

ISC Class 12 History Specimen Paper 1

Written by the Future Topper subject team on the CISCE examination pattern. Not an official CISCE paper.

Found a mistake? Write to contactfuturetopper@gmail.com

Maximum Marks: 80 | Time Allowed: Three hours | Reading Time: 15 minutes

Both Parts are compulsory. Part I carries 40 marks and Part II carries 40 marks. This paper carries 80 marks, the remaining 20 being for the project work.

General Instructions

Write your answers on the separate answer paper provided. The first 15 minutes are for reading the paper and you may not write during that time. Both Parts are compulsory and must be attempted. In Part I, Question 1 is compulsory and you must attempt any three of the five questions that follow it. In Part II, Question 7 is compulsory and you must attempt any three of the five questions that follow it. No credit is given for a fourth question in either Part. Marks for each question, or part of a question, are shown in brackets. Answers should be in your own words and of a length suited to the marks offered, a one-mark part needing no more than a sentence and a four-mark part needing a short developed argument supported by evidence. Dates and the names of persons, treaties and places should be given wherever they are relevant. Where a question asks you to examine arguments on both sides, credit is given for presenting each side fairly, not for the side you prefer. No maps, diagrams, photographs or printed source extracts are used in this paper, and no map work is required.

PART I: WORLD HISTORY (40 Marks)

Question 1 is compulsory. Attempt any three questions from Questions 2 to 6.

Question 1 [10]

Each part carries 1 mark. For the parts that offer four choices, write only the option you choose. For the rest, answer in a single sentence or give the single word, name or date asked for.

- (i) The pamphlet *Common Sense*, which argued the case for American independence, was written by:
(a) Thomas Jefferson (b) Thomas Paine
(c) Benjamin Franklin (d) George Washington
- (ii) Name the assembly summoned in France in 1789 for the first time since 1614, and give the three orders of which it was composed.
- (iii) The first country in which the Industrial Revolution began was:
(a) France (b) Germany
(c) Britain (d) the United States
- (iv) Name the conference of 1884 to 1885 at which the European powers settled rules for their claims in Africa.
- (v) The system of alliances that opposed the Triple Alliance before the First World War was:
(a) the Triple Entente (b) the Holy Alliance
(c) the Quadruple Alliance (d) the Little Entente
- (vi) State the year in which the Treaty of Versailles was signed.
- (vii) The leader who established a Fascist government in Italy in 1922 was:
(a) Victor Emmanuel III (b) Giovanni Giolitti
(c) Francisco Franco (d) Benito Mussolini
- (viii) Name the economic programme by which the United States assisted the recovery of western Europe after 1947.
- (ix) The crisis of 1962 over the placing of Soviet missiles took place in:
(a) Berlin (b) Korea

- (c) Cuba (d) Suez

(x) Name the Soviet leader whose policies of glasnost and perestroika preceded the end of the Cold War.

Question 2 [10]

- (a) Explain three grievances of the American colonists against British policy before 1775. [3]
(b) Explain the part played by the Declaration of Independence in the American Revolution. [3]
(c) Explain the main terms by which the war was concluded and the form of government established afterwards, and explain why the revolution is regarded as significant beyond America. [4]

Question 3 [10]

- (a) Explain three causes of the French Revolution. [3]
(b) Explain the significance of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. [3]
(c) Explain the course of the Revolution from the fall of the monarchy to the rise of Napoleon, and explain the arguments made about whether Napoleon preserved or betrayed the Revolution. [4]

Question 4 [10]

- (a) Explain three causes of the Industrial Revolution in Britain. [3]
(b) Explain three social consequences of industrialisation. [3]
(c) Explain the responses to the conditions of industrial labour, including factory legislation and the growth of trade unions and of socialist thought, and explain the connection between industrialisation and imperial expansion. [4]

Question 5 [10]

- (a) Explain three motives of nineteenth century European imperialism. [3]
(b) Explain the course and the consequences of the European partition of Africa. [3]
(c) Explain the arguments by which imperialism was defended by its supporters and the arguments made against it by its critics, and state what the modern assessment of its economic effects rests upon. [4]

Question 6 [10]

- (a) Explain three causes of the First World War. [3]
(b) Explain the main terms of the Treaty of Versailles. [3]
(c) Explain the reasons for the failure of the League of Nations, and explain the connection between the peace settlement and the rise of totalitarian governments in Europe. [4]

PART II: HISTORY OF INDIA (40 Marks)

Question 7 is compulsory. Attempt any three questions from Questions 8 to 12.

Question 7 [10]

Each part carries 1 mark. For the parts that offer four choices, write only the option you choose. For the rest, answer in a single sentence or give the single word, name or date asked for.

- (i) The battle of 1757 which established the political ascendancy of the East India Company in Bengal was fought at:
(a) Buxar (b) Plassey
(c) Panipat (d) Wandiwash
- (ii) Name the land revenue settlement introduced in Bengal in 1793 and the Governor-General who introduced it.
- (iii) The Indian National Congress was founded in:
(a) 1857 (b) 1875
(c) 1905 (d) 1885

- (iv) Name the social reformer associated with the founding of the Brahmo Samaj.
- (v) The partition of Bengal, which provoked the Swadeshi movement, was carried out in:
(a) 1899 (b) 1905
(c) 1911 (d) 1919
- (vi) State the year in which the Jallianwala Bagh massacre took place and name the city in which it occurred.
- (vii) The Non-Cooperation Movement was withdrawn following the violence at:
(a) Champaran (b) Kheda
(c) Chauri Chaura (d) Bardoli
- (viii) Name the march of 1930 with which the Civil Disobedience Movement began.
- (ix) The plan under which India was partitioned and power transferred in 1947 was announced by:
(a) Lord Mountbatten (b) Lord Linlithgow
(c) Lord Wavell (d) Sir Stafford Cripps
- (x) Name the Minister who was principally responsible for the integration of the princely states into the Indian Union.

Question 8 [10]

- (a) Explain three causes of the decline of the Mughal Empire. [3]
- (b) Explain how the East India Company advanced from trade to territorial power in Bengal between 1757 and 1772. [3]
- (c) Explain the main features of the Permanent Settlement and of the ryotwari and mahalwari systems, and explain their consequences for agriculture and for rural society. [4]

Question 9 [10]

- (a) Explain three ways in which British rule altered the Indian economy in the nineteenth century. [3]
- (b) Explain the growth of western education in India and its consequences. [3]
- (c) Explain the aims and the achievements of three movements of social and religious reform in the nineteenth century, and explain the criticisms that have been made of them. [4]

Question 10 [10]

- (a) Explain three causes of the revolt of 1857. [3]
- (b) Explain three consequences of the revolt of 1857. [3]
- (c) Explain the reasons for the founding of the Indian National Congress, the aims and methods of its early leaders, and the grounds on which those methods were criticised within the Congress itself. [4]

Question 11 [10]

- (a) Explain three causes of the Swadeshi movement. [3]
- (b) Explain the circumstances in which Gandhi assumed the leadership of the national movement. [3]
- (c) Explain the course and the significance of the Non-Cooperation Movement and of the Civil Disobedience Movement, and explain what distinguished Gandhi's method from that of the leaders who preceded him. [4]

Question 12 [10]

- (a) Explain three developments in the national movement between 1939 and 1945. [3]
- (b) Explain the circumstances leading to the Partition of India. [3]
- (c) Explain the problems faced by India in the years immediately after Independence, and explain the measures taken to deal with them. [4]

ANSWER KEY AND MARKING SCHEME

Marks shown at the end of each answer are the step marks an examiner would award. Answers are given in full so that a candidate may see what a complete response looks like, and a shorter answer that carries the same substance earns the same marks. Where a part asks for arguments on both sides, no mark is attached to the view the candidate holds, and the marks go to the fair statement of each position and to the evidence offered. Accept any correct alternative example, cause or consequence not printed here, and accept a date given correctly to the year where the answer does not turn on a closer date.

Question 1 [10]

- (i) (b) Thomas Paine. His pamphlet, published early in 1776, argued against monarchy and for a complete separation from Britain, and it was circulated very widely in the colonies.

Correct option 1.

- (ii) The Estates General, composed of the clergy as the First Estate, the nobility as the Second Estate and the commons as the Third Estate.

Estates General named, with the three orders 1.

- (iii) (c) Britain. The changes in textile manufacture, in iron and in the use of steam power began there from the second half of the eighteenth century and spread to the Continent and to the United States afterwards.

Correct option 1.

- (iv) The Berlin Conference, convened by Bismarck, at which the European powers agreed rules for the recognition of claims in Africa and for navigation on the Congo and the Niger.

Berlin Conference named 1.

- (v) (a) the Triple Entente. It grew out of the agreements between France and Russia, between Britain and France and between Britain and Russia, and stood against the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy.

Correct option 1.

- (vi) 1919. The treaty with Germany was signed in that year at the end of the Paris peace conference, and the separate treaties with the other defeated powers followed.

Year 1919 given 1.

- (vii) (d) Benito Mussolini. He was invited to form a government in October 1922 after the march on Rome, Victor Emmanuel III being the king who appointed him.

Correct option 1.

- (viii) The Marshall Plan, formally the European Recovery Programme, under which the United States provided large-scale economic assistance for the reconstruction of western Europe.

Marshall Plan named 1.

- (ix) (c) Cuba. The discovery of Soviet missile installations on the island brought the two superpowers to the edge of war before the missiles were withdrawn.

Correct option 1.

- (x) Mikhail Gorbachev, whose policies of glasnost, meaning openness, and perestroika, meaning restructuring, were accompanied by an easing of relations with the West.

Gorbachev named 1.

Question 2 [10]

- (a) First, taxation imposed without the consent of colonial assemblies. The Stamp Act of 1765 taxed printed matter and legal documents and was followed by duties on imported goods, and the colonists argued that only their own elected assemblies could tax them, which they expressed in the demand that there should be no taxation without representation; they objected to the principle rather than only to the amount, which is why they continued to resist after most of the duties were withdrawn. Second, the restrictions placed on colonial trade and manufacture. The navigation laws required trade to pass through British ports and in British ships, certain goods could be sold only to Britain, and manufactures that might compete with British industry were discouraged, so the colonies were treated as a market and a source of raw material rather than as economies in their own right. Third, measures that the colonists regarded as attacks on their liberties and their

self-government. The attempt to restrict settlement beyond the Appalachian mountains was resented by those who had looked to the western lands, the quartering of soldiers in the colonies was resented, and after the destruction of tea at Boston in 1773 Parliament passed a series of punitive measures, called the Intolerable Acts in America, which closed the port of Boston and altered the government of Massachusetts; these persuaded many who had been moderate that their established rights were not secure.

Taxation without consent, with the Stamp Act or the duties named and the principle stated 1. Restrictions on trade and manufacture under the navigation laws 1. Measures against colonial self-government, such as the punitive acts following the destruction of tea at Boston 1.

- (b) The Declaration, adopted on 4 July 1776 and drafted principally by Thomas Jefferson, performed several functions. It converted a rebellion into a war for independence. Until that point the colonists had been in arms while still professing loyalty to the Crown and seeking redress of grievances; the Declaration made the object separation, so there could be no return to the position before the fighting began and those who had hesitated were obliged to choose. It supplied a justification in terms of principle rather than of particular complaint. It asserted that all men are created equal and are endowed with certain unalienable rights, among them life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed and exist to secure those rights, and that a people may alter or abolish a government that destroys them; the specific grievances against the king were then listed as evidence that this condition had been reached. It made the cause intelligible abroad, which mattered because the colonies needed foreign assistance, and France entered the war on their side in 1778. And it furnished the language in which later claims were made, both in America, where the assertion of equality was afterwards turned against slavery and against the exclusion of women, and elsewhere.

The Declaration converting a rebellion into a claim to independence 1. Its assertion of natural rights, of government by consent and of the right to alter a government that destroys them 1. Its effect in securing foreign support, or its later use as a statement of principle 1.

- (c) The war was concluded by the Treaty of Paris of 1783. Britain recognised the independence of the thirteen states, and the boundaries conceded extended the new nation westwards to the Mississippi, with the northern limit along the Great Lakes and the southern towards Florida, which was returned to Spain. Provision was made about debts and about the treatment of those who had remained loyal to the Crown, and the Americans obtained rights of fishing off Newfoundland. The military decision had turned on the surrender of a British army at Yorktown in 1781, which followed the intervention of France and the operations of the French fleet. The form of government was settled in two stages. The Articles of Confederation, under which the states had fought the war, left so little authority to the central body that it could neither raise revenue nor regulate commerce, and the weakness of the arrangement led to the Philadelphia convention of 1787, which produced the Constitution of the United States. It established a federal republic: power was divided between the federal government and the states, with the federal government acting directly on individuals within its own field; the federal government itself was divided into a legislature of two chambers, one representing population and the other the states equally, an executive headed by an elected president and an independent judiciary, each so arranged as to check the others; and the whole was made subject to a written and supreme Constitution, to which a Bill of Rights was shortly added. The revolution is regarded as significant beyond America for several reasons. It was the first successful assertion of independence by a colony against a European power, and the example was before the Spanish American colonies when they rose a generation later and before anti-colonial movements long afterwards. It established, on a scale that had not been attempted, a large republic with an elected head of state, a written constitution and a declared bill of rights, which showed that a people could constitute a government deliberately rather than inherit one, and the devices it adopted, federalism, the separation of powers, judicial review, were studied and borrowed by constitution-makers elsewhere, India among them. Its principles influenced the French Revolution, with which several of its participants were connected. Its limitations were equally consequential: slavery was left in place and the rights declared were not extended to the enslaved population, to the indigenous peoples or to women, and the contradiction between the declared principle and the practice became the ground of the arguments that followed in the next century.

Treaty of Paris of 1783, with the recognition of independence and the territory conceded 1. The failure of the Articles of Confederation and the framing of the Constitution of 1787 1. The features of that Constitution, with

federalism, separation of powers and a bill of rights 1. The wider significance, as the first successful colonial independence and as a model of a written republican constitution, with its limitations noted 1.

Question 3 [10]

- (a) First, the structure of privilege. French society was divided into three estates, and the clergy and the nobility, together a small fraction of the population, held extensive privileges, among them exemption from the principal direct taxes and a near monopoly of the higher offices of the state, the church and the army. The Third Estate, which included the peasantry, the urban workers and the prosperous and educated middle class, bore the burden of taxation and was excluded from these positions, and the resentment of the middle class at exclusion from office and influence was as important as the hardship of the poor. Second, the condition of the state's finances and the economic distress of the late 1780s. The treasury had been exhausted by war, including the assistance given to the Americans, and by the expenditure of the court, the system of tax collection was inefficient and inequitable, and attempts at reform were defeated by the resistance of the privileged orders to any surrender of their exemptions; a succession of poor harvests raised the price of bread sharply and the condition of the urban poor became desperate at exactly the moment the government was forced to summon the Estates General. Third, the influence of new ideas. The writers of the Enlightenment had subjected absolute monarchy, privilege by birth and the authority of the church to criticism, had argued for the rule of law, for liberty of thought and for government resting on consent, and Rousseau in particular had made popular sovereignty intelligible as a principle of government, so there existed a body of educated opinion with a conception of an alternative order. The example of the American revolution gave these ideas a demonstration in practice. To these may be added the weakness of Louis XVI's government and the unpopularity of the court.

The structure of privilege and the exclusion of the Third Estate from office and influence 1. The financial crisis of the state together with economic distress and the price of bread 1. The influence of Enlightenment thought, or the example of the American revolution 1.

- (b) The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, adopted by the National Assembly in August 1789, was the statement of principle on which the new order was to rest, and its significance lies in what it asserted and in what it abolished by implication. It declared that men are born and remain free and equal in rights, so privilege by birth and the division into estates could not stand; that the source of all sovereignty resides in the nation, so authority was transferred from the person of the king to the body of citizens; that liberty consists in being able to do whatever does not injure another, with the limits set by law alone; that the law is the expression of the general will and that all citizens have a right to take part in its making; that all citizens are equal before the law and equally admissible to public office according to their capacity; that no one may be accused, arrested or detained except in the cases and according to the forms the law prescribes, and that a person is presumed innocent until declared guilty; that no one is to be disturbed on account of his opinions, including his religious opinions; and that the free communication of thought and of opinion is among the most precious of rights. It also declared property to be inviolable and sacred and provided that taxation must be equally apportioned among the citizens according to their means. The document became the preamble to the constitution of 1791 and the reference against which subsequent governments were measured. Its significance was not confined to France: it was translated and circulated widely, it supplied the vocabulary of liberal and nationalist movements across Europe and beyond for a century, and its propositions are recognisable in later declarations of rights. Its limits were pointed out at the time and afterwards. The distinction soon drawn between active and passive citizens confined the vote to men of property, women were not admitted to the rights declared, which Olympe de Gouges answered with a declaration of the rights of woman, and slavery was not immediately abolished in the French colonies, so the universality of the language was in advance of the practice, and that gap became a ground of agitation in the years that followed.

The abolition of privilege through the assertion of natural equality and of national sovereignty 1. Specific rights declared, such as equality before the law, freedom of opinion and the protections in criminal procedure 1. Its wider influence as a model for later declarations, with its limits as regards the franchise, women and slavery 1.

- (c) The monarchy fell in 1792. War with Austria and Prussia had begun in April, military reverses and the suspicion that the king was in communication with the enemy inflamed Paris, the Tuileries was stormed in August, the monarchy was suspended and a new assembly, the Convention, elected by a much wider

franchise, declared France a republic in September. Louis XVI was tried and executed in January 1793. The republic then faced invasion, revolt in the Vendee and elsewhere, and acute shortage, and the government passed effectively to the Committee of Public Safety, in which Robespierre became the dominant figure. The period from the middle of 1793 is called the Reign of Terror: emergency government was established, prices and wages were controlled, a mass levy raised the armies that drove back the invasion, and the revolutionary tribunals sent very large numbers to the guillotine, first the king's supporters, then the Girondins, then the factions on the left and finally Robespierre's own associates. Robespierre was overthrown and executed in July 1794. The Convention then produced a more conservative constitution and the Directory governed from 1795, a regime of five directors and two chambers, which maintained itself between royalists on one side and radicals on the other, suffered from inflation and corruption, repeatedly annulled elections and depended increasingly on the army. Napoleon Bonaparte, who had made his reputation in Italy and whose Egyptian campaign was less successful than its reporting suggested, overthrew the Directory in the coup of 1799 and was made First Consul, becoming Consul for life in 1802 and Emperor in 1804. On whether he preserved or betrayed the Revolution, the case that he preserved it runs as follows. He kept the substantive social gains and made them permanent: feudal dues and the privileges of the nobility were not restored, the peasants kept the land they had acquired, and equality before the law was embodied in the Civil Code, which also secured property, established civil marriage and divorce and was carried into the countries he conquered. He preserved the principle that office should go by merit rather than by birth, filling the administration and the army accordingly, settled the religious question by the Concordat without returning the church's confiscated lands, created the Bank of France and a sound currency, reorganised the finances and established the lycees and the structures of a national system of education. Outside France his armies broke up the Holy Roman Empire, abolished serfdom and feudal jurisdictions in several territories and carried the Code and the idea of a nation of equal citizens across Europe, so that national and liberal movements afterwards drew on what his rule had introduced. The case that he betrayed it is equally strong. The Revolution had been made against absolute and hereditary rule, and he made himself Emperor and sought to found a dynasty, crowning himself in 1804 and placing his relatives on thrones. He suppressed the political liberty the Revolution had proclaimed: the press was censored, political opposition was not tolerated, the police and surveillance were extended, the elected assemblies were reduced to formality and the plebiscites he held were managed. He restored a titled nobility of his own creation, reduced the civil position of women under the Code, which placed a wife under her husband's authority, and reintroduced slavery in the French colonies after the Convention had abolished it. His wars, undertaken for conquest as much as for defence, cost very large numbers of lives, and the Europe that defeated him restored the Bourbons in 1814 and 1815, so that in the short run his career ended in the return of the dynasty the Revolution had removed. The usual conclusion is that he consolidated the social and legal revolution while destroying the political one, which is why the question has been argued for two centuries, and a candidate should present it in that form rather than choosing a side.

The fall of the monarchy in 1792 and the establishment of the republic, with the Terror and the fall of Robespierre
 1. *The Directory and the coup of 1799 by which Napoleon came to power*
 1. *The case that Napoleon preserved the Revolution, with the Civil Code, careers open to merit and the abolition of feudal privilege*
 1. *The case that he betrayed it, with the Empire, the suppression of liberty and the restoration of slavery, and the question left open*
 1.

Question 4 [10]

- (a) First, capital and a commercial foundation. Britain had accumulated wealth from trade, from colonial commerce including the trade in slaves and the plantations it served, and from agriculture, and it possessed a banking and credit system, joint stock companies and a large merchant fleet, so funds were available for investment in machinery and in works, and there existed merchants accustomed to risk and to distant markets. Second, resources and the means of moving them. Britain had coal and iron ore in quantity and frequently near one another, which mattered greatly once steam power and iron founding became central, and it had a long coastline with navigable rivers, to which canals and later railways were added, so the cost of carrying coal, ore and finished goods was comparatively low; the island position also spared the country the destruction that war brought to the Continent. Third, labour and the demand for manufactures. Changes in agriculture, including enclosure and improved methods, raised output with fewer hands and released labour

for industry, while population grew; a large and growing home market existed alongside colonial markets secured by naval power and by the navigation laws. To these should be added a series of technical inventions, in spinning and weaving, in the smelting of iron with coke and above all in the steam engine, which were taken up quickly because the commercial conditions rewarded them, and a political and legal order favourable to enterprise, with secure property, a stable government, patent protection and comparatively few internal restrictions on trade.

Capital accumulated from trade and agriculture, with banking and credit 1. Coal and iron together with cheap transport by water, canal and railway 1. Labour released by agricultural change together with a large home and colonial market, or the series of technical inventions 1.

- (b) First, the growth of towns and the conditions of urban life. Population moved to the places where the mills and the pits were, so towns grew faster than any provision for them: housing was built back to back without drainage or water supply, families occupied single rooms and cellars, sewage and refuse accumulated, and epidemics of cholera and typhus followed, while smoke from coal darkened the air. The old parish machinery was wholly inadequate to populations of this size, and the public health legislation of the nineteenth century was a response to conditions that had become intolerable. Second, the transformation of work and of the family. Work moved out of the household and the workshop into the factory, where the discipline was new: hours were long, the day was governed by the clock and by the machine rather than by the task or the season, and the worker owned neither his tools nor what he made. Women and children were employed extensively in the textile mills and in the mines, since their labour was cheap, which altered the position of the family and provoked the earliest factory legislation; the artisan who had worked at home with his own tools was displaced by machine production and resisted it, sometimes by breaking machines. Third, the appearance of a new class structure and of new forms of collective action. An industrial middle class of manufacturers, merchants and professional men rose in wealth and in political weight, demanding and in time obtaining a share of political power, while a large industrial working class was formed, concentrated in the towns and conscious of a common position, which found expression in trade unions, in friendly societies, in the agitation for the extension of the franchise and in the socialist movements of the century. To these may be added the rise in literacy and the extension of schooling that industrial society required, and the very great improvement in material living standards over the longer run, which came late and unevenly and after a generation or more of hardship.

Urbanisation with the conditions of housing, sanitation and public health 1. The change in the nature of work, with factory discipline and the employment of women and children 1. The formation of a new middle class and an industrial working class, with trade unions and movements for political reform 1.

- (c) The responses to the conditions of industrial labour came from several directions. Factory legislation was the earliest. Parliament acted first on the employment of children in the textile mills, limiting their hours and requiring some schooling, then extended the restrictions to women and to young persons, provided for inspectors with power to enter and to prosecute, since the earlier acts had been ignored for want of enforcement, prohibited the employment of women and children underground in the mines, and over the course of the century limited the working day, required the fencing of machinery and provided compensation for industrial injury. The process was gradual and was resisted on the ground that it interfered with freedom of contract, and the evidence collected by parliamentary commissions of enquiry was important in overcoming that resistance. Trade unions were the response of the workers themselves. Combinations had been unlawful and the repeal of the laws against them early in the century allowed organisation, which developed first among skilled craftsmen in particular trades, with funds for sickness and unemployment as well as for strikes, and spread later to the unskilled in the general unions formed towards the end of the century; unions obtained legal protection for their funds and for peaceful action by stages, and they moved from industrial action to political representation, which in Britain produced a party of labour. Socialist thought supplied an analysis and a programme. The earlier writers, called Utopian socialists, proposed cooperative communities and model settlements and argued by example rather than by politics; Robert Owen's experiments belong to this group. Marx and Engels, writing from the 1840s, offered instead an account in which the private ownership of the means of production was the source of the worker's condition, in which the value created by labour was appropriated as profit, and in which the working class, created and concentrated by industry itself, would in

due course overthrow the system; the Communist Manifesto of 1848 set this out and the First International attempted to organise it across countries. Others, the social democrats and the Fabians among them, argued that the same ends could be reached by legislation, by municipal provision and by the extension of the franchise. Alongside these ran the work of churches, of philanthropists, of cooperative societies and of the writers whose accounts of industrial conditions reached a wide public. The connection between industrialisation and imperial expansion is of several kinds. Industry required raw materials that temperate Europe did not produce, cotton for the mills, later rubber, vegetable oils, tin, copper and above all the minerals of Africa and Asia, and secure control of a territory appeared the surest means of obtaining them. It required markets, and as the industrial powers multiplied and each raised tariffs against the others, each sought markets it could reserve for itself, which is one reason the partition of Africa and the scramble for concessions in China followed the industrialisation of Germany and the United States rather than preceding it. Accumulated capital sought investment at higher returns than were available at home, in railways, plantations, mines and loans to governments, and such investment produced pressure on governments to secure the territories in which it was placed. Industrial technology also supplied the means of conquest and control, the steamship, the railway, the telegraph, quinine and the breech-loading rifle and the machine gun making it possible to penetrate and to hold territories that had been beyond reach. And the industrial rivalry of the powers turned colonies into counters of prestige and into coaling stations and bases for the navies that protected the trade. Historians differ about the weight to be given to the economic motive as against the strategic and the political, since much of the territory annexed was never profitable and investment went largely to other developed countries rather than to the colonies, and the candidate is not expected to settle that question.

Factory legislation described, with the regulation of hours, of the employment of women and children, and the provision of inspection 1. The growth of trade unions, from craft societies to general unions, with their legal recognition and move into politics 1. Socialist thought, distinguishing the earlier cooperative schemes from the analysis of Marx and Engels and from reformist social democracy 1. The connection with imperial expansion, through raw materials, markets, the export of capital and the technology of conquest 1.

Question 5 [10]

- (a) First, economic motives. The industrial economies required raw materials they did not produce, cotton, rubber, vegetable oils, tin, copper, gold and diamonds, and sought markets for manufactures at a time when the industrial powers were multiplying and raising tariffs against one another, so each wished to reserve markets for itself; accumulated capital also sought investment abroad at higher returns, in railways, mines, plantations and loans, and an investor pressed his government to secure the territory in which his money lay. Second, strategic and political motives. Possessions were valued for the protection of other possessions and of the routes between them, which is why coaling stations, naval bases and the approaches to the Suez Canal and to India were acquired, and territory was taken to forestall a rival rather than for any use of its own; national prestige became bound up with the extent of an empire, so that Germany and Italy, recently unified, and France after her defeat in 1871 sought colonies as marks of great power standing, and domestic politics rewarded governments that could point to acquisitions. Third, ideological and cultural motives, which supplied the justification and were sincerely held by many. Europeans of the period commonly believed their civilisation superior and its extension a benefit, so the spread of Christianity, of commerce, of law and of medicine was presented as a duty, which was expressed in phrases such as the civilising mission; the doctrines of racial hierarchy then current, and the application of ideas of struggle and survival to nations, lent this a pseudo-scientific support. The activity of missionaries, of explorers, of traders and of chartered companies on the spot frequently drew governments in behind them, which historians describe as the influence of men on the periphery on policy at the centre.

Economic motives, including raw materials, markets and the export of capital 1. Strategic and political motives, including bases, the forestalling of rivals and national prestige 1. Ideological and cultural motives, including the claimed civilising mission and doctrines of racial hierarchy, or the part of missionaries, explorers and companies 1.

- (b) Before about 1880 European holdings in Africa were confined largely to coastal stations and to a few older settlements, and the interior was little known to Europeans. Within some twenty years almost the whole continent had been claimed. The occupation of Egypt by Britain in 1882, and the rivalry over the Congo basin,

in which Leopold II of Belgium was acting through his own agents, brought matters to a head, and the Berlin Conference of 1884 to 1885, convened by Bismarck, laid down rules by which the powers would recognise one another's claims, requiring effective occupation and notification and providing for free navigation on the Congo and the Niger; no African ruler was present and the conference dealt with the continent as territory to be allotted. The claims were then made good on the ground by treaties with local rulers whose terms were frequently not understood as the Europeans construed them, by the operations of chartered companies, and where these failed by force, in which the industrial powers had an overwhelming advantage in weapons; resistance was widespread and in places prolonged, and Ethiopia alone defeated a European invasion and preserved its independence, as Liberia also remained outside the partition. Disputes between the powers were settled by agreement, as in the confrontation between Britain and France at Fashoda in 1898, and in southern Africa the British fought the Boer republics at the end of the century. The consequences were profound. Boundaries were drawn in Europe without regard to the distribution of peoples, so that single communities were divided between two or three colonies while hostile groups were enclosed in one, and the states that became independent in the twentieth century inherited those lines and the conflicts that followed from them. African political authority was destroyed or reduced to an instrument of colonial administration, whether through direct rule or through the indirect rule that governed by means of selected chiefs. Economies were reorganised to supply the metropolitan country: land was alienated to settlers and to companies, taxation in cash and in some territories forced labour compelled men to work on mines, railways and plantations, migrant labour drew men away from their villages for long periods, and the production of a single export crop or mineral replaced a more varied subsistence, which left these economies dependent on a world price they did not control and without manufacturing of their own. Transport was built to carry exports from the interior to the coast rather than to connect regions with one another. The human cost was severe, the exactions in the Congo Free State under Leopold being the extreme case and producing a scandal that forced its transfer to the Belgian state. Against this must be set the introduction of written languages, of schools and of medicine, largely through missionaries, and of some infrastructure, which the defenders of colonial rule emphasised. The partition also produced its own opposition: the educated Africans created by mission schools and by study abroad formed the first associations and parties, pan-African ideas developed among Africans and people of African descent, and the movements that won independence after the Second World War grew out of this period.

The rapidity of the partition after about 1880 and the part of the Berlin Conference in regulating claims 1. The methods by which claims were made good, with treaties, companies and force, and the exceptions of Ethiopia and Liberia 1. The consequences, including arbitrary boundaries, the destruction of African authority and the reorganisation of economies for export 1.

- (c) The defenders of imperialism argued on several grounds. The first was the claim of a civilising mission: that European rule brought law and order to territories said to be disordered, ended practices such as slavery, human sacrifice and internal warfare, and introduced schools, hospitals, written languages and the Christian religion, so that the subject peoples were the beneficiaries. The second was economic: that colonies were opened to commerce, railways, ports, telegraphs and irrigation were built, mineral wealth that lay unused was developed, and the territories were drawn into a world economy to the advantage of all, the metropolitan country obtaining materials and markets and the colony obtaining capital and technique. The third was political and strategic: that the possession of an empire was necessary to the standing and the security of a great power in an age when rivals were acquiring one, that a territory not taken would be taken by someone worse, and that a surplus population found room in the settlement colonies. The fourth was a theory of racial and civilisational hierarchy, by which some peoples were held unfit to govern themselves for the present and required tutelage until they were ready, a position stated as trusteeship and used to postpone self-government indefinitely. The critics answered each of these. They argued that the economic gain was taken out of the colony: revenue was raised locally and spent on the apparatus of control, raw materials were bought cheap and manufactures sold dear, local manufacture was discouraged where it competed, land was alienated and labour coerced, and the profits of companies and the salaries and pensions of officials were remitted abroad, which in the Indian case was argued at length as the drain of wealth. They argued that the political cost was the destruction of indigenous institutions and of the capacity for self-government, and that a people cannot be trained for freedom by being denied it. They pointed to the moral case: that conquest was effected by force

and maintained by force, that resistance was answered with massacre, that famine, forced labour and the exactions of concession companies killed very large numbers, and that the professions of civilisation were contradicted by the practice. They argued that the doctrine of racial hierarchy on which the whole was founded had no basis, and that the colonial state was a despotism whatever was said about trusteeship. Critics within Europe added that empire benefited particular interests, investors, exporters, shipping and the services, while the taxpayer bore the cost of armies and administration and the working class gained nothing, and that imperial rivalry had brought the powers into the conflicts that led to the war of 1914. The modern assessment of the economic effects rests upon evidence of several kinds, and this is where the difficulty lies. It rests on the quantitative record where it exists: trade figures, revenue and expenditure accounts, the direction and the return on investment, estimates of national income and of agricultural output, wages and prices, demographic series and the frequency of famine. It rests on the identification of what is to be compared, since an assessment requires some view of what would have happened otherwise, and there is no agreement on that counterfactual, those who defend colonial rule comparing the colony with its own earlier condition and the critics comparing it with the countries that remained independent and industrialised. It rests on distinguishing what the colonial power did from what the world economy of the period would have done anyway, since railways, steamships and world prices affected independent countries too. And it must separate the question of gain to the metropolitan country from the question of loss to the colony, which are not the same question, since the historical work on Britain suggests that the empire as a whole may not have been profitable to the British economy taken together even where particular interests gained greatly and the colony lost. The present position among historians is that the costs to the colonised, in the de-industrialisation of existing crafts, in the commercialisation and the vulnerability of agriculture, in the transfer of resources and in the neglect of education and health, are substantially established, while the magnitude of the transfer and the comparison with a hypothetical independent development remain disputed, and a candidate should present the debate in these terms.

Two arguments of the defenders, including the civilising mission and the economic case 1. Two further arguments of the defenders, including strategic necessity and the doctrine of trusteeship 1. The critics' answers, including the extraction of economic gain, the destruction of self-government and the moral objection 1. What the modern assessment rests upon, including the quantitative record, the problem of the counterfactual, and the distinction between gain to the metropolis and loss to the colony 1.

Question 6 [10]

- (a) First, the system of alliances and the rivalry of the powers. Europe had divided into two armed camps, the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy against the Triple Entente that grew out of the agreements between France and Russia, Britain and France and Britain and Russia; the alliances were intended to deter but had the effect of converting a local quarrel into a general war, since each power feared that the defeat of its partner would leave it isolated, and the military plans, Germany's in particular, required very rapid mobilisation, so that the decision for war had to be taken quickly once a crisis began. Second, militarism and the arms race. Armies were enlarged and conscription extended, general staffs acquired great influence over policy, and the naval rivalry between Britain and Germany, in which each built capital ships against the other, poisoned relations between them; expenditure on armaments rose steeply and the existence of large forces and detailed war plans made military considerations prevail over diplomatic ones in the crisis. Third, nationalism, particularly in the Balkans, and imperial rivalry. The decline of Ottoman power had left the Balkans contested between Austria-Hungary and Russia, Serbia sought to unite the Serbs of the region and Austria-Hungary regarded Serbian nationalism as a threat to the survival of a multi-national empire, and the annexation of Bosnia and the Balkan wars left the region unsettled; in the wider world the powers had come repeatedly into collision over Morocco and elsewhere, which hardened the alignments. The immediate occasion was the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand at Sarajevo in June 1914, upon which Austria-Hungary, assured of German support, made demands on Serbia that were followed by mobilisation on both sides and by the German invasion of Belgium, which brought Britain in.

The alliance system, with the two groupings named and its effect of generalising a local conflict 1. Militarism and the arms race, including the naval rivalry and the influence of military plans 1. Nationalism in the Balkans and imperial rivalry, with the assassination at Sarajevo as the immediate occasion 1.

- (b) The Treaty of Versailles, signed in 1919, was the settlement with Germany, the other defeated powers being dealt with by separate treaties. Its terms fall under four heads. Territorially, Alsace and Lorraine were returned to France; Germany ceded territory to the reconstituted Poland, including a corridor giving Poland access to the sea, with Danzig made a free city under the League; Eupen and Malmedy went to Belgium and northern Schleswig to Denmark after plebiscites; the Saar was placed under League administration with its coal to France for a period, after which a plebiscite was to decide; the Rhineland was to be occupied for a period and permanently demilitarised; and Germany lost all her overseas colonies, which were distributed among the victorious powers as mandates under the League. Union with Austria was forbidden. Militarily, the German army was limited to one hundred thousand men, conscription was prohibited, the General Staff was dissolved, the navy was greatly reduced and submarines, military aircraft, tanks and heavy artillery were forbidden. Financially, Germany was required to accept responsibility for the loss and damage caused by the war in the clause commonly called the war guilt clause, and to pay reparations, the amount being fixed afterwards by a commission at a figure Germany declared impossible; she was also required to deliver coal, shipping and livestock. Politically, the Covenant of the League of Nations formed the first part of the treaty, and Germany was not admitted to the League at the outset. The treaty was presented to Germany for signature rather than negotiated with her, which is why Germans called it a dictated peace, and resentment of its terms, of the war guilt clause and of the reparations in particular, became a standing theme of German politics and was exploited by the parties of the right.

Territorial terms, including Alsace and Lorraine, the cessions to Poland, the Rhineland and the loss of the colonies as mandates 1. Military restrictions, with the limit on the army and the prohibition of conscription and of specified weapons 1. Reparations with the war guilt clause, and the inclusion of the Covenant of the League, with the treaty dictated rather than negotiated 1.

- (c) The League of Nations failed for reasons of membership, of structure and of the will of its members. Its membership was incomplete from the first. The United States, whose President had been the principal author of the scheme, did not join, the Senate having declined to ratify the treaty, so the League lacked the one power whose weight might have made it effective; Germany was admitted only in 1926 and left in 1933, the Soviet Union joined only in 1934 and was expelled in 1939, and Japan and Italy both withdrew, so the body that was meant to be universal was in practice an association of Britain, France and the smaller states. Its structure was defective. Decisions of the Council and the Assembly on substantive matters required unanimity, so any member could prevent action; it had no armed force of its own and could act only through the forces of its members, which no member was obliged to provide; the sanctions available were economic and were ineffective unless applied by all, which they were not; and the League's identification with the peace treaties, of which the Covenant formed part, made it appear to the defeated powers an instrument for maintaining a settlement they rejected. The failure of will was decisive. The great powers that remained in it were unwilling to risk war or serious economic loss to enforce the Covenant against a determined aggressor: Japan's seizure of Manchuria in 1931 produced a commission of enquiry and a condemnation but no action, Italy's invasion of Abyssinia in 1935 produced economic sanctions that excluded oil and left the Suez Canal open, and the invasion succeeded; Germany's rearmament, the reoccupation of the Rhineland and the annexation of Austria were met by protest and by the policy of appeasement rather than by collective action; and the League was not even involved in the settlement at Munich. By 1939 it had ceased to count. The connection between the peace settlement and the rise of totalitarian government is of several kinds, and historians differ about its weight. In Germany the treaty supplied the grievance on which the parties of the right built. The war guilt clause, the loss of territory and of the colonies, the disarmament imposed on Germany alone and above all the reparations were presented as a humiliation inflicted on the nation, and the republic that had signed the treaty was charged with the betrayal; the myth that the army had not been defeated but stabbed in the back at home, though false, was widely believed. The reparations and the manner of their collection contributed to the inflation that destroyed German savings in 1923, and the Weimar republic was thereby associated in many minds with national humiliation and economic ruin, which deprived it of the loyalty it needed to survive a second crisis. That crisis came with the world depression from 1929, which raised unemployment to very high levels, destroyed confidence in parliamentary government and drove voters to the extremes; the Nazi vote rose with unemployment, and Hitler came to power in 1933 pledged to repudiate the treaty, to rearm and to recover what had been lost. In Italy the settlement contributed differently: Italy had

fought on the winning side but did not obtain the territory she had been led to expect, and the resulting sense of a mutilated victory, together with post-war economic distress, labour unrest and the weakness of parliamentary government, helped Mussolini to power in 1922. In Japan, which had also gained less than she expected and whose claim to a declaration of racial equality at the peace conference was rejected, the depression and the dependence of her economy on exports strengthened those who argued that security lay in territorial expansion. The qualification historians add is that the treaty alone does not account for these outcomes, since the settlement was in some respects less severe than it is often represented and other defeated states did not become totalitarian; the depression, the weakness of the new parliamentary institutions, the fear of communism among the propertied classes, the readiness of established elites to accept an authoritarian solution and the particular decisions of individuals were all necessary to the result. The settlement is therefore best described as having created the grievance and the instability on which these movements worked rather than as having produced them by itself.

The failure of membership, with the absence of the United States and the withdrawal of the major powers 1. Structural defects, including the requirement of unanimity, the absence of force and the dependence on economic sanctions 1. The failure of will, with Manchuria, Abyssinia and appeasement as instances 1. The connection with the rise of totalitarian government, through the German grievance and the depression, with the qualification that the treaty alone does not account for it 1.

Question 7 [10]

- (i) (b) Plassey. The defeat of Siraj-ud-Daulah in 1757 gave the Company a decisive influence over the government of Bengal, and the battle of Buxar in 1764 completed the process.

Correct option 1.

- (ii) The Permanent Settlement, introduced by Lord Cornwallis in 1793, which fixed the revenue demand on the zamindars in perpetuity.

Permanent Settlement named, with Cornwallis 1.

- (iii) (d) 1885. The first session was held at Bombay in December of that year.

Correct option 1.

- (iv) Raja Ram Mohan Roy, who founded the association at Calcutta that became the Brahmo Samaj and who campaigned against sati and for the education of women.

Ram Mohan Roy named 1.

- (v) (b) 1905. The partition was announced by Lord Curzon's government and was annulled in 1911.

Correct option 1.

- (vi) 1919, at Amritsar in the Punjab.

Year 1919 and Amritsar both given 1.

- (vii) (c) Chauri Chaura. After the killing of policemen there in February 1922 Gandhi suspended the movement on the ground that it had departed from non-violence.

Correct option 1.

- (viii) The Dandi march, also called the salt march, from Sabarmati to the coast at Dandi, where Gandhi broke the salt law in April 1930.

Dandi or salt march named 1.

- (ix) (a) Lord Mountbatten. The plan announced in June 1947 provided for the division of the country and the transfer of power in August of that year.

Correct option 1.

- (x) Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, as Minister for States, with V. P. Menon as the officer who conducted much of the negotiation.

Patel named 1.

Question 8 [10]

- (a) First, the weakening of the imperial structure after Aurangzeb. The long war in the Deccan exhausted the treasury and the army and kept the Emperor away from the north for many years, and the succession disputes

that followed his death in 1707 placed a series of short-lived and weak rulers on the throne, under whom the nobles became the real holders of power and the central administration lost control of appointments and of revenue. Second, the collapse of the revenue and military system on which the empire rested. The jagirs assigned to officers in place of salary became insufficient as the number of claimants rose, producing competition for the more productive assignments and a growing tendency for holders to extract as much as possible without regard to the condition of the land; governors of provinces made their offices hereditary in practice and retained the revenue they collected, so that Bengal, Awadh and Hyderabad became independent in all but name, and the military contingents maintained by the nobles ceased to be a dependable imperial force. Third, the rise of regional and rival powers and the invasions from outside. The long Maratha resistance in the Deccan developed into a power that raised tribute across much of India and in 1737 reached Delhi itself; Sikh and Jat resistance disturbed the north; and the invasions of Nadir Shah in 1739, who sacked Delhi, and of Ahmad Shah Abdali afterwards destroyed what remained of the empire's prestige and its finances. To these may be added the agrarian discontent produced by heavy revenue demands, the disaffection of groups alienated by the religious policy of the later years, and the arrival of the European companies, whose naval strength and disciplined infantry introduced a new factor the empire was unable to meet.

Weak succession after Aurangzeb, with the Deccan wars and the ascendancy of the nobles 1. The breakdown of the jagir and revenue system, with provincial governors becoming independent 1. The rise of the Marathas and other regional powers, with the invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali 1.

- (b) The advance was made in a series of steps. The Company had been a trading body with fortified factories and with privileges of trade granted by imperial farman, and its conflict with the Nawab of Bengal arose over the abuse of those privileges, over the fortification of Calcutta and over the private trade of its servants. The defeat of Siraj-ud-Daulah at Plassey in 1757, secured largely by the defection of his commander, allowed the Company to place Mir Jafar on the throne as a ruler dependent upon it, and the Company obtained money, the right to free trade and territorial concessions. The arrangement proved unstable because each new nawab was required to pay more than the revenues allowed, so Mir Jafar was replaced by Mir Qasim and Mir Qasim, who attempted to assert himself by abolishing the duties that the Company's servants were evading, was defeated. The battle of Buxar in 1764, in which the Company defeated the combined forces of Mir Qasim, the Nawab of Awadh and the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II, was decisive in a way that Plassey was not, because it established the Company's military superiority against the principal powers of northern India. By the settlement that followed, the Company obtained in 1765 the grant of the diwani, the right to collect the revenues of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, while the administration of justice and the outward forms of government remained with the Nawab. This produced what is called the dual system: the Company held the revenue and the real power without the responsibility of government, and the Nawab held the responsibility without the means. The consequences were severe, since the Company's servants and their Indian agents used the position for private gain, the revenue demand was pressed, and the famine in Bengal in 1770 caused very great mortality. The system was abandoned in 1772, when Warren Hastings as Governor took the administration into the Company's own hands, moved the treasury and the revenue offices to Calcutta and began to construct a civil and judicial administration, so that from that point the Company governed Bengal directly while continuing to acknowledge the Mughal Emperor in form. The process by which a trading company became a territorial power was thus complete within fifteen years of Plassey, and it was financed from the revenues of the territory itself.

Plassey in 1757 and the installation of dependent nawabs 1. Buxar in 1764 and the grant of the diwani in 1765, with the dual system and its consequences 1. The assumption of direct administration in 1772 under Warren Hastings 1.

- (c) The Permanent Settlement, introduced by Cornwallis in 1793 in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and later extended to parts of the north and the south, recognised the zamindars as proprietors of the land and fixed the revenue payable by them in perpetuity, the amount being settled once and for all so that the state renounced any share in future increases. The zamindar was free to make what arrangements he chose with the cultivators, and his estate could be sold if the revenue was not paid punctually, which was enforced by the sunset law requiring payment by a fixed day. The ryotwari system, developed in Madras and in Bombay by Read, Munro and others, dispensed with the intermediary: the settlement was made directly with the individual cultivator, who

was recognised as the holder so long as he paid, and the revenue was assessed field by field on a survey of the soil and its produce and was revised periodically, commonly after thirty years. The mahalwari system, applied in much of the north-western provinces and the Punjab, made the settlement with the village or the estate, called the mahal, as a unit, the village body being jointly responsible for the whole demand and distributing it among its members, with periodic revision of the assessment. The consequences for agriculture and for rural society were considerable. The revenue demand under all three was heavy, since the object was a large and certain income, and it was payable in cash by a fixed date whatever the harvest had been, which obliged the cultivator to sell his produce immediately after the harvest when prices were lowest and to borrow when they failed. The moneylender accordingly became central to the rural economy, debt accumulated, and land began to pass from cultivators to lenders and traders, a transfer that became easier once land was recognised as saleable property. Under the Permanent Settlement the zamindars, finding the fixed demand severe in the early years, lost many estates by sale, and the purchasers were frequently merchants and officials of Calcutta with no connection with the land, who sublet it through a series of intermediaries, so that between the proprietor and the cultivator there grew up several tiers each taking a share, and the tenant's rent rose while his security was slight until tenancy legislation late in the century gave him some protection. Because the state's share was fixed, the enormous rise in the value of land and of produce over the following century went to the zamindars and not to the state, which the government afterwards regretted, and because the zamindar's income was secure without investment, little was spent on improvement. Under ryotwari the cultivator dealt with the state directly and was spared the intermediary, but the assessment was made on each field and left the holder individually liable, the demand was often fixed too high at the outset, and the periodic revisions gave no security against increase; the smallness of the holdings and the absence of credit on reasonable terms left him dependent on the lender. Common to all three were the commercialisation of agriculture, the growth of production for the market and of cash crops in place of a varied subsistence, which increased the cultivator's exposure to the fluctuation of prices, and the increasing fragmentation of holdings as population rose. The old relations of the village, in which the share of the produce had varied with the harvest and obligations had been customary, were replaced by contract, rent and debt. Defenders of the settlements argued that fixing and recording rights in land, surveying it and creating a transferable property gave the cultivator a legal title he had not possessed and brought certainty where there had been arbitrary exaction; critics replied that the certainty was mainly the state's, that the recorded rights frequently did not correspond to the customary ones and omitted those of tenants and labourers, and that the rigidity of a cash demand enforced in bad years was the cause of the dispossession and indebtedness that followed.

The Permanent Settlement described, with proprietary right in the zamindars and the demand fixed in perpetuity 1. The ryotwari system described, with direct settlement with the cultivator and periodic revision 1. The mahalwari system described, with the village as the unit and joint responsibility 1. The consequences, including the cash demand, indebtedness, the transfer of land and the commercialisation of agriculture, with both assessments of the settlements noted 1.

Question 9 [10]

- (a) First, the decline of the handicraft industries, particularly the handloom textile industry. Indian cotton goods had been among the principal manufactures of the world, and in the nineteenth century Indian weavers lost their export markets to machine-made cloth from Lancashire, lost much of the home market as well once the duties that might have protected them were removed, and were further injured by the export of raw cotton, which raised the price of their material. Spinners were the earliest and worst affected, since imported yarn displaced hand-spun yarn, and large numbers who had lived by these crafts were thrown back on the land, which increased the pressure on it; writers of the period described the process as de-industrialisation, and although the extent of it has been debated, the loss of the old manufacturing centres is not in dispute. Second, the commercialisation of agriculture and the change in what was grown. The revenue demand in cash, the growth of a market and the requirements of British industry turned cultivation towards crops for sale and for export, cotton, jute, oilseeds, tea, indigo and opium, and in some districts cultivators were compelled by contract or by the pressure of planters to grow them, as in the indigo cultivation of Bengal and Bihar against which the cultivators rose. Dependence on a single crop and on prices fixed in distant markets left the cultivator exposed, food production received less attention, and the frequency and severity of famine in the

second half of the century were connected by contemporary critics with these changes and with the export of grain during scarcity. Third, the reshaping of the economy around the needs of the metropolitan country, which is the subject of the argument about the drain of wealth. India became an exporter of raw materials and an importer of manufactures; railways were built on a very large scale, financed by loans raised in London on which a guaranteed return was paid from Indian revenues, and laid out to carry produce from the interior to the ports rather than to connect Indian regions with one another; the home charges, that is the payments made in England for interest, pensions, salaries, stores and military expenditure, took a substantial part of the revenue out of the country every year; and the tariff policy was framed with British industry in view, so that Indian manufactures received no protection and in the case of cotton were burdened with an excise. Modern industry did develop from the later part of the century, in cotton mills at Bombay and Ahmedabad, in jute at Calcutta, largely under British ownership, and in iron and steel in the twentieth century, but it was confined to a few centres and a few lines, and did not alter the overwhelmingly agrarian character of the economy.

The decline of handicrafts, particularly handloom weaving and hand spinning, with the loss of markets 1. The commercialisation of agriculture, with cash and export crops and the increased exposure to famine 1. The restructuring of the economy around British needs, with the railways, the home charges and the tariff policy, and the limited growth of modern industry 1.

- (b) Western education in India grew from several sources and in stages. Missionaries established schools from the early part of the nineteenth century, and Indian reformers themselves pressed for instruction in English and in the modern sciences, Ram Mohan Roy among them arguing that the mathematics, natural philosophy and medicine of Europe were of more use than the traditional curriculum. The Charter Act of 1813 required the Company to apply a sum annually to education, which opened the question of what was to be taught, and this was decided in favour of English and of western learning in the 1830s, the Minute written by Macaulay being the best known statement of that view; English became the medium of higher instruction and a qualification for employment. The dispatch associated with Charles Wood in 1854 laid out a fuller scheme, providing for a department of public instruction in each province, for universities, for a graded system from the village school upwards with vernacular instruction at the lower levels, for grants in aid to private and missionary schools and for the education of women, and the universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were established in 1857 as examining bodies. The system that developed was nevertheless narrow. Expenditure was small, and the emphasis fell on the higher and secondary levels and on the towns, so that mass literacy was neglected and remained very low; education for women lagged far behind, though it was taken up by reformers and by missionary bodies; and the object of the government was in large measure the supply of clerks and subordinate officials, which gave the instruction a literary rather than a technical or scientific character and produced more graduates than there were posts. The consequences were considerable and were not those the government had intended. An educated class was created, drawn largely from the upper castes and from the professions, which read English and had access to the political and legal thought of Europe, to the history of the English constitution, of the French Revolution and of Italian and Irish nationalism, and it applied those principles to its own position and found British rule wanting by them. English became a link language among educated men of every province, which made a national movement possible in a country of many languages, for the leaders of Bengal, Bombay and Madras could correspond and meet and publish to one another. The professions of law, teaching, journalism and medicine were filled from this class, and the press and the associations it founded created a public opinion where none had existed. The men who formed the Indian National Congress in 1885 and who led it for a generation were products of this education, and so were the social reformers who attacked practices within their own communities. At the same time the system produced criticism from another direction. Its neglect of Indian languages and of indigenous learning, and the attitude of superiority that accompanied it, provoked a reaction in favour of Indian traditions, which appears in the work of the Arya Samaj, of the Theosophical Society and of the national education movement that arose during the Swadeshi agitation, when national schools and colleges were founded outside the official system. Unemployment among the educated became a grievance in itself, and the discontent of educated young men without prospects was an element in the growth of the extremist and the revolutionary wings of the movement.

The growth of western education, with the decision in favour of English in the 1830s and the scheme of 1854 with the universities of 1857 1. The narrowness of the system, with its concentration on the higher levels and the towns and the neglect of mass literacy and of women's education 1. The consequences, including the creation of

an educated class that applied liberal and nationalist ideas to its own position, English as a link language, and the reaction in favour of national education 1.

- (c) The movements of social and religious reform in the nineteenth century had in common the attempt to purify religion as they understood it and to remove practices they held indefensible, and they differed in how far they looked to western or to indigenous authority. The Brahmo Samaj, which grew from the association founded at Calcutta by Ram Mohan Roy, rejected image worship and the authority of the later ritual texts, affirmed the worship of one God, and sought the sanction for its position in the Upanishads. Its social programme was its most important achievement: Ram Mohan Roy campaigned against sati, which was prohibited by regulation in 1829, pressed for the remarriage of widows, opposed polygamy and child marriage, argued for the property rights of women and for their education, and advocated western scientific instruction. Under Debendranath Tagore and Keshab Chandra Sen the Samaj continued this work, and its influence on the educated classes of Bengal, and through them on the public life of the province, was out of all proportion to the number of its adherents. The Arya Samaj, founded by Swami Dayanand Saraswati in 1875, took the Vedas as the sole authority and rejected what had been added to them, including image worship, the priestly monopoly of interpretation and the doctrine of caste by birth. It opposed child marriage and the prohibition on widow remarriage, advocated the education of girls and the raising of the age of marriage, worked for the uplift of those excluded as untouchable and admitted converts and reconverts to the fold through a ceremony of purification. Its most durable achievement was in education, through the network of schools and colleges founded in the Punjab and the north, which combined Sanskrit and Vedic learning with modern subjects, and it became a powerful force in the public life of that region. The Ramakrishna movement, founded by Swami Vivekananda in memory of his teacher, laid stress on the realisation of the divine within and on the essential unity of religions, and turned the energy of religion towards service: it established schools, hospitals, dispensaries and famine relief, carried an account of Hindu thought abroad, Vivekananda's address at the Parliament of Religions at Chicago in 1893 being the best known instance, and gave educated Indians confidence in their own tradition at a time when it was being disparaged. Among the movements of other communities, the Aligarh movement of Sayyid Ahmad Khan urged modern and English education on Muslims and founded the college at Aligarh that became a university, and the Singh Sabha movement worked for reform and education among the Sikhs; the Satyashodhak Samaj founded by Jotirao Phule in Maharashtra attacked caste and priestly authority from below and worked for the education of the lower castes and of women. The criticisms made of these movements are of several kinds. The first is that their reach was narrow. They were led and largely supported by the educated and the urban, drawn in the main from the upper castes and the professional classes, and their effect on the villages, where the great majority lived, was slight; the legislation they obtained, against sati, in favour of widow remarriage and raising the age of consent, altered the law without altering the practice over much of the country, since enforcement depended on complaint and few complained. The second is that their programme was selective. They attacked practices that educated opinion in Europe found shocking and that touched the respectability of their own class, and they gave much less attention to the conditions of the labouring poor, to the position of agricultural labourers and to untouchability, which the Brahmo Samaj in particular did little about; critics from the lower castes, Phule and later Ambedkar among them, argued that a reform conducted by Brahmins within the terms of their own scriptures could not reach an inequality that those scriptures sanctioned, and that what was needed was not purification but the rejection of the hierarchy itself. The third is that the appeal to a purer past had unintended consequences. The claim that a golden age existed in the Vedic or the ancient period, and that everything objectionable was a later corruption, substituted an idealised history for an examination of the present, and the assertion of the superiority of one's own tradition, which was a natural response to colonial disparagement, hardened the boundaries between communities; the activity of conversion and reconversion, and the controversies over the protection of the cow and over music before mosques, contributed to the communal antagonism that grew in the following decades, so that movements which began as reform became in part markers of religious identity. A fourth criticism is that the reform of the position of women was conducted by men and for reasons of their own, the woman being treated as the object of reform rather than as a party to it, and that the education urged on girls was frequently designed to make them better companions to educated husbands rather than independent persons. Defenders of the movements answer that they worked within

what was possible in their time, that they created the opinion without which the later legislation and the later movements of the depressed classes could not have arisen, and that the founding of schools and colleges was the most consequential thing any of them did.

Two movements correctly described with their aims and achievements 1. A third movement correctly described with its aims and achievements 1. Two criticisms, such as the narrowness of their reach and the selectiveness of their programme 1. A further criticism, such as the effect of appeals to a purer past on communal relations, or the treatment of women as objects of reform, with the defence noted 1.

Question 10 [10]

- (a) First, political and administrative causes. The Company had annexed state after state, by conquest as in the Punjab and Sind, and by the doctrine of lapse under Dalhousie, by which a ruler without a natural heir was not permitted to adopt one and his territory was taken, as in Satara, Jhansi and Nagpur; the annexation of Awadh in 1856 on the ground of misgovernment was deeply resented, the more so because a very large proportion of the Bengal army was recruited from that province, and the dispossession of its ruling house and of its talukdars gave the revolt in that region its character. Pensions and titles were discontinued, the Mughal Emperor was told that his successors would not retain the title, and Indians were excluded from all the higher posts of the administration, so that rulers, nobles and the educated alike found themselves without a place in the new order. Second, economic causes. The revenue settlements pressed heavily on the cultivators and the enquiries into land titles dispossessed many whose tenures could not be documented, notably in the resumption of revenue-free holdings in parts of the Deccan; the decline of the handicrafts deprived artisans of their living and threw them back on the land; and the whole structure of patronage by which courts had supported craftsmen, scholars and religious establishments disappeared with the courts themselves. Third, grievances in the army and the fear for religion. The sepoys were poorly paid and had little prospect of promotion, were commanded by officers of another race and faith whose attitudes had grown more distant, resented service across the sea and the withdrawal of allowances for service outside their own province, and had already mutinied on earlier occasions. Measures such as the prohibition of sati, the legalisation of widow remarriage and the permission for a convert to inherit, together with the activity of missionaries and the introduction of English education, persuaded many that the government intended to interfere with religion, and the rumour, in the event well founded, that the cartridges issued for the new rifle were greased with the fat of cows and pigs, which the sepoy had to bite, appeared as proof of a design to destroy the faith of Hindu and Muslim alike. This was the immediate occasion of the outbreak at Meerut in May 1857.

Political causes, including annexation, the doctrine of lapse and the exclusion of Indians from high office 1. Economic causes, including the revenue settlements, dispossession and the decline of handicrafts 1. Military grievances together with the fear of interference with religion, with the cartridges as the immediate occasion 1.

- (b) First, the government of India was transferred from the Company to the Crown. By the Act of 1858 the Company's powers were ended, a Secretary of State for India in the British Cabinet, assisted by a council, took the place of the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, and the Governor-General became in addition Viceroy as the Crown's representative; the Queen's proclamation of the same year announced the change, disclaimed any further extension of territory, promised that the treaties with the princes would be respected and the right of adoption allowed, and declared that there would be no interference with religion and that Indians would be admitted to office without distinction of race or creed, a promise honoured very imperfectly in practice. Second, the army was reorganised and the whole apparatus of control strengthened. The proportion of British to Indian troops was raised substantially, artillery and the higher commands were kept in British hands, recruitment was shifted towards the groups that had remained loyal and away from the regions that had revolted, and regiments were mixed in composition so that caste, community and region would not combine; the policy afterwards described as the theory of martial races dates from this reorganisation. The railway and telegraph network, whose military value had been demonstrated, was extended rapidly. Third, the character of British policy and of British attitudes changed. The annexation of Indian states ceased and the princes, who had largely stood aside or assisted the government, were treated thereafter as allies and as a bulwark of the regime, a change symbolised by the assumption of the title of Empress in 1876 and by the durbars that followed. The readiness to reform Indian society, which had marked the previous generation, was replaced by caution about anything that touched religion or custom, since social

interference was now held to have caused the revolt. Racial distance widened: the memory of the massacres on both sides was long, Europeans in India became more exclusive, and Indians were increasingly excluded in practice from the higher services notwithstanding the proclamation, which became a grievance of the educated class. The policy of conciliating the princes, the landed classes and particular communities as counterweights to the educated, and of emphasising the differences between Hindus and Muslims, developed in this period. A further consequence was that the revolt, which failed and was put down with great severity, became part of the memory of the later national movement, which treated 1857 as a first struggle for independence even where its own aims and methods were quite different.

The transfer of government from the Company to the Crown by the Act of 1858, with the Queen's proclamation 1. The reorganisation of the army, with the altered ratio of troops, the change in recruitment and the mixing of regiments 1. The change in policy and attitude, with the conciliation of the princes, caution in social reform and increased racial distance 1.

- (c) The Indian National Congress was founded in 1885, and the reasons for its appearance at that time are several. An educated professional class had been formed by western education, concentrated in the three presidency towns, which read English, followed public affairs through a growing press and had learnt the political vocabulary of representation, of the rule of law and of national self-government. It found its own prospects blocked, since the higher posts of the administration remained closed in practice and the age limit and the holding of the examination in England kept Indians out of the covenanted service. Economic grievances had been articulated, the exclusion of Indian manufactures from protection, the burden of the home charges and the military expenditure, the condition of agriculture and the recurrence of famine, which Dadabhai Naoroji and others set out as the drain of wealth. Associations had already been formed in the provinces, such as the British Indian Association, the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, the Indian Association of Calcutta and the Madras Mahajana Sabha, and a body of all-India scope was the natural next step; the agitation over the Ilbert Bill, in which the European community in India successfully resisted a measure allowing Indian judges to try Europeans in the interior, showed Indians both the power of organised opposition and the limits of official goodwill, and the restrictions on the vernacular press and the reduction of the age limit for the service added to the discontent. The improvement of railways, post and telegraph made an organisation across provinces practicable. That the first session was convened with the knowledge and encouragement of a retired British official, A. O. Hume, has given rise to the suggestion that the body was intended as a safety valve for discontent; the evidence for this is disputed, and in any case the Congress soon developed aims of its own. The aims and methods of the early leaders, among them Dadabhai Naoroji, Surendranath Banerjea, Pherozeshah Mehta, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Badruddin Tyabji, were those of what was later called the moderate school. Their object was not independence but reform within the British connection: the expansion of the legislative councils and the introduction of an elected element, the holding of the civil service examination in India and the admission of Indians to higher posts, the separation of judicial from executive functions, a reduction of military expenditure and of the home charges, the protection of Indian industry, attention to agriculture and to famine, and the extension of education. Their method was constitutional agitation: annual sessions with resolutions and petitions, the preparation of carefully reasoned memoranda on public finance and administration, questions and speeches in the councils by those who were nominated to them, representation to the Secretary of State and to Parliament, and a sustained campaign in the British press and before British electors, for which a committee was maintained in London and for which Naoroji himself entered the House of Commons. They believed that British rule, whatever its faults in practice, rested on principles of liberty and justice to which an appeal could be made, that the facts needed only to be laid before the British public to be acted upon, and that the Indian people were not yet organised or united enough for anything more. Their achievements were real: they created a national organisation and a national public opinion where none had existed, framed the economic critique of colonial rule that every later generation used, and obtained the enlargement of the councils in 1892 and 1909. The criticism made within the Congress itself, by those called the extremists, among them Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal, was that this method had been tried for twenty years and had produced very little. They argued that the appeal to British justice rested on a misunderstanding, since the government existed to serve British interests and would not concede anything that touched them, and that reform granted in response to petition would always be too small and too late. They objected that the Congress was a body of lawyers and

professional men holding an annual meeting and dispersing, with no contact with the mass of the people, and that its proceedings in English could not reach them; the movement, they held, must be taken to the people in their own languages and through their own festivals and traditions, as Tilak did in Maharashtra. They argued that self-government was a right and not a concession to be solicited, and that the demand should be stated as such; and they held that methods were needed which brought pressure to bear, the boycott of British goods, the promotion of swadeshi manufacture, the boycott of schools, courts and offices, and passive resistance. The moderates replied that agitation of this kind would provoke repression that the movement could not withstand, that it risked violence, and that the mass of the people were not prepared for it. The disagreement, which was about both the ends and the means, led to the split at Surat in 1907, and the two wings were reunited only in 1916.

The reasons for the founding of the Congress, including the educated class, its exclusion from office, the economic grievances and the existing provincial associations 1. The aims of the early leaders, with their object of reform within the British connection and their specific demands 1. Their methods of constitutional agitation, with petitions, memoranda and the appeal to British opinion, and their achievements 1. The extremist criticism, with its objection to the appeal to British justice and to the narrow social base, and its proposed methods, with the moderate reply 1.

Question 11 [10]

- (a) First, the immediate cause, the partition of Bengal announced in 1905 by Lord Curzon's government and carried out in October of that year. The official reason was administrative convenience, the province being very large, but the line chosen divided the Bengali-speaking population and separated the eastern districts, where Muslims were in a majority, from the western, and Indian opinion held that the real object was to break the political influence of educated Bengal and to set Hindu against Muslim; the proposal had been known since 1903 and the protest against it, through petitions, public meetings and the press, had been ignored, which persuaded many that constitutional methods were useless. Second, the accumulated economic grievance and the demand for Indian industry. The decline of handicrafts, the absence of protection for Indian manufactures, the pressure of the revenue demand and the recurrence of famine had been set out for twenty years by the Congress leaders, and the idea of promoting Indian production and of refusing British goods had already been canvassed, so the boycott announced in protest against the partition was taken up as an economic programme in its own right and swadeshi enterprise, mills, banks, insurance and small industries, was founded under its banner. Third, the growth of a more assertive nationalism and the impatience of a younger generation. The extremist leaders had argued that petition and prayer would obtain nothing and that self-government must be demanded as a right; the measures of the preceding years, the restrictions on the press, the Universities Act, the official conduct during the plague and the famine, and the open resistance of the European community to the Ilbert Bill had hardened opinion; and events abroad, among them the Japanese victory over Russia in 1905, the revolution in Russia and the constitutional movements in Persia and Turkey, suggested that Asian peoples could stand against European power. The spread of literacy, the vernacular press and the use of festivals and of literature for political purposes had also made a wider mobilisation possible than in 1885.

The partition of Bengal of 1905, with the suspicion of a political motive and the disregard of earlier protest 1. Economic grievances and the demand for Indian industry, giving the boycott and swadeshi their programme 1. The growth of assertive nationalism, with the extremist critique and the influence of events abroad 1.

- (b) Gandhi returned to India early in 1915, after some twenty years in South Africa, where he had developed and tested the method he called satyagraha in campaigns against discriminatory legislation, had learnt to organise people of different religions, languages and classes, and had acquired a reputation in India through the reports of that work. On the advice of Gokhale, whom he regarded as his political teacher, he spent his first year travelling the country without taking a political position, and he founded an ashram near Ahmedabad. The circumstances that brought him to the leadership were partly of his own making and partly the condition of the movement. The Congress had been divided since Surat in 1907 and, although the two wings came together in 1916 and an agreement was reached with the Muslim League in the same year at Lucknow, it remained an organisation of the educated classes, without a programme that could move the mass of the population. The deaths of Gokhale and Pherozeshah Mehta in 1915 and of Tilak in 1920 removed the leaders of both wings

within a few years. The war had raised expectations of a substantial advance in return for the men and the money India had provided, and the announcement of 1917 that the policy was the progressive realisation of responsible government was read as a promise. Gandhi established his credentials by a series of local campaigns in which the method was shown to work and in which he dealt with the grievances of peasants and workers rather than of the educated: at Champaran in 1917 on behalf of the indigo cultivators of Bihar, who were compelled to grow the crop on part of their holdings; at Ahmedabad in 1918 in a dispute between mill workers and owners, where he undertook his first political fast; and at Kheda in 1918 in support of cultivators seeking remission of revenue after a failed harvest. These gave him a standing with constituencies the Congress had not reached, and they demonstrated that non-violent resistance could obtain practical results. The decisive events came in 1919. The Rowlatt legislation, which continued wartime powers of detention and trial without the ordinary safeguards into peacetime, was passed against the unanimous opposition of the Indian members of the council, and Gandhi called for a nationwide hartal and satyagraha against it, the first all-India agitation he led. The firing at Jallianwala Bagh at Amritsar in April, in which a large number of people assembled in an enclosed space were killed, and the subsequent conduct of the authorities in the Punjab, together with the refusal to punish those responsible, destroyed Gandhi's remaining faith in the good intentions of the government; he returned the honour he had received from it. At the same time the Khilafat question, arising from the treatment of the Ottoman Sultan in the peace settlement, had aroused Indian Muslims, and Gandhi saw in it the opportunity for joint action; he obtained the support of the Khilafat leaders for a programme of non-cooperation. The Congress, meeting at Calcutta in September 1920 and at Nagpur in December, adopted his programme and also his reorganisation of the party, which created committees at the provincial, district and village level on linguistic lines, opened membership on payment of a small subscription and made the vernaculars the languages of its work. From that point the leadership was his, and the character of the movement changed from the petitioning of a body of professional men to a mass agitation with a programme of action.

Gandhi's experience in South Africa and the development of satyagraha there, with his return in 1915 1. The local campaigns at Champaran, Ahmedabad and Kheda, which established his method and his standing with peasants and workers 1. The events of 1919 and 1920, the Rowlatt Act, Jallianwala Bagh and the Khilafat question, with the adoption of non-cooperation and the reorganisation of the Congress 1.

- (c) The Non-Cooperation Movement was launched in 1920 on a programme of withdrawing cooperation from the institutions of the government. Titles and honours were surrendered; students left government schools and colleges and national institutions were founded; lawyers gave up practice in the courts; the elections to the councils under the new Act were boycotted; foreign cloth was boycotted and publicly burnt, hand spinning and the wearing of khadi were taken up, and the programme included the use of the charkha, Hindu-Muslim unity, the removal of untouchability and the prohibition of liquor. The response was very wide and went beyond what the Congress had organised: peasants in parts of the United Provinces and Bengal, workers in mills and plantations, and the people of regions with their own grievances joined, and the movement was for the first time one of large numbers rather than of a professional class. It was also the first occasion on which Hindus and Muslims acted together on a national scale, the Khilafat and non-cooperation campaigns running as one. Gandhi suspended the movement in February 1922 after the killing of policemen by a crowd at Chauri Chaura, holding that the people were not yet ready for non-violent action on this scale, a decision that disappointed many of his colleagues and was criticised at the time and since; he was arrested shortly afterwards. The movement did not obtain the self-government it had demanded within a year, and the Khilafat question lapsed with the abolition of the Caliphate in Turkey, after which Hindu-Muslim cooperation deteriorated. Its significance lay elsewhere: it transformed the Congress into a mass organisation with a presence in the districts and the villages, it made the boycott and the constructive programme instruments of politics, it brought large numbers of women into public activity, and it demonstrated that the administration depended on a degree of Indian cooperation that could be withdrawn. The Civil Disobedience Movement was of a different kind, since non-cooperation had been a withdrawal of assistance while civil disobedience was the deliberate breach of particular laws. It followed the Congress resolution of 1929 at Lahore declaring complete independence to be the goal, and the government's refusal to respond to the demands Gandhi then put. He chose the salt law, under which the manufacture of salt was a state monopoly, because salt was used by everybody and the tax fell on the poorest, so the law could be broken by anyone and the breach was both

symbolic and real. He marched from Sabarmati to the coast at Dandi in March and April 1930 and made salt there, and the breach of the salt law was repeated along the whole coast. The movement extended far beyond salt: foreign cloth and liquor shops were picketed, forest laws were broken by cultivators in the tribal regions, the refusal to pay revenue was undertaken in Gujarat, a campaign against the chaukidari tax was waged in Bengal, and in the North West Frontier Province Abdul Ghaffar Khan's Khudai Khidmatgar organisation led a powerful non-violent movement. Women took part in very large numbers and in their own right, picketing and manufacturing salt. The repression was severe, with large numbers imprisoned including the whole leadership, and the Congress was declared unlawful. The movement was suspended in 1931 under the pact between Gandhi and Lord Irwin, on terms which released the prisoners and allowed Gandhi to attend the second Round Table Conference in London, which produced nothing, and it was resumed and finally withdrawn in 1934. Its significance was that it established independence rather than reform as the object, carried the movement into regions and among groups it had not previously reached, brought women into the front of political action, obtained international attention for the Indian case, and made it plain that the government could hold the country only by force, which weakened the moral position on which British rule had rested. What distinguished Gandhi's method from that of the leaders who preceded him may be stated under several heads. The moderates had worked by petition and memorandum, addressed to the government and to the British public, on the assumption that British rule rested on principles to which an appeal could be made; the extremists had advocated boycott and passive resistance but had reached no sustained programme and had remained a movement of the politically conscious; the revolutionaries had turned to individual acts of violence against officials. Gandhi's method differed from all three. It was a method of mass action rather than of representation, resting on the belief that a government depends on the cooperation of the governed and may be made to yield by the withdrawal of that cooperation, so the movement needed numbers and not only arguments. It made non-violence a principle and not merely a tactic, which had practical consequences: a movement that renounced arms could include the old, the women and the unarmed, could not be answered by force without discrediting the government that used it, and had to be suspended when it turned violent, as at Chauri Chaura. It was conducted in the languages of the people and used an idiom, of the spinning wheel, of salt, of fasting and of simple living, that was intelligible to those who had never read a political tract, and it accordingly drew in peasants, artisans, workers and women. It joined political demands to a constructive programme of social work, hand spinning, the removal of untouchability, the prohibition of liquor, the promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity and basic education, on the view that a people must reform itself while it seeks freedom and that the work of construction kept the movement alive between campaigns. And it insisted that the means were not separable from the end, that a free India built by violence would carry that violence into its own government, which was the deepest of the differences and the point on which Gandhi was most often criticised by those who thought the method slow or the opportunity missed.

The Non-Cooperation Movement described, with its programme, its mass character and its suspension after Chauri Chaura 1. The Civil Disobedience Movement described, with the Lahore resolution, the salt march and its wider forms of action 1. The significance of the two movements, in transforming the Congress, establishing independence as the goal and bringing women and new regions into political action 1. What distinguished Gandhi's method, including mass action, non-violence as principle, the use of popular idiom and the constructive programme 1.

Question 12 [10]

- (a) First, the resignation of the Congress ministries and the question of Indian participation in the war. India was declared a belligerent in 1939 without reference to the legislature, and the Congress, which had formed ministries in most provinces after the elections of 1937, asked for a declaration that independence was the object and for a share in the central government; receiving no satisfactory answer, the ministries resigned at the end of 1939, and the provinces were governed thereafter by their Governors. The Congress position was that it opposed fascism but could not assist a war for freedom while India was unfree; it offered cooperation on terms and declined to obstruct the war effort unconditionally, and it conducted a limited individual satyagraha in 1940 and 1941 rather than a mass movement. Second, the failure of the Cripps Mission and the Quit India Movement. With Japan advancing through Burma and the fall of Singapore and Rangoon bringing the war to India's borders, the British government sent Sir Stafford Cripps in March 1942 with proposals offering

dominion status after the war, an elected body to frame a constitution and the right of any province to stay out of the union. The proposals were rejected, the Congress because they offered nothing immediate and because the provision for a province to stay out conceded the principle of division, and the League because they did not concede Pakistan. The Congress then passed the Quit India resolution at Bombay in August 1942, demanding an immediate end to British rule, and the entire leadership was arrested within hours. What followed was the largest popular upheaval since 1857, conducted without leaders: railways, telegraph lines and police stations were attacked, parallel administrations were set up in Ballia, in Satara and in Midnapore, and the movement was suppressed with great severity over several months, with very large numbers imprisoned and many killed. Third, the growth of the Muslim League and the hardening of the demand for Pakistan, together with the final negotiations of the war years. The League had done poorly in the elections of 1937 and had been excluded from office in the provinces where the Congress formed ministries; during the years in which the Congress leaders were in jail or out of office it organised extensively, it adopted the Lahore resolution of 1940 demanding independent states in the Muslim-majority areas, Jinnah advanced the claim that the League alone spoke for Indian Muslims and that Muslims were a separate nation, and it supported the war effort, which gave it access to the government. Alongside this ran other developments: Subhas Chandra Bose, who had left the Congress after his differences with Gandhi, went abroad and organised the Indian National Army with Japanese assistance, whose later trials became a political event in themselves; and at the end of the war the Wavell conference at Simla in 1945 failed over the League's claim to nominate all the Muslim members of the proposed executive, which demonstrated how far the two parties had moved apart.

The resignation of the Congress ministries over the terms of Indian participation in the war 1. The Cripps Mission and the Quit India Movement of 1942, with its suppression 1. The growth of the Muslim League with the Lahore resolution of 1940, or the Indian National Army and the failure of the Simla conference 1.

- (b) The circumstances leading to Partition accumulated over several decades and came to a head in two years. The longer-term elements are these. British policy from the later nineteenth century had treated the communities as separate political categories, and separate electorates for Muslims, introduced in 1909 and extended afterwards, meant that a Muslim candidate was answerable only to Muslim voters, which gave every incentive to appeal on communal lines and none to build a common platform; the practice of reserving seats and weighting representation entrenched the division in the constitutional structure. The Muslim League, founded in 1906, had developed the claim that Muslims were a distinct political community whose interests could not be entrusted to a majority; the cooperation reached at Lucknow in 1916 and during the Khilafat and non-cooperation period did not last, and relations deteriorated through the 1920s with a series of communal disturbances. The Congress regarded itself as a national body representing all communities and declined to accept that any party had an exclusive claim to speak for one of them, which the League construed as a refusal to recognise Muslim political identity. The exclusion of the League from provincial office after the elections of 1937, in which the Congress had won decisively and the League had polled poorly even in the Muslim-majority provinces, was taken by Jinnah as proof that a Congress majority would mean permanent subordination, and the League's conduct of the following years rested on that reading. The Lahore resolution of 1940 made the demand explicit, in the form of independent states in the Muslim-majority areas of the north-west and the east, and the two-nation theory was advanced as its justification. The war years were decisive. With Congress leaders in jail from 1942 to 1945 the League organised freely, supported the war and dealt with a government that found it a useful counterweight; the Cripps proposals of 1942, by allowing a province to stand out of the union, had already conceded the principle; and the Simla conference of 1945 broke down over the League's claim to nominate all the Muslim members of the executive. The elections of 1945 and 1946 then showed a polarised electorate, the Congress sweeping the general seats and the League winning the great majority of the Muslim seats, so each could claim a mandate. The Cabinet Mission of 1946 proposed a union with a weak centre and provinces grouped into three sections, which was an attempt to avoid division; it was accepted by both parties with reservations and then broke down over the interpretation of whether grouping was compulsory. The League withdrew its acceptance and called Direct Action in August 1946, and the killings that began in Calcutta spread to Noakhali, to Bihar and to the Punjab; the interim government formed in September contained both parties and could not function as a government. By early 1947 the administration in several provinces was unable to maintain order, the police and in places the

services were divided on communal lines, the British government had announced that it would transfer power by June 1948, and Mountbatten, arriving in March 1947, concluded within weeks that no agreed constitution was obtainable and that delay would mean a general collapse; he advanced the date to August 1947. The Congress leadership accepted division, Nehru and Patel judging that a weak union of the kind the League would accept was not worth having and that the alternative was continuing bloodshed, while Gandhi opposed it to the last. The Indian Independence Act provided for two dominions, the boundaries in Punjab and Bengal were drawn by a commission under Radcliffe in a few weeks and were not published until after the transfer, the armed forces, the services, the railways and the assets were divided, and the princely states were left to accede to one dominion or the other. The consequence was a migration estimated at ten to twelve million people and a massacre whose toll has never been established with certainty, with the violence worst in the Punjab, and the questions of Kashmir and of the division of assets were left to poison relations between the two states.

The longer-term elements, including separate electorates, the growth of the League and the two-nation theory with the Lahore resolution of 1940 1. The war years and the elections of 1945 and 1946, with the failure of the Cabinet Mission and Direct Action 1. The final decision of 1947, with the advance of the date, the drawing of the boundaries and the consequences in migration and violence 1.

- (c) India faced a formidable combination of problems in the years immediately after Independence, and the measures taken may be set against each. The first was the aftermath of Partition. Some ten to twelve million people crossed the new borders, and the state had to feed, shelter, settle and employ an immense refugee population while communal killing continued in the north; the division of the administration, the armed forces and the assets had to be carried out at the same time, and Gandhi was assassinated in January 1948. The measures taken included the establishment of a ministry and machinery for relief and rehabilitation, the construction of townships and the allotment of land and of evacuee property to refugees, the raising of loans and the provision of employment, and firm action against communal organisations; the Constitution's guarantees of equality and of freedom of religion and the decision to establish a state without an official religion were in part a response to what had happened. The second was the integration of the princely states. Some five hundred and fifty states, covering a large part of the territory, were left free to accede to either dominion or in principle to remain outside, and the fragmentation of the country was a real prospect. The work was done by Sardar Patel as Minister for States with V. P. Menon, by a combination of persuasion, an instrument of accession limited to defence, external affairs and communications, and the offer of privy purses and the retention of titles, and almost all acceded before 15 August 1947. Three cases required more: Junagadh, whose ruler acceded to Pakistan against the wishes of the population, was settled by a plebiscite after Indian intervention; Hyderabad, whose Nizam refused to accede, was taken over by military action in 1948; and Jammu and Kashmir, invaded by tribesmen from across the border, acceded to India in October 1947, after which Indian troops were sent and the question went to the United Nations and remained unresolved. The states were afterwards merged into the provinces or grouped into new units, and the political map was reorganised. The third was the framing of a constitution and the establishment of democratic government. The Constituent Assembly, which had begun work in December 1946, continued through these years, adopted the Constitution on 26 November 1949 and brought it into force on 26 January 1950, establishing a federal republic with a parliamentary executive, universal adult suffrage, justiciable Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of policy, and providing for the abolition of untouchability and for reservation of seats and posts for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes; the first general election, held in 1951 and 1952 on an electorate of some one hundred and seventy million mostly illiterate voters, was itself an administrative achievement of the first order. The fourth was the state of the economy. Partition had divided the irrigated wheat land of the Punjab and had left the jute-growing districts in East Bengal and the mills at Calcutta, and the cotton-growing areas and the textile mills were similarly separated; food was short and prices were rising, industry was small and concentrated, and the great majority of the population lived on agriculture with very low productivity. The measures taken included the establishment of the Planning Commission in 1950 and the launching of the First Five Year Plan in 1951, which gave priority to agriculture and irrigation, the construction of large multipurpose river valley projects, legislation by the states to abolish the zamindari and other intermediary tenures and to impose ceilings on holdings, the development of a public sector in heavy industry and the framing of an industrial policy, and the organisation of community

development and of the panchayats. The fifth was the question of language and of the unity of the new state. The demand for provinces on linguistic lines had been accepted in principle by the Congress before Independence but the government hesitated after Partition, fearing further division; agitation in the Telugu-speaking districts, and the death of Potti Sriramulu after a fast, led to the creation of Andhra in 1953 and to the appointment of the States Reorganisation Commission, on whose report the states were redrawn largely on linguistic lines in 1956. The question of the official language was settled in the Constitution by a compromise, Hindi in the Devanagari script being made the official language with English continued for a period, and that period was afterwards extended. To these may be added the construction of a foreign policy, which took the form of non-alignment, the retention of membership of the Commonwealth as a republic, and the need to build an administration and services out of a divided bureaucracy, in which the decision to retain the structure of the civil service was taken deliberately for the sake of continuity.

The aftermath of Partition, with the refugee population and the measures of relief and rehabilitation 1. The integration of the princely states, with the instrument of accession and the cases of Junagadh, Hyderabad and Kashmir 1. The framing of the Constitution and the holding of the first general election 1. The economic problems, with the Planning Commission and the First Five Year Plan and the abolition of intermediary tenures, or the reorganisation of states on linguistic lines 1.