The Swadeshi Movement and the Political Economy of Anti-Colonial Enterprise in India, c. 1870–1920

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Abstract
The development of the indigenous industry sector in colonial India was not only about economic competition with the foreign economy but was itself a key language of anticolonial politics. The present research is dedicated to examining how the criticism of colonial economic policy made by early Indian nationalists, such as Dadabhai Naoroji, Mahadev Govind Ranade, and Romesh Chunder Dutt, was converted into the Swadeshi program involving boycott, indigenous manufacturing, national finance, technical education, and disciplined consumption. Focusing especially on the development in Bengal after the 1905 partition and also mentioning some progress in western and southern India, the present paper examines the textile mills, the chemical and pharmaceutical industries, banking and insurance companies, shipping concerns, and smaller manufacturers of consumer goods. The case of Banga Lakshmi Cotton Mills, Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, Bengal National Bank, and Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company proves that economic nationalism involved efforts to organize new connections between capital, science, work force, consumption, and sovereignty. This, however, was a rather complicated task because of the lack of capital, importation of machines, inadequate managerial experience, weak purchasing power, poor product quality, and advantages possessed by European businesses under colonial rule. The article suggests that indigenous industrial development should not be judged only in terms of the survival or success of individual businesses. The real importance of such a phenomenon is its ability to create an economic public, legitimate Indian enterprise, politicize everyday consumption, and create self-reliant production as a permanent component of the national liberation struggle.

Keywords: Swadeshi movement; economic nationalism; indigenous industry; Bengal; boycott; Indian entrepreneurship

Introduction

The emergence of economic nationalism in India during the colonial period had its roots in the basic understanding of politics, which is the domination of the empire did not merely function through laws and militarily. At the end of the nineteenth century, Indian writers began arguing that the problem of poverty in their country was neither eternal nor accidental. They connected it with spending on colonization, outflow of wealth, the policy of discrimination and a system where Indian interests were being made secondary to the British ones. Analysis of the "drain" of wealth made by Dadabhai Naoroji, history of colonial policy regarding lands and taxes made by Romesh Chunder Dutt, and promotion of industrialization made by Mahadev Govind Ranade formed a theory of national regeneration out of the economic critique (Naoroji, 1901; Dutt, 1904; Ranade, 1906).

The Swadeshi Movement, which came about because of the division of Bengal in 1905, provided this body of thought with a fresh social and organizational context. The boycott of foreign products was the most obvious weapon of this movement, but the boycott was just one negative aspect of it. Its constructive policy consisted of the production and consumption of Indian-made items, saving Indian money, spreading knowledge about technology, and setting up organizations that would lessen India's dependence on colonial markets. Thus, an item of clothing, a piece of soap, an account in a bank, and even a train ticket to distant places could be made into a political statement. Economic activity entered into homes, markets, schools, laboratories, and joint stock companies.

The three interconnected queries that this study deals with are: How did economic criticism in the latter part of the nineteenth century come to be transformed into an ideology of indigenous industry? Secondly, what kinds of firms were established or prospered due to the ideology of Swadeshi economic nationalism? Finally, how can these successes be evaluated in terms of the limitations that they had to contend with in the form of finance, technology, society and colonialism? The core thesis of the study is that the rise of indigenous industries is important from the standpoint of history not so much because it represented an industrial revolution as it did because it was the emergence of a nationalist political economy wherein Swadeshi firms harnessed consumption, capital, science and entrepreneurship for collective self-assertion.

The Intellectual Formation of Economic Nationalism

Indian economic nationalism arose decades before the division of Bengal. The evolution of this school owed much to the increasingly systematic application of statistics, budgets, trade figures, and comparative history by educated Indian critics of the colonial rule. Naoroji (1901) claimed that a considerable part of India's wealth was being taken out of the nation in the form of transfers, pensions, profits, and payments overseas, without any corresponding economic gain. Dutt (1904) associated rural misery with the demands for land revenue, public finance, and the imperatives of imperial administration. While Ranade (1906) was more of a reformer than an advocate of rapid change or government intervention, he stated that economic development was needed for the solution of poverty.

The analysis goes further than the notion of protectionism narrowly construed through the lens of tariffs. It is based on the idea of India being a united economy where resources must meet the demands of its people. Goswami (1998) convincingly argues that the move from swadeshi to swaraj involved a radical recasting of the conceptual connections between nation, territory, and economy. For a national economy to come into existence, it was necessary for it to first be theoretically imagined before becoming a political project. The term swadeshi means "of one's own country" in such a way that goods derive value from not just their usefulness and cost, but also from their origin and ability to secure self-reliance.

The significance of this argument was heightened by the uneven impact of economic change under colonialism. While there were continuities with older craft traditions and some artisan sectors managed to cope, the nineteenth century exerted great pressure upon many Indian manufactures and reoriented trade towards imperial needs (Bagchi, 1976; Roy, 2011). Modern industries did arise in areas like jute, cotton, coal, and tea production, but there was a huge inequality in terms of ownership, technology, and trading practices. In some cases, the Indian capital was very important, although the managing agencies and advantages of the Europeans still mattered. Hence, the economic nationalism needed to protect precarious economic niches but also open ways for participation in modern forms of industrial production.

Moreover, the early national argument implied moral dimension, if the colonial rule made people economically dependent on their masters, then they were supposed to make changes in savings and consumption. It became essential after 1905. Up until that point, Indian industrial conferences, associations, exhibitions, and public speeches promoted the production inside the country. The Swadeshi Movement did not create indigenous enterprises out of nothing but boosted tendencies and provided them with political agenda and rhetoric of sacrifice for the nation (Bhattacharyya, 1986; Chandra, 1966).

From the Partition of Bengal to Constructive Swadeshi

The division of Bengal, announced by the colonial government and implemented on 16 October 1905, divided the province into western Bengal and an eastern province which was formed as an extension of Assam. While the policy was officially explained as an administrative measure, it was viewed by nationalists as an attempt to curb Bengali political power and break an increasingly militant populace (McLane, 1965; Sarkar, 2010). Early opposition involved petitioning, meetings, songs, marches, and displays of unity. It was soon followed by a boycott of British goods coupled with the promotion of Swadeshi products and education.

Both the boycott and Swadeshi movement reinforced each other. The boycott was intended to stop buying imported goods while the Swadeshi movement sought to create an indigenous alternative that could satisfy the demand. The movement's leaders understood that boycotting imported cloth would not be possible without having a cheap alternative. Thus, while initially being a political struggle, the movement acquired aspects of institution building in economics.

The cultural impact of the movement must not be used as an excuse for ignoring the internal contradictions within it. In the movement, the concept of nation was that of a morally superior society, but there were many class, regional, gender and religious differences in its mobilization. Middle-class students and activists played important roles in this, but the other classes like traders, artisans, workers, landlords and peasants were also involved in their own ways. The imposition of the boycott through coercion could have the possibility of alienating consumers and shopkeepers. The presence of communalism, especially in eastern Bengal, was contrary to any sense of national unity.

However, Swadeshi broadened the extent of politics. Mass gatherings provided resources for business concerns; newspapers advocated products made in India; exhibitions helped the people become acquainted with the manufacturers of products within the country; citizens voluntarily tried to favor Indian businesses; and families were encouraged to pay high prices, sometimes even inferior-quality goods, as acts of patriotism. Hence, the market was seen as a place where nationalism could be performed consistently. As later studies on consumer behavior have shown, political significance of goods is in the fact that consumer behavior becomes an embodiment of identity and obligation (Haynes et al., 2010; Varman & Belk, 2009).

Indigenous Industry in Practice

Textiles and the Politics of Substitution

The textile industry was central to Swadeshi policy because the presence of imported textiles was clearly visible, highly used, and had strong ties to the transformation of Indian commerce by the colonizers. Bonfire rallies were visually impressive, but the real question was how to increase domestic capacity in spinning, weaving, and marketing. Mills in Bombay and Ahmedabad prospered due to national demand, and there were new businesses developing in Bengal. Handloom weaving gained symbolic status, though there was no always perfect synergy between mills and weavers.

Banga Lakshmi Cotton Mills is a fine example of both the dynamism and the limits of the Swadeshi movement. This company was registered in January 1906 under an authorised capital of twelve lakh rupees, and it started operating in Mahesh, Hooghly. The very name of the company linked industrialisation with the Bengal's prosperity. Thanks to the nationalist fervour, the company could quickly find shareholders and expand its production to meet the demand for yarn and cloth, which were substitutes for foreign goods. In 1907-1908, it already employed over 26000 spindles and 200 looms, which demonstrates the ability of Swadeshi to tap into the considerable resources (Bhattacharyya, 1986).

Nevertheless, the experience of Banga Lakshmi's patriarch demonstrated that even patriotic enthusiasm had its limitations in the face of industrial competition. In addition to securing a supply of cotton and yarn, the entrepreneur had to invest significantly to produce high-quality products at the lowest prices with machines purchased abroad. The first profits were relatively low, and the business had to withstand a depression due to oversupply and a decrease in demand, which was partially offset by the First World War. Finally, the enterprise's efforts to grow cotton in Bengal indicated that its patriarch wanted to create a complete industrial chain to gain complete control of the production process. Nevertheless, the enterprise remained dependent on imported machines and was only partially self-sufficient in terms of cotton supply.

It becomes apparent that textile swadeshi did not only involve the replacement of foreign goods with their Indian equivalents. Textile swadeshi included a broader question of competitiveness, which included not only final products but also supplies of raw materials, component parts, technical specifications, technical skills, technical knowledge, and marketing techniques, among others. In other words, the very concept of swadeshi raised issues not only of substituting imports by domestic producers but also of the degree of vertical integration, which was essential for the competitive success of Indian enterprises.

Chemicals, Pharmaceuticals, and Scientific Enterprise

If textiles were the most widespread manifestation of the Swadeshi, chemical and pharmaceutical industry witnessed its scientific claims. Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works was founded by a renowned chemist Prafulla Chandra Ray in 1892, prior to the anti-partition agitation. Starting from a small-scale production in Calcutta, it provided India with chemicals, medicinal substances, and other commodities needed for daily use. In 1901, the enterprise was transformed into a public limited company with the participation of Indian shareholders. Thus, its development before 1905 is also notable in the context of the Swadeshi boom, as the movement's activists promoted and praised a business which was built through the efforts of one of India's scientists and had already gained popularity among the nation's people and newspapers (Ray, 1932; Bhattacharyya, 1986).

Bengal Chemical sought to challenge the assumption that Indians were only fit for commerce or for traditional crafts. It combined laboratory know-how with the use of indigenous materials to produce alternatives to imported drugs and chemicals. In the early 1900s, it had already penetrated the market with a variety of products and begun producing sulphuric acid in 1905, challenging the European company that had a virtual monopoly on the former. Bengal chemical further opened workshops for machinery, packaging, printing, and other allied industries. Its production had surged due to the Swadeshi campaign and once again profited from the First World War trade disruptions (Bhattacharyya, 1986).

Ray's enterprise provided an opportunity to associate economic nationalism with science and education. A country that is dependent on foreign imports of chemicals, drugs, and laboratory equipment cannot be truly independent. Scientific knowledge needed to be integrated into factories to make them efficient producers of the desired goods. Recent scholarship on science and the swadeshi industries has demonstrated this trend, highlighting the research, industrial, and service dimensions of the Swadeshi enterprises (Singh et al., 2024). Other chemical and pharmaceutical companies were also created, but only some of them survived. Nevertheless, their emergence and development marked the beginning of laboratory and technical research in Indian science.

Still, it should be noted that such research requires a constant supply of funds, workers, equipment, and standardized conditions. Therefore, while Indian firms competed with foreign counterparts for markets and government contracts, they also had to rely on imports to sustain their operations. Even the most successful among them purchased essential machines and components from abroad. However, this does not diminish the importance of economic nationalism in India, as exemplified by these companies. Rather, it highlights how far the reformists were willing to go to achieve economic independence.

Consumer Goods, Crafts, and Everyday Economic Nationalism

Swadeshi industrialization included not only large-scale joint-stock enterprises but also numerous small enterprises as well as associations that promoted their development. The production of this enterprise focused on a wide range of goods from pottery, leather goods, soap, matches, ink, pencils, buttons, hosiery, cigarettes, and other consumer goods. Although such goods as cotton yarn and cotton cloth were produced in large-scale industrial enterprises, the production of all these goods was essential for the Swadeshi economy. The Swadeshi program returned India to its traditional industries and gave them new significance. While a nationalist entrepreneur could not afford to buy a ship or a steel plant, the Swadeshi purchasing power could be channeled into a local market buying soap, paper products, and wearing.

Moreover, this program helped to revalue the concept of craft. Handicrafts were presented in colonial exhibitions and publicity as an appendix to industry. Nationalists, leaders, and organizers of the movement tried to reposition handicrafts in society. According to McGowan (2009), in the context of handicrafts and the Swadeshi movement, debates about design, art, authenticity, and labor were intertwined. Crafts were considered an essential element in the formation of a national culture. Thus, the Swadeshi movement is a synthesis of two seemingly irreconcilable views of industry. On the one hand, it affirms the superiority of hand-made goods over machine-made ones and, on the other hand, it is necessary to form large-scale industries in order to compete with foreign ones.

The development of the Swadeshi enterprises had its advantages and disadvantages. Small-scale business had many obstacles on its way, despite the fact that it was relatively easy to start up. Enterprises suffered from a lack of capital, chaotic accounting, and often failed to meet the demands of consumers. Moreover, the label “Swadeshi” could be used by entrepreneurs who were ready to lure the investor with promises of profit. According to Bhattacharyya (1986), there are examples of both honest and deceptive entrepreneurs in the literature on nationalism studies. Nevertheless, enterprises of this type failed to live up to their expectations, thereby undermining the creditability of the Swadeshi movement as a whole. Thus, economic nationalism did not only require passion but also disciplined and responsible leadership.

Banking, Insurance, and the Mobilisation of National Capital

Industrialisation was not confined only to factories. Swadeshi thinkers increasingly focused on banks, insurance, and joint-stock associations as means of recycling Indian savings into Indian industry. Finance was a political issue in the context of colonial rule, because, so nationalist ideologues assumed, the very capital that was to be invested in industries had to be saved from the imperial economy in the first place.

The Bengali National Bank, registered in September 1907, with an authorized capital of fifty lakh rupees, was poised to become a model for the country. It opened its doors to all kinds of investments, small and large, and sought to create a national pool of credit and deposits. However, already at the time, and despite the initial frenzy, there were sober voices that realized that the national economy needed professional management, which the Bengali National Bank did not have at its disposal (Bhattacharyya, 1986). It is noteworthy that while nationalist agitation could generate enthusiasm and even profits for those investing in the nascent enterprises, it took time for such activity to create the necessary economic and social infrastructure.

However, insurance ventures were often more persistent and created the image of corporate organisations familiar to local investors. In general, the development of Indian banking and insurance companies in the early twentieth century provided the foundation for a corporate business public, which supplemented existing networks of family ties and brokerages, rather than replaced them (Birla, 2009). The joint-stock company format allowed for the diversification of family business and made its members visible as national actors. At the same time, the very structure of these corporations was based on colonial legislation, which regulated their accounting and statutory requirements, intertwining the national economy with the metropolis in a formal sense.

It is important to note, in conclusion, that prior to the appearance of the swadeshi entrepreneurs, there was a tradition of merchant activity, industrial ownership, and banking in certain regions and communities of India. Thus, the Swadeshi movement did not create a culture of profit-making out of nothing – it built its structure on the existing ones, expanding the scope of business activity, and introducing new actors to the market. The Swadeshi thinkers' legacy was to legitimise capital, profit, and enterprise as national goals, achievable within the framework of the colony's independence from the metropolis.

Shipping and the Challenge to Imperial Commercial Power

Shipping exposed the connection between commerce and imperial coercion with unusual clarity. The Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company, founded by V. O. Chidambaram Pillai, was registered at Tuticorin in October 1906 with a ten lakh rupees capital. It provided shipping services between Tuticorin and Colombo, traveling in competition with the British-owned and operated India Steam Navigation Company. The company served as a powerful reminder of the need to gain control and command of one's resources and not let them be dictated by the British, as it challenged the establishment in the domain of transport (Sampath & Mani, 2017).

The outcome of the competition highlighted the limits of India's economic autonomy under British imperialism. The established British companies could undercut competitors on price, offer better service due to their extensive resources, and rely on the support of the colonial government. Thus, Pillai faced prosecution as a nationalist, and his company was liquidated when he was sent to prison. In this regard, it is evident that the commercial failure was conditional and should be put in the context of imperialistic policies. The unequal relationship between the two companies and the colonial government made it inevitable. In this regard, shipping became an arena in which the imperial economy dictated terms to its national counterparts, curtailing their growth and development. For this reason, economic nationalists became even more convinced of the need to tie swadeshi to swaraj – self-rule to economic independence.

Table 1. Representative Swadeshi sectors, functions, and constraints

Sector	Representative venture	Nationalist function	Principal constraint
Textiles	Banga Lakshmi Cotton Mills	Substitution of imported yarn and cloth; mobilisation of dispersed Indian capital	Imported machinery, raw materials, quality, and price competition
Chemicals	Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works	Science-based manufacture of chemicals, medicines, and household goods	Research finance, equipment, procurement, and foreign brands
Finance	Bengal National Bank and Indian insurance companies	Collection of Indian savings for Indian enterprise	Managerial experience, reserves, confidence, and risk control
Shipping	Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company	Challenge to British control of the Tuticorin–Colombo route	Rate-cutting, unequal reserves, and colonial repression
Consumer goods and crafts	Pottery, soap, matches, ink, pencils, buttons, and leather goods	Politicisation of everyday household consumption	Small scale, uneven quality, distribution, and speculative promotion

Note. The table identifies representative ventures rather than an exhaustive industrial census. Synthesised from Bhattacharyya (1986), Ray (1932), and Sampath and Mani (2017).

Capital, Technology, Labour, and the Limits of Swadeshi Growth

The Swadeshi programme produced new firms, but these were insufficient to overcome the structural obstacles to industrial development. Capital was often fragmented, costly, or short-term, while public-spirited shareholders were often outnumbered by speculators. At the same time, Bagchi's (1972) analysis of private investment shows that industrial development was conditioned by sector-specific factors, profitability, and institutional barriers. Even if nationalist sentiment could shape investment decisions, it was not a permanent replacement for cash flow and reserves.

A similar dilemma concerned the state's role in industrial development. The Swadeshi programme required self-reliance, but most modern equipment needed foreign expertise to be installed and maintained. This was not necessarily a question of hypocrisy but a result of India's dependent position in the world economy. Indian nationalists were divided between those who wanted to use foreign machines and those who wanted to create technical institutes, machine tools, and eventually entire factories. In everyday practice, the use of foreign machines often allowed Indians to acquire practical skills and to position themselves as modern and self-reliant, albeit with unequal results (Arnold, 2013).

The role of labor was another factor that received insufficient attention from nationalists' discourse. While the nationalist press praised the Indian entrepreneur, the worker was only a means to an end. However, labor, its discipline, skills, and even migration, were essential to industrialization, as the studies of Bombay show (Chandavarkar, 1994). In practice, the implementation of industrial capitalism often meant the same harsh working conditions as before. Even if the owner was an Indian nationalist, the working conditions did not necessarily improve. "Indigenous" was not always synonymous with "better" in the early twentieth century.

Finally, the market was also a limiting factor, which does not undermine theSwadeshi ideals but rather shows the program's limitations. Most poor Indians were not ready to pay more for the sake of patriotism, while quality was often a prerequisite for competitiveness. Indian industries faced competition from both foreign and domestic companies that often had an advantage in brand recognition, networks, and cost-effectiveness. The Swadeshi movement could create a boom, but for the companies, it was necessary to ensure the quality of products and services. In other words, the market was a reality that could not be ignored, and the Swadeshi movement's social base was mostly the intelligentsia, while the poor were a target but not the current customer.

Historical Significance and Longer-Term Legacy

Judged by their immediate impact on corporate survival, the Swadeshi enterprises had a mixed record. Some industries were undercapitalized, poorly managed, and quickly vanished as soon as the political fervour cooled. Meanwhile, other companies, like Bengal Chemical, were able to carve a niche and build national stature and brand recognition, while textile and commercial enterprises helped to create an extensive network of Indian business. The First World War further boosted the domestic economy as foreign competition was limited by import substitutions. Still, the wartime economic boom was a confirmation of the overall dependence on global markets.

However, beyond the mere question of survival, the Swadeshi companies had crucial significance for other reasons, some of which are outlined below. First, the Swadeshi movement created an economic public. The calls for shares, advertisements, fairs, bazaars, consumer campaigns, and debates in the press and in the public salons created a climate in which economic discussions took place. More importantly, economic and industrial questions became topics of general interest.

Second, the Swadeshi enterprises undermined the colonial perception of Indians as incapable of organizing modern industry. Successful or not, the companies demonstrated that Indian workers, managers, and technologists could be organized on a par with the British and other colonial countries. Indrajit Ray (2018) sees it as an attempt to reindustrialize India, which is an interesting twist on the narrative of decline. In my opinion, this perspective captures the spirit of innovation and experimentation that characterized many Swadeshi ventures.

Third, the Swadeshi movement created a lasting link between the country's economic and political sovereignty. Perhaps later, when Gandhi's campaign began, the domestic market and the national product (khadi) became essential concepts in economic discourse. However, it seems that even earlier, in the movement led by Surendranath Tagore, production and consumption were viewed as political activities. The Gandhian economics of self-sufficiency, even with its colonial biases, was but a variation of the late-Victorian industrialization philosophy. At the same time, the emphasis on planning, heavy industry, technology, and import substitution that began immediately after Independence cannot be entirely dissociated from the Swadeshi ideas. After all, the entire program of economic development and industrialization, which was carried out in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh until the end of the century, was a return to the principles of economic sovereignty, primarily industrial. Thus, in the context of political independence from the metropolis, economic self-sufficiency was presented as a logical consequence.

Finally, the Swadeshi enterprises demonstrated India's problematic relationship with national sovereignty. What does national sovereignty actually mean in the Swadeshi mantra – self-management of production or protectionism in trade policy? Which actors are considered key in the development of the domestic market – large entrepreneurs who follow the principle of Indian capital or the national working class or even the consumer as a whole? In what way can the implementation of economic sovereignty be combined with social reforms? It seems that these are the questions to which the Swadeshi movement did not give a clear answer. However, it did provide a formula for the transformation of political discourse. It was the Swadeshi movement that gave the Indian independence movement its economic dimension, making the concepts of domestic production, capital, and consumption a fundamental pillar of the discourse.

Thus, when assessing the role of Swadeshi enterprises, it is probably best to avoid extremes. On the one hand, of course, they were not a complete revolution, a turning point in the historical development of the country. On the other hand, the Swadeshi companies and their patronage did not have universal applicability. The movement built many enterprises that ultimately failed, and the nationalism of entrepreneurs was often just paternalistic rhetoric. However, the Swadeshi enterprises did provide the basis for long-term economic autonomy. Moreover, they gave the nationalists a concrete goal – the creation of an Indian corporate economic structure. Thus, in my opinion, indigenous industry was not an accompaniment but an integral part of the national independence movement.

Conclusion

Discuss the nature of Swadeshi enterprise in India and its implications for Indian society. How did the Swadeshi enterprise challenge and shape existing norms and institutions in India?

The development of indigenous industries and the rise of economic nationalism were closely related phenomena in late colonial India. Indian reformers of the nineteenth century like Naoroji, Dutt, Ranade, and others criticized colonial poverty and dependency, calling for an autonomous economic policy. The Swadeshi movement carried this idea further, advocating for a boycott of foreign goods, the purchase of domestic products, the revival of Indian-made goods, their promotion, and patronage. Enterprises of various types and sizes were created in India, from cotton mills and chemical works to banks and insurance companies, and even to work shops and consumer-goods manufacturers. A nationalist shipping company was also founded.

Banga Lakshmi Mills is an example of how to raise resources to develop large-scale industry. Bengal Chemical works is an example of combining India's traditional strengths with the latest achievements of technology and science. National banks were examples of the strength of public savings but also the problems of their management. The Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company illustrated the coercive methods of protecting national commerce. Thus, economic nationalism gave entrepreneurs a new opportunity to demonstrate their political maturity.

Such enterprises faced many challenges: a lack of financial resources, access to technology, and sometimes even sabotage, which they sought to solve through pooling of resources, the introduction of new technologies, the creation of markets, and the use of coercion. However, it should be noted that for all their dynamism and strength, such enterprises were unable to solve India's economic problems on a large scale. The Swadeshi enterprise in general was more a political phenomenon than an economic one. It pursued a political goal through economic means, making a public statement that the source of the problem was not in the inability of Indians to manage enterprises but in the denial of the right of Indians to control the means of production.

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