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The process of the decolonizing Indian history, though seems to start with the independence of India in 1947, it actually originates in the high noon of colonialism in India in the middle of the nineteenth century. So, the present discussion begins with a prelude which contains the history of increasingly growth of consciousness among Indians which culminated in the development of nationalism among the largest section of the people. But in developing national view the interests of the minority, particularly Muslims, who form one of the most important constituents of the national economy of India, were not duly attended. Such situation led to the achievement of independence with a partition. After partition, the transformation from colonialism to decolonization began with a quest for establishing an idea of India. A constitution was adopted which insists on multitudinous democracy, unity in diversity, secularity with unlimited liberty of professing religion and social democracy with leniency towards capitalism. With adoption of constitution the process of decolonizing the state and government was started by the Congress with commitment to socialism and secularism, but the populist design of the second generation leader of the congress transformed the ideologies of democracy as spent up forces as the leader themselves asserted to attain the position of dictator. However, the people rejected them but they manoeuvred to return playing majoritarian card. But after return, the third generation leader of the Congress indulged themselves in unlimited corruption which has been answered by the people by substituting them for Hindu majoritarian political organisation. Thus the decolonizing Indian history starts with an aim of attaining an idea of India continues through clashes between majoritarian principles and substantive democracy which sometimes causes to pay bloody tolls.

Index terms— communitarian two nation theory, bureaucracy, populism, majoritarian, blood bath.**1 Introduction**

ecolonization is a process of history peculiar to the countries emancipated from colonial clutches of the West, and particularly to India which had been the world's biggest colony ever established by any of Western Powers. Apparently it started in India with the transfer of power by the British colonial rulers to the nationalist elites of India in 1947. Thus the starting point of decolonization of Indian history is the independence of India which is the result of a long struggle for breaking the colonial yoke. From this point of view, the freedom movement is the prelude to the post colonial development in Indian history. This starting point again, coincided with the birth of Pakistan which also contributes to shape the prefix of decolonizing history of Author : Gauhati University. e-mail : drkamal.history@gmail.com India. But a close observation reveals that decolonization of Indian history begins with the aim of attaining an idea of India which centres round "the couplet of : antiquity -continuity ; diversity-unity ; massivity-democracy ; multiconfessionality-secularity ;"1 the endeavour of which is revealed

3 B) FORMATION OF INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND ITS MOVEMENTS

through the constitutional development of India, and its application in political development in India over the years upto 2014.

2 II. Prelude to Decolonization

A long struggle of liberation culminated in the independence of India in 1947 but with the creation of Pakistan wresting some portions from the British India. It is not possible, nay, not necessary to recapitulate here in detail history of the birth of Pakistan, but it is relevant to narrate here the rise and development of national consciousness among the Indians who in course of time rose against the colonial rule for attainment of independence. a) Socio-Economic Background of the struggle for Independence

Beginning with the British conquest of Bengal in the middle of the 18th century, the British colonialism began to grow in India and it reached its maridian with the collapse of the Revolt of 1857 which was followed by establishment of the rule of Crown in India. National Consciousness began to arise among the Indians in the second part of the 19th century. This consciousness begot nationalism in India.

A study of the impact of colonialism on Indian Society reveals that during the First century of colonial rule in India it gave birth to Hindu and Muslim communitarian feeling in Indian society. It is obvious that 'the Muslim Communitarian feeling was the creation of colonial constraints, its Hindu counterpart was occasioned by colonial presence.' Thus during the First century of colonial rule in India a sense of alienation began to grow among the Hindus and Muslims in India.

In such socio-economic background national consciousness began to bloom among the Indians. The main field of rise of national consciousness was Bengal. In other words, the earliest proponents of Indian nationalism were western educated Bengalis. But in developing the concept of nationalism they indulged themselves in utilising a subterranean spirit called religion which is actually dangerous in spirit though harmless in appearance. The most glaring example of such national consciousness was first manifested Chattapadhyaya and in the organising activities of Hindu Mela culminating in the formation of National Society.

The reflection of such national consciousness was found in northern India in the activities of Arya Samaj founded by Swami Dayananda Saraswati who insisted on a militant Hindu nationalism. The quest for Hindu nationalism was found also in the illuminating writings and programmes of activities of Maratha leaders including Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Their writings and activities were characterised by a distinct timbre that may be identified as Maratha edition of Hindu nationalism.

Consciousness among the Muslims began to arise after the decisive failure of the Revolt of 1857 when they realised that the British colonial rule was not a temporary phase in India and their cherished aspiration for regaining the past glory of their nobles and aristocrats was not only extinct but also the remnants of their dignity and power were annihilated forever. Every Indian Muslim irrespective of his social and economic position was looked upon down by the colonial rulers as their arch enemy. In such situation Indian Muslims were surcharged with a growing sense of anxiety for survival. In other words, in the post 1857 period, when the most Hindu intellectuals were endeavouring to unite the whole of India with the theory of nationalism, then a sense of despondence and restlessness was looming large in the minds of Indian Muslims who were not enlightened in modern education and science, and almost sick with a pang for selecting the right way for living. In such socioeconomic situation, two sets of reaction were revealed in the conscious section of them. If the activities of both conscious groups of Muslims are analysed, it is clearly revealed that the Western educated group led by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and others was eager to expedite Muslim's development with the influence of western education and culture which was to be made available through colonial favour by co-operation with the colonialists. The other group led by Ulemas of Deobond wanted to develop their co-religionists through strict adherence to religious rules and practices and opposing colonial education, economy and culture which, they felt would shake the Muslims faith in Islam and turn many of them into apostates. But unlike their Hindu counterparts, the Muslim intellectuals did not propagate any theory of nationalism. However, rise of Hindu nationalism and the colonial rulers apathetic policy towards the Muslims inevitably awakened consciousness among them about their identity.

Being influenced by the Hindu Mela, Arya Samaj, Maratha leaders and the philosophy of nationalism as enunciated by Bankimchandra, Hindus did not find any difference between love for religion and patriotism. But as the cultural consciousness of the Muslims was greatly influenced by the international ideology of Islam, they developed a mental make up of considering religion and patriotism separately.

This was the situation of India at the time of formation of Indian National Congress in 1885. This socio-economic condition may be termed as a divisive situation created by the two nation theory of the 19th century formulation and was responsible for communalising politics of the twentieth century.

3 b) Formation of Indian National Congress and its movements

In such a backdrop the Indian National Congress was set up with an avowed policy of attaining Indian nationalism by integrating all national emotions and aspirations developed during nineteenth century. But at that time, Indian nationalism was dominated by Hindus and had a Hindu outlook. However, the struggle for liberation, which is a by product of national movement was led by the Congress for the period till attainment of independence in 1947. But the nascent Muslim middle class developed as a result of activities of the Aligarh movement and the other organisations, could not remain confident on the movements led by Hindu middle class on the question of

security of the provisions of their livelihood. On the contrary, the Hindu leadership did not make any marked attempt to dispel such apprehension prevailing among the Muslims. In the field of economy, the Hindu bourgeois were, to some extent successfully, asserting to attain the status of national bourgeoisie, in which field the Muslims were lagging behind. This conflict between Hindus and Muslims in India was continuously perceived by the British bureaucracy and they did not feel it safe any more to remain dependent on the once loyal and faithful Hindus, rather, they found that Muslims who had once been hostile to them were more dependable than the Hindus in respect of lengthening the life of their capital in India. So, they revised their 'Divide and Rule' policy and began to apply it in their administrative and intellectual activities which was manifested in their appeasement of Muslims.

From the formation of the Congress to the partition of Bengal, the Congress remained a pressure group of notables seeking no more than colonial self government. But from the partition of Bengal in 1905, till the emergence of Gandhi in Indian Politics, the Congress rose in agitation against the colonial rulers with the Boycott and Swadeshi and the terrorist and In political sphere the formation of the Hindu Mahasabha was formed, and in Social arena Rastriya Swayam Sevak Sangha with an avowed aim of establishing Hmdutva in the social and political life worsened the situation. Mr. Jinnah at that time emerged as an important Muslim leader having double membership in League and Congress. Jinnah's demand for thirty three percent representation was rejected by the Congress in 1927 which led him utter with heavy heart-"this is the parting of the ways."4 Before 1934 Mr. Jinnah could not become the topmost leader of the Muslim league. In the election of 1937 Muslim League was miserably defeated by the Congress who triumphed at the polls and formation of the regional governments. The Congress, over the result declared that it was the only national party in India. Disgruntled Jinnah could realise the weakness of his base and adopted the resolution of two nation theory in the Lahore conference of the Muslim League in 1940. But the two nation theory demanding nationhood for the Muslims did not insist on partitionist solution. However, circumstances led to the situation the best analysis of which is to be found in Asim Roy's "The High Politics of Indian Partition ; the Revisionist perspective; Modern Asian studies 21-2-1990 pp 403-48 where he remarks "so while the league talked of partition, Jinnah contemplated confederation; while Congress spoke of union Nehru prepared for Scission." However, India won independence with dismemberment of a portion of her for Pakistan. Obviously, by 1945, the era of Gandhi was over and that of Nehru, the Prime Minister of independent India in waiting, had begun.

Whether partition was inevitable or not, it came, acted in such a way that it took the cruellest form with worst human consequences. But it could not make a scar on the 'Tryst with Destiny' speech of Jawaharlal Nehru though independence was born through bloodbath. However, the partition and Kashmir issue antagonised the relation between these newly emerged post colonial nation states.

4 III.

Transition to Decolonization the Quest for Idea of India

With the transfer of power by the colonial rulers to the Indian elites who were the uncontested leaders of the Congress the latter, taking the partition inevitable, mustered their whole attention to shape their newly emerged nation state 'India'. They retained the age old name of country India' which reflects their quest for antiquity and continuity. a) Preparation for constitutional development With a view to shaping the idea of India, the national elites felt the urgent necessity of a constitution for the country. It may not be out of place to mention here that the late colonialism in India had also taken to constitutional manoeuvre by enacting the Government of India Act, 1935. But it was to some extent rightly, suspected by the nationalists as an attempt of balkanization' when they had been contemplating decolonization, as it aimed at directing attention towards local and provincial sectors to keep central authority of the colonialist strong. However, the Indian National Congress placed its demand for a Constituent Assembly in 1935. It may be recalled here that the idea of Constituent Assembly was first floated by M.N. Ray, a pioneer of communist movement in India and an advocate of radical democracy in 1934. This demand of the Congress was accepted by the British in 1940 as one of the terms of the August offer proclaimed by the viceroy, Lord Linlithgow. Under the Cabinet Mission Plan of 1946, elections were held for the first time for the Constituent Assembly. The members of the Constituent Assembly were elected by the provincial assemblies by means of single transferable vote system of proportional representation. The total members of the Constituent Assembly was 389, of which 292 were representatives of the provinces, 93 were representatives of princely states and 4 from Chief Commissionr provinces of Delhi, Ajmer-Marwar, Coorg, and British Beluchistan. The constitution of India was drafted by the Constituent Assembly and it was set up under the Cabinet Mission Plan on May,16,1946. But the Muslim League demanded a separate Constituent Assembly for the Muslims in India. On June 3, 1947, Lord Mountbatten, the last British Governor General of India announced his intention of scrapping the Cabinet Mission Plan, which ultimately culminated in the India Independence Act and separate nations of India and Pakistan. The Constituent Assembly which was elected for undivided India reassembled on August 14, 1947 as a sovereign body and successor of the British Parliament's plenary authority and power in India. As a result of partition the representatives from the areas incorporated in Pakistan ceased to be members of the Constituent Assembly of India. The membership of the Constituent Assembly became 299 after this reorganisation. Dr. Rajendra Prasad was voted president of the Constituent Assembly, and Constitution Drafting Committee was formed with the chairmanship of Dr. B.R.

5 DECOLONIZATION OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT

Ambedkar. Other members of the Committee included N. Gopalswami Ayenger, A.K. Ayar, K.M. Munshi, Syed Md. Saadulla, N. Madhab Rao and D.P. Khaitan.

The Constituent Assembly completed the task of drafting a constitution in 2 years 11 months and 18 b) Constitution of India After the toil of the Constituent Assembly for about three years the comnstitution of India was adopted. It contained 395 articles, longest of its kind in the world. The document drew on the British model of Parliamentary democracy. In addition, number of principles was adopted from the Constitution of the United States of America including separation of powers among the major branches of government and the establishment of a Supreme Court, the principle of strong centre and distribution of power between Central Government and State Governments were adopted from Canada, the idea of the directive principles of state policy was borrowed from Ireland; the idea of having a concurrence list of shared power was drawn from Australia; and the principle of suspension of Fundamental Right during emergency was adopted from Germany. Over and above, the framers of the constitution borrowed different provisions freely from the legislations adopted by the colonial power from time to time. They exerted their best efforts to draw an original synthesis of all the sources keeping in mind the needs and conditions. Thus the constitution of India was framed combining provisions for strong central executive with a symbolic presidency, a bicameral legislature with reserved seats for schedule caste, a Supreme Court as a highest Constitutional Court and guardian of the constitution with robust provincial governments, in a semi federal structure denominated a union. Judicial Review is also adopted in the constitution which refers that the constitution is the supreme power of the nation and all laws are under its supremacy. Thus the Indian elites taking the partition as fait accompli gave their full attention to frame a constitution has become a touchstone of multitudinous democracy, a unity in diversity, secularity with unlimited liberty of professing religion, and a social democracy having trend towards growth of capitalist economy. Amartya Sen while describing the constitution states that " Especially fortunate in its millinial traditions of public arguments, with toleration of intellectual heterodoxy, independent India became the first country in the nonwestern world to choose a resolutely democratic constitution". 5 This constitution is the key stone of the republican edifice of India that was raised for decolonization of history of India.

IV.

5 Decolonization of State and Government

With the adoption of the constitution on January 26, 1950, the world's biggest colonial state turned into the world's largest republican state. Since independence, the state has famously been a democracy, the major step from colonialism to decolonization. But the democratic edifice is a combination of Four wings : Government, Bureaucracy, and Army and Police.

Government : As per provision of the constitution, the Governments are freely elected by its citizens at a regular intervals, in polls that are not twisted by fraud. However its leadership in the national movement, its holding the rein of power at the time of transfer and its ability to frame a constitution and enforce central authority over diverse provinces and princely states privileged the Congress to win all general elections from 1952 to 1971 and to hold the Government at the centre from 1952 to 1977 with Jawaharlal Nehru (1947-1948) (1949-1950) (1951-1952) (1953-1954) (1955-1956) (1957-1958) (1959-1960) (1961-1962) (1963-1964), Lal Bahadur Shastri (1964-66) Mrs. Indira Gandhi (1966-77) as Prime Ministers in succession. Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of Post Colonial India, a true democrat, with his idea of socialistic pattern of society, his 'Panchshil' policy in foreign affairs, his leadership in the Neutral Summit of the world in the age of Cold War and with his true secular outlook, as a matter of fact, established the corner stone of the democratic edifice of the post colonial India. Though his 'Panchsil' was proved abortive in sino-Indian border conflict his clarion call could ensure an un -precedent unity among the Indians. Lal Bahadur's period is an extension of Nehruvian regime. But under his Prime Ministership India fought successfully the Indo-Pak war in 1965. He died prematurely trying to live down the legacy of his illustrious predecessor. After his death in Tashkent, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, daughter of Jawahar Lal Nehru was placed by the Congress in the office of the Prime Minister in 1966. She successfully won the Bangladesh liberation war by inflicting crushing defeat on Pakistan which earned universal ovation for her. The Congress had some how won the Parliamentary election in 1967 under her leadership. But in the election after Bangladesh liberation war the Congress was voted to power with thumping majority due to her successful assertion as a populist leader.

There can not be any denial that with a spread of support in the regions and the confidence that comes from having successfully dislodged colonial rules, Congress was able to work a westminister style of Parliamentary democracy. The holding of five elections successfully in regular intervals lent legitimacy to a multiparty system dominated by Congress. But the success of Indira Gandhi's populist design made her bold to adopt a covert authoritarianism which estranged the relationship between centre and region. Her authoritarian activities markedly led to control the judiciary even. Her authoritarian activities provoked nationwide agitation. During 1973-75 political unrest against the Indira Gandhi Government increased across the country. In the famous Raj Narain Case, the Allahabad High Court declared her election to Loksabha null and void, unseated her from the Parliament and from the post of Prime Minister. She was further debarred from contesting any election for six years. The Supreme Court upheld the verdict of the Allahabad High Court but allowed her to continue as Prime Minister. Jay Prakash Narain, a veteran Gadhian leader was first stormed in 1990 and the foundation of the temple laid on the site. However, the mosque was finally razed to the ground on 6 December 1992 by Hindu

volunteers in front of BJP leaders, setting off some of the worst attacks on the Muslim minority in many parts of India.

Such functioning of the activists of BJP, VHP and RSS combination although smeared the secular facade of the Indian State, facilitated BJP to acquire power in 1998. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, a comparatively moderate adherent to Hindutva formed the government at the centre with coalition with some other parties.

During his regime (1998-2004) Hindutva could not dominate the Government due to coalition compulsion but the worst onslaught in nature and dimension ever plunged on the minorities was held in Gujrat, a BJP ruled state with Narendra Modi Chief Minister to which Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee (1998-2004) played only an advisory role suggesting Narendra Modi to obey 'Rajdharm' (rule of law). The demolition of an old age mosque and the so called 'hidden agenda' for establishing the ideology of Hindutva did not give a long lease of life for the BJP rule and the disenchanted people voted again the Congress and its allies to the power in 2004. However, pervasive corruption dates back to the regime of 'Rajib Gandhi', the grandson of Nehru, mired in a massive arms procurement scandal and the regime of Narasimha Rao, the first to purchase a vote of confidence in the Loksabha with millions of cash for defection to the government and heaps of unbridled scams including the defalcation from public purse of some \$ 40 billion in crooked telecom contracts, while the Prime Minister Monmohan Singh every where lauded the image of probity-looked the other way, led the disenchanted people to look for alternative which they found in BJP inspite of its committed Hindutva hue.

People preferred Narendra Modi, a practical man having instance of tremendous development with modern technique in his credit though in other way smeared with Gujrat massacre of 2002 to a mumbling Rahul Gandhi in spite of his having a Nehruvian heredity. Decolonization of bureaucracy, army and police : The foremost worth mentioning occurrence of the decolonizing history of India is the crystalization of democracy. But it will be a cliché to ascribe the success of crystalization of democracy in India to the activities of any political organisation alone. It is the bureaucracy that played one of the most dominant role in granulating democracy in India. As a matter of fact, bureaucracy was an inheritance of the British colonial rule. The colonial edifice of the British Raj in India was kept erect by the colonial bureaucracy, mainly the ICS and similar services. At the time of independence, the steel frame of the ICS remained in place, untouched. In last years of the colonial rule, the upper ranks had been indianized. During the colonial rule the members of the civil services were given responsibility to run the administration of India. Immediately after independence, the ICS was renamed as Indian Administrative Service (IAS) in 1947 at the initiative taken by Sardar Vallab Bhai Patel, the then Home Minister of India. The IAS was brought under the Union Public Service Commission, an autonomous body under the provision of the constitution of India.

During the colonial regime the country was ruled by the directives issued by the colonial rulers and the civil officers were the executive authorities. After independence, the country is managed through a number of central Government agencies with the policy directions given by ministers and the members of civil or a administrative services are responsible for executing the directions resorted to incite even the police in rebellion. In such circumstances, Indira Gandhi requested the President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed to issue a state of emergency. The compliant president under Article 352 (1) of the Constitution promulgated the state of emergency on June 25, 1975. Thus the apprehension of H.V. Kamath, a member of the Constituent Assembly from Central Province and Berar, who had opposed incorporation of Article 352 (1) in the Constituent Assembly Debate citing how such provision in the constitution of the Weimer Republic had raised Hitler to the position of Dictator of Nazi Germany (Fuhrer and Reichskanzler), came true. Involving the Article 352, Indira Gandhi granted herself extraordinary powers, launched a massive crackdown on civil liberties and political opposition. The state of emergency continued upto 21 March 1977. Thus "imposing the 'Emergency' of 1975-77 was Indira Gandhi's attempt to ward off both sorts of regional challenges by making centre the sole repository of supra-local and supra-regional populist programme" 6 . But by exercising democratic rights for 25 years the people of India attained maturity by this time to reply the authoritarian attitude of elected leader by imposing a crushing defeat on her party including herself in the General Election of 1977 and voted Janata Party, a loose conglomeration of regional, left and right wing forces united in the opposition to authoritarian rule of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. The new Parliament under the leadership of Morarji Deshai scrapped the provision of internal emergency by amending the constitution at the first instance in 1978. The Janata Experiment of unity of diverse forces began to crack soon and fresh election was held in 1980 when Indira Gandhi came back with thrumping majority by substituting populism for implicit, if not explicit, majoritarian communalism, which is a colonial legacy. But she was assassinated by her Sikh Riding a sympathy wave following the assassination of his mother Rajib Gandhi (Prime Minister 1984-89) swept the election. He played majority minority game in his viewing the social problem like the colonial rulers. He could not satisfy the voters and so in 1989, his party was voted out and V.P. Singh elected Prime Minister with the support from both the Bharatiya Janata Party and the Communist, the right and left political organisations. He resigned in protest against the assault of the BJP supported Hindu volunteers on the age old mosque at Ayodhya. He was followed by a host of Prime Ministers during the period from 1989 to 1998. This period witnessed an economic crisis un-precedent in the post colonial history of india and also communal disturbances throughout the century initiated by cohesive forces of Hindutva for gaining political mileage.

Post colonial history and historiography of India could not discard the colonial definition of majority and minority and the Hindu majoritarian politics came to surface in 1980s to answer many powerful regional challenges

to central authority. The ideologies of secularism and socialism on which the democratic edifice stands, lost credibility by this time and the Congress regime at the centre turned to depend implicitly on religiously based majoritarianism to turn aside regional threats. Such activities of Congress paved the way for the ideologically committed and organisationally cohesive forces of Hindutvathe Rastriya Svayam Sevak Sangha (RSS), Vishwa Hindu Parishad and their political organ Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) to emerge as major forces on Indian Political Scene. Hindu majoritarian politics increasingly took on anti-Muslim overtone. The symbolic issue that came to fore was the temple mosque controversy in Ayodhya. The age old mosque. The members of bureaucracy left by the British regime and those newly recruited firmly carried out their responsibility without least wavering which contributed a great extent to crystalise the newly established democracy in India.

Other elements for successful crystallisation of democracy are the Armed forces and police. The Armed forces were inherited by the national elites from the colonial rulers and they showed their unwavering fidelity to the newly formed Government of India. They got the chance of submitting to an ordeal soon after independence when the Indo-Pak War broke out over Kashmir in 1947-48.

Though many of the members of the police corps of the colonial rule were guilty of beating, jailing and even shooting so many in the struggle for independence, they were kept intact without asking the guilty corps for purge even. The Congress high command was most concern with stability of democracy and they gained it by keeping the police force of the colonial rulers intact.

V.

6 Conclusion

Post colonial Indian history and historiography show that the transfer of power from the colonial rulers to the national elites was peaceful, yet the birth of independence emerged with a bloodbath. The post colonial rulers, in the Congress were very successful in crystalysing democracy in India with the help of bureaucracy, armed forces and police, the legacies of the British colonial rule. But apparent success of their populist design led them resort to authoritarian stance which brought them experience the bitterness of severe defeat. On the other hand, the main principle of democracy 'by the people' triumphed. Again, in course of time they began to occupy power by playing religious majoritarian card, as the ideals of democracy, the secularism and socialism were reduced to almost spent up forces in the face of populism. The result is natural shifting to majority communitarian and hydra headed demonic communalism which have been attained the positions of a reply to the state sponsored corruptions even. So, the decolonizing Indian history is yet to achieve its goal i.e. ideology for which its quest started.

In fine, it may be stated that the process of decolonizing Indian history originates in high noon of colonialism. Starting with an aim of attaining idea of democracy and continues today through an atmosphere of clash between majoritarian principles and substansive democracy in incipient nation which sometimes causes to pay bloody tolls.

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¹Decolonizing Indian History



Figure 1:

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- 322 [Amarty Sen-Argumentative Indian ()] , *Amarty Sen-Argumentative Indian* 2005. p. 12. (P.)
- 323 [Jaswant Singh -JINNAH -India -Portion -Independence -Rupa Co] *Jaswant Singh -JINNAH -India -Portion -*
- 324 *Independence -Rupa &Co*, Delhi -2009. P.148.
- 325 [Kamaluddin Ahmed -Plassey to Proclauation -Mudrakar -Kolkata -2010] *Kamaluddin Ahmed -Plassey to Pro-*
- 326 *clauation -Mudrakar -Kolkata -2010*, p. 299.
- 327 [Perry Anderson -The Indian Ideology -Palam Vihar-Gurgaon ()] *Perry Anderson -The Indian Ideology -Palam*
- 328 *Vihar-Gurgaon*, 2012. Haryana. p. P9.