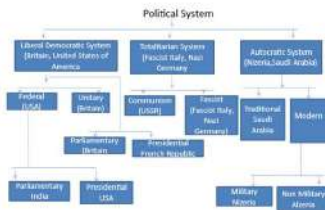


COMPARATIVE POLITICS: NATURE AND SCOPE

Ananya Guha Roy
Asst. Professor
Dept. of Political Science
Nakshalbari College



- In 1960s and 1970s the political science focused in the direction of behaviourism
- Simultaneously institutional analysis came to be de-emphasized in favour of political behaviour.
- In 1980s political scientist returned to the state.
- After all the state is the focus of the discipline called political science.
- Government institutions do make a difference.
- Political behaviour occur within the context of the state and political institutions.
- The institutions are the means through which governmental process occur and shape behaviour.

5. Horizontal and Vertical Comparisons:-

- Horizontal comparative studies** are those study where the political structures and functions of national political systems of various states
- Vertical comparative studies** are those studies of political institutions at work within a single state.
- Traditionally it emphasized upon horizontal only, but now equal importance is given to both types of comparison.

2) Study of Political Behaviour:

The scope of actual behaviour of the people in the process of politics.

Voting behaviour, political participation, leadership recruitment, elite behaviour, mass politics, populism etc. form integral part of the study of comparative politics.

5) Study of Political System:-

The political systems are analyzed and compared in terms of their structures, functions, capabilities and performance.

The objective is to understand actual working of different political system with a view to gather systematic knowledge for theory building.

COMPARATIVE POLITICS: NATURE AND SCOPE

- Comparative Politics is a sub-discipline of Political Science.
- It is a comparative study of how **Politics** is organised in varied **political systems** across the world, both developed and underdeveloped, and how different countries solve the core problems of politics
- The term Politics has three connotations such as political activities, political process and political power.

POLITICAL SYSTEM

- A political system is a body of rules and practices, formal and/or informal, which constitutes the framework within which struggles take place among individuals and groups for the determination of collective decisions for the whole society and their implementation – decisions, both material (the distribution or redistribution of goods and services such as education) and moral (decisions about which is allowed or not).
- There are various types of political system in the world:

- **Political Activity** :- It consists of the efforts by which the conditions of conflicts are created and resolved in a way pertaining to the interest of people and who play in their part in struggle for power.
- **Political Process** :- It is an extension of political activity.
- **Political Power** :- Power has been defined by many writers: Friedrich says Power as a certain kind of human relationship. Tawney says, Power as the capacity of an individual or group of individuals to modify the conduct of other individuals in a manner which he desires.

Traditionally the study of comparative politics was essentially concerned with

- The study of institutions of the state
 - The study of constitutional arrangements
 - Political parties, pressure groups, mass media's influence were ignored.
 - State centered approach was strongly culture bound
 - Confined largely to the study of governments of the United States and Europe
- These continues up to 1945. After 1945 it shifted to examining politics in its social context and hence to the political system.
- The political system refers to all elements in society which jointly influence collective decision of the state which produce 'authoritative allocation of values', even if these elements (parties, pressure groups) are not formally part of the government.

FEATURES OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS

As a discipline of political science, comparative politics exhibits some essential features:

- Analytical Research:-**
 - It analyze and investigate the political reality across the world.
 - It is no longer a descriptive studies.
 - It seek to analyze various social, economic, and cultural factors which shape politics and governmental structures in society.
- Objective Study of Political Science:-**
 - Valid values can be scientifically demonstrated in different environment.
 - It concentrated upon what is not what should be.
 - It aims to develop empirical and objective theory of politics by comparing all phenomena of politics.

3. Study of Infra-Structure:-

- It seek to analyze the actual behavior of individuals, groups, structures, subsystems and system in relation to the environment in which the behavior manifest.
 - The study of infra structure is a pre requisite to the understanding of political science.
 - The study of decision making process in a given environment is an integral part of comparative political studies.
- ## 4. Study of both Developed and Developing Societies:-
- Traditionally the study of comparative politics involved only with the developed societies.
 - In contemporary times, the study stressed upon developing societies as well.

6. Inter-disciplinary Focus:-

- Comparative politics adopt **inter-disciplinary focus** i.e. the study of political process with the help of knowledge of psychology, sociology, anthropology, economics and other social sciences.
- Political behaviour** is a part of general social behaviour and is intimately related to all other aspects of human behaviour.
- Political studies can **borrow tools and concepts** from other social sciences.

SCOPE OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS

- Traditionally the scope of comparative politics was limited and parochial.
 - Today, it has secured a very wide scope.
 - The following subjects form the core of the scope of comparative politics:-
- All political structures:-**
 - In comparative politics the scope of the study includes all formal and informal structures, governmental and extra-governmental, which directly or indirectly are involved in the struggle for power taking place in all states.

4) Study of Similarities and Dissimilarities:-

It analyze the similarities and dissimilarities between various political processes and functions

The objective is not to decide which is the best process or system.

The objective is systematic explanation, understanding and theory building.

SCOPE OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS

Gabriel A. Almond and G. Bingham Powele have been well summarised:-

1. The Search for more Comprehensive Scope:-

- To break out of parochialism and ethnocentrism,
- To give equal importance to the study of non-western governments and political process along with studies of political systems,
- To make comparative politics studies comprehensive specifically for theory building in political science.

2. The Search for Realism:-

- ❑ Rejection of all formalism and dominant concern with law, ideology and governmental institutions.
- ❑ Study of governmental processes, viz. rule-making, rule-application, and rule-adjudication, political parties, interest groups, electoral process etc dealing with the European and non-Western areas is included in its scope.

3. The Search for Precision:-

- ❑ Like other social sciences, in political science also has emerged voting behaviour and electoral behaviour studies.
- ❑ The basis of electoral trends are:
 - ✓ Voting statistics,
 - ✓ Studies of factors affecting voter's choices based upon sample survey,
 - ✓ Studies of political culture and socialisation based upon sample survey,
 - ✓ Clinical case studies,
 - ✓ Quantitative studies of political elite recruitment,
 - ✓ Quantitative studies of judicial decisions, etc

4. The Search for a New Intellectual Order:

- ❑ Concepts such as state, the constitution, representation, rights and duties etc. cannot codify such activities as the extra-constitutional activities of political parties, pressure groups and the media of mass communication.
- ❑ Theoretical experimentations relying on sociological, psychological and anthropological concepts and frameworks has become common and new concepts such as political culture, political elite, political socialisation become popular.

DIFFICULTIES OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS IN STUDIES

- Inter connection Between Norms, Institutions and Behaviour
- Range of Variables
- The Paucity of Information

PROBLEMS OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS

The study of comparative government involves many problems:-

- Problems of Collecting Information
- Problem Faced Due to the Background Variables.
- Problems as a Result of the Role of Norms, Institutions and Governmental Behaviour.

THE FRAMING OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

DR ANANYA GUHA ROY
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
NAKSHALBARI COLLEGE

THE MAKING OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION : 2

- The Constitution of India came into force on 26 January 1950. Since then, the day is celebrated as Republic Day.
- However, before 1950, 26 January was called Independence Day. Since 26 January 1930, it was the day on which thousands of people, in villages, in mohallas, in towns, in small and big groups accepted the independence pledge, committing themselves to the complete independence of India from British rule. It was only fitting that the new republic should come into being on that day, marking from its very inception the continuity between the struggle for independence and the adoption of the Constitution that made India a Republic.

THE FRAMING OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION: 3

- The process of the evolution of the Constitution began many decades before 26 January 1950 and has continued unabated since.
- Its origins lie deeply embedded in the struggle for independence from Britain and in the movements for responsible and constitutional government.
- On 19 February 1946, the British government declared that they were sending a Cabinet Mission to India to resolve the whole issue of freedom and constitution making.
- The Cabinet Mission which arrived in India on 24 March 1946, held prolonged discussions with Indian leaders.

THE MAKING OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION: 4

Initially, however, the Constituent Assembly comprised only of members from British India. Elections of these were held in July-August 1946.

Of the 210 seats in the general category, Congress won 199. It also won 3 out of the 4 Sikh seats from Punjab, The Congress also won 3 of the 78 Muslim seats and the 3 seats from Coorg, Ajmer Merwara, and Delhi. The total Congress tally was 208.

The Muslim League won 73 out of the 78 Muslim seats.

At 11 a.m., on 9 December 1946, the Constituent Assembly of India began its first session. For all practical purposes, the chronicle of independent India began on that historic day. Independence was now a matter of dates.

THE FRAMING OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION: 5

- It was only after this process had been completed that the representatives of all the provinces and those of the princely states were to meet again to settle the Constitution of the Union.
- The Congress responded to the Cabinet Mission scheme by pointing out that in its view the Constituent Assembly, once it came into being, would be sovereign. It would have the right to accept or reject the Cabinet Mission's proposals on specifics.
- The Constituent Assembly was to have 389 members. Of these, 295 were to be from British India and 93 from the princely Indian states.

THE FRAMING OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION:6

- Unfortunately as a result of partition under the plan of June 3, 1947 the territories, which fell under Pakistan and those members who were part of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, ceased to be members of the Constituent Assembly of India, which re-assembled on the 31st Oct. 1947.
- The members of the house was reduced to 299 of these 204 was actually present on the 26th Nov 1949 and appended their signature to the Constitution as finally passed.
- This day, 26th November is now known, as the Constitution Day of India.

THE MAKING OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION: 7

The Constituent Assembly which had been elected for undivided India and held its first sitting on 9th Dec. 1946, re-assembled on the 14th August 1947, as the Sovereign Constituent Assembly for the dominion of India.

League still did not join. On 3 June, the Mountbatten Plan was announced which made it clear that India was to be partitioned. With India becoming independent on 15 August 1947, the Constituent Assembly became a sovereign body and also doubled as the legislature for the new state. It was responsible for framing the Constitution as well as making ordinary laws.

THE FRAMING OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION:8

- The Constituent Assembly which had been elected for undivided India and held its first sitting on 9th Dec. 1946, re-assembled on the 14th August 1947, as the Sovereign Constituent Assembly for the dominion of India.
- League still did not join. On 3 June, the Mountbatten Plan was announced which made it clear that India was to be partitioned. With India becoming independent on 15 August 1947, the Constituent Assembly became a sovereign body and also doubled as the legislature for the new state. It was responsible for framing the Constitution as well as making ordinary laws.

THE FRAMING OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION: 9

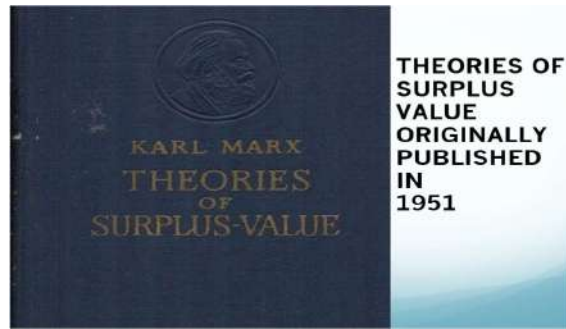
- Unfortunately as a result of partition under the plan of June 3, 1947 the territories, which fell under Pakistan and those members who were part of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, ceased to be members of the Constituent Assembly of India, which re-assembled on the 31st Oct. 1947.
- The members of the house was reduced to 299 of these 204 was actually present on the 26th Nov 1949 and appended their signature to the Constitution as finally passed.
- This day, 26th November is now known, as the Constitution Day of India.

THE FRAMING OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION : 10

- SOME OF THE SALIENT FEATURES OF THE CONSTITUTION:**
 - PREAMBLE
 - FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS
 - DIRECTIVE PRINCIPLES OF STATE POLICY
 - FEDERALISM
 - PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM
 - AMENDING PROCEDURE
 - THE PRIME MINISTER
 - JUDICIARY
 - THE CONCEPT OF THE BASIC FEATURES OF THE CONST

KARL MARX: THEORY OF SURPLUS-VALUE

Ananya Guha Roy
Assistant Professor of Political Science
Nakshatbari College



- ❖ Theories of Surplus- Value forms the longest (about 110 printed sheets)
- ❖ It is the fully elaborated part of this manuscript and is the first and only draft of the fourth, concluding volume of ‘Capital’.
- ❖ Marx began to write Theories of Surplus-Value within the framework of the original plan of his Critique of Political Economy as he had projected in 1858-62.

Marx’s own handwritten note



FOUR ELEMENTS OF PRODUCTION



❖ EXCEPT LABOUR, ALL ARE STERILE ONLY LABOUR PRODUCES VALUE

AMOUNT OF LABOUR EMBODIED IN A COMMODITY

Labour Employed in Producing & Processing Raw Materials

Mobilisation of sources of Energy Used
Construction of Machinery & Building

Value of Commodity is Determined by the Quantity & Skill of Labour under Conditions of Social Production



THE CAPITALIST FORCES THE WORKERS TO LABOUR TO HIS MAXIMUM CAPACITY WHILE HE PAYS HIM ONLY 'SUBSISTENCE WAGES' AT THE MARKET RATE. THE WORKER GETS BACK ONLY A PART OF THE VALUE THAT HE PRODUCES IN THE SHAPE OF HIS WAGES AND THUS CREATING 'SURPLUS' FOR THE OWNER

TWO PARTS OF VALUE PRODUCED BY LABOUR

FIRST COMPRISES THAT VALUE PAID TO THE WORKER AS WAGES

SECOND COMPRISES THE VALUE OF SURPLUS LABOUR NOT PAID TO THE WORKER BUT SWELLS THE POCKETS OF THE CAPITALIST AND CONSTITUTES HIS PROFIT

SURPLUS VALUE- II

RENT & INTERESTS ARE PAID OUT OF THIS SURPLUS VALUE

IF THE CAPITALIST EMPLOYS OWN CAPITAL, LAND & BUILDINGS, THE ENTIRE SURPLUS VALUE BECOMES HIS PROFIT

LAND, CAPITAL OR ORGANISATION DO NOT PRODUCE ANY VALUE

SURPLUS VALUE- III

VALUE INCORPORATED IN THE COMMODITY IS DUE TO USE OF LABOUR POWER

WORKER NEVER GETS BACK FULL VALUE OF HIS LABOUR

EXPLOITATION OF SURPLUS VALUE WILL BE ELIMINATED WITH THE OVERTHROW OF CAPITALISM ON THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION

ONLY THE WORKER WHO PRODUCES VALUE WILL BE ENTITLED TO MAINTENANCE; SOCIAL PARASITES WOULD NO MORE BE ALLOWED TO FUNCTION: 'HE WHO DOES NOT WORK, NEITHER SHALL EAT'

Marx & Engels with *Neue Rh. Zeitung* painting by Y. Sapiro 1961



THANK YOU

DHARMA SABHA MOVEMENT: ELEMENTS OF REVIVALISM

Ananya Guha roy
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
NAKSHALBARI COLLEGE



RAMMOHUN ROY, THE PIONEER OF NINETEENTH CENTURY BENGAL AWAKENING, INITIATED A FIERCE STRUGGLE IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE 19TH CENTURY FOR THE ABOLITION OF SUTEE DAHA SYSTEM PREVALENT IN THE THEN HINDU SOCIETY.

INDIAN SOCIETY WAS THEN IN BONDAGE DUE TO SUPERSTITIONS, RELIGIOUS FANATICISM, VARIOUS FORMS OF SOCIAL EVILS ETC.



SUTEEDAHA IN NINETEENTH CENTURY BENGAL

RAMMOHUN AND HIS FRIENDS' EFFORT TO BAN SUTEE PRATHA BECAME SUCCESSFUL WHEN LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK, THE THEN GOVERNOR GENERAL, ABOLISHED SUTTEE SYSTEM THROUGH HIS FAMOUS MINUTE DATED NOVEMBER 08, 1829 IN SPITE OF OPPOSITION FROM THE HINDU ORTHODOXY.

BUT THE CAMP OF HINDU REVIVALISTS VIEWED IT AS AN INTERFERENCE INTO HINDU CULTURE AND RELIGION BY THE ALIEN ENGLISH RULER.

THIS LED TO FORMATION ON JANUARY 1830 OF A SOCIETY TO BE KNOWN AS 'DHARMA SABHA' FOR THE PROTECTION OF THEIR RELIGION, CUSTOMS AND USAGES FROM THE ATTACKS OF HERESIES AND ALIEN RULERS.

IN THE NAME OF PROTECTING TRADITIONAL HINDUISM, THE RESPECTED AND RICH BENGALI HINDUS OF KOLKATA OF THE TIME ASSEMBLED UNDER THE UMBRELLA OF DHARMA SABHA.

BHABANI CHARAN BANDYOPADHYAY, THE EDITOR OF HINDU REVIVALIST JOURNAL 'SAMACHAR CHANDRIKA', WAS ELECTED THE FIRST SECRETARY OF DHARMA SABHA.

BHABANI CHARAN, AT FIRST, WAS ASSOCIATED WITH THE PUBLICATION OF RAMMOHUN'S JOURNAL 'SAMBAD KAUMUDI' FROM DECEMBER 04, 1821

THE KAUMUDI USED TO PUBLISH ARTICLES DENOUNCING 'SUTEE PRATHA' AND COLONISATION OF EUROPEANS IN INDIA ETC.

BHABANI CHARAN WAS AGAINST ALL THESE PROPOSALS AND SEVERING RELATIONS WITH KAUMUDI STARTED HIS OWN WEEKLY 'SAMACHAR CHANDRIKA' FROM MARCH 05, 1822.

GRADUALLY IT BECAME THE MOUTHPIECE OF THE CONSERVATIVE & ORTHODOX GROUP OF HINDUS.

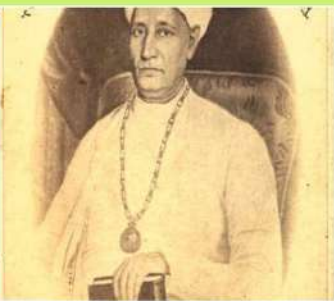
IT BECAME VERY POPULAR AND HAD TO BE CONVERTED FROM A WEEKLY TO A BI-WEEKLY ONE FROM APRIL 1829.

THE GROUND WORK THUS PREPARED, THE REVIVALISTS' EFFORTS FOUND ITS INSTITUTIONAL SHAPE ON THE BASIS OF AGITATION AGAINST SUTEE REGULATION.

DHARMA SABHA, THEREFORE, WAS NOT JUST A CASUAL CREATION OF ORTHODOX PEOPLE ON THE BASIS OF A SINGLE ISSUE BUT THE PREPARATION WENT ON FOR THE LAST FEW YEARS.



THE LEADER OF THE ORTHODOX CAMP
RAJA RADHAKANTA DEB
CHIEF MINISTER
OF BENGAL
IN 1821
AND
OPPOSED
THE
ABOLITION
OF
SUTEE
PRATHA
AND
COLONISATION
OF
EUROPEANS
IN
INDIA
ETC.



THE LEADER OF THE ORTHODOX CAMP
RAJA RADHAKANTA DEB

SAMBAD KAUMUDI: JOURNAL OF THE REFORMERS

- 1. THE KAUMUDI USED TO PUBLISH ARTICLES DENOUNCING 'SUTEE PRATHA' AND COLONISATION OF EUROPEANS IN INDIA ETC.**
- 2. IT WAS FOUNDED ON 1821**
- 3. THE PRIMARY OBJECTIVES OF ITS PUBLICATION WAS TO PROMOTE PUBLIC GOOD**
- 4. IT WAS THE MAIN VEHICLE OF CAMPAIGN AGAINST SUTEE-DAHA PRATHA**
- 5. CONTINUED ITS PUBLICATION UPTO 1836**

THE ORTHODOX HINDUS IN THEIR ZEAL TO RESIST THE SUTEE REGULATION, SUBMITTED ON JAN 14, 1830 A PETITION BEARING 1000 SIGNATURES TOGETHER WITH A PAPER OF AUTHORITIES SIGNED BY 120 PUNDITS TO BRITISH AUTHORITIES

THE DEPUTATIONS INCLUDED: 'NIMYCHURN STROMONEE, HURRONATH TURKOBHOOSHUN, BHOWANEE CHURN BANOOPADTAH, BABOO GOPPEE MOHUN DEB, BABOO RADHAKANTA DEB, BABOO BHOWANEE CHARN METTER AND BABOO RAMGOPAL MULLICK'

FINALLY THE ANTI-SUTEE REGULATION CAME BEFORE THE KING'S PRIVY COUNCIL IN ENGLAND

THE PRIVY COUNCIL IN A MAJORITY DECISION ADVISED THE KING TO REJECT THE PETITION ON JULY 11, 1832

THE SAMACHAR CHANDRIKA LAMENTED: 'THE HINDOOS CAN NOW ONLY APPEAL TO HIM WHO IS LORD OF THE KING'

AFTER THAT, MOST OF THE SESSIONS OF DHARMA SABHA OVER THE YEARS PRINCIPALLY SEIZED WITH THE QUESTION OF SOCIAL BOYCOTT OF BRAMHAS, THE HINDUS OPPOSING THE PRACTICE OF SUTEDAHA AND THE YOUNG STUDENTS OF HINDU COLLEGE WHO USED TO TAKE FOOD PREPARED BY 'NON-HINDUS'

A KIND OF 'DALAPRATHA' THUS EMERGED UNDER THE INITIATIVE OF DHARMA SABHA SINCE 1830-31

THERE HAS BEEN A TENDENCY AMONG SOME WRITERS LIKE DAVID KOPF, BROOMFIELD, ANIL SEAL & OTHERS TO TREAT THE DHARMA SABHA MOVEMENT AS THE FIRST 'PROTO NATIONALIST' MOVEMENT IN INDIA

DAVID KOPF: THE STORY OF INDIAN NATIONALISM SHOULD BEGIN WITH DHARMA SABHA MOVEMENT

HOWEVER, NATIONALISM IN A MULTI-RELIGION PEOPLE MUST EXTRICATE ITSELF FROM APPEALS OF ANY PARTICULAR RELIGION IF IT IS TO UNITE WHOLE PEOPLE

CALLING THE DHARMA SABHA MOVEMENT AN ESSENTIALLY CONSERVATIVE-OBSCURANTIST MOVEMENT, AS THE FIRST PROTO NATIONALIST MOVEMENT IS NOTHING BUT A TRAVESTY OF TRUTH

FINAL OBSERVATION

BENOY GHOSH: IN THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF EARLY 19TH CENTURY, VARIOUS TYPES OF SOCIETIES OR ASSOCIATIONS SHOULD HAVE BECOME CENTRES OF REFORMING ZEAL AS WELL AS LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHIC ILLUMINATION

THE DHARMA SABHA, ON THE CONTRARY, TRIED TO PERPETUATE TRADITIONAL IDEAS, VIEWS, BELIEFS, CUSTOMS ETC.

THE DHARMA SABHA MOVEMENT, THUS, BASICALLY A MOVEMENT WHICH WAS NEITHER MODERN NOR PROTO NATIONAL

THE DHARMA SABHA COULD MANAGE ITS EXISTENCE, AT LEAST UPTO THE DECADES OF 1850S

AFTER BHABANI CHARAN'S DEATH IN 1848, IT LOST ALL OF ITS PREVIOUS GLORY AND WENT INTO OBLIVION, THOUGH NO PARTICULAR DATE IS ASCERTAINED AS TO WHEN IT LOST ITS FORMAL EXISTENCE

THANK YOU

PHASES OF INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENTS

ANANYA GUPTA ROY
DEPT. OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
MAKHALBARA COLLEGE



PHASES OF INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

The Prelude The Moderate Phase, 1885-1916

- The Indian National Congress was founded in December 1885 at Bombay. It marked a new beginning in the history of Indian nationalism. It was the first organized expression of Indian nationalism on an all India scale.
- The INC in its early years was under the influence of the moderates, who were loyal to British rule and did not speak of independence. The Congress at that time believed that the English Parliament was mother of democracy and the British constitution was the best of all the constitutions. The methods of the Moderates were based on the 3 P's: Prayer, Petition, Protest.

MODERATE PHASE PRAYER – PETITION – PROTEST

- The Constitutional Method: The method which the early Congress adopted for the redress of their grievances is commonly known as the constitutional method. It excluded not only rebellion and resort to violence, but all well-organized agitation. Even if their demands remain underdressed, they could not think of setting foot on an agitation that had the remotest possibility of arousing genuine indignation and dissatisfaction of the masses against the British Government. Even a peaceful agitation was inconsistent with their views and aims. Their liberal nationalism was a queer mixture of patriotism and loyalty to the British.
- The early Congress was concerned not only with the interests of the English educated professional groups, zamindars or industrialists. It passed numerous resolutions on salt tax, treatment of Indian coolies abroad, and sufferings caused by forest administration.

CRITICISM OF THE MODERATES' IDEOLOGY

- The constitutional methodology adopted by moderates was not effective. Till 1918, despite petitions, memorandums, prayers and deputations, the British government did not show any real interest towards the legitimate demands of Indians. That is why the extremists later on described the moderate's methodology as political mendacity.

EVALUATION

In spite of the basic weaknesses of the political thought and practice of the moderates, they rendered significant service to the country. The annual sessions of the Congress gave a concrete form to the idea of national unity. The Congress inculcated among the people of diverse races, religions, castes and languages, the sentiment of nationalism and patriotism. Even more important was the establishment of traditions of organized political activity.

Finally, the moderates made a bold attempt to give a secular direction to Indian politics. However, from the practical point of view the moderates did not meet with any amount of success. None of their demands was conceded by the government.

SWADESHI AND BOYCOTT MOVEMENTS

- The Swadeshi Movement had its genesis in the anti partition movement which was started to oppose the British decision to partition Bengal.
- The Government's decision to partition Bengal had been made public in December 1903. The official reason given for the decision was that Bengal with a population of 71 million (about a quarter of the population of British India) had become too big to be administered.
- This was true to some extent, but the real motive behind the partition plan was the British desire to weaken Bengal, the nerve center of Indian nationalism.

ANTIPARTITION CAMPAIGN UNDER MODERATES (1905):

- During this period, the leadership was provided by men like Surendranath Banerjee, K.K. Mitra and Prithwishchandra Ray.
- The methods adopted were petitions to the Government, public meetings, memoranda, and propaganda through pamphlets and newspapers such as Hitabadi, Sanjibani and Bengalee. Their objective was to exert sufficient pressure on the Government through an educated public opinion in India and England to prevent the unjust partition of Bengal from being implemented.

THE CONGRESS'S POSITION:

- The Congress was not a political party in the modern sense. It was a forum for the expression of public opinion and a platform for the presentation of grievances.
- The Congress was not a political party in the modern sense. It was a forum for the expression of public opinion and a platform for the presentation of grievances.
- The Congress was not a political party in the modern sense. It was a forum for the expression of public opinion and a platform for the presentation of grievances.

THE MOVEMENT UNDER MILITANT LEADERSHIP

- After 1905, the Extremists acquired a dominant influence over the Swadeshi Movement in Bengal.
- There were three reasons for this:
 - The Moderated movement had failed to yield results.
 - The divisive tactics of the Government of both the Bengals had embittered the nationalists.
 - The Government had resorted to suppressive measures, which included atrocities on students many of whom were given corporal punishment ban on public singing of Bande Mataram, restriction on public meetings, prosecution and long imprisonment of swadeshi workers, clashes between the police and the people in many towns, arrests and deportation of leaders, and suppression of freedom of the press.

THE EXTREMIST PROGRAMME

- New Forms of Struggle: The militant nationalists put forward several fresh ideas at the theoretical, propaganda and programme levels. Among the several forms of struggle thrown up by the movement were:
 - Boycott of foreign goods
 - Public meetings and processions
 - Corps of volunteers or samitis
 - Emphasis given to selfliance or atma shakti
 - Imaginative use of traditional popular festivals and melas
 - Programme of swadeshi or national education
 - Swadeshi or indigenous enterprises

EXTENT OF ANNULLMENT

- Students came out in large numbers to protest and practice swadeshi and take an active part in the nationalist movement.
- Women were traditionally more concerned, especially those of the middle class, took active part in the nationalist movement.
- Some of the Muslims who were not pleased with the partition, especially those of the middle class, took active part in the nationalist movement.

ANNULMENT OF PARTITION

- It was decided to annul the partition of Bengal in 1911, mainly to curb the menace of revolutionary nationalism.
- The annulment came as a rude shock to the Muslim political elite. It was also decided to shift the capital to Delhi as a sop to the Muslims, as it was associated with Muslim glory, but the Muslims were not pleased.
- Bihar and Orissa were taken out of Bengal and Assam was made a separate province.

THE NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARIES: RADICAL PHASE (1904-1934)

- The origin and development of national revolutionary movement in India, particularly in Bengal, in the beginning of the twentieth century constituted one of the important signposts of Indian freedom struggle against the colonial British rule.
- The Bengal national revolutionaries dreamt of freeing India through armed insurrection & individual terrorism.
- Imbued by the spirit of unrelenting fight against British imperialism, the national revolutionaries of India tried to set before the people of the country a bright example of personal courage and heroic self-sacrifice, and thereby wanted to instill a mood of defiance in the minds of the people in the face of colonial repression.

- ❑ The revolutionary trend in the Indian freedom movement of the twentieth century was most ably represented by the *Anushilan Samiti*, the *Jugantar Federation* and the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association - HSRA (formerly Hindustan Republican Association - HRA) and such other revolutionary parties and groups.
- ❑ Let us confine the term 'national revolutionism' following Gopal Halder, to describe a pattern of activity pursued for a prolonged period of thirty years, from 1904 to 1934.
- ❑ June 22, 1897 saw the advent of the idea of political assassination as a form of revolutionary nationalism or the 'Age of Fire' (Agni Yug). On that day, in Poona, Maharashtra, Chapekar brothers assassinated Mr. Rand, the then Plague Commissioner of Poona.

18

- ❑ Politics and ideology of the national revolutionaries, in its initial phase, was primarily influenced by the ideas of the French revolution and the contemporary actions of the Irish struggle for independence and the progressive ideas of the Left-wing of the international working class movement in Europe and America.
- ❑ It was only after the Soviet Socialist Revolution of 1917, in the early twenties that the forward-looking leaders, though not many in numbers, began to turn towards slowly to the ideas of scientific socialism and realised the need for organising workers and peasants as the decisive revolutionary force in the struggle for national independence.

19

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF NATIONAL REVOLUTIONISM

- ❑ Revolutionary nationalism was a movement that was subscribed by the best elements of the country, at least, for long thirty years. The national revolutionary movement left an indelible mark on the history of the Indian anti-colonial movement - by shaping the long term political strategy and tactics of the national leadership in a radical direction and as well as in uniting all shades of Indian public opinion behind the ideal of courage and self-sacrifice that they set.
- ❑ It is to be remembered that the national revolutionaries belonging to the middle class were the first to demand complete independence from British rule. They refused to compromise with the halfway house of dominion status and other concessions that the colonial rulers were handing out and which the then Congress leaders were willing to accept. Instead, they revived the tradition of armed resistance that marked the peasant rebellions of the 19th century and inaugurated a new wave of revolutionary offensive. It was to the credit of the national revolutionaries that they could create the anti-imperialist consciousness among the people by their heroic deeds.

20

- ❑ Their acts of rebellion - as they hoped - indeed inspired a new generation of revolutionaries in the 1940s. In post-war India, widespread peasant uprisings, industrial strikes, the Mutiny of the Royal Indian Navy Cadets and the launching of the Indian National Army under the leadership of Netaji Subhash Bose, were in fact a continuation and extension of the legacy of the national revolutionaries.
- ❑ Revolutionary nationalism succeeded in what it intended to do - evoking by the maximum sacrifice of a chosen few the 'spirit of minimum sacrifice on the part of the many'.

19

- ❑ The uncompromising trend of Indian national movement left a very rich and noble heritage which no one could deny. This was no mean success and this can be treated as the great success of the national revolutionaries.
- ❑ However, the fruits of their success were gathered by the traditional Congress leadership which they had hoped to replace. The fire of revolution which was kindled by the Chapekar brothers in Maharashtra in 1897 flaring and fading through years of uncertainty at last culminated in a dazzling burst of brilliance in the heroic struggle of the INA and the Naval Uprising of 1946 and struck terror into the hearts of the imperialist rulers.

20

DRAWBACKS OF THE NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

- ❑ First, it could not enlist active Muslim support.
- ❑ Secondly, in spite of their theoretical emphasis upon the armed insurrection, at least in the later phase, the national revolutionaries, in most cases, could not rise above the individual or group action.
- ❑ Thirdly the national revolutionaries tried to put forward an alternative leadership in opposition to the dominant Gandhian leadership. But, as the revolutionaries in most of the phases had to work secretly for the very nature of their organisation and pattern of work, the revolutionary leaders failed to emerge as public figure like their nationalist counterpart.

21

- ❑ By late thirties, a glorious chapter in the history of Indian national movement ends in the main and a search for a new revolutionary ideology and a revolutionary programme to suit the new time begins. Upon their release in the late 1930's or 40's the revolutionaries either joined the Communist Party of India or one of the other Socialist / Marxist Parties which had come into existence in the thirties or forties or formed their own parties on the basis of their particular interpretation of Marxist ideology. Laushey believes that probably fifty percent of the national revolutionaries converted to Marxism either in the jails or in the detention camps. (Laushey, 1975: 86)
- ❑ Those revolutionaries who did not convert to Marxism either joined Congress or dropped out of nationalist politics. In any case, the revolutionary party did not function effectively after about 1934 and were formally or informally dissolved in the late thirties.

22