

Emergence of Bangladesh (1971)



THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN BENGAL
AND THE SUBCONTINENT, THE
RISE OF RELIGIOUS COMMUNALISM
AND THE ROAD TO THE PARTITION
OF BENGAL IN 1905

Bengal, the Subcontinent post-Plassey



- OVERNIGHT THE BRITISH HAVE BECOME OCCUPIERS OF A MAJOR SOUTH ASIAN STATE
- HISTORIAN P.J. MARSHALL : " BENGAL AS THE BRIDGEHEAD OF BRITISH RULE IN SOUTH ASIA "
- BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY OFFICIALS ARE NOT ADMINISTRATORS
- "DOUBLE GOVERNMENT" - BRITISH WILL CONTROL FINANCES BUT ALL OTHER REINS OF ADMINISTRATION REMAIN IN HANDS OF FORMER NAWABS OFFICIALS

The looting & destruction of Bengal



➤ BOTH CLIVE AND EAST INDIA COMPANY RECEIVE
PAYOFFS FOR PUTTING MIR JAFAR ON THE THRONE

➤ CLIVE, THE COMPANY MERCENARIES AND THE
COMPANY TAKE PAYOFFS FROM BENGAL TREASURY

➤ 3 JULY 1757: MURDERED SIRAJ-UD-DAULLAH IS
BROUGHT TO CAPITAL; SYMBOLIC OF SUBJUGATION
BY BRITISH

➤ MUGHAL TAXATION SYSTEM OVERTURNED; BRITISH
NOW CLAIM ALL LAND, PEASANTRY MUST PAY TAXES
TO THE COMPANY

➤ BENGALI TOWNS EMPTY OUT AS PEOPLE ESCAPE
RAPACIOUS BRITISH ENFORCEMENT OF "TAXATION"
POLICY

The beginning of the Wealth Drain



- GOLD & SILVER BULLION USED TO BE SENT TO INDEPENDENT BENGAL TO BUY BENGALI GOODS; NOW BULLION IS LEAVING THE COUNTRY
- 1766-1768: £ 624,375 BULLION IMPORTED TO BENGAL BUT £ 6,311,250 LEAVES BENGAL DURING THE SAME TIME
- BY 1769 BENGAL TREASURY HAS CEASED TO EXIST

British Occupation in Practice:



➤HOW BRITISH OCCUPATION WORKS:

➤EXAMPLE OF DISTRICT OF BIRBHUM (BENGAL)

➤£ 90,000 TAXES RAISED

➤£ 5,000 OR LESS SPENT ON ACTUAL
ADMINISTRATION

➤£ 10,000 OR SO SPENT ON COMPANY EXPENSES

➤£ 10,000 OR SO ON INDIAN MERCENARY FORCES

➤REMAINDER SPENT ON INVESTING IN BENGALI
GOODS TO BE SOLD BY EAST INDIA COMPANY.

➤SUCH TACTICS ALLOW EAST INDIA COMPANY TO
BUILD MASSIVE ADMINISTRATIVE CENTER IN
LONDON.

The economics of imperialism



➤ IN OTHER WORDS:

- TAX REVENUE IS EXTRACTED FROM FARMERS
- PRODUCTS ARE BOUGHT FROM FARMERS & WEAVERS
USING THE SAME REVENUE!

➤ MEANING?

➤ THE BRITISH ARE "BUYING"
BENGALI/SUBCONTINENTAL PRODUCTS FOR FREE!

➤ THESE PRODUCTS ARE THEN SOLD AT A PROFIT
IN BRITAIN AND EUROPE WITH MONEY FLOWING TO
ENGLAND

➤ PROFITS ARE USED TO BUY STRATEGIC MATERIAL
LIKE IRON, TAR AND TIMBER

The economics of imperialism



- THE EXTRACTION OF RESOURCES AND REVENUE FROM THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT ALLOWS BRITAIN TO FINANCE THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.
- THE POLICY OF THROWING FARMERS OF THEIR LANDS CREATES A DISPLACED PEASANTRY WHO ARE THEN FORCED TO JOIN BRITISH MERCENARY ARMY FOR SUBSISTENCE (LIVELIHOOD)
- THIS MERCENARY ARMY ALLOWS THE BRITISH EMPIRE TO SUBJUGATE BOTH THE PEOPLE OF THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT AND PEOPLES IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD
- THEREBY CREATING A WORLD-EMPIRE AND BECOMING THE MOST POWERFUL COUNTRY AT THE CENTER OF THE WORLD SYSTEM.

The economics of imperialist colonial occupation



- THE MERCENARY ARMY IS ALSO PAID FOR BY THE PEOPLE OF THE SUBCONTINENT
- FOREIGN CONQUESTS BY THE MERCENARY ARMY ARE ALSO PAID FOR BY THE PEOPLE OF THE SUBCONTINENT
- ECONOMIST UTSA PATNAIK; USING DATA FROM TRADE AND TAXATION; HAS CONSERVATIVELY CONCLUDED:
- 1757 - 1939: THE BRITISH EMPIRE EXTRACTED OVER \$ 45,000,000,000,000 US DOLLARS (45 TRILLION) FROM THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT!
- SEVENTEEN TIMES THE CURRENT GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM IN 2018!

The economics of imperialist colonial occupation



- POST-1858 THE BRITISH EMPIRE ("RAJ") TAKES OVER DIRECT CONTROL OF THE SUBCONTINENT FROM THE EAST INDIA COMPANY
- "COUNCIL BILLS": PAPER BILL OF TRANSACTION FUNCTIONING AS CURRENCY
 - COUNCIL BILL CAN ONLY BY PURCHASED IN LONDON
- ALL FOREIGN MERCHANTS, BUYERS AND TRADERS MUST FIRST BUY COUNCIL BILLS IN LONDON
- TRADERS AND MERCHANTS IN SUBCONTINENT WILL BE PAID IN LOCAL RUPEES WHEN THEY EXCHANGE COUNCIL BILLS; MEANING ON REVENUE EXTRACTED IN THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT
 - THEY ARE NOT REALLY BEING PAID!

The economics of imperialist colonial occupation



- THEREFORE: GOLD, & SILVER WHICH SHOULD HAVE BEEN FLOWING TO THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT REMAINED IN LONDON
- INCALCULABLE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE VITALITY OF THE SUBCONTINENT
- MONEY IS USED TO BUILD UP OTHER ANGLO-SAXON SETTLER COLONIES LIKE CANADA AND AUSTRALIA
- DEINDUSTRIALIZATION
- DESTRUCTION OF BENGAL AND OTHER CENTRES OF PRE-INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

The economics of imperialist colonial occupation



- BENGAL & SUBCONTINENT NOW TO BECOME "MARKETS" FOR BRITISH MADE GOODS
- NO LONGER PRODUCERS BUT CONSUMERS
- DESPITE TRADE SURPLUSES IN EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY DUE TO EXISTING SYSTEM, THE SUBCONTINENT WAS SHOWN TO HAVE A "DEFICIT"; IN REALITY ENTIRE REAL INCOME FROM EXPORTS WAS BEING DEVoured BY THE RAJ
- THIS WAS WHY THE SUBCONTINENT BECAME *INDEBTED* TO THE BRITISH EMPIRE BY BORROWING TO FINANCE IMPORTS

THE HORRORS OF THE 1770 FAMINE



➤ FOREIGN MERCHANTS WARN THERE IS NO LONGER
ANY "CURRENCY" IN BENGAL

➤ THE MONSOON SEASON FAILS FOR THE YEAR

➤ BRITISH BUY UP ALL RICE SUPPLIES & TAKE AWAY
RESERVES FROM FARMERS BY FORCE

➤ FORCED TAXATION BY THE COMPANY ACTUALLY
INCREASES DURING THIS TIME.



➤ WILLIAM BOLTS OBSERVED THAT "FARMERS WERE
FORCED TO SELL THEIR CHILDREN TO PAY THE
BRITISH TAX COLLECTORS OR FLEE THEIR FIELDS."

THE HORRORS OF THE 1770 FAMINE



➤ PEOPLE DIE THROUGHOUT 1770, HUSBANDMEN SELL CATTLE, AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS, BUT TO NO AVAIL.

➤ THERE IS AMPLE SUPPLY OF GRAIN IN NEIGHBORING BIHAR BUT BRITISH REFUSE TO HAVE IT MOVED INTO BENGAL.

➤ FAMINE RELIEF IS LEFT TO A HANDFUL OF GENEROUS BENGALI ZAMINDARS, WHO BUY RICE IN BIHAR AND HAVE IT SHIPPED TO BENGAL.

THE HORRORS OF THE 1770 FAMINE



➤ EAST INDIA COMPANY SENDS A FEW THOUSAND POUNDS ON FAMINE RELIEF BUT RAISES TAXES FROM THE SAME POPULATION IN THE AMOUNT OF £ 1.4 MILLION IN THE SAME PERIOD.



➤ MURSHIDABAD, CAPITAL OF BENGAL IS REDUCED TO SHADOW OF ITS FORMER SELF.

➤ 1780: ATTACKS ON INDIAN MERCENARY BATTALIONS MARKS BEGINNING OF RESISTANCE TO BRITISH RULE.

CONSEQUENCES OF 1770



➤ MAN-MADE FAMINES, EXACERBATION OF
NATURAL FAMINES AND COMPLETE
INDIFFERENCE TO SUBCONTINENTAL SUFFERING
MARKS BRITISH RULE AS RUTHLESS AND ALIEN

➤ FAMINES OF 1870s - 1890s

➤ RICHARD TEMPLE - "TEMPLE RATIONS"

➤ 1943: BENGAL FAMINE

'VICTORIAN HOLOCAUSTS'



- CROP FAILURES / FARMERS ON THE BRINK
 - TRADITIONAL SAFETY NET OF MUGHAL GRANARIES NON-EXISTENT
- 1876-1877 : FAILURE OF MONSOON SEASON IN THE DECCAN
 - HARVESTS SUCCESSFUL ELSEWHERE IN INDIA ARE SENT TO BRITAIN WHERE PRICES HAVE BEEN HIGH
 - IMPERIAL VICEROY LYTTON MORE CONCERNED WITH DIPLOMACY AGAINST AFGHANISTAN THAN IN DEALING WITH THE CRISIS

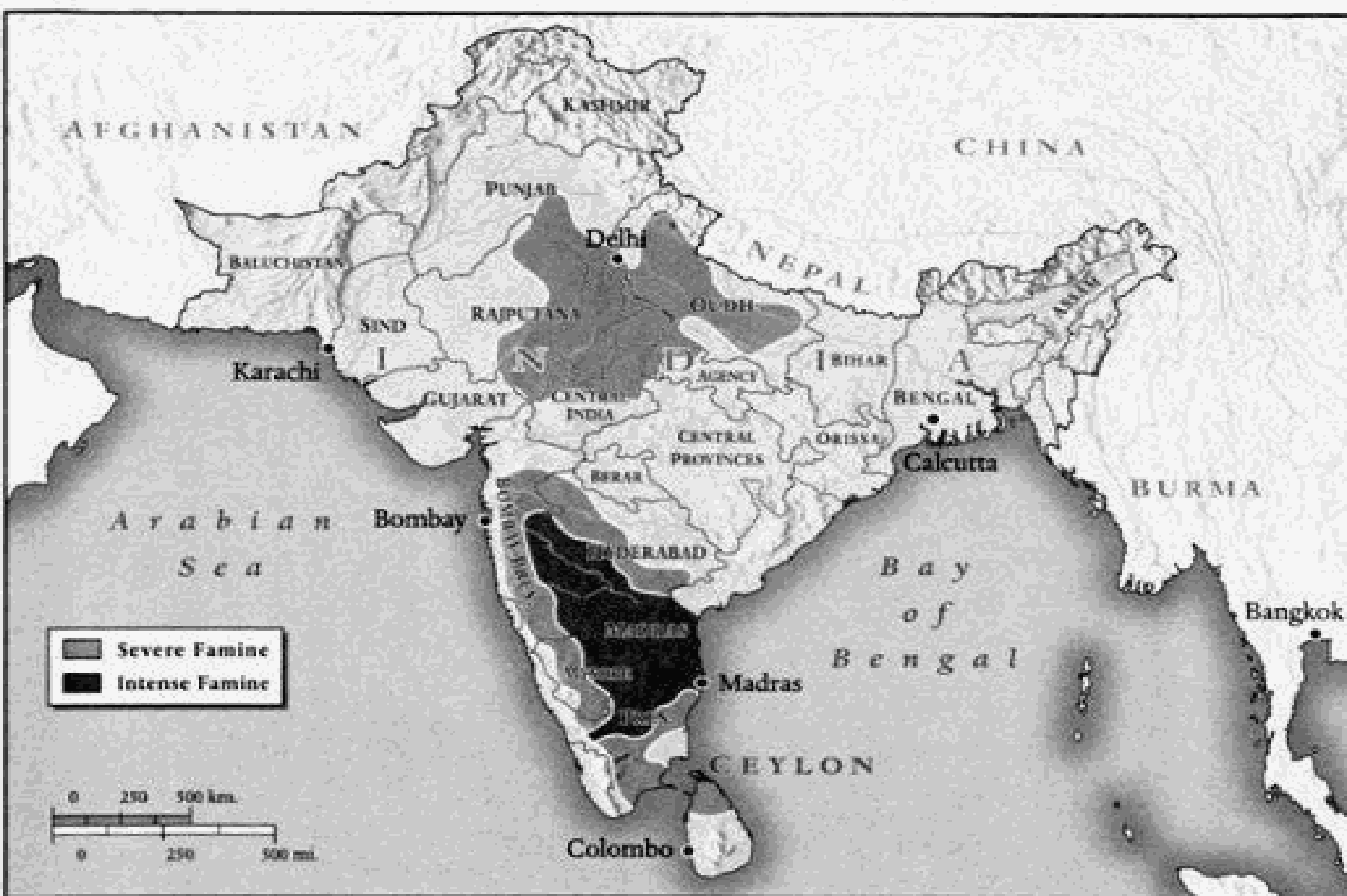
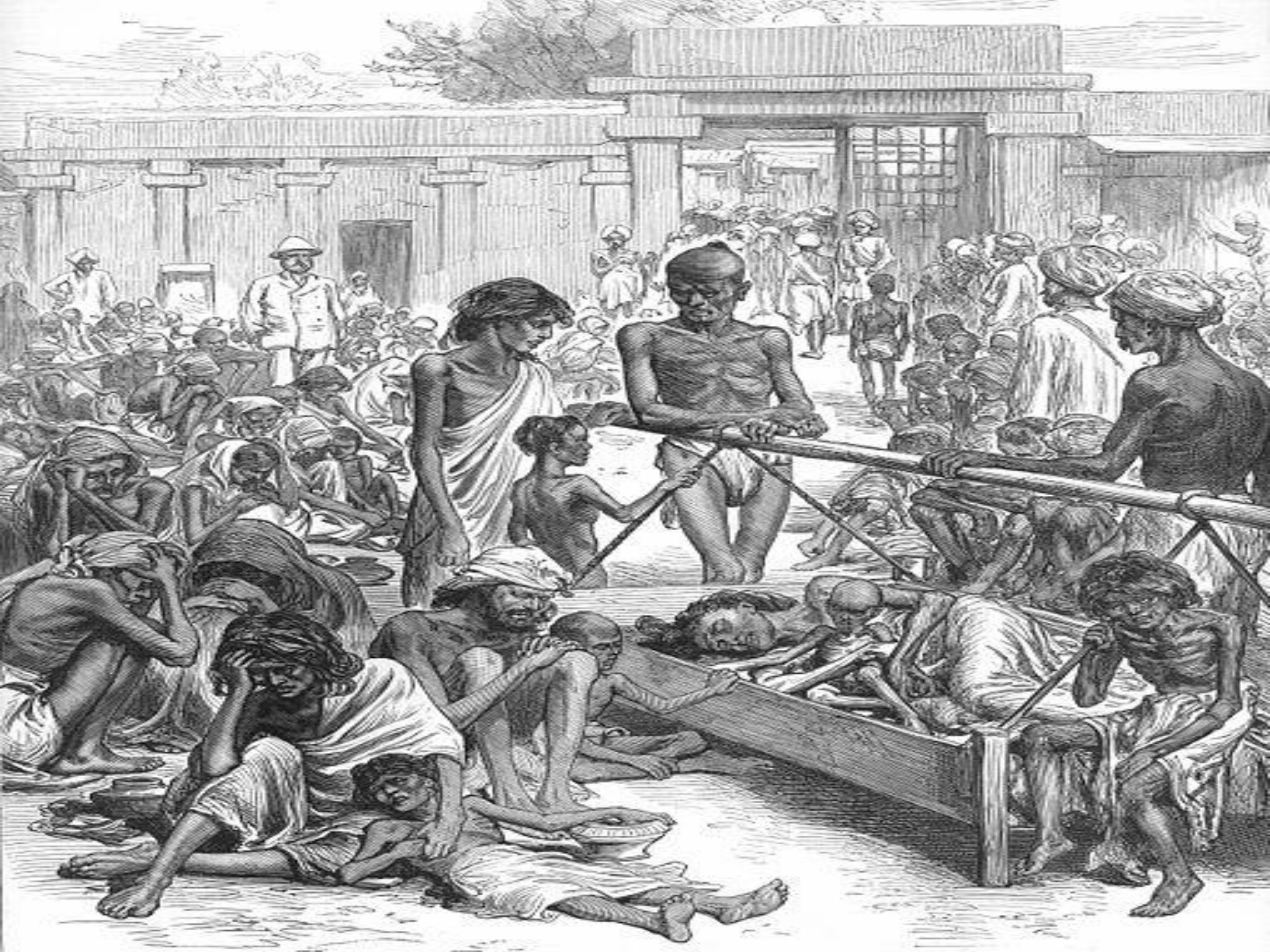


Figure 1.1 India: The Famine of 1876-78





'VICTORIAN HOLOCAUSTS'



- ❖ LYTTON CALLS FOR RELIEF WORK TO BE STOPPED
- ❖ PROPOSES 'FAMINE TAX' ON VICTIMS OF FAMINE!?!
- ❖ IN THE END, REPRIMAND ONLY COMES FROM A FEW NEWSPAPERS IN ENGLAND
- ❖ BETWEEN 5.5 & 12 MILLION SOUTH ASIANS DIE DURING 1876 - 1877
- ❖ IN THE MIDST OF THIS VICTORIA HAS HERSELF PROCLAIMED 'EMPRESS' OF INDIA TO RIVAL HER DAUGHTER, THE EMPRESS OF IMPERIAL GERMANY

'VICTORIAN HOLOCAUSTS'



- RICHARD TEMPLE, LYTTON'S DEPUTY IN CHARGE OF FAMINE RELIEF
 - CARRIES OUT HORRIFIC 'DIETARY EXPERIMENTS' SIMILAR TO THOSE BY GERMAN AUTHORITIES IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS DURING WORLD WAR TWO
- PEOPLE SUFFERING FROM FAMINE FORCED TO WORK FOR FOOD
- WORK CAMPS BECOME 'EXTERMINATION' CAMPS - HISTORIAN MIKE DAVIS
 - THE 'TEMPLE WAGE' (1877) - 1627 CALORIES (HEAVY LABOR)
- BUCHENWALD CONCENTRATION CAMP (1944) - 1750 CALORIES (HEAVY LABOR)

'VICTORIAN HOLOCAUSTS'



❖INTERMITTENT FAMINES CONTINUE
THROUGHOUT THE EIGHTEEN - SEVENTIES &
EIGHTEEN - EIGHTIES

❖FAMINE CODES/PROCEDURES SET UP

❖FUNDS SET ASIDE FOR THE USE OF THE
IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT IN CALCUTTA FOR
FUTURE FAMINES - BUT IN THE END, LARGE
PORTION OF THE FUND ENDS UP FINANCING
THE NEXT BRITISH EXPEDITION IN
AFGHANISTAN

'VICTORIAN HOLOCAUSTS'



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'VICTORIAN HOLOCAUSTS'



❖ GREAT FAMINE OF 1897

❖ IMPERIAL VICEROY ELGIN FOLLOWS SAME
POLICIES AS LYTTON, PREVENTING ANY
GENUINE RELIEF EFFORTS

❖ FAIR-PRICE SHOPS

❖ POOR HOUSES SERVE DRY FLOUR, SALT AND
EARTH

❖ INDIGENOUS TRIBAL PEOPLES ESPECIALLY
DESPISE POOR HOUSES

'VICTORIAN HOLOCAUSTS'



❖ 8 - 16 MILLION PERISH BETWEEN 1896-
1902

❖ IMPERIAL REPORT ON FAMINE ADMITS THAT
LIVES COULD HAVE BEEN SAVED WITH
PROACTIVE RELIEF EFFORTS BUT ARGUES THAT
NO GOVERNMENT COULD SUSTAIN SUCH AN
EFFORT

❖ BOTH MUGHAL INDIA & QING DYNASTY IN
CHINA DEAL WITH FAMINES EFFECTIVELY IN
THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

'VICTORIAN HOLOCAUSTS'



❖ GRAIN RIOTS

❖ ASSAULT ON INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
LEADERS

❖ ENRAGED FARMERS BURN HOUSES OF THE
WEALTHY AND THEIR FAMILIES

❖ THE ADVENT OF THE HAND-HELD KODAK
NUMBER ONE CAMERA IN 1888 INSURES THAT
BRITISH LIES ABOUT CONDITIONS IN SOUTH
ASIA CANNOT BE HIDDEN – HISTORIAN MIKE
DAVIS

❖ OUTBREAK OF BUBONIC PLAGUE 1897

❖ FAMINE IN RAJASTHAN & GUJARAT

ESTABLISHMENT OF DIRECT BRITISH RULE



- IN SHORT-TERM EAST INDIA STOCK RISES BUT CORRUPTION, LOOTING AND LACK OF ACCOUNTING SEES THE "BUBBLE" BURST
- COMPANY IS FORCED TO ASK FOR GOVERNMENT FOR FUNDS TO PAY BACK INVESTORS
- GOVERNMENT BECOMES GRADUALLY INVOLVED
- BRITISH GOVERNMENT IS NOT CONCERNED FOR SUBCONTINENTAL LIVES BUT FOR PROPER DRAIN OF INDIAN RESOURCES
- EXAMPLE: MADRAS SUFFERS SEVERE FAMINES IN 1773, 1792, 1807, 1813, 1832
- CLIVE IS FORCED INTO COMMITTING SUICIDE
- A GOVERNOR-GENERAL IS APPOINTED AS THE HIGHEST RANKING BRITISH GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL IN CHARGE OF CONQUERED TERRITORIES

IDEOLOGICAL JUSTIFICATIONS FOR IMPERIALIST RULE



➤ "TRIUMPH OF CIVILIZATION" - JAMES MILL

➤ BRITAIN AS "NEW ROME"

➤ "DECAYED CIVILIZATION THEORY"



➤ "PATERNALISTIC VIEW"

➤ LEARN & CATEGORIZE SUBCONTINENTAL
CIVILIZATION - SIR WILLIAM JONES &
EDMUND BURKE

➤ SUBCONTINENTAL PEOPLES HAVE TO BE
"TAUGHT" CIVILIZATION - PRACTICE OF
ORIENTALISM

IDEOLOGICAL JUSTIFICATIONS FOR IMPERIALIST RULE



➤ SOUTH ASIANS ARE "INFERIOR" PEOPLES
WHO ARE "DESTINED" TO BE CONQUERED BY
SUPERIOR RACE; I.E., BRITISH EMPIRE

➤ MILL NEVER VISITS SUBCONTINENT; HIS
WORK WILL BE DISMANTLED BY ECONOMIST
AMARTYA SEN

➤ BRITISH AS "NEW ROME"

IDEOLOGICAL JUSTIFICATIONS FOR IMPERIALIST RULE



- SIR WILLIAM JONES & EDMUND BURKE -
SUBCONTINENT MAY HAVE BEEN "GREAT" OR
"CIVILIZED" IN THE PAST BUT NOT ANYMORE
- LEARN ABOUT SUBCONTINENT'S PAST, ABOUT
THE TEACHINGS OF MUSLIM AND HINDU
SCHOLARS, CONNECT SANSKRIT TO GREEK &
LATIN OF ANTIQUITY
- GET "AUTHENTIC" KNOWLEDGE OF
SUBCONTINENT BUT USE IT FOR COLONIAL
RULE, THE ONE WHO CONTROLS "ORIGINAL"
INTERPRETATION OF PAST IS THE
"LEGITIMATE" RULER
- 1830s: THERE IS "NO" CIVILIZATION IN
THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT: MUST BE CREATED
ON BRITISH LINES



James Mill



**Sir William
Jones**



Edmund Burke

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE *RAJ*



- REGULATING ACT OF 1773
- INDIA ACT OF 1784: "TO PURSUE THE SCHEME OF CONQUEST AND EXTENSION OF DOMINION IN INDIA, ARE MEASURES REPUGNANT TO THE WISH, THE HONOUR AND POLICY OF THE BRITISH NATION." (!)
- BLATANT LIE IN ACTUALITY SETS STAGE FOR SCALE CONQUEST
- REVAMPING THE ZAMINDARI SYSTEM IN BENGAL (1793)
- DIRECT CORRELATION TO BRITISH MAN-MADE FAMINE OF 1770
- BRITISH NOW CLAIM OWNERSHIP OVER ALL LAND

➤ LANDLORDS WILL COLLECT TAXES AS INTERMEDIARIES

THE FLAWED ZAMINDARI SYSTEM



➤ ZAMINDARS COLLECT TAXES BUT CAN BE
THROWN OFF LAND AS WELL

➤ 1794-1807: 41% OF LAND ESTATES AUCTIONED
IN BENGAL & BIHAR

➤ 1804-1818: 51% OF ALL ESTATES AUCTIONED
IN ORISSA

RYOTAWARI SYSTEM



➤ LANDLORDISM SURVIVES, EVENTUALLY BECOMES
BULWARK OF BRITISH RULE



➤ "JOTEDAR THESIS"

➤ BRITISH DRAW IN LARGE NUMBERS OF
PEASANTS INTO MERCENARY ARMY AFTER THEY
ARE THROWN OFF THEIR LANDS

➤ ZAMINDARI SYSTEM BECOMES MODEL OF
RESTRUCTURING OF LAND RELATIONS BUT IS
NOT POPULAR

RYOTAWARI SYSTEM



- A MALEVOLENT FORM OF THE TYPE OF SYSTEM PRACTISED IN MYSORE UNDER HAIDER ALI & TIPU SULTAN
- THOMAS MUNRO HAD STUDIED SYSTEM IN AREAS CONQUERED FROM MYSORE
- LAND WILL BE FULLY ASSESSED AND CULTIVATORS WILL SIGN AGREEMENTS

PROBLEMS OF THE RYOTAWARI SYSTEM



- IN ACTUALITY, VERY LITTLE LAND IS FULLY ASSESSED
- CULTIVATORS FORCED TO SIGN AGREEMENTS
- SAME ISSUE IN THE SOUTH: LAND RIGHTS WERE DIVIDED AMONGST FAMILY, COMMUNITY OR TRIBE
- VERY FEW CULTIVATORS WANT TO BUY LAND JUST TO PAY HIGH TAXES
- INTERMEDIARIES ARE UNAFFECTED, BRITISH GIVE PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT TO HIGHER CASTES

OVERTURNING MUGHAL INDIA'S LEGAL SYSTEM



- MUGHAL LAW WAS NEVER CENTRALIZED
- "FAUJDARS" (COMMANDANTS) IN LOCALES AND PROVINCES DISPENSED JUSTICE
- DISPENSATION WAS ABOUT FINDING ACCOMODATION NOT RETRIBUTION
- WARREN HASTINGS WANTS AN END TO ALL SUBCONTINENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN JUDICIAL SYSTEM
-
- RACIST NATURE OF BRITISH RULE EMERGING IN SOUTH ASIA

FINAL PURGE OF SUBCONTINENTAL OFFICIALS IN HIGHER ADMINISTRATION



- MUHAMMED REZA KHAN; LAST REMAINING PRE-1757 RANKING ADMINISTRATOR REMOVED ON TRUMPED UP CHARGES
- SUBCONTINENTALS ARE "INCAPABLE" OF SELF-RULE
- REZA KHAN HAD IN REALITY INSISTED ON PROPER ADMINISTRATION DURING 1770

New Judicial System



- TWO COURTS, CIVIL AND CRIMINAL – BUT RETAIN MUGHAL NOMENCLATURE, ASSISTED BY LEARNED SCHOLARS IN HINDU AND MUSLIM LAW.
- BY TURN OF 18TH CENTURY INDIAN CODES OVERTURNED
 - ALL BRITISH JUDGES IN THE SYSTEM
- BRITISH AND EUROPEANS NOT SUBJECT TO ANY LAW EXCEPT IN CALCUTTA, WHERE CAPITAL IS NOW MOVED FROM MURSHIDABAD

New Judicial System



- RACIAL EXCLUSION AND AUTHORITARIANISM
- VARIATIONS DEVELOP IN OTHER BRITISH HOLDINGS
 - 1833- LORD BENTINCK OVERHAULS SYSTEM AGAIN, CREATING A UNIFIED CIVIL AND CRIMINAL CODE ACROSS INDIA
 - CRIMINAL & CIVIL CODES LAID DOWN FINALLY IN 1859-1862

Criticisms of the System



- UNIFIED BUT VERY COMPLEX LITIGATION PROCESS, PROCEDURES, FOR ORDINARY INDIANS, COURTS VERY FAR AWAY
- UNIFIED ONLY IN BRITISH INDIA, SO-CALLED "INDIRECT" RULE AREAS HAVE THEIR OWN LAWS
- EXPENSIVE LAWYERS CANNOT BE AFFORDED BY THE MANY
- INDIAN SCHOLARS MAKE INTERPRETATION FAVORABLE TO THEIR COMMUNITIES
- THIS CREATES ALIENATION; ONE OF THE PATHWAYS TO RELIGIOUS COMMUNALISM

Policing the Raj



- UNDER THE MUGHALS: FAUJDARS OVERSEE DISTRICTS, KOTWALS OVERSEE TOWNS & LANDLORDS RESPONSIBLE FOR VILLAGES
- 1770: BRITISH MAGISTRATES TAKE OVER FROM FAUJDARS
- DAROGA- AN OFFICIAL IN CHARGE OF ABOUT TWENTY TO THIRTY SQUARE MILES OF AREA
- IDEA IS TO UNDERMINE ZAMINDARS BUT FAILS, TRIAL AND ERROR SYSTEM CONTINUES WELL INTO 19TH CENTURY

Policing the Raj



- 1843: POST OF INSPECTOR GENERAL IN CHARGE OF SUPERINTENDENTS OF POLICE, CONCURRENTLY CONTROLLED BY CIVILIAN OFFICIALS CALLED DISTRICT COLLECTORS
- POSITIONS FOR INDIANS GRADUALLY OPEN UP LATE IN THE 19TH CENTURY
- ADDITIONAL POLICE INTELLIGENCE BUREAUS CREATED TO COMBAT SUBCONTINENTAL NATIONALISTS IN THE 1880s.
- HISTORIAN DAVID ARNOLD, "THE POLICE RAJ"

The Mercenary Army



- THE "GARRISON STATE"
- RACIST STEREOTYPES INTRODUCED FOR
MERCENARY RECRUITMENT
- WHEAT CENTRIC REGIONS PREFERRED
 - RICE CENTRIC REGIONS DENIED
- AWADH, BIHAR : UPPER CASTE HINDUS,
BHUMI-HAR BRAHMINS
- MADRAS & BOMBAY ARMIES LESS MONOLITHIC
 - PROBLEMS IN 1820s
- NEWER SOURCES OF RECRUITMENT CREATE
TENSIONS

THE CIVIL ADMINISTRATION



- BRITISH INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE
- FORT WILLIAM COLLEGE - 1780s
- OFFICERS FOR BENGAL, BOMBAY AND MADRAS
STUDY AT FORT WILLIAM
- 1809 - HAILEYBURY COLLEGE
- CHARTER OF 1853
- SUBCONTINENTALS ONLY ALLOWED VERY LATE
IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY TO APPLY FOR
POSITIONS WITH RESTRICTIONS

THE SYSTEM OF RESIDENTS



- RESIDENCY SYSTEM: ORIGINAL INNOVATION
- PARAMOUNTCY - SUBCONTINENTAL RULER HAS DOMESTIC SOVEREIGNTY BUT NOTHING ELSE
- 1765- MURSHIDABAD, AWADH, HYDERABAD
 - SUBSIDIARY ALLIANCE SYSTEM
 - SUBCONTINENTAL STATES MUST PAY FOR UPKEEP OF COMPANY TROOPS TO "PROTECT" THEM, BUT FROM WHOM?
 - OBVIOUS COMPARISON?
 - CRIMINAL PROTECTION RACKET
- HISTORIAN KARL ITTMANN: "BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY WAS THE GREATEST CRIMINAL RACKET IN HISTORY"

The Rise of Religious Communalism in the Subcontinent



➤ ISLAM IN INDIAN SUBCONTINENT



- FOR HUNDREDS OF YEARS, MUSLIMS REMAINED IN PRESENT-DAY SINDH (BLOCKED BY THE THAR DESERT) BEFORE SPREADING INTO THE SUBCONTINENT FROM THE NORTHWEST
- DECLARES HINDU AND BUDDHIST COMMUNITIES HAVE SAME PROTECTED STATUS AS OTHER *PEOPLES OF THE BOOK* AND CANNOT BE SUBJECT TO CONVERSION
- MUST HAVE SELF-GOVERNANCE IN RELIGIOUS AND JURISPRUDENCE

The Rise of Religious Communalism in the Subcontinent



- RAIDS BY MUSLIM WARLORDS INTO THE SUBCONTINENT
 - 1026 A.D.: MAHMUD OF GHAZI
 - THE RAID ON SOMANATHA
- ONLY BECOMES CONTROVERSIAL IN THE 19TH CENTURY: AN ISSUE RAISED BY THE BRITISH EMPIRE, NOT BY HINDUS OR BUDDHISTS IN THE SUBCONTINENT
 - HISTORIAN ROMILA THAPAR

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The Rise of Religious Communalism in the Subcontinent



- IT IS A CONQUEST (ALSO NON-VIOLENT; SUFI ISLAM) BUT ALSO A DESIRE TO SETTLE AND STAY
- THERE IS NO CONCEPT OF BEING "SUPERIOR" TO OR "SEPARATE" FROM LOCAL INHABITANTS *EXCEPT* AMONGST EXTREME VIEWPOINTS ORTHODOX ISLAM OF THE 14TH & 15TH CENTURIES
- EXAMPLE: CLAIM THAT MUSLIMS IN THE SUBCONTINENT ARE A DISTINCT "RACE" (!)
 - NOT BORNE OUT BY REALITY

The Rise of Religious Communalism in the Subcontinent



- THERE WERE ALWAYS TENSIONS BETWEEN ORTHODOX INTERPRETATIONS OF ISLAM AND A MORE TOLERANT FORM EMBODIED BY THE MUGHALS
- MUGHAL EMPERORS & ELITES WERE FASCINATED BY MYSTICISM IN HINDUISM
- THERE WERE TENSIONS INSIDE THE COURT OF THE GREAT MUGHALS DUE TO SUPPORT FOR SHIA ISLAM AMONGST EMPERORS
- THERE ARE CONVERSIONS TO HINDUISM DURING THE AGE OF THE GREAT MUGHALS

The Rise of Religious Communalism in the Subcontinent



- ISSUE OF DESTRUCTION OF PLACES OF WORSHIP:
 - THERE HAVE BEEN SOME DESTRUCTIONS & TAKEOVERS OF OTHER PLACES OF WORSHIP
 - AT THE TIME SAME TIME THESE WERE NOT UNIQUE, MANY EARLIER TEMPLES WERE BUILT OR ESTABLISHED ON BUDDHIST SITES
- ISSUE OF *JIYZA*
 - ABOLISHED IN 1564, BUT BROUGHT BACK DURING THE RULE OF AURANGZEB
 - THERE ARE PROBLEMS; BIGOTRY CANNOT BE DENIED

The Rise of Religious Communalism in the Subcontinent



- *SIMULTANEOUSLY; SUFI ISLAM TAKES HOLD FURTHEST FROM THE CENTRE OF SULTANATE & MUGHAL RULE*
- *LOWER-CASTE HINDUS CONVERT TO ISLAM, LIVE SIDE-BY-SIDE WITH MUSLIM FARMERS IN BENGAL*
- *HINDUS ARE INTEGRAL PART OF SOCIETY, CULTURE AND POLITICAL-ECONOMY IN MUGHAL INDIA AND MILITARY LEADERSHIP*
- *IN BENGAL: MUSLIMS AND HINDUS HAD RESISTED THE MUGHALS TOGETHER UNDER HUSSEIN SHAH*

The Rise of Religious Communalism in the Subcontinent



- ADVENT OF BRITISH RULE: EXACERBATES & DELIBERATELY INFLAMES RELIGIOUS TENSIONS
 - REVOLUTION OF 1857
 - PERCEIVED AS "MUSLIM" RESTORATIONIST CAMPAIGN
 - IN REALITY: HINDUS AND MUSLIMS FOUGHT TOGETHER UNDER THE BANNER OF SHAH ZAFAR II, THE LAST MUGHAL EMPEROR
 - MUSLIMS RECEIVE THE BRUNT OF BRITISH SAVAGERY AND ANGER

The Rise of Religious Communalism in the Subcontinent



- AS JOBS AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OPEN UP UNDER THE *RAJ*; HINDUS ARE WELCOMED, AND UNDERTAKE OPPORTUNITIES
- MUSLIMS, FOR THE MOST PART WITHDRAW FROM THIS EXCHANGE
- SITUATION IS MORE *PRONOUNCED* IN PLACES SUCH AS BENGAL THAN IN THE NORTHWESTERN AREAS OF THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT
- IN FACT; THERE IS A PERCEPTION BY MID-19TH CENTURY THAT BENGALI MUSLIMS ARE A SMALL PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION OF BENGAL

The Rise of Religious Communalism in the Subcontinent



➤ AN OFFICIAL RAJ CENSUS IN 1872 HOWEVER REVEALS THAT BENGALI MUSLIMS ARE A LARGE MINORITY; WITH A MAJORITY IN EASTERN BENGAL

➤ BENGALI HINDUS ARE INCREASINGLY DEMANDING MORE RIGHTS; INCLUDING POLITICAL RIGHTS

➤ *THEREFORE:* A CALCULATION IS MADE TO COURT BENGALI MUSLIMS



The Rise of Religious Communalism in the Subcontinent



➤ GROWING RELIGIOUS TENSIONS WITHIN
BENGAL AND ACROSS THE SUBCONTINENT:

➤ RELIGIOUS REVIVALISM

➤ *GANAPATI* FESTIVAL (THE ELEPHANT GOD)

➤ CELEBRATING CHIEF SHIVAJI BHONSLE

➤ MEANT TO COMMUNICATE BOTH MARATHA PRIDE
AND ANTI-BRITISH EXPRESSIONS BUT
EVENTUALLY TAKES ANTI-MUSLIM SLANT

➤ THE MYTH OF SHIVAJI

The Rise of Religious Communalism in the Subcontinent



- THE CONTROVERSY OVER COW MEAT
 - THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT
 - HISTORIAN D.N. JHA
 - BEEF IN UPPER-CASTE HINDU AND BUDDHIST DIETS
 - NOT AN ISSUE INITIALLY: COW MEAT LOOKED DOWN ON AS ONLY FOR POOR MUSLIMS

The Rise of Religious Communalism in the Subcontinent



- 1888: IMPERIAL COURT IN NORTHWEST PROVINCES RULES THAT THE COW IS NOT SACROSANCT
- TRIGGERS THE FIRST OF RIOTS BETWEEN HINDUS AND MUSLIMS
- GALVANIZES WELL-OFF MUSLIMS TO ALSO TAKE TO THE FIELD

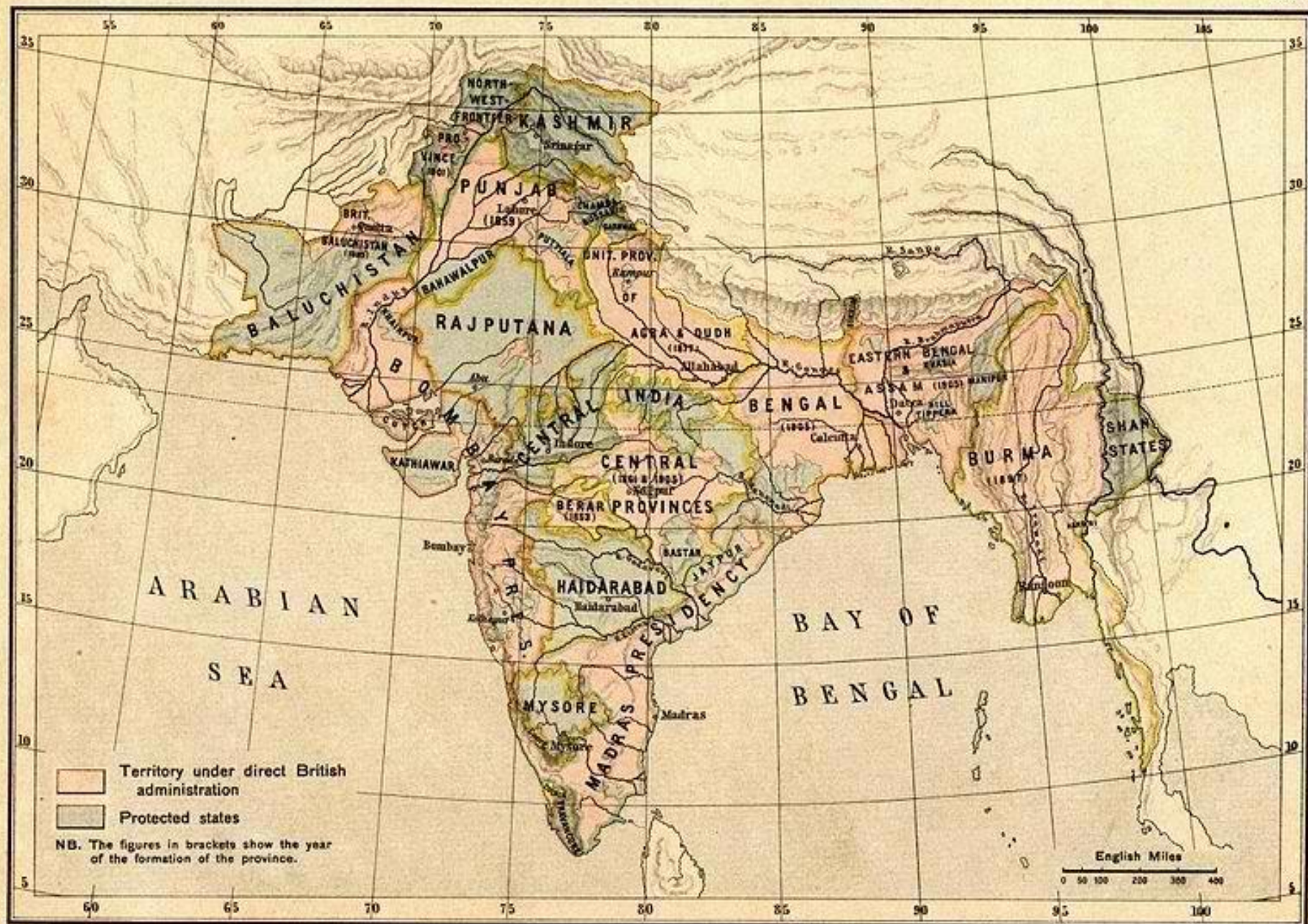
The Partition of Bengal



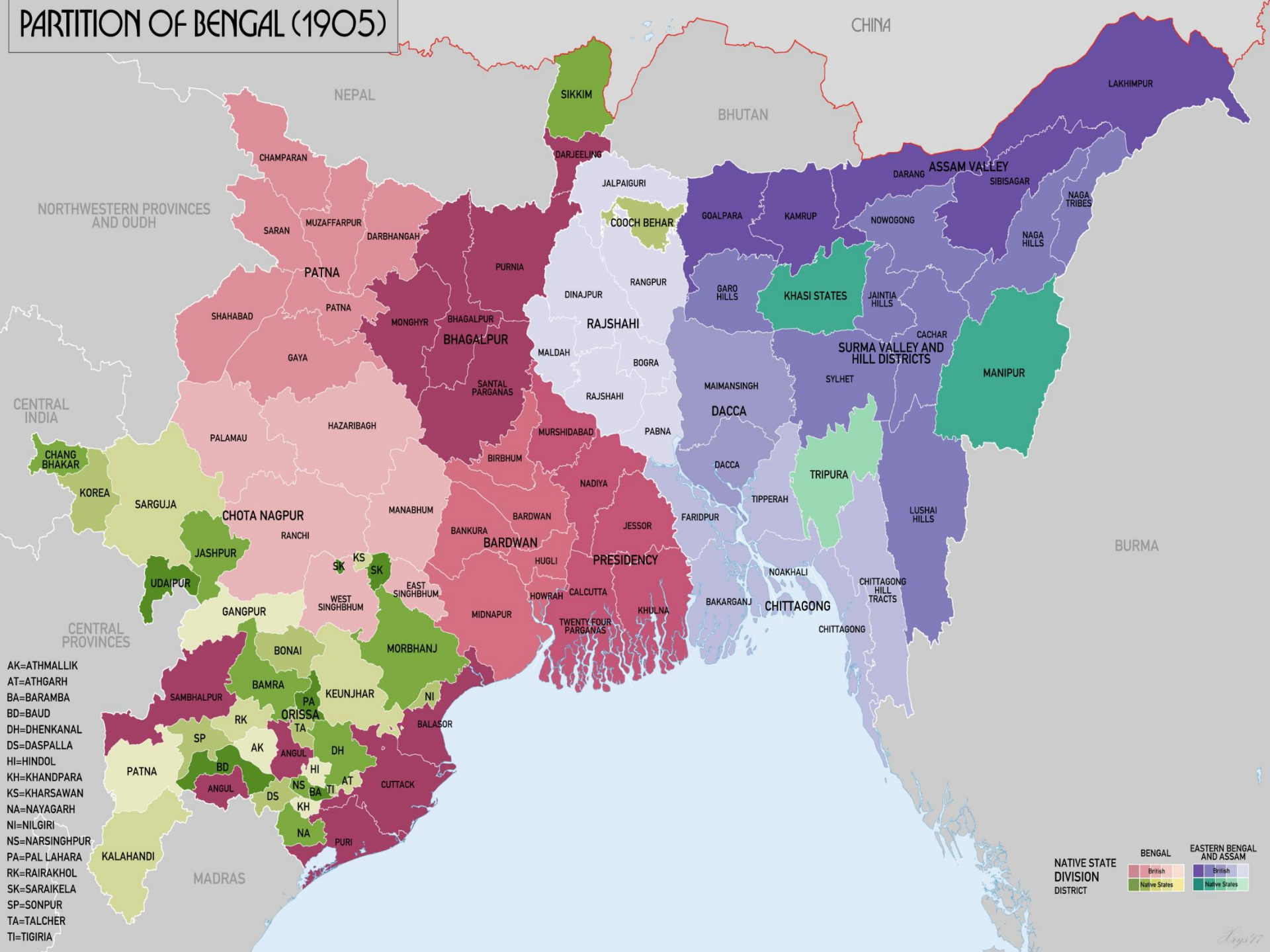
- WHY PARTITION BENGAL?
- CONSIDERED TOO "UNWIELDY" FOR ADMINISTRATIVE PURPOSES
- THE RAJ IS INCREASINGLY CONCERNED THAT BENGALI MIDDLE-CLASSES ARE ASSERTING THEMSELVES POLITICALLY
- FEARFUL OF A BENGALI NATIONALISM THAT CAN CHALLENGE THE BRITISH EMPIRE
- GEORGE CURZON, RAJ GOVERNOR OF BENGAL; SUGGESTS "BREAKING" BENGAL

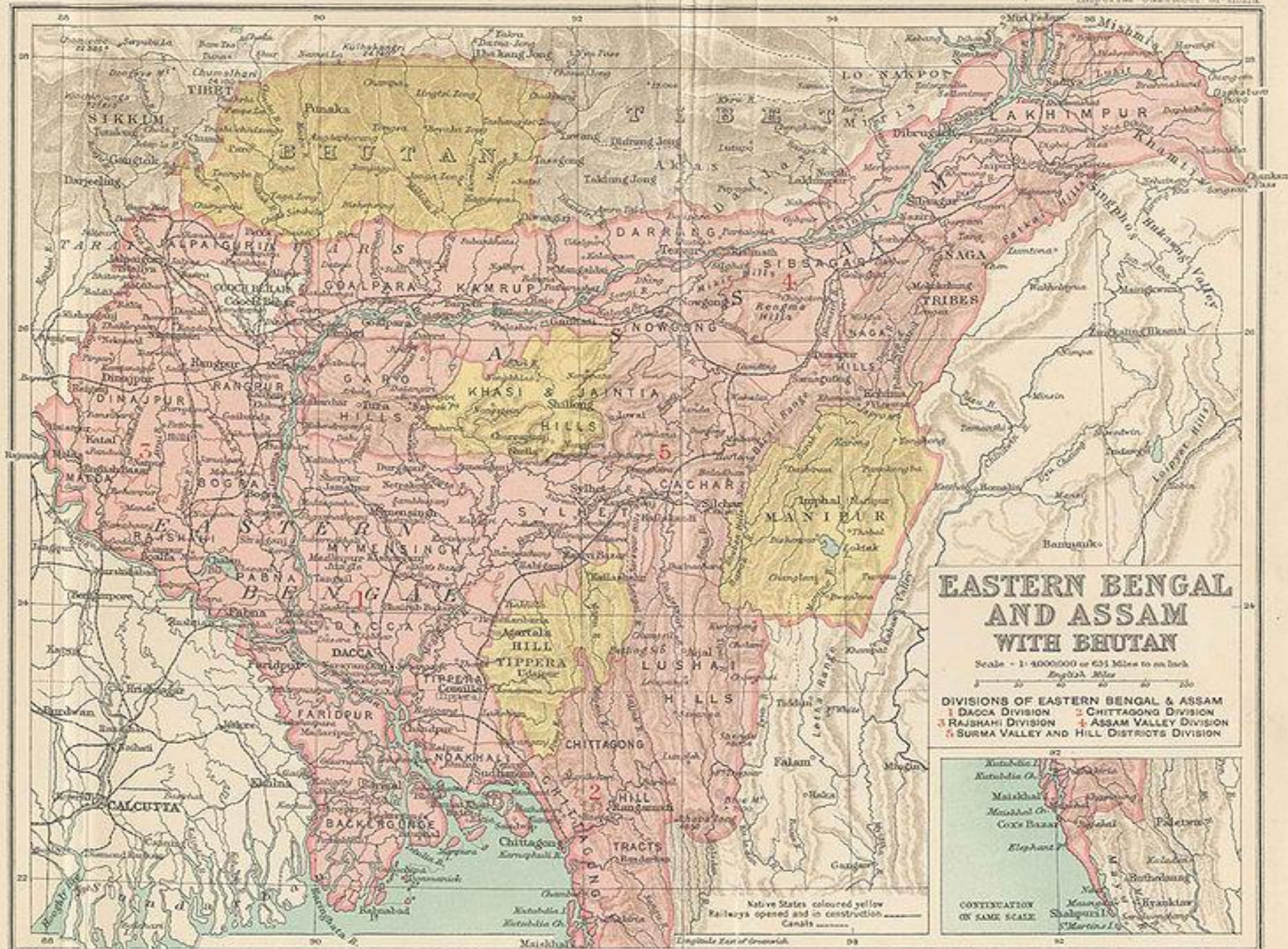
THE INDIAN EMPIRE in 1907 A. D.

26.



PARTITION OF BENGAL (1905)





The Partition of Bengal



➤ HERBERT RISLEY: "BENGAL UNITED IS POWER
BUT BENGAL DIVIDED WILL PULL DIFFERENT
WAYS."

➤ "WIN SUPPORT" OF MUSLIMS WITH THE
CREATION OF THEIR OWN PROVINCE

➤ CURZON TOURS EASTERN BENGAL

➤ VERY FEW MUSLIMS AND MUSLIM
ORGANIZATIONS OPPOSE PARTITION

➤ PROMULGATED IN OCTOBER 1905

The Partition of Bengal



❖ BENGAL DEMOGRAPHICS

❖ 51% MUSLIM, 49% HINDU

❖ BRITISH STRATEGY: SPLIT BENGAL INTO
HINDU & MUSLIM ENTITIES AND SPLIT THE
NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

❖ OCTOBER 1905: PARTITION IS PROMULGATED

❖ CURZON PROMISES BENGALI MUSLIMS IN 1904
WITH PARTITION THEY WILL ENJOY INFLUENCE
THEY HAD NOT ENJOYED SINCE MUGHAL ERA

❖ GALVANIZES THE FIRST MASS MOVEMENT
AGAINST BRITISH RULE

❖ THE *SWADESH* MOVEMENT

The Phases of the *Swadesh* Movement



- ❖ MODERATE PHASE :
MEETINGS/PROTESTS/APPEALS TO THE BRITISH
GOVERNMENT TO RESCIND PARTITION
- ❖ CONSTRUCTIVE PHASE: FAILURE OF APPEAL
LEADS TO BROADENING OF COALITION, NO
LONGER AN ELITE STRUGGLE, CALLS FOR
BOYCOTT OF BRITISH GOODS
- ❖ BUT STILL NOT COGENT ENOUGH TO CALL FOR
WIDER STRUGGLE

The Phases of the Swadesh Movement



❖ CONSTRUCTIVE PHASE : SPLITS INTO TWO MOVEMENTS

❖ 'SELF-HELP' : NATIONAL SCHOOLS/
SWADESHI (INDIGENOUS) PRODUCTION OF
GOODS/ VILLAGE COUNCILS/ARBITRATION
COURTS

❖ TAGORE CREATES HIS 'SANTINIKETAN'
SCHOOL

❖ EMPHASIS ON SELF-CONSTRUCTION, BUILDING
LINKS BETWEEN TOWN AND VILLAGE AND
BETWEEN RELIGIOUS GROUPS

❖ CONTRADICTIONS: *THE HOME & THE WORLD*

The *Phases* of the Swadesh Movement



❖ EXTREME PHASE OF CONSTRUCTIVE PHASE:
APART FROM BOYCOTT, VIOLATE BRITISH LAWS
AND MEET BRITISH REPRESSION WITH
AGITATION

❖ NO LONGER CONTENT WITH REVERSAL OF
PARTITION

❖ CREATION OF SAMITIS (SOCIETIES)

❖ PROBLEMS: RELIGIOUS IMAGERY

❖ UNABLE TO REACH INDUSTRY WORKERS &
CONSEQUENTLY BOYCOTT FAILS IN THE END

❖ LEADS TO THE RISE OF THE "NEW ERA"
GROUPS

The *Phases* of the Swadesh Movement



❖ RADICAL NEWSPAPER *JUGANTAR*

❖ BARIN GHOSE AUTHORIZED BY ELDER BROTHER AUROBINDO TO FORM REVOLUTIONARY GROUP TO TARGET BRITISH OFFICIALS & INDIAN COLLABORATORS

❖ 1908: KHUDIRAM BOSE THROWS BOMB AT CARRIAGE CARRYING BRITISH PERSONNEL

❖ 1908-1938: THE NEW ERA & OTHER ALLIED REVOLUTIONARY-TERRORIST GROUPS REMAIN COMMITTED TO ATTACKS ON SYMBOLS OF BRITISH RULE





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The *Phases* of the Swadesh Movement



❖ THE CONGRESS AT SURAT 1907

❖ SPLIT BETWEEN MODERATES & EXTREMISTS

❖ 1908 ALLAHABAD CONGRESS PLEDGES
UNCONDITIONAL LOYALTY TO THE BRITISH RAJ

❖ BENGAL MODEL REJECTED BY OTHER INDIAN
GROUPS

❖ CONGRESS BADLY WEAKENED UNTIL AFTER
WORLD WAR I

The consequences



- ❖ BENGAL PARTITION IS REVERSED
- ❖ CAPITAL OF BRITISH INDIA MOVED FROM CALCUTTA TO DELHI, THEREBY ACHIEVING WHAT CURZON HAD WANTED IN THE FIRST PLACE
- ❖ BUT SHIFT ALSO AS A RESULT OF REVOLUTIONARY-TERRORISM OF THE NEW ERA GROUP
- ❖ BENGAL LOSES ITS PROMINENCE IN INDIAN AFFAIRS

The consequences



- ❖ MORLEY-MINTO REFORMS 1909 - LIMITED CONCESSIONS AS A RESULT OF SWADESH MOVEMENT
- ❖ PRINCIPLE OF ELECTION- VERY VAGUE, LEFT TO LOCAL GOVERNMENT
- ❖ IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF 60, 27 OPEN TO 'ELECTIONS' BUT MUST MAKE ALLOWANCES FOR MINORITIES, MUSLIMS RESERVED 8 OF 27 SEATS.
- ❖ SPLIT NATIONALIST MOVEMENT AND PLACATE COLLABORATORS

The consequences



➤ULTIMATELY MORLEY-MINTO REFORMS SATISFY
NO ONE

➤NATIONALIST STRUGGLE REMAINS FRAGMENTED

➤ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE CREATED IN 1906
AS COUNTERPOINT TO ALL INDIA NATIONAL
CONGRESS

RELIGIOUS COMMUNALISM REMAINS
UNRESOLVED

➤REVOLUTIONARY-NATIONALISTS REMAIN
ENGAGED IN STRUGGLE THROUGHOUT WORLD WAR
ONE