

CHAPTER - III

The Ideas of 'Nationalism' and 'Internationalism' in India.

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I. Nationalism in India:

Generally, the political, cultural, social and economic factors join together at a particular stage of human development to destroy feudalism and turn conducive towards the formation of a nation. Throughout the world, 'the period of the final victory of capitalism over feudalism has been linked up with the national movement'.⁽¹⁾ Like all other historical movements, nationalism is regulated by both subjective and objective conditions of the period. Indian nationalism is a modern phenomenon and as such may be ranked with Afro-Asian nationalism. Indian nationalism, 'came into being during the British period as a result of action and interaction of numerous subjective and objective forces and factors which developed within the Indian society under the conditions of British rule and the impact of world forces.'⁽²⁾

The most important political and economic aspect of Indian reality was that India was being ruled by a foreign power for the purpose of economic profit. The degree of exploitation created a situation in which antagonism between the rulers and the ruled continued to develop and a struggle for political power and independence became more or less inevitable.⁽³⁾ Furthermore, the Indian national movement arose from conditions arising out of imperialism and its system of exploitation; the rise of Indian

bourgeoisie and its growing competition against the domination of the British bourgeoisie. It was here that this section of bourgeoisie began to move in their quest for national identity. Thus the process began wherein nearly 'every important economic question was linked with politically dependent status of the country and with the question of political autonomy or atleast with Indian people's right to share in political power.'⁽⁴⁾

The colonial policies of the imperialist power were more or less similar in their manifestations. There existed certain variations in the methods of enslavement of colonial people. In the colonial period,⁽⁵⁾ Britain applied all the known forms of oppression. Economic exploitation, racial discrimination, spread of Christian missionaries, communal rift, to name a few, were the adjuncts of the British rule in India. But the transformation of the pre-British feudal economy into a capitalist economy (however, including feudal survivals) was a long-drawn process. And all the three phases of capitalism spread in India from trading to industrial and industrial to 'financial' which simply increased the amount of exploitation of the Indian people. The changes which developed in the general character of capitalism in Britain from its progressive period to a more and more reactionary period culminating in the period of imperialism brought corresponding changes in the character of British rule in India.⁽⁶⁾

The progressive role of the British rule started

waning in the later decades of the 19th century when new forces started growing in the Indian society. These beginnings, within the field of capitalist industry and of the new Westernised intelligentsia started appearing, 'destined to become the first articulate expression and leadership of Indian national claims.'⁽⁷⁾ Thus the basic economic conflict surfaced simply to grow in proportions in the later years.

The history of the Indian national movement is the record of the advancing consciousness which began from a narrow circle to its full stature with the mass participation of the peasants and labour replacing the 'elitist' character by 'mass' movement.

Romantic School:-

The contention that British rule in India was harmful to Indians, was endorsed by most of the writers on Indian nationalism. Among the early accounts to appear on Indian nationalism was 'How India wrought for Freedom', by Annie Besant. She started forcibly with the contention that the Aryan civilization had been the true breeding ground of Indian nationalism. India had a long-chequered history full of rich literature and religion. Besant considered that a prosperous and wealthy nation like India had been turned to a sorry state of affairs under the British rule. To her, 'British nation would understand the shame and her autocratic rule in India, her broken pledges, her selfishness, her

preference of her own to India's interest'. (8)

Besant's version might be termed as the 'romantic' school of Indian nationalism (9) which the Theosophical Society did so much to popularise during the 19th century. She asserted that India inherited an ancient and glorious civilization and owed little to the discoveries of Europe. Furthermore, Besant and some other writers tried to reinforce India's claim to nationhood. It was important to instil a sense of national pride to a people under colonial subjugation and to focus the plight of Indians. Though these ideas provided suggestive insights, 'the lack of proper conceptual precision in Besants' treatment of Indian nationalism robs her account of a sense of clarity and coherence.' (10)

Marxist School:

M. N. Roy, the founder of Indian communist movement and its leading theoretician, opined, that the historians of the 'romantic school' were 'bad readers of history' for their subjective attitude. To him, nationalism was 'a comparatively recent phenomenon in the annals of human history before which the communities lived in the various parts of the world through tribal, slave and feudal phases of social existence'. (11)

It was only with the advent of the British imperialism that Indian feudalism got a death-blow and the intellectuals together with the landowners and traders formed the Indian bourgeoisie which turned anti-colonial and advanced threat to the

ruling power. Roy asserts that these groups raised issues such as representative institutions, Indianisation of the services, the development of home-industry and the boycott of foreign goods.

He also interpreted nationalism in the context of internationalism. The realisation that there was a common bond of unity among the various members of human race along with the ideal of uniting the entire human race into one fraternity was gaining ground ⁽¹²⁾ replacing the ideal of parochial, selfish, narrow-minded nationalism.

Roy perceived nationalism as a modern phenomenon arising out of conditions created by British rule, notably changes in the economy and education leading to the emergence of the middle class in Indian society which fully became the leading exponents of the doctrine of nationalism. R.P. Dutt also provided the perspective of 'historical materialism' in his pioneering work in 'India Today'. His account is quite up to date. This is the first sustained analysis, from a Marxist stand point, of the Indian reality under the British rule and of the resurgent national liberation movement which sought to overthrow it.

Another impressive scholarly output has been put forward by Bipan Chandra in his book, 'The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India'. The account provided by the Marxists, focussed on the entire period between 1835 to 1947, and had one central feature - the conflict or contradiction between imperialism and nationalism. The anti-colonial character had been

exclusively expressed in the Indian national awakening. For Roy, as indeed for all the Marxists, 'history was merely a witness to the way in which these events have unfolded themselves'.⁽¹³⁾

The whole generation of Marxist historians of India, despite many political differences among them, agreed that the intellectual history of India in the 19th and the 20th centuries was a history of the struggle between the forces of reaction and those of progress.⁽¹⁴⁾ The attempt to relate developments in thought to the evolving socio-economic structure of a colonial country led to the subjection of the colonial country and the question of loyalty or opposition to the imperial power the basis of their thinking. Thus Marxists have found it extremely hard to escape the liberal dilemma; 'more often than not, they have adopted exactly the same method as that of the liberals - either a resort to sociology... or alternatively reducing the two trends within nationalism....'⁽¹⁵⁾

Thus the account provided by the scholars on the basis of historical materialism is atleast devoid of fuzziness as was evident in the account provided by the Romantic School. Their account showed not only the exploitative character of the British rule in India, but also recognised that it terminated centuries of despotism, superstitions, ushering in a new era of destruction as well as regeneration, i.e. destruction of antiquated traditions and emergence of modern secular and national forces.'⁽¹⁶⁾

The Theory of the Educated Class:

Mc Cully, one of the prominent scholars, in his work 'English Education and the Origins of Indian Nationalism', conceived English education as the agency through which nationalism surfaced in India. The resentment and the aspirations of this class led to the germination of the seed of nationalism in India. There is no doubt about the fact that this educated class gradually and steadily helped in launching the anti-colonial nationalist movement. Therefore, Mc Cully regarded English education as the only major determinant for the growth of the nationalist movement in India in favour of 'democracy' 'secularism' and welfare of the people. On the otherhand, the frustrations of finding suitable employment, compounded by racial discrimination, led them to accelerate the process of the growth of Indian national movement.

Mc Cully asserted that Indian nationalism was an exotic growth - implanted by foreign hands and influences. He did seemingly overlook the role of the economic factor. Nevertheless, he did not deny the main contention that Indian nationalism was mainly anti-colonial in character and manifestations. He saw 'nationalism as a modern phenomenon that didn't occur in pre-colonial India, and unlike Besant, did not confuse nationalism with ethno-centrism.

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On the otherhand, Anil Seal formulated a different

approach based on 'group competition'. He argued that there were elite interest-groups whose frustrations in securing benefits of the scarce resources led to various postures of conflict in which yesterday's friends became tomorrow's enemies. (18) Seal, like Mc Cully, believed, Indian nationalism was not formed through the promptings of any class demand or as the consequence of any sharp changes in the structure of the economy. The rise of nationalism had more to do with the educational and bureaucratic policies of the British Raj.

Later on, Seal, in company with Gallagher and Gordon Johnson, shifted the emphasis from 'elite' to 'locality' depicting the rivalries between Indians, questioning their earlier stand. Though Seal shared Roy's and Mc Cully's view that the educated class behaved in their own interest but failed to take into account this section as a new class but as extension of the castes they originally represented. (19) These historians underplayed economic factors and assigned, instead, the central role in the politicization, to the sharpening of the social rivalries prevalent during the period.

While Besant and other romantists^{ei} along with traditionalists emphasised over the rich heritage of India condemning the destruction of the Indian system, Roy and Seal took destruction as something less significant. But in one regard, both natives and foreigners alike supported the contention that Indian nationalism was 'anti-colonial' and 'anti-imperialist'. Economically

backward and politically divided India became the prey of British colonialists first, as a market for their manufactured goods later, into a source of raw materials. The development of capitalism in India assumed extremely grave forms due to predatory methods of exploitation practised by Britain. Naturally all these led to the emergence of anti-colonial trend of India nationalism.

Political Economy of Indian Nationalism:

The historical destiny took a different turn when the British established their dominance over the extensive territory ^{the} of Indian sub-continent. The first hundred years' rule revealed the direct plunder of India when she became an agrarian raw materials appendage, first, as market for their manufactured goods and later, into a source of raw materials and food stuffs, entailing grave consequence to the economy. For the first time, the land became the object of buying and selling. Landlords, absentee landlords, and merchants emerged in the agrarian sphere and the rebellions of peasants also came on the scene at the end of the 18th and in the first half of the 19th century, which gathered momentum in the later years till the independence from the colonial yoke was achieved.

In the second-half of the 19th century, capitalism emerged on the scene. The nascent capitalist relations in the country based on ^{the} discriminatory policies of Britain facilitated the development of national consciousness. Keshav Chandra Sen,

Brahmo-Samajist, remarked, 'we no longer rely on ourselves in anything. We are subject to foreign power, receive education in foreign language, and suffer from foreign oppression. We shall not differ from English in any way, their language will be our language. My heart breaks when I think that the word Hindu may be forgotten and we shall be called by a different name.'⁽²⁰⁾

England achieved Industrial Revolution with the plunder of India and found adequate outlets for their manufactured goods in India. 'The British capital invested in India was, in reality, first raised in India from the plunder of the Indian people, and then written down as debt from the Indian people to Britain, on which they had to pay thenceforward interests and dividends.'⁽²¹⁾ This finance capital exploitation turned dominant which 'intensified exploitation of India under the conditions of finance capitalism underlying the present gathering crisis and intensified revolt against imperialism in India. But the fact remains that British rule has at any rate led to advancing industrialisation and economic development in place of the previous decay,'⁽²²⁾ is far from justified. Because, 'upto 1914, the opposition of imperialism to industrial development in India was open and unconcealed'.⁽²³⁾ But, for military and competitive economic reasons and inner political factors, the erstwhile policy was changed in terms of securing more profit. However, the fact remains that industrialisation made the Indian economy more unified and cohesive and organic. It brought into existence modern

culture gearing up the progressive movement of social, political and cultural nature.

Indian Nationalism : Ideology, Organisation and Movements:

The origin of nationalism was commonly traced to the establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885, the most momentous event in the history of nationalism and freedom in modern India.

Though, some of the societies of political character were formed even earlier than the establishment of Indian National Congress by some intellectuals in the major cities of India, it was the result of the transition from social and religious societies towards political associations by the 1870's. It was in Poona that the intelligentsia first launched the 'Poona Sarvajanik Sabha' in 1870, followed by the famous 'Indian Association' of Calcutta in 1876, and Madras's 'Madras Native Association' in 1881. This reflected, on the eve of the formation of the Congress, the intelligentsia in the four major cities in India had set up their own political bodies in rapid succession. (24) These organisations had their branches in the districts and their demands included greater share in recruitments for administration, representation in the legislature, abolition of levies on trade and commerce, lowering of high land revenue, opposed salt and forest laws. These organisations turned to be ^{the} nucleus of the emerging nationalist movement capable of uniting regional elites in other

provinces. Influential factions which founded associations in Bombay, Poona, Madras, Allahabad and Calcutta, had worked closely with Hume in giving practical shape to their desire for a nationalist institution. (25)

Indian National Congress : The First Phase:

In the first stage of the Congress, the intelligentsia commanded and constituted the majority of the front-rank leadership. Next to lawyers, came the editors of newspapers, followed by teachers and some officials. The second pillar of support came from the bourgeoisie, industrialists, merchants, bankers, money-lenders, zamindars and landholders. Among the delegates who attended the conferences between 1892-1909, the landed gentry and the commercial class comprised 32 percent. (26) Thus the Congress in ^{the} early years was 'composed chiefly of English-educated lawyers, and smaller gentry, with a fair sprinkling of commercial and professional classes.' (27) Remaining outside the orbit of the Congress were 'the peasantry, the rural artisans, the working class employed in the factories, the plantations, mines and modern communications, minorities such as ^{the} Muslims and the depressed classes ...' (28) Initially the Congress did not include the demand for immediate independence. Besides, the Congress also sought to escape entanglements with issues capable of evoking religious conflicts.

The Second Phase:

The second and the third decades in the life of the Indian National Congress marked the dominant internal feuds between the 'moderates' and the 'extremists'. The crack appeared as early as 1890, but it gained serious proportion in the wake of partition of Bengal. Tilak, Aurobindo, B.C. Pal and Lajpat Rai formed this group of extremists. Aurobindo advocated an unequivocal demand for 'Indian independence'.⁽²⁹⁾ Tilak became a true symbol of the new era, a principal leader of the democratic wing not only in Maharashtra, but in India as a whole. Lala Lajpat Rai remarked, 'no nation is worthy of any political status if it can't distinguish between begging such rights and claiming them.'⁽³⁰⁾

Then came the partition of Bengal which surely marked the turning point in the history of Indian nationalism. Demonstrations were held almost daily and the young section including the students joined the movement against partition. 'Bande Mataram' as a show of patriotic defiance was chanted. New movements like 'Swadeshi', boycott and national education were popularised. The air was full of Swadeshi. The complete independence or Swaraj replaced the earlier stand of the moderates and, for the first time, the leadership established direct link with the working class. It 'revealed a potential mode of mass mobilisation which held implications for the future nationalist struggle.'⁽³¹⁾

Another major event which brought about revolutionary upsurge was the trial and conviction of Lokmanya Tilak in 1908. In July 1908, there was a public strike in Bombay, when labourers also came on a mass strike. Lenin commented: 'India of people is beginning to stand up in defence of her writers and public leaders, the infamous sentence pronounced by the British jackals against the Indian democrat Tilak'.⁽³²⁾

However, the break between the moderates and the extremists had come to pass at Surat shattering the political unity with which the Indian National Congress had continued since its inception for more than two decades. This continued till 1916 December when in Lucknow Congress an understanding was reached. A series of radical resolutions from self-government to Hindu-Muslim Constitutional settlement were approved. Tilak died (in 1920) and Gandhi was inaugurating the non-co-operation movement in protest against Britain's Khilafat policies, thus heralding the passing of one era in Indian nationalism and the advent of another.⁽³³⁾

The Terrorists and the National Movement:

The Indian terrorists and revolutionaries were second to none in their patriotic enthusiasm and noble dedications. Chafekar, Khudiram Bose, Bhagat Singh, Chandrasekhar Azad, Rash Behari Bose and many others took to this path. Though they did not produce substantial contribution to the growth of political thought, their writings, messages and much more than that, their

trials and heroism, enthused the youth. While the early revolutionaries were influenced by spiritual Hinduism, after the 1920s, a socialist and communist connotation was added. Bhagat Singh provided such an example. Therefore, 'it will be wrong to regard the terrorist movement as a failure, the sacrifices of the terrorist movement became the subject matter of national saga'.⁽³⁴⁾ It proved correct, 'so long as the national movement does not become mature and broad based, terrorism supplies the historic channel for the release of frustration and for the expression of the national rage.'⁽³⁵⁾

The ideology of nationalism:

The bourgeoisie represented a political force in India since the middle of the 19th century in 'embarking upon modern political movements and in building links with other classes in society'.⁽³⁶⁾ This section enthusiastically supported the programme of the 'Swadeshi' of Congress and boycott of English goods. Large section of Indian leadership such as Gokhale, Joshi, Banerjee, Wacha and Datt could advance the ideology of anti-colonialism with a request for share in power. Naoroji, Tilak and Iyer prescribed and expressed the view that the British rule was injurious to India.⁽³⁷⁾ Their stand underwent constant changes from their earlier belief that the credit side of the British rule in India outweighed the debit side.⁽³⁸⁾ However, gratefulness and praise began to give way to constant carping and grieving so far economic issues were concerned.

In course of time, agitation on concrete economic issues

reflected discontent establishing the fact/India was robbed for
British purposes, i.e. being drained out of its wealth and capital.
It might be 'suggested that ultimately it was the agitation around
economic policies'.⁽³⁹⁾ Furthermore, the growth of the united
national economy provided a base for the ideological formulations
where a section supported the Laissez-faire to be opposed by the
other. The concept of nationalism and its ideological manifestations
emerged in this background. So, 'the history of the rise of
national sentiment in India is closely linked up with the growth
of a united national economy.'⁽⁴⁰⁾

Despite, the efforts made by the liberals and the
extremists, the Congress could not become a mass organisation.
When the liberation movement gained momentum, people from
different castes, communities and groups joined it and the Congress
became ideologically a 'conglomeration of a wide range of
interests ... rightists, leftists and Gandhians'.⁽⁴¹⁾ In the
process of trying to accommodate all these interests, the very
content and form of socialism was, therefore, a synthesis of the
major trends within the party.'⁽⁴²⁾ By 1934, the Congress
Socialist Party was formed. The Communist Party of India, which
could mobilise support of the peasants and workers by organising
them, was already on the scene. Their impact was also felt in
the policies of the Congress in Lahore and Karachi Congress
sessions. As the aspirations of people grew stronger and
dissatisfaction rather strong, the Congress had to broaden their

policies, first political freedom from British colonialism and later economic freedom and subsequently the establishment of an egalitarian society. (43)

Thus the growth of the different political ideologies came as a response to the demands of the situation. Britain, in order to consolidate and perpetuate her rule, started the process of enslaving Indians spiritually with the spread of Christianity. But their offensive ran into stubborn resistance and ideological struggle for liberation from Christianity, particularly successful, was the defence of the native religion. The first trend, of Swami Dayananda, set itself to the task of reforming and reviving the religion of Hinduism with a call to 'Back to Vedas. In 1877, the Hindu Tract society was established in Madras, with the double motive to defend Hinduism, and to attack openly Christian missionary activities. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan also attacked Christianity.

The second trend against Christianity was spiritualism and theosophy. The activities of the Theosophical Society, particularly in ^{the} South, could be rated very high. They were quite successful in spreading the pride of the past, helpful in promoting the agitation for self-government. But, as for India's burning social problems, theosophists touched on them only in so far as they felt ^{the} need for adapting themselves to the political situation of the country and legalising their activities which were reactionary in their content. (44)

The third ideological struggle against Christianity was linked with Brahma Samaj, recognising all religions including Christianity, to be equal, advocating 'digesting' or 'assimilating' Christian ideals within Hinduism. Under Ramkrishna, Vivekananda resorted to religion as a means of awakening national consciousness. He could powerfully influence India.

These reformists, such as Vivekananda, Dayananda and Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, searched for a way out of the existing situation, through reforms of the traditional religious and the feudal socio-economic institutions. They played a positive role in the growth of national consciousness indirectly and directly also in the formulation of political ideology of Indian nationalism. Bradov, very nicely evaluated, although the activities of these societies were usually religious or even mystical in form, their purpose was essentially bourgeois liberation'.
(45)

Social formations:

The Modern nationalism in India had been a complex of economic, political social and intellectual developments under the British rule. British colonial system hastened the process of elite formation. The emergence of bureaucrats, bourgeoisie, and intelligentsia, like other colonialisised countries, emerged on the scene supported by technological innovation, the expansion of the mass media, urbanisation and the growth of communication. And this social communication turned to be the prerequisite for group inte-

gration i.e. for the advancement of the process of formation of nation.

The introduction of English education by ^{The} British Raj was portrayed as a seminal factor in modern Indian politics and 'it is the relationship between British policy and Indian nationalism that goes to the proper understanding of the phenomenon'. (46) There was a general recognition that the group of the educated persons, the product of British education policy, played a conducive role to the growth of nationalism in India. Furthermore, 'Indian as well as Western historians, nationalist as well as Marxist writers, were one in this belief that British Raj through its new and uniform system of education ... created a class which had ambition, as well as the capacity to launch nationalist movement. (47)

Though, the new education policy was formulated to raise an honest, efficient and cheaper administrative cadre, the anticipation ultimately went against the British rule. It marked the beginning of political thinking of secular-democratic character along with an awareness of the need for social change on national basis such ideas could originate and develop because from the beginning of the 19th century the intellectuals were shedding their feudal outlook resulting into what can be said, 'This new class gave birth to what came to be known the ideology of nationalism in India'. (48) Having awareness of identity, amongst the educated, derived from its social origins and educational

training, this group also took to the task of the formation of political associations long before the establishment of ^{the} Indian National Congress.

Western education in the shape of an almost identical system of schooling, speaking the same language and pursuing the same vocations allowed the intelligentsia to assume a pan-Indian elite-character cutting across the boundaries of religion caste and creed. Later on, these intelligentsia launched social, political, religious and cultural movements to remove the contradiction of the old outlooks, practices and organisations and to establish the new principles of democracy and nationalism. The Brahmo-Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj, Ramkrishna Mission and the Theosophical societies had movements in this direction and were led by the intelligentsia. They played historically progressive role attacking idolatry, polytheism and hereditary priesthood. These movements were attempts to recast the old religion to suit the modern society ⁽⁴⁹⁾ and also tried to accomplish caste-reform, abolition of the Sati system, equal rights for women, to abolish the child marriage and the sati system. The motive of all these movements was national advancement.

This group of intelligentsia brought about revolutionary steps in organising the press. The intellectuals like Ram Mohun were also the pioneers of press movement in India. He was the first to start Bengali and Persian Publication in 1821 and 1822 respectively. The same year, Faroorji Murjahan published in

Gujrati the 'Bombay Samachar', still continuing. Again, in 1830, Rammohun with Dwarkanath Tagore and Prasanna Kumar Tagore published 'Bengal Dutt' in Bengali followed by Vidyasagar's 'Shome Prakash' in Bengali in 1858. Later on, **political leader, namely, Titik** published 'Keshari' in Marathi, and 'Maratha' in English, Aurobindo B.C. Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai had also their publications. These publications augmented the growth of vernaculars which played an important role in shaping and developing nationalist movements.

Though access to education was open to all, it actually had representation in the Bhadrakalok of Bengal, and the Brahmins of Madras and Maharashtra. However, the spread of education was restricted to 6% and 8% as per census Report of 1911 and 1931 respectively. Apart from this, certain contradictory processes were taking place among Indian intellectuals with a European education many of whom were in the employ of the colonial administration. Their upper stratum formed a close alliance with the colonialists and the landowning class, while the other part, sympathetic to the working people, though far removed from revolutionary struggle, endeavoured to defend the people's interests.

New Social Classes in Agriculture:

The establishment of the new social economy in the agrarian areas led to the emergence of new social classes principally : Zamindars, absentee landlords, tenants, peasants divided into upper, middle and lower strata, agricultural labourers,

merchants, and money lenders. With the establishment of 'new land relations based on private property ... the agrarian economy in India entered a new and hitherto historically unknown stage of development.'⁽⁵⁰⁾ It no longer had an isolated village character since a national agriculture emerged acquiring a national character.

The introduction of the private property in land in the shape of zamindari and ryotwari brought about the new class of large estate owners. The right to lease the land ensured the entry of absentee lords on the scene followed by encouraged entry of a hierarchy of intermediaries such as money lenders, absentee landlords and commercial merchants. For economic profit, convenience and politico-strategic reasons, British in India superseded the traditional rights of the village community over the land. The social effect of this arrangement was the rise of a small but powerfully wealthy land-owning elite to exercise deep influence in rural society. The political impact has been nicely put by Lord Bentick, 'I should say the permanent settlement though a failure, has this great advantage of having created a vast body of rich landed proprietors deeply interested in continuance of the British dominion ...'⁽⁵¹⁾ The landed aristocracy always supported the government apprehending that any democratic transformation ... would jeopardise its class interests.⁽⁵²⁾ The purpose of the permanent zamindari system was to create a new class of landlords after the English model as the social buttress

(53)
of English rule. However, they also formed in each and every province Landowners' Association and Landholders' Federation to proclaim undying support but had also to place certain demands on the national level representing Hindu, Muslim and Sikh stocks. This section, either on their own or in collaboration with other classes, had pioneered modern forms of political activity almost half a century before the birth of Indian National Congress. (54)

It was thus hitherto discreet powers of the landlord, the money-lenders and the officials which came to form a composite approach of dominance over the peasants. The enormous burden of colonial rule and feudal economic relations had great impact over the peasantry. The tenants were rackrented, impoverished due to oppression of the zamindari and ryotwari system. The arrival of the intermediaries on the scene further deteriorated their position. The process of ruination of a major portion of the peasantry became more intense and the rural commune ceased to retain its earlier all important significance.

So one important consequence of the landlordism was the phenomenal growth of peasant indebtedness. For, with a land market flourishing under the tripple impact of agrarian legislation, demographic increase and a progressively larger money supply (55) . The political aspect of this relationship was subjection to the triumvirate i.e. landlords or ryotwars moneylenders and the officials.

The element of coercion in this regard was so much that a peasant could hardly take anything but revolt. The whole relationship was fortified by the power of coercion. The peasants organised themselves locally for insurgency. The 'historiography of peasant insurgency in colonial India is as old as colonialism itself'.⁽⁵⁶⁾ At a simple count, no fewer than 110 known instances for shorter period of 117 years (in between 1783-1900)⁽⁵⁷⁾ of insurgency had been recorded from Rangpur.

The peasant movements gathered momentum from the second half of the 19th century,⁽⁵⁸⁾ against the increase of the rent, evictions and exactions of landowners often moneylenders. The Santhal rebellion of 1855-56 spread to Birbhum, Bankura, Singhbhum, Hazaribag, Bhagalpur and Monghyr mainly directed against the money-lenders. The government deployed army and finally suppressed the movement but it halted only when the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act was passed in the year 1908. But, again they launched the 'no-rent movement' in 1920 under the leadership of Tana Bhagat. In Tripura the tribals launched their movement against the money lenders in the second half of the 19th century.

'Indigo Growers' movement flared up in Bengal in 1859 in Barasat, the centre of early Faraji uprising in 1853. The urban middle class showed for the first time their support to the cause of the peasants. Peasant movement in Pabna started in 1873. During the period, different peasant organisations sprang up in the

districts of Bengal. In 1881 they held a meeting of the ryots in Calcutta at Wellington Square where ryots from remote villages thronged. S. N. Banerjee and others attended the meeting. (59)

Not only in Bengal, peasant uprising took place also in the Bombay Presidency where also it was against the Marwari and Gujrati money lenders. The land mortgage was common features in Ahmedabad, Poona and Bombay. In the Deccan on the peasant uprising, Agricultural Relief Act was passed in 1889.

Agrarian discontent grew in the Punjab since the land passed to capitalists and moneylenders. The unrest turned serious in Amritsar, Lahore and Rawalpindi. The leaders like Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh took prominent position in leading these movements.

Throughout the 19th century, a series of Moplah revolts flared up in south Malabar though the Tenancy Act was passed in 1929. Agrarian uprisings also spread in Madras. In 1920s the Guntur was the main centre of no tax campaign followed by another uprising of Visaj. In 1930 the peasant organisations emerged and organised movements in the different parts of Madras Presidency.

However, it was in the Gandhian era that the Congress embarked upon peasant mobilisation. In between ^{the} 1920s and ~~the~~ 1930s, U.P. Kishan Sabha was organised. From 1928 onwards, the Congress spread nationalist ideas among the peasants with the help of journals, pamphlets and sale of Khadi. The Congress Socialists

increased the participation of peasants in national movements while the communists were on the scene from quite early period.

Ideologically, these peasant movements, no matter regional, were socialistic in spirit and were also 'becoming secular cutting across caste and communal barriers'.⁽⁶¹⁾ The feeling that the support of the peasantry was important for launching nationalist movement made all the political parties concentrate over their hold among the peasants.

Working Class:

The rise of the modern working class coincided with the arrival of modern industries. However, their movement before 1914 was intermittent and scattered and attracted the attention of few peoples outside those immediately concerned.⁽⁶²⁾ But the change was marked from 1905 onwards when people joined anti-imperialist movement, for the first time, on a large scale against the partition of Bengal. The railwaymen went on strike in the latter half of 1906. About 2000 porters launched the strike in Calcutta in April. The workers of Clive Jute Mill went on strike, 2000 Calcutta sweepers went on strike in August 1906. But all these strikes were for economic reasons. Thus, in the pre 1914 period, the role of the working class was still in the background; it followed rather ^{than} preceded the national movement.⁽⁶³⁾

The working class movement, after the First World

War took to the road of organisation on class lines and increasingly developed trade union movement. The period marked ^{the} outbreak of a series of strikes in a number of industrial centres such as Kanpur, Calcutta, Sholapur, Jamsedpur, Madras, Ahmedabad and Bombay. The movement was also launched as protest against Rowlatt Act which marked the entry of the working class into the national movement. ⁽⁶⁴⁾ In 1920, under the leadership of N.M. Joshi, Lala Lajpat Rai and Joseph Baptisia 'All India Trade Union Congress' was established to further the interests of ^{the} working class in matters economic social and political.

After 1927, a left-wing leadership emerged within the trade union movement and joined protest against service condition, chalked out advanced programme such as the establishment of socialist state in India. In 1937 they enthusiastically supported the Congress candidates in election but later on they also criticised these Congress governments for their pro-capitalist legislation. Anyway, the working class played an important role in the growth of ideology of nationalism and freedom movement of the country.

II. Internationalism in India:

Nationalism in the Third world is a part of the global movement. The growth of industrialism in Europe led to the colonialisaton of Afro-Asian countries. This process later on led to the rising of the peoples on whom Europe impinged. The operation of similar forces throughout the world had tended to produce results in Asia and Africa ... ⁽⁶⁵⁾ with the rise of

nationalism among non-European peoples as a consequence of the imperial spread of Western European civilisation. The imperialism scattered the revolutionary seeds of Western civilisation over the surface of the whole and its most important result, ironically enough was to rouse against itself, the nationalism. (66) In the case of India, 'it must seem as if Indian nationalism had only one strong ally - British rule, the consolidating common enemy.' (67) To some extent this is true.

Indian nationalism had its derivative discourse in Europe. Though vigorous attempts were made to set out to assert freedom from European domination, it yet remained prisoner of European post-enlightenment rationalist discourse. Nationalism in non-western world was uniform in its two principal features; 'in its negative phase, it consisted of a drive to throw off the ascendancy of the western power, in its positive phase, it was an impulse to adopt the military technique, political institutions, the economic organisation, but to adopt them with the deliberate choice, instead of being compelled to conform to them under pressure.' (68)

Smith is of the view that 'recent social and political change in Africa and Asia, has been the confrontation and interplay of western ideals and forms with indigenous structures and cultures'. Colonialism denoted 'a system of legislation in a different and politically dependent country with its mainly European features adapted to local conditions'. (69) 'A protest to

this view was also advanced. Peter Worsley has stated Afro-Asian nationalism drew it from militant modernising, mass nationalism and from socialism and communism and not from Spencer or Mill. He added, so it could be Europocentric way of approaching nationalism as nationalism in colonialisised countries took on characteristics of its own. It grew out of Afro-Asian culture that date back much earlier than the era of colonialisisation. The difference is only in emphasis but the concept remains as an exported one. Worsley may be correct in his emphasis over the traditional culture of these countries and his view that 'It is no ideological assertion but a simple generalisation rooted in empirical observation, that the prime content of colonial political rule was economic exploitation'.⁽⁷⁰⁾
⁽⁷¹⁾ The central motive of imperialism has been to extract profit by virtue of their control over the administration of the country along with coercion, racial discrimination and a process of psychological exploitation or infantilisation. But the argument forwarded either by Smith or Worsley clearly illustrate how the global impact had bearing on the formation of the Third World nations.

There is no denying the fact that external factors played an important role in much more powerful ways in case of Afro-Asian nationalism than it had played in the case of European nationalism. This difference is marked due to difference in the periods of their formation. The internationalist character and manifestations are much more present in the process of formation of nations in the Third World. When Indian nationalist movement

was on, the enlightenment, vitalisation, and resurgence of modern Asia was also present since the middle of the 19th century. All Asian countries had one common enemy i.e. imperialism. 'This liberation came as a result of the world development.' (73) The liberation movement in India, independence of Afghanistan, Kemal Pasha's revolution in Turkey, the overthrow of Qajar dynasty in Iran, numerous uprisings among the Arabs, armed uprising of 1926-27 in Indonesia along with anti-imperialistic revolution in China (1925-27).⁽⁷⁴⁾ as a result of these movements, the building up of the empire which had taken centuries; its collapse took no more than 25-30 years.

The impact of external factors was dominantly Euro-centric in its nature. The impact of French Revolution, unification of Germany and Italy, along with the Glorious Revolution of England, may be termed as a traditional source of global impact. But apart from these, the Turkish Revolution, the defeat of Russia at the hand of Japan, and, later on, Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 played an important role in shaping the political views of the nationalists in Asian countries. So any study of Indian nationalism must take into account these external factors which were responsible for shaping nationalism in India.

The growth of nationalism in India is a modern phenomenon which emerged under British rule as a response to the forces of both Indian and British origin, and, in doing so, it

could not discard everything because that was alien and retain everything of indigenous structure and culture. From the beginning of the 19th century, the course of social and political change in India had been increasingly conditioned by external, political, cultural and economic influences, stemming mainly from England and other western countries. Earlier, there were organisations meant for social reforms having local overtones when the Indian National Congress was formed in 1885; at least it claimed Indian basis, and thereafter, gradually, it guided the final struggle for political liberation. But hereagain, the participation of Hume in the beginning of the working of the Congress can not be denied. Later on, the rift between 'extremists' and 'moderates' was indeed wide, a gulf of generations and cultures. The 'older men had absorbed all the values of liberal England. On the other side were the men ... who resisted everything ... seeking instead to revive memories of past Indian tradition.' (75) Jones is correctly of the view that 'It might be more accurate to say that while intending to reject all of the west, they (Indians) in fact reject only liberal values; their passionate nationalism was as western as anything could be'. (76) Furthermore, one can add that their (Indians) rediscovery of the past glories owed much to the western research.

The territorial demarcation in India was made by the British colonial rule. And, when it came to fostering a sense of loyalty in the culturally heterogenous populations incorporated into a particular colonial state for the advancement of nationalist movement, it rested on the fact of territorial definition. (77) A

second unifying feature which has been generally retained even after the liberation from the yoke of colonialism, is its executive and bureaucratic set up. In India it was the executive system which was far more important than other forms of government. This executive system worked through bureaucracy, the main agent, mainly comprising of ruling stock, say about 1200 Britons in I.A.S. and 700 in the police force. (78) However, the social structure formed by the administration was superimposed on the subordinated population under colonies and that has been discarded to a greater extent. The British education system is more or less retained even to-day.

The ideologies, such as 'Democracy', 'Socialism', 'Secularism', 'Liberalism', always had substantial bearing over the nationalist and internationalist thinking of the colonialism derived from Europecentric background of post-enlightenment nationalist discourse. National movement in India was essentially the response of peoples to the impact of the West in such matters as the type of economy the imperial power encouraged. The goal it set, the colonial institution it established, the civil and political right it extended to the people. Indian nationalism was 'a direct outcome of the penetration of British political authority and colonial economy ... that this ideology has been very potent and effective tool for political and social change, no less qualitatively speaking, than it was in Europe. (79)

Indians settled ~~outside~~ outside, also contributed to

the nationalist movement. Long before Germany came into war with England, Indian revolutionaries started contact with them. In 1914 International Pro-Indian Committee in Zurich, Indian National Party in Berlin were formed. It was really a very bold venture for a few Indians to start a revolutionary organisations in a foreign land. (80) These revolutionaries established contacts in West Asia and also with Persian revolutionaries so that arms could be despatched to Indian revolutionaries. The events, happening abroad in U.S.A., Canada, Malay and other Far Eastern countries, created stir over the nationalist movement in India. M. N. Roy, a great revolutionary and activist who took part in the armed struggle against the British empire, also played leading revolutionary role - in China and Mexico. In 1917, he became the general Secretary of the socialist party of Mexico, which later on became the first Communist party, outside Russia. He left Mexico for Russia and came in contact with revolutionary leaders like, Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin. The Comintern sent him to China in 1927. It was Roy who established ^{The} Communist Party of India in 1920 in Tashkent in Russia. India League in England also played a very effective role.

Another legendary personality was that of Subhas Bose who left India on 17th January, at about 1.45 A.M. and reached Berlin on 21st March, 1941. He founded Free India Centres in Rome and Paris, and raised the legion to its full strength of 3000. Rash Behari Bose, in the Tokyo Conference in 1942 March, deci-

ded to form ^{the} I.N.A. At the next conference in June, they resolved to invite Subhas Bose to East Asia. 'It is only fair to remember that Rash Behari Bose had laid the foundations of the organisation on which Subhas Bose built up a huge structure. (81) When Bose went to Japan, he declared to launch an armed fight against the British from India's Eastern borders. Next day, the formation of Azad Hind Fouz was announced to the world, he established the provisional government of free India. The I.N.A. carried out a heroic fight against the British regime creating stir in the nationalist movement accelerating the process of gaining Indian independence.

So, any study of Indian Nationalism reveals that it emerged to assert freedom from European domination, yet remained highly affected from post-enlightenment discourse. Indian nationalism, despite significant displacement in the framework of western modernist thinking, has remained dominated by the very structure of the power it sought to repudiate. It is the case with Eastern nationalism. Thus 'it is not an authentic product of any of the non-western civilisations, which in each particular case, it claims as its classical heritage.' (82)

The intellectual history of India contains such references as Bankim Chandra, an early nationalist thinker, who explained India's subjection in terms of culture. 'It is born out of encounter of patriotic consciousness with the framework of knowledge imposed upon it by colonialism.' (83) The moment of

manoeuvre came when Gandhi emerged on the scene and located, like Bankim, the source of Indian weakness than putting on the blame on British avarice or deceit ⁽⁸⁴⁾ and pointed-moral failure. The scene changed in ^{the} 1930's when Nehru gave 'nationalism a more definite economic and social content'. ⁽⁸⁵⁾ So writes Partha Chatterjee, even today, the legacy of the colonialist rule is not gone, on the other hand, 'no-where in the world has nationalism qua-nationalism challenged the legitimacy of the marriage between 'Reason and Capital' ⁽⁸⁶⁾ that 'nationalism as chained under colonialism is still under the influence of imperialism'. Even today, the backwardness of their position is measured in terms of certain global standards set by the advanced nations with the awareness of the fact that these standards have been borrowed from ^{the} western culture. The eastern nationalism, in general, has tried to re-equip the nation culturally, so the search, everywhere, was for regeneration of the national culture, adopted to the requirement of progress, but retaining its distinctiveness. ⁽⁸⁷⁾ It should be remembered that the economic and social conditions of South Asian countries today are not very different from those existing before the disintegration of colonial power system. The impact of imperialism is there so Myrdal sums up, a more realistic view that development requires increased efforts : speedier and more effective reforms in South Asia and greater concern in the west.' ⁽⁸⁸⁾

The emergence of national economy infused, under colonialism, the desire for political independence and even today

anti-imperialism is an important force in the former colonial and semi-colonial states. Most of these countries pursue the foreign policy of non-alignment where emphasis is given on anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism and anti-racialism. The Third World is getting importance in the international society. It is in this area that Indian nationalism has played an important role. The leaders of India encouraged the war of independence of other countries. The attempts made by Indian leaders, even when India was not independent, is a very rich chapter on Indian nationalism. Their attempts to join international conferences against imperialism, fight against racial discrimination, Nazism and Fascism, efforts for ending war and the establishment of peace are the glorious additions. They tried to discuss even the Indian War of Independence with others and made the common cause of their liberation. This had bearing with the other Asian countries bordering India. To them ideologies of 'democracy' 'socialism' and 'secularism' were the ideologies to be pursued. So India was 'still in many ways a model of political advance as compared with most other colonial regimes. (89) Thus, to Nihar Ranjan Roy, 'the fulfillment of nationalism in this sub-continent ... released socio-political forces that led the similar fulfillment of nationalist forces in many other countries of South East Asia, Africa and other parts of the world'. (90)

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