

PART I

PROLEGOMENA

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The Indian national movement did not develop in isolation, but as a part of a larger movement within the British empire to transform India into a free and independent nation. In its origin, growth and development, the Indian national movement was essentially an anti-colonial movement. Since the Hindu past was unable to supply a suitable foundation on which to unite the peoples of India in devotion to the cause of self-determination,¹ the Indian nationalists turned to European history. The entire course of English constitutional history more especially the turmoils of the seventeenth century together with the American, French, Italian and Irish movements were freely drawn upon for precedents and also for operational hints.² It was Ireland, however, which presented the most obvious and pertinent model for Indian nationalists to consult.³ Irish techniques of resistance to British authority were appropriated by colonial nationalist movements especially India.⁴ In the words of S. R. Mehrotra 'probably no other

¹ Howard Brasted 'Irish models and the Indian National Congress 1870-1922' in Jim Masselos (ed.) *Struggling and Ruling the Indian National Congress 1885-1985*, p.2

² Nirad C. Chaudhuri, *The Autobiography of an Unknown Indian*, p.261.

³ Howard Brasted, 'Irish Models' in J. Masselos, (ed.) *Struggling.....* p.24.

⁴ David Fitzpatrick, 'Ireland and the Empire' in Andrew Porter (ed.) *The Oxford History of the British Empire The 19th century*, p. 515

country in the world has exercised greater influence on the course of Indian nationalism than Ireland.’⁵

The reasons for Ireland as a model for Indian nationalist developments is not far to seek. Both Ireland and India were conquered and occupied by Britain by employing similar tactics of playing one ruler against the other. Like Ireland India suffered from grinding poverty and periodic famines and was regarded as ill – suited for governance by a corrupt and indolent indigenous ruling race. Like Ireland, India was forced to sacrifice her industries and commerce to protect England’s. Like Ireland, again, India was drained of wealth in annual tribute.⁶ ‘Between Ireland and India,’ declared the *Bengalee*, ‘there ought to exist the closest relations of sympathy and mutual regard.’⁷ Both occupied the same position in relation to the ‘Mother country’.⁸ There was a tacit recognition that the destinies of Ireland and India were entwined as both were yet to attain concessions from Britain and realize the goal of self-government. Thus, both Ireland and India were British colonies and what developed as a result of British colonial policies characterized by political oppression, economic exploitation

⁵ S R Mehrotra cited in H. Brasted, ‘*Irish models*’ J. Masselos (ed.), op. cit., p 24.

⁶ H Brasted, ‘*Indian Nationalist Development and the Influence of Irish Home Rule 1870-1886*’ in *Modern Asian Studies*, 14,1, 1980 p. 16.

⁷ Ibid

⁸ Ibid

and racism were anti – colonial feelings that found expression in the growth of nationalism. Having inherited almost a common legacy, it was not surprising that the two colonies should seek in the other an ally in their struggle against a common foe represented by the British imperialists.

Some discussions of the concepts of Colonialism, Imperialism and Nationalism therefore are in order at this point for a better understanding of how Britain, Ireland and India can be encompassed within this wide framework. Colonies were created during the tide of western European expansion into other continents and oceans from the sixteenth century onwards. Colonialism has come to mean, the establishment and maintenance, for an extended time, of rule over an alien people that is separate from and subordinate to the ruling power.⁹ Some further features of the “colonial situation” are domination of an alien minority asserting racial and cultural superiority over a materially inferior native majority, contact between a machines-oriented civilization with Christian origins, a powerful economy and a rapid rhythm of life and a non-Christian civilization that lacks machines and is marked by a backward economy and a slow rhythm of life¹⁰

⁹ Rupert Emerson and D K Fieldhouse, “Colonialism”, in *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Volume 3, p.1

¹⁰ Ibid

Seen against this background both Ireland and India were British colonies. In the case of Ireland British rule did not mean the imposition of a Christian rule over a non-Christian civilization which was definitely in the case of India. It was but a rule of a dominant Protestant minority over a Catholic Irish majority. Colonialism gradually gave way to imperialism. As Ireland and India had been conquered in the mercantilist phase of British capitalism, both witnessed the transition from colonialism to imperialism. In the colonial phase quasi-European societies were created by English emigrants in Ireland and India. The English settlers intermixed and intermarried with the Irish and the Indians leading to the birth of the Anglo-Irish and the Anglo-Indians. In the imperial phase a small minority of European 'sojourners' exercised some degree of political control over the native population. Racism became dominant and the English preferred to keep themselves aloof from the native population. 'Imperialism' began with the unexpected development of the capitalist world economy from the 1870s to 1924 which is called the 'age of imperialism' D. K. Fieldhouse says, "Imperialism stemmed from new developments within Europe."¹¹ Economic growth led the Europeans to seek greener pastures overseas. Colonies could expand metropolitan trade by promoting new markets

¹¹ D. K. Fieldhouse, *Economics & Empire 1830-1914*, p.7

and creating new sources of raw materials, colonies could constitute fields for profitable investment of capital and also serve the power, prestige or security of the nation state.¹² According to Lenin, "Imperialism is the ^{or highest} latest stage of capitalism." In his views Lenin was much influenced by writing of the English liberal economist J. A. Hobson in his book *Imperialism : A study* and Austrian economist Rudolf Hilferding's book *Finance Capital*, published in 1910. According to them, at this stage in capitalist evolution control of capital was coming to be concentrated more and more in a few hands, which left too little purchasing power in the home market for the commodities that could be produced.¹³ As a result, capital was being exported to be invested in underdeveloped regions containing valuable raw materials under the protection of a colonial government. Imperialism led to the further economic exploitation of the colonies. Increasingly identified with British colonialism, British writers and politicians applied it first to the policy of establishing a "Greater Britain" (Dike 1869), through "the expansion of England" (Seeley 1883) into an "imperial federation" of Britain, its overseas settlements, and India.¹⁴ The acquisition of colonies, their preservation and the imposition of imperial values and techniques

¹² Ibid

¹³ *The Blackwell Dictionary of Twentieth Century Social Thought*, p.91

¹⁴ *International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. 7, p.101

on the colonial subjects were justified on the grounds of civilizing backward peoples as can be seen in the case of Ireland and India. In the political sense, imperialism denotes, specific forms of aggressive behaviour on the part of certain states against others, to establish or retain formal sovereignty over subordinate political societies the exercise of any form of political control or influence of one political community over another.¹⁵

The alien rule imposed by the colonial/imperial power on an unwilling colonial population and the consequent political and economic exploitation, demolished the concept of the civilizing welfare nature of the white colonial rulers and led to a flood of anti-colonial feelings charging the government with a callous neglect of the interests of the people. Anti-colonial movements commonly identified with nationalism developed in Ireland and India as well as in many countries of Asia and Africa. Initially, colonial nationalism was violent in its form. In its later phase, a positive nationalist ideology was formulated and propagated. It was then that long-standing grievances were effectively exploited, masses politicized and western and native symbols (as appropriate) were employed to rally the masses around the movement. These features can be clearly discernible in the case of both

¹⁵ Ibid

Ireland and India. It is imperative to draw one's attention to the fact that anti-colonial nationalism is actually an European import. In this context Elie Kedourie's views on nationalism may be referred to. Kedourie has argued that nationalism in all its aspects, characteristics and manifestations has been without exception a European phenomenon.¹⁶ He does not believe in the liberal doctrine of nationalism. He believes that those who rule and those who are ruled are 'different species of men and that is most conducive for political order when those distinctions are clearly maintained'.¹⁷ He further opines that anti-colonial nationalism, "is totally alien to the non-European world - an importation from Europe clearly branded with the mark of its origin."¹⁸ This is clearly testified by the fact that every part of nationalist doctrine can be taken apart and shown to have been derived from some species of European thought. Kedourie is right perhaps but only to a certain extent. Though Ireland and India looked towards European nationalism especially Italy and France, Kedourie's views fails to explain the concepts of Sinn Fein, *satyagraha* and *ahimsa* as imports from Europe John Plamenatz argues that both forms of

¹⁶ Cited in Jayantanuja Bandopadhyaya, *Nationalism Unveiled*, p.11

¹⁷ Cited in Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial world, A Derivative Discourse*, p. 18

¹⁸ Ibid

nationalism, western and eastern,¹⁹ can be described as, 'primarily a cultural phenomenon'.²⁰ Both types depend on the acceptance of a common set of standards by which the state of development of a particular national culture is measured. He says that the new standards of progress set for the rest of the world by France or Britain made the other European nations feel that they were at a disadvantage but as they were 'culturally equipped' they could attempt to remove these deficiencies.²¹ Eastern nationalism appeared among 'peoples' recently drawn into a civilization hitherto alien to them, and whose ancestral cultures are not adapted to success and excellence by these cosmopolitan and increasingly dominant standards.

Realizing their backwardness in terms of the standard of progress set up by the western nations, the nations of the east, without losing their distinct identity which a simple imitation of alien culture would mean engaged in a search for a regeneration of national culture adapted to the requirements of progress. Centred around the national culture grew revivalist and reformist movements such as the Renaissance in India. Due to Ireland's colonial status, the same revivalistic characteristic of eastern nationalism manifested itself in the form of the

¹⁹ The western is to be found in western Europe and the eastern is to be found in eastern Europe, in Asia and Africa and also Latin America.

²⁰ Cited in Partha Chatterjee, *op. cit.*, p. 1

²¹ *Ibid*

Gaelic revival. Though Nationalism may be said to have various forms and expressions, seen in a broad perspective, 'it may be identified with a people's sense of unity of national life and thoughts, aspirations and efforts, ends and means of enforcing the common will.'²² 'National consciousness' develops unevenly among the social groupings and regions of a country . . . whatever the nature of 'national consciousness', the popular masses – workers, servants, peasantry – are the last to be affected by it.....²³ Nationalism centers the supreme loyalty of the overwhelming majority of the people upon the nation state either existing or desired. The nation state is regarded not only as the ideal natural or normal form of political organization but also as the indispensable frame - work for all social, cultural and economic activities.²⁴

The national movement that develops out of national consciousness may be for national unification or expansion as in the case of the Germans and Italians. What is central to a nationalist movement is that it claims to represent members of the nationality in virtue of the material and cultural interests that they share. It calls on its supporters to subordinate the common interests (based on class,

²² Ibid

²³ E. J. Hobsbawn, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1870 Programme, Myth & Reality*, p.12

²⁴ *International Encyclopaedia. of Social Sciences*, Vol. 11, p.63

religion, or party for example) to those that they share with other members of the national group. The insistence that a nationalist movement must seek independent statehood is derived from an assumption imposed on reality by the scholar who takes it as axiomatic that ; "the only insurance of political survival under modern conditions is protection from interference by hostile outsiders in a separate political organization or state."²⁵ In Ireland and India the nationalist movements that emerged were not for unification or expansion but freedom from foreign rule as only political independence and the foundation of a separate state could ensure non-interference by hostile outsiders. The 'leaders and ideologues' of a colonial movement like in India 'spoke the language of European nationalism, which they had so often learned in or from the west, even when it did not suit their situation.'²⁶

Ireland's role as a model of European nationalism for India was fraught with complexities. Ireland was a western country, an integral part of Great Britain having representatives in the Westminster parliament, and yet, at the same time a colony providing Britain with raw materials for her industries and a market for finished products. As

²⁵ David Miller et. al, *Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Political Thought*, p.352

²⁶ E. J. Hobsbawn, *op. cit.*, p. 136

European nationalism became increasingly identified with violence and aggression as in the case of Fascism, Nazism and Sinn Feinism, the question arose in the colonial countries in the East whether they were actually suitable as models in their own countries.²⁷ Doubts were also raised as to whether Eastern Nationalism could be called nationalism in the true sense or not. As E. J. Hobsbawn rightly points out, how far the new anti-imperialist movements can be regarded as nationalist is far from clear, though the influence of western nationalist ideology on their spokesmen and activists is undeniable - as in the case of the Irish influence on Indian nationalism.²⁸ Resentment against conquerors, rulers and exploiters, identified as foreigners on account of their colour, costume and habits and those who were seen as acting for them, was the real and growing force of liberation movement in the colonial countries. One important obstacle towards the growth of national consciousness in these countries was proto-national identification based on ties of ethnicity and religion among the common people.²⁹ In Ireland and India proto - nationalism manifested itself in the Protestant / Catholic divide and Hindu / Muslim differences. In India proto -

²⁷ Many Indian nationalist leaders such as Gandhi, Nehru and Vijiaraaghavacharia did not despise the Irish example but were always hard pressed to point out its inadequacies and danger.

²⁸ E. J. Hobsbawn, *op. cit.*, p.105

²⁹ See E. J. Hobsbawn Chapter 2 for popular proto-nationalism

nationalism was more complex and the Indians were isolated from each other by ties of caste and language as also region. The imperialist powers, in this case Britain, took advantage of existing division by following a policy of 'Divide and Rule' in which encouragement was given to communalist forces. In Ireland and India British imperialists played Protestants against Catholics, Hindus against Muslim and vice-versa and provoked them against each other by granting special concessions to one particular community at the cost of the other. It must be remembered here that since few 'Third World' anti-imperial 'national' movements coincided with a political or ethnic entity existing before the coming of the imperialists, the development of nationalism in the nineteenth century European sense of the term has occurred largely since decolonization, i.e., mainly since 1945.³⁰

The present theme of this thesis - 'The Irish Influence on the Indian National Movement' is neither unique in its nature nor novel in its idea. Both European and Indian scholars have more or less been aware that there has been some influence of Ireland on India's nationalist development. Indian historical writings on the Indian national movement have at least one or more references to Ireland which could be primarily because both Ireland and India were British

³⁰ Ibid, p.136

colonies and thus open to borrowing and exchanging analogies. In the literature of the modern Indian period numerous passing references have been made to Irish nationalist heroes, Irish events in the course of Ireland's nationalist struggle, Irish strategies and tactics employed against British imperialism such as constitutional agitation, boycott, terror etcetera and Irish ideological ideas advocated by her freedom fighters - 'bloodshed is a cleansing and sanctifying thing'³¹ and 'somewhere, someday a beginning must be made.'³² Ireland was Britain's first colony. She served as a colonial prototype, a provider of policy precedents that the British drew upon in governing India and other parts of the empire they perceived were somehow similar to Ireland.³³ Ireland was the first rebellious British colony to mount a separatist struggle on the basis of a nationalist ideology. Britain's authority which was increasingly regarded as foreign and illegitimate was challenged by the Irish in their quest for political nationhood. Ireland supplied the actual frame of reference in which political India was obliged to operate within the orbit of an alerted British

³¹ The Irish patriot Patrick Pearse has been partly quoted here. He was an inspiring force in the shaping of the ideology of the revolutionaries in India.

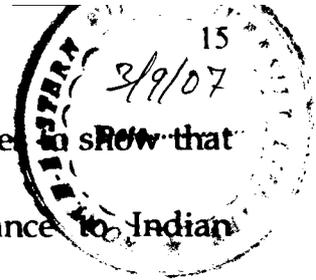
³² The words are that of James Fintan Lalor a member of the Fenian Brotherhood and associated with the land movement in Ireland. His words kept ringing in the ears of some Indian revolutionaries giving them strength and determination in their struggle against British imperialism.

³³ S. B. Cook, *Imperial Affinities Nineteenth Century Analogies and Exchanges between India & Ireland*, p.7

imperialism.³⁴ Ireland's prolonged struggle for freedom served to demonstrate and provide India with the necessary guidelines to proceed in her struggle against similar forces.

In spite of the existing general awareness of the Irish influence, it is unfortunate that most of the publications so far on this theme have only touched some aspects of it. Nowhere has an attempt been made so far to quantify the nature and extent of the Irish influence or write out a comprehensive account or monograph on this theme. Way back in 1974, Howard Brasted wrote his thesis on the Irish influence (unpublished, Edinburgh University) entitled, 'Irish Home Rule politics and India, 1870 - 1886 : F. H. O'Donnell and other Irish 'Friends of India''. O'Donnell was an Irish MP and nationalist who took an interest in Indian nationalist developments. The period covered is only till 1886, a year after the Congress was founded. Some glimpses of Howard's thesis can be had from two of his articles one entitled, 'Irish models and the Indian National Congress 1870 - 1922' in, Jim Masselos (ed.), *Struggling and Ruling The Indian National Congress 1885 - 1985* (New Delhi 1987) and 'Indian Nationalist Development and the Influence of Irish Home Rule, 1870 - 1986' (*Modern Asian Studies*, 14, 1, 1980) pp. 37 - 63. They are brilliant pieces of work that throw light on a period of influence

³⁴ Howard Brasted, 'Irish models' in J. Masselos, (ed.), op. cit, p.24



unknown to most persons. In the first article, Brasted tries to show that the insights given by Ireland were of direct assistance to Indian nationalists in defining their own attitudes to British rule and in fashioning a nationalist case which India had the capacity to support. According to him, 'from 1870 to 1922 Ireland represented India not with one but in fact four different models of emancipation - those of Isaac Butt, Charles Stewart Parnell, Arthur Griffith and violent Sinn Fein.' In his second article he has demonstrated the kind of impact the Irish Home Rule movement had on Indian politics from 1870 - 1886.

Richard P. Davis in his, 'India in Irish Revolutionary propaganda 1905 - 1922,' has investigated Indian nationalist reaction to the 'violent war of independence' waged in Ireland between 1916 - 1922. His article published in the journal of the *Asiatic Society of Bangladesh*, 22, no. 1 (1977) deals with only one aspect of the Irish influence, that also from the point of Indian nationalist reaction. S. B. Cook in his book, *Imperial Affinities Nineteenth century Analogies and Exchanges between India and Ireland*, (New Delhi 1993) deals with the influence in determining the formulation of British policies towards India. According to Cook the British borrowed during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries from their experience of Ireland (which the author treats as a British dependency) in formulating policies and deepening their hold on India,

their most prized and lucrative possession. Nicholas Mansergh in his 1976 Commonwealth Lecture deals with the partition of Ireland and India in a 'triangular political context'. The triangle had at its base a nationalist majority, who cherished the theory of one nation and sought to restore, to establish its independence as a unit; on one side a minority, who, when faced with the prospect of rule by the majority community, formulated a two - nation theory, or its near - equivalent; and as the other, the imperial power predisposed to holding the balance, but only for so long as that might be to its own advantage, within the limits of its resources and consistent with its image of its world role. Frank Percy Crozier, Brigadier - General, Commandant of the Auxiliaries in Ireland wrote an article entitled, 'A Word to Gandhi : The Lesson of Ireland', (London, 1931) which was meant to be a warning of the things to come to India in the form of ruthless British oppression. In his words he sought, 'to examine "sample cases" of murder by both sides in Ireland, in order that Indians and Englishmen may realise what a blaze of fury can be, produced from a mere spark in times of trouble.' Crozier also highlights the analogous policies of Britain in relation to Ireland and India. Francis G. Hutchins draws a parallel between the Irish Rebellion of 1916 and the Quit India Movement of 1942 which he regards as 'revolutionary anti - war

movements' and 'integral parts of long - standing revolutionary movements.' Comparative studies on the partition of India and Ireland have also been made. The articles and books referred to so far deal with Ireland's influence on India from different perspectives. However, they have not been able to cover the influence on Indian nationalist developments from the origins of nationalism to India's independence. They contain valuable information and are gems in themselves enabling one to construct an integrated history of the influence of the Irish example on Indian national movement.

Turning now to studies on Modern India by Indian and foreign authors, we come across numerous references to Ireland. They may be Irish events, Irish nationalist figures, Irish problems as a result of British colonial policies and Irish ideas such as Home Rule. References have also been made to Ireland's obstructionist tactics, catholic emancipation movement, Young Ireland organization, Irish terrorism, Sinn Feinism Easter Rising of 1916, the Irish civil war and previous to that Ireland's war of independence, and the regime of the Blacks and Tans. A monograph has been written by Manini Chatterjee on the re-enactment of the Easter Rising of 1916 on Chittagong. Several writings have appeared in Sister Nivedita and Annie Besant, two Anglo-Irish ladies who had come and served the nationalist cause in India. References

have also been made to Indo - Irish revolutionary contacts. Many nationalist leaders such as Surendranath Banerjee, Rashbehari Ghosh, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Aurobindo, Vithalbhai Patel, Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, C. R. Das, Motilal Nehru, Bhagat Singh, Surya Sen, Sarat and Subhas Chandra Bose have themselves referred to Ireland from time to time. Yet despite a general awareness of the Irish influence, no attempt has been made so far to explain the reasons for the Irish model determining the course of India's nationalist struggle, the important deeds of Irish nationalist, the strategies / tactics adopted by them and the underlying philosophy of Irish nationalism which cast a spell over the minds of Indian revolutionaries.

The present thesis is an attempt to present Irish nationalist developments through their leaders, tactics, events and ideology in the light of their influence on subsequent Indian nationalist developments, and also to analyze the extent of Irish influence. This study is an effort to trace the Irish influence on Indian nationalism from the 1870s period when the Home Rule movement in Ireland was going full swing, till the year of India's independence and partition. In the course of this study, certain themes will be developed. Firstly, it will be ~~to~~ shown how Ireland and India as British colonies were subject to the same kind of oppression and exploitation. However, Ireland's position as a colony

was slightly different from India's as she had representatives in the Westminster Parliament. Irishmen served in India under the British crown in various capacities. Some Irishmen looked down with contempt on the natives whereas others were sympathetic towards the deplorable plight of the Indians. Secondly, how Irish nationalists and Irish Americans took an interest in the problems of the Indians and tried to forge ties with them in their fight against a common foe. Just as the Indians looked west - wards towards Ireland for 'operational hints', the Irish on their part tried to influence the course of Indian nationalist developments. Thirdly, to clearly assess the impact of the lives, deeds and actions of Irish nationalists regarded as heroes by Indian patriots such as Wolfe Tone, Robert Emmett, Isaac Butt, Charles Stewart Parnell, Patrick Pearse, James Fintan Lalor, Eamon de Valera, Michael Collins and Dan Breen on Indian Nationalists both constitutionalists and revolutionaries. Thus, the strategies adopted by these men will be analyzed from the angle of their impact on Indian nationalist developments. Fourthly, the extent to which two Anglo-Irish ladies who made India their home influenced the course of Indian nationalism. Much has been written on Margaret Noble (Sister Nivedita) and Mrs. Annie Besant. Nivedita has been associated with the Swadeshi movement and revolutionary terrorism in Bengal whereas

Besant's name is synonymous with the Home Rule movement. But, so far no attempt has been made to study them from the perspective of two Irish women with 'Irish blood' and a heritage of Irish hatred of British rule, finding a situation in India similar to Ireland and taking up cudgels against the British rulers in India. In this thesis an attempt has been made to present the two ladies from the 'Irish perspective' and analyze their contribution towards the spread of national consciousness in India. Fifthly, another theme that will be developed is the influence of Irish events such as the Easter Rising of 1916 on Indian nationalism. The Chittagong Rising of 1930 was a re-enactment of the Easter Rising of 1916. Many revolutionaries made Ireland their model especially from 1916 onwards when the Sinn Fein turned violent. The years 1916 -1921 were turbulent years for Ireland as she experienced violence, bloodshed and ruthless repression. However, she attained independence at the cost of partition. As Ireland, it was generally believed attained independence by shedding blood, the Indian revolutionaries looked towards Ireland as their chief inspirational force. Sixthly, the Irish ideology comprising of ideas such as a beginning must be made somewhere, someday and 'bloodshed is a cleaning and sanctifying thing' is another theme which will be developed in this thesis. As will be seen, in the course of this study, it was ultimately the influence of

Ireland in terms of its ideology which stood the test of time determining the last armed attempt at liberation in the form of the INA. Though the INA movement failed technically, like the Irish armed attempts preceding it, INA men, their deeds and actions inspired more armed attempts within India and succeeded in forcing Britain's hands in granting independence to India. There was an uproar in the INA trials indicating that Subhas Chandra Bose's believe that his deeds would inspire future generations to come were not without foundation. As a Congressman and a revolutionary, the Irish influence was very strong in Subhas Chandra Bose.

Thus, the Irish influence on Indian national movement which can be traced even before the foundation of the Congress, in the 1870s manifested itself in its full form in the deeds and activities of the Indian National Army. The last theme which will be developed is to focus on the existing parallel in both Irish and Indian national movements. Both the movements had two schools of thought - one believing in non - violence and constitutional agitation and the other in violence and revolutionary activities. Both the movements had a saint, a soldier and a politician. In Ireland it was Patrick Pearse, Michael Collins and Eamon de Valera and in India it was Gandhi, Netaji and Nehru respectively. The parallel can also be seen in the British attitude towards the two

colonies especially their tactics of playing upon the Catholic versus Protestant divide and the Hindu versus Muslim factor. The British attitude towards Ireland and India as well as their reaction to the Irish influence on Indian nationalism will be referred to from time to time. However, they will not be dealt with in details or treated as separate sectors as it is not within the parameters of this thesis to make a detailed study of the interplay of so many complex factors.