

THE AUTHOR

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PAST AND PRESENT

By K. M. PANIKKAR

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K. M. PANIKKAR

*Former Indian Ambassador to the People's Republic of China,
the United Arab Republic and the Republic of France.*

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The Land

India juts out from the Himalayas into the Indian Ocean. It is a peninsula capped by snow-clad ranges and is based on a broad plain watered by an extensive river system. It lies roughly between longitude 61° and 96° E and latitude 8° and 37° N and covers an area of 1,260,000 square miles or 3,000,000 kilometres. In the north it is bound by the great Himalayan plateau of Tibet and the kingdom of Nepal. To the east, the original territory of India, now called the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, was separated from Burma by a mountain wall, the Patkoi and the Naga hills.

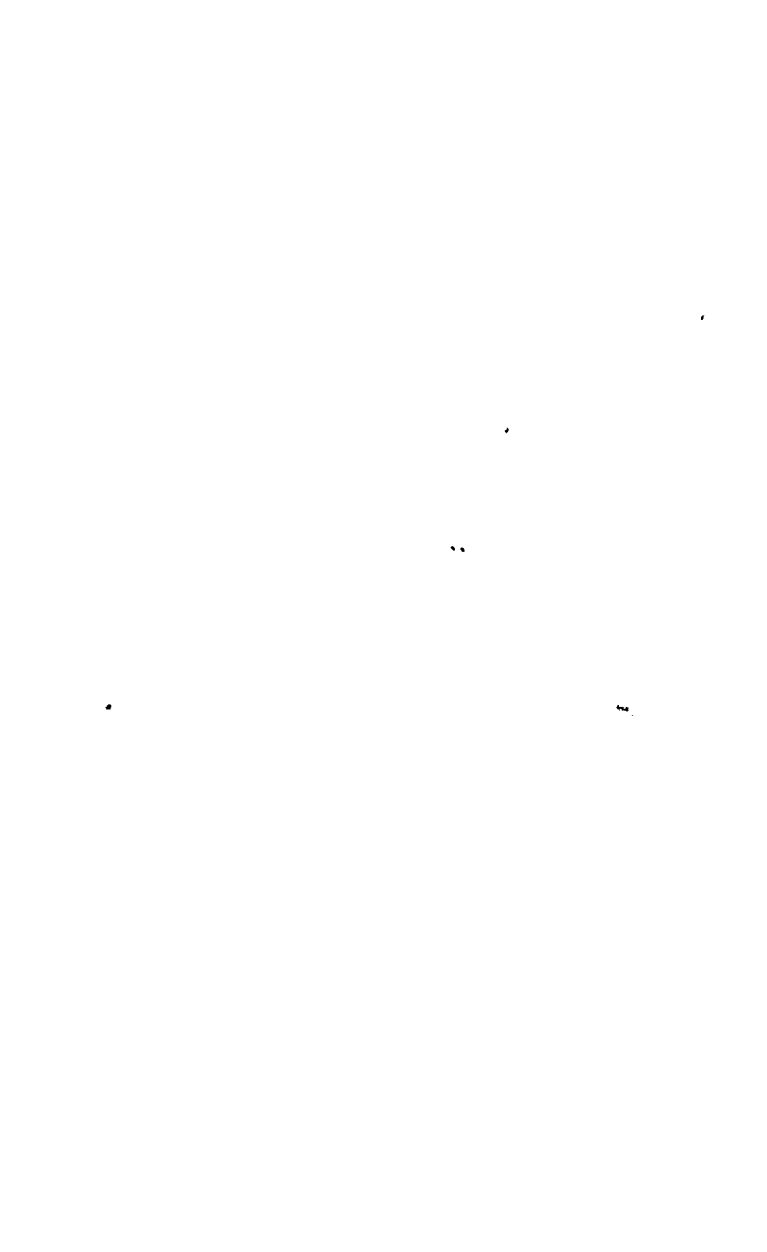
To the west the Suleiman ranges running south from the Pamirs to the sea lay between India and Afghanistan. At the time of the British withdrawal in 1947, the new state of Pakistan was created from the Muslim majority areas in Bengal and the Punjab, and the provinces of Sindh, Baluchistan, and the North-West Frontier. Thus the Union of India as it emerged after the partition consists of the great land mass extending from the Himalayas to the Indian Ocean, with the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea washing its two sides.

The most outstanding feature of India's geography is the great Himalayan range which not only separates it from Tibet but provides an impenetrable wall between the continental expanses to the north and the tropical plains which spread out to the south. The high ranges and submontane territories of the Himalayas extend from Kashmir to the Burma border. Though thinly populated except in the foothills and low lying valleys, this area is of very great importance as the great river system which waters the Indo-Gangetic plain originates there.

The land south of the Himalayas falls into five well defined areas: the Gangetic valley including the deltaic region of Bengal; the uplands of Central India with the Vindhya mountains forming the backbone; the Deccan plateau reaching south to the Nilghiri hills; a desert area extending from the south Punjab to the plains of Gujerat, and a coastal tract in the south extending into a plain with its central portion drained by the Cauvery. The Deccan uplands are framed on two sides by mountain walls, the Eastern and Western Ghats. The Western Ghats provide the source of the great rivers of the South — the Godavery, the Krishna, the Tungabhadra and the Cauvery.

The Deccan plateau separates the north from the south. North India is a flat plain dominated by the Ganges and its tributaries. It has always been thickly populated and was from very early times the center of a high civilization. The Deccan

itself is a rocky upland, sparsely populated, resisting penetration from the north and, to a great extent, maintaining its own individuality. The extreme south, the Dravidian homeland, was isolated from the rest of India for many years. It was more maritime in its tradition than north India and for a considerable time maintained close contacts across the seas with both the Mediterranean and the Pacific worlds.



Climate

Like all countries extending from north to south, India has a variety of climates. In the upper regions of the Himalayas the snow never melts. The lower valleys and the foot hills enjoy an equable climate comparable to that of Italy. The Gangetic plain has a temperate winter but during summer the temperature reaches an average of 112°F. The deltaic regions of Bengal and the coastal tracts generally are humid, while the vast desert area of Rajasthan is arid and subject to extremes of temperature. The Deccan plateau is dry and comparatively mild. India may be said to enjoy every variety of climate from the moist tropical heat of Kerala to the dry scorching heat of the desert of Rajasthan and the perpetual snows of the Himalayas.

India, broadly speaking, is a monsoon area, where the rainfall is dependent on seasonal summer winds. The main rainy season is during the south-west monsoon which generally breaks about the beginning of June. Except for the Madras coast, India receives most of her rain in the period between June and September. The variation in rainfall is considerable, ranging from 425 inches annually in Cherapunji, which is the highest in the world, to almost none in parts of the arid zone of Rajatshan.



Population

At all times India has been one of the most populated areas of the world. In 1961 her population numbered 438 million with an annual increase rate of eight million. It is thus second only to the population of China. Population density varies greatly. In the deltaic regions of Bengal, it is nearly 800 to the square mile while in Kerala it touches a thousand. Outside the Gangetic valley and the deltas, the average is only about 380 per square mile.

The racial composition of India's population is highly mixed. Every racial group, Caucasian, Mediterranean, Austric, Semitic, Mongol, and Negroid seems to have helped make up the Indian man, and representatives of all these races can be found in India. In addition to the Mongol fringe in the Himalayan uplands, there is a recognizable element of Mongol blood in Assam and Bengal. In the Punjab and Western Gangetic valley the Caucasian or Aryan element predominates though here too considerable mixture not only with indigenous tribes, but also with invading stocks is noticeable. Negroid elements are found mostly in the Andaman and Nicobar islands and among some of the isolated tribes living in hilly areas. The Dravidian element predominates in the south, and mixed with Aryan

strains can be recognized in most parts of India.

The Muslim population, though largely of indigenous origin, has had considerable additions of Arab and Turkish stock. But with all this mixture of ethnic strains, climate, geographical factors, and food habits have helped to create a recognizable Indian type with its own characteristics.

Religion

Though almost every religion and sect in the world is represented in India, Hinduism is the dominant religion of the country. It is professed in one form or another by 84 per cent or about 370 million of the 438 million people of India.

Basically Hinduism believes in the identity of the human soul (*jīvātma*) with the universal soul (*Paramātma*). Popular Hinduism is polytheistic, believing in different manifestations of the supreme Deity and in worship through images. The Muslims number nearly 44 million or 10 per cent of the population. In the 1951 census, the Christian population amounted to a little over two per cent. Though all the Christian sects are represented in India, the Roman Catholics form a majority, especially in Kerala, where a very early Christian community is said to have been established by St. Thomas the Apostle in 52 A.D. The Jews, also an ancient community, are mainly in Cochin and Maharashtra but number only a few thousands.

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History

Available prehistoric evidence points to the fact that India was among the earliest centres of human occupation. But it is only at about 3000 B.C. that India emerges on the stage of history as the seat of a great civilization. Excavations have proved that at approximately the same time as Egypt and Sumer, people in India had also developed a high standard of culture. They built towns and cities with proper roads and drainage, brick houses and storage facilities for grain. They traded extensively with communities across the Arabian Sea. This civilization, now known as Harappan, covered a much greater area than any other civilization of antiquity known to us. It extended from Rupar in the north in the foothills of the Himalayas to Lothal in Gujerat and from Mahenjodaro in Sindh to near Meerut in the Gangetic plain. By about the 15th century B.C. it seems to have broken down as a result of a movement of peoples, later known as Aryans, from Central Asia.

The Aryans were a nomadic people, who entered India from the north-west in search of pasture-land sometime at about 2000 B.C. Organized in tribes, with superior arms, possessing horses and chariots, these nomads gradually destroyed the urban civilization of the Harappans.

The Harappan civilization did not, however, totally disappear. Its influence survived and can be traced even now in some of the more important religious ideas of the Hindus like the worship of Siva and the practice of Yoga. Some of the art forms of later Indian culture including the classical dances have their origin in Harappan civilization.

The religious and social organization of the invading Aryans are known to us through the *Vedas*. These are a collection of religious hymns, formulae of ritual practices, invocations to gods and occasional speculative poems dating from the earliest period of Aryan emigration to India. Though they were first collected about 1200 B.C., they relate to a much earlier period. The social conditions which they reveal relate to a period of transition from a pastoral to settled life.

The Aryans first settled in the Punjab and in the Western Gangetic valley but gradually spread out east to Bihar and Bengal. It was mostly by the assimilation of local people that this great movement was effected. The communities which resisted assimilation were pushed into inaccessible hills and forests and make up the large tribal populations which are concentrated in different parts of India even today.

When the Aryans settled down to cultivation in the Gangetic valley, their political organization which had so far been under tribal chiefs underwent a change. A monarchical organization developed with the result that large and stable political units began to make their appearance.

However, there also existed alongside with these kingdoms oligarchical and republican communities.

About the 6th century B.C. a great change began to come over the ideas and beliefs of the people. The original Aryans, as we know from *Vedas*, were a people who sacrificed to nature gods like fire, sun and the thunderbolt. Though the beginnings of philosophical speculation could be traced to the *Vedas*, the religious practices of the people were based mainly on magic and sacrifice. With settled life and the resulting growth of civilization, this kind of religion did not satisfy the people and a general spirit of unrest and inquiry became a feature of the time. The major *Upanishads* which were brief but profound inquiries into fundamental issues like the nature of the soul, its relations with *Brahman* or universal soul, were written during this period. They laid the foundations of Hindu religion and philosophy.

Among the religious reformers of the period was one whose teachings were destined to affect mankind profoundly. Gautama, later known as the Buddha, was the son of one of the chiefs of the Sakya clan whose territory extended from Northern Bihar to an area now the kingdom of Nepal. The Buddha was born in 567 B.C. at Lumbini, a few miles outside the frontiers of what is India today. As a young man he left his parental home in search for truth. After many years of intense discipline, Gautama attained illumination under the Bodhi tree at Buddha Gaya and thus

became the Buddha or Enlightened One. During the next forty years he travelled up and down the Gangetic valley preaching his message and calling upon every one without reference to caste or creed to take shelter in the new *dharma*, or truths of life, which he had discovered. The Buddha's teachings were simple. Human life is sorrow which is the result of desire: but the sorrow of human life can be overcome by following the discipline of the noble Eightfold path of right speech, right thoughts, right desire, right conduct, etc. The Buddha was the first religious teacher who was not concerned with God. He taught that man's life was dominated by his *karma* or the cumulative effect of his own actions. Therefore, it was only by following the right course of action that man could break the chain of his *karma* and attain *nirvana*, the state of perfection.

The Buddha's disciples were organized as an order of monks. Another of his innovations was the admission of women to monastic orders. He did not recognize the gradations of caste which had by his time become a feature of Hindu society. The Order of Sangha which he established was open to all people.

This period also witnessed the rise of an imperial state in Magadha. The Buddha's contemporary, Ajatasatru, took the first step in a policy of expansion when he moved the capital from Rajgarh to Pataliputra now Patna, at the bend of the Ganges. There he built a citadel with the object of bringing the powerful Lichhavi confederacy under control. This policy was followed

so effectively by his successors that at the beginning of the 4th century B.C. Magadha had established a hegemony over north India. Under a new dynasty, called the Nandas, Magadha seems to have brought a great portion of south India also under control. Thus about 350 B.C. the Nandas could claim to have established the first empire of India extending from the Himalayas to the Mysore tableland.

In 327 B.C. during the reign of the last of the Nanda monarchs, Alexander of Macedonia invaded north-west India. On his withdrawal, the garrisons which he had left behind were overrun and destroyed by Chandragupta Maurya, an illegitimate scion of the Nanda dynasty. Chandragupta had fallen out of favor with the court and taken refuge in the Punjab, but after conquering the Greek garrisons, he advanced into the Gangetic valley, overthrew the Nandas and proclaimed himself emperor. About the Mauryan empire which he founded we have authentic information from the writings of Megasthenes, the ambassador of the Greek King Seleucus Nicator. Seleucus, who had succeeded to Alexander's conquests in the East, attempted to recover the lost Indian territory. In the battle that ensued, Seleucus was defeated and had not only to accept the loss of his Indian province but yield to Chandragupta the present territory of Afghanistan. Chandragupta's empire extended over practically the whole of India. It was divided into provinces and vassal states with a central administration directly under the king and his council

of ministers. The work of administration included not only collection of revenue, maintenances of law and order, and upkeep of an army for defense, but also provision of irrigation, maintenance of roads and highways, upkeep of harbours, and exploitation of mineral and other resources. We have evidence from inscriptions to show that provincial officials undertook such major public works as the damming of rivers for purposes of irrigation. Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador, also describes the great road which connected Taxila on the north-western frontier with the capital Pataliputra. He found that this great highway, which still exists with minor changes in alignment as the Grand Trunk Road, was provided with public ferries, facilities for night stops and other conveniences for passengers.

Chandragupta was succeeded by his son Bindusara who continued his father's policies and consolidated the empire. Bindusara's son and successor was Asoka, one of the noblest figures of history. After he ascended the throne, Asoka led a campaign against the coastal state of Kalinga and won a decisive victory over his enemies. But the price of the victory was heavy on both sides. This so shocked the emperor that he vowed from that time to follow only the path of peace and to eschew war altogether. The Rock Edict in which he proclaims this decision is one of the noblest documents in history. A convert to Buddhism, Asoka entered on a career of utilizing the entire machinery of state for bringing about a moral reformation of his people. Many

of the edicts, cut in stone in which Asoka exhorts his people to nobler ways and describes the measures he has taken for their improvement, are still to be seen all over India.

Asoka also dispatched Buddhist religious missions to Syria, Egypt, Epirus, and other countries of the Middle East. This was the first organized religious mission of which there is record in history.

After Asoka's death the empire declined rapidly and in 187 B.C. the last emperor of the dynasty was assassinated. The Mauryan period was specially important for one reason. It proclaimed for the first time the unity of India and established the imperial tradition which, in spite of long periods of political disunity, continued to be an important factor in India's development. The existing Indian art traditions also trace their origin to the Mauryan period.

Though for a time the political unity of India disappeared with the Mauryas, the period which followed was important in bringing the area south of the Vindhya more closely within the Hindu fold. This was the work of a dynasty known as the Satavaharas who established a great empire astride the peninsula with their capital in the Deccan tableland. They constituted a bridge between the Aryan culture of the North and the Dravidian peoples of the South, and during the three centuries of their effective power, they became the intermediaries of the cultural unification of India.

At this time, north-west India was subjected to pressure by the Sakas, Yue Chi and other tribes from Central Asia. The Sakas established a number of satrapies in the Punjab and Western India but they were ultimately absorbed into the political and social structure of the area.

The Yue Chi, better known as the Kushans, however, left an abiding imprint on India and Asian history. The great monarch of this dynasty was Kanishka. Under him the empire extended from Muttra, now Mathura, on the Jumna far into Central Asia and to the borders of China. Though after him the empire declined, the small successor states, Khotan, Kuchea, and others, became centers of Indian life and civilization in Central Asia, and it is mainly through them that the great movement which led to the introduction of Buddhism and Indian ideas and arts into China took place.

The beginning of the fourth century after Christ witnessed the rise of the Gupta empire, which is widely recognized as one of the highwater marks of Indian civilization. The great emperors of the dynasty were Samudra Gupta, Chandra Gupta II and Skanda Gupta. Samudra Gupta, whose father had left him an organized state which controlled the Gangetic valley, brought the rest of India, except the extreme south, under his control and re-established the imperial tradition of the Mauryas. His achievements are known to us through an inscription at Allahabad which celebrates his conquests. His son Chandra Gupta II was a great patron of arts and literature and

during his time the country attained a high level of prosperity. The great poet Kalidasa is said to have lived at his court. In any case it was the great age of Sanskrit literature. In architecture, sculpture, and painting also, the reign of Chandra Gupta II is considered the classic age of India.

The Gupta period was also marked by notable achievements in science. In mathematics, astronomy and medicine, India made considerable progress at this time. Though the revolutionary discovery of zero and the decimal system took place at perhaps an earlier period, a scientific analysis of these concepts and their systematic use is first noticed in the Gupta age. Great overseas activity was also a marked feature of this period. Indianized kingdoms using Sanskrit as their official language made their appearance in such far off areas as Borneo and Annam. Across the tablelands and deserts of the Pamirs and Turkestan, Indian missionaries were making their way into Mongolia and China.

Though the empire itself broke up by the middle of the sixth century, Gupta dynasties continued to rule over different parts of north India. One such dynasty was responsible for endowing the great university of Nalanda in Bihar, which for a period of over five hundred years remained a unique institution of higher learning attracting scholars from all parts of Asia. Among those who have left us a description of this great university is the great Chinese scholar Yuan Chuang, who himself studied at Nalanda for many years. At the

height of its glory, Nalanda had as many as ten thousand students.

After the decline of the Guptas, the imperial tradition vanished for a time, but by the beginning of the 7th century a new monarch, Harsha, again reunited north India under his imperial sway. Harsha was a poet and dramatist of distinction in Sanskrit and three of his plays have come down to us. After Harsha died, Hindustan again ceased to have political unity, though the successor states which ruled north India were powerful enough to resist and throw back Muslim invasions.

With the establishment of the caliphate at Baghdad, an attempt was made by the Muslims to bring India within their empire. A general of the Khalif was able to establish a foothold in Sindh, but all attempts to penetrate the interior and to extend Muslim authority to the coastal towns of Gujerat were defeated by the monarchs of the area.

During this period (600-1100) India south of the Vindhya followed a policy of steady development under a traditional political structure which, from earliest times, had been organized on the basis of local monarchies. The Chalukyas of the Deccan tableland encouraged maritime trade, and their prosperity is attested by the magnificent ruins which can still be seen in their capital, Badami. To the south of the Chalukyan empire lay the territory of the Pallavas, a well-organized state which had survived many changes of dynasties. The Pallavas encouraged the migra-

tion of people to Malaya and the archipelago, and the art, architecture, and even the social structure of the Hinduized kingdoms of south-east Asia bear the stamp of Pallava influence. The Pallava monarchs vigorously continued the policy of Aryanization of the South which they inherited from the Satavahanas, and for over 200 years Kanchi, now Conjevarum, their capital, was famed all over India as a great university and center of learning. Their contribution to the development of temple architecture in the South was also unique.

Under Narasimha Malla, the Pallavas started on a career of temple construction which may well be considered as having laid the foundations of south Indian architecture. Mahabalipuram with its seven rock cut pagodas and its immense bas-reliefs carved on stone constitutes even today a marvelous treasure house of south Indian art.

A century of struggle between the Chalukyas and the Pallavas led to the decay of both. The Chalukyas were succeeded by the Rastrakutas who inherited both their glories and their ambitions. Their glory is witnessed by the magnificent rock cut temple of Ellora, even now considered the masterpiece of Hindu architecture in India. The ambition which they also took over from the Chalukyas was to extend their domain over the Cauvery valley where the Pallavas had ruled. From the Pallavas sovereignty over this area passed to the Cholas.

Of all Indian dynasties, the Cholas have the distinction of having built up a great naval power

which controlled the Bay of Bengal for over 150 years. The achievement for which the Cholas are best known today is their great engineering feat by which the great Cauvery river was dammed at the beginning of its delta. This dam still exists and serves a considerable area. By this feat the Cholas became the pioneers in deltaic irrigation. Their highly developed system of revenue administration continued even under British rule.

The Chola period was also remarkable for its style of architecture and most of the great temples which are characteristic of the South have come down from their time. The inherited feud between the rulers of Cauvery valley and the Deccan tableland ruined both the Cholas and the Rastrakutas, and by the 12th century both gradually disappear from history to be replaced by less powerful states.

Muslims in India

It is significant that throughout the great period of Islamic expansion India was able to hold out against the Muslim invaders. But by the beginning of the 11th century, when Afghanistan became an organized seat of Muslim power under Sultan Mahmood of Ghazni, a major threat to India developed on its north-western border. Mahmood led a number of raiding expeditions as far as Kanauj in the Gangetic valley and Somanath in Gujerat and annexed the strategic area of West Punjab to his kingdom. Thus he was able to keep open the door to the Gangetic valley for future invaders from the north-west. But the threat took about 180 years to develop. At the end of the 12th century a new leader arose in Afghanistan, Mohammed Ghori, who conceived the idea of conquering Hindustan and annexing it to the domain of Islam. Though Ghori met with an initial defeat in an encounter with Prithvi Raj, one of the most powerful kings in north India, he was able at the next attempt to defeat the Hindu king and annex his territory. Within 12 years the whole of the fertile area from the Punjab to Bengal was under the rule of Muslims. Ghori, however, did not live to see the success of his plans and the conquest of the Gangetic valley was completed by his commander-in-chief,

Kutub-ud-din Aibak, who succeeded him as the Sultan of Delhi.

For a hundred years from the invasion of Ghori, the Delhi throne was occupied by a succession of monarchs, known to history as the 'slave kings', who were drawn from among the household slaves of the rulers. Only one of them, Balban, is remembered for his qualities as administrator and statesman. The last slave king was displaced by a Khilji, or Turk, noble of his court; the Khilji dynasty, though short-lived, was notable in extending the rule of Islam to the whole of India. The Khilji dynasty itself was supplanted by the Tughlaks whose arms were unable to control the South.

Within a period of 25 years, south India threw off the Muslim yoke, and organized a great empire with the object of resisting further inroads. The Vijayanagar empire, established in 1336, which originated as a movement of national resistance, continued as a dominant force in the history of the Deccan till the middle of the 17th century. It may be cited as one of the factors which ultimately reclaimed India for the Hindu people. In the north, the Rajput resistance which led to the reconquest of Ranthambor (1329) also marks the beginning of a Hindu revival. The unity of the Muslim empire itself broke up in the 15th century. Powerful provincial states were founded by Muslim generals in Gujerat, Malwa, Bihar, and in the Deccan tableland where they had to fight continuously against the rising tide of Hindu nationalism. The authority of the Delhi Sultanate

was confined to the Punjab and the Gangetic Valley.

In 1526, Babur, a descendant of Timur or Tamerlane, invaded India and defeated the Delhi Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. The Moghul dynasty which Babur established ruled India for nearly 250 years. Babur's son, Humayun, was dispossessed by rebellious Afghan chiefs, but after spending fifteen years in exile in Persia, he returned in triumph to Delhi (1555).

Humayun's exile in Persia was of great significance to the future history of India. The Moghuls became the representatives of Iranian culture, and the splendid civilization that developed under them, and which gives to the Moghul period its greatness, was a synthesis of Indian and Iranian civilizations. Akbar, Humayun's son, began his effective rule in 1560, and for the next 45 years personally directed the destinies of his empire. His reign is of special importance to Indian history for it may be said to mark the beginning of modern age in India. Northern India was united and brought under a single administration. Well laid out roads connected the provincial towns with the capital. A revenue settlement was effected which brought prosperity to the farmers. Above all, for the first time since the Muslim conquest of India, the Hindu population was put on a footing of equality with Muslims. The poll tax on Hindus was abolished and Hindus were recruited to the higher ranks of imperial service, both civil and military. In fact, it may be claimed that Akbar was the father

of the secular national state of India. He also gave an impetus to industry, art, and architecture. He established factories for the manufacture of carpets, founded and encouraged the great school of Indo-Persian painting, and evolved the new Moghul architecture which reached its perfection in the Taj Mahal. North India found a new life during his reign.

His two immediate successors, Jehangir and Shah Jehan, broadly followed the lines of policy laid down by Akbar. Shah Jehan is best remembered as the builder of the Taj Mahal, a mausoleum in marble to the memory of his wife Mumtaz Mahal. The Taj is everywhere recognized as one of the finest realizations of architectural beauty in the world. Shah Jehan was succeeded by his son Aurangzeb who attempted to re-establish the Islamic character of the state by reimposing the poll tax on the Hindus and by following a policy of Muslim orthodoxy in matters connected with the state. In consequence, large-scale rebellions broke out in different parts of the empire. The last years of Aurangzeb were spent in trying to re-establish the authority of the empire and to complete the work of conquering the Muslim states of the South. In the latter attempt, he had considerable success. By the time of Aurangzeb's death the last independent Muslim state in the Deccan had been conquered and the empire could claim to have achieved his ideal of territorial unification. But the claim was hollow, for though the successors of Aurangzeb were recognized as sovereigns even over areas such as

the Carnatic coast, which never had been a part of any Muslim empire of India, everywhere within this territory new states had arisen which defied the imperial authority. The Maratha state, for example, survived a civil war and a determined attack on it by Aurangzeb to emerge as one of the contending parties for the empire of India. The vast territory lying between Delhi and Bombay ultimately passed into their hands and they even spread out to the Punjab. There, however, they met the forces of the Afghan monarch Almad Shah Durrani who decisively defeated them on the field of Panipat in 1761. The Marathas, however, controlled Delhi and for another 40 years remained the major power in India.

Elsewhere in India, the provincial viceroys set up as independent war-lords owing only nominal allegiance to the emperor. It is at this period when central authority had broken down and the provincial war-lords were fighting amongst themselves that the English East India Company stepped forward as a new claimant to political power.

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The British in India

From at least the period of Alexander's invasion, peninsular India, across the Arabian sea; and the Gangetic valley, across Persia, maintained regular relations with the West. The rise of Islam altered the character of this relationship. The Arabs became the intermediaries of the West's trade with India. As the Islamic empires lay athwart the trading nations of the West and India, direct contact may be said to have ceased by the end of the 7th century. It was only at the end of the 15th century that Europe again came into direct contact with India. Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese explorer, sailing round the Cape of Good Hope, reached the African port of Milinde, whence he took on an Indian pilot who guided him safely to the port of Calicut on the west coast of India.

Within the next few years, the Portuguese were able to establish a monopoly of India's foreign trade. Their men of war armed with cannon destroyed both Indian and Arab shipping so effectively that their supremacy was unchallenged till the beginning of the 17th century when the Dutch and the British began to compete for Indian trade. The Portuguese, while all powerful at sea, were helpless on land. They had, however, a few small stations on the coast where they exercised authority under the protection of their

navy. Of these Goa was the most important. But the Portuguese, it must be emphasized, had no territorial empire in India. Their influence on Indian affairs was negligible. Their commercial monopoly was challenged by the Dutch and the British who, more or less simultaneously, entered the eastern trade. The Dutch East India Company, though it had a few minor stations in India, concentrated its activities in Indonesia. The English East India Company first began its operations in the archipelago but was forced out of that area by the Dutch.

For the next century and a quarter the activities of the English Company were confined to trade at centers where they were allowed by local rulers to establish their factories — Madras, Maussalipatam, etc. Bombay, which had been acquired by the British Crown as a part of the dowry of Queen Catherine of Braganza, was also transferred to them. Thus the Company had trading establishments spread over the coast of India from Surat to the mouth of Hooghly. The English showed no political interest and were careful to keep on friendly terms with the local officials of the Moghul empire.

This situation, however, changed by the middle of the 18th century. (The Moghul empire had practically broken up and power in the provinces was assumed by masterful viceroys and governors. Succession to these offices became major political issues with which local factions took sides.) In one such dispute at Arcot, near Madras, the French governor, Dupleix, who had at his disposal a small

Indian force trained in European methods of warfare, intervened on the side of one of the rivals. This brought the English Company to the side of the other. The English force sent to assist the claimant at Arcot was under a clerk at the Madras factory named Robert Clive who was destined to become one of Britain's imperial heroes.

The successful outcome of this intervention in political affairs encouraged the company to challenge the authority of Siraj-ud-Doula, the viceroy of Bengal. In the conflict that ensued, Clive defeated the viceroy's forces at Plassey.

(Plassey was the first major victory of the British in India and though it did not give the British the Indian empire, as is sometimes claimed, it was important in showing the weakness of local armies pitted against Indian soldiers organized and trained on European models.) This interference in the affairs of Bengal also brought the imperial Moghul forces into the field. The encounter between the company's forces and the imperial army at Buxar (1765) ended in the defeat of the Moghuls. The emperor now formally recognized the change brought about by the battle of Plassey and entrusted the British Company with the Diwani (revenue administration) of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa.

Thus the East India Company became effective sovereign of three provinces, two of which were among the richest in India. It controlled the mouths of the Ganges and thereby the entire maritime trade of the Gangetic valley which flowed into

the new port of Calcutta. The Company was now in a position to make a bid for the empire of India. For the next few decades the East India Company followed a dual policy of taking under its protection the neighbouring princely states and of building up an effective and an efficient internal administration. The first subsidiary treaty was negotiated with the great province of Oudh. Gradually the Maratha empire, which alone posed a threat to the growing pretensions of the British Company, was isolated and in 1803 Arthur Wellesley, later Duke of Wellington, defeated the combined forces of the Maratha state at the battle of Assaye. Though the only power capable of challenging the British was thus laid low, its threat was not completely eliminated till 1818 when, in a final war, Maratha power was swept away and its home domains annexed to the possessions of the Company in Bombay.

The century of British dominance from 1818 to 1918 was a crucial period which shaped the future of India and determined its political evolution. Although two-fifths of its area remained under the sovereignty of Indian princes, the country was gradually brought under a single central authority. A uniform system of posts, telegraphs, and railways ultimately united the country as never before. An administrative system based on India's own traditions, but modernized according to British principles, was evolved as the framework of government in the provinces directly under British administration and was gradually extended to the states under Indian rulers. These achieve-

ments provided the infrastructure for a modern state. More than this, the century of British rule saw three major changes in the nature of India's ancient society. A uniform system of education under government control was introduced into India. It was based on the idea that the objective of education should be to introduce modern knowledge to Indians and that it was best done through the medium of English. Though in the primary and secondary stages the Indian languages were encouraged, the emphasis was on English education. As this policy was carried out on an all Indian scale, it helped to create a unity of outlook in the new educated classes.

The second aspect of British policy which helped to alter the structure and modernize Indian society was the legal system which Britain introduced. The Penal Code which was drafted by the historian Thomas Babington Macaulay was the first of a series of great legislative enactments which endowed India with a uniform legal system, liberal, modern, and humane. Based on the principles of equality of persons, supremacy of the law and an important judiciary, this great legal system enabled Indian society not only to change and grow but to effect its changes and growth without violent dislocations.

The third aspect of the British century was the introduction of ideas of political freedom. From quite early days, the rights of free association, of open criticism of the government, and of the freedom of the press were enjoyed by the European community in India. Gradually, these

rights were extended to Indians, too. A political life developed in India which was transformed into a middle class national movement under the leadership of the Indian National Congress.

The British century falls into two well defined periods divided by the Great Rebellion of 1857-58. This was a violent upheaval under the leadership of the dispossessed princes whose territories the English Company had annexed and the nobility whose rights and privileges had naturally disappeared with the passing of princely power. Over the whole of north India, British authority vanished for a time and had to be re-established by systematic military conquest. The immediate effects of the mutiny were the assumption of direct government by the British Crown from the East India Company which had up to now acted as its agent, and the assertion of a claim of paramount authority over the princely states which led to the conception of India as a single empire.

The post-mutiny period witnessed the growth of legislative institutions and local self-government in India. The first Indian member of the Legislative Council was appointed in 1861. In the course of time this legislature gained in importance, and in 1908, by the Minto-Morley Reforms, it was converted into a central legislature with a measure of indirectly elected representation of Indian interests. Equally significant was the development of local self-government institutions, municipalities and district boards which followed Lord Ripon's Act of 1883.

The main weaknesses of the British administration, and which came in time to be greatly resented, were the exclusion of Indians from the superior services in administration and from political power, and the frankly racial basis on which Britain ruled India. Not only were Indians excluded in practice from superior posts in the civil administration, they were also denied entry into the commissioned ranks of the army. In the economic sphere, what the British government developed in India was a colonial economy with emphasis on the production of raw material for the industries of the British metropolis. Industrial development in India was discouraged. When a small revenue duty was placed on British textiles, for example, the government in London insisted on the imposition of a countervailing excise duty on the manufacture of indigenous mills. Banking, insurance, shipping and other essential aspects of economic activity were, with the encouragement of government, concentrated in British hands. In sum, while the British government of India in the period between 1858 and 1918 could not be described as oppressive, it did stamp on the Indian people as a whole the stigma of subjection and inferiority.)

The revival of the national spirit first showed itself in the great province of Bengal. The Rebellion of 1857-8 interrupted its natural growth. On the one side the British, rudely awakened from their complacency, dealt severely with what they considered to be sedition. On the other hand, the unprecedented ruthlessness with which the

Rebellion had been suppressed struck terror into the hearts of Indians for a generation. When the spirit of protest again began to be heard, the leadership and ideas of the new movement were altogether different. Leadership passed from the dispossessed feudal and princely classes to the new middle classes educated along western lines. Their objective was the ultimate recovery of political freedom for India, not through rebellion, but through reforms, participation in government, acceptance of Westernization, and development of modern industry. The national movement which took an organized form with the foundation of the National Congress in 1885 was liberal in ideas and reformist in character. It failed, however, to move the masses. With the beginning of the 20th century a new type of nationalism developed among the younger people. It believed in revolutionary methods and proclaimed the expulsion of the British as its ideal. The leaders of this new movement were Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak in Western India and Sri Aurobindo Ghosh in Bengal. The partition in 1905 of the great province of Bengal, the center of nationalist feeling, by Lord Curzon led to a mass agitation which enabled the leaders of the new nationalism to popularize their political methods of Swadeshi or dependence on local-made goods, boycott of British products, and national education. This movement was greatly helped by the victory that Japan won over Russia in the Russo-Japanese War. This victory finally destroyed in Indian eyes the myth of European superiority.

Only after the First World War can the nationalist movement be said to have become strong enough to challenge British authority. The quarter of a century between the Treaty of Versailles and the end of the Second World War saw a complete transformation in Indo-British relations. At the end of the first war, the British government had, as a result of nationalist pressure, introduced a measure of partial self-government. Under these reforms the provincial departments dealing with nation-building activities like education, public health, municipal self-government and industry were entrusted to popular ministers dependent on the support of legislatures consisting of a majority of directly elected members. At the level of the central government, the British Viceroy's cabinet was enlarged to include an equal number of Indians and Europeans and the legislature was given an Indian majority.

Though this cautious measure of reform did not satisfy nationalist demands, in most provinces the scheme worked satisfactorily. The new popular governments remodelled university education, reorganized municipalities and other institutions of local self-government on a popular basis, encouraged the development of industries, and above all gained invaluable experience in the working of parliamentary institutions. But political developments overshadowed the working of the reformed constitution and made it out of date almost from the start. Widespread discontent following the war expressed itself in popular demonstrations all over the country, and one such demonstration

at Amritsar led to the notorious massacre of Jallianwala Bagh, when a British officer, General Dyer, turned his guns on an unarmed crowd in an enclosed area. Popular feeling was greatly shocked but the British government was in no conciliatory mood. In addition, the government rushed through the Indian legislative assembly a highly repressive measure entitled the Rowlatt Act. Under cover of putting down revolutionary agitation, the government had by this measure assumed the right of overriding courts and ordinary judicial procedure. It was at this time that Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi — known universally in India as Mahatma Gandhi — assumed the leadership of the national movement and began to give effect to his program of non-cooperation. Gandhi was originally a lawyer from Western India who had settled down to practice law in South Africa. There he had organized and led a movement of passive resistance to secure elementary human rights for Indian settlers. During that struggle, which extended over many years, he perfected a method of non-violent and political action based on passive resistance to authority. Gandhi returned to India at the beginning of the First World War. After a few years spent in learning about conditions in rural India and among the urban working class, Gandhi came forward at this crisis to assume the leadership of the Congress.

The non-cooperative movement which the Congress organized under Gandhi's leadership differed from the political agitations of the past.

It was a mass movement which sought to infuse a spirit of revolutionary change into the villages of India. Gandhi forged a temporary alliance with the Muslims, and this gave the first non-cooperation movement the appearance of a united national front. The Muslim masses gradually withdrew from the struggle, but through successive agitations the non-cooperation movement awakened the masses of India. At the same time as the political struggle, Gandhi embarked on a large-scale program of such social reforms as the total abolition of untouchability. Untouchability was a singular feature of Hindu society by which millions of what were termed the depressed classes were denied human rights by social custom and religious usage.

The British government tried to meet the challenge of non-cooperation by different methods. Through conservative political reforms it sought to conciliate vested interests like the ruling princes, the land-owning classes, and the minorities. The Government of India Act of 1935, which was the outcome of an alliance between the British government, the ruling princes, and the minorities, was a serious effort to cripple the nationalist movement and impose on India a structure which would keep her for decades under British authority. But the Second World War (1939-1945) rendered that constitution out of date even before it could be fully put into effect. With the progress of the war, Britain realized that an unreconciled India was a source of great weakness to her. As the Congress under Gandhi's leader-

ship refused to accept any settlement short of independence, the British cabinet finally agreed to negotiate on that basis.

When the final decision came to be taken, the Muslims of India demanded partition of the country and creation of a separate state consisting of the areas where they constituted a majority. From the beginning the Muslims had remained an integrated community separate from the rest of the Indian people. As they had been the dominant and ruling community in northern India and were held together by a common religion and culture, they claimed a separateness which the British government recognized by allowing their representatives to be elected from separate communal rolls. The introduction of special Muslim electorates in the 1909 reforms had in effect divided India and whenever after the communities came together for common action, it was as an alliance of equals. When it became apparent that Britain had decided to accept India's claim to independence, the Muslims, under the leadership of Mohammed Ali Jinnah, made it clear that independence would be acceptable to them only on the basis of a partition of the country with the Muslim majority areas forming a different state. The Congress was bitterly opposed to this partition but the Hindu-Muslim conflicts that broke out all over India, amounting to an undeclared civil war, demonstrated clearly that partition was unavoidable. Thus, on 15 August 1947, when India became independent, some eastern and western areas were set apart to make up the new state of Pakistan.

India after Independence

The Union of India which thus came into existence soon organized itself into a democratic federation. The following are the constituent states and union territories which form the federation:

TABLE 1
AREA AND POPULATION OF STATES
AND UNION TERRITORIES

According to 1961 Census

STATES	AREA Sq. Km. (in 000)	POPULATION (000)	DENSITY per Sq. Km.
Andhra Pradesh	274.7	35,978	131
Assam	122.0	11,860	97
(A new state of NAGALAND consisting of territories in Assam occupied by the Naga tribes was carved out in 1962)			
Bihar	174.0	46,457	267
Gujarat	186.9	20,621	110
Jammu & Kashmir	...	3,584	...
Kerala	38.9	16,875	434
Madhya Pradesh	443.4	32,394	73
Madras	129.8	33,651	259
Maharashtra	307.9	39,504	128
Mysore	192.0	23,547	123
Orissa	155.8	17,566	113
Punjab	122.0	20,298	166
Rajasthan	342.3	20,146	59
Uttar Pradesh	293.8	73,753	251
West Bengal	87.9	34,968	398

UNION TERRITORIES	AREA Sq. Km. (in 000)	POPULATION (000)	DENSITY per Sq. Km.
Amindive Laccadive & Minicoy Islands	28 Sq. Km.	24	861
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	8.3	63	8
Delhi	14.8	2,644	1,782
Himachal Pradesh	28.2	1,349	48
Tripura	10.5	1,141	109
Manipur	22.0	778	28
Dadra & Nagar Havell	0.48	650	...
	3.65		...
Pondicherry & other former French enclaves	0.47	369	761

Constitution

For the first time in its long history India was organized as a single political entity. Even under the British, two-fifths of India had been ruled by Indian princes. These princely states were now absorbed into the Union.

The Government of India is federal, republican and democratic. The constitution provides for a federal union of states with clearly marked spheres of power. The central or federal government under the constitution has been given much greater power than in other federal constitutions. The historical tradition of India has been for the provinces to break away from the center. In order to maintain the hard won unity of India and to bind together effectively the different regions, the constitution has vested in the federation many powers of an exceptional nature. The authority in respect to subjects not expressly given to the provinces is with the center. Over a wide range of subjects, the center exercises concurrent right of legislation which overrides provincial authority in case of conflict. Further, there is an express provision in the constitution that the executive authority of the units should be so exercised as not to impinge on the rights of the Union. Finally, there is the exceptional power given to the center of directly taking over the administration of any

state in case of an administrative or political breakdown. The central government under the Indian Constitution may be said to combine paramountcy with federal power, and in many respects to possess the authority of a unitary state.

The countervailing power which restores the balance is the fact that the states represent regional and linguistic entities with strong traditions of their own and are not merely administrative divisions with no roots in history. The former British provinces and the princely states were accidental territorial groupings and represented no cultural, regional or linguistic unity. The former province of Bombay, for example, consisted of three well-marked divisions, Maharashtra, Gujarat, and Karnataka, each speaking a different language and representing a different historical tradition. In 1956 the state units of the federation were reorganized, more or less on traditional and linguistic basis, thus creating a greater sense of political and social integration.

It may also be emphasized that, though the Indian constitution is weighted in favour of the center, those government activities which directly concern the people such as land revenue, administration, law and order, health and sanitation, education, and the like are vested in the states. Apart from defence, railways, posts and telegraphs and other communications, the center has but little administrative function. Its control is exercised through finance, special bodies like the planning commission, and through machinery for coordination and consultation.

Both at the center and in the provinces government is carried out by cabinets responsible to the legislature. The President of India, though elected by a college consisting of the members of the central and state legislatures, is like a constitutional monarch. He is the head of all the armed forces. The executive authority of the federation is vested in him. But as a constitutional head of state he acts only on the advice of his cabinet. The situation in the states is similar where the governors, who are appointed by the federal government, perform the dual function of being the formal head of the state and representative of the central government.

At the center, the legislature consists of two houses. The lower house is called the House of the People and it alone is vested with authority in financial matters. The cabinet is also responsible to the House of the People. Election to the lower house of Parliament and to the assemblies in the states is based on universal adult franchise.

The constitution has also laid down as part of the fundamental law of the state a declaration of rights enforceable through courts of law. It includes the rights of free speech, association, worship, freedom from arrest and detention except through the normal process of law, and other essential safeguards for individual liberty. The declaration of rights also provides for the equality of women and for equal opportunities for them in service. An interesting and unusual provision is the express guarantee to the religious and cultural minorities of the Indian Union of the right

to conserve their own culture, language, and script and to receive education in institutions of their own choice.

The enforcement of these rights is the special function of the Supreme Court. This is the keystone of the Indian judicial system and is modelled on the Supreme Court of the United States of America. Any citizen can move the Supreme Court for appropriate remedies in case of a breach of his constitutional rights. The state high courts as well as the Supreme Court function independently of the executive branch of government. The supremacy of law is in fact a basic feature of the Indian constitution.

Politics

In the working of this constitution, India has demonstrated her political maturity. Since its promulgation in 1949, India has held three general elections on the basis of universal adult franchise. In the 1952 election nearly 100 million voters exercised their franchise. In the 1957 election over 105 million voters took part and in 1962 the number came up to 110 million. Undeniably, the most massive expression of political opinion anywhere in the world. Further, it is to be remembered that all public bodies in India state governments, district boards, municipal corporations and other institutions of local self-government are also elected. Thus the entire machinery of politics from the lowest to the highest level is built upon the active participation of the people.

This active participation of the people in government became possible because during her long political struggle with Britain India developed a party organization which functioned not only on a national basis, but had its roots in the villages. The Indian National Congress founded in 1885 is one of the oldest political parties in the world today. It has not only the unique record of having organized resistance to foreign rule for more than sixty years, but also of having built up an organization based on the common man

and fighting for his interests. But even during the period of the national struggle, the Congress was not the only party in India. Apart from the Muslim League, whose agitation led to the partition of the country and the establishment of Pakistan, there were numerous other parties which functioned as a part of the normal political life of the country. They were all broadly nationalist; some of them subscribed to different methods of action as, for example, the Liberal Party which opposed the non-cooperation and civil disobedience policies of the Congress. The Communists had a different vision of the future. Other parties represented the interests of particular communities, like the Hindu Maha Sabha which claimed to speak for the Hindus, and the Scheduled Castes Federation which was the organization of the so-called untouchables.

Even before independence, the Congress had transformed itself from a coalition nationalist movement into an effective political party. The Communists were excluded from membership before independence. In 1946 the Socialist group withdrew from the Congress to form an independent party. This group was later reorganized in 1951 as the Praja Socialist Party when a section of the Congress under Acharya J. B. Kripalani, long the General Secretary of the Congress and its one-time President, resigned and joined forces with them. The Praja Socialist Party, staunchly anti-Communist in its political and economic ideas, has since then been the main opposition to the Congress. Next in importance are the Com-

munists who are also organized as a national party and have a large number of members in the central parliament.

The Communist Party has had a chequered history in India. Till 1940 it was no more than an ineffective underground group trying to infiltrate the Congress, the trade unions and other popular bodies. But when the Soviets entered the Second World War, the Communists came forward as allies of the British authorities on the pretext of having to fight Fascism. After the war, they tried to create pockets in different parts of the country, especially at Telingana, and to embark on a "liberation campaign". On the failure of this campaign, they settled down to work as a constitutional political party. Here their success was local. During a short period they secured a parliamentary majority in one state, Kerala, and ran a communist government there within the framework of the constitution.

Conservative opposition is represented mainly by the Swatantra Party of which the founder is C. Rajagopalachari, who had been closely associated with the Congress and was for long one of its elder statesmen. Its success at the elections came mostly in states where its candidates were allied to princely and feudal interests. Other parties which have a considerable regional following are the Jana Sangh (the People's Party) in the Punjab and the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam in Madras. So far, the Indian National Congress, both because of the prestige attached to it for its leadership in the national struggle

and its political achievements after independence, has been able to maintain its hold on the country practically unshaken; nonetheless, party life in India is vigorous and wide awake.

The opposition parties are greatly assisted in their work by the existence of a free and powerful press. The great daily newspapers of India like the *Hindu*, the *Leader*, the *Tribune* and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, grew up with the national movement and have a long and honorable record of public service. The *Times of India*, the *Statesman*, the *Hindustan Times* and the *Free Press Journal* are other dailies with national influence. These are journals published in English. In addition, there is a powerful press in the Indian languages which has a greater influence with the masses. The Government of India has no official press of its own; nor does it attempt through official patronage or authority to influence the editorial policy of the newspapers. In this respect, the Indian press is absolutely free. Apart from the Communists, the Indian political parties, including the Congress, do not have party organs of their own. The press, therefore, is an effective instrument of the democratic process in India.

Planning for the Future

The main problems that faced the new state were economic and social. Indian economy at the time of independence was mainly colonial in character. It had no proper industrial base. Its agriculture was based on primitive methods and dependent mainly on an uncertain monsoon. Also, there had been no attempt to exploit the natural resources of the country. A recurring deficit of food grains threatened to convert famine conditions into an annual event. Malaria and other enervating diseases took a heavy toll in most parts of the country, while smallpox, cholera and other epidemic diseases were annual visitors causing untold misery. It was recognized that without a sustained effort India would not be able to shake off the effect of centuries of neglect and backwardness.

The new government embarked on a policy of planned economy. Its object was to modernize the agricultural and industrial life of the country. Within fifteen years, 40 million acres of additional lands were brought under irrigation and food production was increased by 80 per cent. Steel production increased to over 4½ million tons and by the end of the Third Plan (1965) is expected to reach six million tons. Within the last 15 years a serious effort has in fact been

made to convert India into a modern industrial country. The following figures will give some idea of the success that has attended India in inaugurating a controlled industrial revolution:

TABLE 2
PRODUCTION OF SELECTED CAPITAL GOODS

ITEM	UNIT	PRODUCTION				
		1951	1956	1958	1959	1960
1. Tires and tubes Rubber (including automobile, cycle, tractor and aero tires & tubes only)	Million nos.	10.5	14.6	18.1	21.9	26.3
2. Refractories	'000' tons	242	323	442	507	540
3. Diesel engines (stationary type)	'000' nos.	7.2	12.1	25.8	30.0	41.7
4. Power driven pumps	'000' nos.	40.8	46.8	78.0	82.0	102.0
5. Machine tools (value)	Rs millions	470	1,200	3,760	4,390	6,010
6. Dry cells	Million nos.	143	181	168	187	208
7. Storage batteries	'000' nos.	213	314	356	441	510
8. Electric motors	'000' H.P.	143	359	624	574	681
9. Power transformers	'000' KVA	195	919	1,127	1,016	1,248
10. Rubber and plastic cables and flexibles	Million metres	38	97	118	152	208
11. Automobiles	'000' nos.	22.3	32.1	26.8	36.3	56.3
12. Locomotives	Nos.	...	...	...	279	295
13. Looms	'000' nos.	2.5	2.9	3.2	4.2	5.6
14. Carding engines	Nos.	...	732	1,152	768	1,073
15. Spinning ring frames	Nos.	274	1,110	876	1,077	1,122

Source: Department of Statistics
(Central Statistical Organization)
Government of India

TABLE 3
PRODUCTION OF SELECTED INTERMEDIATE
GOODS

ITEM	UNIT	PRODUCTION				
		1951	1956	1958	1959	1960
1. Iron ore	Million tons	3.7	5.0	6.1	7.9	10.6
2. Pig iron & ferro-alloys	Million tons	1.9	2.0	2.1	3.1	4.2
3. Finished steel	Million tons	1.1	1.4	1.3	1.8	2.2
4. Cotton yarn	Million kgs.	591	758	764	782	788
5. Jute textiles	'000' tons	889	1,110	1,079	1,068	1,085
6. Plywood	Million square metres	6.6	11.5	11.6	14.2	14.9
7. Paper & paper board	'000' tons	134	197	257	299	345
8. Sulphuric acid	'000' tons	109	168	230	297	360
9. Caustic soda	'000' tons	15	40	58	70	99
10. Soda ash	'000' tons	48	8	91	95	145
11. Superphosphate	'000' tons	62	83	170	252	323
12. Ammonium sulphate	'000' tons	54	395	390	385	388
13. Cement	Million tons	3.2	5.0	6.2	6.9	7.8
14. Aluminum	'000' tons	3.9	6.6	8.3	17.3	18.4

Source: Department of Statistics
 (Central Statistical Organization)
 Government of India

TABLE 4

PRODUCTION OF SELECTED CONSUMER GOODS

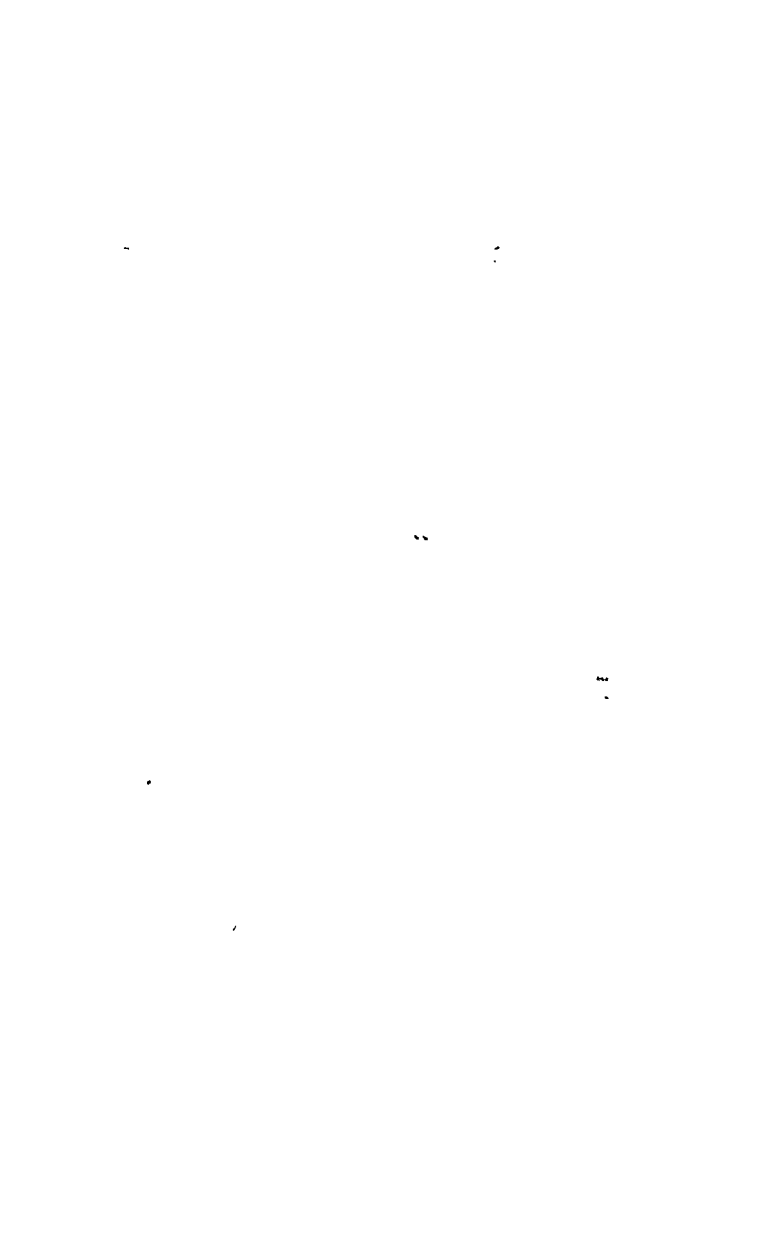
ITEM	UNIT	PRODUCTION				
		1951	1956	1958	1959	1960
A: DURABLE						
1. Cotton cloth	Million metres	3,727	4,852	4,505	4,504	3,973
2. Footwear (leather & rubber)	Million pairs	28.5	42.6	44.3	47.4	53.8
3. Hurricane lanterns	Million nos.	4.0	5.2	3.4	3.9	5.1
4. Sewing machines	'000' nos.	45	130	205	253	296
5. Electric fans	'000' nos.	213	339	636	727	991
6. Electric lamps	Million nos.	15.5	30.7	30.5	34.8	41.4
7. Radio receivers	'000' nos.	83	151	198	215	267
8. Bicycles	'000' nos.	114	66	913	991	1,051
B. NON-DURABLE						
9. Sugar	Million tons	1.13	1.89	1.99	1.95	2.60
10. Tea	Million kgs.	285	300	323	322	315
11. Coffee	'000' tons	18.4	35.0	44.6	45.6	51.5
12. Vanaspati	'000' tons	175	260	300	322	337
13. Cigarettes	'000' million	21	26	30	32	38
14. Matches	'000' cases (50 gross boxes of sixty sticks each)	578	616	626	649	662
15. Soap	'000' tons	85	112	125	132	141

Source: Department of Statistics
(Central Statistical Organization)
Government of India

The investment figures of the last two completed five-year plans and the third now in

progress will give some indication of the effort that India has made and is making in all spheres of national activity.

	TOTAL INVESTMENT
First Five-Year Plan (1951 - 56)	Rs 33,600 Million
Second Five-Year Plan (1956 - 61)	Rs 67,500 Million
Third Five-Year Plan (1961 - 66)	Rs 104,000 Million
	Rs 4.75 U.S. \$ 1.00
	Rs 13.33 = 1 £ Sterling



Education

In the sphere of education India has made notable strides since independence. At the time of the British withdrawal, the number of universities in India was only 20; today it is over 46. At the same time the number of pupils in colleges has increased from 360,000 to over a million. Remarkable achievements have also been made in primary and secondary education. The number of pupils in the age group 6 to 11 which amounted only to 19.5 million in 1950-51, rose to 34.3 million in 1960-61. Pupils in the age group 11-14 which amounted to only 3.12 million in 1950-51 rose to 6.2 million in 1960-61. Similar increases have also been registered in secondary education. In the sphere of university education it may be noted that the number of colleges preparing for university degrees rose from 772 in 1955-56 to 1050 in 1961-62. A significant feature has been the rapid increase in the number of students taking science courses. During the second plan the proportion of students in the country as a whole taking science increased considerably. The present plan envisages that 60 per cent of the projected increase of 400,000 students of university level will be students of science.

The creation of adequate facilities for higher technological studies has been a special care of the government. In the ten year period of the first two plans, the number of colleges and institutes of technology was more than doubled. The annual

output of qualified engineers increased from 5,200 in 1951 to 17,360 in 1961. A significant feature of the program of higher technological studies in India is the establishment of superior institutions on the model of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in cooperation with the leading nations of the West. The first of these institutes at Kharagour near Calcutta, was established with the cooperation of the United States. The institute at Bombay was set up by the Soviet Union working through UNESCO. The West German Government is associated with the institute at Madras, while the British Government cooperates with a fourth. These institutions are not only authorized to award degrees but also offer post-graduate work.

The following table gives a general picture of the development of university education in India after independence:

TABLE 5
ENROLLMENT AND INSTITUTIONS

ITEM	1950—51	1955—56	1956—66 (target)
UNIVERSITY STAGE:			
Age Group 17—23.			
Enrollment	360	634	1,300
Percentage of age group	0.9	1.5	2.4
Enrollment in science classes	140	210	553
Enrollment in science classes as percentage of enrollment	38.1	33.0	42.5
INSTITUTIONS			
Arts, science and commerce colleges (numbers)	542	772	1,400
Universities (numbers)	27	32	58

Source: 'Third Five Year Plan'.

Planning Commission * Government of India

The national government realized from the beginning that unless India took advantage of modern scientific advances and trained her own personnel in the highest levels of research, she would not be able to bridge the gulf between herself and the technologically more advanced nations of the world. One of its first activities after independence was to establish a chain of national laboratories and institutes devoted both to fundamental research and to applied science. These institutions, which are spread all over the country, number 27 and cover every field of scientific activity. Apart from pure scientific work at national laboratories, and applied research in problems of basic industries, special attention has of late been devoted to the development of defence science.

India's work in the field of atomic research has gained general recognition. In addition to the three reactors which are now functioning at the Atomic Energy Establishment, India expects to have her first atomic energy plant in operation by 1965. This plant is expected to generate 400,000 K.W. of power.

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Social Changes

The economic and scientific changes of modern India are no doubt remarkable in themselves, but even more significant is the social revolution that India has carried out since independence. The archaic Hindu social structure has been reconstructed by radical legislation. The system of untouchability by which the lowest social classes were set apart and denied many elementary human rights was abolished by law and its practice made a penal offence. The system of caste was denied all legal sanction and social equality was emphasized not only by political devices such as universal adult franchise but also by the provision of specific employment facilities for the lowest classes. All disabilities based on sex have been abolished. The marriage law of the Hindus has been made uniform, contractual and monogamous, with the right of divorce for both men and women. A social revolution of far-reaching consequences, affecting every aspect of Hindu life, has in fact been carried out through normal legislative processes.

Though the population of India is predominantly Hindu in religious belief, the state itself is non-religious in character and does not discriminate against other religions. India has in fact a larger Muslim population than any country other than

Pakistan and Indonesia; it has more than twice the number of Muslims in Egypt. The Muslims enjoy not only equal rights but are represented in every sphere of national life. The central and state cabinets include Muslim members. The Vice President of India is a Muslim. In the judiciary and in diplomatic appointments abroad, the Muslims are adequately represented. The case with other minority communities is similar.

What assures permanency to these changes in economic and social life is the fundamental transformation that has been going on in the 570,000 villages of India. Nearly 84 per cent of the population of India, that is, nearly 370 million out of 450 million people live in villages, far away from cities and towns. In the past these village communities were isolated and to a large extent self-governing; but they were dependent on a handicraft economy and primitive subsistence agriculture. With the spectacular increase in population in the second half of the 19th century, the village system practically broke down and became the mark of India's backwardness. Apart from increasing poverty due to fragmentation of land, uneconomic methods of agriculture and, above all, dependence on the land of a much larger population than it could bear, the Indian villages ceased to have a communal life. They had no modern medical facilities, were unhealthy, with no provisions even for clean drinking water. Mahatma Gandhi was the first person to emphasize that the problem of India's prosperity lay in the villages. But his solution took no note of changing conditions.

He pleaded for self-contained villages with a revived handicraft economy to sustain them.

From the beginning, the new government recognized that India could neither be modernized nor prosperity brought to her people without a radical and comprehensive transformation of the villages. The program that the Nehru government evolved for this purpose is commonly known as Community Development. It is based on the idea that the level of village life in India can only be raised by an all-inclusive program of development which brings modern techniques and ideas to the doorstep of the villagers. To this end, rural India has been divided into blocks of 80 to 100 villages. In each block a plan of development is worked out for improved methods of cultivation, a cooperative movement, better communications, sanitation, public health, medical care, education, community centres for recreation etc. Revival of handicrafts side by side with the development of small-scale industries provides employment and changes the economic life of the villages. Every effort is made to train leaders at the village level, while the government provides technical assistance and expert guidance. The emphasis is on local initiative and leadership. Rural industrial estates which seek to diffuse small industries run on modern lines throughout the countryside are a feature of this program. It is hoped that this measure will help to counteract the movement of population away from the villages. Equal emphasis is, however, placed on the development of agriculture through cooperative farming, use of chemical fer-

tilizers, modern implements, improved seeds, and scientific skills.

This comprehensive program already covers more than four-fifths of the 570,000 villages of India. The keystone of this great structure is the scheme of *Panchayati raj*, or a planned devolution of political and administrative power to elected village organizations. For a country with as large a population as India's, parliamentary government, however broadbased, will remain formal. Direct popular authority is possible only in smaller communities. What the *Panchayati raj* seeks to do is to entrust village panchayats, or elected committees, not only with the function of control, but with the initiation and execution of matters directly connected with the life of the village. At the higher level community blocks, similar elected bodies direct and supervise. It is hoped that this kind of decentralized democracy will give substance and reality to the great democratic experiment in India.

India in World Affairs

From the very beginning India has followed an independent foreign policy which, without being committed to either of the great blocs, has endeavoured steadily to work for peace and reconciliation.

She has also sought to create an area of peace and non-involvement, without however giving it the form of an alliance or what has been called a new bloc of neutral powers. Starting with only the new states of Asia near her, Burma, Indonesia and Ceylon, this area of peace now includes many Middle Eastern and African states and has become a factor of some importance in world affairs.

Another aspect of India's foreign policy which deserves emphasis is her strong advocacy in favour of freedom for all colonial peoples. On the eve of her independence in 1947, India convened the first Asian conference in Delhi which was significant for its uncompromising championship of freedom of subject nations. She has advocated this view in the United Nations where the group of Afro-Asian nations of which she is a leading member, has kept this problem always prominently before the eye of the world organization.

Since independence, India has succeeded in building up cordial and cooperative relations with

states of differing ideological systems. Her relations with the U.S.A. are extremely cordial and she derives the most effective help for her development from Washington. As a member of the Commonwealth, she is on terms of special relationship with Britain and the Dominions. With the Soviet Union her relations have been friendly from the beginning. The U.S.S.R. has also contributed effective financial assistance and technical skill to Indian development.

While India's relations with Burma, Ceylon, Nepal, Indonesia, and with Egypt and the countries of Western Asia have been specially cordial; with Pakistan and China they have been vitiated by suspicion and misunderstanding. With Pakistan the trouble has mainly arisen from Pakistani claims to Kashmir; with China the friendship with which the two nations started their relations deteriorated into one of more or less open hostility as a result of China's occupation of certain areas in Ladakh on the Indian side of Tibet and of China's suspicion that India was sympathetic to the Dalai Lama's supporters in Tibet.

Membership of International Organizations

Even before the achievement of her independence, India under the British had begun to participate in the work of international organizations. She was an original member of the League of Nations and took an active part in its work. India was also a founding member of the International Labor Office, and the Office of Intellectual Cooperation. She was represented at the San Francisco conference where the United Nations was founded and has, therefore, been a member of the UN from its very foundation. She has taken a consistently active part in all UN deliberations and her representative served for a time on the Security Council. In the controversies arising from the cold war, she has, as we have seen, followed an attitude of conciliation with the result that in bodies like the International Commission for Indo-China, she has been entrusted with special responsibilities. Her military forces were called upon to take up special duties in Gaza, and in the Congo operations the main responsibility fell on her contingents. In the specialized agencies of the United Nations such as UNESCO, WHO and FAO she has played a significant role.

India has at all times been especially interested in the work of the Economic and Social Council.

She has been a member of all of its major commissions including those on human rights, international commodity trade, on narcotic drugs, etc. The Food and Agriculture Organization, the Director General of which is an Indian, is one of the UN specialized agencies in which India has always taken a leading part because of her own special problems. So far as the work of the International Labor Office is concerned, India has not only ratified twenty-five of the conventions sponsored by it, but the provisions of a number of others have been incorporated into the laws and practice of the country. Among the conventions ratified are those relating to the regulation of hours of work and weekly rest in industry, prohibition of night work for women and young persons, abolition of forced labor and underground work for women. India has always displayed special interest in the activities of UNESCO, and has been almost continuously a member of the executive board. India has taken the lead in many matters including sponsoring the major project for promoting cultural understanding between East and West. India also maintains a permanent national commission for cooperation with UNESCO.

Among the other international organizations in whose activities India participates are the UNICEF (Children's Emergency Fund), GATT (General Agreement on Tariff and Trade), International Bank of Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund. In the International Bank of Reconstruction & Development, India is the fifth largest shareholder. Apart

from international organizations connected with the UN, India is also connected with the Commonwealth and non-official bodies which aim at international cooperation in economic, social or cultural welfare. The most notable of these are the Colombo Plan meant mainly to assist in the economic development of South and South-East Asian countries, the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association and the International Conference on Planned Parenthood. In sum, it may be said that India has loyally participated in all spheres of international cooperation.

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Other Recommended Books on India

The literature dealing with India is very extensive. Consequently, all that is attempted here is to provide sufficient general material for a greater understanding of present-day India.

Jawaharlal Nehru's **India Re-discovered** (Oxford University Press) is the best narrative history of India written for the general reader. Basham's **The Wonder That was India** (London, Revised 1963) and Radhakumud Mookerji's **Hindu Civilization** (London—New York, 1936) give a general picture of Indian civilization up to the time of the Muslim conquests. Percival Spear's **India, Pakistan and the West** (3rd ed., London, 1958) is important and covers a controversial period with much objectivity. Also recommended as an overall history is Spear's **India** (Univ. of Michigan Press, 1961). The best pictorial overall survey on India in all its aspects is **India** by Jean Filliozet (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall).

Regarding Indian religions, Prof. Zaehner's **Hinduism** in the Home University Library, and the **Bhagavad Gita** by Juan Mascaro in the Penguin Classics could serve as a general introduction. The 19th century reform movements are treated broadly in Romain Rolland's **Prophets of Modern India**. The best survey of India's spiritual life today is undoubtedly Paul Brunton's **A Search in Secret India** (London, Rider) and his **Indian Philosophy and Modern Culture** is also highly recommended. On the

position of Islam in India, Prof. Cantwell Smith's **Modern Islam in India** (1943) may be consulted.

The modern period is covered in some detail in Panikkar's **The Foundations of New India** (London, 1962, Allen & Unwin). My **Experiments with Truth** by Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru's **Autobiography** are valuable texts which give a picture of India during the latter half of the British rule.

The activities of the Communist Party in India are dealt with in Mr. M. R. Masani's **Indian Communist Party** (London, 1954) and G. D. Overstreet and Marshal Windmiller's **Communism in India** (Berkeley, Cal., 1959).

Taya Zinkin's **Changing India** (London, 1958) deals with the changing conditions of society and is important as being the observations of a writer who had exceptional opportunities for direct observation. There are a number of good books on the Indian constitution and its workings. W. H. Morris-Jones' **Parliament in India** (3rd ed., London 1954) deserves special mention. Myron Weiner's **Party Politics in India** (Princeton, N. J., 1957) is a good guide to contemporary politics.

So far as planning is concerned, **The First Five Year Plan** (1953), **The Second Five Year Plan** (1956) and **The Third Five Year Plan** (1961) are authoritative. Also, the Government of India's annual publication entitled **India** 1947, 1948, etc. is a standard work of reference on all official matters.

For geographical background, Spates' **Geography of India and Pakistan** is specially valuable.

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