantry of Bardoli were demonstrating through a non - tax campaign that they were ready for a struggle. "

Subhas is of the firm opinion that .if the Congress Working Committee had taken courage in both hands, they could have anticipated the movement of 1930 by two years and the appointment of the Simon Commission could have been made the starting point of such a movement. Subhas believed in the maxim that as there is a tide in the affairs of man which taken on time leads on to fortune, so there is a tide also in the affairs of a nation. Subhas very much felt at that time the absence of a leader like Deshbandhu who was ever eager to take a firm grip of any situation that might be advantageous for the country. "If a

leader like Deshbandhu Das had been available then, the events following the boycott of the Prince of Wales' visit to India in 1921 would have been repeated in 1928. Subhas, in fact, never liked dilly-dallying. He liked to take a quick decision and follow it up with prompt action. The word procrastination was not in his dictionary. And so there was no remission on his part to exhort the nation to rise to the occasion. In a speech delivered at a hartal meeting on 4 February 1928 he reiterated : 1928 and 1929 are rare opportunities which fall to the lot of a subject nation - the Indian If only the five crores of Bengal stand to a man our victory will be within our easy reach. Let this dying nation meet death not like sheep but as a man." In the meantime the Committee (appointed by the All Parties Conference) under the Chairmanship of Pandit Motilal Nehru was engaged in drafting the main principles of the Constitution. One of the vexing problems was the question of Hindu-Muslim representation in the Legislatures. Subhas, who was also one of the members of the Committee, was the 'Bengal Expert' and quite naturally he was requested to produce sufficient evidence in support of his contention that separate electorates or reservation of seats were not necessary for the Muslims of Bengal. Subhas collected all the information available and gave it to the Chairman Pandit Motilal Nehru. He based his evidence on the election to the district boards of some of the districts of Bengal. His evidence was thorough and comprehensive : "During the last two or three years, owing largely to the communal awakening in the Province, the election to the district boards have been run on communal lines; the effect has been amply demonstrated by the recent district board elections in eastern Bengal. In the election in Mymensingh held about a year ago, out of 22 members not a single Hindu has been returned in spite of the existence of joint electorate. This is practically the case in Chittagong, Noakhali, Tippera, Barisal and other districts. In the election at Jessore held a few months ago, Muslims have swept the polls and the offices of the Chairman and the Vice-Chairman hitherto held by the Hindus have been captured by the Muslims for the first time As a result of this, I am told, Maulavi Nawsher Ali, M.L.C., Chairman and Maulavi Abdur Rauf, M.L.C., Vice-Chairman, who were formerly supporters of separate electorates have

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now changed their views. I am also told that this has also influenced Sir Abdur Rahim who has till very recently been a staunch supporter of separate electorates " "

The British Government was keen on Bose taking interest in the Axis Powers and the developing Gandhi Bose strife. In December 1938, Bose had a meeting.

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was a fierce nationalist, whose defiant patriotism made him one of the greatest freedom fighters in Indian history. He was also credited with setting up the Indian Army as a separate entity from the British Indian Army - which helped catapult the freedom struggle. In 1927 Bose was appointed as the General Secretary of the Indian National Congress and worked alongside Shri Jawaharlal Nehru for Indian independence.

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was one of the most revered leaders of his time and in Indian history. He was highly patriotic, fiercely intelligent and extremely passionate about the development & future of India.

Below is a translation of a Hindi speech by Smt Indira Gandhi at a meeting to welcome the relics of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Delhi, December 17, 1967.

Many of us assembled here today knew Netaji well, and on this occasion we are overwhelmed by the memory of one who gave us the slogan Dilli Chalo. He is not with us. But his sword—which we have the privilege to receive here today—reminds us of his powerful and beautiful presence. Netaji was truly a symbol of India's bravery. I still remember how thrilled we used to get as children by just looking into his fiery eyes. It was this fire, this patriotic fervour in him that led him to create the Indian National Army which brought many brave fighters for freedom, men and women alike, together, and which gave, a new impetus to our struggle for independence.

The struggle for India's independence was a long struggle; it was sustained by the sacrifices of millions of Indians. Among those who sacrificed their all in this struggle, the name of Netaji Subhas Chandra

Bose takes a high place. He will always retain a place of affection and honour in every Indian heart.

Netaji's entry into political life gave a new turn to India's struggle. A new wave of enthusiasm swept the country. His restless and dynamic spirit led him to a path that was somewhat different from our own. Gandhiji used to say that the only wrong path is the path of cowardice. The path of courage can never be wrong. Netaji's was a path of courage, and it did bring the goal of independence nearer.

Bankim Chandra gave us *Bande Mataram*, which became the marching song of the freedom struggle. On becoming free, we adopted Rabindranath Tagore's *Jana Gana Mana* as the national anthem. But today our biggest national slogan is *Jai Hind*. This slogan can be heard from NEFA, Nagaland and Kashmir in the north right down to the deep south. This slogan was given to us by Netaji. It reminds us of him, and also of the ideals which he placed before us.

The President and the Vice-President, in their addresses, referred to the need for national unity. Equally important is the need in every Indian heart of an intense love of the country. This was the love that inspired Netaji. This sword here is as much a symbol of Netaji's courage as of his intense love for his country. This intensity, this passion and fire, is something lacking in us today. We fritter away our passion in petty disputes and in the pursuit of narrow personal or group gains. We do not put this passion into the service of the nation. If we do this, we will have the courage to face every difficulty. Netaji had this courage. He was ever prepared for sacrifice. This courage, this spirit of sacrifice, is his message. We need this message in our struggle to give economic and social content to our freedom. This struggle is with us. To carry on this struggle we have to cultivate in us the courage, the fire, the passion of which Netaji's sword is a perfect symbol.

Forward Bloc:

Subhash Chandra Bose and Jawahar Lal Nehru are known for their Leftist views in the Congress. The former, however, very much differed from Mahatma Gandhi on many points of ideology and also on implementation of programmes.

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When in 1922 non-co-operation movement was suspended both Nehru and Subhash clearly expressed their displeasure. Subhash was of the view that no non-co-operation movement in India can succeed without active co-operation of youth in that. He also was not in favour of mixing religion with politics.

In 1931 he criticised Gandhiji, for the weak role which he played during Second Round-Table Conference in London. He was very strongly opposed to federal system for India, as was provided under the Government of India Act, 1935.

Not only this, but he was not in favour of adopting any constitutional means for attaining freedom of the country. He was so much disgusted with the working and approach of Indian National Congress that he decided to form a new separate party.

Subhash wanted that the new party should stand for the abolition of land lordism and introduction of a uniform land tenure system for the whole country. The programme of the party included unity of all radical organisations under one national organisation to consolidate all activities. It stood for promoting the interests of the peasants and workers and not of the landlords and the capitalists.

It wanted that cause of country's liberty should also be propagated outside India and existing international organisations should be used for the purpose. It favoured reorganisation of agricultural and industrial system of the country. The party favoured democracy but for checking chaos there should be a strong party bound together by military discipline.

The party also stood for building a new social structure on the basis of village communities of the past and wanted complete political and economic liberalisation of the people of India. It also wanted to establish new credit and monetary system.

In 1938 as President of the Indian National Congress at Hari Pura session when his Presidential address was not liked by right wing congress leaders for his radical views. In 1939, he was re-elected as Congress President after defeating Gandhiji's candidate Pattabhi Sitaramayya.

When, however, Congress party adopted a resolution that Congress President should form his Working Committee in consultation with Mahatma Gandhi, Subhash Chandra Bose left the party and on May 3, 1939 and formed a new party, called Forward Bloc.

Objectives of the Forward Bloc:

The aim of the party was to bring all radical elements of the Congress party in the newly founded Forward Bloc. It stood for complete independence of India and carrying on anti-imperialist struggle till the goal was achieved. The party stood for social ownership and control of both means of production and distribution.

It also stood for application of principles of equality and social justice, which in party's view should be the basis of new order in free India. The Bloc strongly favoured linguistic and cultural autonomy for all sections of Indian society. Another objective of the party was to make and develop India as a thoroughly modern state.

One of the important objectives of the party also was to guarantee equal rights for every individual and also to provide opportunities to the people. It stood for scientific large-scale production so that there was economic regeneration in the country. Forward Bloc also stood for freedom of religious worship for all.

One cannot say what momentum the Bloc would have gained but it received serious set back when in 1940 Subhash Chandra Bose left India. His followers, after him till the news of his death on August 18, 1945, continued to receive attention of the people.

They also continued to criticise various schemes which were put before Indian leadership for freedom of the country. They also opposed the partition of the country. After independence Forward Bloc continued to receive some support in Bengal but is now out of focus of the people, except in Bengal, where it still has some hold over the people.

INA AND NETAJI

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While the whole nation was engaged in the August movement, the struggle for independence was carried on by Subhash Chandra Bose outside the frontiers of India.

Indians were fighting tooth and nail to liberate their motherland from outside. The Indian National Army and Subhash Chandra Bose were playing their significant role in the freedom struggle of India.

Subhash Chandra was one of the foremost among the nationalist leaders of India, brave and youthful he possessed excellent organising capacity.

Born on 23rd January, 1897 at Cuttack town to a pleader father Subhash Chandra was selected into the Indian Civil Service after a brilliant academic career. In the service when he was called upon to take an oath of allegiance to the crown, he refused to do so and left the job in 1921. During his college career he had shown what he was going to be when he beat an English man black and blue for his having criticised the culture of India.

After leaving the service Subhash joined the non-cooperation Movement but was not satisfied with the principle of non-violence of Gandhiji and supported Motilal and C.R. Das in the venture of organising the Swarajist party. Subhash was appointed the Chief Executive officer of Calcutta by C.R. Das, the Mayore of Calcutta. The progressive activities of Subhash invited the displeasure of the Government and were deported to Mandalay.

Subhash represented the young and extremist elements in the Congress. He was elected as the President of the Congress in 1938 and again in 1939. He could not make any compromise with Gandhi and thus resigned his President-ship and organized the famous Forward Block. During Second World War he was put under house arrest in his ancestral house in Elgin Road; Calcutta but escaped and reached Japan.

In a romantic and daring journey changing names and looking different he proceeded from there to Moscow and finally reached Berlin in March 1941. The German dictator Adolf Hitler did not like to help him for the cause of Indian independence.

In Germany the Indian community hailed him as Netaji and greeted him with the slogan “Jai Hind”. From Berlin Radio he regularly broadcasted to India urging his countrymen to rise against the British. He very soon felt that South-East Asia would be a suitable ground for his grand scheme of raising a national army to free India from the British yoke. The golden opportunity for him came when Japan joined the war.

At that time Rash Behari Bose was busy in organizing a notable organization in the name of Indian Independence League in Japan to help the end of British rule in India. Rash Behari Bose convened two conferences one at Tokyo in March, 1942 and the second in Bangkok in Jun 1942. The revolutionaries assembled in the conferences decided to form an Indian National Army (Azad Hind Fauz) for the liberation of India from the British rule.

The army was to be formed with Indians in the South-East Asian Countries and Indian soldiers of the British Army captured by the Japanese. Capt. Mohan Singh was primarily responsible for raising the army. Rash Behari Bose was made the President of the Council of Action. Shortly afterwards Rash Behari dismissed Mohan Singh whose personal ambition endangered the I.N.A. Rash Behari then played a pivotal role in organizing the movement. Subhash Bose was invited to take up the leadership.

In February 1943, Subhash left Germany from Kiel port in a Submarine. Through risk, suffering and untold hardship he finally reached Tokyo in June 1943. He held discussion with the Japanese authorities in the course of which the latter promised the independence of India after the war. From Tokyo he went to Singapore where he was warmly welcomed by Rash Behari and the latter handed over the leadership to Subhash.

Subhash became the President of the Indian National Army as well as the President of Indian Independence League. Addressing a huge meeting at Singapore on 4th July, 1943 Rash Behari said “In your presence to-day I resign my office and appoint Desh Sevak Subhash Chandra Bose as President of the Indian Independence League.”

However Rash Behari remained a courageous and selfless freedom fighter till his death on 21st January 1945. It was Rash Behari who

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prepared the stage in the East and South-East Asia for Subhash Chandra Bose to play on his significant role which India observed. Paying tribute to Rash Behari on the day of his death Subhash described him as the father of the Indian Independence Movement.

Gradually the number of the I.N.A. men began to grow greatly. Assuming the command of the I.N.A. he gave his famous battle cry “Delhi Chalo” (on to Delhi). He worked out a master plan of campaign for the INA with the ultimate goal of reaching Delhi. A provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India) was set up.

Its object was “to launch and to conduct the struggle that will bring about the expulsion of the British and of other allies from the soil of India.” Addressing the army he said “We have a grim fight ahead us for the enemy is powerful, unscrupulous and ruthless. In this final march to freedom you will have to face hunger, privation, forced marches and death. Only when you pass this test will freedom be yours.”

The INA revealed Subhash Bose’s greatness as a military leader and an organizer too. One of the INA Brigades advanced with the Japanese army upto the frontiers of India. The Indian national flag was hoisted in Kohima in March 1944. But with the change of fortune in the war and the retreat and defeat of the Japanese the INA collapsed. The role of INA had far reaching influences on the Indian political scene.

When the stories of their remarkable courage and sacrifice came to the knowledge of the Indian people at the end of the war, the nation came under a wave of revolutionary upsurge. The British Government could realise that patriotism for Indians was greater than their service to a foreign power. Subhash was the greatest enemy of the Viceroy Lord Wavell.

The communists described him as an agent of the “Facist Powers”. Gandhiji admired the courage and resourcefulness displayed by Subhash in making his escape from India. In spite of his principle of violence Subhash Chandra Bose’s grand scheme of India’s liberation and the high idealism through INA movement inspired the people of India in an unprecedented manner.

The organisation of the Azad Hind forces and their exploits are a milestone in the history of the Indian struggle for freedom; the formation of which was the brain child of Subhash Chandra Bose.

INA Trial:

In the midst of conflict between the Congress and the League the Government instituted a public trial of the Azad Hind Fouz soldiers on charges of treason. The trial only helped to rouse the people's patriotic emotion. The exploits of INA led by Netaji stirred the whole nation and the country was thrilled with excitement. The congress engaged a set of lawyers including. Jawaharlal Nehru, Tej Bahadur Sapru and Bhulabhai Desai to defend the leaders on trial.

The INA leaders in the first instance were convicted but their sentences were soon remitted and ultimately they were set free. However some INA officers were not released for which there was a public resentment. Demonstrations were organized in different parts of the country. Sarat Chandra Bose, the brother of Subhash Chandra mobilized the public sentiment in support of the INA and made elaborate arrangements for the celebration of the anniversary of the foundation of the Azad Hind Government on 21st October, 1943.

The trial of the INA officers in the historic Red Fort became a "tribute to the martial courage of Indians, a symbol of her sense of total independence, a matter more of pride than of justice."

In February, 1946 a serious mutiny broke out in the Royal Indian Navy at Bombay. British troops were called in to crush the rebellious navy men as the Indian soldiers refused to open fire at their brethren. The British Commander-in-Chief General Archinleck warned the army. Nehru declared "Our armed forces have every right to revolt against the foreign ruler in order to achieve the freedom of our country."

The Government had no other way out than to think over the matter of releasing Colonel Shah Nawaz, Major G.S. Dhillon and Captain Prem Sehgal along with other trials who were the heroes of the hour. By the release of these trials the people could believe that it-was a great victory for Indians. Gradually the situation in the Indian Army tended to take a

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serious turn before it ended a few days later owing to the efforts of Sardar Patel.

The mutiny in the Royal Indian Navy made it clear that the British Indian Empire could no longer depend on the Indian staff. The realization virtually precipitated the process leading to the transfer of power. The entire history of the Indian National Army was thus the outcome of the master brain and the heroic activities of Subhash Chandra Bose supported by Rash Behari Bose.

The Indian National Army (INA) was the brainchild of Japanese Major (and post-war Lieutenant-General) Iwaichi Fujiwara, head of the Japanese intelligence unit Fujiwara Kikan and had its origins, first in the meetings between Fujiwara and the president of the Bangkok Unit of the Indian Independence League, Pritam Singh Dhillon, and then, through Pritam Singh's network, in the recruitment by Fujiwara of a captured British Indian army captain, Mohan Singh on the western Malayan peninsula in December 1941; Fujiwara's mission was "to raise an army which would fight alongside the Japanese army." After the initial proposal by Fujiwara the Indian National Army was formed as a result of discussion between Fujiwara and Mohan Singh in the second half of December 1941, and the name chosen jointly by them in the first week of January 1942. In Singapore Netaji met Rash Behari Bose who had been waiting for the so-long craved 'Destiny of India' by forming the Indian Independence League. Through his intrinsic diplomatic acumen Netaji could arrive at an agreement with the Japanese Government to build up the format of his wherewithal. The INA leaders in the first instance were convicted but their sentences were soon remitted and ultimately they were set free. However some INA officers were not released for which there was a public resentment. Demonstrations were organized in different parts of the country. Sarat Chandra Bose, the brother of Subhash Chandra mobilized the public sentiment in support of the INA and made elaborate arrangements for the celebration of the anniversary of the foundation of the Azad Hind Government on 21st October, 1943. Bose proclaimed the establishment of a provisional independent Indian government,

and his so-called Indian National Army (Azad Hind Fauj), alongside Japanese troops, advanced to Rangoon (Yangôn) and thence overland into India, reaching Indian soil on March 18, 1944, and moving into Kohima and the plains of Imphal. In a stubborn battle, the mixed Indian and Japanese forces, lacking Japanese air support, were defeated and forced to retreat; the Indian National Army nevertheless for some time succeeded in maintaining its identity as a liberation army, based in Burma and then Indochina.

Check your progress –

1. Where was the crash of Netaji happened?

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2. Which Axis country’s help did Netaji sought?

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9.3 LETS SUM UP

The contribution of Subhas Chandra Bose is no less. He has been denied his rightful place in the annals of Indian history. Subhash Chandra Bose was one of India’s greatest freedom fighter. He revived the Indian National Army, popularly known as ‘Azad HindFauj’ in 1943 which was initially formed in 1942 by Rash Behari Bose.He provided an influential leadership and kept the spirit of nationalism burning during the slack period of national movement in India.In this paper we will studied about role of Netaji in National Movement . Netaji was a patriot to the last drop of his blood. In his passionate love for the motherland, he was prepared to do anything for the sake of liberating his country. Subhash ChandraBose is a legendary figure in Indian history. His contribution to the freedom struggle made him a brave hero of India

9.4 KEYWORDS

Indian National Army, Azad Hind Fauz, Rani Lakshmi Bayee Fauj, Submarine

9.5 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Discuss the reason of Netaji leaving Congress Party.
2. Discuss the role of Netaji in shaping INA.

9.6 SUGGESTED READINGS

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9.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Hint – 9.2
2. Hint – 9.2

UNIT 10 PARTITION OF INDIA

STRUCTURE

10.0 Objective

10.1 Introduction

10.2 Partition Of India

10.3 Lets Sum Up

10.4 Keywords

10.5 Questions For Review

10.6 Suggested Review

10.7 Answers to check your progress

10.0 OBJECTIVE

To know about what contributed to the partition of India

To know about the impact of Partition of India

10.1 INTRODUCTION

The end of colonial rule in the Indian subcontinent marked the birth of two nations— India, and Pakistan. The sun did set in the never-sunset empire on the Indian soil. But the sunset with 'dusk' was followed by a 'tempest'. The triumph of a long awaited political transfer of power was accompanied by the tragedy of Partition. The division of the country which led to an unprecedented mass migration and barbaric violence has been a horrendous Unit in South Asian history. Since the aim of the thesis is to analyse the fictional representation of Partition, it is now worthwhile taking a bird' s eye-view of the process of the Partition— historical and political background— to get a proper perspective in interpreting the fictional narratives of Partition. Hence, the present Unit traces the events leading to the Partition— the genesis and the

development of the idea of Pakistan (leading to Partition)- from the historical and political point of view.

10.2 PARTITION OF INDIA

THE EVENTS LEADING TO THE PARTITION

"Every culture," writes Cecile Sandten, "is— in a broader sense and to a certain extent— characterised by hybridity." No culture in the world perhaps remains unaffected and unmixed (pure). Due to diffusion and assimilation of cultural patterns for various reasons such as imitation, migration, invasion etc, most of the cultures have become heterogeneous. India, representing one of the oldest civilizations, is not an exception. This may be due to the flexible nature of the Indian soil. According to Salman Rushdie "Eclecticism, the ability to take from the world what seems fitting and to leave the rest, has always been a hallmark of the Indian tradition." It is true that there is no other country in the world as heterogeneous as India is. It is a country of multi-ethnic communities and multilingual islands. History provides various reasons for the plurality of Indian culture; for example, invasions and immigrations of foreigners. The arrival of the Aryans, the Kushans, the conquest by the Arabs and other Muslim rulers, and the advent of European Colonial powers have made the cultural ethos of India one of the most mixed variety embedding many complexities.

It is very difficult to determine who were the original inhabitants of the Indian subcontinent. Pre-historical and Proto-historical interpretations have their own limitations. As the archaeological records show, "The earliest signs of community life in India are to be found in the valley of the river Indus." Thus begins the history of India, and then it unfolds a series of invasions. First, the Aryans who were originally from central Asia, settled and became the natives of India. The acclimitization of the Aryan race into the Indian soil seems to be the first stage of assimilation in the making of Indian culture. Following the Aryans, Alexander, the Great, in his ambition to conquer the whole world, invaded some parts of India, which led to the influence of Greek culture. Then the Kushans also became one with the Indian culture. The invasion of the Arabs marks the

beginning of the Muslim presence in India with which a new Unit opened in the history of India. The Arabs had trading and political motives behind their conquest. With the invasion of Sicunderkhan in 786 A.D., the Muslim life began on its horizon in Gujarat and Sind. From then onwards the impact of Muslim culture continued through the invasion of Mahamud Ghazani (1046 AD) and Mahamud Ghor (1112 A.D). It reached the climax in the establishment of the slave dynasty in Delhi in 1206 A.D. by Kutub-ud-din-Aibaq and his successors— Balbun and Iltamish. Because of the continued dominance of the Muslim rulers after the slave dynasty— the Tughluqs, the Khiljies, the Ludhies and the Moghals who succeeded one after another—the medieval period in Indian history has been referred to by historians as "the Muslim India". It was during this period that Muslim settlements, and to some extent, the process of Islamization started in India. After this, Modern India witnessed the advent of the Europeans. With the arrival of the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the British, Indian culture came under the influence of the west. Thus, the making of Indian culture took various strides over a long period of time due to the above said events. Lal Bahadur Varma illustrates the point with a significant metaphor

Indian society was like a traditional Japanese house with only four outer walls, the internal space was divided according to need. If a guest arrived an additional room could always be created. But nobody was allowed to build a house next door. Muslims were certainly not the first to come to India as aggressors. But those who had come earlier— the Aryans (now converted), Greeks, Kushans, et al., merged into, even converted, the indigenous Indian society. Muslims not only refused to merge and get converted, they started converting the indigenous population.

It is very interesting to notice that the eclectic nature of India absorbed the Aryans and the Kushans. They became part and parcel of India and complete Indian natives. But the case of the Muslims in India was different not only from that of the Aryans and the Kushans but also from that of the British. The British neither became the inhabitants of India nor did they create their own land like Australia. They remained complete foreigners. But the Muslims neither remained complete foreigners like the British nor complete insiders like the Aryans and the

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Kushans. Wilhelm von Pochhammer, a German author, rightly observes the place of the Muslims in India in his book *India's Road to Nationhood*. While the Aryans and the Kushans came to India as an integral people, these Muslims came as a bunch of adventurers thrown together in a haphazard fashion.

Just as fixed boundaries were wanting, similarly a real citizenship was non-existent. The majority of the native population was absolutely hostile to those of foreign origin and foreign religion. Till the very end of their rule they remained foreigners in the country.

The British also did not become 'natives' of India, but they had a homeland of their own. The Central Asiatic Muslims who came to India had no homeland. They were forced to look upon conquered land as their new homeland, although each day showed them that for the mass of the subjugated people they remained foreigners. Pochhammer's observation makes it clear that the so-called 'eclectical' nature of India neither absorbed the Muslims like the Aryans and the Kushans nor did it make them complete aliens like the British. Hence, they remained inside foreigners. What compelled the Muslims to stay in India was that like the British, they had no other homeland for themselves.

The motive force behind the Muslim invaders was not only to plunder India but also to see India 'Dar-ul-Islam'— an Islamic country. Hence, during the medieval period of Indian history the Muslim rulers persecuted the Hindus, either by forced conversion to Islam, which was very much against the Hindus' will, or imposing the Jizya, a special heavy tax only for the non-Muslims. The modus operandi adopted for Islamization was forceful conversion— "The choice of Islam or death" , and another was "temptation being offered of worldly advantages." ⁷ Finally what the Muslim rulers achieved was not their cherished goal of Dar-ul-Islam; instead, an accommodation for Islam in India which complicated the future politics of India. This state of affairs led to a compromise between the Hindus and Muslims to live together side by side without losing their distinctive identity as Muslims and Hindus respectively not only in their religion, ethics and language but also in politics and economics.

In the beginning the Muslim settlements were confined to the northern part of India especially Sindh, Punjab, Bengal and Gujrat. The reign of the Bahamani rulers, Adilshahi of Bijapur and Nijamshahi of Ahammad Nagar widened their territory so as to include south India also. Then the Muslims came to occupy their place as the largest minority in India. Today the Muslim population consists of approximately 19% of the total population of the country. And interestingly enough, India has the second largest Muslim population in the world, second only to Indonesia.

During the modern period, with the arrival of the Europeans, particularly the British, the Hindu-Muslim relationship represents a series of ups and downs— both communal harmony and communal disharmony. The power politics of India was gradually transferred from the Muslims to the hands of the British, whose stay in India has witnessed different roles in different stages— from business to the 'white-man's-burden'. Right from the beginning there developed an antagonism between the British and the Muslims. As the Muslims believed the British had snatched away the throne from them, naturally the Muslims nursed feelings of grievance. At this stage the British favoured the Hindus. The Hindus welcomed western education whereas the Muslims resisted it. Owing to the impact of western education through the medium of the English language the process of modernization fostered the 'Renaissance' in India, especially among the Hindus. The establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885, social and religious reformations, the National Movement for Independence etc, were the various manifestations of it. While the Hindus reaped the fruits of the 'Renaissance,' the Muslims remained aloof from it. In this development some of the Muslim leaders, especially, Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan, an elite Muslim who belonged to a migrated family which took up service with the Moghuls , saw a threat to the Muslim community. They thought that the Muslims were lagging behind in comparison with the Hindus. Hence, Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan wanted to modernize the Muslims. He urged the community to feel the western flavour. It is important to know that Sir Sayeed's aim was to make the Muslims more Islam-conscious than broad-minded secularists. This seems to have been the first conscious step towards Muslim separatism. Having set his goal Sir Sayed wanted to mobilize the Muslim

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mass through the establishment of institutions for the Muslim community.

The most notable of his cherished institutions was the Mohamedan Anglo-Oriental College in 1875. Later this came to be known as Aligarh Muslim University, which became a centre of the Muslim Renaissance. Further Sir Sayed carried out his mission by founding the 'Muslim Educational Council', the 'Indian Patriotic Association' (1888) and The Mohammedan' Defence Association of Upper India' (1893). Sir Sayed, perhaps, may have been the first Muslim leader in India to think in extreme terms of the Muslim identity. He asked the Muslims to be aloof from the Indian National Movement for Independence. His successor leaders Iqbal, Rahmat Ali, M.A.Jinnah and others continued the tradition set by Sir Sayeed.

The politics of colonial power also played its role in creating separatism between the Hindus and the Muslims. With their strategy of 'divide and rule' the British changed their policy. After the '1857 Sepoy Mutiny' they realized that the Hindu-Muslim conflict would determine the chances of their survival in India. Then, the British began to favour the Muslim community. The division of Bengal, separate electorates for Muslims were deliberate steps in pleasing the Muslim community. The Partition has been an on-going process in Indian history— right from the Partition of Bengal on 16th October 1905 by Lord Curzon till today's Kashmir issue. The division of Bengal created lots of hopes among the Muslims. In fact, it created a taste for the demand for a separate state. The Muslims welcomed the Bengal Partition wholeheartedly and opposed the anti-Partition agitation launched by Bengali non-Muslims. "The nationalists pointed out," write Grover and Grover "that the scheme (the Partition of Bengal) was devised to divide the people on the basis of religion and put the Muslims against the Hindus." And even Lord Curzon's object "was not only to relieve the Bengal administration but also to create a Muslim province where the followers of Islam could be predominant."

The separatism of the Muslims was later authenticated by the establishment of the "All India Muslim League" on 30th Dec 1906. This political organization of the Muslims has been a landmark in the history

of the Pakistan Movement, because, in future politics it gave a platform for the Muslim leaders' voice. And it became a hard nut to crack for Indian leaders striving for national unity. However, the aim of the Muslim League in the beginning was not a demand for a separate nation but :

1) To promote among the Muslims of India, feelings of loyalty to the British Government and to remove any misconceptions that might arise as to the intention of the Government with regard to any of its measures.

2) to protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Muslims of India and to respectfully represent their needs and aspirations to the Government, and

3) to avoid hostility towards other communities without prejudice to the other aforementioned objects of the League.

In course of time the Muslim League underwent a radical transformation under many elite leaderships. It assumed an equal status with the Congress, and claimed for exclusive representation of the Muslim community. It tried to deflect India's road to nationhood by mobilising the Muslims against participating in the activities of the Congress. In its loyalty to the British Government the League opposed the Congress. It saw the welfare of the Muslim community in the continuation of the British Raj. The growing sentiment in favour of a modern democratic state fostered a sort of fear among the Muslims. The League thought that democratic rule means majority rule, which is ipso facto Hindu rule. Hence, after the 40's the League paved the way for two roads for two different nations. Subsequent to a call for the Swadeshi Movement by the Indian National Congress, the Constitutional Reforms of 1909, which are also known as the Morle-Minto Reforms, brought about some changes in Indian administration, especially in the constitutional field. At this juncture a Muslim delegation with Sir Agha Khan as its leader demanded a separate electorate for the Muslims. Lord Morley, the Liberal Secretary of State for India, first opposed the proposal and then, convinced by Minto, accepted it to please the Muslim community.

The act of 1909 made a space for separate electorates for the Muslims. In the opinion of V.D. Mahajan, "Lord Minto was If Curzon's Partition the

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real father of the communal electorates. of Bengal on the communal base partly gave a territorial identity to the Muslims, Minto's separate electorate gave them a distinct political identity.

The framing of the constitution by the British assured a responsible government in India. During the second phase of the Corvess (1905—1919), it was realised that the motto of its struggle should be 'Swaraj' or complete independence. Bal Gangadhar Tilak declared, "Swaraj is my birth-right." It was high time the Indian leaders to formulate the political nature of the Indian sub-continent. The task before them was to forge national consciousness in the country on the basis of unity. At this stage the most important step was to demand a space for the involvement of the natives at the high level administration. In this direction efforts towards constitutional reforms were made by both the British Government and the Indian leaders. After the 1919 constitutional reforms, the circumstances in England compelled the Conservative party to recommend India's readiness for any further constitutional development on 8th November 1927. This is known as the 'Simon Commission'. The 'Simon Commission' met with severe criticism as it did not have any native Indian as one of its members. It was boycotted by both the Congress and the Muslim League with the famous slogan, "Simon go back".

An effort, after this, was made by the Muslim League in this direction. The Calcutta session of the All India Muslim League in December 1927 decided to appoint a sub-committee along with the working committee of the Indian National Congress and other Organisations to draft a constitution for India. At the same time it put forth some proposals in its own interests. Some of the more important of them were "the formation of a separate province of Sindh, introduction of reforms in the North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces." But this could not be realised. Following this, as there was no concrete plan of constitutional reforms to satisfy all sections of Indian society, in the month of February, May and August 1928 an all parties' conference was organized to finalise a plan which is popularly known as the 'Nehru Report', named after its principal author. The Report rejected the principle of separate electorates but accepted the Muslim demand for

the formation of NWFP. Also it recommended the dominion status as the form of Government and reservation of seats for the Muslims in those states where they were in minority. But Jinnah opposed the Nehru Report and came out with his "Fourteen Points."

It is very interesting to note that so far the historical forces no doubt were widening the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims, but there was no cry for a separate homeland for the Muslim community. It was poet Muhammad Iqbal who laid a solid base for the idea of a separate homeland. Percival Spear in his *A History of India* gives an account of Iqbal's role: It was at this time that the poet Sir Muhammad Iqbal came forward in 1930 with a proposal for a separate Muslim homeland in the northwest. In his treasured poems and widely read philosophic writings he had already provided a young Islam with an ideology more vigorous and acceptable than the Sayyid's rather dated occidentalism and Anglicism.

Independence and self-reliance were his theme. Islam was a dynamic religion whose secret was the progress of the soul towards freedom through constant striving. The west was sunk in materialism and would perish from the evils of its own inventions. Here was a message at once invigorating and apparently intellectual, something in tune with the urge to action of the time. Expressed in glowing and melodious verse, it gave new heart to the Aligarh class of Muslim and prepared him for the campaign which was to follow.

Iqbal's map of a Muslim Province included only the north-west India, but not Bengal. And, more importantly, it "did not envisage," as Mushirul Hasan, a historian and an authority on Partition, records:

"a separate Muslim state. He merely made out a case for provincial autonomy in Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan within the body-politic of India." It was Chaudhuri Rahmat Ali, who seems to have been an heir to Iqbal in drawing up a blue-print for a separate Muslim state, for the first time gave the concept of 'Pakistan'— a land of the pure— which was intended to celebrate the Islamic way of life. Along with three other students at Cambridge Rahmat Ali published a small leaflet called *Now or Never* (1933) in

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which he coined the term Pakistan, taking 'P' from Punjab, 'A' from Afghanistan (NWFP), 'K' from Kashmir, 'S' from Sind and 'tan' from Baluchistan. The scheme of Rahmat Ali was different from the scheme of Iqbal in many respects. Rahmat Ali recommended three independent Muslim Nations forming an alliance— in the North-west, Pakistan; in the North-East, Bang-I-Islam including Bengal and Assam; in the South, Usmanistan consisting of the state of Hyderabad. Whereas Iqbal's idea included provincial autonomy for the Muslim provinces within the Indian federation. It is also important to note that even during this phase the geo-political map of Pakistan remained vague. As Mushirul Hasan rightly puts it:

There was, after all, no blueprint of a future Pakistan in the 1930s, no Islamic flag, no visible symbol, no common platform, no shared goals and objectives. Rahmat Ali's scheme, nurtured in Cambridge, was an illustration of obscurantist political eccentricity. It caused much political embarrassment back home and was dismissed as 'chimerical' and 'impractical.' However, Iqbal's and Rahmat Ali's schemes played no insignificant a role in shaping the future map of Pakistan. They were political eggs, "which, however minute, others could incubate to produce a nation."

The communal representation with separate electorates, the failure of the 'Simon Commission' and the 'Nehru Report', the growing political position of the Muslim League under the leadership of M.A. Jinnah and, more importantly, the Congress Party's refusal to accept the Muslim League to be the sole representative of the Indian Muslim community— all led to a political impasse in the country. Congress's roadmap to Indian nationhood and the active participation of native Indians in the high level administration during the later 30s were challenged by the growing antagonism between the Congress and the Muslim League. The lack of mutual co-operation between the two organizations led to the failure ministry formation after the 1937 elections for the provincial legislature councils held under the Government of India Act 1935.

The negotiations failed, because the Congress demanded for the merger of the Muslim League into the mainstream National Congress so that it

could claim the representation of all the Indian communities. M. A. Jinnah read it as an anti-Muslim strategy' and attacked the Congress as a Hindu Organisation. Thus, Muslim separatism grew stronger as the gulf between the Congress and the Muslim League widened more and more. In its efforts to speak for all India— as a representative of all communities— the Indian National Congress started the mass contact movement in 1937 under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The leaders of the Muslim League, especially Iqbal and Jinnah, urged the Musalmans not to come under the influence of the Congress.

In October 1938 the Sind Muslim League Conference at Karachi evolved a framework of constitution for the political independence of the Muslims, which included several schemes, notably— the scheme of Dr. Sayed Abdul Latif of Hyderabad (1939); the Aligarh scheme devised by Prof. Sayeed Zafarul Hassan and Dr. Mohammad Afzal Hussain Qadri; the scheme of Nawab Sir Mohammad Shah Nawaz Khan, which was published in a book called *The Confederacy of India* (1939); the scheme of Sir Abdoola Haroon and the scheme of Sir Sikander Hayat Khan. Before the Lahore Resolution, a committee of the Muslim League examined all these schemes and the earlier schemes of poet Iqbal and Chaudhuri Rahmat Ali as well.

But none of them was accepted. The All India Muslim League's Lahore Resolution, which was later known as the Pakistan Resolution (23 March 1940), was a turning point in the history of the movement for Pakistan. It impressed upon the Muslims that the demand for the creation of a separate state for Muslims was the right of every Muslim in India.

Then, communal politics generated an intense heat and cries for a separate nation from all quarters of the Muslim community started reverberating. One day before the Pakistan Resolution, Jinnah outrightly preached his Two-nation-theory. He defined the Muslims not as a minority, but as a distinct nation. According to him: Musalmans are a nation according to any definition of a nation, and they must have their homeland, their territory and their state. (...) It is extremely difficult to appreciate why our Hindu friends fail to understand the real nature of Islam and Hinduism. They are not religions in the strict sense of the

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word, but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders, and it is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality, and this misconception of one Indian Nation has gone far beyond the limits and is the cause of most of our troubles and will lead India to destruction if we fail to revise our notions in time. The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, literatures. They neither intermarry nor interdine together, and, indeed, they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their aspects on life and of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Musalmans derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, different heroes, and Inspired by M. A. Jinnah, on 23 March 1940, the Pakistan Resolution declared that "no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principle, namely, the geographically contiguous units are demarcated in regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North- Western and Eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

On 1 July 1940 M. A. Jinnah put forward some suggestions to the British Government. These are known as 'Tentative Proposals of Jinnah' (1940). The main points of Jinnah's proposals were that the British Government should respect the basic principles of the Lohore Resolution of division of India. Without the consent of the Muslims in India, no constitutional scheme should be adopted by the British Government. And an equal share for the Muslims in India must be considered. Apart from this Jinnah asked for Muslim representation in all fields on equal terms with the Congress. This is how M. A. Jinnah tried to raise the status of the Muslim League to the level of the Congress. At this point of political development the Muslim mass accepted him as their leader.

During this period the British Government and the Indian leaders continued their efforts towards constitutional reforms. On 8th August 1940 Lord Linlithgow offered a plan of the setting up of a constitution making body. This is known as the 'August Offer'. It assured sufficient

safeguards for the minorities in any future constitutional change, which was wholeheartedly welcomed by the Muslim League, but it was condemned by the Congress. Again, the question of representation—the Congress' claim to be a representative of all Indian communities and the Muslim League's objection to it—pointed towards a crisis. At this time Sir Stafford Cripps, a cabinet minister of Churchill's Government, was sent to India for solving the problem. This has been called 'Cripps Mission' of 19th March 1942. He brought with him a draft declaration of the British Government of its intent to elect a body for the framing of a new constitution. But it was rejected by both the Muslim League and the Congress.

After the 'Cripps Mission' the Indian National Congress launched the 'Quit India Movement' on 8th August 1942 with the slogan, "Do or die". The Muslim League kept quiet and fully exploited the situation to mobilize the Muslim mass, while most of the Congress leaders were imprisoned. The Muslim League preached that the 'Quit India Movement' was launched to force the Muslims to surrender themselves to the Congress. The anticipation of democratic rule in India was thought to be the rule of the majority which would mean the dominance of the Congress over the Muslims. The Muslim elite leaders in all earnestness carried out the propaganda with the help of the press—The Dawn in English; Anjam, Jung, Inquilab, etc, in Urdu; Azad in Bengali. The campaign was also benefited by writers like Z. A. Sulari, the students of Aligarh university and the service of the Pirs and Ulemas. A committee of writers was formed and 'Pakistan literature series' published propagandist works. A book called It Shall Never Happen Again (1946) articulated the sufferings of the Muslims under Congress dominance. During the great political upheaval known as Freedom Struggle, the Muslim League tried to remain loyal to the British Government. For instance, if the Congress condemned the British Government during the Second World War (1939-1945), the Muslim League supported it. During the latter 30's the League extended its branches; 90 in the United Provinces and 40 in the Punjab. It took severe action against the Muslims who had membership of both the League and the Congress. The use of 'Bande Mataram', Hindi as a compulsory language, Gandhiji's Wardha

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Education scheme and Vidya Mandir scheme, and the Cow Protection Movement et al., were given communal colouring as anti-Muslim activities. Even Gandhiji's effort to achieve Hindu-Muslim amity was dismantled. Jinnah went to the extent of accusing Gandhi as an orthodox Hindu.

In 1944, C. Rajagopalachari came out with a formula to find a solution to the crisis. This, known as 'Rajaji Formula', had been approved by Gandhi, and to some extent accepted the creation of a separate land and asked the Muslim League to support the Congress for the Independence of India and in forming a provisional government. Also it recommended the setting up of a commission to demarcate the areas in North-West India and North-East India where the Muslim population is in a majority, on the basis of plebiscite to decide the separation from Hindustan. M.A. Jinnah rejected the formula, but the only point he appreciated in the 'Rajaji Formula' was that it provided for a separate state. It also met with severe criticism from the Sikh community. In the aftermath of the 'Rajaji Formula', Gandhiji went to Jinnah; the Gandhi-Jinnah talks in September 1944 however failed. And following this, negotiations were held between Bhulabhai Desai, the leader of the Congress party in the Central Assembly and Liaquat Ali Khan, the deputy leader of the Muslim League in the Central Assembly. This, known as 'Liaquat-Desai Pact' too failed, as Jinnah declared that he did not know anything about it. Thus, all the efforts to bring about a compromise between the Congress and the Muslim League were futile exercises.

Lord Wavell, who became Viceroy in 1943 and continued upto 1947, played an important role in deciding the turn of events in Indian politics. In the opinion of Wilhelm von Pochhammer, "To Viceroy Wavell must be given the credit of having taken a more active part in the final stages of British rule in India than the leaders of the Liberation Movement. Three times he took the initiative in trying to resolve the tangle. His first initiative led to the Simla Conference of June/July 1945, the second to the elections of 1945-46, and the third compelled the parties to come to a final decision." On 25th June 1945 Lord Wavell called a conference at Simla to resolve the complexities. The Congress chose two Muslims from the Congress party out of its quota to the executive council of the

viceroys. But Jinnah contended that all the Muslim members of the council must be chosen by the Muslim League. With this the Simla Conference failed, too.

At this time dramatic changes took place in Great Britain. The Labour party came to power, with Atlee succeeding Churchill as the Prime Minister. Wavell brought the political crisis in India to the notice of the Government and convinced it that since the British Government was fed up with the situation, the best way was to cut itself off from India as soon as possible. Hence, in March 1946 the Atlee Government sent a Cabinet Mission which consisted of three Cabinet members— Lord Pethick Lawrence, the Secretary of State for India; Alexander, the Naval Minister; and Cripps, the Minister for Trade. The aim of the cabinet mission was to call upon the Indian leaders to frame a new constitution and hand over political administration to the Indians. The Cabinet Mission stood for the unity of India, but protecting at the same time the interests of the Muslim community. Hence, it devised a three-tier state structure comprising a central government, the regional unions and the provinces. According to the plan, India was to be divided into three major regions— section A consisting of Madras, Bombay, U.P., Bihar, C.P., and Orissa; section B consisting of N.W.F.P and Sind; section C consisting of Bengal and Assam. And it proposed for that the central government be in charge of foreign affairs, defence and communication. The British created such a plan through the Mission that, in the words of Wilhelm von Pochhammer, "Everybody could deduce from it whatever suited him. Jinnah could see Pakistan in it, though 'artistically wrapped'. The Congress could see in it the undivided India which it hoped to inherit from the British. (...) The pre-requisite was that Indian politicians should accept office as responsible ministers in the Government that was to be formed."

The creation of two Muslim majority provinces and the full autonomy to the provinces anticipated the vision of Pakistan for the Muslim community. Hence, the Muslim League accepted the plan. But the Congress opposed it as the grouping of the provinces came as a package, not to be altered. The Congress Government was functioning in N.W.F.P. which would go to section B and the Hindu majority province

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of Assam would go to Section C. The Congress was not ready for this. Therefore, it partly accepted the plan and demanded the grouping of the provinces should not be compulsory.

This made the Muslim League withdraw itself from the plan on 29th July 1946. Having decided to give up ruling over India, Lord Wavell persuaded the Congress to enter the Interim Government.

Accordingly on 2nd September 1946 Jawaharlal Nehru took oath as the first Prime-Minister. The Muslim League joined the Interim Government to spoil it rather than to co-operate. Meanwhile under the leadership of M.A. Jinnah, the Muslim League observed the Direct Action Day on 16th August 1946. As Margaret Bourke-White, an American eye witness to the event, observes: Jinnah's Press conference at his Bombay home on Malbar hill, in late July 1946, marked the public turning point. (...) Jinnah intimated—rather badly—the coming of Direct Action Day. Two and a half weeks later this day touched off a chain of events that led, after twelve explosive months, to a divided India and the violent disruption of the Great Migration.

The effects of a call for the observance of Direct Action Day, which started with the massacre of Hindus at Calcutta, created a state of civil war in India. Jinnah gave a battle cry "Lekar rahenge Pakistan, Larke lenge Pakistan". He also declared, "This day we bid good-bye to constitutional methods. (...) Today we have also forged a pistol and are in a position to use it."

The demonstration in favour of Pakistan triggered off a wave of communal frenzy, which swept most parts of India. The state of Nokhali was the worst. Muslims killed Hindus and vice-versa. As a result the Interim Government too fell to the ground. After this two significant things happened. First, Lord Mountbatten succeeded Lord Wavell as the Viceroy. Second, Atlee's Government gave June 1948 as the deadline for the transfer of power to India. When Lord Mountbatten landed in India the situation had already reached the state of anarchy and Partition seemed the only solution to the problem of India. Even the Congress, which stood for the unity of India, compromised with the situation, and the leaders were tired and fed up with the state of affairs. They were

caught between the fury of Direct Action Day and the time limit fixed by the British Government. It was a great period of transition. The British, who had lost interest in the administration, ignored the maintenance of law and order. The choice before the leaders was between Partition and the continuation of the impasse. Finally, the proposal calling for Partition was accepted. Then, the modus operandi was spelt out in the V. P. Menon plan, which contained the rules and regulations regarding the process of the Partition. According to the plan the provinces of Punjab and Bengal were to be divided to create a separate state—East Pakistan and West Pakistan. To seek the opinion of the mass the issue was placed before the Legislative Assemblies of both the provinces on condition that if any one of the Assemblies voted in favour of Partition, both the provinces were to be divided. The question of NWFP was to be decided on the basis of referendum—the opinion of people expressed through vote. And the same was to apply to the Muslim dominated district of Sylhet (Assam). Finally, the Legislative Assemblies of Punjab and Bengal voted for Partition. The referendum in NWFP went in favour of joining Pakistan and the district of Sylhet also decided to join Pakistan. As soon as the plan was prepared, Mountbatten broadcast it on June 3. This has been known as 'the June 3rd plan'. A boundary commission was set up under the chairmanship of Cyril Radcliff to decide the geographic territory of both the countries.

Till then the creation of Pakistan had been a vague idea; it began to take physical shape now, but the common people were in total confusion, as they were unprepared for the effects of the event. On July 4th 1947 the Independence of India Bill was introduced in the British Parliament and was passed by a simple majority. The Act formulated on July 18th, made provision for the

Partition of the sub-continent into two sovereign states. Pakistan celebrated Independence on 14th August 1947, and India on 15th August. Thus came to an end, the more than 200 years of colonial rule in the subcontinent. At last the sun did set over British India at the cost of bloodshed and disruption of millions of lives, the great tragedy which goes down in the pages of history as the Partition.

**CONTRIBUTORY FACTORS— COMMUNALISM,
NATIONALISM AND IMPERIALISM: THE ROLE OF
IMPORTANT LEADERS.**

The Partition is such a complex historical process that it is very difficult to arrive at a final conclusion and dismiss the discussion on it in a few statements. Because, there are various theories about the Partition propounded by different schools of thought. History needs revising as new documents are discovered and a new line of thinking is initiated. Hence, the Partition is still an unsettled debate. H. V. Hodson in his *The Great Divide* looks at the Partition as a triangular issue among Britain, Pakistan and India. Accordingly, there are at least more than three points of views in the historiography of the Partition. Mainly it includes writings from the three nations involved in it; imperialist— Percieval Spear, Penderel Moon, H. V. Hodson, Vincent Smith and others; India— R.C. Mujamdar, V. D. Mahajan, Mushirul Hasan, Bipan Chandra, Panikkar and others; Pakistan— I. H. Qureshi, M. D. Zafar, Mumtaz Hasan, Ali Tayyeb and others.²⁸ Besides, there are other writers such as Dominique Lapiere and Larry Collins, Wilhelm von Pochhammer, Margaret Burk-White and others, who belong to nations which were not directly parties to the process of Partition.

All these different writings throw light upon different aspects of the Partition. But it is not possible to arrive at the complete truth and objectivity. With a few exceptions most of the studies are biased. Pointing at a single community, a group of leaders and in fact, to a single history, in creating the holocaust would be unfair, for it "was the result of a very complex interplay of forces." One can identify the interplay of three forces for the convenience of the study. They are Communalism, Nationalism and Imperialism. These three forces were interrelated and influenced each other in the culmination that was Partition. As rightly pointed out by Khwaja A. Khaliq, the political history after the foundation of the Indian National Congress "was shaped by the multilateral interaction between the forces of British imperialism, the Congress and Hindu and Muslim communalism." However, an in-depth analysis of these three forces needs a separate study

COMMUNALISM

First, Communalism; it has acquired different shades of meaning as intellectual debates all over the world and in the media have given much importance to it. Generally, Communalism refers to differentiating people on the basis of religion. Bipan Chandra et al., define Communalism as "the ide010U of a religion based socio-political identity () "

As an ide010U it involves politics based on religion. However, Communalism cannot be equated with religious practice and beliefs. It is the mingling of religion with politics for non-religious motives. In the present discussion communalism is used in the sense of the use or exploitation of religion to achieve a vested interest. The argument put forward for the creation of a separate state for the Muslims on the basis of Islam was more of a political nature, involving economic and psychological considerations as well, than a religious one, but religion was used for that.

According to K.N. Panikkar Communalism is a "modern phenomenon" and it "emerged during the 19th century and then intensified during the 20th century." Bipan Chandra et al., identify three stages in tracing the rise and growth of Communalism. They do not name the first stage, and call the second stage "Liberal Communalism", and the third "Extreme Communalism". Further it is concluded that during the third stage "communalists put forward the theory that Muslims and Hindus constituted separate nations."

It is apparent that one of the reasons for the creation of Pakistan was Communalism. Khwaja A. Khalique thinks that it "was the logical culmination of a long standing communal divide." The genesis of the communal divide between Hindus and Muslims can be traced back to the colonial state. The differences in their ways of life always prevailed. In spite of this both the communities had no difficulty in accepting the rise of a free nation, comprised of both, because they had shared a long history. In the beginning they waged a war against the British jointly. For them religion was not a barrier. But the political power-game necessitated communal divide. For political purposes religion was also

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employed as a factor emphasizing the different identities of Hindus and Muslims. May be, as V.S. Naipaul thinks, "politics is combined with religion in Islam." Moreover, the infrastructure of the colonial society was congenial for its growth. The socio-economic differences between the communities and the vested interests of the elite- leaders contributed to the great divide. As Asghar Ali Engineer says, "Pakistan was not a creation of religious bigotry: it was a creation of the modernists among Muslims." The most important of among those who shaped the destiny of Pakistan were Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Iqbal and M. A. Jinnah. Different historians trace the communal divide to different periods. But the beginnings of a conscious communal awareness among the Muslims may be seen in Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. He was the first modernist muslim who saw a great threat to the Muslim community when the Muslims remained aloof from Western education, whereas the Hindus reaped the fruits of it and found jobs under the British Raj. The Muslims of those days resented British rule as they believed that the Europeans had snatched the throne away from them. For Syed Ahmad Khan it was a negative development, for he feared that his community would lag behind. His aim was to bring about the Muslim Renaissance in India. He sought to create awareness among the Muslims by giving a clarion call to them to join hands with the British and withdraw from the Indian National Congress. He urged the community to keep away from the activities of the Congress by dubbing it a Hindu organisation. He carried out his propaganda successfully with the help of British officials and the institutions he had founded exclusively for the Muslims. Ahmad Khan is historically important in the development of separatist politics of the Muslims in India. Though he was extreme communalist, his contribution to the divide was not small in measure.

"The creation of Pakistan, which involved the partition of erstwhile India," says Harbinder Pal Singh, "was the achievement of a single man, namely, Mohammed Ali Jinnah. It was M. A. Jinnah who fully exploited Islam for political ends. The phase of moderate communalism gradually passed into the phase of extreme communalism with the emergence of Jinnah. Accordingly, he it was who translated the dream of Iqbal and Rahmat Ali into a reality. Jinnah played the most prominent part in the

whole drama of the Partition. In the beginning he was a statesman who had a secular- elitist view of politics. Neither Muslim-communalism nor the minority interests obsessed him. He was a staunch supporter of Hindu-Muslim amity. For instance, witness his speech in the 1924 Muslim League summit at Lahore: The advent of foreign rule and its continuance in India is primarily due to the fact the people of India, particularly the Hindus and Muslims, are not united, (I am almost inclined to say that India will get Dominion Responsible Government the day the Hindus and Muslims are united.

But ironically the same man turned an exponent of the Two- nation-theory, "Musalmans are a nation according to any definition of a nation, and they must have their homelands, their territory and their state.

It is very clear that a thoroughly westernized lawyer started his career in India as a secular nationalist but ended up a parochial communal leader. At one time a secular statesman and supporter of the Hindu-Muslim cause, all of a sudden he became a petty politician, almost an obstinate personality. It was a paradox of the time that the man who had never read the Koran and practised the Islamic way of life became the Father of "The first truly Islamic state since the days of the prophet and his close companions."

It is perhaps for this reason that H. V. Hodson calls him "An enigmatic figure." It would be intriguing but difficult to find a categorical explanation for the reasons why Jinnah did so. There were no doubt some political developments which led to his transformation. By the time Jinnah came to India after becoming a barrister, a separatist identity of the Muslims had already found its roots watered by his predecessors. The time was congenial for the Muslim community to accept him as its sole spokesman. His growing position as the Muslim mass leader— Quaid-e-Azam— might have laid on him the obligation to fight for his community. And the rest is politics. Jinnah could not feel at home in the Indian National Congress. He could not accommodate himself there vis-a-vis the dominance of M.K.Gandhi, Nehru, and Sardar Patel on the Congress. Moreover, the Congress neglected him. Aijaz Ahammad

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rightly accounts for how the Congress' attitude led Jinnah along the line of separatism:

People like Jinnah, (...) found themselves increasingly sidelined and alienated. The advocacy of partition and Pakistan during the 1940s was for a leader such as Jinnah in some senses a reaction of fury against the frustrations accumulated through a life-time in which he had sought to combine the two prongs of his own conviction: the generality of "Hindu-Muslim unity" which he often described as his life's mission, and the specificity of what he used to call the "Muslim interest». But, then in losing commanding figures such as Jinnah, Gandhi's Congress also lost increasing proportions of the modern Muslim middle class, which came to believe that its career opportunities would be far greater in a brand new country of its own.

Then, the conflict between the personalities grew more over the question of representation. The Congress wanted to stand for the whole of the Indian people including the Muslims, but Jinnah wanted a separate representation for the Muslim community. Notice Jinnah's statement in 1939:

I have seen the report of the interview given by Mr. Gandhi to Mr. H. V. Hodson, and it's quite clear that he maintains the preposterous claim of the Congress that it is the "only body that can deliver the goods on behalf of the people of India," and indulges in platitudes and talks about the history of the Congress and its ambition to become "All representative of the entire nation." He says that it is a worthy ambition, in keeping with its best tradition, and that "if you study the Congress, you will find that, since its inception, the congress has sought to serve and represent all sections of the country equally." Mr. Gandhi is mainly responsible for having destroyed that ideal and the tradition of the Congress, since he has captured it. It is all very well for Mr. Gandhi to say that the Congress would love to be absorbed by the Muslim League if the Muslim League cared to absorb it, or to absorb the Muslim League in its turn so far as the political programme was concerned. Is it not absurd on the face of it to set the Muslim League the task of absorbing the Congress, the Congress being mainly a Hindu body with a majority of four to one?

Mr. Gandhi is quite safe and he knows that the result will be that the Congress will absorb the Muslim League, and he can well afford to talk in this strain. This kind of Jinnah's clash with the Congress led to the political impasse. In fact, all these factors must have influenced M. A. Jinnah. However, it is unfair to put the whole blame on Jinnah. He was as much a product of historical forces as of his personal whims and fancies in politics. To quote Lal Bahadur Varma, "The heroes and villains will appear less heroic or villainous and more as an instrument of history. While making history they will appear also as the product of history." But Jinnah's philosophy remained parochial. There was an inherent flaw in his "Two-nation-theory".

The division of the country on the basis of religion sounds ridiculous, for it is highly unthinkable in the Indian sub-continent as it is a nest of several different communities scattered all over it. Jinnah's neither solved the minority problem nor put an end to communal disturbances. It remains silent about the remaining Muslims in India. Hence, as J. Bandopadhyaya says, "the Indo-Pakistan boundary represents the political division of a single geographical, ecological, economic and defence unit, with all the resultant incongruities, anomalies and irrationalities."

Also, it is very important to note that socio-economic causes worked along with the political cause in determining the fate of a separate state. "We must try to understand," writes Asghar Ali Engineer, "the genesis of communalism in a deeper sense. It is as much a structural as a political problem. In the political sense it was the divide and rule policy of the British which generated it, and in the structural sense it was generated not only by the limited capacity of the colonial economy to grow but also by a keen competition for jobs and political positions and sinecures between the two major communities of India, i.e., Hindus and Muslims."

As rightly put by Engineer, the Muslim mass was attracted by economic interests such as job opportunities in a newly created land for the Muslims. Other factors which complicated the situation were the growing Hindu-communalism and the nascent 'Hindu' Raj. They created "the politics of hatred, fear psychosis and irrationality."

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The growing Hindu organizations like the Hindu Mahasabha and the R.S.S. created a sense of fear among the Muslims. For instance, Golwalkar, one of the R.S.S. leaders, cried: The non-Hindu peoples in Hindustan must either adopt the Hindu culture and language, must learn to respect and hold in reverence Hindu religion, must entertain no ideas but those of glorification of the Hindu race and culture, i.e., they must not only give up their attitude of intolerance and ungratefulness towards this land and its age long traditions but must also cultivate the positive attitude of love and devotion instead— in one word, they must cease to be foreigners, or may stay in the country, wholly subordinated to the Hindu nation, claiming nothing, deserving no privileges, far less any preferential treatment— not even citizen's rights.

The Ghost of the Hindu Raj haunted the Muslim psyche. It was thought that the democratic rule of the future world mean the rule of the majority. They feared the dominance of the Hindu majority. Thus, communalism has been one of the causes of Partition. The modernist elite leaders made use of religion for their political ends.

NATIONALISM

The term Nationalism means a "strong feeling of love and pride in one's own country" and "a desire for political independence by a nation that is controlled by another." 50 It is an ideology which binds the people of a country together. In the Indian context, the peoples'

'Strong feeling of love and pride' towards India as a nation and 'desire for political independence' was expressed for the first time during colonial rule. But whether India was a nation or not till then is still a debatable topic. The concept of 'nation' (English word) has political connotations. Wilhelm von Pochhammer thinks that 'nation' refers to a "community arising from a common political consciousness which feels that it is one unit and acts like one" In this sense India as a political entity had never been a nation though the concept of 'Rashtra' and 'Jambudwip' had a few rulers reigning over major parts of it under a single dynasty. The Indian subcontinent attained its nationhood over a period of years only under colonial rule. The nature of India's political unity was, like Shakespeare's Caliban, shapeless. It was under the impact of British imperialism that

the spirit of nationalism rose in the breasts of Indians. The spread of modern education through the English language, the rapid development of means of transport and communication, the role of journalism, the changing socio-economic structure etc fostered the feeling of nationalism.

The strategy of nationalism, which was partly a colonial legacy, was used to drive out colonial rule from India. What Caliban says in reply to Prospero in *The Tempest* is a relevant metaphor for it: Caliban : "You taught me language; and my profit on't is, I know how to curse; (...)"⁵²

The Indian National Movement, launched by the Congress, has been a landmark in Indian history as it was "One of the biggest mass movements modern society has ever seen."⁵³ Here it is important to note that the Indian National Congress for the first time mobilized all the Indian masses in its resistance to colonialism. As Sucheta Mahajan says:

The task of the national movement was twofold— structuring classes, communities and regions into a nation and securing independence from colonial rule for this emerging nation. While the national movement succeeded in building up a national consciousness sufficient to wrest freedom, the process of the nation-in- the making remained incomplete and the Congress, the party of the national movement, failed to keep the country united.

Though the goals of the Congress in the beginning were obscure and unclear, later the attainment of 'Swaraj' or self-government became its sole motto. The task of the attainment of Swaraj met with many challenges. One of such challenges was the growth of Muslim communalism. The parallel growth of nationalist spirit under the Congress and communal spirit under the Muslim League entirely in an opposite direction resulted in a political deadlock during the 40s.

The Indian National Congress stood for a separate homeland necessitating the unity of India whereas the Muslim League stood for the division of the subcontinent. The reasons for the antagonism between these two forces were obvious. The Indian National Congress was based on democratic principles and it popularised democratic ideas and institutions in India. This led the Indian Muslims to think that the would-

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be democratic India meant majority rule— that is, the dominance of the Hindus, which they did not want. The fear of the Hindu Raj was intensified with the growth of Hindu communalism and the ideology of the Congress. "Anti-British agitation carried out by the Congress," writes Tariq Ali in his *Can Pakistan Survive?: The Death of a State*, "was, in fact, heavily overlaid with Hindu symbolism and mythology, the Congress leaders chose to conduct the movement by utilizing Hindu anthems and the worship of Hindu Gods."

This tinge of Hinduism in the Congress sowed the seeds of suspicion among the Muslims. And it was increased as the Congress refused to accept the Muslim League as the sole representative of the Indian Muslims in the interest of its claim to represent the whole of India. This led to a misunderstanding between the leaders. The elite leaders, especially Jinnah, were under the impression that the Congress was not allowing the Muslim community to grow. Moreover, there was personality clash between the leaders. One leader could not tolerate another leader's growing stature and influence. Later Jinnah was ignored by the Congress. As Aijaz Ahmad puts it:

People like Jinnah, (found increasingly sidelined and alienated. The Partition and Pakistan during the 1940's themselves advocacy of was from a leader such as Jinnah in some senses a reaction of the fury against the frustrations accumulated through a lifetime (...). But, then, in losing commanding figures such as Jinnah, Gandhi's Congress also lost increasing proportions of the modern Muslim middle class, which came to believe that its career opportunities would be far greater in a brand new country of its own (...).

To give another example of personality clash; when the Cabinet Mission wanted to hand over the administration to Indians, it decided to appoint an Indian as the Prime-Minister serving under the Viceroy until the Indian Independence Act would come into effect. At that time Nehru was supported by Gandhi, as against Sardar Patel. "Jinnah at first refused to co-operate, and (...) allowed a League member to enter the government, not to co-operate in its working but to sabotage it from within"

Apart from its failure to check the growing communalism, the Indian National Congress went on accepting communal safeguards favoured by the British. It is also worth noting why the Congress accepted the Partition. Sucheta Mahajan refers to the Congress leaders' rationale for accepting the Partition. The reasons were :1) Partition reflected the popular will and it was the only 'way to be free'.

2) It was thought as a temporary settlement.

3) It would end communal violence.

4) It was thought as an alternative to balkanization and civil war.

5) There was no other option.

Ironically enough, the Partition was worse than a civil war, communal violence. It was because of the inherent flaw in the execution of the National Movement which was partly responsible for the Partition. The key figures in the Indian National Congress were Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. If Nehru was a secular statesman with a pragmatic vision, Sardar Patel was a die-hard nationalist, and Gandhi was a man of principle. Gandhi transcended all the barriers and narrowness, especially of political hegemony. He was such a personality that he hated colonialism but not individual British citizens. He had "a noble view of man and religion."

M.K. Gandhi replaced Tilak as a mass leader in the anti-colonial struggle. When he assumed the leadership of this struggle there were a plethora of challenges before Gandhi; such as untouchability and growing communalism. By the time he came off the growth of communalism had reached its climax. He firmly believed that the future of India lay in mutual co-operation between the Hindus and the Muslims. He once said: The first thing is that politics has divided India today into Hindus and Muslims. I want to rescue people from this quagmire and make them work on solid ground where people are people.

That is why, along with his war against untouchability, Gandhi undertook to play the role of a Messiah of Hindu-Muslim amity. Throughout his career he worked hard to achieve it. During the Khilafat movement he strove to promote harmony between the two warring

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communities. So far as the division of the country was concerned Gandhi's stand from the beginning was clear. He outrightly opposed the idea behind the Two-nation-theory. He declared: If the Congress wishes to accept partition, it will be over my dead body. So long as I am alive, I will never agree to the partition of India. Nor will I, if I can help it, allow, the Congress to accept it. He even preferred civil war to Partition. But most of 'the popular' opinion about Gandhi in connection with the division of the country is that Gandhi was partly responsible for the Partition. Even Imperial historians like Penderel Moon uphold this view. However, it is a misreading of Gandhi and a historical fallacy. If Jinnah is an enigmatic personality as far as the Partition is concerned, Gandhi is the most misunderstood personality. Says Chittabrata Palit, "He has been viewed as the father of Hindu nationalism and, therefore, militating against the Muslims. The Hindu fundamentalists, on the other hand, looked upon him as a betrayer of the Hindu cause and a promoter of Muslims."

From this observation it is clear that Gandhi was hardly understood by Indians in a proper perspective. It was partly because, people did not make sense of Gandhi's idiom. His way of talking in terms of Hindu symbols and myth got him dubbed as a staunch Hindu; at the same time his respect for the Koran and care for the Muslim community made the Hindu fanatics express their venom and fire against him. In fact, it even killed him. But Gandhi's use of the religious idiom was far from being a parochial view. He believed that genuine religion should bring people together rather than separate them. Palit rightly points out this aspect of Gandhi:

To him Ishwar was the same as Allah or Ram, and Rahim was the refrain of his most favourite song, which began with the praise of Raghupathi Ram. His Ram Rajya was similar to a moral utopia and had nothing to do with the kingdom of Ayodhya.

Gandhi loved each and every creature, but could not tolerate injustice. In spite of his faith in combating violence by love, he became at last helpless in respect of the division of the country. The political situation of the day went beyond his control. He was sidelined by his followers in

the Congress. When the nation was degraded to barbaric killings and mob violence, Gandhi forgot his sense of triumph over the long awaited dawn of freedom and went to riot-hit areas to soothe the wounds of the victims of Partition. However, Nehru and Patel's attitude to the Partition differed from that of Gandhi. Though initially both of them stood for a united India, they later yielded to the Partition formula, because of the uncontrolled communal riots and their own personal hegemonic ambitions in the game of power politics. As the day of freedom came nearer Gandhi was neglected by them and they were itching to seize power for themselves. In this connection B.R.Nanda writes, "It hurts him (Gandhi) to see that he was unable to carry conviction with his closest colleagues and even with the rank and file of the Congress.

It has been suggested that he was isolated and even betrayed by Nehru and Patel who were "avid for power." The Nehru-Patel solution to the political deadlock of the time was not in tune with Gandhi's. Gandhi asked Mountbatten to leave it to Jinnah to form the government, but Patel and Nehru did not approve the idea. There was the question of power-sharing which did not materialize. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad writes in his *India Wins Freedom: When I met Mountbatten the day after Gandhiji talked to him; he told me that if the Congress accepted*

Gandhiji's suggestion, Partition could still be avoided () Unfortunately this move could make no progress as both Sardar Patel and Jawaharlal opposed it vehemently. In fact, they forced Gandhiji to withdraw his suggestion. Gandhiji reminded me of this and said that the situation now was such that Partition appeared inevitable. Moreover, there was a split in the Congress itself on account of the rivalry between Nehru and Patel. Azad recommended Nehru as his successor to the presidentship of the Congress. Gandhi did not oppose it. At this time, as Leonard Mosley writes, "Patel had to sit back and watch his rival once more take the presidency from him— and this time at the most important moment of all. He never forgave Azad for the events of 1946. He moved away from Gandhi whose devoted disciple he had always been."

Thus, it was in the end the political wrangling for hegemony which determined the fate of Partition. But Nehru was a secular nationalist. He

had great expectations about India's future. He agreed to the Partition, because the Congress was exhausted. It was eager to settle the matter as early as possible. The communal riots worsened the situation. More importantly, Nehru believed that the Partition would be a temporary arrangement; soon there could be a union. But at the same time it is worthwhile mentioning what Jayaprakash Narayan said about Patel at this juncture. According to him, "Patel could have kept India united somehow, if he had been at the helm of affairs."

Thus, when the National Movement tried to demarcate the boundary of India's nationhood replacing colonial rule, the Muslims naturally asked for their share. At this time the failure of the Congress, and the contest over power sharing led to the Partition.

IMPERIALISM

Though the growth of extreme Communalism and the drawbacks of Indian Nationalism were partly responsible for the Partition, one cannot ignore the mischievous role played by British Imperialism. Colonialism and Imperialism are generally interchangeable notions. But the crux of the former is an economic one, whereas the latter's is a political one. Imperialism "is also often equated with the exercise of any form of political control or influence by one political community over another". And "The need for colonies was often argued in economic terms." Both are complementary and involve monopoly in economy, politics and culture. In a way Imperialism is an extension of colonialism. Here Imperialism is used in the sense of "British world Politics."

The colonial system of Imperialism was begun in the 19th and early 20th century. The roots of British Imperialism are to be traced in colonial trade. In the beginning the Europeans had the purpose of business and a sense of adventure, and for them colonies were a source of economic exploitation— mines for raw material and markets for selling goods as well. Gradually, trade was replaced by politics.

The economic exploitation was replaced by the 'white-man's-burden' theory in order to continue their dominance. One of the characteristic features of Imperialism, according to Lenin, is that it "opposes all progressive and peace loving forces." It is well known to the world that

the strategy used by Imperial politics in colonial societies to continue their monopoly was the 'divide and rule' policy. It happened in almost all the colonies— the whole of Africa and most of Asia. Hence, what one of the characters in Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* says equally fits into the Indian context:

The white man is very clever. He came quietly and peaceably with his religion. We were amused at his foolishness and allowed him to stay. Now he has won our brothers, and our clan can no longer act like one. He has put a knife on things that held us together and we have fallen apart. The British consolidated their position by creating fissures in colonial societies. Edward W. Said puts a view that "imperialism permanently scarred and distorted Indian life."

In India it created differences between the Hindus and the Muslims. It is also said that the British did not create divisions; the divisions existed among the natives. This seems to be the notion of the pro-British school of historians. But it is true that in spite of differences in their way of life, the natives had no trouble living a shared community life. There prevailed a general communal harmony. The differences between the two different communities were as natural as the differences within the community. But it is also true that Imperial politics exploited the existing differences, and played them up. The first step in that direction was their census-survey. Many British anthropologists and other academics carried out researches in order to understand the native mind, which would make their ruling easy. This kind of official work differentiated people by their religion. Hence, during the colonial era the graph of the Hindu-Muslim relationship represents a series of ups and downs. At the time of the '1857-Revolt' both the communities fought together against the British Raj. The Muslims looked upon the British as their enemies, as the British had taken over from them as rulers. At that time the British favoured the Hindus. Later the Muslims replaced the Hindus when the tendency among the Hindus to resist colonial rule became apparent. British policy framers realized that their success depended upon creating a gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims in India.

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Khwaja A. Khalique explains how the British played one against another: The shift of administrative power and wealth from Muslims to Hindus naturally bred ill will and heart burning among Muslims against Hindus. This was further aggravated by the British government, which openly sided with the Hindus against the Muslims. An instance of this was provided in 1842, when the governor general, Lord Ellenborough, while restoring the gates of the Somanath temple said, 'The insult of 800 years is at last avenged'. He believed that the best way of restoring 'equilibrium between the two religions was to bring the Mohamadans to their senses'. Such an outburst by a Viceroy could only have been motivated by the British desire to create discord between Hindus and Muslims and to play one against the other.

"It would be far too simplistic to suggest," says Tariq Ali, "that Muslim communalism was merely the result of British intrigue." The British officials, such as the principals of Aligarh college— Beck, Archbold and Theodore Morrison— tried to widen the divide between the Hindus and the Muslims. They influenced leaders like Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. Principal Beck helped the Muslim community to establish institutions. He was responsible for the establishment of Mohammedan Defence Association of Upper India in 1893. The task assigned to him was to win the confidence of the Muslims and keep them away from the Congress activities.

Check your progress –

1. What caused Direct Action Day?

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2. Under which act of independence, India was divided?

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10.3 LETS SUM UP

All this is written history. There is an unwritten history of the Partition which is the human aspect. The Partition was both a political and a human problem. The reading of the historiography of Partition shows that the main concern of historical writings is to record what happened at the level of high politics. It narrates the course of political events, the rise and fall of the leaders. It is more a story of Viceroys, Princes, and elite leaders than the story of common human suffering. Its preoccupation is with forces that caused the tragedy and possible steps which could have averted the Partition. But it is the fictional representation of events which holds up the mirror to its human dimension. The Partition affected life at various levels.

Politically and geographically the subcontinent was divided and personally families and persons were departed. As Urvashi Bhutalia writes, "But partition was not only a division of properties, of assets and liabilities. It was also (...) a division of hearts. It brought untold suffering, trauma, pain, violence to the communities which had hitherto lived together under some kind of social contract. It separated families across an arbitrarily drawn border, some-times overnight, and made it practically impossible for people to know if their parents, sisters, brothers, children were alive or dead. And these aspects of the partition— how people coped with the trauma, how they rebuilt their lives, what resources, both physical and mental, they

drew upon, how their experience of dislocation and trauma shaped their lives, and indeed the cities and towns and villages they settle in— find little reflection in written history." 83 All these, however, find their expression only in fictional narratives. The task of the fiction- writer is not only to be vibrantly alive to politics but also to recreate it artistically. The fictionist has a dual role to play; as a historian and as a creative writer. Since the writer is dealing with a historical event he/ she is circumscribed by facts but at the same time he/she has to go beyond that to find out the whole truth. His/her creation is an amalgamation of fact

and fiction. Hence, his/her subject is not only political history but also the human story.

10.4 KEYWORDS

Partition, Batwara, Direct Action Day

10.5 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. What was Indian Independence Act?
2. Who was most vocal for Partition?

10.6 SUGGESTED REVIEW

Grover and Grover, A New Look at Modern Indian History (Delhi: S. Chand and co. ; 1995) 293.

Khwaja A.Khalique, "Genesis of Partition" Pangs of Partition 120.

Sangeeta Mall, "A Documentary History of Partition of India,"

10.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Hint – 10.2
2. Hint – 10.2

UNIT 11 - EMERGENCE OF NATIONAL SCIENCE

STRUCTURE

11.0 Objective

11.1 Introduction

11.2 Emergence Of National Science

11.3 Lets Sum Up

11.4 Keywords

11.5 Questions For Review

11.6 Suggested Readings

11.7 Answers For Check Your Progress

11.0 OBJECTIVE

To know about the impact of science education and research in India

To know about the advancement of science in India

11.1 INTRODUCTION

573.1 In WorldScience is more than an accumulation of facts; it is not simply positive knowledge, but systematized positive knowledge; it is not simply unguided analysis and haphazard empiricism, but synthesis; it is not simply a passive recording, but a constructive activity (Sarton, 1975).Throughout the way of human civilization, science and society maintained a dynamic and reciprocal relationship. Great cultural events happened at the same time in many parts of the World-in Greece, in Mesopotamia, in India, in Egyptand in China.

11.2 EMERGENCE OF NATIONAL SCIENCE

The society was predominantly agrarian in nature during this period. The developments of science cherished essential useful technological improvement as well as encouraged to develop rational clarifications of the universe. Socrates, Pericles, Herodotus, Hippocrates, and many other scholars were flourished in this period. Some of the major contribution on science were: Greek philosopher and mathematician Pythagoras (500 BC) derived his famous theorem; Aristotle (350 BC) established the disciplines of biology and comparative anatomy; Euclid (300 BC) wrote a geometry textbook entitled the Elements that codified all the known mathematical work to its time; Eratosthenes (240 BC) a Greek astronomer and librarian of Alexandria, made a remarkably accurate measurement of Earth's size; Archimedes (220 BC) discovered the principle of buoyancy. Ptolemy (85 AD) developed the system of eccentrics and epicycles (Mason, 1962). During the Middle Ages (from 5th century to 1450 AD), the application of science were limited, not only that, but whatever was done in the line of application was done more often by illiterate technicians than by scientists proper.

From 1450 to the Seventeenth Century During these two and a half centuries, science itself, particularly in the West, underwent a dramatic evolution. In short, this period encompassed one of the great shifts in human perspectives, the Scientific Revolution and laid most of the ground-work for another major change, the Industrial Revolution of 1700s and 1800s (Cohen, 1985). The period between 1450 and 1690 saw the development of capitalism as the leading method of production also witnessed that of experiment and calculation as the new method of natural science (Bernal, 1954). With the appearance of bureaucracy the trade and industry in Europe began to flourish in a totally new way in the fifteenth and sixteenth century. By 1450, especially in Europe, the recreation of the past, the expansion of borders, the rise of the scientific method and the roots of higher mathematics

came together, lighting a fuse that ignited a period of rapid progress. The base of mathematics in this era developed over and above the work of the Arabian, Indian and Chinese. Negative numbers were introduced in 1545, and trigonometric tables just six years later. The development of logarithms by John Napier occurred during this period. Rene Descartes, French Mathematician invented analytic geometry in 1637. The first mechanical adding machine was built by French mathematician Blaise Pascal in 1642. German mathematician and philosopher Gotterfried Wilhelm Leibniz inaugurated the study of symbolic logic by calling for a —calculus of reasoning‡ in his essay ‘De Arte Combinatoria’ in 1666.

Nicholas Copernicus (1473-1543) revived sun-centered mode of the solar system in Europe during the sixteenth century. Among notable progress in physical science were: systematic geological thought by Georgius Agricola (1494-1555), magnetic and electrical studies by William Gilbert (1544-1603) and Tycho Brahe’s (1546-1601) contribution in astronomical measurements and their implications (Marcorini, 1988). In the seventeenth century, science flourished mainly in Astronomy, Medical Sciences and Mechanics. The model of planetary motion given by Johannes Kepler in the early seventeenth century revived the model given by Copernicus. During this period, Galileo Galilei pioneered the use of experiment to validate physical theories. He formulated and successfully tested several results in dynamics. John Wallis, English mathematician revealed the law of conservation of momentum in 1668 in the middle of the seventeenth century, Otto Van Guericke demonstrated the physics of the vacuum and atmospheric pressure. In 1687, Isaac Newton published the ‘Principia Mathematica’, dealt with the ‘law of motion’ and ‘law of Gravitation’. Classical mechanics and astrophysics arose from these laws respectively. In 1686, Halley published his account of the trade winds and monsoon. The first barometer was developed in 1643, leading to further experiments with air pressure. In Zoology, Konrad von Gesner published the first volume of ‘Historia Animalium’ in 1551, the first modern scientific study of animal life. In 1628 English physician William Harvey explored the concepts about the circulation of blood in

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an influential book, *Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis et Sanguinis in Antimalibus*.⁴ Robert Hooke gave the idea of cells in 1665. Dutch Scientist Anton van Leeuwenhoek revealed the existence of protozoans during this period. Technology made greater progress during these centuries. In 1450 Johann Gutenberg invented a printing press with movable type, which provided near-universal access to learning. William Lee of England invented the first knitting machine in 1589. Dutch-English inventor Cornelius Drebbel devised the first self-regulating oven in 1610. So, the pace of technological change and diffusion accelerated, aided in large measure by the new technologies in the fields of printing and sailing. These technological developments stimulated more invention and innovation in both civil and military engineering (Schlager, 2000). The Scientific Revolution deposed ancient ignorance and superstition and replaced them with reason, giving rise to new schools of thought, a heightened understanding of humanity's place in the universe. Schuster (1990) argued that —the scientific thought of the seventeenth century was an arrangement of stepping stones toward a synthesis of ideas, as more outstanding minds provided plausible theories to solve physical problems. This period saw the emergence of great scientific societies such as, the Academia del Cimento (Florence, 1657), Royal Society in England (London, 1662), and Academic Royale des Science in France (Paris, 1666).

Eighteenth Century

The eighteenth century may be treated as the most constructive period of modern science. Industrial revolution was the most remarkable occurrence in the eighteenth century. Natural philosophy and rational mechanics were developed to a remarkable extent in this century.

Cavendish, Priestley and Black made distinguished works about the framework of the physical world. The effort of Lavoisier recognized chemistry as a distinct science. The major advances were the discovery of the role of air, and of gases generally, in chemical reactions. Lavoisier was the most remarkable person for his noteworthy contribution in case of discovery of oxygen and the law of conservation

of mass. In 1766, Henry Cavendish discovered Carbon-di-Oxide. Joseph Priestley in 1774 discovered oxygen that emerged as the most creative discovery in chemistry (Schlager, 2000). Similar strides were made in the physical sciences also. The work of Black, Benjamin Thomson and others led to important progress in the understanding of heat and its transfer; Benjamin Franklin and Luigi Galvani provided an understanding of electricity.

In 1773, Daniel Bernoulli initiated the field of statistical mechanics. Coulomb was able to measure electrical and magnetic forces during the 1780s. The Mathematics continuously played an important role in the development of the physical sciences. One of the most prolific and creative worker in mathematics and mathematical physics was Leonard Euler. He developed the calculus of variation. Daniel Bernoulli studied the mathematics of oscillations in 1728. During this century, Pierre Laplace of France and Joseph Lagrange of Italy made particularly significant contributions in statistics, probability theory, calculus, and analysis. In the life sciences, the century saw significant progress in the understanding of photosynthesis, plant hybridization, the role of nerves in muscle contractions, and the electrical basis of nervous impulses.

Swedish naturalist Carolus von Linnaeus introduced a system of binomial nomenclature in the field of taxonomy in 1735. English physician Edward Jenner developed inoculation for the prevention of small pox in 1796. The science of nutrition was launched by Rumford during this century. The emergence of modern geology was noticed during the latter half of the seventeenth century. De Saussure of Geneva effectively introduced the word 'Geology' in 1779. The 'dead beat escapement' of clocks was invented by George Graham (1673-1751). He invented also the mercurial pendulum. The self-compensating gridiron pendulum and chronometer were devised by John Harrison (1692-1776). Bourguignon D'anville (1697-1783) was the most well-known cartographer in France in the eighteenth century. Captain James Cook (1728-1779) was remembered for the creation of map of the Pacific. In 1787, General William Roy (1726-1790) measured a base line for

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the triangulation of the British Isles that was to lead up to the ordnance survey (List, 2000). 'Geophysics' gained importance in the 18th century. George Hadley propounded the current theory of trade winds in 1735. H B De Saussure (1740-99) examined on the watery content of the atmosphere in 1783.

William Reid (1791-1858) treated as pioneer of scientific weather forecasting. The subject of terrestrial magnetism has been especially studied because of its importance to navigation. The terrestrial magnetism gained special attention towards the end of eighteenth century. The first published observations on this were made by Humboldt (1789-1803). Buffon (1707-88) first described the history of the earth including the nature of fossils. The transformation of small-scale industrial system to large-scale production system was occurred during the eighteenth century. Some of the landmark incidents were-James Watt obtained the first patent for his steam engine in 1764; Benjamin Franklin invented the first bifocal lenses for eyeglasses in 1784; Edmund Cartwright devised the first successful power loom in England in 1785. In the eighteenth century, science academy was developed in Germany and Austria on the basis of the Academies, which were located in England and France. The invention of mechanical force in the practical field took an active part especially in the case of production and industry from 1760 to 1830. It is right to say that the application of astronomy in navigation took an active role to build up a contact between industry and science.

Nineteenth Century

In the nineteenth century science flourished mainly in the sphere of chemistry because textile industry was the most important industry during this period. During the first phase of the nineteenth century, France took the active role in the progress of physical sciences. In the nineteenth century the scientific revolution took place as advance in pure knowledge was depended intimately with the industrial revolution (Schlager, 2000). The discovery and study of the polarization of light was the most remarkable events of this century. Michael Faraday, George Ohm, Hans Christian Oersted, and

others studied the behavior of electricity and magnetism. In 1847, James Prescott Joule stated the law of conservation of energy. W. R. Hamilton made his noteworthy contribution in classical mechanics in this period.

The first research laboratories for physics were founded between 1850 and 1870. Great names such as those of W. Weber, H. V. Helmholtz, H. A. Lorentz and many others made their remarkable contribution in physics (Britannica, 1978). In 1855, Maxwell propounded the theory of electromagnetism, described by Maxwell's equation. The last phase of this century was enriched with the contribution by a number of scientists in physics. During this time, Rontgen analyzed and discovered x-ray. Becquerel discovered Radioactivity in 1896. Pierre and Marie Curie were responsible for initiation of nuclear physics in this time. J. J. Thomson discovered electron in 1897. In this century, the advancement in astronomy was remarkable. The asteroid was first observed in 1801. The Neptune planet discovered in 1846. The world of atom became comprehensive in this century. John Dalton proposed the basic chemical and physical properties of the matter. The periodic table was devised by Russian chemist D. Mendeleev in 1869. Several new fields developed in mathematics in this century. W. Bolyai, N. Lobachevski, and J. Gauss propounded the non-Euclidean geometry. The field of set theory was developed by Georg Cantor and others. English mathematician George Boole enunciated Boolean algebra, which became one of the basis upon which computer science was built in the twentieth century. Also the basis of topology was developed by Gauss, Riemann, Mobius and others. Other important progress in mathematics in the nineteenth century included work on descriptive geometry by Jean-Victor Poncelet, Gauss's proof of the Fundamental Theorem of Algebra, the work of Niels Abel and Karl Jacobi on elliptical functions, etc (Baigrie, 2002). Over the first half of the nineteenth century, geologists like Charles Lyell, Adam Sedgwick, John Phillips, and other British contemporaries were responsible for the emergence of various formations (e.g. Pliocene, Miocene, Eocene, etc.).

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On the other hand, Triassic and Jurassic were titles given by German geologists at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Murchison (1792-1871), expounded the chronological correspondence of rocks, introduced much of the nomenclature now in use. In this century, George Darwin (1845-1912) enunciated the tidal theory especially in a series of papers on tidal friction as a factor in determining the relation of earth and moon. Abraham Gottlob Werner (1750-1817), a geological dictator, enunciated the physical features of the rocks. During the period between 1790 and 1830, known as the 'Heroic Age of Geology', a great deal of field work was carried out on the examination of the succession of the rock strata, and their mineral and fossil contents (Mason, 1962).

Around 1800, the word 'Biology' began to be used independently by Jean-Baptiste Lamarck and Marie-Francois-Xavier Bichat in France and by Karl Friedrich Burdach and Gottfried Reinhold Treviranus in Germany. The famous cell theory was developed by Schleiden and Schwann in 1847. In 1859, Charles Darwin proposed the theory of evolution. The science of genetics was introduced by Mendel in 1865 (Olby, Cantor, Christie, & Hodgs, 1990). Between 1880 and 1900, there were several developments in science together supplied the conditions for biochemistry to develop as a separate discipline. One of these changes was the rapid expansion of the fields of microbiology and bacteriology. The concurrent study of fermentation created another model for the development of biochemistry.

Louis Pasteur and Robert Koch propounded a revolutionary concept about the germ theory of disease. During this period, a massive development was found in the industries particularly in Germany and U.S.A. Metal and engineering industry flourished beyond anybody's expectation and a large number of new industry gradually became Chemistry and electricity oriented. Wohler initiated the concept of organic chemistry through the discovery of urea. Transportation and communication technologies were largely developed during the nineteenth century. We saw use of the steam engine in both steamboat and railway transportation. Telegraphy also made considerable progress in this period. In Britain, Charles Babbage

developed concepts of mechanical computing. So, the nineteenth century was the age of invention, ending with the famous statement of Charles H. Duell, Commissioner of the U.S. Office of Patent in 1899 that —Everything that can be invented has been invented‖(Schlager, 2000).

Twentieth Century (First-half)

The rapid pace of invention that accelerated in the twentieth century began in the nineteenth. Many of the inventions of the nineteenth century followed advances in the understanding of electricity, thermodynamics, and the chemical properties of materials. Astronomers during this period resolved an important debate about spiral nebulae. Albert Einstein published his first papers in the special theory of relativity in 1905. Dutch physicist Heike Kamerlingh Onnes discovered the principle of superconductivity in 1911. Niels Bohr published a model of the hydrogen atom in 1913. Werner Karl Heisenberg, a German physicist, postulated the principle of uncertainty in 1927. A large amount of scientific progresses were also made possible by the arrival and development of commercial research beyond traditional academia.

Physics was deeply affected by World War II. In America, the Manhattan Project created the first Atomic bomb. In 1931, Radio astronomy was discovered by an American engineer, Karl Jansky. French physicists F J Curie and I J Curie observed that any element can become radioactive if the proper isotope is used in 1934. The nineteenth century saw the creation of new fields in mathematics; these were expanded and extended, and some were axiomatized, in the first half of the twentieth century. Among numerous advances was abstract algebra, ergodic theory, class field theory, Fourier analysis on groups. In 1905, French mathematician Maurice-Rene Frechet established the principles of functional calculus. Galois's theory of polynomial equations with real-number coefficients was developed by Ernst Steinitz in 1910.

The basic notion of function also underwent a grand generalization, embodied in the theory of distributions of Sergei L'vovich Sobolev and Laurent Schwartz, introduced in the 1930s and 1940s respectively.

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Austrian mathematician Kurt Godel presented the theory of incompleteness in 1931. In 1945 Samuel Eilenberg and Saunders MacLane introduced category theory (Schlager, 2000). Atomic and quantum physics provided tools that chemists used to explain the chemical properties of the elements during this century. In 1926, German chemist Hermann Staudinger discovered a common structure to all polymers, thus paving the way for advances in polymer plastic technology. American chemist William Frank Libby developed the carbon-14 dating techniques for measuring the age of fossils.

The rediscovery of Mendel's laws of heredity in 1900 helped biologists begin to understand the genetic foundations of natural selection. At the same year, Austrian-American physician Karl Landsteiner discovered the blood types (A, B, AB, and O). In 1905, German chemist, Richards Willstätter discovers the structure of chlorophyll. Russian-American chemist Phoebus Levene discovers the chemical distinction between DNA and RNA in 1909. Hermann Muller discovered in 1927 that mutations can be caused by X-rays. A great deal of experimentation was done on embryology in the period under study. Hans Krebs worked out the details of the citric acid or Krebs cycle. In 1944 Canadian scientists Avery, McCarty and Macleod discover that DNA carries a genetic —blueprint. The 'Industrial Revolution' reached at the zenith by the beginning of the twentieth century. Electrical technology developed in this period. Bakelite, the first synthetic plastic, was patented in 1907, developed by Belgian chemist Leo Hendrik Baekeland. In 1926, American physicist Robert Goddard designed and built the first modern rocket. English physicist Robert Alexander Watson Watt developed the first practical radar equipment for the detection of aircraft in 1935. The first microwave was patented in 1945. The first large, general purpose electronic computer ENIAC became fully operated in 1946. In this way, technology emerged as the source of progress (Crump, 2001).in India

Science in general

Ancient to Seventeenth century Science and technology (S&T) has been flourishing rapidly since the last three centuries, but scientific investigation has started its journey from the dawn of civilization. Indian civilization, the most ancient civilization has a good heritage of science and technology especially in the arena of astronomy and mathematics. Indians were primarily used both mathematics and astronomy for religious purpose. Besides this, the construction of building and monuments was guided by mathematical measurements also.

The Sulba-sutra-s was the earliest codified documents for the making of mathematics, especially geometry in India. The most popular researcher in the field of astronomy and mathematics was Aryabhatta (ca.476 AD). His work 'Aryabhatiya' is a mathematical-astronomical text with four sections. The first two sections contain mathematical interpretations in arithmetic, geometry, algebra, and trigonometry and the rest two are deals with explanation of several astronomical phenomena, like the motions of the sun, moon, and planets along with computation of the solar and lunar eclipses. A number of eminent personalities were associated with the tradition of mathematical-astronomical progress during this period, such as Varahamihira (ca.505 AD), Brahmagupta (ca.598 AD), Bhaskara I (ca.600 AD), Lalla (8th century), Mahavira (ca.850 AD), Munjala (10th century), Sripati (11th century), Bhakara II(12th century.), Madhava (14th century), Parameswara (14th century), Nilakanta (15th century), Jyesthadeva (16th century), Ganesa and Daivajna (16th century) (Selin & Narasimha, 2007). Suryasiddhanta (ca. 400 A.D.) is one of the earliest well known texts regarding astronomy. It contains a number of trigonometric concepts.

Besides it, there are a lot of astronomical texts which deals with trigonometric notion and relations, like, Varahamihira's Pancha Siddhanta, Brahmagupta's Brahma Sputa Siddhanta and Siddhanta Siromoni by Bhaskara II. Aryabhata I, Brahmagupta and Munjala propounded the concept of instantaneous motion. Mahavira discussed the operations of addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division. The Rig-Veda presents several fundamental concepts related to physical science.

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Gradually, the principle of five fundamental elements i.e. Prithvi (earth), ap (water), tejas (fire), vayu (air), and akasa (a non-material substances became known, as seen in the Vedic literature of around 700 BC (Johnson, 2007). Kanada was responsible for popularization of the Nyaya-Vaisesika school.

The concept of five elements and a theory of atoms were advocated by Kanad and his followers. The practice of agriculture was fairly well developed in the Vedic period of ancient India. A very comprehensive treatise called *Krishi-Parasara* of ca.5th century AD gives a more or less detailed account of the art and science of agriculture in ancient India (Ray, 1951). It is noted that the field of science and technology bloomed largely during the pre-Christian era in India as the Great scholars were able to go on their research work in astronomy, mathematics, medicine could function under favorable social and economic conditions and with the support of religious leaders, kings and traders. But such progressive situation in respect of science and technology came to a halt since 8th century because of disharmony between the rulers and the ruled.

A notable development in astronomy, mathematics, medicine and other branches of science was noticed in medieval India. There were commercial as well as cultural relations between India and Greece and Central Asia since ancient times. With the onset of Muslims invasion in India a hybrid form of scientific and intellectual thoughts began. Sen (2009) argued that—with the establishment of the Ghaznavid and Mughal rule in India the Greek or rather more advanced Ptolemaic astronomy in an Arabic version reached in India and began to be studied and taught among the Muslim and Hindu astronomers. During the early part of the Middle Ages physics was treated as a separate discipline of study. A huge number of texts were translated into different languages.

Al-Biruni (973 AD) was one of the most remarkable scholars at this time, studied the original Sanskrit texts as the source Indian science and translated some of them into Arabic. His book *Kitab-al-Hind* presents precious information about astronomical methods and Indian

astronomers. Arabo-Persian-Greek Zij literature initiated a new development in astronomy in medieval India. Just after the Muslims invaders arrival, the introduction of use of astrolabes was started. Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq was constructed an astrolabe, known as Asturlab-i-Firoze Shahi in 1370. The mining technology, especially in iron, copper, brass, gold, and other minerals were prevalent in various parts of medieval India after the arrival of the Turko-Afghans.

The leading industry in the then India was cotton textile. The production of white paper commenced in India in the thirteenth century. The practice of alchemy appears to have begun in the seventh century. Chemistry developed mainly in the form of alchemy and iatrochemistry during 1300-1600 AD. Chemical experiments and alchemical speculations were made by the Jaina Physician Merutunga in 1386, who continued the Hindu Tradition of rasa studies (Sarton, 1975). In the field of irrigation, the large Perumamilla tank bears an inscription dated 1291 AD. Iban Battuta, gave a detailed account of the technique used in the ship manufacture during fourteenth century. Two important Sanskrit works on mathematics were Ganita Pali Kaumudi by Pandit Narayana and Ukarathya Grantha by Narana Sakha. In the field of geometry, there were two well-known treaties by the same name, Sharh-i-Uqlidas, written by two different authors- Mir Mohd. Hashim and Moulvi Muhammad Barkat (Chopra, Puri & Das, 1996). In India, the progress of weather science began in the early Rig-Vedic period.

Based on some perceptions and comprehensive considerations, the post-Vedic scholars evolved some guidelines of long-range rainfall forecasting. During the fourth century, measurement of rainfall was emerged in India. Modern science entered in India in the 1700's with the European traders, missionaries and administrators getting interested in the natural resources of India. Foreign invaders and rulers made attempts to collect information about India and its natural resources. Such attempts got momentum when the East India Company landed on the soil of India. The European colonizing powers stared at the natural resources of India under the pretext of trade settlements. From the Battle of Plassey in 1757, the British rule in India

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started. India's modern scientific development was a direct result of colonial rule as western scientific traditions were imported in India by the British in term of 'civilizing mission' (Rahman, 1999).

The East India Company (EIC) government had evinced great interest in the investigation of Indian resources and, several times, had expressed this interest in their official correspondences made with the Court of Directors. Subsequently several scientific missions had been sent to India to make investigation of Indian resources (Baber, 1996). Mainly the British promoted Botanical, Zoological, Meteorological and Geological investigations, as well as survey of India on scientific lines. The European scholars were keenly interested to continue their research work on natural history of India in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

As a result of it, the Royal Asiatic Society was established in 1784 in Calcutta and it was largely responsible to carry on scientific investigations and set up certain important scientific organisation in India. The direct result of this situation was the establishment of Botanical Garden in 1788 at Howrah to carry out systematic botanical studies in India. Researches in Indian botany commenced with the explorations of Hendrie Van Rheedee, the then Governor of Dutch possession in Malabar in the seventeenth century. His explorations on the coast of Malabar continued for about seven years and published his collections in 12 volumes entitled 'Hortus Malabaricus'. It was considered a significant contribution to botanical knowledge and was used as a reference work by the successive botanists who worked on India.

The history of meteorology in India begins with the monsoon. The Indian monsoons were first recognized by Halley in 1686 as part of the trade wind circulation (Chatterjee, Dasgupta & Ghosh, 1997). The era of scientific meteorology in India may be said to have begun with the recording of the first meteorological observations in September, 1793 at Madras observatory by Goldingham. Map of the Southern coast of India was published by the French geographer Delisle in the early eighteenth century. Extensive terrestrial survey

activities in India were started in the mid-eighteenth century. James Rennell (1742-1830) the English geographer to have systematized the work of surveying. The eminent surveyors like Plainsted, T. D. J. Pearse and Colebrooks in Bengal, R Kelly, MTopping, and C.M. Mackenzie in Madras, F. Sackville, F. White and others in upper India, produced maps and charts and survey reports.

Indian Scientific Research Tradition-Nineteenth century and Twentieth century (1801-1947)

The rise of cultural nationalism and nationalism of knowledge which come hand in hand with the resistance against imperial domination prompted Indian scientists to determine a legacy of a continuing scientific tradition in India. They increasingly represented to provide new approaches to modern science. The research work started on scientific lines in the eighteenth century but it gained rapid momentum in the nineteenth century as the Indians entered the field as Majumdar says: —The nineteenth century was the great dividing line, and these hundred years changed the face of India far more than did the preceding thousand years (Majumdar, 1961). Perceptions on and reception of modern science in nineteenth century India mainly centred round the Bengal province and North India. The East Indian Company had established an observatory at Madras in 1870 and it was the first modern public observatory outside Europe. The nineteenth century is the most remarkable period in the history of modern science in India.

The sphere of science in respect of Botany, Zoology, Geology, Meteorology, etc began to flourish in this century. The Trigonometrical Survey of India was established in 1800 and it was further expanded in 1818. William Lambton, Mackenzie, George Everest, Andrew Waugh and others had great contribution in this field. The office of the Surveyor-General in India was created in 1817 and the topographical and revenue Surveys were kept under its custody. In 1878 these were combined with the Trigonometrical Survey of India. The study of ocean storms during the 1840's is a notable landmark in the development of meteorological science in India. Henry Piddington, one of the pioneers published 40 articles on storms in the Journal of

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the Asiatic Society of Bengal during the period 1839-1855. —Sailor's Handbook of Storms penned by Piddington is a remarkable contribution to the science of storms in the nineteenth century. The trend of monsoon studies on a scientific basis began in India with the establishment of Indian Meteorological Department in 1875. The introduction of uniform procedures in observational organization and setting up of a well-coordinated centralized meteorological service proved a boon for Indian meteorology.

The second observatory in India was established by the East India Company at Bombay (Colaba) in 1823. The Calcutta observatory was set up in 1829 at the Survey of India Office building (Sen Roy & Prasad, 1997). The Geological Survey of India was established in 1851 brought a new dimension in the history of Indian science. The contribution of D H Williams, T Oldham, H B Medicott, W T Blanford and others cannot be denied. The Indian Navy Department (1832), the Indian Marine Survey Department (1874), the Indian Coastal Survey Department (1875) began to carry out marine survey work.

A number of colonial botanists before 1835 had devoted themselves to botanical investigations in India. The Agri-Horticultural Society which was established by William Carey in 1820 is the landmark of the botanical research in India. Indian Forest Department (1864), Forest Research Institute at Dehradun (1870), the Botanical Survey of India (1889) played vital role in the field of botanical research. The famous botanists of this period were W. Roxburgh, B Hamilton, N Wallich, W Griffith, Hooker, T Anderson, C B Clarke and G King, whose botanical investigations in India added a layer of excellence to global botany (Subbarayappa, 2007). Baber (1996) argues that research of Indian botany and agriculture was designed to serve better the interests of the metropolitan botanists and contribute to the reproduction of the colonial rule. The occurrence and recurrence of famines in India had been the subject of the report of the Famine Commission in 1880.

The Commission insisted strongly on the revival of the Department of Agriculture of the Government of India and on the formation in the provinces of Departments of Agriculture. These provincial departments of agriculture were briefly defined as agricultural enquiry, agricultural improvement and famine relief. J. A. Voelcker reported on Indian agriculture in 1890 that —Indian agriculture as a whole is not primitive and backward but, on the contrary, in most parts there was little or nothing that could be improved. Whenever agriculture was manifestly inferior (to Western agriculture), it was more generally as a result of the absence of facilities which existed in the better districts than of inherently bad systems of cultivation (Mitra & Chakrabarti, 2003). Zoological research in India sailed its journey with Edward Blyth, the curator of the Museum of the Asiatic Society (1841).

The Indian Museum which was the main centre of zoological research was set up in 1867. But prior to it, the Royal Asiatic Society, Calcutta (1841) was another notable centre of zoological research. Atkinson, Wood-Mason, Walsh, Sclater, Frank Finn, Alcock, James Anderson and others had great contribution in this field (Subbarayappa, 2009). In order to spread European scientific knowledge through Indian language 'The British Indian Association' was established in 1868 by Imdad Ali at Muzaffarpur and later, it was popularly known as the Bihar Scientific Society. In the history of symbiotic relationship of Indian and western scientific ideas, the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science (IACS) by Dr. Mahendra Lal Sarkar at Calcutta in 1876 is a notable establishment which came to existence in 1876. This famous institution organized a series of lectures by P N Bose, P C Ray, J C Bose, Asutosh Mookherjee, Father Lafont and many other distinguished scientists. During this century, some engineering colleges were established. In the Bombay presidency, Elphinstone founded an engineering institution in 1821. A college of engineers was established in 1855 at Madras. The Bengal Engineering College was started on the November 24, 1856.

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Originally the college has started as a part and parcel of the Public works Department under the name 'Calcutta College of Civil Engineering'. Many societies and institutions were established in the nineteenth century to enhance the range of scientific investigations. Sir James Macintosh founded the Literary Society of Bombay (later the Asiatic Society of Bombay) to carry out scientific and antiquarian researches. The establishment of the Madras Literary Society and Auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland at Madras in 1833, the Bombay Natural History Society (1833) which published many scientific research papers in its journal of natural history, played a vital role in respect of scientific research. The Department of Agriculture were formed in the provinces: Bombay (1885), Madras (1889), Shillong (1894), Allahabad and Nagpur (1895) and Bengal (1896). A Bacteriological laboratory was established in Poona in 1889 and later it was shifted to Mukteshwar in 1893.

Twentieth Century (1901-1947)

The beginning of ingenuity in all fields at national level had been observed in the last decades of the nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth century. A number of exceptional scientists were emerged during this period. In the first decade of the twentieth century, the western knowledge faced an appreciable challenge by the Indian intellectuals. The Indian science began to grow rapidly in the twentieth century. In 1902 The Board of Scientific Advice (BSA) was established with a view to coordinating the scientific work. The Government of India established the Indian Research Fund Association for medical research in 1911. The Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore was set up in the same year. Being inspired by Swadeshi movement many eminent personalities came forward to establish educational institutions, research institute, professional associations and journals Congress Association (1914), Royal Institute of Science (1920), Academy of Sciences of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, later named as National Academy of Sciences (1930), Current Science Association (1932), Indian Science News Association (1935), Indian Academy of Sciences, Bangalore (1936), and National Institute of Sciences in India, later

renamed as Indian National Science Academy (1935) and more such organisations came into being in the years to come.

The British Imperial government intended to develop India through industrialization and a high power commission under the chairmanship of Holland was formed in 1916. The Banaras Mathematical society (1918), Institution of Engineers (1920), etc were the other remarkable societies which were set up to promote research work in the various fields of science and technology. The report of the Indian Famine Commission of 1901 called the 'steady application to agricultural problems of expert research, the crying necessity of the time'. An Inspector –General of Agriculture was appointed in 1901 to oversee the scientific investigation of Indian agriculture and to supervise research in the provinces (Arnold, 2004). The establishment of the agricultural research station and experimental farm at Pusa, Bihar in 1905 took active part to promote agricultural research in India.

It was later named as Imperial Agricultural Research Institute. It was shifted to its present location in Delhi in 1936 after the severe earthquake and again the name was changed to Indian Agricultural Research Institute after independence in 1947 (Rajagopalan, 1969). Early in this century, a course of study in agriculture was instituted in the Sibpur Engineering College. The first three provincial agricultural colleges were established between 1909 and 1910; one at Sabour for the Combined provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, the second at Coimbatore and the third at Poona in Bombay. From 1908 to 1914 the Agricultural Departments was really in good condition. But during the World War I, the pace of agricultural research was slowed up. About fifty agricultural farms were established during the first decade of the twentieth century to conduct research work on various aspects of agriculture, but the number came sharply to about fifteen during 1920s and 1930s. The Government of India set up the Royal Commission on Agriculture in 1926 (Mukherjee, 1992).

Based on its report, the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research was established in 1929 with the primary objectives of promoting, guiding and coordinating agricultural research and education in India.

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The Forest Research Institute (1906) at Dehradun, the Izatnagar branch of the Bacteriological laboratory to promote science. Reference could be made, for example, of the Indian Science 73(1913), later Imperial Veterinary Institute, the Imperial Institute of Animal Husbandry and Dairying (1923) were established in order to promote science research. A large number of Central Commodity Committee dealing with research in particular crops were also set up during this century. The Indian Central Cotton Committee (1921 at Bombay, the Indian Lac Cess Committee at Ranchi (1931), the Indian Central Jute Committee at Calcutta (1936), the Indian Central Sugarcane Committee at Delhi (1944), the Indian Tobacco Committee at Madras and the Indian Central Coconut Committee at Ernakulum (1945), and the Central Oilseeds Committee at Hyderabad (1947) were established regarding this purpose (Randhawa, 1963). The most notable contributions to plant breeding were made by a number of Indian researchers such as B P Pal, RK Tandon, V Ramanathan Ayyar, G Rangaswamy Ayyanger, K Ramiah, R L Sethi and T S Venkataraman. On plant diseases, H Chaudhuri, J F Dastur, G S Kulkarni, K C Mehta and R S Vasudeva were made remarkable contribution. The research conducted by T V R Ayyar and Hem Singh Pruthi on insect pests was noteworthy. The fruit culture aspect studied by G S Cheema, S S Bhat and B N Uppal during this period.

Check your progress –

1. Who was Susrut?

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2. Who was Charaka?

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11.3 LETS SUM UP

Indian literature provides us with considerable layered evidence related to the development of science. The chronological time frame for this history is provided by the archaeological record which has been traced in an unbroken tradition to about 7000 BC. Prior to this we have records of rock paintings that are believed to be as old as 40000 BC. The earliest textual source is the Rig Veda which is a compilation of very early material. There are astronomical references in this and the other Vedic books which recall events in the third or the fourth millennium BC and earlier. The recent discovery that Sarasvati, the preeminent river of the Rig Vedic times, went dry around 1900 BC due to tectonic upheavels implies that the Rig Veda is to be dated prior to this epoch. According to traditional history, Rig Veda is prior to 3100 BC.

Indian writing goes back to the beginning of the third millennium BC. The later historical script called Brahmi evolved out of this writing. The invention of the symbol for zero appears to have been made around 50 BC to 50 AD.

11.4 KEYWORDS

Vaidya, Sushrut , Charaka, Ayurveda, Iron Pillar

11.5 QUESTION FOR REVIEW

1. Discuss about science in Ancient India.
2. Discuss the advent of science in 19th century.

11.6 SUGGESTED READINGS

Johnson, W. T. (2007). Physics. In H. Selin,& R. Narasimha (Eds.),Encyclopaediaof classical Indian sciences: Natural science, technology, medicine(pp.324-328).Hyderabad: Universities Press.

Kumar, R. P. (1985). Research periodicals of colonial India. New Delhi: Academic publications.

11.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Hint – 11.2

2. Hint – 11.2

UNIT 12 - COLONIAL SCIENCE

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U.N.BRAHMACHARI

STRUCTURE

12.0 Objective

12.1 Introduction

12.2 Colonial Science

12.3 Lets Sum Up

12.4 Keywords

12.5 Questions For Review

12.6 Suggested Readings

12.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

12.0 OBJECTIVE

To learn about the development of science through European contact in India To know its long term impact

12.1 INTRODUCTION

Entering its modern era with the arrival of the English, India in the last two centuries has witnessed a renaissance of its science and a proper appreciation of the past achievements.

Some of the most important scientists born in the 19th century who made international mark are Jagadish Bose (1858- 1937) in electromagnetics and plant life, Srinivas Ramanujan (1887- 1920) in mathematics, Chandrasekhar Venkata Raman (1888- 1970) in physics, Meghnad Saha (1893- 1956) in astrophysics, and Satyendra Bose (1894- 1974) in

quantum theory. More recent contributions of Indian science are part of the story of the contemporary world science.

12.2 COLONIAL SCIENCE

Since 1920, a continually increasing amount of work, in all branches of botany has been done by the staffs of the botany departments of the universities and the colleges affiliated to them. The foundation of the Indian Botanical Society in 1921 and the publication of its journal has been an additional stimulus to the progress of botany in India (Agharkar, 1938). Botanical Society of Bengal was founded by G C Bose, in 1935 in Calcutta. Bose Research Institute was founded in Calcutta in 1917 by J C Bose for extensive research of the many ever opening problems of the emerging science which includes both life and non-life. This institute played a significant role regarding plant physiology research. The Agricultural Research Institute of the Benaras Hindu University was formed to train the post-graduate students, and research in agricultural plant physiology. The Institute of Plant Industry at Indore and The Vivekananda Laboratory, Almora has also carried out valuable plant physiological work.

Work on algae has been done mainly at Madras under M O P Iyenger, at Lahore under S L Ghose, at Calcutta by K Biswas and by J C Banerji of the Calcutta University, by M R Handa at Rangoon, and by Y Bharadwaja at Benaras. Other mentionable researchers in this domain were B C Kundu of Rajshahi, B P Pal of New Delhi and S C Dixit of Bombay (Rao,1985).Mycological study has been done in India mainly by the universities of the Punjab, Agra, Allahabad, Calcutta and Lucknow. At the botanical laboratory in Lahore, H Chaudhuri, at Agra K C Mehta, at Allahabad K L Saksena, J Mitter,at Calcutta S R Bose, S N Banerji, S Dasgupta and S L Ajrekar have done a considerable work. During this period, a fair amount of works relating to the study of the Gymnosperms and Angiosperms have been done in India. Some noteworthy researches were made by P N Mehra, S L Ghose, G P Majumdar, R L Chopra, P Maheswari, P C Kanjilal, M A Sampathkumaran, PV

Mayuranathan, S R Kashyap and others (Agharkar, 1938). Though the geological studies were initiated by the Europeans to harness the natural resources of the country for their own benefit, they contributed substantially to the development of the subject in India on modern lines through organized research, education, documentation and dissemination of information through varieties of publications, services, etc.

The geological research was primarily conducted by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Geological Survey of India (GSI) and the Geological departments of one or two states. The Geological, Mining and Metallurgical Society of India was set up in 1924 in Calcutta. Among other noteworthy geological studies may be mentioned the studies made by B Sahni, M S Krishnan, B Rama Rao, D N Wadia, P K Ghosh, M R Sahni and V P Sondhi. Many papers discussing geological aspects associated with coalfields were published in the journals like Transactions of the Mining and Geological Institute of India and in the Quarterly Journal of the Geological, Mining and Metallurgical Society of India (Wadia, 1938). The systematic upper air observations began only from 1905 onward. Radio sound was introduced in the upper air measurements during the Second World War period was a remarkable invention in the field of science.

Modern mathematics had swayed over the indigenous mathematics during the colonial rule in India. The study and research in mathematics on modern line began in India rather late. Among the pioneers of mathematical research in India in the twentieth century, the name of the Ganesh Prasad, Hardinge Professor of Mathematics in the Calcutta University, deserves special reference. He published his first paper 'On the potentials of ellipsoids of variable densities' as early as 1900. His proficiency in applied mathematics, especially in the theory of potentials and theory of functions is noteworthy.

The most distinguished mathematician that India has ever produced in modern times was S Ramanujan. Most of his work was concerned with the theory of numbers (Sen, 1938). The most remarkable

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contributions to geometry were made by a number of researchers such as S. Mukhopadhyaya, R C Bose, A Narasingha Rao, H Balakram, D D Kosambi and P Ganapati. A large number of researchers have contributed in algebra and algebraic equation, such as R Vaidyanathaswamy, S Chakravarti, S S Pillai, S Chowla, and P O Upadhyaya. In case of differential and integral equations, some noteworthy works have been done by S C Dhar, R S Verma, C N Srinivasienger and J C Swaminarayan. The Theory of functions and infinite series were studied by K Ananda Rau, K V Iyenger, V Ganapathy Ayer, H P Banerji, P N Mitra, B N Prasad and S C Mitra. The domain of theory of numbers and arithmetical functions was enriched by V Ramesam, N B Mitra, H Balakram, F C Auluck, S D Chowla, R Vaidyanathaswamy and H Gupta (Behari, 2013).

The two societies which have been entirely devoted to mathematics in India are the Calcutta Mathematical Society and the Indian Mathematical Society, founded almost simultaneously in 1907-8. The journals published by them are respectively the Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society and the Journal of the Indian Mathematical Society. Besides these, mathematical papers, almost on all subjects, appear in the following journals: Indian Journal of Physics, Proceedings of the Indian Academy of Science: Mathematical Sciences, Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, Proceedings of the Indian National Science Academy: Part A.

Physical Sciences,

The Indian Physico-Mathematical Journal, Bombay University Journal, Bulletin of the Patna Science College philosophical society, the half-yearly journal of Mysore University, etc (Sen, 1938). Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis, by 1931, he was able to establish the Indian Statistical Institute (ISI) in Calcutta. By 1933, its journal, Sāṅkhyā: The Indian Journal of Statistics was founded. The ISI created a Statistical Publishing Society in 1935 which published its journal and other publications. During 1945-46, a special training course in statistical quality control, the first of its kind in India, was arranged at the ISI. With initiative of Mahalanobis and active support of Dr Shyama

Prasad Mukherjee, then President of the Councils of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts and Science in the University of Calcutta, a course in statistics was introduced there at the postgraduate level in 1941, with Mahalanobis as its Honorary Head.

The Indian mathematicians continued to do appreciable work in several branches of mathematics. Some of them were K Anand Rau, S S Pillai, S Chowla, T Vijayaraghavan, K Chandrashekharan, and S Minakshisundaram (Seth, 1963). The first contribution to physics from India to receive attention in Europe was made by the Jagadish Chandra Bose in 1895. He carried out a number of remarkable investigations on the generation of ultra short electric waves and studied their properties. The first great impetus towards organized study of the physical science was given by the establishment of the University College of Science, due to the far-sighted vision, and untiring energy of Sir Ashutosh Mookherjee and out of endowments given by two Calcutta lawyers, Sir Tarak Nath Palit and Sir Rash Behari Ghose. It is remarkable that almost all the prominent personalities in Physics in the then India, viz., C V Raman, D M Bose, S K Mitra, S N Bose, M N Saha, P N Ghosh, B B Ray were at some epoch of their life, connected with this institution. The IACS was converted into an important centre for researches in physics in 1915 by Sir C V Raman. In 1930, the Mahendralal Sircar Professorship, a professorship in physics was founded through the donation given by Rai Bahadur Beharilal Mitra.

Other donations which have helped in the cultivation of physical science are the endowment given by the Kumar Guruprasad Singh of Khaira to the Calcutta University, the endowments of various princes of India to the Universities of Aligarh and Benaras, and the endowments by the citizens of Bombay for the Royal College of Science, Bombay. Applied physics teaching and research was started in the University College of Science, Calcutta in the late 1920s (Saha, 1938). Indian Physical Society was founded in 1934 in Calcutta to promote and uphold the cause of physical science. An intensive study of diffraction phenomenon was started by Raman in 1917, in collaboration with S K Mitra, N M Basu and others. In the

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experimental Investigations of scattering of light were carried out by Raman and his co-workers since 1919 till the end of 1927 in Calcutta. Prof. M N Saha researches on astrophysics date from the year 1919 at the University College of Science, Calcutta. S. Chandrasekhar's works on this discipline were started in 1928. Some other notable researchers in this domain were N R Sen, D S Kothari, V V Narlikar and S M Sulaiman.

The most remarkable contributions on magnetism were made by K S Krishnan, D P Ray Chaudhury, M Ramanadhan and V I Vaidyanathan. Researches on the ionosphere were started by S K Mitra along with his pupils, H Rakshit, P Syam and J N Bhar in the University College of Science, Calcutta, in 1928. Since 1934, the study of ionosphere was also carried out at Allahabad University under the guidance of Prof. M N Saha by Dr. GR Toshnowal and his colleague B D Pant, R R Bajpai, R N Rai and K B Mathur. In the domain of modern metal physics, the name of R C Majumder, N K Saha, M Sengupta, D V Gogate, were mentionable. On the experimental physics, systematic study of the duration of contact as made by M. Ghosh, D Banerjee, R Ganguli, R N Ghosh, S Dhar, S K Datta, K C Kar and S C Laha. The optical anisotropy of crystals has been studied by S Bhagvantam, K L Narasinhham, S R Savur, M Ramanadhan and S M Mitra (Banerjee, 1953). India has only two astronomical observatories: the Nizamiah Observatory, Hyderabad (founded in 1908), engaged in international photographic mapping of heavens and astrographic work and the Solar Observatory, Kodaikanal (founded in 1895 by Lord Wenlock), mainly for astronomical observations and spectroscopic work. The beginning of the twentieth century opened up a new horizon in chemical researches and studies. P.C. Ray, Chuni Lal Bose, R.D. Phookan, P Ray, R C Ray, P B Sarkar conducted notable researches in the field of inorganic chemistry and physical chemistry (Ghosh, 1938).

Under the most adverse situation P.C. Ray established the first full-fledged chemical laboratory in Calcutta in the University College of Science and the Bengal Chemical Of Pharmaceutical Works Ltd. in Calcutta. The Alembic Chemical Works in 1905 at Baroda was

established by J.K.Gajjar. The Plague Research Laboratory set up in Bombay in 1896 under Haffkine institute, started a biochemistry section in 1924. The Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works initiated by Acharya P C Ray started functioning in 1903 at Calcutta. The Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine and the All India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, the two important centers for biochemical research were established in 1920 and 1933 respectively.

The Department of Biochemistry was established at the University of Madras in 1933 and studies were initiated on proteins. At about the same time the Food Technology Section (1934) was started in the Department of Chemical Technology of Bombay University. We should mention Hemendra Kumar Sen, Nil Ratan Dhar, Biman Behari Dey, Biresh Chandra Guha and others who contributed to the beginning of biochemistry in India. In 1935 and 1936 biochemical researches were initiated at the Bengal Immunity Research Institute, Calcutta and at the National Sugar Institute, Kanpur respectively. Indian Chemical Society (1924) and Institution of Chemists (1927) were set up to promote research work in the chemistry.

The Society of Biological Chemists, India formed in 1930. The society started publishing Annual Review of Biochemical and Allied Research on biochemical researches carried out in India from 1931 (Agrawal, 2014). Fowler and his Indian associates, Ganesh Vaman Joshi, A G Gokhale, M Srinivasiah, V Subrahmaniam, Prafulla Chandra Guha and others conducted biochemical research at the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore. The first decade of the twentieth century saw the commencement of nutrition research in India. Two medical officers of the Indian Medical Service, D. McCay and R McCarrison, who initiated nutrition research in this country. The 'Central Research Laboratory' was established in 1905 at Kasauli for the scientific study of the etiology. The Nutrition Research Laboratory (NRL) at Coonoor (1929) was the only institution in India devoted to researches in human nutrition. At this centre, Aykroyd and Krishnan undertook analysis of different foodstuffs and conducted their diet surveys; Patwardhan,

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Ranganathan, Sundararajan and Swaminathan worked on different areas of nutrition. The Biochemistry and Nutrition section at the All India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health at Calcutta opened in 1933.

The 'Nutrition Advisory Committee' of the Indian Research Fund Association was set up in 1936 (Sen, 2002). The alkali industry under Tata's patronage and Tata Chemicals Ltd. were also set up in 1937 by Vakil. A number of scientific journals started to publish research articles on biochemistry in the early thirties in India. The notable were Journal of Indian Institute of Science (1930), Current Science (1932), Journal of Indian Chemical Society (1933) and Journal of National Institute of Sciences (1934) among others (Ramasarma, 2007). In case of zoological research, the pace of progress was at first slow because of the scarcity of workers in this century. There were no organized institutions to foster or stimulate the pursuit of zoological research except the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Bombay Natural History Society. The only institutions of zoological research under official control were the Natural History Museums at Calcutta and Madras. With the birth of the Indian Science Congress, Zoology came to occupy its rightful place amongst the science subjects taught in the universities.

Apart from the universities, several institutions were also engaged in zoological research. Among these may be mentioned the Imperial Agricultural Research Institute (Pusa), the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute (Muktesar), the Imperial Forest Research Institute (Dehra Dun), the Locust Research Institute (Karachi), the Imperial Sugarcane Breeding station (Coimbatore), the Helminthological Institute (Rangoon) and the Madras Museum and Fisheries departments. In 1916 the zoological and anthropological sections of Indian Museum were converted into the Zoological Survey of India. The Entomological Society of India was founded in 1938 in Delhi. The marine zoology have been dealt with by numerous researchers including R G Aiyar, P R Awati, B L Chaudhuri, M G K Menon, B Prashad, H S Rao, S B Setna and others. The study of helminthology have attracted the attention of a number of researchers in India

such as G D Bhalerao, M N Datta, L N Johri, H R Mehra, M B Mirza, H D Srivastava, G S Thapar and S C Verma. The entomology has received very considerable attention by a fair amount of researchers. Among others, the notable were T V R Ayyar, M S Mani, D Mukherji, H S Pruthi, M A H Qadri and Y R Rao. Our knowledge of the freshwater fishes has been augmented by the researches of N Annandale, H Chaudhuri, S L Hora and D Mukherji. Several contributions dealing with the general morphology of animals by R G Aiyar, K N Bahl, J L Bhaduri, M L Bhatia, G C Chatterjee, B K Das, C P Gnanamuthu, K R Menon, H K Mookerjee, N K Panikkar, L S Ramaswami and H N Ray among others have been made.

The problems of cytology have been studied by B Viswanath, D R Bhattacharya and M K Subrahmaniam (Rao, 1938). The Indian Irrigation Commission (1901-03) provided a fillip to irrigation development. The Central Board of Irrigation was constituted in 1925 in order to study and coordinate the research work of irrigation problems. Several research institutes on irrigation were established during 1924 to 1933 at different places in India, such as, in Amritsar, Roorkee, Poona, etc. The Institution of Engineers (1920) was the remarkable organisation which was set up to promote research work in the engineering. There was a steady progress in mechanical railway engineering technique during this period. In 1930, a Hydraulic research laboratory was opened at Karachi for testing small models of various structures and a large number of experiments on these aspects have been carried out. The experiments on river models have been conducted at the Hydro-dynamic Research Station at Khadakvasla, near Poona and at the Punjab Irrigation Research Institute, Lahore. A N Khosla, N K Bose, Vaidhianathan, A N Puri were the notable ones (Ash, 1938).

In 1938 Subhas Chandra Bose, the President of Congress party formed a National Planning Committee (NPC) under the chairmanship of Jawaharlal Nehru to promote modern science and technology in India. But this tremendous effort in the interest of the nation suffered a setback because of the outbreak of the Second World War and the internal political disturbance. To suppress the

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rising struggle for independence the British government tried to exploit the socio-cultural diversities of India and divide the scientific community based on religion, caste and creed i.e. applied the 'Divide and Rule' policy (Sinha, 2008).

The visit of Prof. A. V. Hill who was deputed by the Royal Society to assess the development of Scientific and industrial research in India was a remarkable event at that period. He observed the lack of interest in scientific and industrial research. After that an industrial research planning committee which was also known as Shammukham Chetty committee was formed by the governing body of CSIR in 1943. Many noted Indian industrialists and scientists became its members. The main task of the committee was to make a survey on existing scientific and industrial research in India in the universities, research institutions and laboratories attached to industrial and other concerns and developing a scheme of coordinated expansion of research institutions in the states and other research establishments (Moorehouse, 1971).

The committee presented a report early in 1945 on the co-ordination, direction and development of scientific research in general on modern lines in post-war India.

Science Education

Education had been known to Indian since long time. So wrote F. W. Thomas in his 'The History and prospect of British education in India' in 1891, —where the love of learning had so early an origin or has exercised so lasting and powerful an influence. From the simple poets of the Vedic age to the Bengali philosopher of the present day has been an uninterrupted succession of teachers and scholars (Ghosh, 2009). The base of Indian education since the Vedic age is classical and spiritual rather than of practical in nature. Ample examples are found in Sanskrit literature in this regard. The Buddhist reformers made more emphasis on education and religion to make them popular. The Chinese travelers and the Pail texts are the evidence in its favour and the vast monastery of Nalanda appeared as a seat of

learning in the seventh century A.D. After the Muslim conquest, the mosque became the centre of learning and instruction.

Broadly speaking, there emerged three different types of educational institutions in ancient India which the culture of the country preserved and propagated itself. Firstly, there was the normal system under which the teacher, as a settled householder, admitted to his instruction pupils of tender age; secondly, there was another type of institutions which ministered to the never-to-be satisfied needs of the advanced students and the third type of institutions developed for the spread of learning. Besides the small circles of philosophical disputants, and parishads or academics, of different localities, there was occasionally summoned by a great king a national gathering or congress in which the representative thinkers of the country of various schools were invited to meet and exchange their views (Mookerjee, 1922). In 1600 the main intention of the British was related to commerce and then it expanded its influence in the arena of administration and politics. The company had shown no interest to spend money to spread the light of education among the Indians till the mid-nineteenth century. Their interest grew only to translate English textbooks into Sanskrit and Arabic, and to establish English schools and colleges.

The Christian missionaries began to teach Western subjects through the medium of English and these missionaries began their journey in the sixteenth century. Scientific and technical education was totally neglected in India. The East India Company wanted to produce clerks and administrators to run its administration in India. With the intention to preserve laws, literature and religion, the Calcutta Madrasa (1781) and a Sanskrit College (1798) at Benaras were established (Kumar, 1984).—It is common remark that science and literature are in a progressive state of decay amongst the natives of India...The number of the learned is not only diminished; but the circle of learning, even among those who still devote themselves to it, appears to be considerably contracted. The abstract sciences are abandoned, polite literature neglected, and no branch of learning

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cultivated but what is connected with the peculiar religions doctrines of the people...l (Adam's Report, 1868).

But, science education occurred earlier in India than in Britain because:

- i) there was no tradition of a classical curriculum to stand in the way of science in the company's schools; and
- ii) knowledge of science would aid in the productivity of and improve the conditions of life in India, which to the British, was in much need of improvement (Larwood, 1958). In spite of the Company's negligence private individuals and organisations came forward to establish schools. The Calcutta School Book Society (1817) and the Hindu College (1817) were notable of them. Two approaches in respect of education were advocated to the Governor General, Lord William Bentinck. Some educationists i.e. Orientalists favoured the requirement of teaching in Indian languages and promoting oriental learning and Anglicists, stressed on English education.

But the British government expressed their view in favour of English education. As a result of it a radical change came in all spheres of society. Persian was abolished as the language of record and English language took its place. In the first two decades of the nineteenth century, education given to the Indian was limited to languages and English was not the medium of instruction. The Hindu College, Calcutta (later Presidency College) was an exception where emphasis was given on English and other subjects like astronomy, arithmetic and chemistry were taught. A science college was established in Calcutta in 1814. Based on Macaulay report (1835) many educational institutions were established with the accessibility to western science. By the mid nineteenth century European scientists started coming to India. The British realized that they need well-trained Indians in the field of S&T for their own sake. The local governments, especially Bengal did not want to give up vernacular education in spite of great disadvantage in the sphere of promotion and financial support. Vernacular primary schools began to establish in the remote

areas with an intention to introduce English at higher level of education. The first Indian universities (in Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras) came into existence in the mid-1850s. But, the medium of teaching in preparatory schools and university level was in English. Only in the late nineteenth century, more emphasis was given on Indian languages and culture in Indian education.

In Wood's dispatch (1854), both liberal and paternalist strands were woven together into the proposed fabric of a complete system of education for India. This Despatch marked the beginning of Mass Education which was a departure from the Filtration Theory. It is considered as the "Magna Carta of English Education in India" (Edwards, 1967). Since Wood's Despatch, a number of committees and commissions had been appointed by the colonial government to examine the problems of education in India from time to time. Of all, the most important was perhaps the Hunter Commission (1880-1882) (Sen, 1989). The Hunter Commission of 1882 strongly criticized the academic and theoretical character of Indian education and suggested for the introduction of technical education even at the secondary stage. Between 1850 and 1900-only five universities were established in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Allahabad and Punjab. Science education suffered because of lack of employment and promotional opportunities in the scientific departments, which the Government had carefully kept as a close preserve for Europeans and Eurasians (Mitra, 1896).

During the last decade of the nineteenth century, demand for technical and scientific education was increasing in India. The College of Engineering and Technology at Jadavpur in 1906 was established by the National Council of Education. It first started a diploma course in mechanical engineering in 1908 and then introduced a course in chemical engineering in 1921. Then J R D Tata established the Indian Institute of Science (IIS) at Bangalore in 1909. In 1915, the IIS started a certificate course and an associateship course (at degree level) in electrical engineering. The educational Code and the Universities Act introduced by the Governor-General Curzon in 1904 brought forth a

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unitary and centralized system of education in India. In the first decade of the twentieth century in India, 85% of students graduating did so in Arts, 9% in Medicine, 4% in engineering and only 2% in science. The number of college students, however continued to increase from 17356 in 1907 to 61200 in 1917 (Edwards, 1967). Asutosh Mookherjee played a vital role to introduce science teaching and research at the University of Calcutta which started post-graduate teaching and research in 1916. From the second decade, the establishment of the universities picked up pace and in 1920s, almost every year saw the establishment of one university (Sen, 2005).

University of Calcutta started the Department of Chemistry, physics, mathematics and geology in 1914, 1917, 1919 and 1925 respectively. The Banaras Hindu University (1916) which was established Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya took initiative to promote both the modern and traditional sciences and technology side by side. The new Indian constitution was published in 1921 and education-related all issues were transferred from the British to Indian control. State or provincial governments were mainly responsible to take decision about education related subjects (Grigorenko, 2007). As early as 1924, a conference of Indian universities set up an inter-university board to establish, among other things, standardization of academic qualifications (Edwards, 1967). In 1936-37 the government invited two expert advisers, A. Abbot and S. H. Wood, to prepare a report on —certain problems of educational reorganization and particularly on problems of vocational and technical education. In 1939, just after Second World War started, the colonial government of India started a massive training scheme known as —War Technicians Training Schemes on a nationwide basis for the first time in 1940 (Sen, 1989).

The Second World War made an adverse effect on the promotion of scientific and technical education. The Sargent Committee in 1944 strongly expressed its view for the expansion of technical and vocational education in India. Meanwhile, a committee was formed under the chairmanship of N. R. Sarkar to suggest steps for

development of higher technical education. The All India Council for Technical Education (AICTE), the most important body to provide the central and state governments' necessary advice in respect of technical education came into existence on November, 1945

During last years of British India, educational facilities continued to expand. The number of colleges offering higher education increased from 425 in 1940-41 to 593 in 1945-46 (Purkait, 1999).
3.3 Origin and Growth of Scientific Periodicals
The origins of modern scientific periodicals lie in the development of the newspaper and the establishment of the scientific society. During the first fifty years of the seventeenth century the 'hidden college', informal network of philosophers were developed through personal contact and private written communication. These colleges were to become the formalized academics and societies which started to record and disseminate knowledge of experiments of their members in minute books and through written communication between members.

Although the well-structured scientific papers as it is known today did not appear until after the establishment of the specialized scientific journal (Houghton, 1975). By 1660 the men of science recognized that they were dependent on private correspondence to keep abreast of the new knowledge being discovered throughout the world. The first scientific journal was the French journal —*Journal des Scavans*—, published January 5, 1665. It consisted of 20 pages, and it contained ten articles, letters, and notes. This was followed by the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* in March 6, 1665.

It consisted of 16 pages, and it contained nine articles (Porter, 1964). Many of the journals which appeared in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries floundered after one or two years and in many cases after one or two issues. A significant reason for their early demise is that they were not underpinned by a sponsoring society. Other constricting factors on the growth of the journal literature were inherent in the social condition at that time. Material was difficult to obtain because of problems in communications and there was a limit to the scientific output of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries while

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a tradition of scientific research was being established. Only 35 journals focused on the sciences commenced between 1665 and 1699, but most did not last and have little studied (Kronick, 1976). By the end of the seventeenth century, about 30 scientific and medical periodicals had been established (Porter, 1964). In another study, Garrison (1934) estimated that out of 755 titles which appeared

up to the close of the eighteenth century 401 were German, 96 French, 50 English, 43 Dutch and 37 Swiss.

According to Prutz (1845) the first abstracting journal appeared in 1714 —to provide the learned with literary treasures hidden in the latest issues of 40 periodicals.

The journal had become the accepted medium of scientific communication by the middle of the eighteenth century and its functions were becoming clearly identifiable. In United States of America (USA), publications of the scientific journals started around 1800's. As in Europe, there were no specialized journal here also for quite some time and the journals were multi-disciplinary to begin with. Scientific journals both in Europe and the USA were started either by an individual, institution or a learned society. To get adequate exposure to work the author used to send their paper to more than one journal. This practice prevailed during seventeenth and eighteenth century and only later in the nineteenth century, it was opposed by many scientists (Manten, 1980).

In 1934, the World List of Scientific Periodicals listed over 36000 titles, in contrast to the 1400 indexed by the Royal Society in the early 1860s. English was the language of almost 14000 of these titles, with another 11000 titles being issued in either German or French (Sherington 1934).

According to Mabe (2003), the growth rate of active peer reviewed scholarly and scientific journals has been almost constant at 3.46% per annum for most of the last three centuries. This means that the number of active journals has been doubling every 20 years'. List of Scientific journal (Chronological development) Jan 5, 1665---The Journal Des Scavans----De Sallo, French May 6, 1665---Philosophical Transactions---

-The Royal Society, London 1670-1705---Miscellanea Curiosa---The Collegium Natural Cuiosum, German 1746---The Botanical Magazine (continue as Curtis's Botanical Magazine) 1788---The Asiatick Researches---Calcutta 1789---Annales de Chemie (Oldest in continuous existence) 1790---Journal des Physik 1798---Philosophical Magazine---England 1829---Gleanings in Science--Calcutta Nov, 1869---Nature---USA

Indian Scenario

Till the end of seventeenth century only one or two Europeans were taking interest in scientific pursuit in addition to their normal activities. In the eighteenth-century it is found that with the increase of British control over the Indian soil, mainly after 1757, more and more Europeans, especially British, were engaging themselves in scientific studies. After 1850, due to several factors and infrastructures, there was an increase in the publication of periodicals in India. Factors like introduction of new system of education in several new subjects particularly sciences and engineering, the emergence of printing industry, the expansion of postal system and railway system made possible to start a considerable number of new periodicals of all subjects during the period. Almost 125 years after the first journal was started in France, the first journal was published in India. The foundation of the Asiatic Society (1784) by William Jones in Calcutta was the most important milestone towards the launching of a learned periodical from India. By 1788 the first learned periodical from India, namely Asiatick Researches (AR) was published. The advent of Asiatick Researches, no doubt, heralded the beginning of learned periodical publication in the country.

More than 350 papers appeared covering almost each branch of knowledge known at the time were published in the life span of the Asiatick Researches. Of the papers, 219 (62%) were devoted to various branches of science, which clearly indicates that the periodical was predominantly scientific (Kumar, 1985). However, the scientific periodicals in the truest sense of the term began to appear from

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1820s. In this respect, the various societies played significant role in the launching and nurturing scientific periodicals. The Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India established in 1820 by William Carey. The 'Transactions' of this society was the first agricultural periodical from India. The Medical and Physical Society of Calcutta was founded in 1823. Its 'Transactions' was also the first medical periodical started to publish from 1825.

Gleaning in Science (1829) is the first English periodical from India devoted to science in general. The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (JASB) (1832) possibly was the most important periodical and carried a very large number of scientific contributions from distinguished scientists of the time. The two learned societies at Madras and at Bombay were established following the example of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. Consequently, two learned periodicals were come into existence, namely the Journal of Literature and Science (1833), the organ of the Madras Literary Society was also carried numerous learned articles devoted to various branches of science and the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (JBBRAS) started in 1841 under the auspices of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.

From 1820 to 1857, there were 81 scientific periodicals published from India (Sen, 2002). The various survey departments brought out their publications, such as Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India (1856), Records of the Geological Survey of India (1867), etc. It is very much noticeable that during the nineteenth century, there were no special journals devoted only to physics, chemistry or mathematics. On an average 37 scientific periodicals were published per annum during 1901-1947 (Sen, 2005). An exhaustive list of journals on science and technology published in India during the 1780-1947 has been listed by Neelameghan (1963), Kumar (1985), Sen (2002 & 2005).

Some of the important journals started during the period under study were:

Notable Indian Scientific Journals:

Transactions of the Medical and Physical Society of Calcutta (1825-1845)

Transactions of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India (1829-1840)

The Gleaning in science (1829-1831)

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1832-)

Journal of Literature and Science (Contd. as Madras Journal of Literature and Science) (1833/34-1894)

Calcutta Journal of Natural History (1840-1847)

Journal of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India (1842-1891)

Memoirs of Geological Survey of India (1856-1929)

Records of Geological Survey of India (1868-1904)

Indian Forester (1875-)

Journal of Bombay Natural History Society (1886-1939)

Agricultural Journal of India (1906-1930)

Transaction of the Mining and Geological Institute of India (1906-1936)

Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society (1909-)

Journal, Indian Mathematical Society (1911-1933)

Journal of the Indian Institute of Science (1914-)

Proceedings of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science (1915-1925)

Journal of the Indian Botanical Society (1923-)

Transactions of the Bose Research Institute (1918 -)

Journal of the Department of Science, University of Calcutta (1919 – 1946) Journal of Indian Chemical Society (1924-)

Current Science (1932-)-Proceedings of the Indian Academy of Science (1934-) Science and Culture (1935-)

Check your progress –

1. Who was Dr U N Brahmachari?

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2. Who was Dr Shyama Prasad Mukherjee

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12.3 LETS SUM UP

Colonization was not merely a political phenomenon; it had far-reaching economic and cultural ramifications. It was an exercise in power, control, and domination. Scientific and technological changes greatly facilitated this progress. Techno-science and colonialism are closely linked and to some extent share a cause and effect relationship. In recent years a good deal of work has been done on the nature, course, and consequence of this relationship in different geographical and culture areas. Some scholars see in it utilitarian and developmental images; many others find it utterly exploitative, while some prefer to opt for a middle path and emphasize both the regenerative and retrogressive aspects of the science and colonization nexus. So the debate continues, and several works have appeared with case studies on Africa, Latin America, and Asia. India, being a prime example of classic colonization, has also received considerable attention.

12.4 KEYWORDS

Colonialism, Research, Industrialisation, Journals

12.5 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Discuss about the Indian science journals.
2. Discuss about the renowned Indian scientists.

12.6 SUGGESTED READINGS

Sinha, J. N. (2008). Science, war and imperialism. The Netherlands: Brill.

Subbarayappa, B. V. (2009). Western science in India up to independence. In D. M. Bose, S. N. Sen, & B. V. Subbarayappa (Eds.). A concise history of science in India(2nd ed., pp. 693-701). New Delhi: Indian National Science Academy.

Subbarayappa, B. V. (Ed.)(2007). Science in India: Past and present. Mumbai: Nehru Center.

Wadia, D. N. (1938). Progress of geology and geography in India during the past twenty-five years,

In B. Prasad (Ed.),The progress of sciences in India during the past twenty five years(pp. 86-132). Calcutta: The Asiatic Society

12.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Hint – 12.2
2. Hint – 12.2

UNIT 13 – INDIAN PRINCELY STATES

STRUCTURE

13.0 Objectives

13.1 Introduction

13.2 Indian Princely States

13.3 Lets Sum Up

13.4 Keywords

13.5 Questions for Review

13.6 Suggested Readings

13.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

13.0 OBJECTIVES

To learn about the status of princely states

To know how princely states were intergrated

13.1 INTRODUCTION

In the run-up to independence, the key question engaging the thoughts and energies of the leaders of the Indian National Congress was the nature and shape of the new state or states that would supplant the Raj. The demand for the creation of Pakistan was, of course, the central issue. But it was not the only one. Even after the Congress leadership agreed to partition and to the establishment of Pakistan, the political geography of the new Indian state remained unclear. For the political and administrative structure of the Raj had rested on two pillars: the provinces directly ruled by the British, and the indirectly ruled princely

States. The 'partition plan', however, dealt only with the provinces, and did not offer a clear resolution of the fate of the princely states (hereafter referred to as states)

13.2 INDIAN PRINCELY STATES

In the run-up to independence, the key question engaging the thoughts and energies of the leaders of the Indian National Congress was the nature and shape of the new state or states that would supplant the Raj. The demand for the creation of Pakistan was, of course, the central issue. But it was not the only one. Even after the Congress leadership agreed to partition and to the establishment of Pakistan, the political geography of the new Indian state remained unclear. For the political and administrative structure of the Raj had rested on two pillars: the provinces directly ruled by the British, and the indirectly ruled princely states. The 'partition plan', however, dealt only with the provinces, and did not offer a clear resolution of the fate of the princely states (hereafter referred to as states). In 1947, there were nearly 600 states of varying size and importance. They ranged from Kashmir and Hyderabad, which approximated France in area and population, to principalities which were barely larger than a village. Together they formed a major chunk of pre-1947 India, accounting for two-fifths of the population and a third of the area of the empire in India. The future of the states, therefore, held momentous consequences for the subcontinent once the British decided to quit. Between 1947 and 1949, the Indian government succeeded in incorporating an overwhelming majority of the states in the new union. Much of the existing literature holds that by the mid-1930s or the early 1940s the princely order was doomed to extinction (for example, Manor 1978; Rangaswami 1981). The underlying explanations tend to accord broadly with contemporary Indian nationalists' view of the states as anachronistic autocracies incapable of surviving in the post-colonial age. Such a teleological view has been challenged by more recent scholarship. Ian Copland has argued that the dissolution of the states was a much more contingent process the cumulative outcome of numerous errors committed by individuals acting

under pressure and uncertainty. Copland's examination of the choices made by the princes in 1947 and after is cursory, and tends to overlook the importance of the wider political currents that shaped these choices. But he certainly undercuts the inevitability thesis. More importantly, the meta phor of 'integration' is misleading insofar as it suggests a smooth historical progression and underplays the coercive dimensions of the process. Indeed, the most interesting cases of the Indian government's interaction with the states pertain to those that resisted integration.

Princely India and the Raj

The political relationship between the British and the states can be traced back to the mid-18th century when the East India Company began establishing diplomatic relations with Indian kingdoms. By mid-19th century most of the major kingdoms were linked to the Company by treaty. More important, by this time the central elements of what came to be known as 'paramountcy' were in place. A vague and ill-defined term, paramountcy included among other things a system of British 'Residents' in princely states, control over the states' foreign affairs, and the regulation of succession within such states. If the princely order survived without being subsumed within the colonial bloc, it was mainly owing to their strategic importance to the Raj first during the upheaval of 1857 and more importantly during the First World War.

CHALLENGES

At the hour of midnight on 14-15 August 1947, India attained independence. Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of free India, addressed a special session of the Constituent Assembly that night. This was the famous 'tryst with destiny' speech that you are familiar with. This was the moment Indians had been waiting for. You have read in your history textbooks that there were many voices in our national movement. But there were two goals almost everyone agreed upon: one, that after Independence, we shall run our country through democratic government; and two, that the government will be run for the good of all, particularly the poor and the socially disadvantaged groups. Now that the country was independent, the time had come to realise the promise of freedom. This was not going to be easy. India was born in very difficult

circumstances. Perhaps no other country by then was born in a situation more difficult than that of India in 1947. Freedom came with the partition of the country. The year 1947 was a year of unprecedented violence and trauma of displacement. It was in this situation that independent India started on its journey to achieve several objectives. Yet the turmoil that accompanied independence did not make our leaders lose sight of the multiple challenges that faced the new nation.

The absorption of Hyderabad provides an excellent study of the nature of the postcolonial Indian state for three reasons. First, Hyderabad had been part of the calculations of all-India political parties at least since the 1930s. The territory was therefore a vital part of the self-image of newly-independent India. Secondly, it was the Ministry of States, part of the central government in Delhi, which assumed overall responsibility for the integration of the former princely states. After the police action of September 1948, the Hyderabad regime was virtually disbanded. As a result, the new authorities had relative freedom to shape the new territory as they pleased. Finally, as Hyderabad was brought into the Union, police, military and members of the bureaucracy were drafted in from the rest of India to rebuild Hyderabad. One can therefore use the case of Hyderabad not only to try to understand the 'mind' of the central government, but to examine the extent to which policies designed by the centre were successfully implemented on the ground.

When they assumed power in Hyderabad, the new Indian government faced an array of questions the answers to which would impact the shape and character of the new nation-state as a whole. These included, how to deal with the limitations of the military, police, and bureaucracy which they had inherited; how to frame the new constitution to protect the integrity of the country; how to manage relations between Hindus and Muslims, whether in the bureaucracy or in the population; and how to fight communism and ensure the loyalty of their new citizens

Finally, it turns to the ways in which the Indian army, and then the civilian authorities, confronted the communist Telangana movement in the eastern part of the state. It is argued below that, in the years shortly after independence, India's internal character had yet to be set in stone,

and the experience of the integration of Hyderabad reflects the vibrancy and uncertainty of the early Nehruvian period.

Hyderabad and the Indian Union

The history of the awkward place of the princely states in the transfer of power negotiations is well known. On the eve of independence, several large states, including Hyderabad, had declined to join either India or Pakistan. Each state presented its own unique problems, but the Government of independent India believed that the accession of Hyderabad to the Indian Union was ineluctable. As early as June 1947, Nehru had warned he would 'encourage rebellion in all states that go against us'.

In the new Indian Government, the accession of the subcontinent's second largest princely state was viewed as a foregone conclusion because Hyderabad could not be independent except in name, given its geographical position. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, India's Home member and Minister for States remarked, 'Hyderabad is, as it were, situated in India's belly. How can the belly breathe if it is cut off from the main body?'

In the summer of 1948, as India's statesmen, especially Patel, began to hint of an invasion, the British encouraged the internal disorder by disrupting courts, filling jails, and engaging in sabotage with the aim of convincing the Nizam to join the Indian Union. As stories of the conflict in the state spread in India, and refugees fled into the surrounding Indian provinces, the Government of India concluded that the unrest threatened to undermine peace in the whole of India. When, in 1947, the authorities in Hyderabad refused to accede to either dominion, many opposition parties in the state called for the Nizam to join the Indian Union. The Congress launched a satyagraha, and encouraged students to leave schools, and lawyers to boycott courts. More radical members of the Hyderabad State Congress planned acts of sabotage, organised raids against government property and communications, and authorised their members to take action in 'self-defence', with weapons if necessary. According to an Indian government note in March 1948, 'the educational

institutions function no more, the law courts are barren and the commercial life is shattered.'

As many as 21,000 congressmen were said to have been arrested. However, the Hyderabad State Congress Party was divided organisationally along regional lines, and ideologically between socialists and liberals; its impact on the internal situation in the state, therefore, was more limited than that of the communists. The fight between the communists and forces loyal to the Nizam, by contrast, was characterised in the spring of 1948 as 'a people's revolt on the one side and fascist orgy and anarchy on the other'. Its roots were in the insurgency begun in 1944-1945 in the Nalgonda and Warangal districts, known as the Telangana area, in the east of the territory.

Forces loyal to the Nizam of Hyderabad sought to repress this communist movement. These forces comprised of police and military as well as local members of the Razakars. The Razakars, headed by Kasim Razvi, were a paramilitary organisation comprised of volunteers who were said to be as enthusiastic as they were undisciplined. Razvi and his volunteers were associated with the Majlis-i-Ittehad-ul-Muslimein, a political party with considerable influence over the Nizam and dedicated to maintaining Muslim rule in Hyderabad. Both communists and forces loyal to the Nizam employed brutal measures to strike against their enemy and intimidate villagers into collaboration. According to a pamphlet that the Government of India had drawn up for public consumption, between 15 August 1947 and 13 September 1948, the communists had murdered 2000 people, attacked 22 police outposts, destroyed village records, manhandled 141 village officials, seized 230 guns, eight revolvers and one rifle, looted or destroyed paddy worth Rs70,000, robbed cash and jewellery worth Rs10,43,668, and destroyed 20 customs outposts.

While the primary fight up until early 1948 had been between the communists and the Nizam's forces, in May 1948, the Nizam and urban members of the communist party struck an improbable tactical alliance against a common enemy, the 'bourgeois' Indian Union. According to the agreement, which aimed to bolster the fight for the independence of

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Hyderabad, the Nizam amnestied communists from jails, cancelled outstanding arrest warrants and lifted the ban on the party. During the summer of 1948, the Razakars continued to seek out and eliminate the enemies of the regime. They targeted not only Hindus, but Muslims whose loyalty was in doubt. As it became clear that negotiations with the Indian Union were stalemated, they also courted confrontation with Indian forces. Their raids against trains and villages in Madras, the Central Provinces (CP) and Bombay raised panic in these provinces. In July, Razakars killed six Indian Army troops in an ambush near the Indian enclave of Nanaj. Equally, there were allegations that Indian troops crossed Hyderabad's borders as they gave chase to Razakars. The Government in Delhi concluded that the increasing influence and violence of these unruly volunteer paramilitaries proved that the Nizam had lost control over his own territory.

These battles threatened to spill into Union territory in more than one way. First, refugees fleeing the disorders escaped into Indian territory to form large camps in the provinces of Madras and Bombay. Some estimates put the number of refugees at 40,000 in CP alone. Secondly, though the fault lines in the conflict did not run neatly along religious lines, the perceived 'communal' nature of the fighting threatened to revive Hindu-Muslim tensions in India.

The Nizam's government tended to privilege a few thousand Muslims, leaving an underclass of poor Muslims. Nationalist Muslims in the State tended to oppose the Nizam, while, as far away as Delhi, the Socialist Party enrolled Muslim volunteers to agitate against the Nizam. At the same time, the Depressed Classes Association and Depressed Classes Conference in Hyderabad had joined hands with the Nizam in June 1947 to fight against incorporation into the Indian Union, because they believed accession would entail domination by caste Hindus. The structure of rule in the state, however, where a predominantly-Muslim government and gentry held power over large numbers of disadvantaged, of whom the majority were Hindus, appeared to divide the population along religious lines. And some political parties took advantage of this. Since the war, the All-India Hindu Mahasabha had used this government structure to gather support for their organisation.

In 1941 they began to keep a record of all, 'tyrannous and political injustices and unfairness on the Hindus in all Provinces and particularly under Muslim administration and Muslim states.' Hyderabad was no exception. As the violence of the Nizam's forces increased in Hyderabad, Hindu nationalists called on Muslims throughout India 'to give proof of their loyalty to the Indian Union,' by opposing the Nizam's regime. Clearly, the subtleties and complexities of the Hyderabad situation were being folded into all-India communal politics. The Government of India, therefore, concluded that the unrest in Hyderabad threatened to destabilise 'the communal situation in the whole of India'.

In the volatile international situation in South Asia in the year following independence, Nehru had been reluctant to use force to bring Hyderabad into the Indian Union. The Indian economy was suffering a crisis of inflation, accompanied by a panic in the gold market, which impelled the Government of India to re-impose controls on textiles and other essential commodities. In addition, the autumn of 1948 was a tense time for the militaries on the subcontinent. Pakistan had admitted that its troops were present in Kashmir, and Nehru was writing of being at war with its neighbour, albeit an undeclared one. India feared that any move against Hyderabad would prompt a military response from Pakistan. Though Pakistan had no plans to protect Hyderabad with arms, India did not know this. Moreover, the new government in India was trying to calm tensions after the violence of partition, and struggling to provide for millions of refugees.

The situation in Hyderabad, they concluded, must be resolved before it adversely affected India's internal and international security. On 13 September 1948, therefore, the Government of India declared a state of emergency, and sent its troops into Hyderabad State. During the 'police action', the Indian Army entered Hyderabad with the objective of forcing the Nizam to re-install Indian troops in Secunderabad to allow them to restore order in the state. The Nizam surrendered in four days, and the Government of India appointed Major-General J.N. Chaudhuri as Military Governor. Delhi decided that the Nizam could retain his position as Rajpramukh, though law-making and enforcement power rested with the Military Governor. Hindu-Muslim relations and the

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character of the new Hyderabad State. Once they had seized control of the territory, the new Military Governor, Major General Chaudhuri, the Chief Civil Administrator, D.S. Bakhle, and the Government in Delhi had to ask themselves what character and composition they wished the new Hyderabad state to have. This question involved a number of different elements.

First, to what extent would those who took part in violence before and during the police action be punished for their activities?

Secondly, how far would the Muslim-dominated administration in the state be altered?

Finally, what role would the Congress Party have in the new state? Given that each of these questions impacted Hindu-Muslim relations, Nehru felt that the decisions which they made in Hyderabad would be seen as the touchstone of the Indian government's minority policy.

Before the invasion of Hyderabad, Nehru's primary concern was to normalise Hindu-Muslim relations there and in the rest of the country. He wrote to Patel that, after the problem of the Razakars, all other issues were 'relatively secondary'. Before the first Indian troop set foot in Hyderabad, there was much uncertainty over whether the police action would provoke an adverse reaction amongst Muslims in India. In the state's surrounding provinces, therefore, provincial governments detained dozens of Muslims, including Members of the Legislative Assembly, for 'security reasons', on the grounds that their sympathies with Hyderabad might spur them into inciting unrest.

As troops marched into the state, many Muslims in India lent their support to the police action, however. Prominent Muslims in Delhi publicly welcomed the Government of India's choice to come to the aid of the 'innocent masses' threatened by the Razakars, and appealed for calm. In the event, there was no trouble in India during the five days of the police action. Indeed, before reports emerged of the fighting within the state, Nehru ventured to declare that Hyderabad had 'suddenly opened out a new picture of communal peace and harmony.'

Quickly, however, stories began to seep out of large-scale violence within the territory in the immediate aftermath of the police action. It is unclear exactly what happened between the people of Hyderabad, the members of the falling regime, and the invading forces during and immediately after the police action, but it appears that there was widespread bloodshed as the population took the opportunity to commit acts of violence against the Razakars and other Muslims. Two prominent nationalists, Pandit Sunderlal and Qazi Abdulghaffar prepared a report on the situation after Nehru appointed them to tour the state and assess the extent of the destruction, but the original was suppressed and only scraps of it remain. They recorded that after 13 September, there had been a widespread anti-Muslim purge, which had occurred primarily in the Marathwada and Telangana areas. What evidence is available suggests that Hindu residents as well as some members of the Army attacked persons and property in the weeks after the police action began.

Conservative estimates suggest that 50,000 Muslims were killed. Others claim several hundred thousand died. Indian troops in some places remained aloof from these activities, in others, they were implicated in them. Sunderlal and Abdulghaffar concluded that, 'In general the attitude of the military officers was good but the soldiers showed bigotry and hatred.' The invasion of Hyderabad had not heralded a new era of communal harmony in the territory. Instead, the main task of the new authorities in the state was to cope with the aftermath of the turmoil. In order to depose the existing regime and to contain the unrest, the Government of India's police and military authorities had detained Razakars, Hindu militants, communists and many others more loosely connected with the general upheaval.

According to their own figures, the military and police detained over 13,000 Muslims, plus several hundred Arabs and Pathans, who were associated with the Razakars and the Nizam's irregular forces. Another several thousand Hindus were jailed after having been implicated in the post-police action reprisals against Muslims. Many communists were also detained. But it is clear that, with their limited knowledge of the local situation, the invading forces simply jailed thousands of suspects without real knowledge of their activities. The police and military were captive to

local informants, who took advantage of the situation to have their political enemies imprisoned.

Indeed, many of the difficulties which the colonial regime had faced when confronting large-scale communal unrest also affected the early postcolonial government: the police and military were disposed to make mass arrests in order to restore order, and to think about prosecution only after the event. But court cases often simply provided another arena for the conflict, and the government came under political pressure to release those detained. Having imprisoned an estimated 17,550 people as they entered the territory, the Government of India was left with the questions of what to do with all the prisoners rounded up in the upheaval, and how to relieve the problem of over-crowded jails.

In Hyderabad, the Government of India inherited a criminal justice system which had been paralysed by the conflict, and could not process any significant number of cases. This meant that, just as in British India, politics came to determine who was subjected to formal punishment, and who escaped. Of course, many of the political aims of the Nehru government were different from those of the British: they were concerned not to spend money on expensive legal proceedings which could otherwise be used for development projects; and they were sensitive to the importance of political parties in a democratic age. For their part, many members of the public remained constant in their insistence that, when the government punished participants in communal violence, this only worsened relations between those communities who were perceived to be at loggerheads with one another.⁵³ For these reasons, though thousands were originally detained, only a few exemplary persons remained in jail by 1953.

Given the volume of cases, the military regime decided to prosecute only those 'who indulged in the worst kind of atrocities'. In the six months following the Nizam's defeat, therefore, the government released over 11,000 Muslims without trial because no incriminating evidence against them existed. They also deported some 2000 Arabs back to Aden and a similar number of Pathans to 'other parts of India'.

Major-General Chaudhuri and his administration planned to prosecute the remainder of those detained. Accordingly, shortly after the proclamation of the State of Emergency, the Government of India propounded a Special Courts Order to dispense with the large numbers of persons in jail. In a word, the order was designed to process cases speedily. To this end, it relaxed the standards of written evidence by requiring only summaries of the evidence rather than full accounts; it made it impossible for an accused to deliberately delay proceedings, e.g. by hunger striking; and, at first, it provided for no right to appeal to higher courts. This latter provision was amended in October 1949, to allow appeals to the High Court for major offences. There was no mention either way as to access to a lawyer, and it appears that while some of the accused obtained counsel, others declined or were denied access to one.

The ordinance strongly resembled those which had been passed by the colonial government during the twentieth century. For example, it incorporated the lessons which the British had learnt by making it impossible for a defendant to delay a case by hunger striking. In reality, the Special Tribunals were anything but speedy. In each of the courts sat a three-member panel, all of whom had to be present for a case to proceed; when one member was sick or on leave, the tribunal did not meet. Further, English was the working language of the tribunals, but there were few advocates who were able to conduct a prosecution in English. As the trials made halting progress, thousands languished in jails waiting for the police to finish investigating their cases or for the courts to begin their trials.

When the government of Hyderabad, in consultation with the centre, weighed these arguments, they knew that any policy adopted could not be seen to favour either Hindus or Muslims. The new government convinced itself that equal blame did attach to each community. In Major-General Chaudhuri's words, 'in political physics, Razakar action and Hindu reaction have been almost equal and opposite'. Thus, when it was decided to free all Hindus and to institute a programme for the review of Muslim cases with an aim to gradually letting many out of jail, the government preferred that the policy be given no publicity. Releases

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were staggered and former prisoners made to report periodically to the police.

Because prosecutions of either Hindus or Muslims in cases of 'communal' violence tended to elicit allegations of bias, any cases which were brought to court had to be designed to minimise ethnic tensions. Thus, Kasim Razvi and four of his associates were prosecuted for the alleged murder of a fellow Muslim, Shoebullah Khan. The victim, a nationalist journalist who had opposed the Razakars, was killed on 22 August 1948. His murder attracted public interest, though only after the police action had begun. The Bombay Chronicle described the journalist as 'a brave young man' for refusing to bow to the will of the Ittehad-ul-Muslimein. The paper went on to declare Shoebullah 'a martyr in the cause of the people.'

Though a Special Tribunal found Razvi and his cohorts guilty, they were acquitted in the High Court. The same men stood accused in the Bibinaga Dacoity Case, which ran simultaneously with the Shoebullah Khan case. In the former, it was alleged that, when passing through Bibinaga station in a train, the accused had shouted 'Shah-e-Osman zindabad', but the people in the station had replied with the nationalist slogan 'Mahatma Gandhi ki jai'. The accused then disembarked, and proceeded to burn down a house, and beat and rob those in the vicinity of the station.⁷⁰ In this case, the High Court upheld the Special Tribunal's guilty verdict, and the men were sentenced to imprisonment. It was believed that if this type of case were chosen then the prosecutions would be more likely to inspire in the public feelings of pure abhorrence or deep nationalism, rather than enmity between Hindus and Muslims.

As news of the convictions of Razvi and his men reached the public, prominent politicians again pressed Nehru to show generosity to the Muslims of Hyderabad. The Prime Minister was sympathetic. Hyderabad Muslims, he wrote to Patel, exemplified a unique 'and rather attractive culture', and were 'very much above the average'. In essence, Nehru argued that Muslim prisoners in Hyderabad were not criminal types, and therefore did not merit punishment. Instead, their behaviour in the summer and autumn of 1948 was analogous to the 'madness' that

seized 'decent people' in the country during partition. Many of those guilty of partition violence remained free in India and lived 'as respected citizens.

By this logic, if the crimes of partition could be buried, so could those of Hyderabad's accession. Nehru also warned that if a gesture of 'friendliness' were not offered 'to those who are down and out and full of fear' these disenfranchised Muslims could join forces with the communists. Finally, the Prime Minister argued, in a developing state the money spent on prosecution could have 'brought rich results if spent on constructive activities in Hyderabad.

When Nehru first voiced these arguments, Patel demurred. He was convinced that the promise of penal action against criminals had helped restore law and order, and that if that promise were not fulfilled, it would signal the government's partiality for Muslims and would endanger the peace in the state. By the time the cases of Kasim Razvi and of the ex-ministers of the Nizam's regime had wound their way through the judicial system, Patel had passed away and elections were about to be held under a much improved political atmosphere in the state. In January 1952, all ex-Ministers were released; only Kasim Razvi and a few members of the Nizam's regime who had been involved in the most notorious cases remained in prison.

In the end, only a handful of symbolic Razakars were punished with formal imprisonment. Just as its colonial predecessor had been, the Indian government faced administrative constraints which precluded the use of the ordinary judicial system to dispose of every case arising out of large scale violence. The police and military, lacking real intelligence or familiarity with the territory, jailed thousands without obvious cause, and without labouring to find one. Courts, even special tribunals, were unable to work through the cases at a reasonable speed. Pleas for amnesty inevitably arose in circumstances in which the members of the public believed that people were being detained unfairly for protracted periods.

Political considerations, therefore, determined the futures of those who found themselves in jail. Intimately tied to these issues was the question of the Hindu-Muslim balance in the services. The well-known rivalry

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between Patel and Nehru was crucial in this respect, as Patel often ran the States Ministry without as much consultation with Nehru's Cabinet as the Prime Minister would have preferred. Before the invasion, Nehru had presided over a meeting in which it was decided that, in order to be generous to the Nizam and to create a positive impression on the other princely states, the military regime ought to change as little as possible in Hyderabad. Dramatic administrative and policy changes in the territory were to wait for a democratically-elected government. At other levels of administration, however, divergent ideas took hold. The new authorities in Hyderabad attempted to adjust the ethnic balance in the executive, police and administrative services, where Muslims predominated. To this end, they dismissed over a hundred officers, from the Chief Secretary to low-level police personnel.

They also detained many of those local officers who were suspected of participating in the violence which accompanied the police action. In addition, they attempted to reduce the number of Muslims working in the civil service or sitting as judges through forced retirement, or transfer from the state. They adopted a policy of not hiring new Muslims in the services. The civilian administration under Vellodi continued this policy. And the government introduced in June 1950 under a scheme of diarchy had similar ideas.

To replace those dismissed, they drafted in junior officers from Bombay, CP and Madras. This created greater difficulties, however, as many of the new officers were not only inexperienced, but were also unable to speak the languages of the people under their jurisdiction, and were unfamiliar with local conditions. This left the administration generally, and the criminal justice system in particular, unable to function efficiently or effectively. The Prime Minister objected to these schemes on the grounds that they were both inspired by 'communal' chauvinism and impractical because they brought in incompetent outsiders. Nehru, along with many Hyderabadis, called for qualified Hyderabad residents to fill vacant posts. However, the people taking the reins of power in Hyderabad were able to circumvent these orders by falsifying residency documents.

Thus, the answers which were found to the question of the ethnic composition of the services were neither similar, nor co-ordinated. It is clear that the new Indian government in Delhi, like its British predecessor, had to contend with competing visions of the state. These visions were not identical to those present before 1947, but they were a mark of the continued inability of the centre to elicit discipline and obedience from the individuals it employed. The Congress party in Hyderabad The final question facing the new authorities in Hyderabad was what the role of the Congress Party in the state ought to be. Initially, the answer seemed relatively straightforward to the government in Delhi. Congressmen at the head of the Government of India wished the Hyderabad State Congress Party to guide the future of the state.

To some extent this decision can be explained by the supposed ideological affinity between the local and the national party. Technically, the Hyderabad State Congress had not been part of the all-India party because affiliations with outside organisations had been banned under the Nizam. Hyderabad's Swami Ramananda Tirtha, however, had participated in the non-cooperation movement in Sholapur, and later made frequent visits to Gandhi. Tirtha often consulted him on matters of policy, though the two did not always agree.

In addition, the all-India party had contributed to the Congress satyagraha in the state in 1938. Moreover, the Hyderabad State Congress was also one of the few political organisations which was not confined to a single linguistic group, and which attempted to span the entire state. It would be easier to work with a single organisation rather than with the several linguistic parties. At the time, however, the Hyderabad State Congress had been in existence for little more than a decade, and had operated as no more than a token institution before 1946. It suffered from organisational shallowness and internal divisions. If it were to take power successfully, the Hyderabad State Congress Party would need all the help it could get from the national party.

To this end, when they took over the governance of the state, the Indian authorities ordered the release of all Congressmen who had landed in Hyderabad's jails during their campaign of satyagraha and sabotage

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before the police action. Before the release, there was some debate as to whether those who had committed crimes of violence should be freed. In the event, Congressmen accused of violent crimes were let out, while communists were kept in jail, whether their crimes involved violence or not.⁸⁸ Under these orders, the Government of India released 1222 out of 1736 detenus, and 7893 out of 9218 political prisoners.

The situation was far more fluid than had been anticipated, however. As the military and police attempted to restore order by arranging prosecutions against those who had partaken in the violence, many Congressmen ended up back in jail. The Military Governor reported that one faction in the party, 'has given information against the members of the other groups for having been concerned in the commission of atrocities after police action.' It became clear that the fissures within the Hyderabad State Congress would not be easy to repair. Nehru met with Congressmen in the state to persuade them to bury their differences in the interests of their country. V.P. Menon and Sardar Patel, repeatedly pressed the divergent blocs in the party to adopt a 'united approach', but their 'bickering' and 'mud flinging' continued unabated.

Thus, though the Government of India originally had intended to establish a constituent assembly in Hyderabad, and to transfer power to a civilian government composed of Hyderabadis, within a few months of the police action, both objectives were soon shelved. The government in Delhi refused to hand power to democratically-elected representatives when the Hyderabad State Congress remained in ideological and organisational disarray. It therefore orchestrated a more gradual transfer of power, and did not sanction state-wide elections until 1952. If the state comprises not only policy, but institutions and individuals, it is difficult to draw a clear and simple picture of the Indian state during the first months after the police action because these three levels seem to be pulling in different directions. Policy coming from the Government of India level was clearly concerned to appear even-handed in its punishment of participants in the violence which surrounded the deposal of the Nizam's regime. Nehru, at least, was also keen to avoid making drastic changes to state institutions. But as they took control of Hyderabad, the new Indian government found itself with poor

institutions and independently-minded local officers. As a result, the composition of the administration in Hyderabad was changed significantly, and Muslims tended to be disenfranchised during this period. The nature of politics in a democratic state also affected policy, for the centre's decisions were designed to improve the stature of the Congress party, and to appeal to certain members of the electorate. But there were others who were not so easily pleased, and it is to the communists that we now turn. The communist insurgency and the making of the new state

When they arrived in Hyderabad, the Indian military found that the communists had done great damage to the structures of government in the Telangana region, but that they had also introduced reforms on an impressive scale. The government, therefore, both fought the communists, and learned from them. Or rather, they fought them first, and then they learned from them. Their various encounters with the communists affected the future of India as a whole in many ways. This section will highlight two. First, some of the oppressive measures used against the movement came to be incorporated into the new nation's constitution. Secondly, the development work of the communists encouraged the government to adopt its own programme of uplift for the peasantry.

While the main justification the Government of India used as they entered Hyderabad was to end the 'communal' violence, they soon found that the problems in the state were intimately related to the communist uprising which was flourishing in the Telangana region of the state, for the violent struggle against the Nizam was centred in Telangana and led by communists. The communists drew adherents from a number of fronts. Amongst the poor peasantry and landless labourers, there was great resentment against the jagirdari system of landholding which governed 43 per cent of land in the state. This system was infamous for the high rate of forced labour extracted from peasants who held little land, were given paltry access to water and manure, and were subjected to high rates by (often absentee) landlords. Moreover, during the Second World War, the burden of a compulsory levy fell heavily on the peasants who were experiencing similar agrarian troubles to those which plagued

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the rest of India. Rural areas also lacked facilities for medical care and education. These factors combined with a system in which customary class distinctions were often reinforced with brutal violence to leave a large number of peasants alienated from those who governed them.

In addition, urban communists and wealthier peasants had initially fought their own battles under the communist banner, but by 1948, the coalition between poor and middling peasants had fallen apart. In rural areas, the communist cause, led by Ravi Narayan Reddi and organised under the aegis of the Andhra Mahasabha, sought to alleviate the grievances of the poor peasants in the Telangana area.⁹⁶ Though at the outset, they only targeted zamindars and desh mukhs, the police and military were pulled into the conflict at the request of local magnates, and by December 1945, the communists had launched a full-scale agitation against the state. Initially, they assaulted the prestige of government officials, especially the police.

They progressed to boycotting local revenue collectors and judicial officials, and then to establishing their own panchayat and courts. Between July and November 1946, encounters between the communists and the Nizam's forces grew increasingly violent, and in the last two months of that year, the Nizam's police and military, with the occasional aid of local Razakars, undertook coordinated action against the communists. The Nizam's forces' tactics were varied. They cordoned off villages and captured suspected communists en masse, shot into crowds, burnt villages and engaged in widespread loot in a manner than that was described by one Congressman as 'absolutely indiscriminate and organised.'

Habeeb Mohammed, the subedar of Warangal, was later tried for crimes which included murder, and the burning of two hundred houses in the village of Gurtur. The taluqdar of Nalgonda, Moazzam Hussain, was said to have ordered the death of twenty 'innocent Hindus' after a group of several hundreds.

Fundamental Rights in the Indian Constitution and the situation in Hyderabad

Though these detentions did not have much effect on the communist movement, they did have a profound impact on the shape of the Indian Constitution, which was finalised during this crucial period in the country's history. As the document was being drawn up by the Constituent Assembly, the sub-committee on Fundamental Rights was given the task of articulating the legal, political and social rights of the new citizens of the Republic of India.

B.R. Ambedkar drew up a set of rules for arrest and detention which would suit India's unique needs. After many revisions, the substance of Ambedkar's final, multi-part article provided for very little protection against long-term detention without trial. It laid down rights for those arrested or detained, but then stated that these rights did not apply to those held under preventive detention laws which might be passed by the legislatures. Ambedkar justified the text on two grounds. First, India was in great turmoil: refugees, economic crisis, uncertainty over princely states and the rise of communism throughout the country justified the use of preventive detention. Secondly, it was not a 'practical possibility' to expect the current executive, judicial and administrative system to process and review large numbers of detentions, given the current political situation in the country.

The infrastructure they had inherited was inadequate for the work at hand. If the constitution were to endow citizens with the right to have their cases reviewed in less than three months, as critics of the clause had suggested, then thousands would have to be released because courts and review boards would fail to meet the deadline. It would be easy to conclude that these measures signalled the willingness of the Government of India's new leadership to anchor their power in the country by any means necessary. However, the articles adopted in the constitution must be seen in the context of the recent past in India. That most Congressmen had been detained without trial for several years during the recent war affected the way that detention was viewed in the country. Imprisonment without trial was seen as a measure necessary in the face of grave danger.

But the inveterate legalism of the leadership of the nationalist movement encouraged them to try to articulate in law the precise terms on which that power could be exercised. And yet, with knowledge of the weakness of the institutions which they had inherited, the constitution makers were unwilling to be tied down. The clause was the uneasy result of a compromise between legalism and pragmatism. Civilian administration and the victory of the generous Just as the constitution came into force, the political situation in Hyderabad began to take a new direction. In December 1949, the Military Governor's administration ended, and M.K. Vellodi replaced Major-General Chaudhuri at the head of the new civilian administration in Hyderabad. Vellodi toured the Telangana districts and found that the authorities stationed in the area had not dealt with the communist cause 'with any understanding'. He testified that, 'the villagers who had been alternately beaten up by the Military and the Police and the communists had a haunted look.'

This section examines how the civil administration won the war with a combination of more responsive policing, and more aggressive programmes of development. Though the communists were branded 'terrorists' in public, the government quietly learned lessons from them. It was clear that the communists had earned the support of the people because they had tapped into grievances which the Indian government in the state had not begun to address. Assessing the achievements of the communists in the field of social and economic uplift, the Intelligence Bureau's Deputy Director deemed them 'positive and in some cases great.' The communists had redistributed land and livestock, reduced rates, ended forced labour and increased wages by one hundred percent.

They inoculated the population and built public latrines; they encouraged women's organisations, discouraged sectarian sentiment and sought to abolish untouchability. 'Thus', concluded the Deputy Director, 'the Communist regime was one of relief and uplift to the isolated villager and improved his self-respect. Members of the government in India were not ignorant of the significant influence of agrarian uplift on the political situation. Indeed, Nehru encouraged the Ministry of States to view the problems of the peasantry in Hyderabad in the context of the 'great agrarian revolution ...taking place over these vast areas of Asia'.

In light of the communist uprisings in Burma, Malaya and Indonesia in 1948, it was obvious to the more discerning members of India's governing class that the communist movement appealed to those in Telangana who suffered under conditions of socio-economic distress. Indeed, soon after the police action, Swami Ramananda Tirtha and his group in the State Congress cautioned Nehru that the use of force against communists would have to be supplemented with agrarian reforms in order to strike at the 'root cause' of the movement.

As the state's first Chief Minister, Vellodi initiated a number of more nuanced military measures designed to disrupt the communist movement. He replaced the Brigadier in charge of the Telangana area, who spoke no Telugu, with Captain Nanjappa of the Indian Civil Service, who acted as Special Commissioner in the region. Review committees were constituted to consider the cases of prisoners who were elderly, infirm, or were no threat to security. Within a year over 5000 detenus were freed.

Nanjappa substituted the sweeping and heavy-handed operations of the military with small police parties which worked on the basis of intelligence.¹¹⁸ Home guards and village patrols were organised to assist the police. In the beginning of 1951, Nanjappa gave secret instructions to start a 'whispering campaign' to let it be known that those who laid down their arms voluntarily would have their cases 'favourably considered.'

The authorities also began to build or repair infrastructure from roads and wells to dispensaries and schools. They passed a Tenancy Act, which was designed to improve the rights of tenants by capping landholdings, opening the market to cultivators, and protecting tenants from ejection. Although land reforms were not implemented in a uniform manner, and they did not go far enough in many areas, the Act went some way to recognising peasant grievances.

A Tribal Reclamation Scheme was introduced in Warangal, under which two teams of Social Service Officers were constituted to 'redress grievances and create contentment' amongst the inhabitants of the area. To this end, they travelled through rural areas, and tried to settle any

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outstanding disputes, and alleviate all major difficulties in the lives of the villagers. These officers aimed to see that vacant government land was allotted, tenants' rights confirmed, disputes with absentee landlords settled, land taken by moneylenders restored and debts reconciled. Having been allotted a lump sum of two lakhs, and an annual budget of 1.38 lakhs, they arranged for the supply of essential commodities such as cloth, kerosene and iron at subsidised prices.

Police and Revenue officials who visited tribal people distributed medicines, sold cheap cloth, and handed out free dhotis, sarees, soap, slates and books. As a result, noted the Deputy Central Intelligence officer with a hint of surprise, 'their cooperation with the forces of law and order in this division is most spontaneous.' They were even helping to capture communists. There are indications in the available documents, however, that these schemes were not without elements of coercion. The hill tribes in the area, the Koyas, Chenchus and Lambadas, were said to have had connections with the communists, who used them as couriers, and their settlements as hide-outs. In order to disrupt the association between the two, the tribes 'were uprooted from their villages inside the forests and made to live nearer to human habitation.'

By February 1951, 7000 out of 30,000 Koyas in the Warangal area had been settled in villages under this scheme. It was widely reported that, because re-located tribes people lacked basic facilities such as drinking water, they and their livestock fell victim to hunger and disease. Measures for the uplift or simple relocation of tribesmen and of the peasantry, whether forced or voluntary, seemed to have drawn many away from communist influence. As a result, the communists had difficulty securing food, water and ammunition from the population.

Moreover, the Communist Party of India (CPI) was divided over whether to continue the violent struggle in Telangana, or to participate in the general elections due the following year. In Hyderabad, the movement split along the same lines. Raj Bahadur Goud, and Maqdoom Mohiuddin, members of the City Communist Party, as well as Ravi Narayan Reddi, a prominent leader of the Andhra Mahasabha came out

of hiding to disassociate themselves from the violent movement. They were promptly arrested.

After seeking guidance from Moscow and Beijing, the CPI and the Andhra Mahasabha called off the armed struggle in the state in mid-October 1951. Top-ranking communists visited the state to support the call for a turn to electioneering. Though the change in policy did not satisfy all members of the movement, it brought about a formal end to the Telangana struggle. In 1952, the various parties of the left in the state united to form the People's Democratic Front to contest the forthcoming general elections. The fight against the communists can be divided into two phases, the first executed by the military, the next orchestrated by the civilian administration. The military phase of the campaign bore remarkable resemblance to military action during the British period. Hampered by a dearth of intelligence, and blinkered by the over-riding imperative to restore order, their over-bearing acts of oppression and indiscriminate punishments produced either bitter quiescence or unending antagonism in the subject population.

The Indian government in Hyderabad came into its own when Vellodi took power at the head of a civilian administration. Vellodi and Nanjappa 'discovered' that if they could slake the population's thirst for basic goods, the government could win their loyalty as well. And, marking a crucial departure from the British period, they found the funds necessary to achieve this end. This can be seen as part of a larger, global shift both in the nature of governance more generally and in counter-insurgency tactics in particular. After the second world war, the nature of citizenship changed as the responsibility of the state for the social and economic welfare of its population was greatly expanded. At around the same time, the British, too, began combating the communist insurgency in Malaya with measures designed to ameliorate the economic conditions in the countryside.

The leadership of the new Indian nation quickly grasped the notion that if they were to earn and retain the loyalty of the people of India, they would have to fulfil the promises of the nationalist movement and provide uplift for the common people. If they failed in this task, they

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risked losing the allegiance of villagers, peasantry and labourers to communists who promised the prosperity that the Congress party could not deliver. The end of Hyderabad's fate, in the final account, was intimately connected with that of South India as a whole. Since independence, significant sections of the population had urged the Government of India to re-divide the provinces in India along linguistic lines. Hyderabad, situated in the centre of South India, and populated by four distinct linguistic groups, was elemental to this vision of India. Indeed, as the existence of Hyderabad kept these groups from being unified with their linguistic brethren, it was seen by some as the 'centre of gravity of the British Empire in India.'

Socialists in the new nation detested the feudal conditions extant in the state, and believed that the system could only be abolished by dismembering every element of the Nizam's regime. The disintegration of Hyderabad, in these views, was essential in order to establish real swaraj in India. Though he cautioned against repeating the sins of partition, Nehru conceded that, in principle, if there was 'strong and widespread' support for the re-drawing of India's internal borders, then 'a democratic government must ultimately submit to it.'

In Hyderabad, politics had long moved along linguistic lines, and the major players, including the Andhra Mahasabha, and the faction of the Congress Party led by Swami Ramananda Tirtha, favoured the break-up of the state. The People's Democratic Front, the socialists and the Peasants and Workers Party participated in the campaign for the disintegration of the state as well. In addition, the incorporation of Hyderabad into the Indian Union had emphasised the importance of local officers who spoke the local language of the population. This realization, combined with the agitation for linguistic states, tipped the balance against the continued existence of Hyderabad. In 1953, the state of Andhra Pradesh was carved out of Madras. In 1956, the Telugu-speaking regions of Hyderabad, including Telangana, were joined with the new province. And Hyderabad's Marathi speakers were eventually amalgamated into the new state of Maharashtra, and its Kannada speakers into Karnataka.

Check your progress –

1. Name some of the princely states.

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2. Who is V P Menon?

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13.3 LETS SUM UP

In light of the experience of Hyderabad, how can one characterise the state in independent India? Though this article only concerns Hyderabad, the police military and bureaucracy which form the basis of this analysis were drafted into the state from outside, and, though one must be cautious, it is possible to draw conclusions which range beyond the borders of the former princely state. It is clear that, while there were some continuities, there were also sharp differences between the colonial and postcolonial state. When the members of the new government took over the institutions left behind by the British, they inherited many of the constraints of the colonial system. Courts were easily overwhelmed by unrest; prisons continued to be used as holding cells, rather than as disciplinary institutions; the police and the military were often clumsy and heavy handed, especially in the first phase of the occupation; and local officers could not always be relied upon to implement the centre’s policies as directed.

The colonial apparatus simply did not provide the stability and coherence which many scholars have presumed. The new Government of India was able to integrate Hyderabad into the Indian Union because it was innovative. These innovations were inspired as much by pragmatism as by democratic concerns and ideological change. Because the Congress Party was concerned to assert its influence over the voting population,

members of the government tended to formulate policies to serve this end. Intimately connected with the democratic imperative was the new socialist ethos which influenced government policy. Whether inspired by the communists of Telangana, contemporary practices of counter-insurgency, or Nehruvian socialism, the postcolonial state was more directed towards the uplift of Indian villagers. It quickly learned that development programmes could be more effective than coercion in certain circumstances. Above all, the rulers of independent India were remarkably flexible, particularly during the first few years after 1947. In Delhi and in Hyderabad members of government were not, as a whole, intractably loyal to any single idea. They were willing to adapt their policies to changing facts on the ground.

13.4 KEYWORDS

Nawabs, Maharajas, Princely states, Princes

13.5 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. What was Sardar Patel's role behind inclusion of Hyderabad?
2. How many princely states were there?

13.6 SUGGESTED READINGS

Integration of the Indian States BY V P Menon

The Maharaja and the Princely States of India Hardcover – 1 Jan 2007

by Sharada Dwivedi

13.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Hints – 13.2
2. Hints – 13.2

UNIT 14 ECONOMY, INDUSTRIAL POLICY, EDUCATION, TECHNOLOGY, WOMEN RIGHTS

STRUCTURE

14.0 Objective

14.1 Introduction

14.2 Economy, Industrial Policy, Education, Technology, Women Rights

14.3 Lets Sum Up

14.4 Keywords

14.5 Questions for Review

14.6 Suggested Readings

14.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

14.0 OBJECTIVE

To know about the progress in India post 1947

To know about the progress in economy, industry, education, women lives

14.1 INTRODUCTION

At the turn of the century India's GDP was at around US\$480 billion. As economic reforms picked up pace, India's GDP grew five-fold to reach US\$2.2 trillion in 2015 (as per IMF estimates). India's GDP growth during January–March period of 2015 was at 7.5% compared to China's 7%, making it the fastest growing economy.

14.2 ECONOMY, INDUSTRIAL POLICY, EDUCATION, TECHNOLOGY, WOMEN RIGHTS

Beginning of planned economy

Independence came to India with the partition of the country on 15 August 1947. In 1948, an Industrial Policy Statement was announced.

It suggested the setting up of a National Planning Commission and framing the policy of a mixed economic system.

On 26 January 1950, the Constitution came into force. As a logical sequence, the Planning Commission was set up on 15 March 1950 and the plan era started from 1 April 1951 with the launching of the First Five Year Plan (1951-56).

However, the idea of economic planning in India can be traced back to the pre-independent days.

“The idea of economic planning gained currency in India during and after the years of the Great Agricultural Depression (1929-33). The then Government of India was by and large guided by a policy of leaving economic matters to individual industrialists and traders.”

(i) 1934:

It is rather surprising that blue-prints for India's planning first came from an engineer-administrator, M. Visweringaraya. He is regarded as the pioneer in talking about planning in India as a mere economic exercise. His book 'Planned Economy for India' published in 1934 proposed a ten-year plan. He proposed capital investment of Rs. 1,000 crore and a six-fold increase in industrial output per annum.

(ii) 1938:

In 1938, the Indian National Congress headed by Pandit J.L. Nehru appointed the National Planning Committee (NPC) to prepare a plan for economic development. The NPC was given the task of formulating a comprehensive scheme of national planning as a means to solve the

problems of poverty and unemployment, of national defence, and of economic regeneration in general. However, with the declaration of the World War II in September 1939 and putting leaders into prison, the NPC could not march ahead.

(iii) 1944:

The Bombay Plan, the People's Plan and the Gandhian Plan: One of the most widely discussed plan during the 1940s was the Bombay Plan prepared by the Indian capitalists. It was a plan for economic development under considerable amount of government intervention.

It emphasised the industrial sector with an aim of trebling national income and doubling of per capita income within a 15-year period. Under this plan, planning and industrialisation were synonymous.

An alternative to the Bombay Plan was given by M. N. Roy in 1944. His plan came to be known as People's Plan. His idea of planning was borrowed from the Soviet type planning. In this plan, priorities were given to agriculture and small scale industries. This plan favoured a socialist organisation of society.

In the light of the basic principles of Gandhian economics, S. N. Agarwal authored 'The Gandhian Plan' in 1944 in which he put emphasis on the expansion of small unit production and agriculture. Its fundamental feature was decentralisation of economic structure with self-contained villages and cottage industries.

(iv) 1950 Planning Commission:

After independence, the Planning Commission was set up by the Government of India in March 1950. The Commission was instructed to (a) make an assessment of the material capital and human resources of the country, and formulate a plan for the most effective and balanced utilisation of them; (b) determine priorities, define the stages for carrying the plan and propose the allocation of resources for the due completion of each stage; (c) identify the factors which tend to retard economic development; and (d) determine the conditions which (in view of the then current socio-political conditions) should be established for the execution of the plan.

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The planning process was initiated in April 1951 when the First Five Year Plan was launched. Since then ten five year plans have been completed and the Eleventh Plan is in progress.

The Timing of These Eleven Plans are Given here in a Tabular Form:

Timing of the five Year Plans

2. Characteristics of Indian Plans:

There is a long history of the evolution of economic thinking and approach to planning in India and, therefore, its features are changing with the change of the economy. Structure and objectives of each and every country never remain uniform as well as linear. One can also see a wide difference in the political viewpoint as well as political approaches. Such differences lead to different approaches to planning varying from country to country.

In other words, every country has its own peculiarities of economic planning, and India is no exception to this. Further, such characteristics of Indian planning are not uniform. It is to be noted here that the features relate to the initial situation that shape the future of planning. Again, the objectives of planning are not static in the sense they need to be changed according to the needs and opportunities of the country.

Indian history of planning can be divided into three periods: pre-independent, 1951- 1991 and 1991 onwards. We will, however, concentrate on planning of independent India down from 1951 till date. Now we will present some of the essential features of Indian planning so as to understand the mechanics of planning both in a controlled and planned economy, and planning in a market-friendly economy.

(i) Five Year Planning:

Though India's plans are of a 5-year period, such planning is linked with a long term view. Sino-India War (1962), Indo-Pak War (1965), and the unprecedented drought in the mid-60s forced to adopt the approach of 'plan holiday' from the Fourth Five Year Plan. Instead of a regular Five Year Plan, planning was discontinued through three ad hoc Annual Plans during the period 1966-69.

Again, with the assumption of power by the Janata Government in 1977, rolling plan on a year to year basis or the Sixth Plan had been formulated for the period 1978-83. In 1980, this rolling plan concept was discontinued by the Congress (I) Government much ahead of the scheduled time and the Sixth Plan came into operation from 1980 and continued till 1985. Because of unprecedented political crisis in New Delhi and frequent changes of power, the Eighth Five Year Plan scheduled for the period 1990-95 could not be launched.

The Eighth Five Year Plan was delayed by two years, though the years 1990-91 and 1991-92 had not been projected as 'plan holiday'. The Eighth Five Year Plan came into operation in 1992. Since then there has been no break from the five year planning system.

(ii) Developmental Planning:

Indian planning is of the developmental variety. To build up a self-reliant economy, overall economic development of the country received top priority. However, short term problems like refugee rehabilitation, food crises, foreign exchange shortage also got due attention from the planners.

(iii) Comprehensive Planning:

Indian planning is comprehensive in character in the sense that it not only undertakes economic programmes but also puts emphasis on changes in institutional structures and cultures. It emphasises both on the development of agriculture, industry, transport and communications and physical infrastructures and social infrastructures such as literacy, health, population control, environment, etc. Planning programmes are also initiated for the development of lower castes and backward classes so that these people are involved in the development processes.

(iv) Indicative Planning:

Indian planning before 1991 was of the nature of directive planning and averse to the role of market mechanism. As far as resource allocation in the governmental sector was concerned, the government did not rely on the market but gave directions so that resources could be utilised by all the states efficiently. Private initiative and freedom was allowed but not

in an un-hindered way. Private industrialists were encouraged for making investments but, at the same time, they came under strong control and regulation.

Thus, planning in India during 1951-91 was not strictly 'planning by direction' like the socialist plan and not strictly 'planning by inducement' like capitalist planning.

This old system of Indian planning of the comprehensive nature was to be replaced by an integrative approach that combines both planning and market mechanism. Thus, the Indian planning became indicative in nature with the launching of the Eighth Five Year Plan in 1992. As plans roll on, its indicative nature gets strengthened.

Under it, the role of the government becomes passive and the government sheds some of its functions at the altar of the market principles. It is indicative planning as it merely outlines the directions to which the country is expected to run as well as talks about the means for achieving these aims.

To improve efficiency and productivity of the economy, reliance on market principles is attached and planning mechanism then act as a pathfinder or a leader instead of putting more emphasis on the long term goals of the country.

Thus, flexibility is one of the important hallmarks of indicative planning. Earlier, Indian planning was also of indicative character. But the Eighth Plan had made it more so and had redefined the role and functions of the Planning Commission.

(v) Democratic Planning:

Indian planning is democratic planning. The chief building block of laying down the national plan is the Planning Commission. It is a decision-making body that formulates five year plans and implement them in a democratic spirit and frame. Discussions are held periodically between the people's representatives, industrialists, chambers of commerce, educationists, and many other bodies as well as the members of the Planning Commission.

The National Development Council is there to make decisions relating to planning in consultation with the Union and State Governments. In fact, the NDC is the apex body for coordination of policies and plans of the Central and the State Governments.

After getting the stamp of approval from the NDC, the plan document is placed before the Parliament for consideration. Though one finds some sort of centralised, planning decisions Indian planning may be called a decentralised one, if not bottom-up planning.

(vi) Decentralised Planning or Planning from Below:

Being democratic planning, Indian planning is essentially a decentralised type of plan. Until the Fourth Plan, planning at the national level was essentially macro planning. In other words, there was very little or no provision for microplanning, i.e., planning from below. While 'macroplan' provides a broad framework, a 'microplan' chalks out all the details in and fixes priorities for different regions depending on their specific needs.

A macroplan cannot deal with the problems of the remotest regions of the country. A macroplan does not involve people straightforward. However, for an allround growth of every region—small or big—planning has to be decentralised in which local people, local institutions and local governance are asked to participate. This is called 'participatory development'. Participation of the community is needed to deal with the local problems, local resources, local priorities, etc. In this way, the concept of planning from bottom-to-top rather than top-to-down is more popular in India.

(vii) Present Role of the Planning Commission:

The nature and content of the Eighth Plan (1992-97) was different from earlier plans since this plan had been greatly influenced by the liberalised economic policies of the government and the changing world situation. From a rather centralised planning system, the country moved gradually towards indicative planning.

However, as market forces gathered strength as contrasted to planning, India's Planning Commission became somehow redundant. Earlier, the

Planning Commission behaved something like a 'super-cabinet' in propagating and implementing plan policies and programmes.

Against the backdrop of embracing market philosophies, the Planning Commission could no longer act as a policy-making body as it did earlier. The role of the Planning Commission indeed needs to be diluted in the light of changes in the Indian scenario. In other words, Planning Commission needs to be married to the market economy.

Most importantly, the present UPA government has been facing challenges from different quarters because of coalition politics. And the Planning Commission has been reorienting itself to accommodate the compulsions of the coalition Government.

In view of this, Dr. M.S. Ahluwalia articulated relating to the role of the Planning Commission that currently the two roles of the Planning Commission are more important. First is the role of principles that needs to be changed regularly according to the exigencies of the situation. Different ministries will play such roles in their policies and principles.

Since no neutral standpoint could be maintained by the respective ministries, the Planning Commission would then play a more bigger role in the realm of perspective or long term planning. Secondly, market, in case of long term of planning, has very little say. Herein lies the importance of the Planning Commission. Thus, the planning methodology must change so as to reflect the new economic realities and the emerging requirements.

It is, thus, obvious that the features of Indian planning are not static. The role of the Planning Commission has changed to a different form. Above all, the above features of Indian plans are just the reflection of the country's socio-economic philosophies and viewpoints.

3. Objectives of Indian Plans:

In LDCs like India, the paramount objective of an economic plan is to bring into new forms of productive capital, which will raise the overall productivity of the economy and, thus, raise people's income by providing them adequate employment opportunities and, thereby, remove the twin problems of destitution and mass poverty.

In an underdeveloped country like India, these objectives may be broadly grouped under:

1. A higher rate of growth than was being realised in the absence of the plan;
2. A greater degree of economic equality than was possible under free enterprise;
3. Full employment opportunities for the growing labour force of the country;
4. Economic self-reliance; and
5. Modernisation.

It is to be remembered that the above said objectives are long term objectives of India's Five Year Plans.

Now these objectives will be explained:

1. Economic Growth:

Of all the objectives, the objective of economic growth has received the strongest priority in all the plans. Economic planning in India aims at bringing about a rapid economic development in all sectors. The key sectors are agriculture, power, industry and transport.

Through development of the economy, the country aims at increasing national and per capita incomes. Thus, poverty will be removed and the standard of living will be improved. National income in the First Plan increased by 18 p.c. against the targeted growth rate of 11 p.c.

National income during the Second Plan period increased by 20 p.c. against the target of 21 p.c. On the other hand, per capita income grew at a rate of 2.1 p.c. per annum as against the contemplated rate of growth of 3.3 p.c. The Third Plan sought to increase national income by 5.6 p.c. per annum. But the progress card of the Third Plan showed that national income increased by only 2.5 p.c. per annum. Per capita income during this time failed to rise.

The Fourth Plan aimed at achieving the growth rate of national income and per capita income by 5.7 p.c. per annum and 3 p.c. per annum, respectively. In reality, the actual achievement of national income was merely 3.4 p.c., while per capita income rose by only 1.1 p.c. The Fifth Plan proposed a growth rate of 3.5 p.c. per annum, but later revised it to 4.37 p.c.

However, the economy now fared well and attained a growth rate of 5.2 p.c. per annum. The Sixth Plan aimed at an annual growth rate of 5.2 p.c. Actually, this growth rate was achieved. The Seventh Plan (1985-90) achieved an annual growth rate of 6 p.c. The average growth rate during the Eighth Plan was better (6.8 p.c.) than the Seventh Plan. This growth rate slipped down to 5.4 p.c. in the Ninth Plan against a contemplated growth rate of 6.5 p.c. An ambitious target of 8 p.c. GDP growth rate has been achieved in the Tenth Five Year Plan.

2. Economic Equality and Social Justice:

The twin aspects of social justice involves, on the one hand, the reduction in economic inequalities and, on the other, the reduction of poverty.

A rise in national income with concentration of economic power in the hands of a few people is not desirable. In India's socio-political set-up, vast inequalities exist. Indian plans aim at reducing such inequalities, so that the benefits of economic development percolate down to the lower strata of the society.

The objective of removal of poverty got its clear-cut enunciation only in the Fifth Plan for the first time. Due to the defective planning approach, income inequality widened and poverty became rampant. The incidence of poverty was on the rise.

In view of this paradoxical development, the slogan of 'Garibi Hatao' was raised in the Fifth Plan for the first time. It was estimated that approximately 30 per cent of the total population was below the poverty line in 1974. In 1983-84, 44.5 p.c. of the total population were below the poverty line. By 1993-94, it declined to 37.3 p.c. It has been estimated

that 28.3 p.c. of the population lived below the poverty line during 2004-05—so far the latest estimate.

Though the poverty ratio declined over time, the number of poor people remained at more than 260 million during 1999-2000 due to a countervailing growth in population.

3. Full Employment:

Removal of unemployment is considered another important objective of India's Five Year Plans. But, unfortunately, it never received the priority it deserved. In the Sixth Plan (1978-83) of the Janata Government, employment was accorded a pride of place for the first time. However, the Seventh Plan treated employment as a direct focal point of policy. As a result, the employment generation programme in India received a rude shock and the problem of unemployment is mounting up plan after plan.

4. Economic Self-Reliance:

Self-reliance, or for that matter, self-sufficiency, refers to the elimination of external assistance. In other words, it means zero foreign aid. India is typically a dependent economy. She is used to import huge food grains, fertilizers, raw materials and industrial machinery and equipments. But this objective could not be concerted before the launching of the Fourth Plan.

The basic aim of the Fifth Plan was the attainment of self-reliance. To achieve this goal, the Fifth Plan aimed at increasing production of food grains, necessary consumption goods and raw materials and the level of exports. While emphasising the increase in exports, the Plan emphasised the need for establishing import substitute industries as an important facet of economic self-reliance.

In the new era dating from July 1991, the objective of self-reliance lost its then interpretation. No longer it refers to self-sufficiency in the present globalised environment. Still then, it is an important component of India's development policy.

5. Modernisation:

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This objective is comparatively a newer one. This objective was categorically mentioned for the first time in the Sixth Plan. Modernisation means such variety of structural and institutional changes in the economic activities that can change the feudal and colonial economy into a progressive and modern economy.

The important component of modernisation is the development of a diversified economy that produces a variety of goods. This requires the setting up of a variety of industries. It also refers to an advancement of technology. No doubt certain technological advances have taken place in agriculture, energy, etc. But there is a real danger of this objective in the present context.

The country now faces an alarmingly high unemployment problem and, hence, poverty. But modernisation will definitely arrest the employment generation activities. Hence the conflict between the objective of modernisation and the objectives of unemployment and poverty eradication.

Besides these long term objectives, each Five Year Plan in India has some short term objectives. For instance, the First Plan stressed agricultural development, control of inflation and rehabilitation of refugees. The Second Plan aimed at rapid industrial growth, specially basic and heavy industries. The Third Plan emphasised an expansion of basic industries, but shifted to defence development.

4. Evaluation of Objectives:

The objectives of Indian planning are quite comprehensive and its scope is wide.

But it has various shortcomings:

(a) First, Indian Plans are ambitious. Most of the plan objectives remain unfulfilled. Again, some of the objectives are not quantifiable. Furthermore, desired objectives never match with the actual results. Actual results lag behind targets.

(b) Secondly, Indian plans suffer from inconsistency of the objectives that are set. For instance, the objective of accumulation of capital is inconsistent with the objective of reduction of income disparities.

(c) Finally, there are conflicts between objectives. Higher economic growth objective may not commensurate with the employment generation objective. Rapid economic growth requires the use of capital-intensive technology which is, by nature, labour-displacing. Thus, any attempt to improve GDP growth rate is most likely to frustrate the objective of removal of unemployment.

Despite these shortcomings of Indian planning, we must say that the objective of higher economic growth is the most fundamental of all. Plan objectives must be spelt out as to make them consistent with the country's needs.

INDUSTRIAL POLICY

During many decades after independence, India was largely an agrarian economy. But for any economy to be globally successful it must have a robust industrial sector. And so for the first seven five-year plans India actively focussed on industrial development through industrial policy formation. Let us take a look.

Utility of Economics to Society

Industrial Policy

Industrial development is a very important aspect of any economy. It creates employment, promotes research and development, leads to modernization and ultimately makes the economy self-sufficient. In fact, industrial development even boosts other sectors of the economy like the agricultural sector (new farming technology) and the service sector. It is also closely related to the development of trade.

But just after independence India's industrial sector was in very poor condition. It only contributed about 11.8% to the national GDP. The output and productivity were very low. We were also technologically backward. There were only two established industries – cotton and jute. So it became clear that there needed to be an emphasis on industrial

development and increasing the variety of industries in our industrial sector. And so the government formed our industrial policies accordingly.

Control of the State

One of the biggest hurdles in industrial development was the lack of capital. Private industrialists did not have enough capital to build a new industry. And even if they did, the risk involved was too high. So in 1948, it was decided that state would play the primary role in promoting the industrial sector. So the state would have absolute and complete control over all industries that were vital to the economy and the needs of the public.

Coal, petroleum, aviation, steel etc were all reserved exclusively for the state. The private sector could provide services complementary to those by the state. The public enterprises thus had a monopoly over the markets for many years to come.

Industrial Policy Resolution 1956

During the second five-year plan the industrial policy resolution came into action. The aim was to introduce more private capital into the industry but in a systematic manner. So this resolution classified industries into three categories as seen below,

First Category: Industries exclusively owned only by the State

Second Category: Industries for which private sectors could provide supplementary services. These industries would still be mainly the responsibility of the State. And also only the State could start new industries.

Third Category: The remaining industries which fell to the Private Sector.

While any private company or individual could start an industry falling in the third category it was not that simple. The state still maintained control over these industries via licenses and permits. Every new industry needed a license and many permits from the appropriate

ministry. They even needed permissions and permits to expand the present industry.

The aim behind such an industrial policy was to keep a check on the quality of the products. It was also an important tool to promote regional equality, i.e. make sure industries were developed in economically backward areas.

Small Scale Industries

In 1955 a special committee known as the Karve Committee advised the promotion of small-scale industries for the purpose of rural development. It was believed that since small-scale industries are more labour intensive they would create more employment. Also, the manpower requirement of small-scale industries is semi-skilled or unskilled which was suitable for those times.

However, these small-scale industries cannot match up to large scale industries. So there were special goods and products reserved by the government. These could only be manufactured by small and medium scale industries. Such industries also got financial aid in form of loans and tax and duty breaks.

Strengthening of Infrastructure for Industrial Development

One of the first requirements for the development of the economy is to improve the infrastructure of the country. The various other sectors of the economy cannot develop without the support of infrastructure facilities like transport, rail, banking communication etc.

So to develop these industries the government formed appropriate industrial policies. The development of most of these industries fell to the public sector. Like for example, the rail industry to this day remains firmly in the public sector.

Promotion of Capital Goods Industry

Capital goods are goods used in the production of other goods. Capital goods are not for direct sale to the consumer. But they are a hallmark of a good industrial sector. So the government decided to focus on the capital goods industry for the development of our industrial sector.

Notes

So the Mahalanobis model came into effect in the second five-year plan. The focus here was on heavy industries, especially those that produce capital goods. This was to create a robust capital base for the economy. So industries of heavy metals, chemicals, machine building, tools, electrical etc all saw growth in this period.

Such industries have massive capital requirements. But the government ensured they had enough capital to function smoothly. Soon there was a development of high-tech goods in the market as well.

EDUCATION

After the implementation of plans, efforts were made to spread education.

Government decided to provide free and compulsory education to all children up to the age of 14. But this aim could not be achieved yet.

In First Five Year Plan 7.9% of total plan outlay was allocated for education. In Second and Third Plan, the allocations were 5.8% and 6.9% of the total plan outlay. In Ninth Plan only 3.5% of the total outlay was allocated for education.

To streamline the education, the Govt. implemented the recommendations of Kothari Commission under 'National Policy on Education' in 1968. The main recommendations were universal primary education. Introduction of new pattern of education, three language formula, introduction of regional language in higher education, development of agricultural and industrial education and adult education.

To combat the changing socio-economic needs of the country, Govt. of India announced a new National Policy on Education in 1986. Universalisation of primary education, vocationalisation of secondary education and specialisation of higher education were the main features of this policy.

National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) at National level and State Council of Educational Research and Training (SCERT) at State level were established to maintain the standard of

education. University Grants Commission (UGC) was instituted to determine the standard of higher education.

The following points explain the development of education in India after independence:

1. Expansion of General Education:

During the period of planning there has been expansion of general education. In 1951, the percentage of literacy was 19.3. In 2001 the literacy percentage increased to 65.4%. The enrolment ratio of children in the age group of 6-11 was 43% in 1951 and in it became 100% in 2001.

Primary education – been free and compulsory. Midday meal has been started in schools since 1995 to check drop-out rate. The number of primary schools has risen by three times from 2.10 lakh (1950-51) to 6.40 lakhs (2001-02). There were only 27 universities in 1950-51 which increased to 254 in 2000-01.

2. Development of Technical Education:

Besides general education, technical education plays important role in human capital formation. The Govt. has established several Industrial Training Institutes, Polytechnics, Engineering colleges and Medical and Dental colleges, Management institutes etc.

These are given below:

(a) Indian Institute of Technology:

For education and research in engineering and technology of international standard, seven institutes have been established at Mumbai, Delhi, Kanpur, Chennai, Khargpur, Roorkee and Gauhati, Technical education is imparted here both for graduation and post-graduation and doctorate level.

(b) National Institute of Technology (NIT):

These institutes impart education in engineering and technology. These were called Regional College of Engineering (REC). These are 17 in

number throughout the country. There are other institutes in the country to teach engineering and technical education.

(c) Indian Institute of Management:

These institutes impart education in business management and administration. These institutes are located at Ahmedabad, Bangalore, Kolkata, Lucknow, Indore and Kozhikode.

(d) Medical education:

There were only 28 medical colleges in the country in 1950-51. There were 165 medical and 40 dental colleges in the country in 1998-99.

(e) Agricultural education:

Agricultural Universities have been started in almost all States to improve production and productivity of agriculture. These universities impart education and research in agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry and veterinary sciences etc.

3. Women education:

In India, literacy among women was quite low. It was 52% according to 2001 census. While the literacy among men was 75.8%. Women education was given top priority in National Policy on Education. Many State Governments have exempted the tuition fee of girl's up to university level. Separate schools and colleges have been established to raise level of literacy among women.

4. Vocational education:

National Policy of Education, 1986, aims at vocationalisation of secondary education. Central Govt. has been giving grants to State Governments to implement the programme since 1988. Agriculture, Pisciculture, diary, poultry, typing, electronics, mechanical and carpentry etc. had been included in higher secondary curriculum.

5. Growth of higher education:

In 1951, there were 27 universities. Their number increased to 254 in 2001. In Orissa state, there was only one university in 1951. Now there are 9 universities.

6. Non-formal education:

This scheme was launched on an experimental basis from the Sixth plan and on regular basis from Seventh plan. The aim was to achieve universal elementary education to all children in the age group of 6-14 years. The scheme was meant for those children who cannot attend schools regularly and for full time due to poverty and pre-occupation with other works.

The Central Govt. is providing assistance to State Govt. and voluntary organisation to implement the scheme. Non-formal education centres have been set up in remote rural areas, hilly and tribal areas and in slums. These impart education to children of 6-14 age group.

7. Encouragement to Indian Language and Culture:

After the adoption of National Policy of Education 1968, regional language became the medium of instruction in higher education. Syllabus on science and technology, dictionaries, books, and Question Papers are translated into regional languages. Indian history and culture have been included in school and college curriculum.

8. Adult education:

Simply speaking adult education refers to the education for the illiterate people belonging to the age group of 15-35 years. The National Board of Adult Education was established in the First Five Year Plan. The village level workers were assigned the job of providing adult education. The progress remained not too good.

The National Adult Education Programme was started in 1978. The programme is considered as a part of primary education. National Literary Mission was also started in 1988 to eradicate adult illiteracy particularly in rural areas.

The Centre gives assistance to states, voluntary organisations and some selected universities to implement this programme. There were 2.7 lakh adult education centres working in the country in 1990-91. This programme helped to raise the literacy rate to 65.38% in 2001.

9. Improvement of Science education:

Notes

Central Govt. started a scheme for the improvement of science education in schools in 1988. Financial assistance is given to provide science kits, up gradation of science laboratories, development of teaching material, and training of science and mathematics teachers. A Central Institute of Educational Technology (CIET) was set up in NCERT to purchase equipment for State Institutes of Educational Technology.

10. Education for all:

According to 93rd Amendment, education for all has been made compulsory. The elementary education is a fundamental right of all children in the age group of 6-14 years. It is also free. To fulfill this obligation Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) has been launched.

The above discussion makes it clear that a lot of development in education has been made in India after Independence. There is wide growth in general education and higher education. Efforts have been made to spread education among all sections and all regions of the country. Still our education system is ridden with problems.

HINDU CODE BILL

Secularism, in the Nehruvian context, does not mean the separation of religion from the state but rather benevolent neutrality towards all religions, which are treated equably. However, this universalist position exists alongside effort to reduce the ascendancy of religion in society. The 1950 Constitution strongly influenced by Nehru, did not recognize religious communities but only individuals, to whom it guaranteed in Article 25 'freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practice and propagate religion'. This ideal concept of religion as a private matter implied a reduction in its sphere of influence through the impact of state in its capacity as the agent of 'modernisation'. Nehru's principal achievement in this voluntarist perspective was undoubtedly the Hindu Code Bill.

The Hindu Code Bill was intended to provide a civil code in place of the body of Hindu personal law, which had been amended to only a limited extent by the British authorities. The bill was presented to the Constituent Assembly on 9 April 1948 but it caused a great deal of

controversy and was subsequently broke down to three more specialised bills which came before the Lok Sabha in its 1952-7 term. The Hindu Marriage Bill outlawed polygamy and contained provisions dealing with inter caste marriages and divorce procedures; the Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Bill had as its main thrust the adoption of girls, which till then had been little practised; the Hindu Succession Bill placed daughters on the same footing as widows and sons where the inheritance of family property was concerned.

These bills aroused strong opposition from the Hindu nationalists. In Parliament N.C. Chatterjee, the Hindu Mahasabha leader, and S.P. Mokerjee protested vehemently against what they took to be a threat to file stability and integrity of traditional forms of marriage and the family in Hindu society. However, one of the most vehement critics of the government's proposals was Swami Karpatriji, a sanyasi who belonged to the Dandis, one of the orders founded by Shankara. He had won respect for his knowledge of Sanskrit texts, his asceticism (he had spent long periods in solitude in the Himalayas) and for his skill as an orator. It was a measure of his authority that he had been involved in the selection of the four major Shankarachryas . In 1940 he had founded the Dharma Sangh (Association of Dharma), a cultural association for the defence of traditional Hinduism. In 1941 he founded a daily paper Sanmarg. After 1948 he turned towards politics and established the Ram Rajya Parishad (Council of the Kingdom of Ram) to serve as a political party. This body organised numerous demonstrations against the Hindu Code Bill; 15,000 people, including personalities such as the Princess of Dewas Senior (a former princely state in Central India), attended a week- long conference in Delhi at the beginning of 1949.

The Hindu nationalists, for their part, were particularly exasperated that the civil law reform concerned only Hindus, whereas the Constitution enjoined (in article 44 of the Directive Principles) the State to give India a uniform Civil Code: hence Mookerjee's declaration that the "government did not dare to touch the Muslim community." Nehru's secularism suffered here from a certain ambiguity or at least a lacuna, doubtless due to his concern to reassure the Muslims who had chosen to

remain in India. He was prepared to condone the right of civil courts to apply Muslim personal law in cases affecting Muslims.

In his view, the majority community had duties towards the minorities. As S. Gopal points out: "He urged incessantly the importance of generous treatment of the minorities so that they would feel that they were Indians, and be completely at home.' Such an attitude could be denounced as an anti-Hindu bias while the RSS later described it as 'pseudo-secularism'. In the early 1950s, however, the campaigns undertaken in this direction succeeded in having the Hindu Code Bill amended and the parliamentary vote delayed but failed to mobilise widespread support or even win that of the traditionalists in Congress. Rajendra Prasad, who was elected President of the Republic in 1950, was distressed by a project whose 'new concepts and new ideas.... are not only foreign to Hindu Law but may cause disruption in every family'. He argued that the proposal for reform should first be included in the party's election manifesto and placed before the voters before any discussion in Parliament.

Nehru had to make many concessions to the bill's critics, including Rajendra Prasad. Although the bills which were adopted by the new Parliament in the mid-1950s were thus less far-reaching in scope than Nehru had originally intended, they were a solid testimony to his ability to impose his views on others and to defy the Hindu traditionalists.

MUSLIM WOMEN DIVORCE BILL

Both Houses of Parliament have passed a Bill making instant triple talaq a criminal offence, amidst persistent doubts whether it ought to be treated as a crime or just a civil case. It is true that the Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Marriage) Bill, 2019, is a diluted version of the Bill as it was originally conceived. Earlier, it did not specify who could set the law in motion. Now the offence is cognisable only if the affected wife, or one related to her by blood or marriage, files a police complaint. A man arrested under this law may get bail, after the Magistrate grants a hearing to the wife. Thirdly, the offence is compoundable, that is, the parties may arrive at a compromise. The government says its main objective is to give effect to the Supreme Court's 2017 verdict declaring

instant triple talaq illegal. It claims that despite the court ruling, several instances have been reported. Making it an offence, the government says, will deter further resort to triple talaq, and provide redress for women in the form of a subsistence allowance and custody of children, besides getting the erring husband arrested. However, the core question regarding the necessity to criminalise the practice of talaq-e-biddat has not been convincingly answered.

In the light of the Supreme Court ruling on its validity, there is really no need to declare instant triple talaq a criminal offence. The practice has no approval in Islamic tenets, and is indeed considered abhorrent. Secondly, once it has been declared illegal, pronouncing talaq obviously does not have the effect of “instantaneous and irrevocable divorce” as this Bill claims in its definition of ‘talaq’. The provisions that allow a woman to claim a subsistence allowance from the man and seek custody of her children can be implemented in the event of the husband abandoning her, even without the man’s arrest. If triple talaq, in any form, is void, how the questions of children’s custody and subsistence allowance arise while the marriage subsists, is not clear. And then, there is the practical question of how a man can provide a subsistence allowance while he is imprisoned. It has been argued by the Bill’s proponents that dowry harassment and cruelty towards wives are treated as criminal offences even while the marriage subsists. It is a patently wrong comparison, as those acts involve violence and cruelty and are rightly treated as criminal offences. The same cannot be said of a man invoking a prohibited form of divorce. The BJP projects the passage of the Bill as a historic milestone in the quest for gender justice. Such a claim will be valid only if there is a non-sectarian law that addresses abandonment and desertion of spouses as a common problem instead of focusing on a practice, which is no more legally valid, among Muslims.

Check your progress –

1. When was first industrial policy planned?

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2. When was Hindu Code bill passed?

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14.3 LETS SUM UP

India went through huge changes in industrial policies which saw 5 year plans, economic advances, advancement in science and technology and women rights, for both Hindus and Muslims.

14.4 KEYWORDS

Hindu Code, 5 year Plans, Talaq

14.5 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Discuss about educational policy changes.
2. What is Hindu Code bill?

14.6 SUGGESTED READINGS

Contemporary India: Political, Economic and Social Developments Since 1947 by Dietmar

India Unbound: The Social and Economic Revolution from Independence to the Global Information Age Paperback – 9 Apr 2002

by Gurcharan Das

14.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Hint – 14.2
2. HINT – 14.2