CHAPTER-III
CHAPTER - III

NATURE AND CHARACTERISTICS OF POLITICAL MOBILIZATION

The major objective in this chapter is to analyse the nature and characteristics of political mobilization during independence movements of Egypt and India. The method adopted by the nationalist leaders towards the direction of independence have been analysed. The role of modern education, press, political and administrative unification, modern means of transport and the rise of new social classes have been discussed which helped to oust the colonial power from Egypt and India. The roles of intellectuals, scholars, bureaucrats, merchants, colonial administrators and modernizing elites refers to an affirmative attitude towards establishing authority that "imposes the central value system of that society which helped to combat the British rule in Egypt and India have also been discussed.

The mobilization has played a variety of roles for a variety of purposes and had its origins in the modern age in the exigencies and the needs of the nationalist struggle. Vastly improved communication mechanisms similarly changed the context in which the mobilization takes place. Widespread experience with national, state and local elections serves not only to enhance mobilization but also as "feedback" to affect the system and modify its further change.
Political mobilization is a process by which significant numbers of previously quiescent persons are brought to perform relatively deliberate and concerted political acts. The acts may include voting, joining a political organization, engaging in a political strike or demonstration, armed rebellion, and a host of other acts with immediate and intended political consequences. It may be useful to view political mobilization as a process not only of drawing previously inert people into political action but also of maintaining or increasing intensities or frequencies of political involvement among persons who have already commenced political activities. Political mobilization may refer to the channeling of political activity and its direction toward particular objectives or into political organizations or movements. Hence, the process of political mobilization commonly is associated with particular movements or organizations, which function as agents of mobilization by defining the purpose for political action and guiding and directing it toward certain ends.

III.1 EGYPT

The mobilization process proved more difficult and complex than the leadership had anticipated in Egypt. The feudal character of state was the biggest hurdle in this process where khadive (Governor) was unchallenged ruler of the country. Simultaneously he had good relations with the colonial powers also. The mobilization process in the initial stage had been initiated by a military officer, namely
Arabi. The leaders wanted to break the feudal relations represented by the Khadive's rule that had arrested the process of social development in Egypt. The leaders seized powers by military force and tried to carry out social reform from the top of the social pyramid rather than from the bottom despising of the co-operation of existing party-system, the military officials tried to govern by a direct appeal to the people for support without the intermediary of political parties. The military officials aroused public enthusiasm in their direct appeal to the masses.¹ But it soon became clear that public support without proper political organizations was not a guarantee against the colonial power. In the absence of mass support, Arabi revolt was crushed by the British in 1882.

In addition to the immaturity of political leadership, the movement had another drawback. It never tried to mobilize the people, although it stood for the people. The national movement throughout the period remained military in character. The military had on many occasions been the breeding ground for nationalist and mobilizing ideas and movements. Officers-technocrats believed that the army was a vehicle not only for national interaction but so far public

mobilization in Egypt. The organizations were loose and understanding of relationship between political forces was lacking, mass mobilization was absent, the masses is indifferent - all because a conscious, well organized, and integrated national movement was yet to develop.

III.1.1 THE ROLE OF PRESS IN EGYPTIAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

The Egyptian Press has played since 1882 a leading role in publishing and propagating the ideas of Muslim and, later, Arab emancipation movements, ranging from Pan-Islamism to demands for local independence among Arab groups anywhere. Views on the revival, reform and unity of Islamic Community were promoted earlier in this century through the press. Arabs and particularly Egyptian tendencies regarding nationalism and other political movements are reflected in the evolution of the Press in Egypt. The Press also played an important role in adopting classical Arabic to the requirements of modern times, leading to the rise of neo-classical literary movements. The Press in Egypt reflected partisan views for the first time. Parallel to the increased political activity of Assembly members against the Khedivial government and the peaceful intervention of Arabi militarists in the affairs of state, was an outspoken agitation in the embryonic Press. Around 1882, Press had started playing a very vital role. Khadive even launched his own paper al-

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Burhan to counter the inimical press. The Press performed the function of a popular leader in spreading a new national language and culture that were more attuned to the needs of an evolving society. Especially since 1900, the Press in Egypt has reflected the conflict between conservative and modernist tendencies in social thought and life. It has served as a medium for the propagation of a new ideas and movements for, social, religious, conservatism, trade unionism and so on. It was through the Press that generations of writers were trained in modern Egypt. The Arabic paper al-Jawa'ib edited by Ahmad Faris al-Shidyaq consistently defended the Ottoman Sultan and Muslim rulers against mounting European encroachments. Ismail financed the publication of the first political newspaper, Wadi al-Nil, to serve as a mouthpiece of his policy. European-trained Egyptian state officials, writers and literati were being given the opportunity to express certain views publicly and gradually to influence the formation of a public opinion. Despite their continued loyalty to the Islamic character of the Ottoman Sultanate Caliphate, these early Journalists and publicists were helping to lay the foundations of a stronger Egyptian identity which assisted the local ruling house in its demands for further separation and greater independence from

the British. Later, it was in the press that major reform ideas were first presented: the religious reforms ideas of Shaykh Muhammad Abduh, the nationalist movements of Mustafa Kamil and Saad Zaghlul and many others. The famous al-Ahram, was the first newspaper to use the telegraph for the gathering of external news.

The appearance of the religious - political agitator Jamal al-Din al-Afghani in Egypt inspired in part the earliest protest movements against the ruling dynasty, especially when European financial control was established and gave a push to the non-governmental, non-official Press. Salim al-Naqqash, founded the weekly Jaridat Misr, edited by his fellow Adib Ishaq, to oppose British control. The press in Egypt focussed on demands such as the rights of Egyptians, the demand for the removal of foreign control, and the curtailment of the Khadive's power. Arabi emerges first as a leader opposed to the Khadive because the latter appeared to favour European. Of great importance though was the founding of the monthly al-Hilal by Jurji Zaydan who brought to journalism advanced techniques and a consistently eminent presentation of contemporary educational and social problems. Zaydan was in fact most instrumental in paving the way of reconciliation between Conservative Muslim reformists and secular modernists which prevailed in 1914.

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Finally the press became not only a public opinion maker in the political sense, but a school for the evolution of a modern literary Arabic language, an upbringer of a new generation that was to wrest leadership in the twentieth century from the more traditional Egyptian. It soon took a leading part in the social and cultural development of the country when in the next fifty years it came to reflect many of the social and political developments which characterize modern Egypt.6

III.1.2 ROLE OF TRANSPORT IN THE RISE OF EGYPTIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Modern means of transport in Egypt, helped to consolidate socially and economically. Until very recently transport problems were much the same as those of other countries and the remedies proposed and adopted differed only in that the mainly state-owned and managed Egyptian railways were in a much stronger position to combat road and river competition, which they fought by legislative and administrative as well as by economic action. Railway facility was insufficient before 1914. In absence of transport facilities people could not get information about rest of the country. The introduction of railway gave opportunity to the people to convey the message to their counterpart in a very short span of time. The fast growth of railway made them possible to travel all over the country to participate in the nationalist movement.

6. Ibid. p. 175.
The rapid development of the standard -gauge Egyptian State Railways which until 1914 accounted for some 85 per cent of traffic and three light railway lines, built and opened by private capital.

During the First World War, Egypt's railways were linked to those of Palestine but after that there was little further extension until 1940. The railway was being used to transport the large scale production of chemical fertilizers at Aswan and the transport of iron ore from Aswan to Cairo. Fayyum is served by a branch line, supplimented by a network of light railways. Moreover the railway traffic had been adjusted so as to encourage exports, and to help local agriculture and industry by carrying certain bulky products at reduced rates.

The navigable waterways of Egypt total 3,100 km, divid­ed almost equally between the Nile and Canals. The Nile is navigable from the Southern frontier to Cairo nearly 1,300 km. and thence along the Rosetta branch to the sea, over 200 km., but the Damictta branch can carry only small boats. Most of the irrigation canals are navigable the whole year round for boats drawing up to 120 or 150 cm. The lakes in the north of the Delta and Lake Qarum, in Fayyum, are also

used for navigation. The nationalist leaders used to contact the people by river route where railway or road transport was not possible. Simultaneously, rivers were very major source of fishing which gave economic boast to Egypt.

In spite of considerable improvements, roads were still the weakest link in Egypt's transport system. Road building outside the cities stated in 1913 and by 1936 there were only 400 km. of paved roads and another 7,000 a dirt roads. The work began on several highways stipulated by the Anglo-Egyptian treaty and during and after the Second World War - road building was intensified. However, there was only 7 km road for every 10,000 inhabitants, a figure below that of India. The quantity of goods carried by road has risen rapidly from an annual average of 4.5 million tons in 1929-39 and again in 1940-7 to 8.9 million in 1948-56. In the last few years highway construction has been accelerated, and priority was given to build a road. So that the contact in short time because travelling in train was more expensive and it takes a lot of times by river to convey the message. It became easy to contact from one part to another by road during the nationalist movement.

III.1.3 SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS REFORM MOVEMENT IN EGYPT

After the British annexation of Egypt in 1882, the country


10. National Planning Committee (UAR), Memo. n. 124.
had lost her separate identity. British become a threat to the Islamic culture because law and order situation in Egypt was not in the hand of indigenous people. After Arabi Revolt native people got an opportunity to express their loyalty towards their religion. Jamal al-Din al-Afghani preached about the rational scientific reform of Islam. Politically more significant was he had given a call to limit the absolute powers of rulers and he had propounded an idea of the liberation of not only Egypt but all the Islamic countries from European control under the leadership of the strongest Muslim state of the time, the Ottoman Empire. 11

Until 1914, the nationalist movement of Egypt was collaborated with the Ottoman Empire. Two stream line emerged, khadives were with the British and rest with the Ottoman Empires. The nationalist leaders put up a major thrust to improve the quality of the written Arabic language. Leaders like Al-Afghani, Muhammed Abduh, Shaikh Rashid Rida talked about the religious reformation, it was a big challenge to the Azhar hierarchy so there was a clear cut division among the leadership and the British always took a side of one group only to divide the strong emerging public opinion against them. Abduh insisted upon retaining the essentially Islamic character of Egyptian Society while at the same time permitting it to accept the benefits of a

11. Vatikiotis, n.3. p. 177.
seculars to guide its social and political conduct. The al-Salafiyya movement led by Shaikh Rashid Rida preached the return to the early principle of Islam as laid down by the prophet. Like the Salafiyya, Shaykh Abduh wished simultaneously to defend Islam and to reconcile it with modern science.

By the turn of the century the press had not only resumed its former role, but had become a legitimate platform for the expression of public opposition to the British occupation of Egypt. The press also served as the legal means for the propagation of anti-British nationalist sentiment. The intelligentsia, the harbingers and proclaimers of the new social orders and its advance social conceptions, found in the press an effective weapons to expose the moral decadence, cultural poverty, and reactionary social significance, of the ruling feudal class. They stormed against serfdom and summoned serfs to revolt against the feudal mobility and its state.

III.1.4 ROLE OF EDUCATION IN MOBILISING PEOPLE AGAINST THE COLONIAL RULE

Modern education brought the Egyptian people in contact with the western countries. Majority of the military heads were educated either in Italy or French. The Egyptian national-

12. Ibid., p. 184.
ist movement took a different direction immediately after the accession of Khadive Abbas Hilmi in 1892. He declared that "Egypt is for the Egyptians". Abbas even financed many newspapers to support his cause against the foreign European domination. 14 Egyptian soldiers always kept in low grade, higher posts were reserved to the British only. This was also a cause of dissatisfaction among the army officers which set up a ground for military". 15 Educational mission to European countries begin by Mohammed Ali were resumed under Ismail and it was continued even after. Education created awareness among men and women, those gone on educational mission to the west, saw openness in western society after coming back to their native country they introduced compulsory education in equal terms to their girls also. Through education the leaders got backing from the masses. Earlier it was very tough task to convince the people but it could become possible through education when people understood about their certain rights, and the meaning of sovereignty. By this time there was a heavy demand of books so many people started writing about their culture, identity, religion and a mass label translation work look place. Ahmed Fathi Zaghlul intended to give his readers an idea of the


rights of the individual's place in society and his relation to different type of social groups. He hoped to teach them the principle of liberty and advised that the Egyptian should educate themselves on the English model. 16

Arabic was the spoken language of the people, Turkish was that of the rulers and their courts. Egyptians were ignorant of the scientific and philosophical consequences of the Renaissance and Reformation in Europe. Azharites were the first Egyptians invited by Napoleon Bonaparte to witness the chemical and physical experiments conducted by the French Scientists at the famous Institutes. Shaykh Alool al-Rahman al Jabarti, Shaykh Hasan al-Attar Rifaa Rafii al-Tahtawi and Shaykh al-Shargawi, were all Azharites who deplored the condition of thier society and the backwardness of their people. It was enough as a beginning to encourage later Egyptians to seek the advantages of modern European education. Shaykh Hasan al-Attar had travelled widely in Egypt before his first contact with the French in Cairo. Many of the French servants engaged al-Attar as their Arabic tutor, and he is said to have taken lessons in French from them. His general response to the French impact upon his country reveals his sensitivity to the weaknesses of Egyptian society as well as his instinct for political survival, 'conditions in our country must change', he is reported to have said, 'We must introduce new knowledge that is yet

unknown in Egypt.17

The educational programme produced eventually the conditions under which the beginnings of an intellectual groups was made possible in the reign of Khadive Ismail. An elaborate scheme of groups of translators was devised for each professional schools. The first trainees of the school were Azhar students and teachers who know Arabic well. Moreover, newly trained Egyptian medical doctors, engineers, agriculturists and scientists were assigned specific translation task once they had learnt not only the particular science of their specialty but also the appropriate foreign language in which many of its sources were written. Educational missions to Europe begun by Muhammad Ali were resumed under Ismail. During his reign some hundred and seventy five Egyptian students were sent to study abroad.18

A strengthening factor in this educational activity under Ismail came from private local and foreign educational institutions, foundations, missions and establishments. Community parochial schools were founded by the leading christian minority of Copts. The Greek, Arminian and Jewish


III.1.5 MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD: STRATEGY OF MOBILIZATION

A large section of Egyptian society believed that independence could not be achieved only through the peaceful means, and they started uniting under the banner of Muslim brotherhood whose leader was Hasan al-Banna. Al-Banna believed that it was impossible to obtain consensus on all Muslims on was to unite the Muslims. Membership consisted of people who were committed to the service of Islam and were ready to sacrifice everything they had for it.

The Muslim Brotherhood led by Hassan al-Banna warned the people of Egypt in initial stage not to participate in the world war second, but when the homeland was threatened, the Muslim brotherhood (Ikhwan) joined the struggle. There was a heavy gap between the masses and the leadership. The nature of the nationalist movement was changed due to active participation of Ikhwan in the politics. Ikhwan started mass level contact to preserve the identity of Islam which was not done by the earlier leadership. It believed in reform and in the utilization of certain western methods. It was strongly against the secularization of Muslim life and

19. Vatikiotis, n. 6, p. 103.


worked for the reinstatement of the laws of Koran. They always stay loyal to the government of Islam.

There was an atmosphere of uncertainty over the political developments due to general elections held almost after every two year and the Wafd secured a majority every time but the British refused to accept the Wafd. Around 1940s Egypt was highly westernize and Islam reached in a very dangerous situation. The leaderships was highly influenced by western thought. Taha Husayn was perhaps the first Muslim to encourage the application of the critical method to the study of the Koran.

After 1930's the characteristics of the nationalist movement was almost changed. Egyptian society was divided in major groups. The earlier liberal leaders replaced by the land lords. The increased urbanization in the 1930's and the great disparity of living standards between the rich and poor, foreigners and natives were particularly important in transforming the gradual movement of Egyptian nationalism towards liberalism, to a violent anti-liberal, anti-western activism, originally a movement involving a limited sector of the Urban professional class, it became one which in-


volved both the rural middle class and its urban offshoots.25

With the emergence of the fundamental nationalism, belief in western constitutional and parliamentary method of government became associated with failure, and was viewed with suspicion. Xenophobic nationalism replaced liberal nationalism, as the liberals came under attack. The process of reorientation toward fundamental nationalism took place in the context of a political, social and economic crisis beginning in the 1930's. As the crisis worsened, the reaction to it also grew, so that, by the end of World War II, the whole ideological sphere was dominated by a romantic, vague, inconsistent and aggressive Muslim orientation.26 The ruling elite had become corrupt by this time and the traditional Egyptians openly supported Muslim brothers against the corruption.

III.1.6 ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE PROCESS OF MOBILIZATION

The Egyptian political parties did not emphasise the mobilisation and organization of an ever greater number of people, the primary function of development-oriented parties in the contemporary period. Rather they were concerned with manipu-

25. Ibid., p.28; Charles Issawi, Egypt in Revolution (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), pp.82-86.
lating the government for the benefit of class interest. The parties collapsed, not only because their commitment to the liberal volumes was weak but also because the kind of liberal commitment they had made was inappropriate to successful leadership in the early stage of economic development. The Wafd ultimately failed because of the characteristics of the group from which it drew its support. The middle classes failed to compile nationalist ideology with political power, and the failure of the Wafd was also the failure of the Egyptian middle classes.

The nationalist movement was violent in nature up to 1940 and extremist group almost side lined to the liberal nationalist leaders. Misn al-Fatat (young Egypt) another extremist organization commanded impressive paramilitary youth organization, the green shirts emerged powerful. It included professionals, students, poor urban masses, provincial town and peasant masses. The external rift among the liberal leaders also provided the plateform to the extremist groups. The Wafd leadership famous for nationalist cause turned compromising in nature. The leadership always preferred an agreement with British rather to apply pressure to liberate the country. The palace, always viewed the Wafd as its major competitor for power in the country and sought continuously to subvert it by exploiting it internal differ-

27. Perlmutter, n.15, pp.40-41
ences. 29

One of the most lasting effect was the infusion of a under sector of the population, especially the urban lower and the middle classes and students into politics. Another was their serious contribution in sapping the strength of established authority. The social consequences of the political and economic changes which occurred in Egypt were just as complex and decisive in this reaction against liberalism and Europe. Rapid growth of population, massive immigration from the countryside to the cities unemployment and underemployment, hardship resulting from high living costs were all indices of the social dislocation which occurred in this period. The effect of two world wars, the rise of industry, and the rapid growth of population, constituted the social strains in Egypt which inevitably affected its political stability.

In 1949 a group of prominent Free Officers formed the society of 'Free Officers'. 30 While the young officers were planning their revolution, the Egyptian government under Nahas Pasha was pressing the British to evacuate the Suez Canal and to cede the Sudan to Egypt. The radicalization of Egyptian politics and the attack by extremists on established ruling groups was by 1945 no longer confined to


30. Perlmutter, n.15, p.46.
conservative Islamic and national socialist movements. While the lower classes and the dispossessed sprang to the fanatical Islamic movements, the more educated lower middle and middle groups who for a long time followed the Wafd against the monarchy were now becoming alienated from the old established nationalist leadership.\textsuperscript{31} Free Officer captured the power by force in 1953 and Nasser became President of Egypt.

\textbf{III.2 INDIA}

\textbf{III.2.1 NATURE AND CHARACTERISTICS OF POLITICAL MOBILIZATION IN INDIA}

The social forces of the old society vanquished in their final attempt at rehabilitating their former power and status in 1857. They were too exhausted and weak to embark upon a fresh enterprise in future. The new social forces, namely the intelligentsia and the commercial bourgeoisie, which were to be the pioneers of the first organized nationalist movement, had still not matured to begin their historic task. It was only in 1870 that, due to the combination of a number of factors, that the country was again permeated with serious political ferment and the new social forces acquired appreciable political consciousness and economic and numerical strength and began to be politically articulate. The new development resulted in the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885.

\textsuperscript{31} Vatikiots, n.3, p.333.
Political mobilization as understood here is a more normative notion, oriented towards goals, and refers to the mobilization by the political system of resources, human and non-human, for the accomplishment of collective ends. However, political mobilization is an element that is not equally available to all political systems but is associated with certain political systems, and changes in the nature of political mobilization itself can make for transformation of political systems.32

There were significant differences in the pattern of mass mobilization against the British rule in the agitational campaigns that the Congress and even before the individuals launched at different times during the colonial rule in India for obvious contrast between the non-cooperation and the civil disobedience movements. The former was largely an urban event, organized and conducted by townfolk, whereas the latter was in many areas much more of a villagers' campaign -- even if the villagers often went to the towns to shout slogans and court imprisonment.

Among the factors responsible for this difference was the experience of the earlier campaign. The agitations of 1919-22 had not only instilled a new pride in large numbers of Indians and popularized satyagraha as a powerful technique of anti-imperialist agitation; they had also indicated

that the road of Swaraj was going to be a long one and that
the Government could be iron-handed in putting down what it
considered as dangerous position. This must go some way
towards explaining 'the weariness of the middle class ele­
ments' noticed in different parts of the country at a fairly
early stage of the Civil Disobedience Movement.33

There was a sustained effort in India in 1930-31 to
carry the Congress message to the rural areas to make aware
the people about the Congress policy and programme to oppose
the British rule in India. What it suggests is that economic
conditions and the independent actions of hard-pressed
'apolitical' men and women did much to shape the course of
one of the most important nationalist agitational campaigns
and, consequently, of the national movement in general. The
very presence of the Congress as the principal nationalist
party with an organizational network spread over large areas
of the sub-continent was a stimulus to mass patriotic ac­
tion. This fact, and the belief that the Congress was the
'poor man's party' contributed to the rise of strong kisan
agitation agitation at the time of the Non-Cooperation and
the Civil Disobedience Movements. What is indeed very sig­
nificant and somewhat surprising in this context is that in

33. Jawaharlal Nehru, Autobiography: with Musing on Recent
Events in India (London: Bodley Head, 1955), p. 238; Sumit
Sarkar "The Logic of Gandhian Nationalism: Civil Disobe­
dience and the Gandhi-Irwin Pact" Indian Historical Review.
the second wave of popular nationalist agitation, Congress actions appears also to have played a major part in limiting the extent and intensity of mass actions.

An analysis of the progress of the Civil Disobedience Movement in different part of India reveals substantial popular participation in the campaign and the importance of local initiative in bringing this about. It reveals the severe limits within which the Congress wished to restrict mobilization of the masses'. Economic changes seriously affected the well being of large number of people in the villages in India and prepared the ground for the intense rural agitation during the Civil Disobedience Campaign. But there were other factors of importance, too, in determining the shape and course of political development, peasant resistance of varying degrees, and the organization and propaganda of the Congress in different areas.

The nationalist effort made rapid advance, especially after the visit of the Simon Commission in November and December 1928. The Congress leadership also made a concerted bid to extend their influence in the villages. In October 1930, Congress officially launched a 'no-tax' campaign as part of their political mobilization. The involvement of significant number of landlords, village officials and the rural school teachers in the campaign also indicated the success of the Congress effort to gain support from all.
classes.\textsuperscript{34} The peculiarly strained landlord-tenant relations and the striking lack of adequate or timely remissions, especially of rent, made the district (Rae Bareli) easily responsive to a 'no-tax' campaign.

III.2.2 ROLE OF PRESS IN MOBILIZING THE MASSES

The Indian liberals believed that with the advance of education the whole outlook of the masses would change and age-long superstitions, ignorance and prejudice which blocked the path to any progress would melt away.\textsuperscript{35} For nearly 100 years the Indian Congress has flourished through the press. Of the 72 representatives who gathered in Bombay at the first Congress meeting in 1885, more than a dozen were professional journalists. Not only did the early and subsequent nationalist leaders collect news for, editorialize in, important vernacular and English-language newspapers like Surendranath Banerjea's Bengalee, Motilal Nehru's Leader and Mahatma Gandhi's Young India facilitated the exchange of

\textsuperscript{34} Police Abstract of Intelligence (a weekly abstract of intelligence report from the different districts of the United Provinces) 24 January 1931; Agrarian Distress in UP, p.208; and Agra Satyagraha Sangram, pp. 53-4. Congress leaders working in the Agra rural areas in the mid-1920s had also sought to associate landowners with their village organization efforts; Ai 15 March 1926, letter from Deokinandan Vibhav, organizer, Kisan-Mazdur Ashram, Agra, 19 February 1926.

\textsuperscript{35} M.A. Buch, \textit{Rise and Growth of Indian Liberalism} (Baroda: Almaram Printing Press, 1938), pp.260-261
thought on a mass scale in the shortest time.36

The imperial attitudes and policies personified by Lord Curzon enforced a new militancy and sense of nationalist mission. The organizations reflecting these trends did little to disguise their ultimate goals. The foreign bureaucracy must be watched, censored, and eventually forced to withdraw; colonial domination must give way to self rule.37

Indian literature became a major vehicle for communicating and stimulating a new political ideology. By 1905, the potential for developing this means existed throughout the subcontinent. Hundreds of printing press regularly turned out books and pamphlets. An increasing number of these were polemic in tone and focused on politics. The relative cheapness of printing also reinforced a trend towards using publications as a means for political proselytization. At a cost less than Rs.25, a propagandist could publish a 16 page tract for distribution to the literate or


to be read aloud to villagers.\textsuperscript{38}

The Press provided an even more effective alternative for dissemination of appeal and ideology. In 1905, for example, 1,359 newspapers and Journals reached an estimated 2 million subscribers.\textsuperscript{39} The content of the Press reflected the awakening mood of Indian politics. Although newspapers previously had launched sporadic attacks on the British, by 1905, over 200 newspapers commented on political issues. Most of these, according to British observers, tended to be disloyal or pursued dangerous editorial policies.\textsuperscript{40} In the course of the struggle, the British banned thousands of books, tracts and newspapers, adopted fresh methods of political control, and vied with the Congress and revolutionaries for influence among the Indian public.

The \textit{Indian Social Reformer}, an English Weekly primarily devoted to the propaganda of social reform, was started in Bombay in 1890. Mr Sachchidanand Sinha founded \textit{The Hindustan Review} in 1899. The magazine had a liberal political and ideological tone. Ferozshah Mehta started \textit{The Bombay Chroni-}


\textsuperscript{39} Statistics from Statements of English, Foreign, Anglo-Vernacular and Vernacular Newspapers Published in India and Burma During the year 1905, a confidential Police report (Simla: Indian Home Department, 1907)

\textsuperscript{40} Government of India Home Political Proceedings (GIPOL), July 1907, 178-180A.
cle in 1913 with B.G. Horniman as its first editor. The Servants of India Society started its official organ, Servant of India in 1918 under the editorship of Srinivas Shastri. The paper gave an analysis and solution of the Indian problem from a liberal nationalist viewpoint. Gandhiji edited Young India in 1919, making it the mouthpiece of his political philosophy, programmes, and policies. Motilal Nehru started the Independent (an English daily) in Allahabad in 1919 which served as the political propaganda organ of the Congress official viewpoint. Kranti, a Marathi weekly and an official organ of the Workers' and Peasants' party of India, and Spark and New Spark, both in English weeklies, respectively edited by M.G. Desai and Lester Hutchinson supported the independent political and economic movements of the workers and peasants and the struggle for national independence.41 The Free Press Journal, an English daily, edited by S. Sadanand, was a staunch supporter of the Congress demand and struggle for independence.

III.2.3 ROLE OF TRANSPORT IN MOBILIZATION

Mass exchange among the common people for economic, social and cultural purposes was not possible since there was no facilities for quick travel. The English industrialists were faced with the problem of rapidly disposing of the products of new and steadily expanding industries and securing raw

materials for them from India and other parts of the World. The interests of the British industries urged the government of the East India Company to establish railways and construct roads in India. Further, the military strategic reason also made the introduction of the Modern Transport System in India necessary. For a rapid mobilization and transfer of troops at the required key strategic points, it was necessary to lay down adequate railway lines and construct modern metalled roads. Railways helped the historically progressive new economic forces to destroy the economic foundations of the old Indian Society. They helped the penetration of India by the industrial product of the modern society, thereby breaking the economic autonomy of the village. They helped to weld India into a single economic unit and also linked India with the world market. Railway helped to create a national economy, the material framework of the Indian nation.

Railways, coupled with the profits from trade in the hands of the Indian trading class, sections of landlords and rich intellectuals made the birth of independent Indian industries possible. This was an event of profound significance since it brought into existence the class of national industrial bourgeoisie, whose very interests brought them into conflict with the British, and that of industrial proletariat whose specific weight in the national movement.

42. Ibid. pp. 27-30.
steadily increased. Railways and modern roads created a veritable revolution in the agricultural sector. They made agricultural production marketable. The agriculturists began to produce Commercial Crops. The agricultural economy became an integral part of the national and even world economy. The economic isolation of the village, the main cause of its Social and Cultural stagnation, broke down. The railways were a veritable boon during period of famine. The surplus products of other parts of the country could be swiftly brought to the famine-striken area and the agony of the population of that area alleviated.

Modern means of transport were a formidable force in unifying the Indian people socially. Railways and buses made mass migration of people from one part of the country to another possible. To get work or to improve their prospects, people travelled by buses and railways from Madras to Bombay, from Lahore to Calcutta. This paved the way for the growth of a wider national consciousness and co-operation on a national basis. Railways made people move and intermix. This constant intermingling and social exchange steadily destroyed the habits of social isolation. Railways made possible to the people of different towns, villages, districts, and provinces to meet, to exchange views and decide upon programmes for the movement. The printed books, magazines, papers and other literatures were distributed among thousands of villages only because of train and buses. Mass awareness could became possible with the fast growth of
modern means of transport.

The scientific and cultural gains of a single centre would made national property by the aid of railways. Scientists, Artists, Sociologists, Philosophers, and Economists could bring the wealth of their knowledge and the delight of their art to the people if they could travel place to place and could appear before them. Scientific and cultural conferences, where the quintessence of Indian intellect and artistic talent met, were possible only if such swift means of travel as railways and buses existed. Thus mass education as well culture, national in character and accessible to the nation, depended on railways as much as on other factors.

III.2.4 SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS REFORM MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

The various social and religious reform movements which took place in India during the British rule were the spread of the rising national consciousness and spread of the liberal ideas of the West among the Indian people. There were social movements like caste abolition, equal rights for women, a campaign against child marriage and a ban on widow remarriage, were running in the India. Simultaneously, religious reform movements which combated religious superstitions and attack idolatry, polytheism and hereditary priesthood in our country. These movements emphasized and fight for the principles of individual liberty and social equality and stood for nationalism.

The new intelligentsia, which embibed the Liberal Western culture launched movements to revolutionize social
institutions, religious outlooks, and ethical conceptions inherited from the past, since they felt that these were obstacles to national advance. The reform movements represented the striving of the conscious and progressive sections of Indian people to democratize social institutions and remodel old religious outlook to suit the new social needs. Infact, the Age of Consent Act passed in 1891 was the important social reform legislation enacted by the Government. This only strengthened the determination of the leaders of the Indian national movement to secure political power so that they could use it to accelerate the tempo of social and religious reform in India. This movement worked to disrupt Caste System which was essential for national unity. The social reformer like Rammohan Roy, Iswarchand Vidya Sagar argued that such democratization of institutions and social relations were vitally necessary to build up a sound national unity to achieve political freedom and social, economic and cultural advance of the Indian people.

The national democratic awakening found expression in all fields of national life. In politics, it gave birth to the movement of administrative reform, Self-Government, Home Rule, Dominion status and finally, Independence. In the social and religious sphere, Indian nationalism proclaimed the principle of individual liberty, equality and self-determination. The social and religious reform movements were the expression of the national awakening in India and aimed at a revision of the medieval social structure and
religious outlook on a more or less democratic basis, i.e. on the principle of individual liberty and human equality.

III.2.5 POLITICAL MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

The state power held by Britain in India was, therefore, basically exercised to safeguard and develop the British interests. This brought Britain into conflict with the Indian people and the various classes and groups composing it in varying degree, since the interests of the latter collided with the British interests. Political nationalism was the outcome of this conflict of interests and gave birth to various political movements in the country.

The increasing burden of land revenue and rents was intensely felt by the peasant population. The crippling of handicraft and artisan industries had reached serious dimensions by 1870 resulting in a disastrous overpressure on agriculture. The agricultural depression of 1870 seriously affected the farmers and led to an alarming growth of indebtedness among them.43

Political discontent among the people was further accentuated by the high handed measures of Lord Curzon during his career as viceroy. His curtailment of the powers of the Calcutta Corporation, his Official Secret Act, his officialization of the universities which made education costly ... his Tibetan Expedition ... and finally his parti-

tion of Bengal, broke the back of loyal India and roused a new spirit in the nation. Even more galling to our sense of self-respect than his speech in calcutta regarding our untruthfulness, was his sweeping change that we Indians were, by our environment, our heritage and our upbringing "unequal to the responsibilities of high office under the British Rule".44

III.2.6 SWADESHI AND BOYCOTT MOVEMENT

The Swadishi movement sought to make us self-respecting, self-reliant and self-supporting. The Swadeshi movements ought to teach us how to organize our capital, our resources, our labour, our energies and our talents to the greatest good of all Indians, irrespective of creed, colour and caste. It sought to unite us, our religious and denominational differences notwithstanding.45 Swadeshi was a weapon forged by the people to achieve the industrial and general economic regeneration and advance for India. Its implementation demanded great sacrifice especially from the middle classes who were the greatest consumers of foreign goods.

The boycott movement had a comprehensive programme and included not only the exclusion of British goods but also such items as the renunciation of titles and government


posts and the boycott of Councils and schools. The boycott was thus primarily meant as a means to rouse among the people a determination to win swaraj. The year 1919 was marked by a phenomenal growth of the mass movement. Political demonstrations, hartals, and strikes were growing. The nationalist movement was acquiring for the first time a mass basis. Political discontent was rising among the people.

Gandhiji evolved a programme of struggle which would mobilize the masses in the nationalist movement and such that various sections of the people -- workers, peasants, capitalists, students, lawyers and other professional classes and above all women—could actively participate in it. He, thereby, made, for the first time, the Indian nationalist movement a multiclass and mass nationalist movement in spite of its limitations due to his ideology. He provided the peasantry with the programme of the non-payment of land tax to the government thereby threatening to paralyse the financial basis of the latter. He exhorted the students to boycott the educational institutions, the source of supply of its administrative personnel. He called on the lawyers to desert the courts so that the judicial machinery of the state would be deadlocked. He called upon the women to picket liquor and foreign cloth shops which they did in their thousands and, in the process courted imprisonment. He asked the people as a whole to deliberately infringe the "lawless law" framed by the government.

It was during this period that educational institutions
on independent lines such as the National Muslim University of Aligarh, the Gujarat Vidyapith, the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapith, The Bengal National University, the Kashi Vidyapith and the Bihar Vidyapith were organised.

III.2.7 GHADAR MOVEMENT IN INDIA

Around 1914 on the eve of world war I, the Indian Leaders namely Tarak Nath Das and G.D. Kumar were exiled from India and they settled in the United India House in Seattle in the US. They started mobilizing Indian labourers, consisting mainly of radical nationalist students, and the Khalasa Diwan Society. They held several meeting in Punjab state to create awareness among the people. Bhagwan Singh a Sikh priest openly preached the gospel of violent overthrow of the British and urged the people to adopt Bande Mataram as a revolutionary salute. The Ghadar leaders started extensive propaganda, they visited various mills and firms where most of the Punjabi migrant labour worked. The Ghadar leader Lala Hardayal was arrested on 25 March 1925. Lala Har Dayal advocated a Hindu nationalism.46

The nature of the nationalist movement had already been changed. More and more terrorist activities were taking place. Characteristics of Political mobilization has become community based. Several attempt had been made to kill even Viceroy also. The effect of this kind of activities were

that several innocent leaders were also arrested. Everything was happening only due to lack of strong and disciplined leadership. Mrs. Annie Bessant made an effort to unite extremist and liberal leadership. She argued to open the door of the Congress for Tilak also. In early 1915 Annie Bessant launched a campaign through her two papers - *New India* and *Commonwealth* and organized public meetings and conferences to demand that India be granted self government on the lines of white colonies after the war.

**III.2.8 PATCH-UP BETWEEN THE CONGRESS AND THE EXTREMISTS**

In 1915 Congress leadership decided to include Tilak and his followers into the Congress. This was the beginning of a joint leadership to challenge the colonial empire. Lucknow session of the Indian National Congress held in 1916 was very important because Congress leadership and Muslim league came together. Mrs. Annie Besant and Tilak played a leading role to unite Congress and Muslim league in 1916. Lucknow Congress also demanded a further dose of constitutional reform as a step towards self-government. The Indian National Congress adopted a resolutions of non-cooperation in 1920 in Calcutta. Gandhiji impressed upon the Congress that the reforms were a dangerous trap which concealed gilded chains that enslaved the country, and promised independence in one year provided complete non-cooperation was adopted.

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In 1920 Nagpur Congress session Gandhiji declared following new creed of the Congress. "The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swaraj by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means". Lajpat Rai declared, "I would rather be a slave than willingly consent to a part of an Empire which enslaves so many millions of human beings. I do not want to share the rights and responsibilities of such an Empire".

In 1921 Congress session held at Vijayawada, liberal leadership laid stress on constructive activities. An effort had been made to expand the Congress to the masses. All India Tilak Swaraj fund of rupees one crore was raised, enlisting one crore members for the Congress and introducing twenty lakhs charkhas (Spinning wheels) in the cities and villages. Introducing charakha, twenty lakh means twenty lakhs people got employment. Khadar cloth was introduced in place of foreign made cloth. On July 31, 1921 Gandhiji made a bonfire of foreign cloth at Bombay.

III.2.9 SWARAJ PARTY AND ITS STRATEGY OF MOBILIZATION

The dissatisfied leadership on the question of Council Entry formed the Swaraj Party in 1923. Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das

49. Ibid., p. 52; Argov, n. 39, p. 168.
became President of the party whereas Motilal Nehru was its Secretary. Vithalbhai Patel was another prominent leader of the party. The Swaraj Party formulated as its aim the attainment of Dominion status within the Empire. The party programme guaranteed the preservation of capitalism and landlordism by declaring that "private and individual property will be recognized and maintained". Simultaneously, it would save labour from the exploitation of capital and capital from the unjust demand of labour. On the one hand, we must find out a way of organization by which we can prevent exploitation of labour by capitalists or landlords, but on the other hand we must be on our guard to see that these very organizations may not themselves be the source of oppression by nursing extravagant and unreasonable demands. Labour undoubtedly requires protection but so do industrial enterprises.51 The Swaraj Party became the constitutionalist party of the Indian bourgeoisie which, after the tide of the nationalist mass movement had ebbed, desired to utilize the legislatures generally to press the programme of that class embodying demands such as free industrial expansion, development of heavy industries, and others.

III.2.10 SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST STRATEGY OF MOBILIZATION

A section of leaderships, who were dissatisfied with the Gandhian ideology as well as the constitutionalism of the Swaraj Party, studied and embraced socialist ideology and

51. Sitaramayya, n.46, p.462.
defiance of Government's salt laws. This was the best weapon to unite every section of Indian society against the British rule. Tej Bahadur Sapru and M.R. Jayakar made an effort to bring about a compromise produced no result. Upto 1937 the nationalist movement spread to even among rural masses. Colonial Empire also realized the firmness of Indian leaders and finally general elections were held in 1937 in which Congress got majority and formed a government.52

During World War II Indian leadership wanted to be neutral but the British dragged her into the war. Indian leadership lodged a protest and put up a condition - the Congress offered to cooperate in the war effort, if atleast a provisional 'National Government' was constituted at the centre and 'the right of India to complete independence' was acknowledged by the British.53

In 1942, Quit India Movement was launched under the leadership of Gandhiji. Many leaders were arrested. Ultimately Lord Wavel announced a proposal for the solution of the constitutional deadlock in June 1945. The general election was held in 1946 and it resulted in a sweeping victory of the Congress for the general seats and of the Muslim


53. Chopra, n. 52, p. 579.
Leagues for the Muslim seats. 54

III.3 COMPARISON BETWEEN THE NATURE AND POLITICAL MOBILIZATION IN EGYPT AND INDIA

The Egyptian national movement was stirred by religious zeal, reminiscent of Jihad to resist British encroachment. The nationalist movement was mixed with religion. The leadership always fostered closer cultural connections with the people of North African countries to oppose British Colonial rule in Egypt. Egyptian leadership favoured Ottoman unity against the imperial intervention 55 whereas the Indian Association was founded by S.N. Benerjee in Bengal, Bombay Association was started by Dadabhai Naoroji and Jagannath Sankar Seth in Bombay; the Sarvajanika Sabha established by Chiplunkar in Poona and several other organizations were involved in mobilization process in India before the formation of Indian National Congress in 1885. By 1883-84 the Indian Association succeeded in getting in touch with the growing political consciousness in the mofussil. The efforts of Surendranath, Kalisankar Sukul, Krishna Kumar Mitra, Dwarkanath Ghosh, Dwarkanath Ganguly and others succeeded in drawing the educated classes into political agitations and


rousing a general interest in political issues.

Independent trade unions, like in India never developed in Egypt. It was co-ordinated by the dynasty whereas trade unions were the main organs to unite working class in India. Municipalities were fully dominated by the foreigners in Egypt while it was purely run by the native people in India. There was no urban independent bourgeoisie class in Egypt while Indian National Congress was dominated by big bourgeoisie class in the beginning. Kin-ship and religion were used to dominate the peasantry whereas caste, religion were considered the social evils in the emergence of mass movement in India.

The Press in Egypt focused on demands such as the rights of Egyptians, the demand for removal of British rule, and the curtailment of the Khadive's power. The Press played a leading role in minimising the gap between Conservative Muslim reformists and secular modernists whereas the press in India facilitated the exchange of thought on a mass scale in the shortest time. Indian literature became a main source of communicating and stimulating a new political ideology. The press provided an even more effective alternative for dissemination of appeal and ideology. The content of the press reflected the awakening mood of Indian politics.

The rapid development of railways in Egypt and India made possible to people of both countries to travel all over the country in a short period and it facilitated the people to participate in the nationalist movement. Simultaneously,
railway was used to carry goods from one corner to another. During drought time it was only possible to supply food to the people of drought-affected areas by train. Railway was used to transport large-scale production of chemical fertilizers at Aswan and the transport of iron ore from Aswan to Cairo. The rapid development of industries in Egypt and India became possible because of the development of transport facilities. The modern transport boosted the native people to set up industries purely run by their own people so that they can challenge the British industrial production. The transport made agricultural production marketable in Egypt and India. Transport were a formidable force in unifying the Indian people as well as Egypt. Modern means of transport developed the prospect to go in search of job anywhere inside the country. This paved the way for the growth of a wider national consciousness and cooperation on a national basis.

The distribution of literatures, magazines, printed books and papers among thousand of villages was possible only because of developed transport system. Waterway was important means of transport in Egypt where leaders used to go by small boats to contact the people staying in far-flung areas. Canals in Egypt were built for two reasons, first, it was being used for irrigation purpose so that Egypt may not depend on other crops and another reason was to build up contact with those who are untouched from streamline from centuries. These rivers and canals were used for fishing.
also which was another source of their economic independence. The nationalist leaders made possible to participate in scientific and cultural conferences only because of the modern means of transport.

Egypt had lost her cultural identity after the British annexation. The British imposed their own culture on the native people. The nationalist leaders like, Arabi Pasha, Mustafa Kamal, Saad Zaghlul, Jamaluddin al-Afghani all worked to revive their culture. Al-Afghani propounded an idea of liberation of not only Egypt but all the Islamic countries under European control under the leadership of the strongest Muslim state of the time i.e. the Ottoman Empire. The leaders in Egypt used religion as a most effective weapon to unite the people against the British rule whereas Indian leadership was fighting for the liberation from internal social evils as well as external forces. Internal social evils were, caste system, sati system, child marriage, widow remarriage. The Indian leadership consumed a lot of time for the removal of social evils existing in Indian society. Religion was used to mobilize the people on caste line after 1906. Indian social reformers argued that social relations was vitally necessary to build up a sound national unity to achieve political freedom from the British.

Modern education brought the Egyptian and Indian people in contact with the western countries. Majority of the nationalist leaders of Egypt and Indian were western educat-
ed. These leaders were familiar with the meaning of indepen­
dence while coming back to their respective countries. These
leaders prepared the ground for the nationalist movement.
The educated military soldiers in the army gathered behind
Arabi Pasha and revolt finally took place in 1882 whereas
the Christian missionary Schools set-up centres to bring to­
gether the Indians. These missionary organizations played an
important role in spreading modern education among the Indi­
ans. The education would pave the way for the social and
political unification of Indian people with the entire
world. The spirit of English literature, Travelyan wrote in
1938 in his brochure on the Education of the People of
India, could not but be favourable to the English connec­
tion, forgetting that it is the literature of freedom which
inspire a spirit of nationalism and independence.

Macaulay advocated "the substitution of western culture
for the Indians' and set as the aim of the education, the
creation of a class of Indians who would be 'Indian in blood
and colour but English in tastes, in opinion, in morals and
in intellect.

Muslim Brotherhood headed by Hasan al-Banna started
mobilizing people purely on religious line. Brotherhood

56. Syed Nurullah, and J.P. Naik, History of Education in India

57. O'Malley (Ed) Modern India and the West: A Study of the
Interaction of their civilization (London: Oxford University
started mass level contact to preserve the identity of Islam. The group worked for the re-instatement of the laws of Koran. There were several organizations in India also who were mobilizing people certainly on the line of religion these organizations were Muslim League and Hindu Maha-Sabha, but both organizations were existing in counter reaction to each other. Political parties in Egypt and India played a very important role in mobilization of people.

III.4 SUMMARY
The military organization became instrumental in mobilizing forces in Egypt whereas this process was initiated by the civilians in India. The Press had played an important role before the emergence of political parties in Egypt. Views on the revival, reform and unity of Islamic countries were promoted by the press. The press propagated to teach Arabic as a uniform language in all Islamic countries to bring them at one platform against the colonial powers. On the contrary, press was of courses very strong in India and a larger number of leaders were journalist by profession but it did not help any way to mobilize the masses because communalism reflected in the views of the leadership and they mobilized only upper caste of Indian Society. There was no radical attempt to change the social structure and no significant movement took place in the area of land reforms. Only the collaborationist elements, such as the upper caste mobilized their own people and controlled the economy of India.
The modern means of transport provided an opportunity to the people residing in far-flung areas to establish a relation with the central leadership. It became possible only through the transport to spread only message in a short time all over the country. The transport made possible to the people to participate in the demonstrations even away from their living places.

There had been several religious reform movements to unite the people of Egypt and India. The leadership of Egypt succeeded to unite their people through the religion. But religious reform movement recognized religion and caste system in India. The Congress party has been "no" mobilization party. Other than a vague moderate nationalism, it was a party organization which possessed no coherent ideology for independence.

Mohammad Ali sent first educational mission to France. Khadive regularly sent students to acquire education in Western countries. These students worked to improve educational level of Egypt. The way educational standard of the people raised, they mobilized against the colonial power whereas education was confined among upper strata of Indian society.

The formation of several political parties in Egypt and India was based on different ideologies. These political parties adopted different methods to mobilize common people in their party fold. For instance Congress Party and Wafd in Egypt were representing elite section of their respective
societies. The Communist Party of India branded Congress as a party representing Indian bourgeoisie and it stopped mass upsurge.