

Nationalism and Imperialism

Willie Kramer



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Ebook ISBN: 9781984662330



Published by:

Bibliotex

Canada

Website: www.bibliotex.com

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Early nationalism

In his pre-anarchist years, Bakunin's politics were essentially a left-wing form of nationalism - specifically, a focus on East Europe and Russian affairs. While Bakunin, at this time, located the national liberation and democratic struggles of the Slavs in a larger European revolutionary process, he did not pay much attention to other regions. This aspect of his thought dates from before he became an anarchist, and his anarchist works consistently envisaged a global social revolution, including both Africa and Asia. Bakunin as anarchist continued to stress the importance of national liberation, but he now insisted that this issue had to be solved as part of the social revolution. The same problem that dogged Marxist revolutionary strategy would also arise in independence struggles led by nationalism, unless the working class and peasantry created an anarchy:

When Bakunin visited Japan after his escape from Siberia, he was not really involved in its politics or with the Japanese peasants. This might be taken as evidence of a basic disinterest in Asia, but that would be incorrect. Bakunin stopped over briefly in Japan as part of a hurried flight from twelve years of imprisonment, a marked man racing across the world to his European home; he had neither Japanese contacts nor any

facility in the Japanese language; the small number of expatriate newspapers by Europeans published in China and Japan provided no insights into local revolutionary conditions or possibilities. Besides, Bakunin's conversion to anarchism came in 1865, towards the end of his life, and four years after his time in Japan.

Bakunin's ideas are examined in depth in Lucien van der Walt and Michael Schmidt's global study of anarchism and syndicalism, *Black Flame: The Revolutionary Class Politics of Anarchism and Syndicalism*, with Bakunin described as one of the two most important figures in anarchist history. English translations of Bakunin are generally rare when compared to the comprehensive editions in French, Spanish and German. An eight-volume complete works of Bakunin in English is to be published at some point in the future by AK Press; according to Ramsey Kanaan these will likely be published yearly for eight years in hardcover format. Madelaine Grawitz's biography remains to be translated.

Nationalism

Modern nationalism in Europe came to be associated with the formation of nation-states. It also meant a change in people understands of who they were, and what defined their identity and sense of belonging. New symbols and icons, new songs and ideas forged new links and redefined the boundaries of communities. In most countries the making of this new national

identity was a long process. How did this consciousness emerge in India?

In India, as in Vietnam and many other colonies, the growth of modern nationalism is intimately connected to the anti-colonial movement. People began discovering their unity in the process of their struggle with colonialism. The sense of being oppressed under colonialism provided a shared bond that tied many different groups together. But each class and group felt the effects of colonialism differently, their experiences were varied, and their notions of freedom were not always the same. The Congress under Mahatma Gandhi tried to forge these groups together within one movement. But the unity did not emerge without conflict.

In an earlier textbook you have read about the growth of nationalism in India up to the first decade of the twentieth century. In this chapter as suggested, pick up the story from the 1920s and study the Non-cooperation and Civil Disobedience Movements. As suggested, explore how the Congress sought to develop the national movement, how different social groups participated in the movement, and how nationalism captured the imagination of people.

The First World War, Khilafat and Non-Cooperation

In the years after 1919, we see the national movement spreading to new areas, incorporating new social groups, and developing

new modes of struggle. How do we understand these developments? What implications did they have?

First of all, the war created a new economic and political situation. It led to a huge increase in defence expenditure which was financed by war loans and increasing taxes: customs duties were raised and income tax introduced. Through the war years prices increased—doubling between 1913 and 1918—leading to extreme hardship for the common people.

Villages were called upon to supply soldiers, and the forced recruitment in rural areas caused widespread anger. Then in 1918-19 and 1920-21, crops failed in many parts of India, resulting in acute shortages of food. This was accompanied by an influenza epidemic. According to the census of 1921, 12 to 13 million people perished as a result of famines and the epidemic. People hoped that their hardships would end after the war was over. But that did not happen. At this stage a new leader appeared and suggested a new mode of struggle.

The Idea of Satyagraha

Mahatma Gandhi returned to India in January 1915. As you know, he had come from South Africa where he had successfully fought the racist regime with a novel method of mass agitation, which he called satyagraha. The idea of satyagraha emphasised the power of truth and the need to search for truth. It suggested that if the cause was true, if the struggle was against injustice, then physical force was not necessary to fight the oppressor.

Without seeking vengeance or being aggressive, a satyagrahi could win the battle through nonviolence. This could be done by appealing to the conscience of the oppressor. People—including the oppressors—had to be persuaded to see the truth, instead of being forced to accept truth through the use of violence. By this struggle, truth was bound to ultimately triumph. Mahatma Gandhi believed that this *dharma* of non-violence could unite all Indians.

After arriving in India, Mahatma Gandhi successfully organised satyagraha movements in various places. In 1916 he travelled to Champaran in Bihar to inspire the peasants to struggle against the oppressive plantation system. Then in 1917, he organised a satyagraha to support the peasants of the Kheda district of Gujarat. Affected by crop failure and a plague epidemic, the peasants of Kheda could not pay the revenue, and were demanding that revenue collection be relaxed. In 1918, Mahatma Gandhi went to Ahmedabad to organise a satyagraha movement amongst cotton mill workers.

The Rowlatt Act

Emboldened with this success, Gandhiji in 1919 decided to launch a nationwide satyagraha against the proposed Rowlatt Act (1919). This Act had been hurriedly passed through the Imperial Legislative Council despite the united opposition of the Indian members. It gave the government enormous powers to repress political activities, and allowed detention of political prisoners without trial for two years. Mahatma Gandhi wanted non-violent

civil disobedience against such unjust laws, which would start with a *hartal* on 6 April.

Rallies were organised in various cities, workers went on strike in railway workshops, and shops closed down. Alarmed by the popular upsurge, and scared that lines of communication such as the railways and telegraph would be disrupted, the British administration decided to clamp down on nationalists. Local leaders were picked up from Amritsar, and Mahatma Gandhi was barred from entering Delhi.

On 10 April, the police in Amritsar fired upon a peaceful procession, provoking widespread attacks on banks, post offices and railway stations. Martial law was imposed and General Dyer took command. On 13 April the infamous Jallianwalla Bagh incident took place. On that day a crowd of villagers who had come to Amritsar to attend a fair gathered in the enclosed ground of Jallianwalla Bagh.

Being from outside the city, they were unaware of the martial law that had been imposed. Dyer entered the area, blocked the exit points, and opened fire on the crowd, killing hundreds. His object, as he declared later, was to 'produce a moral effect', to create in the minds of satyagrahis a feeling of terror and awe.

As the news of Jallianwalla Bagh spread, crowds took to the streets in many north Indian towns. There were strikes, clashes with the police and attacks on government buildings. The government responded with brutal repression, seeking to humiliate and terrorise people: satyagrahis were forced to rub

their noses on the ground, crawl on the streets, and do *salaam* (salute) to all sahibs; people were flogged and villages were bombed. Seeing violence spread, Mahatma Gandhi called off the movement.

While the Rowlatt satyagraha had been a widespread movement, it was still limited mostly to cities and towns. Mahatma Gandhi now felt the need to launch a more broad-based movement in India. But he was certain that no such movement could be organised without bringing the Hindus and Muslims closer together. One way of doing this, he felt, was to take up the Khilafat issue.

The First World War had ended with the defeat of Ottoman Turkey. And there were rumours that a harsh peace treaty was going to be imposed on the Ottoman emperor—the spiritual head of the Islamic world (the Khalifa). To defend the Khalifa's temporal powers, a Khilafat Committee was formed in Bombay in March 1919.

A young generation of Muslim leaders like the brothers Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, began discussing with Mahatma Gandhi about the possibility of a united mass action on the issue. Gandhiji saw this as an opportunity to bring Muslims under the umbrella of a unified national movement. At the Calcutta session of the Congress in September 1920, he convinced other leaders of the need to start a non-cooperation movement in support of Khilafat as well as for swaraj.

Why Non-cooperation

In his famous book *Hind Swaraj* (1909) Mahatma Gandhi declared that British rule was established in India with the cooperation of Indians, and had survived only because of this cooperation. If Indians refused to cooperate, British rule in India would collapse within a year, and swaraj would come.

How could non-cooperation become a movement? Gandhiji proposed that the movement should unfold in stages. It should begin with the surrender of titles that the government awarded, and a boycott of civil services, army, police, courts and legislative councils, schools, and foreign goods. Then, in case the government used repression, a full civil disobedience campaign would be launched.

Through the summer of 1920 Mahatma Gandhi and Shaukat Ali toured extensively, mobilising popular support for the movement. Many within the Congress were, however, concerned about the proposals. They were reluctant to boycott the council elections scheduled for November 1920, and they feared that the movement might lead to popular violence.

In the months between September and December there was an intense tussle within the Congress. For a while there seemed no meeting point between the supporters and the opponents of the movement. Finally, at the Congress session at Nagpur in December 1920, a compromise was worked out and the Non-Cooperation programme was adopted.

Differing Strands within the Movement

The Non-Cooperation-Khilafat Movement began in January 1921. Various social groups participated in this movement, each with its own specific aspiration. All of them responded to the call of Swaraj, but the term meant different things to different people.

The Movement in the Towns

The movement started with middle-class participation in the cities. Thousands of students left government-controlled schools and colleges, headmasters and teachers resigned, and lawyers gave up their legal practices. The council elections were boycotted in most provinces except Madras, where the Justice Party, the party of the non-Brahmans, felt that entering the council was one way of gaining some power—something that usually only Brahmans had access to.

The effects of non-cooperation on the economic front were more dramatic. Foreign goods were boycotted, liquor shops picketed, and foreign cloth burnt in huge bonfires. The import of foreign cloth halved between 1921 and 1922, its value dropping from `102 crore to `57 crore. In many places merchants and traders refused to trade in foreign goods or finance foreign trade. As the boycott movement spread, and people began discarding imported clothes and wearing only Indian ones, production of Indian textile mills and handlooms went up. But this movement in the cities gradually slowed down for a variety of reasons. *Khadi* cloth was often more expensive than mass produced mill cloth and poor

people could not afford to buy it. How then could they boycott mill cloth for too long? Similarly the boycott of British institutions posed a problem. For the movement to be successful, alternative Indian institutions had to be set up so that they could be used in place of the British ones. These were slow to come up. So students and teachers began trickling back to government schools and lawyers joined back work in government courts.

Rebellion in the Countryside

From the cities, the Non-Cooperation Movement spread to the countryside. It drew into its fold the struggles of peasants and tribals which were developing in different parts of India in the years after the war.

In Awadh, peasants were led by Baba Ramchandra—a *sanyasi* who had earlier been to Fiji as an indentured labourer. The movement here was against *talukdars* and landlords who demanded from peasants exorbitantly high rents and a variety of other cesses. Peasants had to do *begar* and work at landlords' farms without any payment. As tenants they had no security of tenure, being regularly evicted so that they could acquire no right over the leased land.

The peasant movement demanded reduction of revenue, abolition of *begar*, and social boycott of oppressive landlords. In many places *nai-dhobi bandhs* were organised by panchayats to deprive landlords of the services of even barbers and washermen. In June 1920, Jawaharlal Nehru began going around the villages in

Awadh, talking to the villagers, and trying to understand their grievances.

By October, the Oudh Kisan Sabha was set up headed by Jawaharlal Nehru, Baba Ramchandra and a few others. Within a month, over 300 branches had been set up in the villages around the region. So when the Non- Cooperation Movement began the following year, the effort of the Congress was to integrate the Awadh peasant struggle into the wider struggle.

The peasant movement, however, developed in forms that the Congress leadership was unhappy with. As the movement spread in 1921, the houses of *talukdars* and merchants were attacked, bazaars were looted, and grain hoards were taken over. In many places local leaders told peasants that Gandhiji had declared that no taxes were to be paid and land was to be redistributed among the poor. The name of the Mahatma was being invoked to sanction all action and aspirations.

Tribal peasants interpreted the message of Mahatma Gandhi and the idea of *swaraj* in yet another way. In the Gudem Hills of Andhra Pradesh, for instance, a militant guerrilla movement spread in the early 1920s—not a form of struggle that the Congress could approve.

Here, as in other forest regions, the colonial government had closed large forest areas, preventing people from entering the forests to graze their cattle, or to collect fuelwood and fruits. This enraged the hill people. Not only were their livelihoods affected but they felt that their traditional rights were being

denied. When the government began forcing them to contribute *begar* for road building, the hill people revolted.

The person who came to lead them was an interesting figure. Alluri Sitaram Raju claimed that he had a variety of special powers: he could make correct astrological predictions and heal people, and he could survive even bullet shots. Captivated by Raju, the rebels proclaimed that he was an incarnation of God.

Raju talked of the greatness of Mahatma Gandhi, said he was inspired by the Non-Cooperation Movement, and persuaded people to wear *khadi* and give up drinking. But at the same time he asserted that India could be liberated only by the use of force, not non-violence. The Gudem rebels attacked police stations, attempted to kill British officials and carried on guerrilla warfare for achieving swaraj. Raju was captured and executed in 1924, and over time became a folk hero.

Swaraj in the Plantations

Workers too had their own understanding of Mahatma Gandhi and the notion of swaraj. For plantation workers in Assam, freedom meant the right to move freely in and out of the confined space in which they were enclosed, and it meant retaining a link with the village from which they had come. Under the Inland Emigration Act of 1859, plantation workers were not permitted to leave the tea gardens without permission, and in fact they were rarely given such permission. When they heard of the Non-Cooperation Movement, thousands of workers defied the

authorities, left the plantations and headed home. They believed that Gandhi Raj was coming and everyone would be given land in their own villages. They, however, never reached their destination. Stranded on the way by a railway and steamer strike, they were caught by the police and brutally beaten up.

The visions of these movements were not defined by the Congress programme. They interpreted the term swaraj in their own ways, imagining it to be a time when all suffering and all troubles would be over. Yet, when the tribals chanted Gandhiji's name and raised slogans demanding '*Swatantra Bharat*', they were also emotionally relating to an all-India agitation.

When they acted in the name of Mahatma Gandhi, or linked their movement to that of the Congress, they were identifying with a movement which went beyond the limits of their immediate locality.

Towards Civil Disobedience

In February 1922, Mahatma Gandhi decided to withdraw the Non-Cooperation Movement. He felt the movement was turning violent in many places and satyagrahis needed to be properly trained before they would be ready for mass struggles. Within the Congress, some leaders were by now tired of mass struggles and wanted to participate in elections to the provincial councils that had been set up by the Government of India Act of 1919.

They felt that it was important to oppose British policies within the councils, argue for reform and also demonstrate that these

councils were not truly democratic. C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru formed the Swaraj Party within the Congress to argue for a return to council politics. But younger leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose pressed for more radical mass agitation and for full independence.

In such a situation of internal debate and dissension two factors again shaped Indian politics towards the late 1920s. The first was the effect of the worldwide economic depression. Agricultural prices began to fall from 1926 and collapsed after 1930. As the demand for agricultural goods fell and exports declined, peasants found it difficult to sell their harvests and pay their revenue. By 1930, the country-side was in turmoil.

Against this background the new Tory government in Britain constituted a Statutory Commission under Sir John Simon. Set up in response to the nationalist movement, the commission was to look into the functioning of the constitutional system in India and suggest changes. The problem was that the commission did not have a single Indian member. They were all British.

When the Simon Commission arrived in India in 1928, it was greeted with the slogan 'Go back Simon'. All parties, including the Congress and the Muslim League, participated in the demonstrations. In an effort to win them over, the viceroy, Lord Irwin, announced in October 1929, a vague offer of 'dominion status' for India in an unspecified future, and a Round Table Conference to discuss a future constitution. This did not satisfy the Congress leaders. The radicals within the Congress, led by

Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose, became more assertive. The liberals and moderates, who were proposing a constitutional system within the framework of British dominion, gradually lost their influence. In December 1929, under the presidency of Jawaharlal Nehru, the Lahore Congress formalised the demand of 'Purna Swaraj' or full independence for India.

It was declared that 26 January 1930, would be celebrated as the Independence Day when people were to take a pledge to struggle for complete independence. But the celebrations attracted very little attention. So Mahatma Gandhi had to find a way to relate this abstract idea of freedom to more concrete issues of everyday life.

The Salt March and the Civil Disobedience Movement

Mahatma Gandhi found in salt a powerful symbol that could unite the nation. On 31 January 1930, he sent a letter to Viceroy Irwin stating eleven demands. Some of these were of general interest; others were specific demands of different classes, from industrialists to peasants. The idea was to make the demands wide-ranging, so that all classes within Indian society could identify with them and everyone could be brought together in a united campaign.

The most stirring of all was the demand to abolish the salt tax. Salt was something consumed by the rich and the poor alike, and it was one of the most essential items of food. The tax on salt and

the government monopoly over its production, Mahatma Gandhi declared, revealed the most oppressive face of British rule.

Mahatma Gandhi's letter was, in a way, an ultimatum. If the demands were not fulfilled by 11 March, the letter stated, the Congress would launch a civil disobedience campaign. Irwin was unwilling to negotiate. So Mahatma Gandhi started his famous salt march accompanied by 78 of his trusted volunteers.

The march was over 240 miles, from Gandhiji's ashram in Sabarmati to the Gujarati coastal town of Dandi. The volunteers walked for 24 days, about 10 miles a day. Thousands came to hear Mahatma Gandhi wherever he stopped, and he told them what he meant by *swaraj* and urged them to peacefully defy the British. On 6 April he reached Dandi, and ceremonially violated the law, manufacturing salt by boiling sea water.

This marked the beginning of the Civil Disobedience Movement. How was this movement different from the Non-Cooperation Movement? People were now asked not only to refuse cooperation with the British, as they had done in 1921-22, but also to break colonial laws.

Thousands in different parts of the country broke the salt law, manufactured salt and demonstrated in front of government salt factories. As the movement spread, foreign cloth was boycotted, and liquor shops were picketed. Peasants refused to pay revenue and *chaukidari* taxes, village officials resigned, and in many places forest people violated forest laws—going into Reserved Forests to collect wood and graze cattle.

Nationalism and Imperialism

Worried by the developments, the colonial government began arresting the Congress leaders one by one. This led to violent clashes in many places. When Abdul Ghaffar Khan, a devout disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, was arrested in April 1930, angry crowds demonstrated in the streets of Peshawar, facing armoured cars and police firing.

Many were killed. A month later, when Mahatma Gandhi himself was arrested, industrial workers in Sholapur attacked police posts, municipal buildings, lawcourts and railway stations—all structures that symbolised British rule. A frightened government responded with a policy of brutal repression. Peaceful satyagrahis were attacked, women and children were beaten, and about 100,000 people were arrested.

In such a situation, Mahatma Gandhi once again decided to call off the movement and entered into a pact with Irwin on 5 March 1931. By this Gandhi-Irwin Pact, Gandhiji consented to participate in a Round Table Conference (the Congress had boycotted the first Round Table Conference) in London and the government agreed to release the political prisoners.

In December 1931, Gandhiji went to London for the conference, but the negotiations broke down and he returned disappointed. Back in India, he discovered that the government had begun a new cycle of repression. Ghaffar Khan and Jawaharlal Nehru were both in jail, the Congress had been declared illegal, and a series of measures had been imposed to prevent meetings, demonstrations and boycotts. With great apprehension, Mahatma

Gandhi relaunched the Civil Disobedience Movement. For over a year, the movement continued, but by 1934 it lost its momentum.

How Participants Saw the Movement

Let us now look at the different social groups that participated in the Civil Disobedience Movement. Why did they join the movement? What were their ideals? What did swaraj mean to them? In the countryside, rich peasant communities—like the Patidars of Gujarat and the Jats of Uttar Pradesh—were active in the movement. Being producers of commercial crops, they were very hard hit by the trade depression and falling prices.

As their cash income disappeared, they found it impossible to pay the government's revenue demand. And the refusal of the government to reduce the revenue demand led to widespread resentment. These rich peasants became enthusiastic supporters of the Civil Disobedience Movement, organising their communities, and at times forcing reluctant members, to participate in the boycott programmes.

For them the fight for swaraj was a struggle against high revenues. But they were deeply disappointed when the movement was called off in 1931 without the revenue rates being revised. So when the movement was restarted in 1932, many of them refused to participate.

The poorer peasantry were not just interested in the lowering of the revenue demand. Many of them were small tenants cultivating land they had rented from landlords. As the Depression

continued and cash incomes dwindled, the small tenants found it difficult to pay their rent. They wanted the unpaid rent to the landlord to be remitted. They joined a variety of radical movements, often led by Socialists and Communists. Apprehensive of raising issues that might upset the rich peasants and landlords, the Congress was unwilling to support 'no rent' campaigns in most places. So the relationship between the poor peasants and the Congress remained uncertain.

What about the business classes? How did they relate to the Civil Disobedience Movement? During the First World War, Indian merchants and industrialists had made huge profits and become powerful. Keen on expanding their business, they now reacted against colonial policies that restricted business activities. They wanted protection against imports of foreign goods, and a rupee-sterling foreign exchange ratio that would discourage imports.

To organise business interests, they formed the Indian Industrial and Commercial Congress in 1920 and the Federation of the Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industries (FICCI) in 1927. Led by prominent industrialists like Purshottamdas Thakurdas and G.D. Birla, the industrialists attacked colonial control over the Indian economy, and supported the Civil Disobedience Movement when it was first launched. They gave financial assistance and refused to buy or sell imported goods.

Most businessmen came to see swaraj as a time when colonial restrictions on business would no longer exist and trade and industry would flourish without constraints. But after the failure

of the Round Table Conference, business groups were no longer uniformly enthusiastic. They were apprehensive of the spread of militant activities, and worried about prolonged disruption of business, as well as of the growing influence of socialism amongst the younger members of the Congress.

The industrial working classes did not participate in the Civil Disobedience Movement in large numbers, except in the Nagpur region. As the industrialists came closer to the Congress, workers stayed aloof. But in spite of that, some workers did participate in the Civil Disobedience Movement, selectively adopting some of the ideas of the Gandhian programme, like boycott of foreign goods, as part of their own movements against low wages and poor working conditions.

There were strikes by railway workers in 1930 and dockworkers in 1932. In 1930 thousands of workers in Chotanagpur tin mines wore Gandhi caps and participated in protest rallies and boycott campaigns. But the Congress was reluctant to include workers' demands as part of its programme of struggle. It felt that this would alienate industrialists and divide the antiimperial forces.

Another important feature of the Civil Disobedience Movement was the large-scale participation of women. During Gandhiji's salt march, thousands of women came out of their homes to listen to him. They participated in protest marches, manufactured salt, and picketed foreign cloth and liquor shops. Many went to jail. In urban areas these women were from high-

caste families; in rural areas they came from rich peasant households.

Moved by Gandhiji's call, they began to see service to the nation as a sacred duty of women. Yet, this increased public role did not necessarily mean any radical change in the way the position of women was visualised. Gandhiji was convinced that it was the duty of women to look after home and hearth, be good mothers and good wives. And for a long time the Congress was reluctant to allow women to hold any position of authority within the organisation. It was keen only on their symbolic presence.

The Limits of Civil Disobedience

Not all social groups were moved by the abstract concept of swaraj. One such group was the nation's 'untouchables', who from around the 1930s had begun to call themselves dalit or oppressed. For long the Congress had ignored the dalits, for fear of offending the *sanatanis*, the conservative high-caste Hindus. But Mahatma Gandhi declared that swaraj would not come for a hundred years if untouchability was not eliminated.

He called the 'untouchables' harijan, or the children of God, organised satyagraha to secure them entry into temples, and access to public wells, tanks, roads and schools. He himself cleaned toilets to dignify the work of the bhangi (the sweepers), and persuaded upper castes to change their heart and give up 'the sin of untouchability'. But many dalit leaders were keen on a different political solution to the problems of the community.

They began organising themselves, demanding reserved seats in educational institutions, and a separate electorate that would choose dalit members for legislative councils. Political empowerment, they believed, would resolve the problems of their social disabilities. Dalit participation in the Civil Disobedience Movement was therefore limited, particularly in the Maharashtra and Nagpur region where their organisation was quite strong.

Dr B.R. Ambedkar, who organised the dalits into the Depressed Classes Association in 1930, clashed with Mahatma Gandhi at the second Round Table Conference by demanding separate electorates for dalits. When the British government conceded Ambedkar's demand, Gandhiji began a fast unto death.

He believed that separate electorates for dalits would slow down the process of their integration into society. Ambedkar ultimately accepted Gandhiji's position and the result was the Poona Pact of September 1932. It gave the Depressed Classes (later to be known as the Schedule Castes) reserved seats in provincial and central legislative councils, but they were to be voted in by the general electorate. The dalit movement, however, continued to be apprehensive of the Congress-led national movement.

Some of the Muslim political organisations in India were also lukewarm in their response to the Civil Disobedience Movement. After the decline of the Non-Cooperation-Khilafat movement, a large section of Muslims felt alienated from the Congress. From the mid-1920s the Congress came to be more visibly associated

with openly Hindu religious nationalist groups like the Hindu Mahasabha.

As relations between Hindus and Muslims worsened, each community organised religious processions with militant fervour, provoking Hindu-Muslim communal clashes and riots in various cities. Every riot deepened the distance between the two communities. The Congress and the Muslim League made efforts to renegotiate an alliance, and in 1927 it appeared that such a unity could be forged.

The important differences were over the question of representation in the future assemblies that were to be elected. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, one of the leaders of the Muslim League, was willing to give up the demand for separate electorates, if Muslims were assured reserved seats in the Central Assembly and representation in proportion to population in the Muslim-dominated provinces (Bengal and Punjab). Negotiations over the question of representation continued but all hope of resolving the issue at the All Parties Conference in 1928 disappeared when M.R. Jayakar of the Hindu Mahasabha strongly opposed efforts at compromise. When the Civil Disobedience Movement started there was thus an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust between communities. Alienated from the Congress, large sections of Muslims could not respond to the call for a united struggle. Many Muslim leaders and intellectuals expressed their concern about the status of Muslims as a minority within India. They feared that the culture and identity of minorities would be submerged under the domination of a Hindu majority.

Chapter 2

Political Parties

Meaning and Role of Political Parties

Human beings have always organised themselves in groups and larger formations. Political parties have emerged as one of these human organisations. In modern age the ideal form of government is run through one or the other method of representative institutions. All representative governments and representative institutions require the existence of political parties.

A political party is an organised body of people who share certain common principles and goals regarding the political system of a country. The main purpose of political parties is to acquire and retain political power. Political parties which run the government are called the ruling party. In a coalition government, there may be more than one ruling party. Those who sit in the opposition and criticise and analyse the performance of the ruling party/parties generally or on specific issues are called opposition parties.

A political party as such should have the following essential features:

- It must be an organised body of people with a formal membership;
- It must have clearly spelt out policies and programmes;
- Its members should agree with its ideology, policies and programmes;
- It must aim at getting power through the democratic process;
- It must have a clear and acceptable leadership; and
- It must focus on broad issues and major areas of government policies.

Types of Party System

India has a multi-party system. Indian politics is dominated by several national and regional parties. There are countries where there is one-party system or two-party system. Erstwhile Soviet Union and Yugoslavia had single party systems. Similarly, China has one-party system. Earlier in Germany there existed only one-party—the Nazi Party; so was the case in Italy where the only party was known as the Fascist Party. In a two party or bi-party system there are two main political parties. The United Kingdom (UK), the United States of America (USA), Australia and New Zealand have bi-party systems. There may exist other parties but their role is generally insignificant. For example in UK, there are two main parties, the Conservative Party and the Labour Party. In the USA the two main parties are the Republican Party and the Democratic Party. Japan, France, Germany and Switzerland have multi-party systems.

Evolution of Party System in India

The evolution of Indian party system can be traced to the formation of the Congress, as a political platform in 1885. Other parties and groups originated later. The Indian National Congress was formed as a response to the colonial rule and to achieve independence from the British rule. After independence and with the adoption of a democratic Constitution, a new party system emerged in the wake of the first general elections based on universal adult franchise in 1952. During the post-independence period, the party system passed through various phases. The first phase is known as the phase of one-party dominance because with the exception of Kerala during 1956–59, the ruling party both at the Centre and in the states was the Congress. The second phase (1967–1975) saw the emergence of a multi-party system in India. In the Assembly elections in 1967, Congress was defeated in eight States.

For the first time non-Congress parties formed governments in these states. These parties formed coalition governments. Then came the split in Congress into Congress (O) and Congress (N). However, the Congress again became a dominant force at the Centre after winning 1971 mid-term poll. Then came the emergency period (1975–77) which is known as the authoritarian period of Indian democracy.

With the lifting of emergency, the dominance of Congress ended. In the general elections of 1977 Congress was defeated by the Janata Party. Janata Party came into existence as a result of the

merger of many opposition parties. But again in 1980 general elections Congress came back to power and remained in power till 1989. Janata Party emerged out of the merger of Congress (O) led by Morarji Desai, Bharatiya Lok Dal led by Ch. Charan Singh, Congress for Democracy (CFD) led by Jagjivan Ram and H. N. Bahuguna, the socialists led by George Fernandes and Jana Sangh led by L.K. Advani.

In 1989 elections, the National Front joined government with the support of BJP and the Left Front. But this formation could not last its tenure and elections for the tenth Lok Sabha were held in May-June, 1991. Congress again formed government at the Centre. In 1996 general elections BJP emerged as the single largest party and was asked to form government at the Centre. Since it could not prove its majority within the given time it had to resign.

The United Front which was a combination of thirteen parties, formed the government at the Centre with the external support of the Congress and the CPI(M). But this government also could not last its full term. Although the coalition government formed under the leadership of BJP after 1998 elections was defeated in Lok Sabha, the 1999 elections again provided them the opportunity to form government which lasted its full term under a multi-party coalition, known as National Democratic Alliance (NDA).

In the 14th general elections held in 2004, Congress emerged as the single largest party. It formed alliance with like minded

parties and formed government at the Centre. The phase of Indian party system which began in 1989 and is still continuing has been aptly called a phase of coalition politics. No single party has been able to form government on its own at the Centre.

National Parties and Regional Parties

India has two types of political parties—national parties and regional parties. National parties are those which generally have influence all over the country. It is not necessary that a national party will have equal strength in all the states; it varies from State to State. A party is recognised as a national party by the Election Commission on the basis of a formula. The political party which has secured not less than four per cent of the total valid votes in the previous general elections at least in four states, is given the status of a national party.

The number of national parties has been changing. In the year 2006:

- Indian National Congress,
- Bharatiya Janata Party,
- Communist Party of India (Marxist) [CPI(M)],
- Communist Party of India (CPI),
- Bahujan Samaj Party, and
- The Nationalist Congress Party were national parties.

However, there are other parties in India, which do not enjoy national influence. Their activities and influence are restricted to

particular states or regions. Sometimes these parties are formed to voice demands of a specific region. These parties are neither weak nor short-lived.

Sometimes they prove to be very powerful in their respective regions. These are known as regional parties. Major regional parties are AIADMK and DMK in Tamil Nadu, Telugu Desam in Andhra Pradesh, Akali Dal in Punjab, National Conference in Jammu and Kashmir, Jharkhand Mukti Morcha in Jharkhand, Asom Gana Parishad in Assam and Nationalist Congress Party and Shiv Sena in Maharashtra.

Major National Parties in India

Indian National Congress

As you have already read, Indian National Congress was formed in the year 1885 in Bombay. W. C. Bonnarjee was the first President of the Indian National Congress. To begin with, Congress was an organisation of middle class intellectuals who were primarily concerned with political reforms in the British colonial rule. In the twenties under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the Congress became a mass based organisation. The party started enjoying the support of the common people and played a very significant role in the freedom struggle.

After independence Jawahar Lal Nehru became the Prime Minister and led the Congress till his death in 1964. This was known as the 'Nehru era'. The Congress party won first five

general elections in 1952, 1957, 1962, 1967 and 1971. In 1975 national emergency was declared which went on till 1977. In the elections of 1977, the Congress was defeated. However, in 1980 general elections, the Congress Party led by Indira Gandhi came back to power. Indira Gandhi was assassinated in 1984 and during 1985 general elections, Rajiv Gandhi was the leader of the party. Congress won the 1985 general elections with a larger majority. In 1989 though Congress could not get absolute majority, it was the single largest party. In the tenth general elections in 1991, Congress again emerged as the single largest party and formed the government at the Centre. In the 1996, general elections Congress could not form government at the Centre. In the 12th general elections in 1998, Congress could get only 140 Lok Sabha seats. In the 1999 general elections Congress's strength was further reduced to 112. But in the 14th general elections Congress entered into alliance with other secular parties and secured the number of seats that provided it an opportunity to form a coalition government.

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) was formed in 1980. Since then it has extended its influence in the Hindi belt, Gujarat and Maharashtra. Since 1989, it has been trying to extend its base in South India also.

Since its formation in 1980, the BJP has been increasing its number of seats in the Lok Sabha gradually. In 1984, general elections it secured only two seats. In 1989 the number of seats

increased to 88. In 1991 general elections BJP's strength in the Lok Sabha increased to 122 which rose to 161 in the 1996 elections. In 1998 it won 180 seats and in 1999 its number in Lok Sabha increased to 182.

In the 1999 general elections, BJP contested as an alliance partner in the National Democratic Alliance (NDA). In the recent 2004 general elections BJP as an alliance of NDA could not get the required majority. It is playing the role of the opposition party. The BJP has emerged as a significant national party but its support base as yet is limited to certain areas, rather than spread all over India.

The Communist Parties

The two communist parties are the Communist Party of India (CPI) and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) [CPI(M)]. Next to the Congress, the Communist Party is the oldest in India. The communist movement began in the early twenties and the Communist Party was founded in 1925.

The communists participated in the national movement, though often they had serious differences with the Congress. The communists assert that the people should be economically equal and the society should not be divided into classes of rich and poor. The workers and peasants and other toiling people who do most of the productive work for the society, should be given due recognition and power. The communists were the main opposition in the Lok Sabha throughout the Nehru Era. In the first Lok

Sabha they had 26 members, in the second and the third Lok Sabha, they had 27 and 29 members respectively.

In 1957, the CPI won absolute majority in the Kerala Assembly and formed the first Communist government in India. In the early sixties specially after the Chinese aggression of 1962 there were serious differences among the members of the Communist Party. As a result, the party split into two. Those who broke away from CPI, formed CPI(M) in 1964.

The CPI(M)'s main support base has been concentrated in West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura, though it has registered its presence in Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Maharashtra, Orissa and Punjab. The CPI has its pockets of influence in states like Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Manipur, Orissa, Pondicherry, Punjab, etc.

Moreover CPI has been a part of the left front coalition in Kerala and West Bengal. In the Lok Sabha elections of 2004, both the CPI and the CPI (M) were alliance partners of the Congress. They are supporting the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government at the Centre from outside.

Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP)

The BSP acquired the status of a national party in 1996. The BSP champions the cause of those sections which belong to low castes, deprived groups and minorities. In fact, these sections of Indian society (the Bahujan Samaj) form the majority of the Indian population. The BSP believes that this 'samaj' should be

freed from the exploitation of the upper castes and by forming their own government. BSP's influence lies in states like Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Punjab. In 1995 and 1997 BSP was a partner in the coalition governments in Uttar Pradesh.

Law of India

Law of India refers to the system of law in modern India. It is largely based on English common law because of the long period of British colonial influence during the period of the British Raj. Much of contemporary Indian law shows substantial European and American influence.

Various legislation first introduced by the British is still in effect in modified forms today. During the drafting of the Indian Constitution, laws from Ireland, the United States, Britain, and France were synthesized into a refined set of Indian laws. Indian laws also adhere to the United Nations guidelines on human rights law and the environmental law. Certain international trade laws, such as those on intellectual property, are also enforced in India.

Indian family law is complex, with each religion adhering to its own specific laws. In most states, registering of marriages and divorces is not compulsory. Separate laws govern Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, and followers of other religions.

The exception to this rule is in the state of Goa, where a Portuguese uniform civil code is in place, in which all religions

have a common law regarding marriages, divorces, and adoption. There are about 1221 laws as of May 2010. However, since there are Central laws as well as State laws, it is difficult to ascertain their exact numbers as on a given date. The best way to find the about the Central Laws in India is from the official website.

History of Indian law

Ancient India represented a distinct tradition of law, and had an historically independent school of legal theory and practice. The *Arthashastra*, dating from 400 BC and the *Manusmriti*, from 100 AD, were influential treatises in India, texts that were considered authoritative legal guidance. Manu's central philosophy was tolerance and pluralism, and was cited across Southeast Asia.

Early in this period, which culminated in the creation of the Gupta Empire, relations with ancient Greece and Rome were not infrequent. The appearance of similar fundamental institutions of international law in various parts of the world show that they are inherent in international society, irrespective of culture and tradition.

Inter-State relations in the pre-Islamic period resulted in clear-cut rules of warfare of a high humanitarian standard, in rules of neutrality, of treaty law, of customary law embodied in religious charters, in exchange of embassies of a temporary or semipermanent character.

When India became part of the British Empire, there was a break in tradition, and Hindu and Islamic law were supplanted by the

common law. As a result, the present judicial system of the country derives largely from the British system and has little correlation to the institutions of the pre-British era.

Constitutional and administrative law

The Constitution of India, which came into effect from January 26, 1950, is the lengthiest written constitution in the world. Although its administrative provisions are to a large extent based on the Government of India Act 1935, it also contains various other provisions that were drawn from other constitutions in the world at the time of its creation.

It provides details of the administration of both the Union and the States, and codifies the relations between the Federal Government and the State Governments. Also incorporated into the text is a chapter on the fundamental rights of citizens, as well as a chapter on directive principles of state policy.

The constitution prescribes a federal structure of government, with a clearly defined separation of legislative and executive powers between the Federation and the States. Each State Government has the freedom to draft its own laws on subjects classified as state subjects. Laws passed by the Parliament of India and other pre-existing central laws on subjects classified as central subjects are binding on all citizens.

However, the Constitution also has certain unitary features, such as vesting power of amendment solely in the Federal Government,

the absence of dual citizenship, and the overriding authority assumed by the Federal Government in times of emergency.

Criminal law

The Indian Penal Code formulated by the British during the British Raj in 1860, forms the backbone of criminal law in India. The Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973 governs the procedural aspects of the criminal law. Jury trials were abolished by the government in 1960 on the grounds they would be susceptible to media and public influence.

This decision was based on an 8-1 acquittal of Kavas Nanavati in *K.M. Nanavati vs. State of Maharashtra*, which was overturned by higher courts. In February 2011, the Supreme Court of India ruled that criminal defendants have a constitutional right to counsel. Capital punishment in India is legal. The last execution was conducted in 2004, when Dhananjay Chatterjee was hanged for the rape and murder of a 14-year old girl.

Contract law

The main contract law in India is codified in the Indian Contract Act, which came into effect on September 1, 1872 and extends to all India except the state of Jammu and Kashmir. It governs entrance into contract, and effects of breach of contract. Indian Contract law is popularly known as mercantile law of India. Originally Indian Sales of Goods Act and Partnership Act were part of Indian Contract act, but due to needed amendment there

acts were separated from Contract Act. Contract act is the main and most used act of legal agreements in India.

Tort law

Development of constitutional tort began in India in the early 1980s. It influenced the direction tort law in India took during the 1990s. In recognizing state liability, constitutional tort deviates from established norms in tort law. This covers custodial deaths, police atrocities, encounter killings, illegal detention and disappear-ances. Law commission of India's first report was relating to the Liability of the State in Tort. This report was submitted by the Law commission of India on 11.5.1956. State owes tortuous Liability under Article 300 of Indian Constitution.

Constitution of India

The Constitution of India is the supreme law of India. It lays down the framework defining fundamental political principles, establishes the structure, procedures, powers, and duties of government institutions, and sets out fundamental rights, directive principles, and the duties of citizens.

It is the longest written roughly constitution of any sovereign country in the world, containing 450 articles in 24 parts, 12 schedules and 96 amendments, for a total of 117,369 words in the English language version. Besides the English version, there is an official Hindi translation. The Constitution was enacted by the Constituent Assembly on 26 November 1949, and came into

effect on 26 January 1950. The date 26 January was chosen to commemorate the Purna Swaraj declaration of independence of 1930. With its adoption, the Union of India officially became the modern and contemporary Republic of India and it replaced the Government of India Act 1935 as the country's fundamental governing document.

The Constitution declares India to be a sovereign, socialist, secular, democratic republic, assuring its citizens of justice, equality, and liberty, and endeavours to promote fraternity among them. The words "socialist" and "secular" were added to the definition in 1976 by constitutional amendment. India celebrates the adoption of the constitution on 26 January each year as Republic Day.

The majority of the Indian subcontinent was under British colonial rule from 1858 to 1947. This period saw the gradual rise of the Indian independence movement to gain independence from foreign rule. The movement culminated in the formation of the Dominion of India on 15 August 1947, along with the Dominion of Pakistan.

The Constitution of India was adopted on 26 November 1949 and came into effect on 26 January 1950, proclaiming India to be a sovereign, democratic republic. It contained the founding principles of the law of the land which would govern India after its independence from British rule. On the day the constitution came into effect, India ceased to be a dominion of the British Crown.

Evolution of the Constitution

Acts of British Parliament before 1935

After the Indian Rebellion of 1857, the British Parliament passed the Government of India Act 1858, which abolished the role of the East India Company in the government of India, and transferred British India to the direct rule of the Crown. The Act also established in England the office of the Secretary of State for India through whom Parliament would exercise its rule, as well as establishing the office of Viceroy of India.

The Indian Councils Act 1861 provided for a Legislative Council consisting of the members of the Executive council and non-official members. The Indian Councils Act 1892 established provincial legislatures and increased the powers of the Legislative Council. Although these Acts increased the representation of Indians in the government, their power still remained limited. The Indian Councils Act 1909 and the Government of India Act 1919 further expanded participation of Indians in the government.

Government of India Act 1935

The provisions of the Government of India Act 1935, though never implemented fully, had a great impact on the Constitution of India. Many key features of the constitution are directly taken from this Act: the federal structure of government, provincial autonomy, a bicameral central legislature consisting of a federal

assembly and a Council of States, and the separation of legislative powers between the centre and provinces, are some of the provisions of the Act which are present in the Constitution of India.

The Cabinet Mission Plan

In 1946, British Prime Minister Clement Attlee formulated a cabinet mission to India to discuss and finalize plans for the transfer of power from the British Raj to Indian leadership as well as provide India with independence under Dominion status in the Commonwealth of Nations.

The Mission discussed the framework of the constitution and laid down in some detail the procedure to be followed by the constitution drafting body. Elections for the 296 seats assigned to the British Indian provinces were completed by August 1946. The Constituent Assembly of India first met and began work on 9 December 1946.

The mission consisted of Lord Pethick-Lawrence, the Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade, and A. V. Alexander, the First Lord of the Admiralty. However, Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India, did not participate.

Indian Independence Act 1947

The Indian Independence Act, passed by the British Parliament on 18 July 1947, divided British India into two new independent

states, India and Pakistan, which were to be dominions under the Commonwealth of Nations until they had each finished drafting and enacted a new constitution. The Constituent Assembly was divided into two for the separate states, with each new Assembly having sovereign powers transferred to it for the respective dominion.

The Act also terminated British suzerainty over the princely states, each of which was left to decide whether to accede to one or other of the new dominions or to continue as independent states in their own right. However, in most cases the states were so dependent on central institutions that they were widely expected to accede to a dominion.

When the Constitution of India came into force on 26 January 1950, it repealed the Indian Independence Act. India ceased to be a dominion of the British Crown and became a sovereign democratic republic. 26 November 1949 is also known as National Law Day.

Constituent Assembly

The Constitution was drafted by the Constituent Assembly, which was elected by the elected members of the provincial assemblies. Sanjay Phakey, Jawaharlal Nehru, C. Rajagopalachari, Rajendra Prasad, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Sandipkumar Patel, Dr Ambedkar, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Nalini Ranjan Ghosh, and Balwantraai Mehta were some important figures in the Assembly.

There were more than 30 members of the scheduled classes. Frank Anthony represented the Anglo-Indian community, and the Parsis were represented by H.P. Modi. The Chairman of the Minorities Committee was Harendra Coomar Mookerjee, a distinguished Christian who represented all Christians other than Anglo-Indians. Ari Bahadur Gururung represented the Gorkha Community.

Prominent jurists like Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyer, B. R. Ambedkar, Benegal Narsing Rau and K.M. Munshi, Ganesh Mavlankar were also members of the Assembly. Sarojini Naidu, Hansa Mehta, Durgabai Deshmukh, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and Vijayalakshmi Pandit were important women members. The first president of the Constituent Assembly was Dr Sachidanand Sinha. Later, Rajendra Prasad was elected president of the Constituent Assembly. The members of the Constituent Assembly met for the first time on 9 December 1946.

Drafting

On the 14 August 1947 meeting of the Assembly, a proposal for forming various committees was presented. Such committees included a Committee on Fundamental Rights, the Union Powers Committee and Union Constitution Committee. On 29 August 1947, the Drafting Committee was appointed, with Dr Ambedkar as the Chairman along with six other members. A Draft Constitution was prepared by the committee and submitted to the Assembly on 4 November 1947. The architects of India's constitution, though drawing on many external sources, were

most heavily influenced by the British model of parliamentary democracy. In addition, a number of principles were adopted from the Constitution of the United States of America, including the separation of powers among the major branches of government, the establishment of a supreme court, and the adoption, albeit in modified form, of a federal structure.

The Assembly met in sessions open to the public, for 166 days, spread over a period of 2 years, 11 months and 18 days before adopting the Constitution. After many deliberations and some modifications, the 308 members of the Assembly signed two copies of the document on 24 January 1950. The original Constitution of India is hand-written with beautiful calligraphy, each page beautified and decorated by artists from Santiniketan including Beohar Rammanohar Sinha and others. Two days later, on 26 January 1950, the Constitution of India became the law of all the States and territories of India. The Constitution has undergone many amendments since its enactment.

Structure

The Constitution, in its current form consists of a preamble, 22 parts containing 450 articles, 12 schedules, 2 appendices and 96 amendments to date. Although it is federal in nature it also has a strong unitary bias.

Parts

The individual Articles of the Constitution are grouped together into the following Parts:

- Preamble
- *Part I: Union and its Territory*
- *Part II: Citizenship.*
- *Part III: Fundamental Rights.*
- *Part IV: Directive Principles of State Policy.*
- *Part IVA: Fundamental Duties.*
- *Part V: The Union.*
- *Part VI: The States.*
- *Part VII: States in the B part of the First schedule.*
- *Part VIII: The Union Territories*
- *Part IX: The Panchayats.*
- *Part IXA: The Municipalities.*
- *Part X: The scheduled and Tribal Areas*
- *Part XI: Relations between the Union and the States.*
- *Part XII: Finance, Property, Contracts and Suits*
- *Part XIII: Trade and Commerce within the territory of India*
- *Part XIV: Services Under the Union, the States.*
- *Part XIVA: Tribunals.*
- *Part XV: Elections*
- *Part XVI: Special Provisions Relating to certain Classes.*
- *Part XVII: Languages*
- *Part XVIII: Emergency Provisions*
- *Part XIX: Miscellaneous*

- *Part XX:* Amendment of the Constitution
- *Part XXI:* Temporary, Transitional and Special Provisions
- *Part XXII:* Short title, date of commencement, Authoritative text in Hindi and Repeals

Schedules

Schedules are lists in the Constitution that categorize and tabulate bureaucratic activity and policy of the Government.

- *First Schedule:* This lists the states and territories of India, lists any changes to their borders and the laws used to make that change.
- *Second Schedule:* This lists the salaries of officials holding public office, judges, and Comptroller and Auditor-General of India.
- *Third Schedule:* Forms of Oaths—This lists the oaths of offices for elected officials and judges.
- *Fourth Schedule:* This details the allocation of seats in the *Rajya Sabha* per State or Union Territory.
- *Fifth Schedule:* This provides for the administration and control of Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes.
- *Sixth Schedule:* Provisions for the administration of tribal areas in Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, and Mizoram.
- *Seventh Schedule:* The union, state, and concurrent lists of responsibilities.
- *Eighth Schedule:* The official languages.

- *Ninth Schedule:* Articles mentioned here are immune from judicial review.
- *Tenth Schedule:* "Anti-defection" provisions for Members of Parliament and Members of the State Legislatures.
- *Eleventh Schedule:* Panchayat Raj.
- *Twelfth Schedule:* Municipalities.

System of Government

Federal Structure

The Constitution provides for distribution of powers between the Union and the States. It enumerates the powers of the Parliament and State Legislatures in three lists, namely Union list, State list and Concurrent list. Subjects like national defence, foreign policy, issuance of currency are reserved to the Union list.

Public order, local governments, certain taxes are examples of subjects of the State List, on which the Parliament has no power to enact laws in those regards, barring exceptional conditions. Education, transportation, criminal law are a few subjects of the Concurrent list, where both the State Legislature as well as the Parliament have powers to enact laws. The residuary powers are vested with the Union.

The upper house of the Parliament, the Rajya Sabha, which consists of representatives of States, is also an example of the federal nature of the government.

Parliamentary Democracy

The President of India is elected by the Parliament and State Legislative Assemblies, and not directly by the people. The President is the head of state, and all the business of the Executive and Laws enacted by the Parliament are in his/her name. However, these powers are only nominal, and the President must act only according to the advice of the Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers.

The Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers exercise their offices only as long as they enjoy a majority support in the Lok Sabha, the lower house of the Parliament, which consists of members directly elected by the people.

The ministers are answerable to both the houses of the Parliament. Also, the Ministers must themselves be elected members of either house of the Parliament. Thus, the Parliament exercises control over the Executive. A similar structure is present in States, where the directly elected Legislative Assembly enjoys control over the Chief Minister and the State Council of Ministers.

Independent Judiciary

The Judiciary of India is free of control from either the executive or the Parliament. The judiciary acts as an interpreter of the constitution, and as an intermediary in case of disputes between two States, or between a State and the Union. An act passed by

the Parliament or a Legislative Assembly is subject to judicial review, and can be declared unconstitutional by the judiciary if it feels that the act violates the provisions of the Constitution.

Changing the Constitution

Amendments to the Constitution are made by the Parliament, the procedure for which is laid out in Article 368. An amendment bill must be passed by both the Houses of the Parliament by a two-thirds majority and voting. In addition to this, certain amendments which pertain to the federal nature of the Constitution must be ratified by a passed to become Amendment Acts.

Most of these amendments address issues dealt with by statute in other democracies. However, the Constitution is so specific in spelling out government powers that many of these issues must be addressed by constitutional amendment.

As a result, the document is amended roughly twice a year. The Supreme Court has ruled in *Kesavananda Bharati v. State of Kerala* case that not every constitutional amendment is permissible, the amendment must respect the “basic structure” of the constitution, which is immutable. In 2000 the National Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution was set up to look into updating the constitution.

Judicial Review of Laws

Judicial review is adopted in the Constitution of India from the Constitution of the United States of America. In the Indian constitution, Judicial Review is dealt with under Article 13. Judicial Review refers that the Constitution is the supreme power of the nation and all laws are under its supremacy.

Article 13 states that:

- All pre-constitutional laws, after the coming into force of constitution, if in conflict with it in all or some of its provisions then the provisions of constitution will prevail and the provisions of that pre-constitutional law which conflicts the provisions of the constitution will not be in force until an amendment of the constitution relating to the same matter. In such situation the provision of that law will again come into force, if it is compatible with the constitution as amended. This is called the *Doctrine of Eclipse*.
- In a similar manner, laws made after adoption of the Constitution by the Constituent Assembly must be compatible with the constitution, otherwise the laws and amendments will be deemed to be void-ab-initio.

In such situations, the Supreme Court or High Court interprets the laws as if they are in conformity with the Constitution. If such an interpretation is not possible because of inconsistency, and where a separation is possible, the provision that is

inconsistent with constitution is considered to be void. In addition to article 13, articles 32, 124, 131, 219, 228 and 246 provide a constitutional basis to the Judicial review in India.

Fundamental Rights, Directive Principles and Fundamental Duties of India

The Fundamental Rights, Directive Principles of State Policy and Fundamental Duties are sections of the Constitution of India that prescribe the fundamental obligations of the State to its citizens and the duties of the citizens to the State. These sections comprise a constitutional bill of rights for government policy-making and the behaviour and conduct of citizens. These sections are considered vital elements of the constitution, which was developed between 1947 and 1949 by the Constituent Assembly of India.

The *Fundamental Rights* are defined as the basic human rights of all citizens. These rights, defined in Part III of the Constitution, apply irrespective of race, place of birth, religion, caste, creed or gender. They are enforceable by the courts, subject to specific restrictions. The *Directive Principles of State Policy* are guidelines for the framing of laws by the government.

These provisions, set out in Part IV of the Constitution, are not enforceable by the courts, but the principles on which they are based are fundamental guidelines for governance that the State is expected to apply in framing and passing laws. The *Fundamental Duties* are defined as the moral obligations of all citizens to help

promote a spirit of patriotism and to uphold the unity of India. These duties, set out in Part IV–A of the Constitution, concern individuals and the nation. Like the Directive Principles, they are not legally enforceable.

The Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles had their origins in the Indian independence movement, which strove to achieve the values of liberty and social welfare as the goals of an independent Indian state. The development of constitutional rights in India was inspired by historical documents such as England's Bill of Rights, the United States Bill of Rights and France's Declaration of the Rights of Man.

The demand for civil liberties formed an important part of the Indian independence movement, with one of the objectives of the Indian National Congress (INC) being to end discrimination between the British rulers and their Indian subjects. This demand was explicitly mentioned in resolutions adopted by the INC between 1917 and 1919. The demands articulated in these resolutions included granting to Indians the rights to equality before law, free speech, trial by juries composed at least half of Indian members, political power, and equal terms for bearing arms as British citizens.

The experiences of the First World War, the unsatisfactory Montague-Chelmsford reforms of 1919, and the rise to prominence of M.K. Gandhi in the Indian independence movement marked a change in the attitude of its leaders towards articulating demands for civil rights. The focus shifted from

demanding equality of status between Indians and the British to assuring liberty for all Indians.

The Commonwealth of India Bill, drafted by Annie Beasant in 1925, specifically included demands for seven fundamental rights—individual liberty, freedom of conscience, free expression of opinion, freedom of assembly, non-discrimination on the ground of sex, free elementary education and free use of public spaces. In 1927, the INC resolved to set up a committee to draft a “Swaraj Constitution” for India based on a declaration of rights that would provide safeguards against oppression.

The 11-member committee, led by Motilal Nehru, was constituted in 1928. Its report made a number of recommendations, including proposing guaranteed fundamental rights to all Indians. These rights resembled those of the American Constitution and those adopted by post-war European countries, and several of them were adopted from the 1925 Bill. Several of these provisions were later replicated in various parts of the Indian Constitution, including the Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles.

In 1931, the Indian National Congress, at its Karachi session, adopted a resolution committing itself to the defence of civil rights and economic freedom, with the stated objectives of putting an end to exploitation, providing social security and implementing land reforms. Other new rights proposed by the resolution were the prohibition of State titles, universal adult franchise, abolition of capital punishment and freedom of

movement. Drafted by Jawaharlal Nehru, the resolution, which later formed the basis for some of the Directive Principles, placed the primary responsibility of carrying out social reform on the State, and marked the increasing influence of socialism and Gandhian philosophy on the independence movement.

The final phase of the Independence movement saw a reiteration of the socialist principles of the 1930s, along with an increased focus on minority rights—which had become an issue of major political concern by then—which were published in the Sapru Report in 1945. The report, apart from stressing on protecting the rights of minorities, also sought to prescribe a “standard of conduct for the legislatures, government and the courts”.

During the final stages of the British Raj, the 1946 Cabinet Mission to India proposed a Constituent Assembly to draft a Constitution for India as part of the process of transfer of power. The Constituent Assembly of India, composed of indirectly elected representatives from the British provinces and Princely states, commenced its proceedings in December 1946, and completed drafting the Constitution of India by November 1949.

According to the Cabinet Mission plan, the Assembly was to have an Advisory Committee to advise it on the nature and extent of fundamental rights, protection of minorities and administration of tribal areas. Accordingly, the Advisory Committee was constituted in January 1947 with 64 members, and from among these a twelve-member sub-committee on Fundamental Rights was appointed under the chairmanship of J. B. Kripalani in

February 1947. The sub-committee drafted the Fundamental Rights and submitted its report to the Committee by April 1947, and later that month the Committee placed it before the Assembly, which debated and discussed the rights over the course of the following year, adopting the drafts of most of them by December 1948. The drafting of the Fundamental Rights was influenced by the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the U.N. General Assembly and the activities of the United Nations Human Rights Commission, as well as decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court in interpreting the Bill of Rights in the American Constitution.

The Directive Principles, which were also drafted by the sub-committee on Fundamental Rights, expounded the socialist precepts of the Indian independence movement, and were inspired by similar principles contained in the Irish Constitution. The Fundamental Duties were later added to the Constitution by the 42nd Amendment in 1976.

Fundamental Rights

The Fundamental Rights, embodied in Part III of the Constitution, guarantee civil rights to all Indians, and prevent the State from encroaching on individual liberty while simultaneously placing upon it an obligation to protect the citizens' rights from encroachment by society.

Seven fundamental rights were originally provided by the Constitution—right to equality, right to freedom, right against

exploitation, right to freedom of religion, cultural and educational rights, right to property and right to constitutional remedies. However, the right to property was removed from Part III of the Constitution by the 44th Amendment in 1978.

The purpose of the Fundamental Rights is to preserve individual liberty and democratic principles based on equality of all members of society. They act as limitations on the powers of the legislature and executive, under Article 13, and in case of any violation of these rights the Supreme Court of India and the High Courts of the states have the power to declare such legislative or executive action as unconstitutional and void.

These rights are largely enforceable against the State, which as per the wide definition provided in Article 12, includes not only the legislative and executive wings of the federal and state governments, but also local administrative authorities and other agencies and institutions which discharge public functions or are of a governmental character.

However, there are certain rights—such as those in Articles 15, 17, 18, 23, 24—that are also available against private individuals. Further, certain Fundamental Rights—including those under Articles 14, 20, 21, 25—apply to persons of any nationality upon Indian soil, while others—such as those under Articles 15, 16, 19, 30—are applicable only to citizens of India.

The Fundamental Rights are not absolute and are subject to reasonable restrictions as necessary for the protection of public interest. In the *Kesavananda Bharati v. State of Kerala* case in

1973, the Supreme Court, overruling a previous decision of 1967, held that the Fundamental Rights could be amended, subject to judicial review in case such an amendment violated the basic structure of the Constitution.

The Fundamental Rights can be enhanced, removed or otherwise altered through a constitutional amendment, passed by a two-thirds majority of each House of Parliament. The imposition of a state of emergency may lead to a temporary suspension any of the Fundamental Rights, excluding Articles 20 and 21, by order of the President.

The President may, by order, suspend the right to constitutional remedies as well, thereby barring citizens from approaching the Supreme Court for the enforcement of any of the Fundamental Rights, except Articles 20 and 21, during the period of the emergency.

Parliament may also restrict the application of the Fundamental Rights to members of the Indian Armed Forces and the police, in order to ensure proper discharge of their duties and the maintenance of discipline, by a law made under Article 33.

Right to Equality

The Right to Equality is one of the chief guarantees of the Constitution. It is embodied in Articles 14–16, which collectively encompass the general principles of equality before law and non-discrimination, and Articles 17–18 which collectively further the philosophy of social equality. Article 14 guarantees equality

before law as well as equal protection of the law to all persons within the territory of India.

This includes the equal subjection of all persons to the authority of law, as well as equal treatment of persons in similar circumstances. The latter permits the State to classify persons for legitimate purposes, provided there is a reasonable basis for the same, meaning that the classification is required to be non-arbitrary, based on a method of intelligible differentiation among those sought to be classified, as well as have a rational relation to the object sought to be achieved by the classification.

Article 15 prohibits discrimination on the grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth, or any of them. This right can be enforced against the State as well as private individuals, with regard to free access to places of public entertainment or places of public resort maintained partly or wholly out of State funds.

However, the State is not precluded from making special provisions for women and children or any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens, including the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This exception has been provided since the classes of people mentioned therein are considered deprived and in need of special protection. Article 16 guarantees equality of opportunity in matters of public employment and prevents the State from discriminating against anyone in matters of employment on the grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, place of residence or any

of them. It creates exceptions for the implementation of measures of affirmative action for the benefit of any backward class of citizens in order to ensure adequate representation in public service, as well as reservation of an office of any religious institution for a person professing that particular religion.

The practice of untouchability has been declared an offence punishable by law under Article 17, and the Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955 has been enacted by the Parliament to further this objective. Article 18 prohibits the State from conferring any titles other than military or academic distinctions, and the citizens of India cannot accept titles from a foreign state.

Thus, Indian aristocratic titles and titles of nobility conferred by the British have been abolished. However, awards such as the *Bharat Ratna* have been held to be valid by the Supreme Court on the ground that they are merely decorations and cannot be used by the recipient as a title.

Right to Freedom

The Right to Freedom is covered in Articles 19–22, with the view of guaranteeing individual rights that were considered vital by the framers of the Constitution, and these Articles also include certain restrictions that may be imposed by the State on individual liberty under specified conditions. Article 19 guarantees six freedoms in the nature of civil rights, which are available only to citizens of India. These include the freedom of speech and expression, freedom of assembly, freedom of

association without arms, freedom of movement throughout the territory of India, freedom to reside and settle in any part of the country of India and the freedom to practice any profession. All these freedoms are subject to reasonable restrictions that may imposed on them by the State, listed under Article 19 itself.

The grounds for imposing these restrictions vary according to the freedom sought to be restricted, and include national security, public order, decency and morality, contempt of court, incitement to offences, and defamation. The State is also empowered, in the interests of the general public to nationalise any trade, industry or service to the exclusion of the citizens.

The freedoms guaranteed by Article 19 are further sought to be protected by Articles 20–22. The scope of these articles, particularly with respect to the doctrine of due process, was heavily debated by the Constituent Assembly. It was argued, especially by Benegal Narsing Rau, that the incorporation of such a clause would hamper social legislation and cause procedural difficulties in maintaining order, and therefore it ought to be excluded from the Constitution altogether.

The Constituent Assembly in 1948 eventually omitted the phrase “due process” in favour of “procedure established by law”. As a result, Article 21, which prevents the encroachment of life or personal liberty by the State except in accordance with the procedure established by law, was, until 1978, construed narrowly as being restricted to executive action. However, in 1978, the Supreme Court in the case of *Maneka Gandhi v. Union*

of India extended the protection of Article 21 to legislative action, holding that any law laying down a procedure must be just, fair and reasonable, and effectively reading due process into Article 21.

In the same case, the Supreme Court also ruled that “life” under Article 21 meant more than a mere “animal existence”; it would include the right to live with human dignity and all other aspects which made life “meaningful, complete and worth living”. Subsequent judicial interpretation has broadened the scope of Article 21 to include within it a number of rights including those to livelihood, clean environment, good health, speedy trial and humanitarian treatment while imprisoned. The right to education at elementary level has been made one of the Fundamental Rights under Article 21A by the 86th Constitutional amendment of 2002.

Article 20 provides protection from conviction for offences in certain respects, including the rights against ex post facto laws, double jeopardy and freedom from self-incrimination. Article 22 provides specific rights to arrested and detained persons, in particular the rights to be informed of the grounds of arrest, consult a lawyer of one’s own choice, be produced before a magistrate within 24 hours of the arrest, and the freedom not to be detained beyond that period without an order of the magistrate.

The Constitution also authorises the State to make laws providing for preventive detention, subject to certain other safeguards present in Article 22. The provisions pertaining to

preventive detention were discussed with skepticism and misgivings by the Constituent Assembly, and were reluctantly approved after a few amendments in 1949.

Article 22 provides that when a person is detained under any law of preventive detention, the State can detain such person without trial for only three months, and any detention for a longer period must be authorised by an Advisory Board. The person being detained also has the right to be informed about the grounds of detention, and be permitted to make a representation against it, at the earliest opportunity.

Right against Exploitation

The Right against Exploitation, contained in Articles 23–24, lays down certain provisions to prevent exploitation of the weaker sections of the society by individuals or the State. Article 23 provides prohibits human trafficking, making it an offence punishable by law, and also prohibits forced labour or any act of compelling a person to work without wages where he was legally entitled not to work or to receive remuneration for it.

However, it permits the State to impose compulsory service for public purposes, including conscription and community service. The Bonded Labour system Act, 1976, has been enacted by Parliament to give effect to this Article. Article 24 prohibits the employment of children below the age of 14 years in factories, mines and other hazardous jobs. Parliament has enacted the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986, providing

regulations for the abolition of, and penalties for employing, child labour, as well as provisions for rehabilitation of former child labourers.

Right to Freedom of Religion

The Right to Freedom of Religion, covered in Articles 25–28, provides religious freedom to all citizens and ensures a secular State in India. According to the Constitution, there is no official State religion, and the State is required to treat all religions impartially and neutrally. Article 25 guarantees all persons the freedom of conscience and the right to preach, practice and propagate any religion of their choice.

This right is, however, subject to public order, morality and health, and the power of the State to take measures for social welfare and reform. The right to propagate, however, does not include the right to convert another individual, since it would amount to an infringement of the other's right to freedom of conscience. Article 26 guarantees all religious denominations and sects, subject to public order, morality and health, to manage their own affairs in matters of religion, set up institutions of their own for charitable or religious purposes, and own, acquire and manage property in accordance with law.

These provisions do not derogate from the State's power to acquire property belonging to a religious denomination. The State is also empowered to regulate any economic, political or other secular activity associated with religious practice. Article 27

guarantees that no person can be compelled to pay taxes for the promotion of any particular religion or religious institution.

Article 28 prohibits religious instruction in a wholly State-funded educational institution, and educational institutions receiving aid from the State cannot compel any of their members to receive religious instruction or attend religious worship without their consent.

Cultural and Educational Rights

The Cultural and Educational rights, given in Articles 29 and 30, are measures to protect the rights of cultural, linguistic and religious minorities, by enabling them to conserve their heritage and protecting them against discrimination. Article 29 grants any section of citizens having a distinct language, script culture of its own, the right to conserve and develop the same, and thus safeguards the rights of minorities by preventing the State from imposing any external culture on them.

It also prohibits discrimination against any citizen for admission into any educational institutions maintained or aided by the State, on the grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them. However, this is subject to reservation of a reasonable number of seats by the State for socially and educationally backward classes, as well as reservation of up to 50 per cent of seats in any educational institution run by a minority community for citizens belonging to that community.

Article 30 confers upon all religious and linguistic minorities the right to set up and administer educational institutions of their choice in order to preserve and develop their own culture, and prohibits the State, while granting aid, from discriminating against any institution on the basis of the fact that it is administered by a religious or cultural minority. The term “minority”, while not defined in the Constitution, has been interpreted by the Supreme Court to mean any community which numerically forms less than 50% of the population of the state in which it seeks to avail the right under Article 30.

In order to claim the right, it is essential that the educational institution must have been established as well as administered by a religious or linguistic minority. Further, the right under Article 30 can be availed of even if the educational institution established does not confine itself to the teaching of the religion or language of the minority concerned, or a majority of students in that institution do not belong to such minority.

This right is subject to the power of the State to impose reasonable regulations regarding educational standards, conditions of service of employees, fee structure, and the utilisation of any aid granted by it.

Right to Constitutional Remedies

The Right to Constitutional Remedies empowers citizens to approach the Supreme Court of India to seek enforcement, or protection against infringement, of their Fundamental Rights.

Article 32 provides a guaranteed remedy, in the form of a Fundamental Right itself, for enforcement of all the other Fundamental Rights, and the Supreme Court is designated as the protector of these rights by the Constitution.

The Supreme Court has been empowered to issue writs, namely *habeas corpus*, *mandamus*, *prohibition*, *certiorari* and *quo warranto*, for the enforcement of the Fundamental Rights, while the High Courts have been empowered under Article 226—which is not a Fundamental Right in itself—to issue these prerogative writs even in cases not involving the violation of Fundamental Rights.

The Supreme Court has the jurisdiction to enforce the Fundamental Rights even against private bodies, and in case of any violation, award compensation as well to the affected individual. Exercise of jurisdiction by the Supreme Court can also be *suo motu* or on the basis of a public interest litigation. This right cannot be suspended, except under the provisions of Article 359 when a state of emergency is declared.

Directive Principles of State Policy

The Directive Principles of State Policy, embodied in Part IV of the Constitution, are directions given to the State to guide the establishment of an economic and social democracy, as proposed by the Preamble. They set forth the humanitarian and socialist instructions that were the aim of social revolution envisaged in India by the Constituent Assembly. The State is expected to keep these principles in mind while framing laws and policies, even

though they are non-justiciable in nature. The Directive Principles may be classified under the following categories: ideals that the State ought to strive towards achieving; directions for the exercise of legislative and executive power; and rights of the citizens which the State must aim towards securing.

Despite being non-justiciable, the Directive Principles act as a check on the State; theorised as a yardstick in the hands of the electorate and the opposition to measure the performance of a government at the time of an election. Article 37, while stating that the Directive Principles are not enforceable in any court of law, declares them to be “fundamental to the governance of the country” and imposes an obligation on the State to apply them in matters of legislation.

Thus, they serve to emphasise the welfare state model of the Constitution and emphasise the positive duty of the State to promote the welfare of the people by affirming social, economic and political justice, as well as to fight income inequality and ensure individual dignity, as mandated by Article 38.

Article 39 lays down certain principles of policy to be followed by the State, including providing an adequate means of livelihood for all citizens, equal pay for equal work for men and women, proper working conditions, reduction of the concentration of wealth and means of production from the hands of a few, and distribution of community resources to “subserve the common good”.

These clauses highlight the Constitutional objectives of building an egalitarian social order and establishing a welfare state, by bringing about a social revolution assisted by the State, and have been used to support the nationalisation of mineral resources as well as public utilities. Further, several legislations pertaining to agrarian reform and land tenure have been enacted by the federal and state governments, in order to ensure equitable distribution of land resources.

Articles 41–43 mandate the State to endeavour to secure to all citizens the right to work, a living wage, social security, maternity relief, and a decent standard of living. These provisions aim at establishing a socialist state as envisaged in the Preamble. Article 43 also places upon the State the responsibility of promoting cottage industries, and the federal government has, in furtherance of this, established several Boards for the promotion of khadi, handlooms etc., in co-ordination with the state governments.

Article 39A requires the State to provide free legal aid to ensure that opportunities for securing justice are available to all citizens irrespective of economic or other disabilities. Article 43A mandates the State to work towards securing the participation of workers in the management of industries.

The State, under Article 46, is also mandated to promote the interests of and work for the economic uplift of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and protect them from discrimination and exploitation. Several enactments, including two

Nationalism and Imperialism

Constitutional amendments, have been passed to give effect to this provision. Article 44 encourages the State to secure a uniform civil code for all citizens, by eliminating discrepancies between various personal laws currently in force in the country. However, this has remained a “dead letter” despite numerous reminders from the Supreme Court to implement the provision. Article 45 originally mandated the State to provide free and compulsory education to children between the ages of six and fourteen years, but after the 86th Amendment in 2002, this has been converted into a Fundamental Right and replaced by an obligation upon the State to secure childhood care to all children below the age of six.

Article 47 commits the State to raise the standard of living and improve public health, and prohibit the consumption of intoxicating drinks and drugs injurious to health. As a consequence, partial or total prohibition has been introduced in several states, but financial constraints have prevented its full-fledged application. The State is also mandated by Article 48 to organise agriculture and animal husbandry on modern and scientific lines by improving breeds and prohibiting slaughter of cattle.

Article 48A mandates the State to protect the environment and safeguard the forests and wildlife of the country, while Article 49 places an obligation upon the State to ensure the preservation of monuments and objects of national importance. Article 50 requires the State to ensure the separation of judiciary from executive in public services, in order to ensure judicial

independence, and federal legislation has been enacted to achieve this objective. The State, according to Article 51, must also strive for the promotion of international peace and security, and Parliament has been empowered under Article 253 to make laws giving effect to international treaties.

Fundamental Duties

The Fundamental Duties of citizens were added to the Constitution by the 42nd Amendment in 1976, upon the recommendations of the Swaran Singh Committee that was constituted by the government earlier that year. Originally ten in number, the Fundamental Duties were increased to eleven by the 86th Amendment in 2002, which added a duty on every parent or guardian to ensure that their child or ward was provided opportunities for education between the ages of six and fourteen years.

The other Fundamental Duties obligate all citizens to respect the national symbols of India, including the Constitution, to cherish its heritage, preserve its composite culture and assist in its defence. They also obligate all Indians to promote the spirit of common brotherhood, protect the environment and public property, develop scientific temper, abjure violence, and strive towards excellence in all spheres of life. Citizens are morally obligated by the Constitution to perform these duties.

However, like the Directive Principles, these are non-justifiable, without any legal sanction in case of their violation or non-

compliance., *Indian History, World Developments and Civics*, p. There is reference to such duties in international instruments such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and Article 51A brings the Indian Constitution into conformity with these treaties.

Criticism and Analysis

Fewer children are now employed in hazardous environments, but their employment in non-hazardous jobs, prevalently as domestic help, violates the spirit of the constitution in the eyes of many critics and human rights advocates. More than 16.5 million children are in employment. India was ranked 88 out of 159 countries in 2005, according to the degree to which corruption is perceived to exist among public officials and politicians. The year 1990–1991 was declared as the “Year of Social Justice” in the memory of B.R. Ambedkar.

The government provides free textbooks to students belonging to scheduled castes and tribes pursuing medicine and engineering courses. During 2002–2003, a sum of ₹ 4.77 crore was released for this purpose. In order to protect scheduled castes and tribes from discrimination, the government enacted the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Act, 1989, prescribing severe punishments for such actions.

The *Minimum Wages Act* of 1948 empowers government to fix minimum wages for people working across the economic

spectrum. The Consumer Protection Act of 1986 provides for the better protection of consumers. The act is intended to provide simple, speedy and inexpensive redressal to the consumers' grievances, award relief and compensation wherever appropriate to the consumer.

The *Equal Remuneration Act* of 1976 provides for equal pay for equal work for both men and women. The *Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana* (Universal Rural Employment Programme) was launched in 2001 to attain the objective of providing gainful employment for the rural poor. The programme was implemented through the Panchayati Raj institutions.

A system of elected village councils, known as Panchayati Raj covers almost all states and territories of India. One-third of the total number of seats have been reserved for women in Panchayats at every level; and in the case of Bihar, half the seats have been reserved for women.

The judiciary has been separated from the executive "in all the states and territories except Jammu and Kashmir and Nagaland." India's foreign policy has been influenced by the Directive Principles. India supported the United Nations in peace-keeping activities, with the Indian Army having participated in 37 UN peace-keeping operations.

The implementation of a uniform civil code for all citizens has not been achieved owing to widespread opposition from various religious groups and political parties. The Shah Bano case (1985–86) provoked a political firestorm in India when the Supreme

Court ruled that Shah Bano, a Muslim woman who had been divorced by her husband in 1978 was entitled to receive alimony from her former husband under Indian law applicable for all Indian women.

This decision evoked outrage in the Muslim community, which sought the application of the Muslim personal law and in response the Parliament passed the Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Divorce) Act, 1986 overturning the Supreme Court's verdict.

This act provoked further outrage, as jurists, critics and politicians alleged that the fundamental right of equality for all citizens irrespective of religion or gender was being jettisoned to preserve the interests of distinct religious communities. The verdict and the legislation remain a source of heated debate, with many citing the issue as a prime example of the poor implementation of Fundamental Rights.

Relationship between the Fundamental Rights, Directive Principles and Fundamental Duties

The Directive Principles have been used to uphold the Constitutional validity of legislations in case of a conflict with the Fundamental Rights. Article 31C, added by the 25th Amendment in 1971, provided that any law made to give effect to the Directive Principles in Article 39(b)–(c) would not be invalid on the grounds that they derogated from the Fundamental Rights conferred by Articles 14, 19 and 31.

The application of this article was sought to be extended to all the Directive Principles by the 42nd Amendment in 1976, but the Supreme Court struck down the extension as void on the ground that it violated the basic structure of the Constitution. The Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles have also been used together in forming the basis of legislation for social welfare. The Supreme Court, after the judgment in the *Kesavananda Bharati* case, has adopted the view of the Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles being complementary to each other, each supplementing the other's role in aiming at the same goal of establishing a welfare state by means of social revolution.

Similarly, the Supreme Court has used the Fundamental Duties to uphold the Constitutional validity of statutes which seeks to promote the objects laid out in the Fundamental Duties. These Duties have also been held to be obligatory for all citizens, subject to the State enforcing the same by means of a valid law. The Supreme Court has also issued directions to the State in this regard, with a view towards making the provisions effective and enabling a citizens to properly perform their duties.

Chapter 3

Governing Legislature and

Movement of Nationalism

Role of Indian parliament and

nationalism

The Parliament has two Houses—Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha. Rajya Sabha is upper House and represents the States of India while the Lok Sabha is lower House. It is also called popular House because it represents the people of India. The President is an integral part of the Parliament though he is not a member of the either House. As an integral part of the Parliament, the President has been assigned certain powers and functions. Rajya Sabha or the Upper House of the Parliament is a permanent body as it cannot be dissolved. The membership of the Rajya Sabha cannot exceed 250. Out of these, the President nominates 12 members on the basis of their excellence in literature, science, art and social service and the rest are elected. At present its total membership is 245.

Rajya Sabha is the body representing States in Indian Union. The elected members of the States' Legislative Assemblies elect the members of the Rajya Sabha on the basis of proportional representation through the single transferable vote system. But

all the States do not send equal number of members to the Rajya Sabha. Their representation is decided on the basis of population of respective States. Thus the bigger State gets bigger representation and the smaller ones have lesser representation. While the big State like UP has been assigned 31 seats, the smaller states like Sikkim and Tripura send only one member each. Delhi Assembly elects three members of Rajya Sabha and Pondichery sends one member. Other Union Territories are not represented in the Rajya Sabha.

The qualifications for becoming a Rajya Sabha member are as follows:

- He/she should be a citizen of India and at least 30 years of age.
- He/she should make an oath or affirmation stating that he will bear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of India.
- Thus according to the Representation of People Act 1951, he/she should be registered as a voter in the State from which he is seeking election to the Rajya Sabha. But in 2003, two provisions have been made regarding the elections to Rajya Sabha:
- Any Indian citizen can contest the Rajya Sabha elections irrespective of the State in which he resides;
- Elections are to be conducted through open voting system.

Tenure

Every member of Rajya Sabha enjoys a safe tenure of six years. One-third of its members retire after every two years. They are entitled to contest again for the membership. But a member elected against a mid-term vacancy serves the remaining period only. This system of election ensures continuity in the working of Rajya Sabha.

Officials of Rajya Sabha

The Vice-President of India is the ex-officio Chairman of the Rajya Sabha. He/she presides over the meetings of Rajya Sabha. In his absence the Deputy Chairman, who is elected by its members from amongst themselves, presides over the meeting of the House.

The Deputy Chairman can be removed by a majority of all the then members of Rajya Sabha. But the Chairman (Vice-President) can only be removed from his office by a resolution passed by a majority of all the then members of Rajya Sabha and agreed to by the Lok Sabha. As the Vice-President is an ex-officio Chairman and not a member of Rajya Sabha, he/she is normally not entitled to vote. He/she can vote only in case of a tie.

Membership and Election of the Lok Sabha

Unlike Rajya Sabha, Lok Sabha is not a permanent body. It is elected directly by the people on the basis of universal adult

franchise. It is also called the popular House or lower House. The maximum permissible membership of Lok Sabha is 550 out of which 530 are directly elected from the States while 20 members are elected from the Union Territories. Besides, the President may nominate two members from the Anglo-Indian community if he/she feels that the said community is not adequately represented in the House.

Certain number of seats have been reserved for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Lok Sabha. Initially this provision was made for ten years from the commencement of the Constitution, which has been extended time and again for further ten years by various constitutional amendments. The 79th Amendment has extended it for sixty years from the commencement of the Constitution.

Reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes means the persons belonging to SC/ST will represent such reserved seats. That implies that only persons belonging to SC/ST can contest from the reserved constituencies. But we have joint electorate and all the voters of the reserved constituency vote irrespective of their caste/tribe. There is no separation of voters in terms of caste or tribe.

The representation to the Lok Sabha is based on population. Therefore UP which is the most heavily populated State in India sends as many as 80 members while smaller States like Mizoram, Nagaland and Sikkim send just one representative each to the Lok Sabha. Seven members represent Delhi. For the purpose of

elections to the Lok Sabha, the States are divided into single member constituencies on the basis of population.

All the citizens of 18 years of age and above are entitled to vote in the elections to Lok Sabha subject to the laws made by the Parliament.

Any Indian citizen can become a member of Lok Sabha provided he/she fulfils the following qualifications:

- He/she should be not less than 25 years of age.
- He/she should declare through an oath or affirmation that he has true faith and allegiance in the Constitution and that he will uphold the sovereignty and integrity of India.
- He/she must possess such other qualifications as may be laid down by the Parliament by law. He must be registered as a voter in any constituency in India.
- Person contesting from the reserved seat should belong to the Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe as the case may be.

The normal term of Lok Sabha is five years. But the President, on the advice of Council of Ministers, may dissolve it before the expiry of five years. In the case of national emergency, its term can be extended for one year at a time. But it will not exceed six months after the emergency is over. On several occasions Lok Sabha was dissolved prior to the end of its term. For example the 12th Lok Sabha elected in 1998 was dissolved in 1999.

The Speaker and the Deputy Speaker

The presiding officer of Lok Sabha is known as Speaker. The members of the House elect him. He/she remains the Speaker even after Lok Sabha is dissolved till the next House elects a new Speaker in his place. In the absence, a Deputy Speaker who is also elected by the House presides over the meetings. Both the Speaker as well as the Deputy Speaker can be removed from office by a resolution of Lok Sabha passed by a majority of all the then members of the House.

Some of the powers and functions of the speaker are given below:

- The basic function of the Speaker is to preside over the house and conduct the meetings of the House in orderly manner. No member can speak in the House without the permission. He/she may ask a member to finish his speech and in case the member does not obey he/she may order that the speech should not be recorded.
- All the Bills, reports, motions and resolutions are introduced with Speaker's permission. He/she puts the motion or bill to vote. He/she does not participate in the voting but when there is a tie, *i.e.*, equal number of votes on both sides, he/she can use his casting vote. But he/she is expected to cast her vote in a manner so that her impartiality and independence is retained.

- His/her decisions in all parliamentary matters are final. She also rules on points of order raised by the members and her decision is final.
- He/she is the custodian of rights and privileges of the members.
- He/she disqualifies a member of his/her membership in case of defection. He/she also accepts the resignation of members and decides about the genuineness of the resignation.
- In case of joint sitting of Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha, the Speaker presides over the meeting.

Functions of Parliament

The functions and powers of the Indian Parliament can be divided into legislative, executive, financial and other categories.

Legislative Functions

Basically the Parliament is a law-making body. In an earlier chapter you have seen that there is a division of power between the Centre (Union) and the States. There are three lists—Union List, State List and the Concurrent List. Only Parliament can make laws on the subjects mentioned in the Union List. You know that the Union List has 97 subjects. Along with the State Legislatures, the Parliament is empowered to make laws on the Concurrent List. In case, both the Centre as well as the States make a law on the subject mentioned in the Concurrent List then the central law prevails upon the state law if there is a clash

between the two. Any subject not mentioned in any list *i.e.* residuary powers are vested with the Parliament. Thus the law making power of the Parliament is very wide. It covers the Union List and Concurrent List and in certain circumstances even the State List also.

The Executive Functions

In a parliamentary system of government there is a close relationship between the legislature and the executive. And the executive is responsible to the legislature for all its acts. The Prime Minister and his Council of Ministers are responsible to the Parliament individually as well as collectively.

The Parliament can dislodge a ministry by passing a vote of noconfidence or by refusing to endorse a confidence motion. In India this has happened several times. This happened in 1999 when the Atal Bihari Vajpayee Government lost the confidence motion in the Lok Sabha by just one vote and resigned.

But the no-confidence motion or the confidence motions are the extreme ways of maintaining the accountability of the Parliament over the executive. They are employed in exceptional cases. Parliament also maintains its control over executive in a routine manner through several ways.

Some of them are as follows:

- The members of Parliament can ask questions and supplementary questions regarding any matters

connected with the affairs of the Central Government. The first hour of every working day of Parliament relates to the Question Hour in which the Ministers have to answer the questions raised by the members.

- If the members are not satisfied with the Government's answer then they may demand separate discussion on the subject.
- The Parliament also exercises control over the executive through several motions. For example calling attention notice or adjournment motion are such ways by which some recent matters of urgent public importance are raised. The government always takes these motions very seriously because the government's policies are criticized severely and their likely impact on the electorate whom the government would have to face ultimately. If the motion is passed then it means that the government is censured.
- The Lok Sabha can express its lack of confidence in the executive by disapproving budget or money bill or even an ordinary bill.

The Financial Functions

The Parliament performs important financial functions. It is the custodian of the public money. It controls the entire purse of the Central Government. No money can be spent without its approval. This approval may be taken before the actual spending or in rare cases after the spending. The budget is approved by the Parliament every year.

The Electoral Functions

The elected members of Parliament and one member of the Electoral College for Presidential election. As such, they participate in the election of the President of India. They elect the Vice-President. The Lok Sabha elects its Speaker and Deputy Speaker and the Rajya Sabha elects its Deputy Chairman.

Power of Removal

Certain high functionaries may be removed from office on the initiative of the Parliament. The President of India may be removed through the process of impeachment. The judges of Supreme Court and of High Courts can be removed by an order of the President, which may be issued only if a resolution of their removal is passed by both Houses of Parliament by special majority.

Functions Regarding the Amendment of the Constitution

Most of the parts of the Constitution can be amended by the Parliament by special majority. But certain provisions only be amended by the Parliament with the approval of States. However India being a federal State, the amending power of the Parliament is highly limited. The Supreme Court has ruled that the Parliament cannot change the basic structure of the Constitution.

Miscellaneous Functions

The Parliaments also performs a variety of other functions. Some of them are as follows:

- While it is the power of the President to declare Emergency, the Parliament approves all such Proclamations of Emergency. Both the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha have to approve the Proclamation.
- Parliament may form a new State by separating the territory from any State or by uniting two or more States. It may also change the boundaries and the name of any State. In the recent years, new states of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttarakhand were created.
- Parliament may admit or establish new States in the Indian Union.
- The Parliament can abolish or create Legislative Councils in the States. This is done only on the request of concerned States Assemblies.

Thus the Indian Parliament, though limited by the federal nature of the political system, has wide functions to perform. In performing its functions, it has to mirror the aspirations and needs of the people of India. It also has to function as an agency for resolving socioeconomic or political conflicts in the country. It also helps in building consensus on specific issues, which are crucial to the nation like foreign policy formulation.

Law-making Procedure in the Parliament

As pointed out earlier basically the Parliament is a law making body. Any proposed law is introduced in the Parliament as a bill. After being passed by the Parliament and getting the President's assent it becomes a law. Now you will study how the law is made by the Parliament.

There are two kinds of bills, which come up before the Parliament:

- Ordinary bill and
- Money bill.

Here we shall discuss the legislative procedure in each of these kinds of bills.

Ordinary Bills

Every member of the Parliament has a right to introduce an ordinary bill and from this point of view, we have two types of bills—government bills and private member's bills. A Minister moves a government bill and any bill not moved by a Minister is a Private Member's Bill, which means that the bill has been moved by a member of parliament but not a minister in the Government. The Government bills consume most of the time of the Parliament.

The bills pass through several stages.:

- With the introduction of the bill, the First Reading of the bill starts. This stage is simple. The Minister wanting to introduce a bill, informs the presiding officer. He/she puts the question of introduction to the House. When approved, normally by voicevote, the Minister is called upon to introduce the bill.
- *Second Reading:* This stage is the most vital stage. After general discussion the House has four options:
 - It may straightaway take the bill into detailed (clauseby-clause) consideration
 - Refer it to a select committee of the House
 - Refers it to the Joint Committee of both the Houses
 - Circulate it among the people to elicit public opinion. If the bill is referred to a select committee of the House or the joint select committee of both the Houses, the concerned committee examines the bill very minutely. Each and every clause is examined. The committee may also take the opinion of professionals and legal experts. After due deliberations, the committee submits its report to the House.
- *Third Reading:* After the completion of the second reading, the Minister may move that the bill be passed. At this stage normally no discussion takes place. The members may oppose or support the adoption of the bill, by a simple majority of members present and voting.

After the bill has been passed by one House, it goes to the other House. Here also the same procedure of three readings is followed.

The following consequences may follow:

- It may pass it; then the bill is sent to the President for his assent.
- It may pass the bill with amendments. The bill will be sent back to the first House. In such a case, the first House will consider the amendments and if it accepts the amendments then the bill will be sent to President for his assent. In case the first House refuses to accept the amendments, then it means there is a deadlock.
- It may reject it. It means there is a deadlock. In order to remove the deadlock between the two Houses, the President may call for a joint sitting of the two Houses. Such joint sittings are very rare in India and till now only three times such meetings have taken place. They were convened on the occasion of passage of Dowry Prohibition Bill 1959, Banking Service Commission (Repeal) Bill, 1978, and Prevention of Terrorism Bill, 2002.
- *President's assent to the Bill:* After being passed by both the Houses or the Joint Sitting of both Houses, the bill is referred to the President for his assent. The President also has some options in this regard:
- He may give his assent and with his assent, the bill becomes a law.

- He may withhold his assent, but may suggest some changes. In such a case the bill is sent back to the House from where it had originated. But if both the Houses pass the bill again with or without accepting the recommendations of the President, the President has no option but to give his assent.
- In 1986, the President Giani Zail Singh invented a new option. He neither gave his assent nor he returned it to the Parliament for reconsideration of the Postal Bill. He sought some clarifications, which were never provided. The bill thus, lapsed.

Money Bills

The money bills are such bills which deal with money matters like imposition of taxes, governmental expenditure and borrowings etc. In case there is a dispute as to whether a bill is a money bill or not, the Speaker's decision is final. The money bill has to undergo three readings like an ordinary bill but few considerations are also added here.

They are:

- Money bill can be introduced only in Lok Sabha and not in Rajya Sabha and that too with the prior approval of and on behalf of the President.
- After being passed by the Lok Sabha, the bill goes to the Rajya Sabha. Rajya Sabha has 14 days at its disposal for consideration and report.

- The Rajya Sabha cannot reject the money bill. It may either accept it or make recommendations.
- In case Rajya Sabha chooses to make recommendations, the bill will return to Lok Sabha. The Lok Sabha may accept these recommendations or reject them. In any case the bill will not go back to Rajya Sabha. Instead it will be sent directly to the President for his assent.
- If the Rajya Sabha does not return the bill within 14 days, it will be deemed to have been passed by both the Houses of the Parliament and sent to the President for his assent.

The Budget

The Budget is an annual financial statement showing expected revenue and expenditure of public money. It is not a bill. Every year the budget is presented by the Finance Minister in the Lok Sabha. The budget-making is a big exercise. The Finance Ministry prepares the budget but it involves the entire government. The budget in India is presented in two parts- Railway Budget and the General Budget.

- *Presentation of the Budget:* The railway budget is generally presented by the Railway minister in the third week of February, while the general budget is presented normally on the last working day of February. The general budget is presented along with the speech of the Finance Minister. The budget remains

a closely guarded secret till its presentation. After the speech, the Finance Minister introduces the Finance Bill, which contains the taxation proposals of the government. The House rises thereafter and there is no discussion on the day of the presentation of the Budget.

A new system of departmental select committees has been introduced in India since 1993-94. The Lok Sabha sets up committees for all major Ministries and Departments of Union Government. The select committees consider demand for grants in details and submit their recommendations to the Lok Sabha. After general discussion on the budget, the Houses are adjourned for about three weeks.

During this period select committees of Departments of Ministry scrutinise budget demands and may make recommendations. This saves time of the full House. The full Lok Sabha now does not discuss demands for grants, one by one, in details.

Quorum means the minimum number of members required to be present to enable the House to meet. This is one-tenth of the total membership of the House. This means the meeting of the Lok Sabha or Rajya Sabha can take place only if one tenth of the total membership of the House is present.

Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha: A Comparative Study

You have seen earlier that the two Houses of Parliament differ in their composition. From the federal point of view the Rajya Sabha

represents the States in the Indian Union while the Lok Sabha is the representative of the Indian people. This is also the reason why the method of election differs.

The members of Legislative Assemblies of the States elect the members of Rajya Sabha while the people directly participate in the elections to the Lok Sabha. Rajya Sabha is a permanent House while the Lok Sabha is constituted for a specified term of five years.

From the constitutional point of view, the relationship between the two Houses can best be studied from three angles which are as follows:

- There are certain powers and functions in which Lok Sabha is superior to the Rajya Sabha. Introduction and adoption of money bills and removal of a cabinet by passing no confidence motion are two examples relevant here.
- In certain areas Rajya Sabha has been vested with exclusive powers. It does not share these powers with the Lok Sabha. For example, it can declare a subject in state as a matter of national importance and facilitate a central legislation.
- In several areas, both the Houses enjoy equal powers. The examples are adoption of bills other than money bills, approval of proclamation of emergency, moving of adjournment and other types of motions.

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Members of both houses of Parliament get `2 Crore per annum from the Members of Parliament Local Development Fund. This fund is not directly allotted to the MP but to the respective district headquarters and the MP can use it for development projects in his area.

Chapter 4

Dynamics of State Formation in Colonial Era

Establishment of the Colonial State

Contemporary colonialism has been by a number of phases beginning with the 15th century onwards. The establishment of formal colonies and of the colonial state took lay much later in the 19th century and is the product of historical growth of a world capitalist organization. In the fifteenth century extensive oceanic voyages became possible due to invention of bigger ships. This prompted leading European countries such as Portugal and Spain and later Britain and France to conquer new lands in Asia, Africa and America. This was an. early era of conquest, plunder, looting and piracy to amass wealth and led to redistribution of surplus wealth to the advantage of the Europeans, but was not an era in which formal colonies were shaped. This surplus in the extensive run gained from the silver mines of Latin America, spice trade in the Distant East, and the slave trade in Africa, was to play a role in financing the industrial revolution. This level was followed through a second in who trade and mercantile interests, rather than easy conquest and rivalry flanked by European countries to protect their interests in dissimilar

sections of the world became significant. A good instance is the rivalry flanked by the French and the British on the Indian subcontinent in which the British eventually ousted the French and recognized their own colonial state in India.

Onset of the Industrial Revolution

It was the onset of the Industrial Revolution in mid eighteenth century in Britain and a little later on the European continent, which changed the connection flanked by Europe and the rest of the world and made the establishment of a colonial state a necessity to seem after the interests of the industrialized European states. The rapidly industrializing countries of Europe required big quantities of raw materials such as cotton, rubber, palm oil, etc. to produce machine-made goods. These were accessible or could be grown in big plantations in the colonies mainly of which fell in the tropical regions of the world. This led to rivalry in the middle of the Europeans for manage in excess of the colonial regions. Through the early nineteenth century the growing industrial bourgeoisie also felt the need for external markets as well, where these goods could be sold. Their house markets had already been sheltered and it was essential to discover an outlet if the rate of profit from machine manufacture was to be maintained. Hence it was now necessary to have "captive markets" i.e. markets under their tight manage of the European Powers, where they could sell their goods without facing competition from same goods produced through other European powers. A third factor was the need to invest the surplus capital that was being generated in the capitalist

organization of manufacture. It was felt that investment in captive colonies would lead to high profit as monopoly ways could be employed. Although the biggest impulses were definitely economic, a significant supporting political factor was the rise of nationalism and a spirit of competition in Europe following the unification of both Germany and Italy and especially after Germany's defeat of France in 1871. This led to the several European powers carving out clear-cut geographical regions of manage flanked by themselves in Asia and Africa and establishing direct manage by formal structures of political power, namely the colonial state. These colonial states then became section of the empires built through the European nations, as for instance, India was made a section of British Empire.

Colonial State in Asia

The actual establishment of the colonial state is dissimilar in the several sections of the globe, and it is necessary to take a look at how this happened. In Asia big regions were already under the manage of several private trading companies such as the East India Company in India, and the Dutch of the Netherlands in South-East Asia which had a charter from their respective Sovereigns and enjoyed a monopoly in trade. Hence in regions such as India the shift from rule through the East India Company to that of the British Crown in 1858, i.e. establishment of formal empire did not entail much transform. The actual demarcation of the region of geographical manage under the British on the Indian sub-continent had already been settled throughout the

wars with the French and with the native Indian states who carried the suzerainty of the Company throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The wars in the Carnatic and the battle of Plassey give good examples. In Ceylon the British had supervised to replace the Dutch in 1795 itself and the similar is true of regions such as Malaya, where the British had supervised to displace the Portuguese. In these regions the establishment of the colonial state, began much earlier than in Africa.

Colonialism in and Scramble for Africa

The story is extremely dissimilar in Africa. Colonialism came late to this continent and was more oppressive. Within the short era flanked by 1880 and 1900 all of Africa, except for Liberia and Ethiopia, was divided flanked by and engaged through the European imperial powers namely, Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Portugal, Spain and Italy. It has been called as the "partition" of Africa or "scramble" through the European powers to inhabit their regions of power and trade. Through 1910, in lay of numerous self-governing states a totally new and numerically smaller set of some forty artificially created colonies had appeared. and the colonial organization had been firmly imposed upon Africa. In 1879 the French sent missions to push French imperial interests inland into Upper Senegal, and the Belgians attempted to intrude into the Congo Basin. The Germans also planted their flag in Togo and the Cameroon in 1884. This alarmed the British who also began preparations to move into the interior of Africa. It was with a view to avoid any armed confrontation in the middle of the imperial 'powers that an

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international conference was held in Berlin under the chairmanship of Bismarck, the Chancellor of Germany. This Berlin conference was attended through every west European nation except for Switzerland, but not through even a single African state, and it lasted from 15 November 1884 to 31st January 1885. Four largest rules were agreed upon through all the powers. First, before any power claimed a region, it should inform the other signatory powers therefore that any that deemed it necessary could create a counterclaim. Second that all such claims should be followed through annexation and effective job before they could be carried as valid. Third that treaties signed with African rulers were to be measured as legitimate titles to sovereignty. Fourth, that each power could extend its coastal possessions inland to some extent and claim spheres of power. These rules were embodied in the Berlin Act ratified on 26 February 1885. It necessity be clarified that the Berlin conference did not start but merely accelerated race for empire structure that was already in progress.

The scramble was accepted out in three levels, The first level was the conclusion of a treaty flanked by an African ruler and a European power under which the former was generally accorded defense and undertook not to enter into any treaty relation with any other European power, while the latter was granted sure exclusive trading and other rights. Therefore flanked by 1880 and 1895 the British concluded treaties with several rulers for instance northern Ghana, Yoruba land, Benin and offered defense to the King of Asante, and the French with the king of Dahomey, and rulers of the Congo basin. The second level was a series of

treaties flanked by the imperial powers themselves recognizing and delimiting their spheres of interests and boundaries. Therefore the Anglo-German treaty established British claims to Zanzibar, Kenya, Uganda, Northern Rhodesia, Bechuanaland, and eastern Nigeria; the Anglo-French treaty of the Similar year established French claims to Madagascar and the western frontier of Nigeria; the Franco-Portuguese treaty of 1886 and the German-Portuguese treaty of 1891 carried Portugal's supremacy in Angola and Mozambique and delimited Britain's sphere in central Africa. These treaties, it should be emphasized, were concluded without any consultation with any African state. The third level was that of conquest and job. However termed through the Europeans as "pacification" it was the mainly brutal of all from the Afrocentric viewpoint. Therefore from 1885 the French began their invasions and job in western Sudan the British engaged Asante in 1896, Ijebu in 1892, Benin in 1897 and Sudan the British engaged Asante in Germans engaged East Africa flanked by 1888 and 1907. The African rulers welcomed the treaties which the European powers signed with them but resisted the actual job which there had not anticipated. They used three ways: submission. alliance and confrontation. The third was not unusual and all African states did resort to it when the other alternatives failed. No African State was economically or militarily powerful sufficient to resist the Europeans, the exception being Ethiopia who defeated Italy late in nineteenth century. But even their defeat was merely a matter of time. It was only after this that the colonial state was recognized in Africa.

Colonial State in Latin America

The Latin American experience is completely dissimilar to that of Asia and Africa and requires separate mention. The colonial era on this continent lasted from in relation to the early sixteenth to the early nineteenth century, however Spain and Portugal the two biggest powers began to take active interest and recognized a formal colonial state only in the seventeenth century. The Spanish and Portuguese adventurer conquerors took this area through force. Killing a big number of the regional inhabitants or reducing them to slaves on plantations and mines. A big number of slaves were also transported here from Africa.

In contrast to Asia and Africa big number of people from Spain and Portugal and also Italy settled permanently in these countries as a result of which they have a big European and a mixed population. Some like Argentina due to immigration is approximately ninety nine per cent white. While the Portuguese engaged Brazil, the rest of the continent came under Spain. Since this took lay extensive before the Industrial Revolution establishment of agricultural estates and opening of mines was the biggest action and these regions supplied the house countries with raw materials. As a result exported development based upon primary goods became firmly recognized in the colonial era.

The Characteristics and Functions of the Colonial State

The colonial state had sure characteristics that distinguish it from the state in Europe and the post-colonial state in the developing countries. Firstly: it was an instrument of manage and oppression in excess of the regional inhabitants. To this end it recognized strong bureaucracies, police and military forces to uphold order. Hence unlike Europe it was an authoritarian and not a liberal democratic state. Highly centralized and contemporary systems of administration were recognized. Secondly, it was expected to maintain the economic and political interests of the European colonial rulers and their home country and not that of the regional inhabitants. Thirdly the colonial rulers also whispered that they had a "civilizing mission" to perform and attempted to transplant their civilization and values in the colonies. They hence saw colonialism as a white man's burden".

The role played through the colonial state can be best understood if divided into two biggest phases that are general for all colonies due to changes taking place in the world economy. These are: mid nineteenth century to 1920 A second stage from the end of the First World War to decolonization after the Second World War, which saw the gradual decline of colonialism. The first stage saw the establishment of a strong colonial state and policies supportive of the interests of the rulers. It has been called as the "golden era of colonialism because the demand as well as the price of raw materials remained high during. As several countries

in Europe one after the other began to industrialize. As the colonics produced these required materials. In several there was a "distribution of gains" i.e..the natives also profited however this was limited to a small class which owned land or was involved in manufacture or marketing of these goods. For instance farmers producing cotton and sugarcane in India, cocoa in Ghana, groundnuts in the Ivory Coast or coffee in the neo-colony of Brazil or rice in Indonesia etc. which were cash crops grown largely for export and fetched high prices in the international economy.

Models of Colonialism

British Colonial Policies

Britain had longer, more continuous colonial experience than mainly imperial powers.

In southern Africa, at least 3 approaches had been implemented throughout the 19th C—Natal, the Cape Colony and Basutoland:

- Natal—the policy of 'differentiation'
- There were separate legal and political systems for whites and Africans even however the row tended to be a bit ad hoc.
- Africans were exempted from Roman-Dutch law which applied to whites and subject to 'Native law and tradition'.

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- Also, the organization used some African authorities for administration; the Lieutenant-Governor was declared to be 'supreme chief' whose powers were exercised through a handful of white officials and magistrates; the latter used 'traditional chiefs and headmen' to carry out the law, settle disputes in the middle of Africans, collect taxes, and give labour.
- Natal did have procedures whereby Africans could go from traditional law and tradition to European law. There were procedures to allow Africans to obtain the right to vote; these procedures were therefore hard that few were able to acquire the vote.
- At the legal and political stage, this was a prototype of an 'apartheid' organization.
- Cape Colony—policy of assimilation and no differentiation.
- Partly, this Cape 'liberalism' goes back to the early 19th C and missionary struggles to eliminate differences in legal status based on color. Cape 'liberalism' was founded on Ordinance 50 of 1828 and later the 'color-blind' franchise introduced in 1853 with representative government. This policy had been primarily concerned with the Khoikhoi and people of mixed racial backdrop.
- Initially, mainly Africans were 'foreigners' and the Cape had not had to confront the problem squarely. Though, as additional territories and Africans were annexed as a result of the wars, the problem of how to trade with big numbers of Africans had to be addressed.

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- Initially, a separate territory, Kaffraria, was set up in order to recognize and administer Xhosa law and tradition. Though, in the 1850s, Sir George Grey initiated the policy of assimilation that was to be policy in the Cape until 1936.
- Grey's objective: "to effort slowly to win them to civilization and Christianity, and therefore to transform through degrees at present unconquered and apparently irreclaimable foes into friends who may have general interests with ourselves."
- He set out to achieve assimilation as rapidly as possible by schools and hospitals; he recognized that it would take time and have to be accomplished in an evolutionary fashion.
- He hoped slowly to substitute white magistrates for African chiefs and headmen—this meant direct rule; the magistrates were to apply Xhosa law and tradition, but begin to introduce as much Roman-Dutch law as possible.
- In criminal characteristics European law was used.
- Basutoland—indirect rule and no assimilation.
- Shortly after being taken in excess of through the British government in the 1860s, Basutoland was turned in excess of to the Cape Colony. There it was specifically stated that no law of the Cape Colony was to apply in Basutoland unless it was specifically proclaimed of traditional law.
- Though, when the Cape gov't tried to apply the Gun Law to Basutoland in 1879, there was a revolt. The

Cape was unable to crush the revolt; through the early 1880s, the war was unpopular in the Cape and the gov't was teetering on the brink of bankruptcy. In 1882, the Cape announced that it was abandoning Basutoland, and the British gov't extremely reluctantly agreed to resume responsibility.

- The British told the Basotho that they would give no money and that if the Basotho made any trouble, the British gov't too would withdraw and leave them to the tender mercies of the Boers in the Orange Free State.
- There was 1 chief magistrate and 3 or 4 assistants; it was a classic case of indirect rule.
- The hierarchy of king, chiefs and headmen composed taxes, acted as judge's s and the chief magistrate was the final court of appeal as representative of the Queen; the chief magistrate was a type of super paramount chief above the king.
- This was, I think, the prototype for 'indirect rule' in colonies without white settlers and with an African hierarchical gov't or kingdom; it was used in Bechuanaland later in the 1880s when Britain declared a protectorate.

Issues

There was much debate and these were the 2 principal dichotomies:

Direct rule vs. indirect rule;

Assimilation vs. preservation of traditional community, customs and laws

- The notion of preservation was a bit vague for many causes:
- All colonial powers after 1918 put forward some sort of thought of a civilizing mission which meant at least the abolition of customs and practices which were 'repugnant to civilized standards' of trial through ordeal. Some critics even wished to go further to eliminate polygyny, lobola and other practices.
- Thought of trusteeship meant introducing such things as western education, medicine etc.; these inevitably eroded traditional civilization.
- The problem of paying for these and other gov't services meant introducing taxation and revenue enhancement; this was inseparable from economic transform, especially in regions where there had been only an existence economy.
- Policies of economic growth also meant economic transform and, inevitably, social changes.
- So, the opposite of assimilation was not non-assimilation or an absence of transform; rather it was preservation of as much as possible of traditional community and civilization.
- "Growth beside their own rows" was often the method it was called— or "separate growth" as the gov't preferred once 'apartheid' was denounced therefore vigorously—and the Bantustan policies adopted

through the National Party government of South Africa after 1948.

- It is also the preferred option of mainly anthropologists, including several of those putting forward proposals for native self-government in Canada!

Britain's African Empire in the 1920s

This was a hodgepodge of dissimilar relationships and origins, several of which inhibited the freedom to create and implement policies.

Foreign Office—Zanzibar and South East Nigeria

The Sultan of Oman had extensive been an ally of Britain, even before the move to Zanzibar; this was a protectorate in the original meaning of the term.

Biafra had become a Br. protectorate as a result of international agreement in the period of the suppression of the slave trade in the early 19th C.

Egypt was even more of an anomaly—Britain oversaw the gov't of the Khedive on behalf of an international committee of 6 creditor nations and Italy—this had given Germany a great trade of power in excess of Britain before WW1.

Sudan was a 'condominium' of Britain and Egypt.

Chartered Company Acquisitions

This category incorporated much of Nigeria, Uganda Protectorate and the Rhodesias. When companies got into trouble, whether financial or questionable behavior, mainly of these regions had slowly been taken in excess of through the Colonial Office.

Colonial Office

These had been annexed directly through Britain and generally had a 'crown colony' status and gov't; even in these cases, there were often agreements and treaties made throughout the scramble which inhibited the freedom to develop policies.

Model of British Crown Colony Government

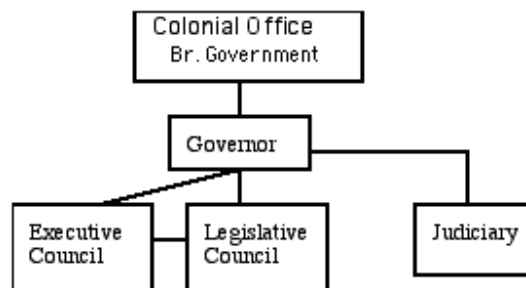


Fig. Model of British Crown Colony Government.

The outline of the model was approximately always the similar, but the model was infinitely flexible.

Although the judiciary is connected to the governor, judges were always self-governing.

The British never liked to provide a governor absolute power; a governor had to work with other officials.

- Executive Co. was made up of the governor and his top officials; this was the head of the administration.
- Legislative Co. was responsible for passing new laws and regulations; the governor and Executive Co. were members as was the chief justice who often was the Chair or speaker. Other men would be appointed to symbolize the regional people, business etc; they would be appointed through the governor but generally with advice from London. The rationale was that people should have some input into the creation of legislation, especially levying new taxes. Until the 1950s, no Africans were appointed; often missionaries were appointed as representatives to articulate the interests of Africans.

The Leg. Co. could be changed through introducing some elected representatives or through creation the majority elected; generally when the balance of elected reps. to official reps. passed well beyond the 50% spot, it would become a de facto Legislative Assembly.

Responsible government could be introduced through creation the Executive Co. 'responsible' to the elected majority in the Legislative Co.. Of course, when this happened, the majority

would select one of its own members to become the prime minister; the latter would select some of his elected supporters to become ministers and the Executive Council would become a cabinet in the parliamentary organization. The governor would cease being the head of government and would then become a representative of the crown.

In the 1950s and 60s, these devices were used to create the transition to majority rule and eventually to independence.

Economic Growth:

From the beginning of the 20th C, the British were anxious to promote economic advancement and augment action.

- In West Africa beside the coastal regions especially, there were already market-oriented, trade systems—gold, slaves, palm oil etc. Here it was comparatively easy to encourage existing or new products for export and regional small producers responded; scholars have described this approach peasants and peasant manufacture as opposed to plantation manufacture through white planters or companies. Colonial administrations tried to improve infrastructure in order to facilitate export of commodities in economic growth.
- Climatically, West Africa was not too attractive to whites, and British policy was to encourage regional indigenous producers. British or expatriate firms handled export and sometimes got into the middleman roles, but later under Dual Mandate theories, colonial

governments tried to facilitate more African manage of internal middleman roles.

Sometimes, the British adopted the opposite policy—the best instance is Kenya. The regional population had been occupied in an existence economy only.

- For strategic causes, the railroad had been built from Mombasa to Nairobi and on to Lake Victoria, but there was great determination to get the railroad self-enough and self-paying as quickly as possible. Also, the highlands region had a comparatively moderate climate and was attractive to whites.
- As a result, in relation to the 1905, the Kenya government adopted a clear and deliberate policy of encouraging white settlers to approach in order to develop export manufacture on big-level farms quickly.
- Though, white settlers demanded a say in decision-creation; in 1914, settlers were granted the right to elect a number of representatives to the Leg. Co.; Africans and others were represented through appointed members; the majority of the Leg. Co., were officials or appointed, not elected.

French Approaches in Colonial Policy

Assimilation:

This approach had its origins in the French revolution—equality, fraternity and freedom should apply to anyone who was French, regardless of race or color; therefore, rights of citizenship, including political rights, had been extended to residents of the cantons of Saint-Louis in Senegal in the 1790s.

Though, people in the conservative, catholic and monarchist custom in France were never happy with this; in information, political rights to people in Senegal became a weather vane of politics in France: when the republicans were dominant and controlled the constitution, the Senegalese had the vote, but when monarchists were dominant, they did not. This approach was never applied anywhere else in Africa, until after 1945.

Assimilation was predicated on a presumption of the superiority of French civilization and 'civilization'. As section of France's 'mission civilisatrice', when confronted through 'barbarian' people, it was the duty of France to civilize them and turn them into Frenchmen.

While this implied a type of excellence ranchmen, it also dismissed African civilization as non-existent or at least without value; of course, the French tended to feel that method in relation to the almost everyone else too. French civilization was the epitome and everything else was at best 2nd or 3rd rate! African community was seen as without history or civilization, mainly in a state of war and flux.

'Assimilation' meant dissimilar things at dissimilar times; Michael Crowder mentions 7 meanings in excess of the history of Senegal.

- Throughout the revolution, it was the métis population which was assimilated and able to seize opportunities accessible in the assimilation policy; after the restoration of 1815, the rights of non-white French in Senegal were downgraded.
- Political rights were conferred on all free residents lashed throughout the revolution, domestic slavery was not finally abolished until 1848; as a result, 12,000 Africans acquired voting rights in addition to whites and métis who already had such rights.
- Also, Senegal got to elect a deputy to the National Assembly and a métis was elected; political rights were withdrawn under the empire of Louis Napoleon in the 1850s and 60s.
- Governor Faidherbe, throughout the empire in the 1860s, began the procedure of conquest and expansion of Senegal; the pattern in the newly conquered regions set the pattern for France's African empire; the privileges of the 4 communes of the coast were not extended into the interior and the policy was not as simulations; here began the distinction flanked by 'citoyen' and 'sujet'
- The right to a deputy was regained in 1871 in the 3rd republic; also, an elected body was recognized in Senegal in 1879, but only for citizens, not subjects.

Nationalism and Imperialism

These were the last extensions of political rights in French Africa until 1944.

- Through 1900, regional whites had lost political manage in the cantons to the métis;
- Leading up to 1914, there were biggest attacks on the rights and status of Africans; although their rights to vote were upheld, Africans in the cantons did not get full recognition of their status as 'citoyen'.
- In 1912 a law stated that only subjects of West Africa can could become 'citoyen' and set stiff circumstances and necessities; as a result, 1914- 1922 only 94 'sujets' became 'citoyens'; up to 1937, only in relation to the 2,000 had supervised to do it in all of French West Africa.
- Throughout WW1, the first African was elected deputy and from that point, both whites and métis had lost political manage to Africans in the cantons.
- Therefore, assimilation granted rights to Africans and, in theory at least, excellence to those few who were measured assimilated; though, from the late 19th C until 1944, it was restricted and under attack.

The great expansion of the French empire in the late 19th C had brought big numbers of Africans under French manage and this provoked a distant-ranging debate on colonial policy. There was a rising reaction in France against assimilation:

- Some argued on racist grounds that Africans were inferior and therefore incapable of full assimilation;

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- Others felt that the tremendous educational attempt involved in creating assimilation a reality was too much and that beyond some arithmetic and minimal literacy, training in agriculture and easy trades was more significant.
- Also, in the backdrop was Algeria with a big, influential French settler population pushing for special privileges and rights as compared to the big Moslem population there.
- Though, there was also a rising recognition that Africans had an extremely dissimilar civilization.

Association:

The opposing thought was that the connection flanked by the conqueror and the conquered, of white and black peoples, should be one of 'association', not one of identity and merging; it emphasized cooperation flanked by the rulers and the ruled.

- Association was supposed to respect the cultural and political values and organizations of Africans; Africans could not and should not be turned into black French people.
- Like Dual Mandate, it was asserted that economic growth was for the mutual advantage of both France and Africans.
- To some extent, especially after 1918, proponents referred approvingly to the British model of indirect rule and claimed the intention to rule more indirectly,

retaining traditional tradition and law. Actually, conquering officers like Faidherbe in Senegal, had done this much earlier and for several of the similar causes as the British—it was cheaper and provoked less resistance.

Though, in practice, implementation was always a bit superficial; at best, Africans and ‘traditional’ authorities were used only at the extremely bottom rung of the administration. They were subordinate cogs in the bureaucracy for carrying out policies which were urbanized through expatriate French officials with no real consultation with Africans.

African societies were carved up into ‘cantons’ and chiefs who were not adequately efficient or subservient were deposed and replaced, often with little regard for traditional status. The Kingdom of Dahomey, which would have been an ideal candidate under the British organization of ‘indirect rule’, was totally dismantled and no important members of the royal family were employed through the colonial administration.

Eventually, advisory councils were started in each stage of the bureaucracy Rican law and tradition, but they had no power and not much power.

In effect, there was a dual legal organization set up—French law for whites, métis, African residents of Saint-Louis and the few Africans in West Africa who were naturalized ‘citoyens’; ‘sujets’ were subject to a organization described justice indigène.

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In spite of the name it was not a real effort to preserve or revive African law or justice; instead French officers, assisted through African assessors, dispensed civil and criminal justice ostensibly just as to African law, but mostly just as to what the white official decided was African law or more generally, just as to what he idea was natural justice. Of course, this produced a great trade of difference in the law and its administration.

There was little machinery or penal provisions to curb an administrator; there were few appeals from his decisions except for that he could not execute on his own power superiors therefore generally he could get his decision confirmed.

In addition, there was an organization described indigénat which in information allowed administrative tyranny; governors could describe sure offences through decree, and persons could be tried summarily through regional officers.

Also, extremely heavy obligations were placed on the African population through the colonial administration:

- Prestation—12 days of free labour for public works and purposes.
- Compulsory or forced labour paid at extremely low rates.
- Conscription in wartime.

Money taxes were intended to force Africans to grow export crops or goes out to work.

In practice, 'association' brought a greater degree of authoritarianism. It provided a rationale for withholding rights which were taken for granted in France speech etc., from African 'sujets'. There was no growth of these rights in Francophone regions of Africa before 1945. This was a sharp contrast with British colonies.

Curiously, this situation did not transform throughout the Popular Front gov't in the 1930s. In information, there looks to have been a division. Even under republican gov'ts, the colonies were under much more managed through the military and conservative elements. While isolation of church and state was being pushed in France, the colonial administrations in Africa were deep partners with missionaries.

Growth

Albert Sarraut's *La Mise en valeur de nos colonies* was influential in setting out the thought of systematic growth of French colonies; i.e., to treat the colonies like an estate or enterprise.

In French West Africa, great efforts were made to augment exports e success and to build railways into the interior, although mainly exports came from the coastal regions of bigger rainfall—peanuts, hardwoods, palm kernels and palm oil. Late in the 1930s cocoa and coffee were encouraged through the government; attempts to grow cotton with irrigation were not too successful. Circumstances in French Equatorial African were much more hard; several regions were remote from the sea and

land was not too fruitful. There were formidable transportation troubles and little trade was recognized in the region before WW1.

In the international agreements through which France got recognition for its claims to the region, no customs duties were allowed. As the French parliament gave little financial assistance, the colonial administration had a extremely hard time to get revenues; as a result, the FEA gov't placed extremely heavy taxation and labour demands on the population and also raised revenue through letting 'concessions'.

'Concessions' gave private companies wide powers in excess of big regions to use specified natural possessions; the gov't often provided a lot of assistance in meeting the labour necessities of the companies. Eventually, a number of scandals came to light showing the consequences of such an organization. French officials had great powers and few controls. For instance, Africans were forced to give labour, often having to migrate for extensive distances, for little money, and working circumstances often were extremely poor; substantial numbers of men died, and families and regional societies were disrupted. The abuses were not always accepted out for the private enrichment of the officials; often it was the only method to carry out some of their growth projects, but the impact on Africans was severe either method.

La Mise en valeur set out deliberately to develop the classical model of the colonies supplying raw materials and being a market

for French manufactured goods in what became recognized as the *pacte coloniale*. Though, the organization did guarantee markets and prices for products from the colonies in France. This was of some value throughout the depression in the 1930s when prices and demand for raw materials on world markets plummeted. British colonies got no defense, but were fully discovered to the vagaries of the world market.

This organization was renewed and expanded after 1945 and remained in effect after independence; France even negotiated special conditions for its former African colonies in the E.E.C. Only recently have the arrangements been significantly reduced.

In theory, Sarraut's *La Mise en valeur* was supposed to benefit both France and its colonies, but benefits to Africans were much more limited:

- Export products were shipped out raw or with extremely little processing; e.g., mainly palm oil was shipped out in kernels without being processed into oil therefore that there was little processing let alone manufacturing.
- Or course, the swap of raw materials for manufactured goods has a disproportionate volume and value for the latter for much smaller quantities of manufactured goods. Also, prices of raw materials tend to go up more gradually and fall more quickly than the latter.
- The opening of railroads often squeezed out African traders and middlemen or forced them into remote, not

extremely available regions, absent from the railroads; Africans were unable to compete with the credit possessions or the privileged treatment accorded French or 'Syrian' traders.

Except for in Algeria, there was no big influx of French settlers therefore that there were not the great struggles in excess of the land that took lay there. The promotion of export crops was generally within the context of African peasant use.

Not having to withstand white settler demands for land did not always mean security of tenure for Africans as mainly officials were not aware of regional traditions. Mainly officials assumed that Africans merely went out to some uncultivated piece of land and began to work it as extensive as they liked; officials failed to perceive the depth and complexities of African land tenures. They failed to appreciate the need to allow land to be fallow in order to recover fertility. Therefore, they sometimes alienated land arbitrarily; they might decide that because land was not being cultivated currently, it could and should be turned in excess of to someone else that would.

In coastal regions, Ivory Coast and Guinea, they did provide extensive and short term leases to European companies and individuals for plantations.

Labour and Taxation Issues

Shapes of domestic slavery and servitude had lived in African societies since extensive before the Europeans arrived and the

transatlantic slave trade initiated. Domestic slavery had been abolished in Senegal in 1848, but the huge conquests of the scramble era brought the French into manage of regions where it was widespread. It was a difficulty because abolition would produce disruption and opposition; the new colonial regimes were anxious to avoid such reactions.

Nevertheless, the regimes did begin to abolish domestic slavery although some critics argue that this was more for economic causes e mobile in order to meet the requires of the growth policies than for humanitarian causes. Undoubtedly, there is some truth in these criticisms.

Villages de liberté were set up. Ostensibly, these were spaces where people freed from slavery could go, but soon they came to be seen primarily as labour reservoirs which the colonial administration could attract upon. A great trade of pressure and coercion was applied; labour from these spaces was conscripted, not only for public purposes but also in some cases to give for private companies. As a result, it is charged that, in some cases, the villages de liberté were little bigger than forced labour camps.

The taxation organization was used as a biggest tool through colonial administrations to achieve their goals, not presently to gain revenues:

- Taxes were levied to stimulate Africans to collect natural materials for export; while the potential was limited, it did stimulate use of these possessions.

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- Some farmers shifted their manufacture to export crops in order to get money for taxes. This could lead to reduced quantities of food for consumption with increased malnutrition. Also, repeated rising of the similar export crops year after year, depleted fertility of the soils even faster than regular traditional agriculture would have.
- Taxation was also used to force big numbers of Africans to give labour. This was general everywhere in Africa, but it often created special troubles in French regions. Several people in the sudanic regions were forced into extensive migrations to employment opportunities either constructing railroads or to the comparatively wealthy regions on the coast. Big numbers traveled to the Gold Coast where manufacture of peanuts and cocoa was booming and labour was in demand; migrants had to travel hundreds of miles with little assistance, and the result was a good trade of hardship, illness and even death.
- The comparatively wealthy coastal regions of FWA provided some revenues for growth and government. In FEA, there were no important wealthy regions and the taxation and labour demands on Africans were extremely great to achieve any services or growth at all this resulted, as noted earlier, in a number of scandals.

Education and Public Services

Slowly, some gov't services were introduced and expanded, but these programmes were always severely hampered through inadequate funds and possessions.

Western medical treatment was gradually expanded, but several observers argue that it was a extensive time before benefits were almost equal to the disruptiveness of diseases introduced from outside and the big level migrations induced through colonial policies exacerbated the troubles and accepted new diseases into even remote regions.

Education expanded extremely gradually except for in Senegal and to a lesser extent in Dahomey. In these latter regions, a full hierarchy with the opening of the Polytechnic in Dakar was urbanized early. Though, it was always an extremely slender organization with a small elementary school foundation; there was no mass education. There were a number of causes for this:

- Mainly of the inland peoples in the FWA was Moslem. For the mainly section, education was provided through missionaries, but mainly missionaries were kept out of Islamic regions; also, the people were not much interested in education provided through Christian missionaries.
- The French always insisted on French as the language of instruction and this slowed the procedure. Only

those who had acquired a high stage of proficiency in French could acquire education.

- The curriculum was approximately exactly the similar as in France, even the similar textbooks. One well-known history textbook began “Our ancestors the Gauls...” Therefore, ‘assimilation’ lingered on even in the period of ‘association’.
- The French education organization has always been elitist—i.e., it focuses on a minority of the mainly talented and tries to develop their capabilities to an extremely high stage; the elite are separated at an early age from the majority; education of the majority does not have as high a priority.

This tendency was exaggerated extremely much in Africa; only a tiny minority was provided with any education, but there was opportunity to go all the method, even to university degrees at French universities. This last required an extremely high stage of assimilation achieve this and involved extremely gifted, outstanding individuals. On the other hand, mainly of the population received no education whatever!

Academic programmes at the Polytechnic in Dakar did begin to train people in agriculture and veterinary science—also, some medical technicians and partly trained medical practitioners; though, the numbers in these programmes were extremely limited. Mostly, education was intended to train men for the bureaucracy as clerks, officers, etc.

In this region, the French were freer of colour prejudice and discrimination than the British, and Africans could create their method in the bureaucracy beside with whites; there was almost certainly not absolute equality, but a few were reaching high positions through the end of the 1930s. The first African governor was appointed in French Equatorial Africa throughout WW2. This man had an extremely significant role; he threw his support behind DeGaulle and the Free French—the first governor and high official in Africa to do therefore.

Commandant de circle was the equivalent to the district officer in the British organization; though, they had great powers—administrator, magistrate, tax collector etc.

Much depended upon their personal qualities; they were often much closer to the African population than their British counterparts have been complained of commandants often stayed in the similar region for extensive periods of time and often had African mistresses he end of one's career if exposed.

Sometimes, the commandant was pictured as a paternal figure, understanding the requires of his flock and doing his best to help them and seem after them; on the other hand, the commandant has been pictured as a tyrant, having extremely big powers distant from the checks of higher power and untouchable through the complaints of his charges.

Almost certainly, there were examples of commandants at each of these extremes with mainly somewhere in flanked by.

The French always claimed that their colonialism was freer of the racism which underlay British attitudes; in some methods this was true, but it was almost certainly truer in France than in Africa and less rigidly than in the colonies. Those Africans who climbed to the pinnacle in education generally were carried and had good careers in France and to some extent in the colonies. This was more true after 1945.

Assimilation vs. Association

However association was officially adopted as policy for the French African colonies, habits of mind and attitudes of officers tended still to have strong assimilationist biases. As a result, implementation of association was often half-hearted without much attempt to get to know African custom and tradition. At best, in sparsely populated regions, especially in Islamic regions, association meant non-interference in religious matters and often little interference in other regions as well.

Though, in mainly practice, French officials tended to implement French methods of doing things in administration and in law.; the belief in the superiority of things French held through several, almost certainly mainly, Frenchmen working in the colonial administrations meant that they would tend to promote things French.

Association did involve a much more authoritarian approach to governing in Africa up to 1944 or 45 and provided the rationale

for withholding rights from Africans; an African press, trade unions and political activities were all suppressed up to 1945.

After 1945, the approach was explicitly assimilationist; the African colonies were treated as an integral section of France—*France outre mer*. Africans in the colonies were given rights to elect representatives to the French parliament, to have a free press, trade unions and political parties.

Suddenly, all these things flourished; mainly trade unions and political parties aligned and affiliated themselves with same institutions in France socialists, communists and moderates.

Francophone regions did become extremely much assimilated into the French political organization, although less therefore in the colonial bureaucracy which remained separate and under the ministry of colonies. The highly centralized bureaucracy directing local and regional affairs from Paris was recognized as not entirely appropriate for the African colonies. Much more was decided through regional colonial governments.

Though, African politicians were oriented to Paris, and a number of Africans served in French cabinets throughout the 1940s and 50s.

When DeGaulle indicated in 1962 that African regions would be given a choice either to remain section of greater France or to become self-governing, the initial response of mainly African politicians was that they would choose to remain section of greater France. The only exception had been Guinea where the

leaders had been allied to the communists. Except for in Algeria where the independence thrash about was therefore bitter and violent, there had been no vociferous independence movements in French African colonies.

It seems to have been the instance of what was happening in British colonies that changed things; Ghana had become self-governing and Kwame Nkrumah was emerging as a leader, holding conferences to encourage independence in Africa. Nkrumah was in information playing a big role on the international level, playing off the superpowers against each other, promoting Pan-Africanism as a means of taking Africa from a location of subordination and dependence to a location of power in the world through African unity and becoming one of the leaders in the non-aligned movement. Francophone leaders were participating in an integral method in the affairs of a biggest power, one of the permanent members of the UN Security Council. Though, Nkrumah was showing the possibility of playing on an even better level—the world. Also, through playing off the superpowers, it seemed that Nkrumah would get enough aid to develop Ghana in a generation or two. Therefore, independence seemed the circuit to rapid, overnight growth.

Also, in the wake of the 'winds of transform' policies of Britain's Macmillan government, mainly of the British colonies were self-governing or had their dates of independence scheduled in excess of the after that 2 or 3 years. So, within a few months, the francophone African politicians changed their minds and all now wanted independence.

Portugal's Colonial Policy

This discussion is through no means a thorough analysis of Portugal's colonial policies. Rather, there are a few common comments and impressions.

Portugal's explorers had rounded the Cape of Good Hope late in the 15th C and had given Portugal a large lead in excess of other European rivals for trade and other involvements. Although their monopoly was broken and the Portuguese shouldered aside later through the Dutch and English, the Portuguese had clung to a number of enclaves on both the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. In mainly of these enclaves, Portuguese manage was tenuous and did not extend extremely deeply into the interior. For instance, throughout the Mfecane, a group of warriors driven out of Zululand had attacked and burned Lourenço Marques; the Portuguese had had to watch from ships where they had taken refuge.

Portugal was a small country and its possessions were limited; it had supervised to stay the regions it did either because nobody else wanted them or in other cases, the British establish it convenient to support Portuguese manage. Portugal was not extremely industrialized, and often they used British goods for trade.

Throughout the scramble, imperialists like Cecil Rhodes hoped to supplant the Portuguese; especially, Rhodes wanted to build a railway from the Indian Ocean by Mozambique to the new

territories acquired through his BSA Co. and named Rhodesia in his honor remained Portuguese.

The Germans also had designs on Portugal's territorial claims much more than it actually controlled in Africa up its largest African colonies to make a giant MittelAfrika. In the event, the British and the Germans cancelled each other out. Each preferred that the disputed regions remain in Portuguese hands rather than be lost to the other.

The Portuguese did attempt to extend more effective manage in the colonies they retained, but manage in excess of remote regions was never complete to were able to set up bases in these regions.

In growth, the Portuguese tended to rely on concession companies and/or plantations.

The Portuguese had less colour prejudice than some other European peoples and a higher tendency to intermarry in hopes of creation their fortunes often did not have wives; therefore, in excess of extensive periods of time in their colonies, the Portuguese created and merged with a mulatto population.

After WW2 especially, the Portuguese government adopted an adaptation of the metropolitan approach; i.e., the colonies became a section of greater Portugal and those individuals who could meet the assimilation criteria could become Portuguese citizens. Also, in the post-1945 era and especially in the 1950s and 60s in a attempt to develop the colonies and ease population

and unemployment pressures at home, the Portuguese government encouraged emigration to Angola and Mozambique.

The Portuguese claimed that their colonialism was free of racism, but this was at best only partly true. The practice of granting citizenship to anyone who could meet the education and assimilation criteria in information benefited the mulatto population primarily, not the common African population. Also, the white settlers from Portugal in the post 1945 era became more race conscious and there were strains on the policy of non-racialism.

Though, as independence movements and guerrilla activities started, it was evident that whites were dependent on the Portuguese army; the government tried to undercut support for the independence movements through expanding the non-racialism policies. Therefore, there were contradictory pressures.

Many, especially Marxists, argued flatly that it was because the colonies were therefore profitable and pointed primarily to the coffee and oil exports from Angola to justify this assessment. Though, prices for these commodities were mostly extremely low throughout the 1950s and 60s.

I think that it is doubtful that the colonies paid; especially with the emergence of insurgency movements in many Portuguese colonies, it is sure that the wars were a big drain on Portugal and its economy. I doubt if they were extremely profitable even before that. It is one of the causes for such low standards of livelihood in Portugal.

One of the largest causes for hanging on was prestige. For 1 century, Portugal had been the second greatest colonial power in Europe. Portugal sustained to cling to its empire ever after; it was possibly the largest source of pride for the Portuguese.

The Portuguese empire ended when the military leaders who overthrew the dictatorship decided that the empire was not worth it; the army did not have the possessions to win, although they could almost certainly continue the stalemate for an extensive time. As well as being costly, the stalemate was also grossly demoralizing. The decision to allow the colonies to become self-governing was also extremely popular in the middle of the majority of the public in Portugal. The Portuguese settlers, of course, and some of their supporters in Portugal denounced the abandonment and 'betrayal'. Several of the settlers went to South Africa instead of returning to Portugal.

3 largest factors underlay the decision to end the empire:

- The liberation movements had increased the costs extremely considerably;
- Portugal had missed out on the tremendous European expansion of the 1950s and 60s; through the early 1970s, Portugal was even further behind with lower stages of economic output and lower standards of livelihood.
- Also, it had become clear to the military that the wars against the liberation movements were not winnable aw

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from Vietnam. Therefore, both the military and much of the public in Portugal were fed up and demoralized.

While it is intricate and one should avoid being simplistic, it is true that European countries have done much bigger economically and in standards of livelihood after eliminating their colonial empires than when they had them.

Alternately, since independence, mainly African countries have been doing worse than they were doing in the pre-independence colonial era. Again, we should not be simplistic in interpreting this, but it does illustrate the need to seem at the more simplistic economic interpretations much more critically.

Chapter 5

Patterns of Anti-Colonial Struggles

Anti-Colonialism Explained

A big number of present members of the United Nations were subjected to foreign rule and use, for an extensive time, before they attained sovereignty and full statehood after the Second World War. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a number of European Powers set out to set up their economic power and political manage in excess of huge territories of Asia and Africa, Practically the whole continent of Africa and big sections of Asia had become colonies either of Britain or France, Spain, Portugal, Belgium or the Netherlands. The peoples of colonies had to carry out struggles for their freedom from foreign rulers. These struggles are recognized as anti-colonial struggles, and were accepted out in dissimilar methods in dissimilar colonies. The procedure of victory of anti-colonial struggles and attainment of freedom through the colonies came to be recognized as decolonization.

Colonialism

The term colonialism is used to indicate a situation in which economically wealthy and urbanized countries of Europe

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recognized their manage in excess of the backward, poor and underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, The vital characteristic of colonialism is use of underdeveloped countries through the rich European nations. Imperialism is a term that designates political manages of one country in excess of the other. The imperial powers acquired political manage in excess of big number of countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, Therefore, if colonialism was economic use, imperialism was political manage. The two went hand-in-gloves. In mainly cases imperialism followed economic power and use. Colonies were used to acquire cheap raw material and labour, and for dumping their markets the finished--goods produced through the colonial powers. Both colonialism and imperialism were exploitative and undemocratic. One naturally followed the other.

The colonialists had their arguments to support this organization of use. The defenders of colonialism and imperialism pleaded their case in conditions of white man's burden. They argued that it was the obligation of advanced nations to help the people of "backward" countries— to "civilize" and "Christianize" them, and "to teach them the dignity of labour, and to impress' upon them the beauties of their own concepts of law and order." Just as to Palmer and Perkins, "They argued that colonialism was a necessary prelude to the emergence of mainly of the free and self-governing states of the world and to the twentieth century awakening of Asia and Africa." These arguments of supporters of colonialism were rightly rebutted through its critics who used such conditions as brutality, use, misery, hatred and degradation for colonialism and its practices. The critics insisted that the

thrash about for empires led only to the urge to make greater and still greater empires and that the appetite of empire builders knew no limits. Colonialism was the basis of imperialism.

Portugal and Spain were the first to set up their colonies. They were soon joined through Britain, France, the Netherlands and Germany. The first to lose its colonies were Germany and Turkey who were deprived of all their colonies after their defeat in the First World War. Even Japan and the US had joined the race. After the First World War only four African countries were fully or partially self-governing. The rest of the Continent was under one colonial power or the other. The British Empire was therefore huge that the sun never set in it. The 13 British colonies in North America were the first to liberate themselves in 1770s and 1180s, and they recognized the sovereign United States of America. The Portuguese and Spanish colonies of Latin America were after that to acquire independence. Asia and Africa had to wage struggles for independence, in which they succeeded only after the Second World War.

Colonies' Desire for Liberation

People's livelihood in colonies had extensive suffered use at the hands of their European masters. They were denied vital rights and freedom. They had practically no share in governance. The colonies were raw-material suppliers who were denied not only industrialization and growth, but were also denied the right to self-government. Supporters of colonialism, such as *J.A. Hobson* explained colonialism as "... a natural outflow of nationality; its

test is the power of colonists to transplant the culture they symbolize to the new natural, and social environment in which they discover themselves." This therefore described civilizing of the peoples of colonies was a garb under which the colonialists exploited the colonies. As people from colonies such as India got limited opportunity to visit the western countries and revise there, they learnt how they were being exploited, and that what was the value of freedom that the European people' enjoyed. This prompted educated people in colonies to awaken their fellow countrymen to the realities of imperialism and to work for liberation and self-governance.

At the Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian countries held in 1955, President Sukarno of Indonesia said, "Colonialism has... its modern dress in the form of economic manage, intellectual manage, and actual physical manage through a small but alien society..... It was, so, argued at the Conference that, "Colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end." Through the time of Bandung Conference the Afro-Asian peoples had approach to the conclusion that both colonialism and imperialism referred to a "larger-inferior connection." Therefore, hundreds of millions of people in Asia and Africa resolved to abandon their location as "inferiors" and to assert their excellence with the peoples of former colonial powers.

Therefore, however the procedure of anti-colonial struggles and decolonization had begun soon after the Second World War, the urge for liberation and self-governance and to defeat use made for accelerated anti-colonial struggles from 1950s onwards.

Patterns of Anti-Colonial Struggles

Mainly of the colonies of several European Powers had to wage thrash about for their independence. Though, there was no uniform pattern of these struggles, or a general way of the thrash neither about, nor even the duration of struggles was, usually speaking, the similar. Their nature often differed sharply and the time taken through a movement to be successful depended on several factors such as determination of regional leadership, support of the people and attitude of the colonial power concerned. In several countries, protest against colonial rule had lived right from the time of arrival of colonial rulers. In other countries like Ghana, Nigeria, the Congo, Angola, etc. such movements began much after several of the Asian countries had already become free. It is not possible in this unit to go into all the details of struggles of all the colonies. What is proposed to be done is to analyze the broad patterns and ways of freedom struggles. In the present section, two broad patterns of anti-colonial struggles are dealt with. In the after that part trade with the ways used through dissimilar 60lonies. The two largest patterns were usually highlighted through the leftist scholars.

National Independence Movements

A big number of countries, including India, followed the pattern of anti-colonial struggles recognized as independence movements. Theses movements were aimed at removal 6f the foreign rulers, and securing political independence. It was whispered that the principal concern of the leadership of freedom movements was

transfer of power from the imperial masters to the regional people. The aim was to replace the foreign governments through national governments and to build strong state after independence. The critics pointed out that it basically meant transform of rulers. For instance in case of India, Sri Lanka, Nigeria, Ghana and Kenya, etc. the objective was to throw the British out, and close transfer of power to the regional elite. The national independence movements were not immediately concerned with the restructuring of colonial societies. Leftist scholars define these movements as bourgeois, professional and bureaucratic movements for political transform. The point that the critics tried to create was that transfer of power made no variation to the general man and women who remained under the existing exploitative socio-economic organization.

National independence movements did not seek to transform the social organization or the economic order. In India and Pakistan, for instance, caste sustained to control the social organization which perpetuated social injustice. In economic sphere capitalists and landlords sustained to enjoy full power in excess of their workers and peasants. Industrial management remained exploitative. The workers were given no share in management. Not only was that, circumstances of livelihood and work neither hygienic nor conducive to good life. The peasants in the rural regions remained at the mercy of landlords and large peasants. To sum up, political power changed hands, while socio-economic organization remained as before. Use remained; exploiters changed. This was the result of freedom movements accepted out through parties and leaders who were essentially concerned with

transfer of political power. Mainly of the leaders had been educated in Great Britain, or in other European countries. In several countries these "westernized" leaders failed to be mass leaders. This was pattern that helped leadership to acquire power, but did not help the general man overcome his difficulties.

National Liberation Movements

These movements began rather late. In extremely few colonies movements that were launched and accepted out for independence had twin purpose. These anti-colonial struggles were aimed at liberation of the masses from use and injustice. At the similar time they wanted to defeat the foreign rulers and seek power for the people, not for the elite. This, though, is doubtful if the gains actually reached the masses. Power, when transferred, went into the hands of leadership. Vietnam can be cited as an instance of the liberation movement. The Communist Party, under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh had to wage an extensive thrash about first against the French who wanted to regain their hold, after Japanese defeat and retain it as extensive as they could. Later, when US intervened on the face of South Vietnam, where a right wing government had approach to power, the Ho Chi Minh regime had to fight against the Americans and South Vietnamese. At the similar time, this thrash about was aimed at removal of poverty, illiteracy and use. The objective of the national liberation movements, as in case of Vietnam or Congo or Angola was ending of alien rule and radical restructuring of socio-.economic systems. The aim was to bring in relation to the socioeconomic justice and ensure power to the people. However

the western critics dubbed it as mere communist power, the leaders of the movement called it as people's thrash about for their rights, and freedom, and thrash about against foreign power and internal injustice perpetuated through the landlords and handful of owners of wealth.

To conclude, the two largest patterns of anti-colonial struggles were general in one respect. Both kinds of struggles were to defeat the colonialism and imperialism through throwing the foreign rulers out - British in case of India, Burma, Sri Lanka, Kenya, Nigeria, Ghana etc.; French in case of Algeria, Ivory Coast and Indo- China Lhaos, Cambodia and Vietnam; Belgians in case of Congo; the Dutch in case of Indonesia, 'and Portuguese in case of Angola and Mozambique. While, this one objective was general, the variation flanked by the independence movements and liberation struggles was that whereas former sought only the political freedom from foreign rule or Swaraj the latter also wanted social and economic justice and defeat of use in all its manifestations. Guided through Marxist-Leninist ideas, their aim was social revolution beside with political independence.

Ways of Anti-Colonial Struggles

Colonialism was a biggest curse. It was defeated as a result of vigorous efforts made through the Afro-Asian countries. The outcome of anti-colonial struggles was called as a revolution. Palmer and Perkins wrote that, "The 'revolt of Asia' may prove to be the mainly important growth of the twentieth century." Earlier Arnold Toynbee had predicted that even the challenge of

communism "may approach to look a small affair when the almost certainly distant more potent culture of India and China respond..to our western challenge.. " Therefore, the revolutionary changes in Asia and Africa were measured extremely important growths. The British Prime Minister Mr. Harold Macmillan had said in 1959 in a speech in Moscow that, "Imperialism is an epoch in history, not a present reality." But, the therefore-described 'epoch' ruined the economics of Afro-Asian countries. As Nehru said the crisis of time of Asia was 'Colonialism versus anti-colonialism'. The anti-colonial struggles were accepted out either peacefully or by violent means. There was indeed lot of role of colonial powers themselves. They were forced through growths both at national and international stages to provide up their empires.

Peaceful Non-Violent Struggles

A significant way of anti-colonial thrash about was non-violence. This was adopted under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Later, many other colonies also followed the path shown through India. Indian National Congress recognized in 1885 as a forum for expression of aspirations of educated Indians was, at that time, usually welcomed through the British. But, it soon became an anti-British platform. Initially, the Congress leadership merely sought reforms that would provide some participation to Indians in the Legislative Councils, but within two decades, its largest concern turned out to be anti-British. Indian National Congress measured defeat of the British raj as its largest objective. Like mainly nationalist movements, the freedom movement in India

came to be divided into less militant and more militant factions. The first was represented through Gokhale, and subsequently through Mahatma Gandhi; and the second was led through Tilak, Lajpat Rai and B.C. Pal. For the first faction, reforms were the largest objective; for the second it was defeat of the British rule. Through and big, Congress remained committed to non-violent ways, under the leadership Mahatma Gandhi.

Non-violence was Gandhi's largest weapon. He initiated the non-cooperation movement after JalianwalaBagh Massacre on the circumstances that it would remain non-violent and Indians were to boycott British courts, goods and educational organizations. The movement was doing extremely well when Suddenly in 1922 an angry mob in ChauriChaura put a police station on fire, killing almost two dozen policemen. Brushing aside criticism, Gandhiji withdrew the movement as it had turned violent. His peaceful Dandi March, to break the infamous salt law of the British rulers, began the civil disobedience movement which again was to remain peaceful, as people would disobey the laws that were unjust. The Quit India Movement of 1942 was again to remain peaceful, but even before it could be formally launched, the British Government arrested all prominent leaders, leaving the people leaderless. There was, so, some element of violence provoked through the British themselves. However some young revolutionaries like ShaheedBhagat Singh, AshfaqUllah Khan and Ram Prasad Bismil did not follow Gandhiji's diktat of non-violence, yet their enthusiasm and sacrifice contributed to India's freedom thrash about in a large method. Big number of Indian leaders was sent to jail many times.

Several other countries also adopted non-violent and peaceful way for fighting against the foreign rule and to gain independence. There was little freedom movement in Sri Lanka. It gained its independence from Britain in 1948, as a consequence of British departure from India.

Burma was a section of British India till the enforcement of Government of India Act of 1935. As such it was associated with India's non-violent thrash about. When the Second World War began, the Burmese nationalists were usually pro-Japanese, but later became anti-Japanese. With the armaments supplied through the British, the Burmese nationalists got jointly in Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League. The Labour Government which came to power in the UK in 1945 recognized the AFPFL as the organization to trade with. The British Governor of Burma wanted to arrest the mainly significant nationalist leader Aung San. The Government recalled the Governor and dealt with Aung San's party for transfer of power. Although Aung San and other leaders were assassinated in July 1947, their surviving colleagues achieved the goal of independence in January 1948. There was no fighting. Calvocoressi concluded that, "The British, strongly convinced through their own pledge to leave India and also through the belief that it was not possible to use the Indian troops... against the Burmese... " decided to transfer power. Although, there was internal strife after independence, the freedom movement was usually non-violent.

Several of the African countries also used non-violence as weapon of their freedom thrashes about. The Europeans had taken

possession of Africa at the height of industrial revolution. The disparity flanked by Europeans and Africans was enormous. African countries did not have prolonged movements for freedom. African leaders drew inspiration from both India and America. They shaped National Congresses in dissimilar countries. Several of them were attracted through Gandhian ideas of nonviolence. From the American Continent, particularly the Caribbean, Africans gained confidence and dignity and a habit of meeting jointly. A number of Pan African Conferences were held. The Sixth such Conferences held after the Second World War at Manchester was attended through many prominent African leaders including Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, Akinola and Julius Nyerere. It demanded independence, which would have emerged extremely unreal five years earlier. A mere ten years later West African colonies attained independence leading the method to the end of colonialism in rest of Africa also. East African colonies followed suit.

Armed Struggles

Peaceful and non-violent means did not, or could not, work in all the anti-colonial struggles. In many cases nationalists were forced to take to gun and adopt revolutionary means. In India, the movement usually remained peaceful, yet some patriotic youth did not have the patience to wait for the success of Gandhiji's weapon. Young men like AshfaqUllah Khan, Ram Prasad Bismil and their friend's looted government treasury from a train at Kakori in Uttar Pradesh. They were arrested, tried and hanged to death. They gladly made the supreme sacrifice for the

country's independence. Later, Shaheed Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and their friends gladly went to the gallows for having thrown a bomb in the central legislature. Several more revolutionaries made sacrifices 'after by armed thrash about as a tool. Even Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, broke the jail supervised to flee the country throughout the Second World War, reached Germany and then Japan, set up the Indian National Army to fight for India's freedom. However all these patriots died before independence, their role cannot be ignored.

Much earlier, in Latin America, independence was achieved from the Spanish and Portuguese colonies by revolutionary movements started first in Spanish colony of Mexico and later in Venezuela, Argentina etc. Through 1825: Spain had lost mainly of its huge empire.

Kenya was a British colony, in East Africa, till it attained freedom late in 1963. Soon after the Second World War a number of non-official members of the Legislative Council were given ministerial positions. But all of them were white. The blacks were denied this privilege. In 1952, the white rulers were faced with a 'savage outbreak' in the Kikuyu tribe. They had for extensive nourished grievances against the white settlers. The movement was led through Jomo Kenyatta, a former student of London University, and now President of the Kenya African Union. In addition, the Kikuyu had shaped a secret community described Mau Mau. Its activities were the militant expression of a deep-seated nationalist movement. Mau Mau administered oaths to its members and performed secret rites. They fought for

independence. Calvecoressi called its activities as "anti-Christian", and wrote that, "With time the community became extreme in its ambitious and barbarous in its practices. It took to murder... and finally urbanized a campaign of violence and guerrilla warfare." Britain tried to crush the movement with better force. Even Jon10 Kenyatta was sentenced in 1954 to seven years imprisonment "for organizing Mau Mau". The activities of Mau Mau became violent and it killed approximately 8000 African opponents, while 68 European were also done to death. Having realized the futility of suppression, the British Government took to negotiation in 1960, which finally led to Kenya's independence in December 1963. Meanwhile, Kenyatta had taken in excess of as the Prime Minister in June. His Kenya African National Union succeeded in May elections, and on its insistence the British proposal for a federal Kenya was dropped.

Belgian Congo was an entirely dissimilar story. Its independence was proclaimed on June 30, 1960 and official celebrations lasted for four days. Presently 48 hours later there occurred a mutiny in the Force Publique, which sparked off a train of terrible disaster. Congo's independence produced not only internal chaos and civil war, but also one of the biggest international crises of the post-war era. Indonesia in the South East Asia was ruled through the Netherlands as 'The Netherlands East Indies.' A strong nationalist movement had urbanized there in the first decade of the twentieth century. The first Indonesian party described BoediOetomo was founded in 1908. Its nature was called through Robert Payne therefore: "The movement possessed no political credo. Essentially scholastic, it looked towards India, deriving

strength not from nascent Moslem nationalism but from RabindraNath Tagore's vision of a self-governing Asia at peace..." This movement never became strong. It was soon eclipsed through a more militant party, Sarekat Islam. It advocated political and social reforms and adopted a pro-Muslim platform. It demanded complete independence, and throughout the First World War it adopted socialist programme.

The Indonesian nationalist movement became more vigorous with the formation of National Indonesian Party under the leadership of Dr. Sukarno. The Dutch used force, but could not suppress the movement. The Dutch relied mainly on the policy of stern repression Accordingly. in late 1920s and early 1930s prominent leaders including Sukarno and Hatta were sent into exile. After the fall of the Netherlands in 1940, Indonesians cooperated with the conquerors of the country viz. the Japanese. After Japanese defeat in August 1945, the British troops landed in the Dutch East Indies, and with their support an Indonesian Republic, with Sukarno as President, were proclaimed. However the Dutch Government granted de facto recognition to the Republic in March 1947, it tried all means to incorporate it in some type of union with the Dutch Crown. For two years Dutch resorted to dual policy of now repression, now peace. They used armed might and accepted out hostilities in the name of 'police action.' India, and many other Afro-Asian countries gave full support to Indonesian nationalists. Therefore, Indonesia's thrash about on its section was mainly peaceful, yet violence was used to suppress it. The Indonesian nationalists had to fight an extensive

thrash about for four years against the Dutch. It was virtually an open war flanked by the Colonial Power aid the nationalist forces.

The similar story, but with distant more bloodshed, was repeated in Vietnam. The French colony of Indo-China was engaged through the Japanese throughout the Second World War. French Indo-China incorporated Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Vietnam itself was a Union of the Protectorates of Annam and Tongking and the colony of Cochin-China nanite through race and 'Chinese through cultures; the protected Kingdoms of LuangPrabang or Laos, and Calnbodia were Thai through race and Indian through civilization. Throughout the Japanese job, three Kys became the autonomous state of Vietnam, and upon the Japanese withdrawal Ho Chi Minh, the leader of Communist dominated nationalist coalition proclaimed the self-governing republic of Viet. As in case of Korea, the three Kys got divided as the British took manage of the territory south of 16 similarities and the Chinese in the north. The north became communist and south became pro-US and anti-communist. Fro111 then, till early 1970s, the territory faced violence, clash and war. It was French Endeavour to regain manages of Indo-China, but the Geneva Conference of 1954 finally terminated French manages and self-governing states of North Vietnam, South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia were established. But, after the French withdrawal. America entered the scene and there was a prolonged thrash about flanked by pro-Soviet North and pro-US South Vietnam, till the whole Vietnam became a communist controlled state. Therefore, the Indo-Chinese thrash about virtually became a civil war.

Three Levels of Anti-Colonial Struggles

Patterns and ways of anti-colonial struggles were mainly convinced through changes in international environment and changes within the colonial powers. The Second World War, emergence of two Super Powers, Cold War and weakened location of once powerful Britain: France and other European Powers certainly ensured success of anti-colonial struggles. These three levels are explained below as common patterns, not necessarily followed in all the colonies and all the anti-colonial struggles. Geoffrey Barraclough analyzed the struggles for freedom through dividing them into three levels. Here no distinction is made flanked by independence movements and liberation movements. The three levels discussed through Barraclough were proto-nationalism; the rise of new leadership; and the thrash about assuming the nature of mass movements.

Proto-Nationalism

The first level, described proto-nationalism refers to the earliest era of anti-colonial Struggles. Throughout this early stage people in the colonies had not yet become aware of their rights and require for independence. Through and big, colonial rule was carried through the regional people. Nevertheless, social groups and political movements demanded reforms within the organization of colonial rule. In India, the Indian National Congress was recognized in 1885, but not to oust the British rulers, For the after that 20 years, the Congress remained a forum of excellence debates. Its sessions were a lmuual gatherings

of western - educated well-dressed English speaking Elite. The then leadership whispered in the superiority of British culture and Englishmen's sense of justice and fair play, The early demands of the Congress were limited to regional reforms, limited share in the Councils and occupation opportunities for educated Indians. There was no-confrontation with the colonial masters. It was the level of submitting petitions and seeking reforms. In Indonesia, the first level began only in 1910-11 with the beginning of religious – nationalist movement described Sarekat Islam. Same movements began in African colonies like Algeria, Nigeria etc. only approximately 1920.

The Rise of New Leadership

The second level is called as the rise of new leadership. As nationalism became mature and thrash about against colonial powers became the goal, a number of new, patriotic, specialized leaders appeared in the colonies who took in excess of manage of movement. Nationalism began to gain ground in the middle of the transitional classes. Throughout this level demands made on colonial powers were considerably expanded, and independence was measured as a future goal. In India, this level lasted till after the First World War. The social foundation of the Congress Party had expanded, yet the thrash about had not fully become a mass movement. Complete independence, or puma swaraj, was demanded only in 1930. Till then the goal was dominion status. Throughout this era leadership passed from the hands of Gokhale to Mahatam Gandhi, and soon leaders like LalaLaipatRai, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel and Maulana Azad came in the

forefront. In Indonesia, Sarakat Islam committed itself to independence in 1917 under the leadership of Sukarno. In Tunisia and Nigeria such turning points were reached in 1934 and 1944 respectively. There was no chronological parallel in dissimilar levels in dissimilar countries, but many prominent leaders appeared in dissimilar colonies. These included Jomo Kenyatta in Kenya, Kwame Nkrumah in Gold Coast and AUSA's San in Bunila.

Mass Movement

The third and final level leading to success of anti-colonial struggles was recognized as mass movement. National movements became therefore strong through this time that, in several cases, colonial rulers had to use force to uphold themselves in power. In India, under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership, the movement reached the general man even in the remote villages. This procedure began with the civil disobedience movement. The movement for purnaswaraj was a mass thrash about for independence. The British used force, arrested big number of people and often sent prominent leaders to jail. The British rulers had become panicky even with the mere announcement of Quit India Movement in August 1942. In Indonesia, a comparable movement could be launched through Sukarno only throughout the Second World War. In Nigeria, the third level was reached only in 1951.

The three levels were not equally separate everywhere. The procedure extended to longest era of time in the British colonies.

In several of the French colonies it took presently 10 to 20 years. In the Belgian Congo, there were hardly any demands for independence till 1955. Several regional leaders then visualized an era of 60 years or longer for independence. Even, the turn of measures was therefore fast that the Congo was free in 1960.

Success of Anti-Colonial Struggles

The procedure of termination of colonial rule is called as decolonization. The anti-colonial struggles achieved success and colonial organization was liquidated in phases and levels. It took almost 45 years for the whole procedure to be completed. Anti-colonial struggles achieved their first success in Asia, and then in Africa. In 1946 the Philippines achieved independence, and in 1947 India became free from British colonial rule. Egypt and Burma achieved freedom in 1948, and after that year independence and sovereignty of Indonesia was formally established through the Netherlands. Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam were established as sovereign states in 1949, but they remained within the French Union until France finally lost them in 1954.

The second stage commenced in mid-1950s when Morocco and Tunisia left the French Union. Britain pulled out of Egyptian Sudan and Malaya became self-governing in 1957. But all these states had enjoyed some degree of autonomy even when they were sections of French or British colonial organization. The freedom struggle of Gold Coast under the leadership of Nkrumah successfully ended in 1957. This struggle was a short affair,

but its victory proved that the will of the colonial powers to rule was cracking. "French Society" recognized in 1958 to "assimilate" all the French colonies in it broke up presently after two years as Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Upper Volta, Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Togo and Cameron all became self-governing. Also in 1960, Britain withdrew from Nigeria, a self-governing Somalia was created with the fusion of British and Italian Somaliland, and the Belgian Congo became self-governing. In 1961 British rule ended in Cyprus, Sierra Leone, Tanganyika and Kuwait. After that year Jamaica, Trinidad, Tobago and Uganda achieved freedom from Britain. In 1962, France ended her extensive war in Algeria and gave her full freedom. In 1963, anti-colonial thrash about succeeded in Kenya, and Zanzibar also became free. While mainly of Asia and Africa became self-governing through mid 1960s, the thrash about of the colonies of Portugal and Spain did not succeed till 1970s. With the fall of Portuguese ruler Salazar, Guinea - Bissau achieved its independence in 1974. Angola and Mozambique followed suit in 1975.

It is only in the last stage that Namibia succeeded in its extensive anti-colonial thrashes about in 1990 when South Africa was forced to grant independence to its neighbor. Although the United States always declared itself to be against colonial organization it still sustained to rule in excess of Guam and Puerto Rico.

Chapter 6

Ideology, Social Bases and Programmes of National Movements

Reasons of Development of National Movements

The Nationalist Movement in India was the outcome of a big number of factors and the mainly significant in the middle of them was British Imperialism. It was throughout the British rule that the entire of India was conquered and brought under one sovereign power. The power through any country in excess of the entire of India enabled the people of India to think and act as one nation. Before the coming of the British in India, the people of the South were generally separated from the rest of India except for short intervals. British Imperialism helped the unification of the country.

British rule brought the whole geographical region of the country under a single administration. It unified the country through introducing a uniform organization of law and government. The introduction of the contemporary ways of transport and communication also produced the similar unifying effect.

Nationalism and Imperialism

The improvements in the means of transport and communication also quickened the pace of the nationalist movement in the country. It is said that but for railways, motor buses and other contemporary means of communication, political and cultural life on a national level would not have been possible. It can be said that if these became the means of consolidating and preserving British rule in India, they also played their section in organizing the political movement of the Indian people on a national level against their rule.

The English language played a significant section in the development of nationalism in the country. It acted as the lingua franca of the intelligentsia of India. Without the general medium of the English language it would have been impossible for the Bengalees, Madrasis and the Punjabis to sit at one table and talk about the general troubles facing the country. The English language also made the Indians inheritors of a great literature which was full of great ideas and ideals.

The Indian press, both English and vernacular also aroused national consciousness. Great was the power of the news papers like the Amrit Bazar Patrika, the Hindu, the Kesari, the Bengalee, the Hurkura and a lot more. The development of Indian Press was phenomenal and through 1875, there were no less than 478 newspapers in the country. The Indian press helped in mobilizing the public opinion, convening national and provincial conferences, organizing political movements, structure up public organizations and fighting out public controversies. There was no

issue of foreign policy or internal administration which escaped the notice of the news papers.

The writings of DinabandhuMitra, Hem Chandra Banerjee, Nabin Chandra Sen, RomeshChunderDutt, Rabindranath Tagore, Dwijendralal Roy, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee had also affected the minds of the people of India. All these writings affected the higher sentiments of the people. Rather it can be said that the writings of these writers helped the people of India to realize the national fervor and as a result they got united and tried to oust the British people from India.

There were several British officials and writers who put forward the thesis that the Indians had always been backward and they did not know the art of governing themselves. They also maintained that the Indians were destined to be ruled through others and there was no future hope of a free India.

The religious and social reformers like Ram Mohan Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen, Debendranath Tagore, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Swami DayanandSaraswati, RamkrishnaParamhansa, Swami Vivekananda and others inculcated a spirit of confidence, courage, self-respect and pride in the ancient heritage of India. It is contended that political awakening in India began with Raja Ram Mohan Roy.

The intelligentsia played a creative role in the rise of nationalism in the country. It is they who recognized the information that the establishment of the British power in India marked a break with the past and the beginning of a new historical period. Their

initial response to the British rule was positive but with passing time they got disillusioned.

History says that there was lot of discontentment in the country on explanation of several causes. There was the economic use of the people. The revenue charged through the government was more than what the people could afford to pay. The demands of the government sustained to augment unmindful of the condition of the people and their capability to pay.

The nationalist movement which rose in the minds of the people made them realizes that they had no hope any fair play on the section of the Englishmen because a lot of self interests of the English people were involved in it.

Ideology of National Movements

As the term 'National Movements' itself suggests, nationalism is always the vital ideology of these movements. Such nationalism is a radical ideology for the movements. It may become more radical through the incorporation of other ideologies like Marxism-Leninism.

Ideologies give a significant psychological and emotional foundation from which individuals can derive meaning and significance for their own participation in a changing community. Therefore an ideology gives a framework within which the individual may orient himself to others in an emotionally satisfying manner. In distribution with others in the pursuit of general goals, individuals develop relationships and loyalties with

each other that help to fill the voids created through the disruption of the traditional order. An ideology that is increasingly carried performs the vital function of structure general beliefs and attitudes in the middle of the political elite and masses, uniting the dissimilar groups within community in the pursuit of shared goals. That vital thought asserts that a bigger life is possible for individuals and groups than the one provided through the traditional order.

Of the many principal ideologies of national movements, so, that of nationalism is the mainly pervasive and significant. The history of all national movements designates that the thought behind nationalism is the liberation from alien political and economic power. In other languages nationalism is the thought of revolt against foreign political power, economic use, and the principle of racial discrimination or inequality.

The content of nationalism varies with the locale, with the people, and with time. However the genus of nationalism is easily identifiable in the several national movements, there are many dissimilar species. To mention only some of the mainly obvious, not all Africans are black, but nationalists within the new African states and in Africa as an entire south of the Sahara have had a general bond in their blackness and in their opposition to white alien rule. In Asia, color as such, be it brown or yellow, did not look to have played as big a role, however antagonism toward white rule and racial dominance has been no less vigorous. In eastern Asia, particularly in Korea, nationalism arose in section

Nationalism and Imperialism

out of resentment against the Japanese, who were of the similar color as the peoples they attempted to control.

Nationalism in mainly of the colonized countries: so, urbanized from the sentiment of unity in the middle of cultural, religious and racial groups of the people. From this sentiment rose a strong desire for political and economic independence from foreign power, and a demand for racial equality. The people were impelled to offer any amount of sacrifice for the fulfillment of these urges of their heart. This sentiment of nationalism grew in dissimilar proportions in dissimilar countries depending on the circumstances there. In countries where there was direct rule of imperialism, nationalism flared up rapidly, while where there was an indirect rule of imperialism; nationalism, did not seem approximately until World War II.

Throughout the inter-war era, there urbanized a new force that vied with the force of nationalism in trying to wipe off imperialism and capitalism. This new force was communism based on Marxism-Leninism that spread after the Russian Revolution of 1917. Neither of these forces clashed against each other. They either traveled beside similarity rows or even on divergent rows. Although communism tended towards internationalism and was not in favor of encouraging nationalism, for strategic causes it sympathized with nationalism in colonized countries as it was fighting against imperialism.

Lenin had realized that the colonized people were in revolt against imperialism. He felt that it would be a great mistake to

effort to promote the Communist doctrine at a time when there was going on what he described "bourgeois-national" revolution fostered through the educated classes to drive out imperial manage. He so urged cooperation through the Soviet regime with the forces of nationalism even however that was against the doctrine of communism. Because of this cooperation to the national regimes, the columnists won great popularity in Iran. Afghanistan and China. Later in China there was a split flanked by the Communists and the Nationalists. Although the Communists were initially defeated in 1928 through the Nationalists, ultimately their fight ended in the establishment of a Communist regime in China in 1949. The Soviet power also steadily increased in several other countries by the organization of the Communist Parties in these countries which played important role in the National Movements.

Social Bases of National Movements

National movements often started as unorganized and sporadic protests of a small number of people: but gradually they became mass movements. Every strata of community has had some role in the progress of national movements

It was the leaders and intellectuals who first spearheaded the movements. They organized the masses. They enlightened the masses in relation to require becoming free. People followed them because they were expressing require of the time. Gradually parties and groups appeared as instruments of national

movements. Peasants, workers and women also organized their movements to lead to national liberation.

In diverse methods and at dissimilar times, rising numbers of the several peoples became influenced that the dream of independence would be realized and that then all would be well. Hence they became more and more involved and participated in what became national struggles. In the procedure, they became ever more aware of their grievances. As they became aware they became more vocal and their protests multiplied. And as they grieved, protested and participated in the struggles for freedom, they became nationally conscious and increasingly nationalist in outlook and approach.

Asians and Africans were taught through westerners —through Christian missionaries and optimistic intellectuals - to hope. Increasingly however still small numbers, were - educated in the West and at home became expectant. From the 1920s especially, their own leaders, by the press and later the radio by embryo political parties, mutual aid societies, and trade unions, taught them to consider that their future of freedom, justice and abundance would be achieved by their nations. Asians and Africans, heard of the pronouncements of the United Nations and other international bodies. of fundamental human rights", the "dignity and worth of the human person", and of "fundamental freedoms for all" regardless of race and religion. They whispered these pronouncements, and saw no cause why these should not apply to themselves. The motivations of the leaders of the nationalist movements were as varied as their peoples and their

own individual personalities. They hoped and they feared and they were ambitious for themselves as well as for their peoples. Some of them undoubtedly sought personal power and the emoluments that at times accompany high office—fine homes, large cars, beautiful women. Some of them, however not immune to private ambition: were high-minded idealists who put country above private gain. As they are for all men, motivations were mixed and changing. But it is also true that several of them had painful experiences that drove them further and further beside their nationalist roads. When several of them began their political lives, they were mild reformers, willing, if only reforms were granted and development toward self-government second likely, work within the colonial systems. But as they advocated and worked for reforms they suffered threats against their livelihoods and their lives, they were forced into exile, they were imprisoned or sent to detention camps and on occasion they were beaten and tortured beyond endurance. Some were executed and they became martyrs, and, therefore, powerful symbols for their nation. Those who existed, protested ever more, and the more they protested the more they suffered. They also became the prominent leaders of nationalist parties of their respective countries. Some also arose from peasant or workers movements, organized protests, strikes etc, and gave fillip to national movements. Their arrests created nationalist fervors in the middle of the masses, led to further strengthening of parties and groups as national movements in themselves. To choose at random, Gandhi, Nehru and Tilak were jailed in India, and Banda, Bourguiba, Kaunda, Kenyatta, Nelson Mandela. SaniNjurnah and Sithole in several sections of Africa. All of them

turned more nationalist after their imprisonment and they became heroes to rising numbers of their countrymen. No amount of punishment, no imperial repression actually blunted national feeling; rather it exacerbated it.

Subjectivity of the Reconstruction

The reconstruction of strange proto-languages is inherently subjective. The choice of **m* as the parent phoneme is only *likely*, not *sure*. It is conceivable that a Proto-Algonquian language with **b* in those positions split into two branches, one which preserved **b* and one which changed it to **m* instead; and while the first branch only urbanized into Arapaho, the second spread out wider and urbanized into all the other Algonquian tribes. It is also possible that the adjacent general ancestor of the Algonquian languages used some other sound instead, such as **p*, which eventually mutated to **b* in one branch and to **m* in the other. While examples of strikingly complicated and even circular growths are indeed recognized to have occurred in the absence of any proof or other cause to postulate a more complicated growth, the preference of a simpler account is justified through the principle of parsimony, also recognized as Occam's razor. Since reconstruction involves several of these choices, some linguists prefer to view the reconstructed characteristics as abstract symbols of sound correspondences, rather than as objects with a historical time and lay.

The subsistence of proto-languages and the validity of the comparative method are verifiable in cases where the

reconstruction can be matched to a recognized language, which may only be recognized as a shadow in the loanwords of another language. For instance Finnic languages such as Finnish have borrowed several languages from an early level of Germanic, and the shape of the loans matches the shapes that have been reconstructed for Proto-Germanic. Finnish *kuningas* 'king' and *kaunis* 'beautiful' match the Germanic reconstructions **kuningaz* and **skauniz*.

Additional Models

As alternatives to the tree model, the wave model dates to the 19th century, glottochronology and mass lexical comparison to the 20th. Mainly historical linguists believe the latter two ways flawed and unreliable.

Ways of Comparison

The Experimental Method

During the laboratory portion of mainly Biology laboratories, you will be conducting experiments. Science proceeds through use of the experimental method. To gather information in relation to the biological world, we use two mechanisms: our sensory perception and our skill to cause. We can identify and count the kinds of trees in a forest with our eyes, we can identify birds in the rainforest canopy with our ears, and we can identify the attendance of a skunk with our nose. Touch and taste help us experience the biological world as well. With the information we

gather from our senses, we can create inferences by our cause and logic. For example, you know that you see palm trees in tropical and subtropical areas and can infer that palm trees will not be establish in central Maine because of the harshness of our winter. Our cause allows us to create predictions in relation to the natural world. The skill to create accurate predictions hinges on the seven steps of the Scientific Method.

Step 1. Create Observations

These observations should be objective, not subjective. In other languages, the observations should be capable of verification through other scientists. Subjective observations, which are based on personal opinions and beliefs, are not in the realm of science. Here's an objective statement: It is 58 °F in this room. Here's a subjective statement: It is cool in this room.

The first step in the Scientific Method is to create objective observations. These observations are based on specific measures that have already happened and can be verified through others as true or false.

Step 2. Form a Hypothesis

Our observations tell us in relation to the past or the present. As scientists, we want to be able to predict future measures. We necessity so use our skill to cause. Scientists use their knowledge of past measures to develop a common principle or account to help predict future measures. The common principle

is described a hypothesis. A hypothesis should have the following aspects:

- It should be a common principle that holds crossways legroom and time
- It should be a tentative thought
- It should agree with accessible observations
- It should be kept as easy as possible.

It should be testable and potentially falsifiable. In other languages, there should be a method to illustrate the hypothesis is false; a method to disprove the hypothesis.

Some mammals have two hind limbs would be a useless hypothesis. There is no observation that would not fit this hypothesis! All mammals have two hind limbs is a good hypothesis. We would seem during the world at mammals. When we discover whales, which have no hind limbs, we would have shown our hypothesis to be false; we have falsified the hypothesis.

When a hypothesis involves a reason-and-effect connection, we state our hypothesis to indicate there is no effect. A hypothesis, which asserts no effect, is described a *null hypothesis*. For example, the drug Celebra does not help relieve rheumatoid arthritis.

Step 3. Create a Prediction

From step 2, we have made a hypothesis that is tentative and may or may not be true. How can we decide if our hypothesis is true? Our hypothesis should be broad; it should apply consistently by time and by legroom. Scientists cannot generally check every possible situation where a hypothesis might apply. Let's believe the hypothesis: All plant cells have a nucleus. We cannot analyze every livelihood plant and every plant that has ever existed to see if this hypothesis is false. Instead, we generate a prediction by deductive reasoning generalization. From our hypothesis, we can create the following prediction: If I analyze cells from a blade of grass, each one will have a nucleus.

Now, let's believe the drug hypothesis: The drug Celebra does not help relieve rheumatoid arthritis. To test this hypothesis, we would require choosing a specific set of circumstances and then predicting what would happen under those circumstances if the hypothesis were true. Circumstances you might wish to test are doses administered, length of time the medication is taken, the ages of the patients and the number of people to be tested.

All of these circumstances that are subject to transform are described variables. To gauge the effect of Celebra, we require performing a controlled experiment. The experimental group is subjected to the variable we want to test and the manage group is not discovered to that variable. In a controlled experiment, the only variable that should be dissimilar flanked by the two groups is the variable we want to test.

Let's create a prediction based on observations of the effect of Celebra in the laboratory. The prediction is: Patients suffering from rheumatoid arthritis who take Celebra and patients who take a placebo do not differ in the severity of rheumatoid arthritis.

Step 4. Perform an Experiment

We rely again on our sensory perception to collect information. We design an experiment based on our prediction. Our experiment might be as follows: 1000 patients flanked by the ages of 50 and 70 will be randomly assigned to one of two groups of 500. The experimental group will take Celebra four times a day and the manage group will take a starch placebo four times a day. The patients will not know whether their tablets are Celebra or the placebo. Patients will take the drugs for two months. At the end of two months, medical exams will be administered to determine if flexibility of the arms and fingers has changed.

Step 5. Examine the Results of the Experiment

Our experiment produced the following results: 350 of the 500 people who took Celebra accounted diminished arthritis as the end of the era. 65 of the 500 people who took the placebo accounted improvement. The data seem to illustrate that there was an important effect of Celebra. We would require doing a statistical analysis to demonstrate the effect. Such an analysis reveals that there is a statistically important effect of Celebra.

Step 6. Attract a Conclusion

From our analysis of the experiment, we have two possible outcomes: the results agree with the prediction or they disagree with the prediction. In our case, we can reject our prediction of no effect of Celebra. Because the prediction is wrong, we necessarily also reject the hypothesis it was based on.

Our task now is to reframe the hypothesis in a form that is constant with the accessible information. Our hypothesis now could be: The administration of Celebra reduces rheumatoid arthritis compared to the administration of a placebo.

With present information, we accept our hypothesis as true. Have we proved it to be true? Absolutely not! There are always other explanations that can explain the results. It is possible that the more of the 500 patients who took Celebra were going to improve anyway. It's possible that more of the patients who took Celebra also ate bananas every day and that bananas improved the arthritis. You can suggest countless other explanations.

How can we prove that our new hypothesis is true? We never can. The scientific method does not allow any hypothesis to be proven. Hypotheses can be disproven in which case that hypothesis is rejected as false. All we can say in relation to the hypothesis, which stands up to, a test to falsify it is that we failed to disprove it. There is a world of variation flanked by failing to disprove and proving. Create certain you understand this distinction; it is the basis of the scientific method.

Therefore what would we do with our hypothesis above? We currently accept it as true. To be intensive, we require to subject the hypothesis to more tests that could illustrate it is wrong. For example, we could repeat the experiment but switch manage and experimental group. If the hypothesis keeps standing up to our efforts to knock it down, we can feel more confident in relation to the accepting it as true. Though, as suggested, never be able to state that the hypothesis is true. Rather, we accept it as true because the hypothesis stood up to many experiments to illustrate it is false.

Step 7. Statement your Results

Scientists publish their findings in scientific journals and books, in talks at national and international meetings and in seminars at colleges and universities. Disseminating results is an essential section of the scientific method. It allows other people to verify your results, develop new tests of your hypothesis or apply the knowledge you have gained to solve other troubles.

Case Study

A case study is a rigorous analysis of an individual unit stressing developmental factors in relation to context. The case study is general in social sciences and life sciences. Case studies may be descriptive or explanatory. The latter kind is used to explore causation in order to discover underlying principles. Thomas offers the following definition of case study: "Case studies are analyses of persons, measures, decisions, periods, projects,

policies, organizations, or other systems that are studied holistically through one or more ways. The case that is the *subject* of the inquiry will be an example of a class of phenomena that gives an analytical frame — and *substance* — within which the study is mannered and which the case illuminates and explicates."

Another suggestion is that case study should be defined as a research strategy, an empirical inquiry that investigates a phenomenon within its real-life context. Case study research can mean single and multiple case studies, can contain quantitative proof, relies on multiple sources of proof, and benefits from the prior growth of theoretical propositions. Case studies should not be confused with qualitative research and they can be based on any mix of quantitative and qualitative proof. Single-subject research gives the statistical framework for creation inferences from quantitative case-study data. This is also supported and well-formulated in: "The case study is a research approach, located flanked by concrete data taking techniques and methodological paradigms." The case study is sometimes mistaken for the case method, but the two are not the similar.

Case Selection and Structure

A standard, or typical, case is often not the richest in information. In clarifying rows of history and causation it is more useful to select subjects that offer a motivating, rare or particularly revealing set of conditions. A case selection that is based on representativeness will seldom be able to produce these

types of insights. When selecting a subject for a case study, researchers will so use information-oriented sampling, as opposed to random sampling. Outlier cases or atypical reveal more information than the putatively representative case. Alternatively, a case may be selected as a key case, chosen because of the inherent interest of the case or the conditions nearby it. Or it may be chosen because of researchers' in-depth regional knowledge; where researchers have this regional knowledge they are in a location to "soak and poke" as Fenno puts it, and thereby to offer reasoned rows of account based on this rich knowledge of setting and conditions. Three kinds of cases may therefore be distinguished:

Whatever the frame of reference for the choice of the subject of the case revises, there is a distinction to be made flanked by the subject and the substance of the case study. The subject is the "practical, historical unity" by which the theoretical focus of the study is being viewed. The substance is that theoretical focus – the analytical frame. Therefore, for instance, if a researcher were interested in US resistance to communist expansion as a theoretical focus, then the Korean War might be taken to be the subject, the lens, the case study by which the theoretical focus, the substance, could be viewed and explicated.

Beyond decisions in relation to the case selection and the subject and substance of the study, decisions require to be made in relation to the purpose, approach and procedure in the case study. Thomas therefore proposes a typology for the case study wherein purposes are first recognized, then procedures are

decided upon, with a principal choice being flanked by whether the study is to be single or multiple, and choices also in relation to the whether the study is to be retrospective, snapshot or diachronic, and whether it is nested, similarity or sequential. It is therefore possible to take several routes by this typology, with, for instance, an exploratory, theory-structure, multiple, nested study, or an evaluative, theory-testing, single, retrospective study. The typology therefore offers several permutations for case study structure.

Generalizing from Case Studies

A critical case is defined as having strategic importance in relation to the common problem. A critical case allows the following kind of generalization, 'If it is valid for this case, it is valid for all cases.' In its negative form, the generalization would be, 'If it is not valid for this case, then it is not valid for any cases.'

The case study is also effective for generalizing by the kind of test that Karl Popper described falsification, which shapes section of critical reflexivity. Falsification is one of the mainly intensive tests to which a scientific proposition can be subjected: if presently one observation does not fit with the proposition it is measured not valid usually and necessity so be either revised or rejected. Popper himself used the now well-known instance of, "All swans are white," and proposed that presently one observation of a single black swan would falsify this proposition and in this method have common significance and stimulate

further investigations and theory-structure. The case study is well suited for identifying "black swans" because of its in-depth approach: what seems to be "white" often turns out on closer examination to be "black."

Galileo Galilei's rejection of Aristotle's law of gravity was based on a case study selected through information-oriented sampling and not random sampling. The rejection consisted primarily of a conceptual experiment and later on of a practical one. These experiments, with the benefit of hindsight, are self-apparent. Nevertheless, Aristotle's incorrect view of gravity dominated scientific inquiry for almost two thousand years before it was falsified. In his experimental thinking, Galileo reasoned as follows: if two objects with the similar weight are released from the similar height at the similar time, they will hit the ground simultaneously, having fallen at the similar speed. If the two objects are then stuck jointly into one, this substance will have double the weight and will just as to the Aristotelian view so fall faster than the two individual objects. This conclusion seemed contradictory to Galileo. The only method to avoid the contradiction was to eliminate weight as a determinant factor for acceleration in free fall. Galileo's experimentalism did not involve a big random example of trials of objects falling from a wide range of randomly selected heights under varying wind circumstances, and therefore on. Rather, it was a matter of a single experiment, that is, a case study.

Galileo's view sustained to be subjected to doubt, though, and the Aristotelian view was not finally rejected until half a century

later, with the invention of the air pump. The air pump made it possible to conduct the ultimate experiment, recognized through every pupil, whereby a coin or a piece of lead inside a vacuum tube falls with the similar speed as a feather. After this experiment, Aristotle's view could be maintained no longer. What is especially worth noting, though, is that the matter was settled through an individual case due to the clever choice of the extremes of metal and feather. One might call it a critical case, for if Galileo's thesis held for these materials, it could be expected to be valid for all or a big range of materials. Random and big samples were at no time section of the picture. Though it was Galileo's view that was the subject of doubt as it was not reasonable sufficient to be the Aristotelian view. Through selecting cases strategically in this manner one may arrive at case studies that allow generalization.

Statistical Method

The statistical method uses categories dry variables which are quantifiable or can be represented through numbers, e.g., voting patterns, public expenditure, political parties, voter turnout, urbanization, population development. It also offers unique opportunities to study the effects or relationships of a number of variables simultaneously. It has the advantage of presenting precise data in a compact and visually effective manner, therefore that similarities and dissimilarities are visible by numerical representation. The information that a number of variables can be studied jointly also provides the unique opportunity to seem for intricate explanations in conditions of a connection. The use

of the statistical method also helps explain and compare extensive term trends and patterns and offer predictions on future trends. A study, for instance, of the connection of age and political participation can be made by an analysis of statistical tables of voter turnout and age-categories. Comparison of this data in excess of extensive periods, or with same data in other countries/ political systems, or with data showing voter turn out in conditions of religious groups, social class and age can help us create intricate generalizations, e.g., transitional class, Hindu, male voters flanked by the age of 25 and 30 are the mainly prolific voters. Cross national comparisons may lead to findings like, transitional class women of the age group 25 to 30 are more likely to vote in western democracies than in developing countries like India. The utility of this method lies in the comparative ease with which it can trade with multiple variables. It fails, though, to offer complete answers or provide the complete picture. It can, though, be employed beside with qualitative analysis to provide more comprehensive explanations of relationships and the broad categories which the statistical method uses in order to facilitate their numerical representation.

Focused Comparisons

These studies take up a small number of countries, often presently two, and concentrate regularly on scrupulous characteristics of the countries' politics rather 'than on all characteristics. Comparative studies of public policies in dissimilar countries have successfully been undertaken through this method. Lipset distinguishes two types of binary or paired

comparison: the implicit and explicit. In the implicit binary comparison, the investigator's own country, as in the case of de Tocqueville's study of America, may serve as the reference: Explicit paired comparisons have two clear cases for comparison. The two countries may be studied with respect to their specific characteristics e.g., policy of population manage in India and China or in their entirety e.g., with respect to the procedure of modernization. The latter may, though, lead to a similarity study of two cases leaving little scope for a study of relationships.

Historical Method

Historical method includes the techniques and guidelines through which historians use primary sources and other proof to research and then to write histories in the form of accounts of the past. The question of the nature, and even the possibility, of a sound historical method is raised in the philosophy of history as a question of epistemology. The study of historical method and script is recognized as historiography.

The following core principles of source criticism were formulated through two Scandinavian historians, Olden-Jørgensen and Thurén:

- Human sources may be artifacts such as a fingerprint; or narratives such as a statement or a letter. Artifacts are more credible sources than narratives.

- Any given source may be forged or corrupted. Strong indications of the originality of the source augment its reliability.
- The closer a source is to the event which it purports to define, the more one can trust it to provide an accurate historical account of what actually happened.
- A primary source is more reliable than a secondary source which is more reliable than a tertiary source, and therefore on.
- If a number of self-governing sources include the similar message, the credibility of the message is strongly increased.
- The tendency of a source is its motivation for providing some type of bias. Tendencies should be minimized or complemented with opposite motivations.
- If it can be demonstrated that the witness or source has no direct interest in creating bias then the credibility of the message is increased.

Procedures

Bernheim and Langlois&Seignobos proposed a seven-step procedure for source criticism in history:

If the sources all agree in relation to the event, historians can believe the event proved. Though, majority does not rule; even if mainly sources relate measures in one method that adaptation will not prevail unless it passes the test of critical textual analysis.

Nationalism and Imperialism

The source whose explanation can be confirmed through reference to outside authorities in some of its sections can be trusted in its entirety if it is impossible likewise to confirm the whole text.

When two sources disagree on a scrupulous point, the historian will prefer the source with mainly "power"—that is the source created through the expert or through the eyewitness.

Eyewitnesses are, in common, to be preferred especially in conditions where the ordinary observer could have accurately accounted what transpired and, more specifically, when they trade with facts recognized through mainly contemporaries.

If two independently created sources agree on a matter, the reliability of each is measurably enhanced.

When two sources disagree and there is no other means of evaluation, then historians take the source which looks to accord best with general sense.

The first four are recognized as higher criticism; the fifth, lower criticism; and, jointly, external criticism. The sixth and final inquiry in relation to the source is described internal criticism. R. J. Shafer on external criticism: "It sometimes is said that its function is negative, merely saving us from by false proof; whereas internal criticism has the positive function of telling us how to use authenticated proof."

Internal Criticism: Historical Reliability

Noting that few documents are carried as totally reliable, Louis Gottschalk sets down the common rule, "for each scrupulous of a document the procedure of establishing credibility should be apart undertaken regardless of the common credibility of the author." An author's trustworthiness in the largest may set up a backdrop probability for the consideration of each statement, but each piece of proof extracted necessity is weighed individually.

Eyewitness Proof

R. J. Shafer offers this checklist for evaluating eyewitness testimony:

Is the real meaning of the statement dissimilar from its literal meaning? Are languages used in senses not employed today? Is the statement meant to be ironic ?

How well could the author *observe* the item he reports? Were his senses equal to the observation? Was his physical site appropriate to sight, hearing, touch? Did he have the proper social skill to observe: did he understand the language, have other expertise required; was he not being intimidated through his wife or the secret police?

How did the author statement?, and what was his *skill* to do therefore?

Nationalism and Imperialism

- Concerning his *skill* to statement, was he biased? Did he have proper time for reporting? Proper lay for reporting? Adequate recording instruments?
- *When* did his statement in relation to his observation? Soon? Much later? Fifty years is much later as mainly eyewitnesses are dead and those who remain may have forgotten relevant material.
- What was the author's *intention* in reporting? For *who* did he statement? Would that audience be likely to need or suggest distortion to the author?
- Are there additional clues to designed veracity? Was he indifferent on the subject accounted, therefore almost certainly not intending distortion? Did he create statements damaging to him, therefore almost certainly not seeking to distort? Did he provide incidental or casual information, approximately certainly not designed to mislead?

Do his statements look inherently improbable: e.g., contrary to human nature, or in clash with what we know?

Keep in mind that some kinds of information are easier to observe and statement on than others.

Louis Gottschalk adds an additional consideration: "Even when the information in question may not be famous, sure types of statements are *both incidental and probable* to such a degree that error or falsehood looks unlikely. If an ancient inscription on a road tells us that a sure proconsul built that road while

Augustus was principals, it may be doubted without further corroboration that that proconsul really built the road, but would be harder to doubt that the road was built throughout the participate of Augustus. If an advertisement informs readers that 'A and B Coffee may be bought at any reliable grocer's at the rare price of fifty cents a pound,' all the inferences of the advertisement may well be doubted without corroboration except for that there is a brand of coffee on the market described 'A and B Coffee.'"

Indirect Witnesses

Garraghan says that mainly information comes from "indirect witnesses," people who were not present on the scene but heard of the measures from someone else. Gottschalk says that a historian may sometimes use hearsay proof. He writes, "In cases where he uses secondary witnesses, though, he does not rely upon them fully. On the contrary, he asks: secondary witness foundation his statements? statement the primary testimony as an entire statement the primary testimony? Satisfactory answers to the second and third questions may give the historian with the entire or the gist of the primary testimony upon which the secondary witness may be his only means of knowledge. In such cases the secondary source is the historian's 'original' source, in the sense of being the 'origin' of his knowledge. Insofar as this 'original' source is an accurate statement of primary testimony, he tests its credibility as he would that of the primary testimony itself.