

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES (Economic & Social History)EH3117/EH3617 Constructing India: Economy, Society and Politics from the Great War to Partition**Module Outline**

The period spanning the First World War to the Partition was a crucial epoch in the making of modern India. This module aims to provide students with critical perspectives on a major colonial Asian society caught up in the midst of radical economic, social and political transformation. It will assess, in particular, the impact of war, depression, demographic growth and urbanization on the Indian economy and social structure, the changing response of the British Raj to these developments and the nature of the emerging forms of mass politics based on new techniques of popular mobilization. Important historical debates that will be examined include the structures and dilemmas of imperial power, the nature and scope of economic change both in town and countryside, the role of ideology and 'interest' in shaping nationalist politics, the logic of Gandhian mass mobilization, the inter-linkages between elite and subaltern politics as well as the nature of religious 'communalism' and caste- and class-based political movements. Alongside the relevant secondary literature, the seminars in this module will offer an opportunity to examine a range of primary source materials: official publications such as census reports, commissions of inquiry on agriculture, industry and labour, the proceedings of successive committees on constitutional and administrative reforms as well as memoirs, autobiographies and private papers of prominent leaders such as MK Gandhi, J Nehru and MA Jinnah.

Learning Outcomes

a) Subject-specific skills

By the end of the module, students should have:

- An understanding of the nature and development of Indian society under British rule during the period 1914 to 1947.
- A sound grasp of the key scholarly debates and controversies surrounding these changes.
- Critically evaluated, analysed and discussed, orally and in writing, a wide range of source materials.
- Constructed extended written and oral arguments supported by relevant historical evidence.

b) Key Skills

By the end of the module, students should have:

- Developed further the ability to analyse complex historical issues critically.
- Developed further the ability to construct and sustain an argument, written and verbal, with clarity and rigour.
- Developed further their skills in the critical analysis of qualitative historical data.
- Developed further their IT skills.

Development and Assessment

This module develops and assesses the following subject-specific skills:

Skill	How developed	How Assessed
To read, analyse, and reflect critically and contextually upon historical texts and other sources materials	Preparation of primary and secondary sources for seminars, minor assignment, and essay(s).	Minor assignment Essay(s) Examination
To develop an understanding of the varieties of approaches to understanding, constructing and interpreting the past, and of comparative perspectives on the past	Through preparation for and historiographical discussions in seminars and written assignments.	Minor assignment Essay(s) Examination
To gather and deploy appropriate evidence and data in constructing and sustaining historical arguments with rigour and clarity	In preparation for, and delivery of, seminar presentations, minor assignment, and essay(s)	Minor assignment Essay(s) Examination

This module develops and assesses the following skills outlined in the University's learning and teaching strategy in the manner set out below:

Skill	How developed	How Assessed
IT	Minor assignment and essay(s)	Minor assignment and essay(s)
Written communication	Minor assignment, essay(s)	Minor assignment, essay(s), examination
Oral communication	Seminars	

Assessment and Learning Methods

Assessment: This module is assessed through coursework and a 2-hour examination. The coursework consists of a minor assignment (1,500 word) and an essay (2,500-3,000 words). NB. 15-credit students submit one essay and 20-credit students submit two essays.

Teaching and learning: learning is based upon preparation for, attendance at, and participation in 10 weekly seminars. These will be student led. Each week, all members of the group will be expected to contribute to the presentation and discussion of the main historical and historiographical themes and debates. Students will be expected to acquire a grasp of a range of secondary and primary sources in developing their skills in historical analysis.

Course Texts

There is no set text for this course. You will find that the following general works and surveys all provide material relating to most of the questions.

- C.A. Bayly, Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire
 S. Bose and A. Jalal, Modern South Asia: History, Culture, Political Economy
 J.M. Brown, Modern India: The Origins of an Asian Democracy
 S. Khilnani, The Idea of India
 P. Robb, A History of India
 D. Rothermund, An Economic History of India
 S. Sarkar, Modern India, 1885-1947
 T. Metcalf and B. Metcalf, A Concise History of India
 T. Metcalf, Ideologies of the Raj
 B.R. Tomlinson, The Economy of Modern India

Apart from the books listed above, students can also profitably peruse four multi-volume series that are invaluable in the light shed on various aspects of economic, cultural and political life in the Indian subcontinent during the colonial period. These are:

1. New Cambridge History of India
2. Oxford Themes in Indian History
3. Oxford History of the British Empire (essays on India in volumes III & IV)
4. Subaltern Studies, Vols. I-XII

THE SEMINAR PROGRAMME**Seminar 1. Introduction (Part A): The 'High Noon of Empire', India, c. 1858-1914**

The first two seminars seek to provide a general background to the period covered in this module. This seminar will focus on the salient features of economic, social and political development under the British Raj from the Great Rebellion of 1857 to 1914.

The British Raj:

- K. Ballhatchet, Race, Sex and Class under the Raj: Imperial Attitudes and Policies and their Critics, 1793-1905
 J. M. Brown, Modern India: The Origins of an Asian Democracy, ch. 3.
 B. Cohn, 'Representing Authority in Victorian India', in B. Cohn, An Anthropologist Among Historians
 S. Gopal, British Policy in India, 1858-1905
 F. G. Hutchins, The Illusion of Permanence
 P. Mason, The Men Who Ruled India: The Guardians
 T. Metcalf, Ideologies of the Raj
 R. J. Moore, 'Imperial India, 1858-1914', in A. Porter (ed.), OHBE III, pp. 422-446.
 R. J. Moore, Liberalism and Indian Politics, 1872-1922
 D. Omissi, The Sepoy and the Raj: The Indian Army, 1860-1940
 B. Porter, The Lion's Share, chs. 2, 3, 5 & 6.
 R. K. Renford, The Non-Official British in India to 1920
 B. B. Spangenberg, British Bureaucracy in India,
 D. Washbrook, 'India, 1818-1860: The Two Faces of Colonialism', in A. Porter (ed.), OHBE III, pp. 395-421.

The Indian Economy Under British Rule:

- S. Bhattacharya, Financial foundations of the British Raj
 P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion, 1688-1914, ch. 10.

- N. Charlesworth, British Rule and the Indian Economy, 1800-1914
 S. Guha (ed.), Growth, Stagnation or Decline? Agricultural Productivity in British India
 P. Harnetty Imperialism and Free Trade: Lancashire and India in the Mid-Nineteenth century
 D. Kumar (ed.), CEHI, vol. II, c. 1757-1970, (Pre-1914 parts of chs. 4-12).
 D. Ludden (ed.), Agricultural Production and Indian History
 M. D. Morris (ed.), Indian Economy in the Nineteenth Century: a symposium
 D. Rothermund, An Economic History of India, chs. 4-5.
 B. R. Tomlinson, The Political Economy of the Raj, esp. ch. 1.
 B. R. Tomlinson, The Economy of Modern India, ch. 1.
 D. Washbrook, 'Law, State and Agrarian Society in Colonial India', MAS, 15, 3 (1981).
 E. Whitcombe, Agrarian Conditions in Northern India, 1860-1900

Seminar 2. Introduction (Part B): 'A Nation in the Making'? Elite Nationalism and Subaltern Resistance, c. 1858-1914

This seminar will focus on indigenous responses to colonialism both in the form of elite nationalism as well as popular protest movements in the period before the First World War.

Indian nationalism

- C. A. Bayly, The Local Roots of Indian Politics
 R. Cashman, The Myth of the Lokmanya
 J. Gallagher, Gordon Johnson and Anil Seal (eds.), Locality, Province and Nation: Essays on Indian Politics, 1870-1940
 D. Gilmartin, Empire and Islam
 P. Hardy, The Muslims of British India
 K. Jones, Socio-Religious Reform Movements in British India
 D. Lelyveld, Aligarh's First Generation
 J. Masselos, Nationalism on the Indian subcontinent: an introductory history
 S.R. Mehrotra, A History of the Indian National Congress, Vol. 1, 1885-1918
 F. Robinson, Separatism among Indian Muslims
 S. Sarkar, The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal, 1903-1908
 A. Seal, The Emergence of Indian Nationalism: Competition and Collaboration in the Later Nineteenth Century
 F. Shaikh, Community and Consensus in Islam
 D. A. Washbrook, The emergence of provincial politics
 S. Wolpert, Tilak and Gokhale: revolution and reform in the making of modern India

'Subaltern' resistance

- R. Guha, Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency
 R. Guha (ed.), Subaltern Studies, vols. I-VI
 R. O'Hanlon, Caste, Conflict and Ideology
 D. Hardiman (ed.), Peasant Resistance in India, 1858-1914
 S. Sarkar, Modern India, 1885-1947

Seminar 3. War, Recession and Depression: economy and society in inter-war India

This seminar will focus on the nature of economic and social change in the Indian subcontinent during the tumultuous inter-war period.

General

- A. Bagchi, Private Investment in India, chs. 7-14.
 S. Bose (ed.), South Asian and World Capitalism
 D. Kumar (ed.), CEHI, vol. II, post-1914 sections.
 D. Omissi, Sepoys and the Raj, post-1914 chs.
 B. Porter, The Lion's Share, chs. 7 & 8.
 D. Rothermund, An Economic History of India
 D. Rothermund, 'A Vulnerable Economy', in S. Bose (ed.), South Asian and World Capitalism
 R. Stern, Changing India, chs. 2 & 3.
 B. R. Tomlinson, The Political Economy of the Raj, chs. 2-4.
 B. R. Tomlinson, The Economy of Modern India

Agrarian Society

- C. Baker, An Indian Rural Economy
 S. Bose, Agrarian Bengal: Economy, Social Structure and Politics, 1919-1947
 S. Bose (ed.), Credit, Markets and the Agrarian Economy of Colonial India
 N. Charlesworth, Peasants and Imperial Rule
 S. Guha, The Agrarian Economy of the Bombay Deccan 1818-1941
 G. Prakash (ed.), The World of the Rural Labourer in Colonial India
 A. Sen, 'The Great Bengal Famine', in A. Sen, Poverty and Famines
 E. Stokes, The Peasant and the Raj, chs.10-12.
 B. R. Tomlinson, The Economy of Modern India, ch. 2.

The Urban Economy

- C. Baker, An Indian Rural Economy, ch.5.
 R. Chandavarkar, The Origins of Industrial Capitalism
 A. Gordon, Businessmen and Politics
 C. Markovits, Indian Business and National Politics, 1931-39
 M. D. Morris, The Emergence of An Industrial Labour Force in India
 R. Ray (ed.) Entrepreneurship and Industry in India 1800-1947
 B. R. Tomlinson, The Economy of Modern India, ch. 3

Seminar 4. The Raj in Retreat: imperial imperatives and colonial statecraft

This seminar will focus on colonial strategies of governance and their consequences during the period under review.

General

- C. Baker, G. Johnson and A. Seal (eds.), Power, Profit and Politics: Essays on Imperialism, Nationalism and Change in Twentieth-Century India, Cambridge, 1981.
 S. Bose and A. Jalal, Modern South Asia, ch.12.
 J. Brown, 'Imperial Façade: Some Constraints Upon and Contradictions in the British Position in India, 1919-35', TRHS, 5th Series, vol. 26 (1976).
 J. Brown, Modern India, ch.4.1, 5.3.
 D. A. Low, Soundings in Modern South Asian History
 D. A. Low, 'The Government of India and the First Non-Cooperation Movement 1920-1922', in R. Kumar, Essays on Gandhian Politics, ch. 10.
 R. J. Moore, The Crisis of Indian Unity 1917-1940
 D. Washbrook, 'The Rhetoric of Democracy and Development in Late Colonial India', in S. Bose and A. Jalal (eds.), Nationalism, Democracy and Development

Political Economy of the Raj

- B. Chatterji, Trade, tariffs and empire
 B. R. Tomlinson, The Political Economy of The Raj, 1914-1947
 B. R. Tomlinson, The Indian National Congress and the Raj, ch. 1&5.

Constitutional Policies

- R. J. Moore, 'The Making of India's Paper Federation, 1927-35', in C. H. Philips and M. D. Wainwright (eds.) The Partition of India
 G. Rizvi, Linlithgow and India
 P. Robb, The Government of India and Reform

The Bureaucracy

- C. Dewey, Anglo-Indian Attitudes
 S. Epstein, 'British Officers in Decline', MAS, vol. 16, part 3 (1982), pp. 493-518
 A. Ewing, 'The Indian Civil Service 1919-1924', MAS, vol. 18, part 1 (1984), pp. 33-53
 R. Hunt and J. Harrison, The District Officer in India 1930-1947
 D. C. Potter, 'Manpower shortage and the end of colonialism', MAS, vol. 7, part 1 (Jan. 1973), pp. 47-73.

Seminar 5. Indian nationalism and mass mobilization

The most significant aspect of inter-war politics in South Asia was the rise of mass nationalism spearheaded by the Indian National Congress. In this seminar, we will take stock of this development and assess its nature, scope and consequences.

General

- S. Bose and A. Jalal, Modern South Asia, ch. 13.
 J. Brown, Modern India, ch.4.2.
 R. Chandavarkar, Imperial Power and Popular Politics, ch.8.
 P. Chatterjee, Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World, chs.4&5.
 G. Krishna, 'The Development of the Congress as a Mass Organization 1918-1923', Journal of Asian Studies, 25: 3, 1966.
 D. Low, Britain and Indian Nationalism
 S. Sarkar, Modern India, chs. 5 & 6.
 S. Sarkar, Popular movements and middle class leadership in late colonial India
 B. R. Tomlinson, The Indian National Congress and the Raj, chs. 2, 3 & 4.

Regional Studies

- D. Arnold, The Congress in Tamilnad: Nationalist Politics in South India
 C. Baker, 'Non-cooperation in South India', in C. Baker and D. Washbrook, South India: Political Institutions and Political Change, 1880-1940
 J. H. Broomfield, 'The Non-Cooperation Decision of 1920: A Crisis in Bengal Politics', in D. A. Low (ed.), Soundings in Modern South Asian History
 R. Guha (ed.), Subaltern Studies, vols. I-VI.
 D. Hardiman, Peasant Nationalists of Gujarat: Kheda District 1917-34
 R. Kumar, Essays on Gandhian Politics: The Rowlatt Satyagraha of 1919
 R. Kumar, 'From Swaraj to Purna Swaraj: Nationalist Politics in the City of Bombay, 1920-32', in R. Kumar, Essays in the Social History of Modern India
 D. Low, Congress and the Raj: facets of the Indian Struggle, 1917-47
 G. Pandey, The Ascendancy of the Congress in Uttar Pradesh 1926-1934
 G. Pandey, 'Peasant Revolt and Indian Nationalism: The Peasant Movement in Awadh, 1919-1922', in R. Guha (ed.), Subaltern Studies I
 M. Siddiqi, Agrarian Unrest in North India: the United Provinces, 1919-1922

Seminar 6. Gandhi

One figure above all dominated the landscape of Indian politics during the first half of the twentieth century: Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. This seminar will focus on Gandhi's leadership of the national movement, his political beliefs and how his message was received, understood and acted upon by the Indian 'subaltern' classes.

Gandhi's Thought

P. Chatterjee, Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse, ch. 4.

A. Copley, Gandhi

B. Parekh, Colonialism, Tradition and Reform. An Analysis of Gandhi's Political Discourse

Gandhi and Indian politics

J. Brown, Gandhi's Rise to Power: Indian Politics 1915-1922

J. Brown, Gandhi and Civil Disobedience: The Mahatma in Indian Politics 1928-34

J. Brown, Gandhi: Prisoner of Hope

R. Guha, 'Discipline and Mobilise', in P. Chatterjee and G. Pandey (eds.), Subaltern Studies VII

R. Kumar, Essays on Gandhian Politics: The Rowlatt Satyagraha of 1919

R. Kumar, 'Class, Community or Nation? Gandhi's Quest for a Popular Consensus in India, in R.

Kumar, Essays in the Social History of Modern India

The 'Mahatma' and the 'subaltern' classes

S. Amin, 'Gandhi as Mahatma: Gorakhpur District, Eastern UP, 1921-22', in R. Guha (ed.), Subaltern Studies III.

S. Amin, Event, Memory, Metaphor: Chauri Chaura 1922-1992

D. Hardiman, Peasant Nationalists of Gujarat: Kheda District 1917-34

D. Hardiman, The Coming of the Devi: Adivasi Assertion in Western India

G. Pandey, The Ascendancy of the Congress in Uttar Pradesh, 1926-1934

G. Pandey, 'Peasant Revolt and Indian Nationalism: The Peasant Movement in Awadh, 1919-1922', in R. Guha (ed.), Subaltern Studies I

Seminar 7. 'Communalism'

In this seminar we will focus on the phenomenon of 'communalism' or the politicisation of religious identities and its profound consequences for society and politics in the sub-continent from the 1920s onwards.

General

K. Basu and S. Subrahmanyam, Unravelling the Nation

S. Freitag, Collective Action and Community

M. Hasan, Nationalism and Communal Politics in India, 1916-1928

G. Minault, The Khilafat Movement: Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India

G. Pandey, The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India

P. van der Veer, Religious Nationalism. Hindus and Muslims in India

The 'Hindu Right'

P. K. Datta, 'Dying Hindus', Economic and Political Weekly, 28 (19 June): 1305-19

R. Gordon, 'The Hindu Mahasabha and the Indian National Congress 1916-26', MAS, 9, no. 2 (1975): 143-208.

B. D. Graham, 'Shyama Prasad Mookerjee and the Communalist Alternative', in D.A. Low (ed.), Soundings in Modern South Asian History

C. Jaffrelot, The Hindu Nationalist Movements and Indian Politics, chs.1-3.

J. Zavos, 'Searching for Hindu Nationalism in Modern Indian History', in EPW, vol. 34, no. 32, 7 August 1999.

'Muslim' identity politics

P. Hardy, The Muslims of British India

A. Jalal, 'Exploding Communalism: The Politics of Muslim Identity in South Asia', in S. Bose and A. Jalal, Nationalism, Democracy and Development

D. Page, Prelude to Partition: The Indian Muslims and the Imperial System of Control

Communal Riots

S. Das, Communal Riots in Bengal

V. Das, Mirrors of Violence

Seminar 8. Caste and Class

The inter-war decades also witnessed the emergence of new forces of popular politics based on the collective identities of caste and class. This seminar will analyse these developments and evaluate their relationship with the politics of nationalism as championed by the Indian National Congress.

Caste

S. Bandyopadhyay, Caste, Protest and Identity in Colonial India

S. Bandyopadhyay, Caste, politics and the Raj : Bengal 1872-1937

S. Bayly, Caste, Society and Politics in India

P. Chatterjee, 'Caste and Subaltern Consciousness', in R. Guha (ed.), Subaltern Studies VI

B. Cohn, 'The Changing Status of a Depressed Caste', in B. Cohn, An Anthropologist Among the Historians and Other Essays

N. Dirks, Castes of Mind

S. Dube, 'Myths, Symbols and Community', in P. Chatterjee and G. Pandey (eds.), Subaltern Studies VII

N. Gooptu, The politics of the urban poor in early twentieth-century India

K. Illaih, 'Productive Labour, Consciousness and History: The Dalitbahujan Alternative', in S. Amin and D. Chakrabarty (eds.), Subaltern Studies IX

M. Juergensmeyer, Religion as Social Vision

V. Prashad, 'Untouchable Freedom: A Critique of the Bourgeois-Landlord Indian State', in G. Bhadra et al (eds.), Subaltern Studies X

P. Robb, Dalit movements and the meanings of labour in India

S. Sarkar, Writing Social History, ch.9.

Class

D. Chakrabarty, Rethinking Working-Class History

R. Chandavarkar, The Origins of Industrial Capitalism

R. Chandavarkar, Imperial Power and Popular Politics

N. Gooptu, The politics of the urban poor in early twentieth-century India

R. Newman, Workers and Unions in Bombay, 1918-1929

J. Parry, J. Breman and K. Kapadia (eds.), The Worlds of Indian Industrial Labour

S. Sen, Women and Labour in Late Colonial India

Seminar 9. Gender

In this seminar, we will focus on political and social initiatives launched by Indian women during the period under review and examine the nationalist construction of the 'women's question'.

S. R. Bald, 'From *Satyartha Prakash* to *Manushi*: An Overview of the 'Women's Movement' in India', in D. Basu and R. Sissons (eds.), Social and Economic Development in India

P. Chatterjee, The Nation and its Fragments, chs.6 & 7.

D. Engels, Beyond Purdah? Women in Bengal, 1890-1930

G. Forbes, Women in modern India,

- G. Forbes, 'The Politics of Respectability: Indian Women and the Indian National Congress', in D. A. Low (ed.), The Indian National Congress: Centenary Hindsight
- G. Minault (ed.), Secluded Scholars: Women's Education and Muslim Social Reform in Colonial India
- B. R. Nanda (ed.), Indian Women, From Purdah to Modernity
- S. Patel, 'Construction and Reconstruction of Women in Gandhi', Economic and Political Weekly, 20 February 1988, vol. 33, no. 8, pp. 377-87.
- K. Sangari and S. Vaid (eds.), Recasting Women
- S. Sen, Women and Labour in Late Colonial India

Seminar 10. Understanding Partition

The final seminar will focus on the complex chain of events that culminated in the Partition of India and examine the various historiographical approaches to this cataclysmic event in the history of the subcontinent.

Historiography

- U. Bhutalia, 'Community, State and Gender: On Women's Agency during Partition', in EPW, vol. 28, no. 17, 24 April 1993.
- J. Chatterji, Bengal Divided: Hindu Communalism and Partition 1932-1947
- I. Copland, 'The Further Shores of Partition: Ethnic Cleansing in Rajasthan 1947', P&P, 160, 1998.
- D. Gilmartin, 'Religious Leadership and the Pakistan Movement in the Punjab', MAS, vol. 13:3 (1979)
- D. Gilmartin, Empire and Islam: Punjab and the Making of Pakistan
- D. Gilmartin, 'Partition, Pakistan and Asian History', JAS, 57, 4, 11 (1998)
- M. Hasan (ed.), India's Partition: Process, Strategy and Mobilisation
- A. Jalal, The Sole Spokesmen
- D. A. Low and H. Brasted (eds.), Freedom, Trauma, Continuities
- P. Moon, Divide and Quit
- R. J. Moore, Escape from Empire: The Attlee Government and the Indian Problem
- W. H. Morris Jones, 'The Transfer of Power', MAS, 16:1, 1982.
- C. H. Philips and M. D. Wainwright (eds.), The Partition of India

Historical Memory

- A. Bhalla, 'Memory, History and Fictional Representations of the Partition', in EPW, vol. 34, no. 44, 30 October 1999.
- D. Chakrabarty, 'Remembered Villages', in D.A. Low and H. Brasted (eds.), Freedom, Trauma, Continuities
- G. Pandey, 'The Prose of Otherness', in D. Arnold and D. Hardiman (eds.), Subaltern Studies VIII
- G. Pandey, Remembering Partition: violence and nationalism in India

COURSEWORK

Details of mark weightings, deadlines, presentation, format, etc. are to be found in the documentation accompanying this booklet.

1. Minor Assignment

With reference to the relevant secondary literature, critically analyse any one of the following extracts (maximum length 1,500 words):

Extract A

The Montagu Mission and the Reforms of 1919

The Announcement of His Majesty's Government, 20 August 1917

The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible and that it is of the highest importance as a preliminary to considering what these steps should be that there should be a free and informal exchange of opinion between those in authority at Home and in India. His Majesty's Government have accordingly decided, with His Majesty's approval, that I should accept the Viceroy's invitation to proceed to India to discuss these matters with the Viceroy and the Government of India, to consider with the Viceroy the views of local Governments, and to receive with him the suggestions of representative bodies and others.

I would add that progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government and the Government of India, on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples, must be judges of the time and measure of each advance, and they must be guided by the co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will thus be conferred and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility.

Ample opportunity will be afforded for public discussion of the proposals which will be submitted in due course to Parliament.

Source: S. V. Desikachar (ed), Readings in the Constitutional History of India 1757-1947

Extract B

The Suspension of Non-cooperation 1922

I must tell you that this was the last straw. My letter to the Viceroy was not sent without misgivings as its language must make it clear to anyone. I was much disturbed by the Madras doings, but I drowned the warning voice. I received letters both from Hindus and Mohammedans from Calcutta, Allahabad and the Punjab, all these before the Gorakhpur incident, telling me that the wrong was not all on the Government side, that our people were becoming aggressive, defiant and threatening, that they were getting out of hand and were not non-violent in demeanour. Whilst the Ferozepur Jirka incident is discreditable to the Government we are not altogether without blame. Hakimji complained about Bareilly. I have bitter complaints about Jajjar. In Shahajampur too there has been a forcible attempt to take possession of the Town Hall. From Kanouj too the Congress Secretary himself telegraphed saying that the volunteer boys had become unruly and were picketing a High School and preventing youngsters under 16 from going to the school. 36,000 volunteers were enlisted in Gorakhpur, not 100 of whom conformed to the Congress pledge. In Calcutta Jammalalji tells me there is utter disorganization, the volunteers wearing foreign cloth and certainly not pledged to non-violence. With all this news in my possession and much more from the South, the Chauri Chaura news ... came like a powerful match to ignite the gunpowder, and there was a blaze. I assure you that if the thing had not been suspended we would have been leading not a non-violent struggle but essentially a violent struggle. It is undoubtedly true that non-violence is spreading like the scent of the attar of roses throughout the length and breadth of the land, but the foetid smell of violence is still powerful, and it would be unwise to ignore or underrate it. The cause will prosper by this retreat. The movement had unconsciously drifted from the right path. We have come back to our moorings, and we can again go straight ahead. You are in as disadvantageous a position as I am advantageously placed for judging events in their due proportion.

Gandhi to Jawaharlal Nehru, 19 February 1922.

Extract C

Dr Ambedkar on safeguards for the Depressed Classes, 20 November 1930

My purpose in rising to address this Conference, is principally to place before it the point of view of the depressed classes ... regarding the question of constitutional reform. It is a point of view of 43,000,000 people, or one-fifth of the total population of British India. The depressed classes form a group by themselves which is distinct and separate from the Muhammadans, and, although they are included among the Hindus, they in no sense form an integral part of that community. Not only have they a separate existence, but they have also assigned to them a status which is invidiously distinct from the status occupied by any other community in India ... It is one which is midway between that of the serf and the slave, and which may, for convenience, be called servile - with this difference, that the serf and the slave were permitted to have physical contact, from which the depressed classes are barred ...

... The depressed classes, while they stand for Dominion Status with safeguards, wish to lay all the emphasis they can on one question and one question alone. And that question is, how will Dominion India function? Where will the centre of political power be? Who will have it? Will the depressed classes be heirs to it? These are the questions that form their chief concern. The depressed classes feel that they will get no shred of the political power unless the political machinery for the new constitution is of a special make. In the construction of that machine certain hard facts of Indian social life must not be lost sight of. It must be recognised that Indian society is a gradation of castes forming an ascending scale of reverence and a descending scale of contempt - a system which gives no scope for the growth of that sentiment of equality and fraternity so essential for a democratic form of government. It must also be recognised that while the intelligentsia is a very necessary and a very important part of Indian society, it is drawn from its upper strata and, although it speaks in the name of the country and leads the political movement, it has not shed the narrow particularism of the class from which it is drawn. In other words what the depressed classes wish to urge is that the political mechanism must take account of and must have a definite relation to the psychology of the society for which it is devised. Otherwise you are likely to produce a constitution which, however symmetrical, will be a truncated one and a total misfit to the society for which it is designed.

... We are often reminded that the problem of the depressed classes is a social problem and that its solution lies elsewhere than in politics. We take strong exception to this view. We hold that the problem of the depressed classes will never be solved unless they get political power in their own hands. If this is true, and I do not think that the contrary can be maintained, then the problem of the depressed classes is I submit eminently a political problem and must be treated as such. We know that political power is passing from the British into the hands of those who wield such tremendous economic, social and religious sway over our existence. We are willing that it may happen, though the idea of Swaraj recalls to the mind of many of us the tyrannies, oppressions and injustices practised upon us in the past and the fear of their recurrence under Swaraj. We are prepared to take the inevitable risk of the situation in the hope that we shall be installed, in adequate proportion, as the political sovereigns of the country along with our fellow countrymen. But we will consent to that on one condition and that is that the settlement of our problem is not left to time. I am afraid the depressed classes have waited too long for time to work its miracle. At every successive step taken by the British Government to widen the scope of representative government the depressed classes have been systematically left out. No thought has been given to their claim for political power. I protest with all the emphasis I can that we will not stand this any longer. The settlement of our problem must be a part of the general political settlement and must not be left over to the shifting sands of the sympathy and goodwill of the rulers of the future. The reasons why the depressed classes insist upon it are obvious. Every one of us knows that the man in possession is more powerful than the man who is out of possession. Every one of us also knows that those in possession of power seldom abdicate in favour of those who are out of it. We cannot therefore hope for the effectuation of the settlement of our social problem, if we allow power to slip into the hands of those who stand to lose by settlement unless we are to have another revolution to dethrone those whom we today help to ascend the throne of power and prestige. We prefer being despised for all anxious apprehensions, than ruined by too confident a security, and I think it would be just and proper for us to insist that the best guarantee for the settlement of our problem is the adjustment of the political machine itself so as to give us a hold on it, and not the will of those who are contriving to be left in unfettered control of that machine.

Source: S. V. Desikachar (ed), Readings in the Constitutional History of India 1757-1947

Extract D

'Pakistan Resolution' moved at the Lahore Session of the All-India Muslim League, 1940
Resolution 1

... Resolved that it is the considered view of this Session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz, that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into 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.

That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the Constitution for Minorities in these units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests, in consultation with them, and in other parts of India where the Mussulmans are in a minority adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the Constitution for them and other Minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

Source: Gwyer, Sir Maurice and Appadorai, A. (eds), Speeches and Documents on the Indian Constitution 1921-47, vol.II

Extract E

The Cripps' Offer 1942

His Majesty's Government, having considered the anxieties expressed in this country and in India as to the fulfilment of the promises made in regard to the future of India, have decided to lay down in precise and clear terms the steps which they propose shall be taken for the earliest possible realisation of self-government in India. The object is the creation of a new Indian Union which shall constitute a Dominion, associated with the United Kingdom and the other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown, but equal to them in every respect, in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic or external affairs.

His Majesty's Government therefore make the following declaration:-

(a) Immediately upon the cessation of hostilities, steps shall be taken to set up in India, in the manner described hereafter, an elected body charged with the task of framing a new Constitution for India.

(b) Provision shall be made, as set out below, for the participation of the Indian States in the constitution-making body.

(c) His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the Constitution so framed subject only to:

the right of any Province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new Constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decides ...

With such non-acceding Provinces, should they so desire, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new Constitution, giving them the same full status as the Indian Union, and arrived at by a procedure analogous to that here laid down.

Source: British Parliamentary Papers, Cmd 6350 (1942)

Extract F (two tables)

Share of net output of all large-scale manufacturing production by selected industries, 1913-1947
(in per cent of total net output)

	Cotton	Jute	Paper	Cement	Woollens	Iron & steel	Matches	Sugar	Other	Net value output ¹
1913-4	36.2	15.0	0.4	-	0.3	0.8	-	1.6	45.7	635
1938-9	29.0	8.0	0.5	1.0	0.3	4.4	1.2	3.4	52.2	1,701
1946-7 ²	23.2	5.3	0.6	1.1	0.5	3.6	0.8	4.1	60.8	2,258

1 - Net value of all large-scale manufacturing output (Rs millions in 1938-9 prices)

2 - 1939-40 to 1946-7 (annual average)

Source: Morris D. Morris, 'The growth of large-scale industry to 1947', CEHI, 2 table 7.22

Share of particular industries in total manufacturing employment in large perennial factories in India, 1913-1947
(per cent)

	Cotton	Jute	Paper	Cement	Woollens	Iron & steel	Matches	Sugar	Other	Total manu employment (000s)
1913-4	28.3	23.5	0.5	-	0.4	0.9	-	na	44.6	918
1938-9	23.8	15.9	0.5	0.7	0.6	1.1	0.9	na	56.5	1,854
1946-7	18.4	11.8	0.8	1.0	0.7	0.8	0.7	na	65.8	2,654

Source: Morris D. Morris, 'The growth of large-scale industry to 1947', CEHI, 2, table 7.23

Extract G

The Essence of Socialism

Extract from an address by S. C. Bose to the Navjawan Bharat Sabha (The All-India Youth Movement, 31 May 1931

If we undertake a comparative analysis of the different socio-political ideals wthat have inspired human endeavour and activity throughout the ages, we shall arrive at certain common principles. The same result may be attained by searching our hearts, and asking ourselves as to what principles and ideals would make our life worth living by following either course. I am led to the conclusion that the principles that should form the basis of our collective life are justice, equality, freedom, discipline and love. There is hardly any necessity of arguing that all our affairs, and relations should be guided by a sense of justice. In order to be just and impartial, we shall have to treat all men as equal, we shall have to make them free. Bondage, economic, or political, robs men of their freedom, and gives rise to inequalities of various kinds. Therefore in order to ensure equality, we must get ride of bondage of every mind, social, economic, and political, and we must become fully and wholly free. But freedom does nto mean indiscipline or licence. Freedom does not imply the absence of law. It only means the substitution of our own law, and our own discipline in place of an externally imposed law and discipline. Discipline imposed on us, by ourselves is necessary, not only when we have attained to achieve freedom, but is more necessary, when we are struggling to achieve freedom. Therefore, discipline whether for the individual or for society is necessary as basis of life. Lastly all these fundamental principles viz., justice, equality, freedom and discipline, presuppose or imply another higher principle viz love. Unless we are inspired by a feeling of love for humanity, we can neither be just towards all, nor treat men as equal, nor feel called upon to sacrifice and Sacrifice [sic] in the cause of freedom, nor enforce discipline of [the] right sort. These five principles, therefore, should in my opinion be the basis of our collective life. I shall go further and say that these principles constitute the essence of socialism. I understand of socialism what I would like to see established in India.

While seeking light and inspiration from abroad we cannot forget that we should not blindly imitate any other people, and that we should assimilate what we learn elsewhere after finding out what will suit our national requirements. There is a deal of truth in the proverb, 'What is one man's meat is another man's poison'. I should, therefore, like to strike a note of warning to those who may feel tempted to follow blindly the tenets of Bolshevism. I may say that the Bolshevik theory is at present passing through an experimental stage. There has been departure not only from the principles enunciated by Lenin, and other Bolshevik leaders, before they captured political power. This departure had been caused by the peculiar conditions or circumstances prevailing in Russia, which have compelled a modification of the original theory or theories.

Appeal of Communism

With regard to the methods, and tactics employed by the Bolsheviks in Russia, I may say that they will not necessarily suit Indian conditions. As a proof of this, I may say that in spite of the universal and human appeal of communism, communism has not been able to make much headway in India, chiefly because the method and tactics generally employed by its protagonists are such as tend to alienate rather than win over possible friends and allies.

To summarise what I have said, I want a Socialist Republic in India. The exact form the socialist state will take is not possible to detail at this stage. We can at this stage outline only the main principles and features of the socialist state.

Indian Socialism

The message, which I have to give is one of complete around [sic], undiluted freedom. We want political freedom, whereby is meant the constitution of an Independent Indian State, free from the control of British Imperialism. It should be quite clear to everybody that independence means severance from the British Empire, and on this point there should be no vagueness, or mental reservation. Secondly, we want complete economic emancipation. Every human being must have the right to work, and the right to a living wage. There shall be no drones in our society, and no unearned incomes. There must be equal opportunities for all. Above all, there should be a fair, just, and equitable distribution of wealth. For this purpose, it may be necessary for the state to take over the control of the means of production and distribution of wealth. Thirdly, we want complete social equality. There shall be no caste, no depressed classes. Every man will have the same rights, the same status in society. Further, there shall be no inequality between the sexes either in social status or in Law - and woman will be in every way an equal partner of man.

Source: Appadorai, A., Documents on Political Thought in Modern India

Extract H

Nationalism Versus Imperialism

World War I came, politics were at a low ebb, chiefly because of the split in the Congress between the two sections, the so-called extremists and the moderates, and because of war-time restrictions and regulations. Yet one tendency was marked: the rising middle class among the Moslems was growing more nationally minded and was pushing the Moslem League towards the Congress. They even joined hands.

Industry developed during the war and produced enormous dividends - 100 to 200 per cent - from the jute mills of Bengal and the cotton mills of Bombay, Ahmedabad, and elsewhere. Some of these dividends flowed to the owners of foreign capital in Dundee and London, some went to swell the riches of Indian millionaires; and yet the workers who had created these dividends lived at an incredibly low level of existence - in 'filthy, disease-ridden hovels', with no window or chimney, no light or water supply, no sanitary arrangements. This near the so-called city of palaces, Calcutta, dominated by British capital! In Bombay, where Indian capital was more in evidence, an inquiry commission found in one room, fifteen feet by twelve, six families, in all, thirty adults and children, living together. Three of these women were expecting a confinement soon, and each family had a separate oven in that one room. These are special cases, but they are not very exceptional. They describe conditions in the 'twenties and thirties of this century when some improvements had already been made. What these conditions were like previous to these improvements staggers the imagination.

I remember visiting some of these slums and hovels of industrial workers, gasping for breath there, and coming out dazed and full of horror and anger. I remember also going down a coal mine in Jharia and seeing the conditions in which our women folk worked there. I can never forget that picture or the shock that came to me that human beings should labour thus. Women were subsequently prohibited from working underground, but now they have been sent back there because, we are told, war needs require additional labour; and yet millions of men are starving and unemployed. There is no lack of men, but the wages are so low and the conditions of work so bad that they do not attract.

A delegation sent by the British Trade Union Congress visited India in 1928. In their report they said that 'In Assam tea the sweat, hunger, and despair of a million Indians enter year by year'. The Director of Public Health in Bengal, in his report for 1927-28, said that the peasantry of that province were 'taking to a dietary on which even rats could not live for more than five weeks'.

World War I ended at last, and the peace, instead of bringing us relief and progress, brought us repressive legislation and martial law in the Punjab. A bitter sense of humiliation and a passionate anger filled our people. All the unending talk of constitutional reform and Indianization of the services was a mockery and an insult when the manhood of our country was being crushed and the inexorable and continuous process of exploitation was deepening our poverty and sapping our vitality. We had become a derelict nation.

Yet what could we do, how change this vicious process? We seemed to be helpless in the grip of some all-powerful monster; our limbs were paralysed, our minds deadened. The peasantry were servile and fear-ridden; the industrial workers were no better. The middle classes, the intelligentsia, who might have been beacon-lights in the enveloping darkness, were themselves submerged in this all-pervading gloom. In some ways their condition was even more pitiful than that of the peasantry. Large numbers of them, déclassé intellectuals, cut off from the land and incapable of any kind of manual or technical work, joined the swelling army of the unemployed, and helpless, hopeless, sank ever deeper into the morass. A few successful lawyers or doctors or engineers or clerks made little difference to the mass. The peasant starved, yet centuries of an unequal struggle against his environment had taught him to endure, and even in poverty and starvation he had a certain calm dignity, a feeling of submission to an all-powerful fate. Not so the middle classes, more especially the new petty bourgeoisie, who had no such background. Incompletely developed and frustrated, they did not know where to

look, for neither the old nor the new offered them any hope. There was no adjustment to social purpose, no satisfaction of doing something worthwhile, even though suffering came in its train. Custom-ridden, they were born old, yet they were without the old culture. Modern thought attracted them, but they lacked its inner content, the modern social and scientific consciousness. Some tried to cling tenaciously to the dead forms of the past, seeking relief from present misery in them. But there could be no relief there, for, as Tagore has said, we must not nourish in our being what is dead, for the dead is death-dealing. Others made themselves pale and ineffectual copies of the west. So, like derelicts, frantically seeking some foothold of security for body and mind and finding none, they floated aimlessly in the murky waters of Indian life.

What could we do? How could we pull India out of this quagmire of poverty and defeatism which sucked her in? Not for a few years of excitement and agony and suspense, but for long generations our people had offered their 'blood and oil, tears and sweat'. And this process had eaten its way deep into the body and soul of India, poisoning every aspect of our corporate life, like that fell disease which consumes the tissues of the lungs and kills slowly but inevitably. Sometimes we thought that some swifter and more obvious process, resembling cholera or the bubonic plague, would have been better; but that was a passing thought, for adventurism leads nowhere, and the quack treatment of deep-seated diseases does not yield results.

And then Gandhi came. He was like a powerful current of fresh air that made us stretch ourselves and take deep breaths; like a beam of light that pierced the darkness and removed the scales from our eyes; like a whirlwind that upset many things, but most of all the working of people's minds. He did not descend from the top; he seemed to emerge from the millions of India, speaking their language and incessantly drawing attention to them and their appalling condition. Get off the backs of these peasants and workers, he told us, all you who live by their exploitation; get rid of the system that produces this poverty and misery. Political freedom took new shape then and acquired a new content. Much that he said we only partially accepted or sometimes did not accept at all. But all this was secondary. The essence of his teaching was fearlessness and truth, and action allied to these, always keeping the welfare of the masses in view. The greatest gift for an individual or a nation, so we have been told in our ancient books, was *abhaya* (fearlessness) not merely bodily courage but the absence of fear from the mind. Janaka and Yajñavalkya had said, at the dawn of our history, that it was the function of the leaders of a people to make them fearless. But the dominant impulse in India under British rule was that of fear - pervasive, oppressing, strangling fear; fear of the army, the police, the widespread secret service; fear of the official class; fear of laws meant to suppress and of prison; fear of the landlord's agent; fear of the moneylender; fear of unemployment and starvation, which were always on the threshold. It was against this all-pervading fear that Gandhi's quiet and determined voice was raised: Be not afraid. Was it so simple as all that? Not quite. And yet fear builds its phantoms which are more fearsome than reality itself, and reality, when calmly analysed and its consequences willingly accepted, loses much of its terror.

So, suddenly, as it were, that black pall of fear was lifted from the people's shoulders, not wholly of course, but to an amazing degree. As fear is close companion to falsehood, so truth follows fearlessness. The Indian people did not become much more truthful than they were, nor did they change their essential nature overnight; nevertheless a sea-change was visible as the need for falsehood and furtive behaviour lessened. It was a psychological change, almost as if some expert in psycho-analytical methods had probed deep into the patient's past, found out the origins of his complexes, exposed them to his view, and thus rid him of that burden.

There was that psychological reaction also, a feeling of shame at our long submission to an alien rule that had degraded and humiliated us, and a desire to submit no longer whatever the consequences might be.

We did not grow much more truthful perhaps than we had been previously, but Gandhi was always there as a symbol of uncompromising truth to pull us up and shame us into truth. What is truth? I do not know for certain, and perhaps our truths are relative and absolute truth is beyond us. Different persons may and do take different views of truth, and each individual is powerfully influenced by his own background, training and impulses. So also Gandhi. But truth is at least for an individual what he himself feels and knows to be true. According to this definition I do not know of any person who holds to the truth as Gandhi does. That is a dangerous quality in a politician, for he speaks out his mind and even lets the public see its changing phases.

Gandhi influenced millions of people in India in varying degrees. Some changed the whole texture of their lives, others were only partly affected, or the effect wore off; and yet not quite, for some part of it could not be wholly shaken off. Different people reacted differently and each will give his own answer to this question. Some might well say almost in the words of Alcibiades: 'Besides, when we listen to anyone else talking, however eloquent he is, we don't really care a damn what he says; but when we listen to you, or to someone else repeating what you've said, even if he puts it ever so badly, and never mind whether the person who is listening is man, woman or child, we're absolutely staggered and bewitched. And speaking for myself, gentlemen, if I wasn't afraid you'd tell me I was completely bottled, I'd swear on oath what an extraordinary effect his words have had on me - and still do, if it comes to that. For the moment I hear him speak I am smitten by a kind of sacred rage, worse than any Corybant, and my heart jumps into my mouth and the tears start into my eyes - Oh, and not only me, but lots of other men.'

'And there is one thing I've never felt with anybody else - not the kind of thing you would expect to find in me, either - and that is the sense of shame. Socrates is the only man in the world that can make me feel ashamed. Because there's no getting away from it, I know I ought to do the things he tells me to; and yet the moment I'm out of his sight I don't care what I do to keep in with the mob. So I dash off like a runaway slave, and keep out of his way as long as I can: and the next time I meet him I remember all that I had to admit the time before, and naturally I feel ashamed ...

'Yes, I have heard Pericles and all the other great orators, and very eloquent I thought they were; but they never affected me like that; they never turned my whole soul upside down and left me feeling as if I were the lowest of the low; but this latter day Maryas, here, has often left me in such a state of mind that I've felt I simply couldn't go on living the way I did ...

'Only I've been bitten by something much more poisonous than a snake; in fact, mine is the most painful kind of bit there is. I've been bitten in the heart, or the mind or whatever you like to call it ...' [quoted from 'The Five Dialogues of Plat', Everyman's Library.

Source: Jawaharlal Nehru, The Discovery of India

2. Essay Question(s)

Write a 2,500-3,000 word essay that answers one of the following questions.

The reading list accompanying the seminars topics ought to provide the essential source material needed to answer the questions that follow. However, you should also exercise your initiative, follow up leads in bibliographies, and consult the large number of more specialised books and articles that are available in the Library.

1. Assess the impact of the Depression on the Indian economy between the wars.
2. By what means and with what success did the British seek to co-opt Indian allies between 1917 and 1947?
3. Analyse and compare the strategy and organization of the non-cooperation movement of 1920-22 with those of the civil disobedience campaigns of 1930-32.
4. How far does the 'subaltern' approach illuminate the history of Indian nationalism?
5. Did Gandhi lead the Indian masses, or was he merely appropriated by them?
6. To what extent was Hindu-Muslim antagonism a consequence of British rule?
7. Why was the Hindu-Muslim political cooperation of 1916-1922 a short-lived affair?
8. 'Caste and community were always more important than class in the politics of India during the inter-war period'. Discuss.
9. What was the role of religion in the assertion of the untouchable communities?
10. What was the attitude of Indian nationalists towards the 'untouchable' question?
11. Did the Indian nationalist movement help to emancipate women?
12. How is the Partition of India in 1947 best explained?

List of Abbreviations

CEHI	Cambridge Economic History of India
EPW	Economic and Political Weekly
IHR	Indian Historical Review
JAS	Journal of Asian Studies
MAS	Modern Asian Studies
OHBE	Oxford History of the British Empire
P&P	Past and Present
TRHS	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society