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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this syllabus is to help government personnel assigned to South Asia, or to positions dealing with South Asian affairs, to acquire a basic knowledge of the area and some understanding of the motivational dynamics of the people. It is not intended to serve as an operational briefing nor to take its place. The goal is the facilitation of operations, which gives it a slightly different focus from strictly academic study programs, where the ends of pure scholarship and research are primarily served. It deals with the historical roots of problems, issues and attitudes, but with a view of their relevance to current processes and events. Each section of the syllabus is divided into three parts. The first, an introduction, is intended only to serve as a framework for the readings, and to point up a few of the highlights of the subject treated. This is followed by a set of questions to directively stimulate reading and analysis, and to facilitate self-evaluation of progress. The third part is an annotated reading list. The leading entries have been selected from the current literature for their relative brevity as well as for their quality in covering the themes and questions advanced in the text. With this design, the syllabus is intended for use both by beginning area students and those with prior experience. It can be used for tutorials or self-instruction. Related documents are SO 005 926, SO 005 913, and SO 005 914. (Author/OPH)

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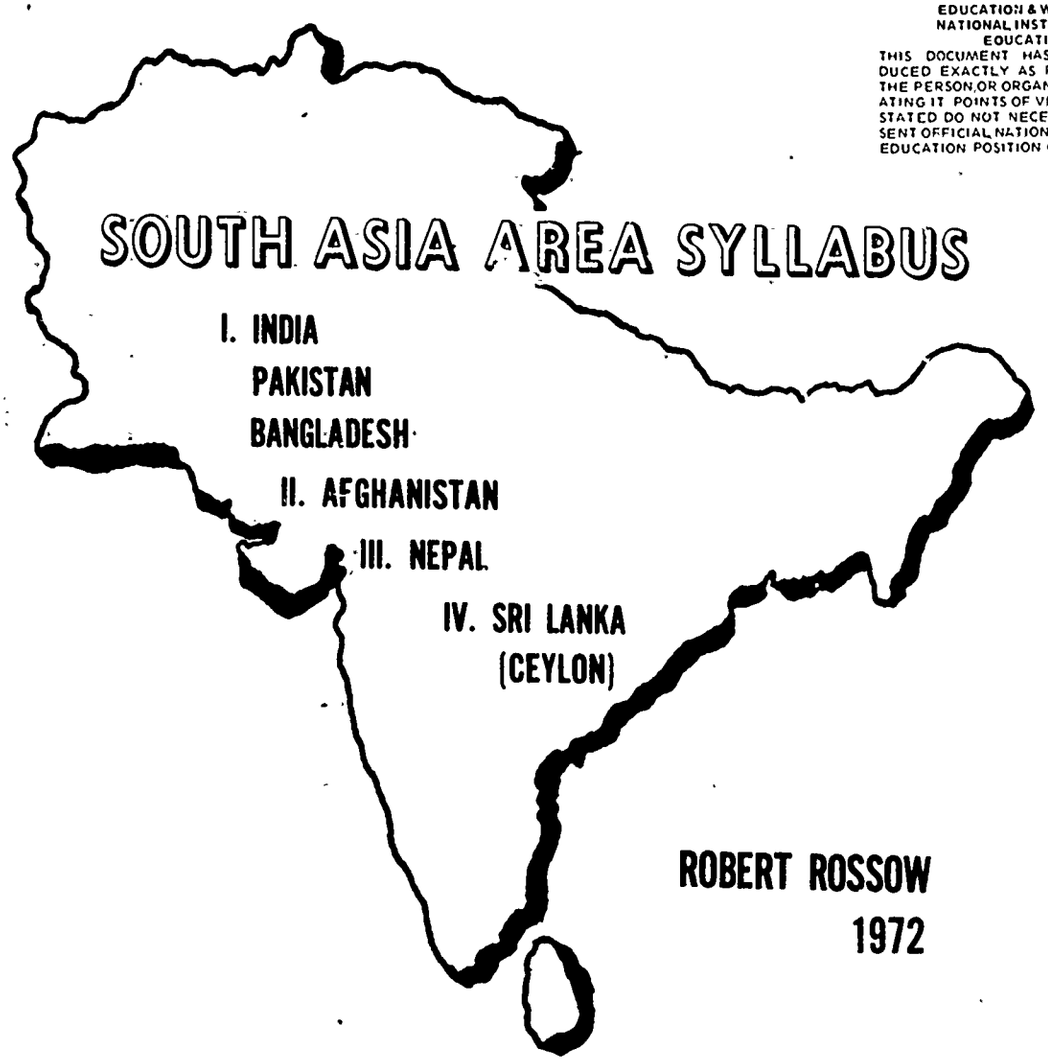

SOUTH ASIA AREA SYLLABUS

I. INDIA
PAKISTAN
BANGLADESH
II. AFGHANISTAN
III. NEPAL
IV. SRI LANKA
(CEYLON)

ROBERT ROSSOW

1972

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SOUTH ASIA AREA SYLLABUS

by

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Center for Area and Country Studies
Foreign Service Institute
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

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FOREWORD

The purpose of this syllabus is to help government personnel assigned to South Asia, or to positions dealing with South Asian affairs, to acquire a basic knowledge of the area, and some understanding of the motivational dynamics of its people. It is not intended to serve as an operational briefing, nor take its place. Yet its goal is the facilitation of operations, which gives it a slightly different focus from strictly academic study programs, where the ends of pure scholarship and research are primarily served. It deals with the historical roots of problems, issues and attitudes, but always with a view to their relevance to current processes and events. It also seeks to afford the student an appreciation, in some breadth, of the contextual setting of his anticipated operations. But in the end, its dominant objective is to foster an understanding of the attitudes and behavior of the people of the area, and those importantly concerned with it.

Each section of the syllabus is essentially divided in three parts. First is an introduction that is intended only to serve as a framework for the reading, and to point up a few of the highlights of the subject treated. This is followed by a set of questions to directively stimulate reading and analysis, and to facilitate self-evaluation of progress.

The third part is an annotated reading list. The leading entries (without asterisks) have been selected from the current literature for their relative brevity--as well as their quality--in covering the themes and questions advanced in the text. It is recognized that this constitutes a fairly heavy reading assignment for a short course, and the student must inevitably exercise some judgment in budgeting his time. But he is urged to cover as much as possible, and to at least examine the material, even if he does not have time to thoroughly digest it. Following these basic reading lists, there are a number of additional entries, marked with asterisks, for students having a special interest in a particular subject or sub-area. The lists, however, do not purport to be a complete guide for advanced specialized study.

With this design, the syllabus is intended for use both by beginning area students, and those with prior area experience. It also permits flexibility of emphasis on particular sub-areas and functional interests. It can be used either for tutorials or self-instruction, or as an adjunct to a formal area course.

NOTE: This syllabus has been prepared for training purposes only, and covers a variety of viewpoints. It is not an expression of United States policy, nor official views.

SOUTH ASIA AREA SYLLABUS

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A. Geography.

According to current geological theories, the subcontinent of India was once a separate landmass that collided with Asia, throwing up a wall of mountains around the entire northern arc of its land contact. These mountains--from the desert Makran ranges of Baluchistan in the west, through the northwest frontier ranges, the Hindu Kush, the Karakoram and the Himalayas, to the jungly Assamese and Indo-Burmese hills in the east--have proved a formidable barrier throughout history. The only corridor of substantial passage through that wall has been through Afghanistan into the Punjab, the plain watered by the upper tributaries of the Indus River. As we will later see, wave upon wave of invaders passed through that corridor. Until the Europeans arrived by sea, it was the only major channel of contact between India and the rest of the world, the one important exception being the Indian expansion into Southeast Asia and the East Indies in the first millennium A.D.

Draining from those mountains are two great river systems. From the rich Punjab, the Indus flows southward to the Arabian Sea, watering a narrow valley between deserts. The Indus system provides the lifeblood of (West) Pakistan.

Just to the east of the Punjab are the upper waters of the Jumna and the Ganges, which flows in an easterly direction into the Bay of Bengal. The area above the confluence of the two rivers is known as the Doab. The Ganges valley is richly fertile, and may be considered the heartland of India.

Communication between the Indus and Ganges valleys is almost totally channeled through a narrow east-west corridor known as the Delhi Gap. To

the south of the corridor is the Great Thar Desert, and, below it, the salt swamps of the Rann of Kutch, which together block east-west communication all the way to the Arabian Sea. To the north of the corridor are the foothills of the Himalayas.

In the extreme northeast, the Brahmaputra drains off the Tibetan plateau, doubles back, and flows southwestward through the rich and rainy Assam valley. It then turns southward into Bangladesh, where it joins the lower Ganges, to form a deltaic waterland emptying in hundreds of channels into the sea.

The traditional boundary between north and south India is the Narbada River, which flows westward along the southern slopes of the relatively low-lying Vindhya Mountains. To the south is peninsular India, the Deccan. It is a triangular tableland, resting on its southward point at Cape Comorin. It is tilted, with its western edge higher than its eastern, so that its principal river systems--the Kistna-Godavari and Cauvery-Coleroon--rise within a few miles of the West coast and flow eastward, emptying into the Bay of Bengal. The coastward slopes of the tableland are known as ghats. The western ghats are high and sheer, and drop short, torrential rivers onto the narrow coastal shelf that stretches from above Bombay to the tip of the peninsula. The coastal shelf is richly fertile, drenched by the monsoon; its lower portion is known as the Malabar Coast. The eastern ghats are lower and more gradual, and the coastal shelf is broad. It is a drier region, where the monsoon is less certain.

The subcontinent is a complex mosaic of languages and cultures. In South India are the darker-skinned Dravidian peoples, speaking Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam--which do not even belong to the same family of languages as Hindi and Urdu. Another distinctive culture is the Bengali, whose language is related to Hindi, but whose ethnic origins are probably pre-Aryan. The peoples of the Punjab and the Doab speak closely related languages. The Sanskritized version in the east is called Hindi, and is the official language of India. The Persianized version in the west is called Urdu, and is the principal language of (West) Pakistan. The peoples of Western India speak languages (Marathi and Gujerati) closely related to Hindi. The dominant ethnic group in (West) Pakistan is Punjabi, but there are also substantial, and politically active, ethnic minorities--Sindhis, Baluchis, Brahuis and Pathans (see syllabus unit on Afghanistan re Pathans).

Questions for Consideration:

1. Identify the regions occupied by the principal ethnic groups of (West) Pakistan.

2. Name the five rivers of the Punjab. Where are their headwaters?

3. What are the principal routes of access to the Vale of Kashmir, to Gilgit, to Chitral?

4. Name and locate the states of India and their capitals.

5. Describe the cycle of the seasons in India, and the paths and chronologies of the two monsoons.

6. Name and locate the seven most important seaports of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

Suggested Reading:

Area Handbook for India. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1970. Chapters 2 and 5.

Area Handbook for Pakistan. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1971. Chapters 2 and 5.

The cited chapters give summary descriptions of the physical environment, and of the distribution of ethnic and linguistic groups.

A. Tayyeb, Pakistan: A Political Geography. Oxford University Press, London, 1966.

This book is not an ordinary geography, but focuses on the political and economic effects of geographic factors. While its subject is Pakistan, the book is recommended for those concerned with India and Afghanistan, as well. Chapters II and III deal with the politico-geographical dynamics of the subcontinent as a whole, while Chapters IV, V and VII give an excellent critical analysis of Pakistan's boundaries and their regional effects, including a clear exposition of the many factors and issues involved in the 1947 Partition. The remainder of the book focuses perceptively on the internal (pre-Bangladesh) problems of Pakistan itself. The author is a Pakistani at the University of Toronto, but he admits his bias and succeeds reasonably in preventing it from distorting his analyses. A very worthwhile book; highly recommended.

* J. E. Spencer and William L. Thomas, Asia, East by South: A Cultural Geography. John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, 1971. Chapters 12-14.

The first part of this book is an attempt at a systematic analysis, by geographic themes, of all of oriental or monsoon Asia, from India and Pakistan to Korea and Japan. The second part deals successively with each region. Some of the treatment tends to be a bit superficial, but it is useful to scan the first part for the sake of the broader context. Chapters 12-14, dealing specifically with India and Pakistan, highlight the effects of geographic factors on the history and politico-economic dynamics of the area. Also, at the end of the book, there are some very useful and up-to-date statistical abstracts.

* O. H. K. Spate, India and Pakistan: A General and Regional Geography. E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., New York, 1957. 829 pp.

This is the standard work on the geography of the subcontinent. Although some of the statistical data is inevitably dated, it remains the most exhaustive and authoritative work in its field, and is very useful for reference purposes.

B. Hinduism.

To try to identify and briefly describe the underlying assumptions of Hinduism is even more difficult than to try to distill the essence of Christianity from its many forms and dogmas. Hinduism is more than a religion in the modern Western sense. It is a total way of life, and its continuing domination of Indian social structure is perhaps the most compelling reason for our making the attempt to understand it. Hinduism has been evolving over 3,000 years, and, not being a dogmatic religion, it has a bewildering variety of forms and expression. Indeed, it is one of its basic tenets that there are many levels of understanding, and many paths to its ultimate ends. Hinduism does not lend itself to rigorous analysis. Its most effective medium is metaphor, and it does not necessarily adhere to the logical principle of contradiction. One of the main obstacles to understanding by Westerners is the latters' inevitable tendency to see Hindu concepts in terms of their own prime assumptions. Even the use of Western terms to describe the Hindu ideas tends to distort them.

But there are common themes and assumptions that underlie virtually all Hindu thinking, and they are radically different from those that underlie Western thought, both modern and traditional. To understand Indian values, attitudes and behavior, it is vital to have at least an elementary awareness of them.

The orthodox Hindu views the universe as a vast cosmic wheel revolving slowly--over 4 billion years in a single revolution. In this relentless cycle, souls are reborn over and over again (Samsara) in various forms according to the karma (merit) they have accumulated in previous incarnations. There is some variation in Hindu views as to the degree of unworthiness and misery of worldly life on the cosmic wheel, but all agree that the ultimate goal is escape from it (moksha) to merge with brahman (an untranslatable term referring to that which is eternal and beyond differentiation and definition; nirvana in Buddhism). The discipline of yoga is one path to that end, but only a few very holy men can aspire to moksha.

In the this-world within the wheel of time, everything is determined by dharma (the inexorable cosmic law that governs all things, spiritual and material). The hierarchy of the castes is fixed immutably by the dharma of the cosmos, with brahmans (priests--a different form of the same word above) on top, then kshatriyas (warriors, princes), then vaisyas (cultivators and artisans), and finally sudras (menials) on the bottom. Each caste has its own dharma (here the word has the connotation of duty, cosmically prescribed). One gains or loses karma, which determines whether one advances or regresses in the hierarchical scale of being, according to how well one performs the dharma of the caste into which one is born, and better the dharma of one's own caste poorly performed than the dharma of another with perfection. It is impossible to change caste within one's lifetime, but one may hope to return in later incarnations at higher levels if one performs one's present caste dharma well. (Here we are considering only the religious theory of caste; we will deal with its contemporary social aspects in a later unit.)

This notion of dharma as the inexorable law of the cosmos as well as one's own conduct, to which even the gods of the Hindu pantheon are subject, is of the essence of the Hindu view and contrasts sharply with Judeo-Christian and Islamic concepts of a single, wilful and omnipotent God. It is this concept that has endowed the caste system with its stubborn durability, while the horizontal stratification and moral relativism as between castes, have enabled it to survive and absorb successive waves of invaders and accommodate a wide variety of attitudes and value systems.

Historically, Hinduism is the product of an ancient synthesis of the hunter-warrior values of the conquering Aryans, with the fertility-mystical values of the prior inhabitants of the Indus Valley (presumably Dravidians). Buddhism and Jainism are non-Aryan "reform movements" off the main stem of Hinduism. By concentrating on the path to release, to nirvana, and by relegating caste and the rest of this-world to the illusory realm of maya, Buddhism was freed from Hinduism's ties to caste bloodlines, and became available for export abroad. It spread to Ceylon, Tibet, China, Japan, Southeast Asia and the Indonesian archipelago, but finally died out in the land of its origin. Both Buddhism and Jainism, however, share many basic concepts with Hinduism, including samsara, moksha, dharma, karma, yoga, and the Cosmic Wheel.

Popular Hinduism tends to be theistic, with a principal sectarian division between those who worship the various forms of the creator-destroyer god Shiva, and those who worship the preserver god Vishnu and his avatars. The main theistic myths and legends--especially of the avatars of Vishnu--are set forth in the medieval epics--the Mahabharata and Ramayana. A segment of the former, called the Bhagavad-Gita, is often referred to as the Hindu "scripture." However, the ultimate source of religious authority in the Hindu view is the Vedas, which long predate them, and only the brahmans (priests) have full access to that authority.

See also below under D. History. 1. The Formative Years of the Hindu System--2500 B.C. - 1200 A.D.

Questions for Consideration:

1. Define, and describe the interrelationship between, dharma, karma, samsara, moksha and brahman. Identify the principal pre-Aryan themes in the Hindu tradition, and their synthesis with Vedic themes to produce classical Hinduism. What are the main similarities and differences between classical Buddhism and Hinduism?

2. What are the four main caste groups and the traditional occupations assigned to each? What are the four stages of life? Contrast the goals of life in the village (grama) with that in the forest (vana).

3. Analyse the effects of the caste concept on the authority of the prince. What was Krishna's advice to Arjuna in the Bhagavad-Gita? What is the mandala system, and the "law of the fish" as described in the Arthashastra? Compare Hindu and Western concepts of the basis and norms of priestly and princely authority. Compare the caste system with the tribal basis of social organization.

4. Contrast the traditional Hindu conception of the relation of the individual to the cosmos, with modern Western concepts of individual freedom, responsibility, welfare and progress. Does the Hindu have material values? If so, in what context.

5. Identify and describe the following: The Vedas, the Upanishads, Shiva, Vishnu, Rama, Krishna, the Mahabharata, the Ramayana, the puranas, Kali/Durga.

Suggested Reading:

Comment: Most of the abundant written material on Hinduism is either so superficial that it fails to communicate the "feel" and scope of the tradition, or is so subjectively or esoterically involved in it that it fails to communicate across the gulf that separates the primitive assumptions of the Hindu and Western ways of thought. The passages recommended have been selected with three objectives in mind--to give a broad, but brief, objective survey of principal Hindu themes and concepts; to convey briefly a subjective impression of the Hindu world-view; and to draw attention to some of the contemporary problems that have religious roots.

K.M. Sen, Hinduism. Penguin Books, Baltimore, Md., 1961. Pp. 13-111.

This is a very thin little book, but it manages to cover, in a hundred pages that can be skip-read, the principal themes of Hinduism in its various aspects. While it has little depth, it is objective, authoritative and contextually balanced.

Percival Spear, India, Pakistan, and the West. Galaxy Books, Oxford University Press, New York, 1967. Chapter 4. Hinduism. Pp. 33-45.

This is a very brief, rather critical, distillation of the essence of Hinduism, with emphasis on the caste system, by a British scholar. When read in conjunction with the chapter on Islam that follows it, and the Conclusion, it gives an excellent, sharp description of the roots of Hindu-Muslim conflict. (See next syllabus section on Islam.)

Heinrich Zimmer (Joseph Campbell, ed.), Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization. Harper and Row, New York, 1968. Chapter I. Pp. 3-22.

This is without doubt the best introduction to the Hindu way of thinking in terms of its own metaphors. The advanced student should read the book in its entirety for the insight that can be conveyed only symbolically. But all should read at least the short Chapter I to taste the flavor of Hinduism in this approach, and to get the sense of the cosmic wheel.

Heinrich Zimmer (Joseph Campbell, ed.), Philosophies of India. World Publishing Co., New York, 1961. Part II. Pp. 87-177.

The passage cited gives an excellent description of Arthashastra--the philosophy of success, or politics, and of caste and the stages of life

in the philosophy of duty. Advanced students will wish to read the remainder of the book, which gives an unusually clear, yet subtle exposition of Indian philosophy, in an approach that is somewhat different from the usual.

* Arthur L. Basham, The Wonder That Was India: A Study of the History and Culture of the Indian Sub-Continent Before the Coming of the Moslems. Grove Press, New York, 1959. Chapter VII. Pp. 234-347.

This is a concise and authoritative survey of Indian religions especially in terms of their historical development and inter-relationships. For advanced students.

* Surendra Nath Dasgupta, A History of Indian Philosophy. 5 vols. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. 1922-55.

This is an exhaustive analysis of virtually every aspect of the philosophical systems of India, less subjectively biased than some of the other extended works, such as those of RadhaKrishnan. It is a useful reference, for one can often get a clearer conception of themes of interest, in the context of broad detail, than from forced condensations.

C. Islam.

As Islam is an evolute of the same tradition as Judaism and Christianity, and as its theology is relatively uncomplicated and explicit, it is easier for Westerners to understand than Hinduism.

The essence of Islam is contained in the profession of faith: "There is no god but Allah, and Muhammed is His Prophet." Allah is an omnipotent, wilful being, beneficent and merciful, but also wrathful if his will is not done. There is a fatalistic acceptance that all things that happen are the will of God. Yet men are capable of offending that will, in which case they risk consignment to hell, or, conversely, if they faithfully serve God's will, they can aspire to paradise. The worship of other gods is an offense to Allah, and not to be tolerated, and idolatry is felt by the Muslim to be obscene.

Allah conveyed his message to mankind through Muhammed, who recorded it in the Koran (or Quran), which, with the Hadith, a slightly less sacrosanct supplement to the Koran, constitutes the source of the Islamic law, or Shariat. As the law rests on the word and will of god, obedience to it has a religious as well as civil significance. Also, as based on the word of Allah, the law is fixed and immutable, subject only to interpretation by the consensus of the ulema, a body of conventionally recognized theological and legal scholars.

Islam is a communal religion, both in the sense that worship is performed in congregation, and in the conception that all Muslims are brothers. (Hinduism has neither of these characteristics.) At the same time, Muslims have a religious duty to spread and protect the faith--peacefully if possible, but by the sword, if not. Jews and Christians, as "people of the book," are tolerated so long as they accept Muslim rule, but atheists and idolators--as offenses to Allah--must be relentlessly fought against. Muslims killed in this pursuit are not dead, but live on in the presence of God, "their needs supplied, rejoicing in the bounty which God hath given them." This duty is known is jihad, often translated--somewhat inaccurately--as "holy war."

In addition to jihad, the Koran imposes a strict ritual discipline known as the "pillars of faith." These are the expression of the profession of faith, prayer five times a day, almsgiving, fasting during the lunar month of Ramazan, and pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in a lifetime.

Also to be noted is a very old Islamic tradition known as Sufism, a mystical and devotional expression of the faith. It has had considerable influence in the subcontinent.

The Muslim era dates from 622 A.D., the year in which Muhammed made his hegira, or flight from Mecca. In the years that followed, Arab power, fired by the new faith, spread with astonishing speed. A hundred years later, it had reached the ends of the Mediterranean in the West, and Sind and Central Asia in the east. The principal conveyers of Islam to South Asia were Turks, who converted to Islam in Central Asia under the influence of Persians, and then claimed a religious mission for their raids and conquests in the

subcontinent from the eleventh century on. (See also below under D. History. 2. The Period of Muslim Dominance--1200-1750.)

The relative simplicity of the doctrine, and the immutable explicitness of its expression in the Koran, have enabled the Muslims to maintain a greater degree of unity in essential theological dogma, than any other world religion. There have, however, been historical disputes over the succession from Muhammed, resulting in a division into Sunni, Shiah, Ismaili, and other sects. The Sunni sect predominates in the subcontinent, though there are also important and influential minorities of Shiahs and Ismailis. In the last century there has also been a running debate on modernization. In South Asia, the principal individuals and movements in this direction were the "Aligarh Movement" of Sayyid Ahmed Khan (see below under D. History. 4. The Nationalist Movements and the Emergence of the New Nations), the philosopher-poet Mohammed Iqbal, and the Ahmadiya movement of the Punjab.

The South Asian environment, both physical and cultural, has had an influence on Muslim society and even on religious forms. This is particularly true in an area such as Bengal, whose geography is so radically different from the desert environment in which the religion developed, and where there are also strong non-Muslim cultural roots.

Questions for Consideration:

1. Describe the Muslim concepts of God, and the will of God. Compare with the Hindu concept of dharma, and with Western concepts of divine power and causality.

2. Identify the principal Islamic factions on the issue of modernism--especially those that have been influential in South Asia--and describe their respective positions.

3. What are the principal differences between the Sunni, Shiah and Ismaeli sects?

4. Contrast the beliefs and practices of Hindus and Muslims. List those of the Hindus that most offend the Muslims, and vice versa.

5. What have been the principal influences of geographical and cultural environment on the practice of Islam on the subcontinent? Compare the background and current practice of Islam in Bangladesh with that in (West) Pakistan.

Suggested Reading:

Area Handbook for Pakistan. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1971. Pp. 181-204.

This passage is probably the best encapsulated statement of Muslim doctrine.

Percival Spear, India, Pakistan and the West. 1967. Chapter 5. Islam. Pp. 46-56.

This brief chapter highlights some of the attitudinal contrasts and value conflicts between Hindus and Muslims. It should be read in conjunction with the chapter on Hinduism that precedes it, and the book's concluding chapter. (See preceding syllabus section on Hinduism.)

H. A. R. Gibb, Mohammedanism: An Historical Survey. Oxford University Press, New York. 1962. 192 pp.

This is the standard brief text in English on Islam, by a distinguished British scholar. It is clearly written, and succeeds admirably in conveying the essence of Muslim doctrine in a slender, readable volume.

Alfred Guillaume, Islam. Penguin Books, London, 1956. 206 pp.

This is another excellent, brief and readable book by a British scholar. While Gibb is particularly good on doctrine, Guillaume gives a little more of the history of the origins and development of Islam. Chapter 9 on "Islam Today" is a good summary of the modernizing movements in Islam.

Murray T. Titus, Islam in India and Pakistan. Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, Calcutta, 1959. 328 pp.

This is the best and most thorough description of the advent and evolution of the Muslim religion in the South Asian environment. Advanced students should read it in entirety. All should read at least Chapter VIII, "Islam in Its Hindu Environment," which is one of the few brief and objective treatments of the influence of the two religions on each other, other than in terms of simple conflict. Chapter IX on "Modern Movements" is also an excellent description of these movements specifically in the South Asian context.

* Aziz Ahmad, Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment. Oxford University Press, London, 1964. 311 pp.

This is a thorough and scholarly work, written strictly from the Muslim (Pakistani) point of view. It gives a brief survey of the development of Muslim India in the larger context of the Islamic world, and then deals extensively with the interaction of Muslim and Hindu India in a number of aspects. For advanced students.

D. History.

There are three principal polarities of tension prevalent in the subcontinent today, that have their roots deep in history. The first of these is between centralizing, unifying forces, on the one hand, and pressures toward regionalism, even toward disintegration, on the other. Especially in India and Bangladesh, these tensions date back to the very origins of Indian history, to the antagonisms between Aryan and non-Aryan cultures (e.g. Dravidian and Bengali). The second polarity is the visceral religious conflict between Hindus and Muslims. Before the Muslim conquests, all the previous invaders had eventually assimilated into the complex and amorphous Hindu social system and culture. But the Muslim, with his monotheistic dogmatism, wielding the sword as an instrument of God's will, never accomodated to Hindu values, and the enmity between them is as strong today as ever. The third polarity is that between traditionalism, both Hindu and Muslim, and pressures for modernization. Historically speaking, the latter originated with the 19th Century British raj, but they were soon generated independently by the western-educated Indians who led the nationalist movements, and who control the governments of the subcontinent today. Perhaps our primary motive for delving into history is to understand the origins, patterns, motivations and complexities of these tensions, which are so important in socio-political relationships today.

We shall divide the history of the subcontinent into four broad and partially overlapping periods (dates approximate):

1. The Formative Years of the Hindu System--2500 B.C. to 1200 A.D.
2. The Period of Muslim Dominance--1200 - 1750 A.D.
3. The British Raj--1750 - 1947 A.D.
4. The Nationalist Movements and the Emergence of the New Nations--1885 to date.

The coverage of the last period merges with the sections below on politics, economics and international relations.

The suggested reading list will be given at the end of the History section.

D. 1. The Formative Years of the Hindu System--2500 B.C. to 1200 A.D.

This period, as well as the next, is characterized by successive waves of raids and invasions, all from the northwest, originating in Central Asia or Iran, and funneling through what is now Afghanistan, into the Punjab, and beyond. The invaders who remained in the subcontinent were eventually absorbed into the Indian socio-political amalgam, and most, in time, lost their original ethnic identities.

The most consequential of these successive waves was the first in historic times--the Aryan invasions that probably began sometime around 1500 B.C.

The Aryans conquered a pre-existing civilization in the Indus Valley, and then pressed their domain down the Ganges valley. The Hindu system that ultimately emerged represents a synthesis between the concepts and values of the conquering Aryans, and those of the culture they conquered, usually called Dravidian. The synthesis evolved slowly over a period of at least a thousand years. From time to time the non-Aryan element dominated, as in the rise of Buddhism (Buddha's dates are 567-487 B.C.), but the synthesis eventually prevailed.

But, while the synthesis prevailed, the invasions also caused severe dislocations, forcing the Bengalis--for example--into refuge in the Ganges delta, and Dravidians into the lower Deccan. These dislocations, complicated by those resulting from later invasions, and by the horizontal social layering that also occurred, determine the socio-political fault lines on the subcontinent today.

The subcontinent was brought for the first time almost entirely into a single empire by the Mauryan Dynasty. It reached its peak under the Emperor Ashoka (273-237 B.C.), who made Buddhism a national religion. The next great empire was that of new invaders, the Kushans (yueh-Chi), whose greatest leader, Kanishka (120-160 A.D.), brought the influence of Buddhism to its highest state in India. The renascence and restoration of Hinduism as the dominant religion occurred during the Gupta Dynasty (320-454 A.D.) whose period is regarded as the "Golden Age" of classical Hinduism.

Between these high peaks of history there are dark ages during which the historical record is silent, except for the traces of wave after wave of new invasion, and of internal ferment.

Questions for Consideration:

1. List the principal invaders of the subcontinent from 1500 B.C. to 1000 A.D., with their probable origins and approximate dates. (See also first question of next section.)

2. Discuss the political and social implications of the rise of Buddhism, and of the later renascence of Hinduism. Where were the principal centers of resistance to brahmanical influence through this period?

D. 2. The Period of Muslim Dominance--1200 - 1750.

The centuries that followed the death of Mohammed (632 A.D.) witnessed a rapid expansion of Arab conquest both eastward and westward from the Arabian peninsula. The Indian subcontinent first felt the impact in force with the conquest of Sind (the lower Indus Valley) for the Damascus Caliphate in 712. This conquest was not pushed beyond Sind, but Arabs remained in occupation there, leaving a regionalist legacy for Pakistan today.

But the main impact of Islam was delivered, beginning three centuries later, by Turks, warlike, nomadic peoples who had occupied much of Central Asia by 1000 A.D., and who were to carry out new waves of invasion into the subcontinent

for the next five hundred years. In Turkestan they came into contact with Persian influences, and were converted both to the Persian culture and to Islam. This added to their rapaciousness, a religious zeal.

The first incursions were raids from Afghan bases to destroy temples and idolators, and to loot. In 1192 the Delhi Sultanate was established, and Turkish dynasties ruled northern India for the following two and a half centuries. From the first raids there were massive conversions to Islam, both voluntary and forced. The eastern Bengalis converted voluntarily in mass, near the end of the 12th Century, seeking protection against the encroachments of local Hindu rulers.

By the beginning of the 16th Century, the sultanate had weakened, and into the vacuum came Babur, a Barlas Turk from Central Asia. He had a distant collateral genealogical link to Genghis Khan, hence the inappropriate label--Mughal (for Mongol)--that is given his dynasty and the empire he founded in Delhi in 1526. Probably the greatest of the Mughals was Akbar (1556-1605), who consolidated the power of the empire, introduced a high level of Persian art and culture to the court, and followed a relatively liberal policy toward the Hindus. His successors abandoned the latter policy, and their religious oppressions provoked Hindus (especially Marathas, Rajputs and Jats) to revolt throughout India. Aurungzeb's reign (1658-1707) was virtually one long civil war, and by its end the empire had begun rapidly to disintegrate. The Mughal Empire was not formally dissolved until 1858, but from the mid-18th Century on, it was British power that filled the vacuum of its decay.

Mention should be made here of the Sikhs, a religiously based community, that still today dominates the Punjab. The movement began in the late 15th Century, and is an offshoot of Hinduism with borrowings from Islam.

See also History section of syllabus unit on Afghanistan.

Questions for Consideration:

1. Trace the routes of both the Muslim and earlier invasions, from Central Asia and Iran, through Afghanistan, to the Punjab and beyond, and analyze the geographic determinants of these routes. What is the strategic significance of the Punjab and the Delhi Gap, as suggested by these invasion patterns?

2. Identify the regions of the subcontinent where Muslims predominate. What are their ethnic backgrounds in each region? What are the principal historic reasons for this incidence?

D. 3. The British Raj--1750 - 1947.

The Portuguese were the first Western intruders into the subcontinent, establishing their base in 1510 at Goa, which remained Portuguese until seized by Nehru in 1961. The Dutch dominated the 17th Century in the Indian Ocean, but their primary interest was in the East Indies. The British East India Company was chartered in 1600, and began its trade with India on a small but

increasing scale. By the beginning of the 18th Century, Dutch power in the area had diminished, and the first half of that century saw a struggle between the French and the British for dominance, a contest that was also waged in the Americas and in the dynastic disputes in Europe at the same time. In India, the issue was decided by 1750 by Clive's success in the contest in the South with the French leader Dupleix.

The principal British "factories" were at Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. By 1757 a dispute developed in Bengal between the Company officers and the Moghal Emperor in Delhi which was settled by Clive's decisive defeat of the latter's army at Plassey in that year. From that time forward, British power slowly but inexorably expanded, until a century later Britain ruled the subcontinent all the way to Afghanistan and Burma.

From the time Hastings, in 1772, "stood forth as diwan," i.e., assumed the land revenue authority, Britain became increasingly involved in internal administration. In the early decades of the 19th Century, a policy debate was waged among the British, with Orientalists--who sought to preserve the native culture--on one side; and Benthamite Whigs and evangelicals--who sought to reform Indian society along English lines, and save souls, on the other. When the reforming Whig government came to power in 1830 in Britain, it launched in India probably the first great development effort in history, setting the mould for Indian socio-political and educational development, and establishing a substantial economic and institutional infrastructure.

Unfortunately, the British program had paternalistic overtones, which stirred an undercurrent of Indian resentment. This spontaneously exploded in the traumatic Indian Mutiny of 1857. The British thereafter tightened their rule, and in 1876 formally proclaimed the Indian Empire, with Victoria as Empress. The high-imperial period extended to the eve of World War I, reaching its highest expression in the viceroyalty of Curzon (1899-1905). His policies provoked a wave of terrorism and riots in Bengal. This continuing unrest forced the British to adopt governmental reforms in 1909, 1919 and 1935, allowing increasing Indian participation, until finally, in 1947, they yielded full independence. The Indian nationalist movement will be covered in the next section.

See also the History section of the syllabus unit on Afghanistan regarding the Great Game between Britain and Russia, that governed British activities in the Northwest Frontier area.

Questions for Consideration:

1. Describe the doctrine of paramountcy in theory and practice. Compare the British role in the presidencies and in the princely states.

2. What were the principal arguments in the debate between the Orientalists and the Benthamites? What was Macaulay's Minute on Education, and what were its effects?

3. What were the principal reactive consequences to the Indian Mutiny of 1857?

4. Evaluate the positive and negative elements in Britain's legacy to independent India and Pakistan.

D. 4. The Nationalist Movement and the Emergence of the New Nations--1885 to date.

The Indian National Congress, which was the primary political vehicle of the independence movement, first met in 1885. Until the end of World War I, its leadership was split between an extremist faction under Tilak, and a moderate one under Gokhale. In the wake of the war and the Amritsar Massacre of 1919, a new leader came to the fore--Mohandas K. Gandhi, who dominated the movement from then until his assassination in 1948. He developed the technique of nonviolent civil disobedience, and turned the Congress into a mass movement that the British could not, in the end, resist. During World War II, the Congress refused to cooperate with the British war effort, and instead embarked on a "Quit India" campaign.

In 1875 Sir Syed Ahmed Khan founded a school for Muslims at Aligarh, and thereby sparked a Muslim cultural awakening known as the Aligarh Movement. Out of this emerged the Muslim League, which first met in 1906, and thereafter became the dominant political instrument of the Muslim community. While the League and the Congress shared the common objective of independence, sharp differences of interest beset them from the outset, erupting in occasional Hindu-Muslim riots. In 1940, when Mohammed Ali Jinnah became leader of the League, it adopted the goal of a separate Islamic state--Pakistan.

The post-war Labor Government in Britain was committed to the rapid turnover of power in the subcontinent, and opened intensive negotiations with the leadership of both the Congress and the League. The former insisted on a unified secular state, while the League insisted that Muslim interests could not be adequately protected without a separate state for Muslims. Jinnah would not yield, and in the end, Jawaharlal Nehru, the new leader of the Congress, accepted Partition with great reluctance as the price of independence. On August 15, 1947 the new independent nations of India and Pakistan came into being, an event followed by a blood-bath on an unprecedented scale as Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims slaughtered one another by the hundreds of thousands, and millions were uprooted from their homes.

When the violence died down, both the new nations found themselves faced with staggering problems of overpopulation, economic weakness, divisive political forces and a heritage of mutual hostility. India had the advantage of the strong leadership of Nehru. It adopted a Constitution in 1950 that has thus far provided it with a stable, democratic government; under it, the world's greatest elections--in terms of number of voters--have been successfully held six times since 1952, consistently returning a Congress government to power. A massive economic development program was launched in 1951, which, despite the magnitude of the problems faced, has succeeded in effecting substantial economic progress. Nehru died in 1964, and, two years later, was succeeded by his daughter, Indira Gandhi, who leads India today. The more recent developments in India will be covered in the sections below on Government and Politics--India, and International Relations.

Pakistan's fate was less favorable. Jinnah died in 1948, only a year after independence, and his successor, Liaquat Ali Khan, was assassinated in 1951. The League and its leadership fragmented, resulting in a period of political instability that ended in 1958 when General Ayub Khan took over as Martial Law Administrator. He inaugurated a political system known as Basic Democracy, and an economic program that had considerable success, especially in West Pakistan. However, regional tensions and socio-political unrest finally forced him to retire in 1969, and turn over power to General Yahya Khan. The more recent events, including the emergence of Bangladesh, will be covered below under Government and Politics--Pakistan and Bangladesh, and International Relations.

Questions for Consideration:

1. What were the principal themes and objectives in Gandhi's program and his tactics for achieving them? Compare Gandhi's views with Nehru's post-independence policies.

2. What were the principal arguments for and against Partition, and what were the main negative results? What would an undivided, independent India have been like? Evaluate the British role in the events preceding independence.

3. What were the relative strengths and weaknesses of post-partition India and Pakistan? Compare their respective programs of political and economic development.

Suggested Reading:

Note: It should not be forgotten that up to 1947, India was undivided, and that therefore, up to that date, its history includes that of Pakistan and Bangladesh as well.

Beatrice Pitney Lamb, India: A World in Transition, Third Edition. Frederick A. Praeger, New York. 1968. Chapters 2-6, pp. 17-96.

This is an extremely useful book that could well be used as a basic text for a short, general country course on India. We will cite it again under later sections; the only weak chapter in the book is the one on Hinduism. It is by an American scholar, and is objective and balanced, and covers a broad range of subject matter. The four chapters here recommended cover briefly and effectively the four periods of history we have sketched above.

Area Handbook for Pakistan. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1971. Chapter 3, pp. 21-45.

This is an encapsulated summary of the historical background of Pakistan. It can supplement the Lamb book (above) in giving a bare outline of the history of the subcontinent.

C. Collin Davies, An Historical Atlas of the Indian Peninsula. Oxford University Press, London. 96pp.

This collection of historical maps gives a very helpful graphic supplement to the textual material.

Percival Spear, India: A Modern History. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1961. 491 pp.

This is probably the most commonly used basic text on Indian history today. It is by a British scholar, but reasonably objective and fully authoritative. It covers the full range of Indian history up to Independence.

* Jawarlal Nehru, The Discovery of India. Anchor Books, Doubleday and Co., N.Y., 1960, 426 pp.

This is an old classic, but remains very useful for giving an Indian view of Indian history, so much of that history having been written by foreigners.

* Hugh Tinker, South Asia: A Short History. Frederick A. Praeger, N.Y., 1966. 287 pp.

This covers the full range of South Asian history, treating it more on thematic than strictly chronological lines. It is useful for giving added dimension to the history.

* G. G. Rawlinson, India: A Short Cultural History. Frederick A. Praeger, N.Y., 1952. 454 pp.

As the subtitle suggests, this history focuses on the literature, thought and art of the subcontinent, up to Independence.

* Romila Thapar, A History of India, Volume I. Penguin Books, London, 1966. 381 pp.

This is a thorough study of the history of India up to the coming of the Europeans. It is by an Indian scholar, and thus has a somewhat more indigenous viewpoint than most histories. It is particularly useful for reference to regional detail.

* A. L. Basham, The Wonder That Was India: A Survey of the History and Culture of the Indian Sub-Continent before the Coming of the Muslims. Taplinger Publishing Co., N.Y., 1968. 572 pp.

This is something of a classic on the early period of Indian history. It is exhaustive and authoritative, and emphasizes cultural aspects.

* Hafeez Malik, Moslem Nationalism in India and Pakistan. Public Affairs Press, Washington, 1963. 355 pp.

This is an excellent and authoritative study of the Muslim history of the subcontinent from the invasion of Sind to the emergence of Pakistan. It is by a Pakistani scholar who lectures frequently at the Institute. For advanced students.

* Khalid B. Sayeed, Pakistan: The Formative Phase, 1857-1948. Oxford University Press, N.Y., 1968. 341 pp.

This is a thorough study by a Pakistani scholar of the origins and evolution of the Muslim Nationalist Movement and the emergence of Pakistan. For advanced students of Pakistan.

* Ian Stephens, Pakistan. Frederick A. Praeger, N.Y., 1963. 288 pp.

This is an authoritative work by a British scholar. Part I is an introduction to the particular problems of Pakistan, while Parts II and III focus intensively on the history of the score of years from the early 1940's to 1962. For advanced students.

* Lawrence Ziring, The Ayub Khan Era: Politics in Pakistan, 1958-1969. Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, N.Y., 1971. 234 pp.

This carries the history of Pakistan up to the eve of the recent crisis.

* Kamruddin Ahmad, The Social History of East Pakistan. Pioneer Press, Dacca, 1967. 216 pp.

This is one of the few histories available focusing specifically on what is now Bangladesh. It is particularly interesting for revealing the Bengali viewpoint.

Note: There is an abundant literature on almost every aspect of Indian/Pakistani history; the above represents only a small selection for broad coverage.

For recent history see also sections below on Government and Politics, Economics, and International Relations.

E. Social Structure.

The distinctive character of Indian society is determined largely by its caste structure. It is a unique form of social organization--not just because it is a hierarchical system with status determined by birth and fixed for life, for many class systems have that characteristic. Rather the uniquity lies in the fact that each caste element has conventional processes for determining and enforcing its own caste rules, while at the same time there is considerable insulation between castes, even when there is a wide difference in status. This makes for a highly pluralistic society consisting of thousands of caste units, varying in role and status, but each having a wide range of self-governance traditionally prescribed and protected. The extended family is also characteristic of Indian society, but it is subsumed within the caste system. This is its principal difference from the tribal pattern of social organization, where authority and status radiate more or less uniformly and pyramidally from a single first father and family of the tribe.

In approaching the study of caste, one must bear in mind that there are at least three aspect levels. First is the classical, religious theory caste, which we pointed to in the syllabus section on Hinduism, above. The second level concerns the self-conceptions of Indians today regarding caste--their own and others. The third level concerns their actual behavior. The second and third levels will not necessarily yield the same picture. Two examples: A caste Hindu will usually ascribe to his people a traditional occupation, whereas in fact they may not have practiced that occupation for generations. A western-educated Hindu will often belittle the role of caste today, while following caste rules strictly in his own internal family affairs.

Moreover, actual caste practice is far more complex and diversified than the ideal theory of caste would suggest. We referred in the section on Hinduism to four main castes, or caste groups, known as varnas. These are brahmans (priests), kshatriyas (warriors and princes), vaisyas (cultivators and artisans), and sudras (menials). But the varna is not in practice the principal social unit; rather, it is the jati, or subcaste, of which there are several thousand in India. There is great variety, even inconsistency, in caste rules and practice from place to place. But each has a traditional occupation, whether practiced or not. They all recognize rank and the correlate concept of pollution. Probably the primary self-perpetuating function of caste is its role as a closed marriage circle. The strongest sanction a caste can impose on its members is outcasting, which is like being declared an "un-person."

Outside the caste system proper are the so-called untouchables or pariahs, renamed by Gandhi harijans, or children of God. Except for non-Hindus, they are at the bottom of the human scale. Although many of their disabilities have been legally banned, they remain an extremely depressed and disadvantaged element of society.

The caste system is mainly the product of the agricultural village, of which there are over half a million in India, with 80% of the population. The accelerating processes of urbanization and industrialization are disrupting the caste system, and leaving new problems in their wake. The system is

adapting to the new circumstances, but there is little evidence that it is disappearing or being supplanted. It remains today the underlying structure of society in India.

Muslims do not accept a religious or theoretical basis of caste, but the system is so pervasive and deep-rooted in the sub-continent, that--at the village and lower social levels--social organization and behavior conform to caste practice, even in Pakistan and Bangladesh. (The same is true for Buddhist Ceylon.) In Muslim communities there is also a traditional division between an elite, or ashraf, class, and the masses. The former claims lineage, often eponymous, from Muhammed's family or tribe, and the divisic is a legacy of the historical social stratification between Arab conquerors, and indigenous converts.

Other factors students will wish to examine under this heading are the status of women, education, and family planning in the social context.

Questions for Consideration:

1. In rough percentages, what is the distribution of India's Hindu population among the five main caste divisions (the four varnas and the untouchables)? Estimate the proportion of "modernized" Indians relative to those following strictly traditional life patterns.

2. What were Gandhi's attitudes toward untouchability? Toward the caste concept in general? Toward cow slaughter?

3. What social mobility is there in the caste system? Give at least one example of caste mobility, and analyze the process.

4. What are the effects of urbanization and modernization on the caste system, and vice versa, with respect to both the traditional Indian and the Western-educated Indian?

5. What differences are there in social structure and relations in Muslim areas of the subcontinent, as compared with Hindu India?

6. What is the purdah system? Compare the status of women in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

Suggested Reading:

Beatrice Pitney Lamb, India: A World in Transition. (See above under D. History.) Chapters 9 and 10 (pp. 134-176) and Chapter 12 (pp. 190-208).

The first two chapters cited give an excellent summary description of the social situation and problems of contemporary India. The other chapter deals with education.

Area Handbook for India. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1970. Chapters 6 and 7 (pp. 145-190).

These two chapters give another very good summary statement of caste and family life in India. In addition, Chapter 8 touches briefly on some other aspects of social life, while Chapter 9 gives some up-to-date information on the educational system.

Donald N. Wilber, Pakistan: Its People, Its Society, Its Culture. Human Relations Area Files Press, New Haven, 1964. Chapters 7-8 (pp. 117-171).

The two chapters cited are the best brief descriptions of specifically Pakistani social structure and patterns of living. The books of this HRAF series have been updated and revised as Area Handbooks, of which there is a 1971 edition for Pakistan. Its coverage of sociological factors (in Chapters 6-8), is not, however, as good as Wilber's original, especially with respect to traditional attitudes. The Area Handbook focuses more on recent change and can be usefully compared with Wilber. The Handbook's Chapter 9 is an up-to-date account of education in (undivided) Pakistan.

* M. N. Srinivas, Social Change in Modern India. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1966. 194 pp.

This is an authoritative analysis by an Indian sociologist, of the directions and forces of contemporary social change in India, including an examination of caste mobility.

* John and Ruth H. Useem, The Western-Educated Man in India: A Study of His Social Roles and Influence. The Dryden Press, New York, 1955. 237 pp.

A perceptive study by an American sociologist, of the segment of Indian society that manages its modern institutions, and with whom foreigners have most contact.

* Rama Mehta, The Western Educated Hindu Woman. Asia Publishing House, N.Y., 1970. 216 pp.

This book is by an Indian woman sociologist, and was written when she was doing advanced study at Harvard. The book is remarkable in combining insightful sensitivity with scholarly rigor; it is a sharp and perceptive view from inside.

* David G. Mandelbaum, Society in India. Volume I. Continuity and Change; Volume II. Change and Continuity. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1970. 565 pp.

Probably the most comprehensive and ambitious study of Indian society by a single author, who is a distinguished American anthropologist. It is well organized, and covers virtually all aspects of non-urban social life in India. For advanced students only.

* Milton Singer, editor, Traditional India: Structure and Change. The American Folklore Society, Philadelphia, 1959. 332 pp.

* Milton Singer and Bernard S. Cohn, editors, Structure and Change in Indian Society. Aldine Publishing Co., Chicago, 1968. 507 pp.

These two books contain collections of papers by a number of scholars, mostly American, covering almost every aspect of caste and related social forms. The papers may of course be read selectively. The lead papers of each book are useful introductions to the advanced study of caste, and the other papers constitute a useful compendium regarding specific aspects and locations.

* Roy Turner, editor, India's Urban Future. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1962. 470 pp.

This also is a compendium of scholarly papers concerning virtually all aspects of the urbanization process in India. It may be consulted selectively.

There are a number of anthropological and sociological studies of specific villages in various parts of the subcontinent. The following are some of the most representative; students may wish to read those relevant to their areas of assignment:

* William and Charlotte Wiser, Behind Mud Walls 1930-60. University of California Press, Berkeley. 3rd Edition, 1963. 235 pp.

This is a classic description of life in a North Indian (U.P.) village over a thirty year period, by an American missionary couple. A new edition, bringing the story up to 1970, will be available shortly.

* Alan R. Beals, Gopalpur: A South Indian Village. Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1965. 100 pp.

A clearly presented description of life in a Mysore village. A particularly useful sample because of its brevity.

* Andre Beteille, Caste, Class and Power: Changing Patterns of Stratification in a Tanjore Village. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1965. 238 pp.

This is a thorough sociological analysis of the contemporary social dynamics of a village of Tamilnadu.

* G. Morris Carstairs, The Twice Born: A Study of a Community of High-Caste Hindus. Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1967. 343 pp.

This is an intensive study, using psycho-analytic techniques, of a community of caste Hindus in a Rajasthan village.

* Henry Orenstein, Gaon: Conflict and Cohesion in an Indian Village. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1965. 341 pp.

A sociological study of a village in Maharashtra near Poona.

* Oscar Lewis, Village Life in Northern India: Studies in a Delhi Village. Vintage Books, New York, 1965. 384 pp.

A thorough analysis of a small village near Delhi.

* Zekiye Eglar, A Punjabi Village in Pakistan. Columbia University Press, New York, 1960. 240 pp.

This is one of the few studies of a (West) Pakistani village. By a Turkish woman anthropologist, it gives some emphasis to feminine aspects of Muslim social life.

* S. M. Hafeez Zaidi, The Village Culture in Transition: A Study of East Pakistan Rural Society. East-West Center Press, Honolulu, 1970. 159 pp.

This does not focus on a specific village, but is a comparative analysis of village life in what is now Bangladesh. One of the few sources on the sociology of this area.

Note: Far the greater number of books listed above concern India, than Pakistan or Bangladesh, simply because few books concerning the latter exist. Sociologists and anthropologists have been attracted to India as by a magnet in recent decades; but they seem largely to have passed Pakistan by. Attention, however, may be directed to Chapter VIII, "Islam in Its Hindu Environment," of Murray T. Titus, Islam in India and Pakistan, cited above in the section on Islam, for a useful commentary on the social relations and influence of the two groups on one another.

See also syllabus unit on Afghanistan for material on the Pathans who live in northwest Pakistan, as well as in Afghanistan.

F. Government and Politics.

1. India.

The Indian Constitution of 1950 provides for a federation of states under a strong central government. Both center and states have parliamentary governments, with prime (or chief) ministers and cabinets chosen by and responsible to the legislatures. The Union legislature consists of an upper house--the Rajya Sabha or Council of States--most of whose members are chosen by the state parliaments, and a more powerful lower house--the Lok Sabha or House of the People--whose members are elected by universal suffrage for five-year terms. The Constitution vests the union executive authority in a President, elected for a five-year term by an electoral college composed of both houses of the Union Parliament and the legislative assemblies of the states. In practice, however, and by informal understanding, the Presidents of India have confined themselves to a purely titular role, in the manner of British sovereigns, though they retain important emergency powers. The effective direction of government has been in the hands of the Prime Minister, of whom there have been only three since independence--Jawaharlal Nehru (1947-64), Lal Bahadur Shastri (1964-66), and Nehru's daughter, Indira Gandhi (1966-date). The Constitution provides also for a strong judiciary, with a Supreme Court that has exerted the power of judicial review. The latter is somewhat limited, however, by the legislature's power of amendment. The Constitution contains a list of fundamental rights, including a prohibition of discrimination on the basis of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. It also has a list of non-mandatory "directive principles" establishing such goals as social welfare, prohibition of intoxicants, promotion of cottage industry, and the prevention of cow slaughter. One important asset that the new India inherited from the British was an excellent civil service, which has played an important role in maintaining governmental stability.

National parliamentary elections have been held under the Constitution in 1952, 1957, 1962, 1967 and 1971. The electorate, based on universal suffrage, rose from 173 million in 1952 to 250 million in 1967. All these elections gave the Congress Party decisive majorities in the Lok Sabha. In the first three elections, when Nehru led the party, it won over 70% of the seats. In 1967, under Mrs. Gandhi's leadership, it dropped to 55%, but in March 1971 she recovered and won 68% of the seats.

The strong (if sometimes difficult) personality and leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru was an important factor in carrying India through the crises of her early years with greater stability and net progress than might have seemed possible with the magnitude of the problems faced. The Congress Party is centrist in Indian terms, nationalist, and committed to social welfare and--in varying degrees--to socialism. It has had a right and left faction, and a number of strong party "bosses." When Nehru died in 1964, the latter selected Shastri as a middle-road leader who would offend neither faction. Compared to Nehru, he seemed colorless, but proved a not ineffective prime minister in the crises and war of 1965. He died of a heart attack in January 1966 shortly after signing the Tashkent agreement.

The party leaders then selected Nehru's daughter, Mrs. Gandhi, as a consensus candidate. She was confronted almost immediately with a series of economic and regionalist political problems, including one of the worst food crises India ever experienced. Discontent was widespread, and the Congress Party itself began to splinter. In the 1967 elections, it retained a majority in the Lok Sabha, but lost 40 seats. In the state elections it lost majority in eight of the sixteen states voting.

Mrs. Gandhi's policy views have generally been left of center, while those of the party leaders, or "syndicate," have been to the right. This divergence sharpened into an open confrontation in 1969, and Mrs. Gandhi was expelled from the Party. She retained the loyalty, however, of most of the Congress members of the Lok Sabha, who, in coalition with the leftist opposition, kept her in office. Her faction of the party then became known as Congress (R), for Revisionist or Ruling. The other faction, the Congress (O), for Original, Organization, or Old, tended to ally with the rightist opposition. A new polarity appeared, to exacerbate the already established trend toward regionalist disintegration.

In an adroit maneuver, however, Mrs. Gandhi called an unscheduled election in March, 1971, separating for the first time the state elections, in which the syndicate's influence was strong, from the national election in which she could focus on national issues. She won a sweeping victory with 68% of the Lok Sabha seats, while the Congress (O) won only 3%. In the state elections of early 1972, which followed the decisive victory over Pakistan the preceding December, she also swept the polls, and is at the moment in a position of unprecedented political strength.

The principal rightest opposition parties are the Jan Sangh, a pro-Hindu party whose main strength is in North India, and the Swatantra (Freedom) Party, which advocates free enterprise. Both lost seats in the 1971 elections, the latter dropping from 8% to under 2%.

The socialist parties have suffered from factionalist contention, and there are presently two--the Samyukta (United) Socialist Party (SSP) and the Praja Socialist Party (PSP). They too suffered in the 1971 elections, and now together hold only 1% of the seats.

The communists have been a well-organized and important opposition in India, and have in the past controlled the governments of West Bengal and Kerala. They have been divided, however, on issues of both international allegiance and domestic strategy. There are at present three communist parties in India, only two of which compete in elections. These are the Soviet-oriented Communist Party of India (CPI), and the moderately Maoist, Communist Party of India/Marxist (CPI/M). They have been roughly equal in electoral strength, though the latter gained an edge in the 1971 elections. Both suffered heavily, however, in the 1972 state elections. The third party is the Communist Party of India/Marxist-Leninist (CPI/M-L), the pro-Chinese extremists who espouse terrorism and violence; they are sometimes called Naxalites, after the Naxalbari uprising of 1967. The latter have been particularly active in West Bengal.

Finally, there are the regionalist parties, the most important of which are the South Indian Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK), and the Sikh Punjabi Akali Dal.

Questions for Consideration:

1. What powers have the state governments in India, as compared with those of the center? What are the President's emergency powers, and when and how have they been exercised?

2. Describe the role of the civil service in the Indian government.

3. Who are the principal members of the Congress "Syndicate," and what interests do they respectively represent?

4. What are the principal doctrinal issues among Indian Communists?

5. Identify, describe and assess the principal separatist forces in India. What has been the political effect of linguistic pluralism?

6. How has caste affected the electoral process, and vice versa?

Suggested Reading:

Beatrice Pitney Lamb, India: A World in Transition. (See above under D. History.) Chapter 11 (pp. 177-189), Chapters 13 and 14 (pp. 209-275), and Chapter 18 (pp. 357-378).

These chapters give excellent summaries, respectively, of language politics and separatism, the structure of government, political party dynamics, and an overall inward-looking assessment. Unfortunately, it carries the political story only up to 1968. It is an excellent source nonetheless.

Area Handbook for India, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1970. Chapters 13 and 14 (pp. 327-380), and Chapter 17 (pp. 451-461).

The first two chapters cited give summary descriptions of the governmental system, and political parties, issues and dynamics, with some useful charts, and tables of electoral results. It covers the situation, however, only up to mid-1969, and important political developments have occurred since. The third passage cited is a summary of Indian political attitudes and values.

Note: Until new titles are published, the student will have to rely on occasional material in periodicals and current research papers for coverage of most recent political developments. The 1971 elections are analyzed in Stanley J. Heginbotham, "Eating Crow: The 1971 Revolution in Indian Voting Behavior" (FAR 14427), and in the August 1971 issue of the Indian periodical, Seminar. The current state of the Communist Parties of India is reported in Bhabani Sen Gupta's "Indian Communism" in the January-February, 1972, issue of Problems of Communism.

* Lloyd I. and Susanne H. Rudolph, The Modernity of Tradition. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1967. 306 pp.

This is a perceptive study of the interaction of traditionalism with modernizing pressures in India. It shows the effect of caste on electoral processes, and vice versa, analyses the traditional sources of political charisma, and assesses the influence of traditional concepts of justice on modern Indian law. It is more technical and detailed than will please the casual reader, but anyone concerned with political analysis should be familiar with it.

* Rajni Kothari, Politics in India. Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1970. 461 pp.

This thorough study of the Indian political system is by an Indian scholar who is intimately familiar with all aspects of Indian political dynamics, and who is also well schooled in modern techniques of political analysis. Most of it was written during the author's fellowship at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford. It gives greater weight to modernist forces than the Rudolph book above, and the two books together offer a comprehensive and mutually balancing study of contemporary Indian politics. Being relatively recent, it covers political developments through 1969.

* Norman D. Palmer, The Indian Political System. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1961. Chapters 5-10, pp. 84-234.

This book is a bit dated, but the chapters cited remain an excellent, succinct description of the structure and dynamics of the Indian government.

* Myron Weiner, Party Building in a New Nation: The Indian National Congress. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1967. 509 pp.

* Myron Weiner, ed., State Politics in India. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1968. 520 pp.

The first of these two books is a thorough study of the Congress Party, with considerable detail on selected sample districts, as well as an analysis of its national dynamics. Political specialists should be familiar with it. The second book is a collection of essays on the politics of several individual states, useful for selective reference.

* Granville Austin, The Indian Constitution: Cornerstone of a Nation. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1966. 390 pp.

An exhaustive and authoritative study of the Indian constitutional system in all its aspects, by an American scholar.

F. Government and Politics.

2. Pakistan and Bangladesh.

The years immediately following independence in 1947 were staggering ones for Pakistan, having to create a new government and new nation where none had existed before, and with such formidable handicaps as bifurcation into an east and west wing, and a disadvantageous share of resources and assets. Complicating the problem was the Hindu-Muslim blood bath attending Partition, and the traumatic exchange of populations by the millions. One fourth of Pakistan's population in the early years were refugees. As if all this was not enough, the nation's founder, Jinnah, died in 1948, and his successor, Liaquat Ali Khan, was assassinated in 1951.

Deprived of its best leadership, with an inadequate and unrepresentative Constituent Assembly riven with personal faction, with increasing friction among regions and between traditional and modernizing forces, and with a deteriorating economic situation, it is hardly surprising that Pakistan entered a period of political instability in the early 1950's. A Constitution was finally adopted in 1956 that called for an "Islamic Republic," but it failed to provide a stable government, and at least one of its provisions, calling for One Unit, or a single province of West Pakistan, was to serve as a major irritant to the regional factions of that area.

By mid-1958, the country seemed to some on the brink of disintegration. In October of that year, a group of generals executed a coup d'etat, and General Ayub Khan was installed as President and Martial Law Administrator. Ayub proved a strong, if somewhat authoritarian, leader, and "the Ayub Khan era" was for the most part a period of political stability and developmental progress, at least in the West. He introduced a system of village and district councils known as "Basic Democracies," which advised on local administration, and served as an electoral college for the presidency, and--later--for the National Assembly. The system was incorporated in the 1962 Constitution, which provided as well for a strong presidential authority. Ayub had been confirmed in office by national referendum in 1960, and when the new Constitution came in force in 1962 he permitted political parties to resume activity with some restrictions. In the presidential elections of 1965 a combined opposition candidate, Miss Fatima Jinnah, opposed Ayub, but he won with 74% of the vote of the Basic Democrats in the West, and 53% in the East.

Regional and social unrest increased through the late 1960's, however, culminating in tribal, student and labor demonstrations in late 1968. Ayub's health also was failing; he had a heart attack in the midst of the developing crisis. By March, 1969, the situation disintegrated to the point where Ayub relinquished power to General Yahya Khan, who reimposed martial law.

Yahya committed himself from the outset to a return to civilian rule as rapidly as order could be restored. To this end he scheduled national elections for December, 1970.

Disaffection in East Pakistan had been growing for some years, as Bengalis began increasingly to feel that politically and economically they were getting a raw deal from the West Pakistan-dominated Central Government, despite their greater numbers and their important contribution to the economy. Demands for greater autonomy had already been put forth by East Pakistani politicians, and it was to be expected that this mood would be reflected in the election returns. But the degree of unanimity among the Bengalis and the solid strength of the Bengali leader, Mujibur Rahman (Mujib, for short), appears to have come as a surprise in the West. In the December elections, Mujib's Awami League won 167 seats of a total of 300 in the National Assembly, and in the provincial elections in the East it won 268 of 279 seats. At the same time in the West, Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP) won 83 of the 143 remaining National Assembly seats.

Mujib put forward a Six-Point Program for wide-ranging autonomy for the East as the only basis on which his party would participate in constitution-drafting. Yahya and Bhutto would not agree. Efforts to find a common ground finally failed on March 25, 1971. Bengali demonstrations and strikes had begun earlier that month. After the negotiations failed, Pakistani troops commenced a program of extreme repression in the course of which Mujib was arrested, hundreds of thousands of Bengalis were killed, and millions fled to India.

On March 26, Bangladesh declared its independence, setting up a government-in-exile in Calcutta. The area was beset with a full-scale civil war, as the Bengali Mukti Bahini guerrillas fought back against the Pakistan Army.

After eight months of mounting international tension (see below under H. International Relations), India recognized Bangladesh, invaded, and after two weeks of fighting accepted the surrender of the Pakistan Army in the east on December 16, 1971.

Meanwhile, fighting had also broken out in the west as well, and West Pakistan took some punishing blows on land, sea and in the air. Upon its victory in the east, however, India declared a cease-fire in the west, and Pakistan followed suit.

In the face of popular anger over the loss of the east, Yahya relinquished power to Bhutto on December 20, and was placed in house arrest. Since that time, Bhutto has been trying to salvage his country by taming the rampant regionalism of the Pathans, the Baluchis and the Sindhis, and by weakening the power of the military and the capitalist and landed elements. He has also been trying to mend his international fences.

One of Bhutto's first acts was to release Mujib, and permit him to return to Bangladesh, where he was received as a national hero. The euphoria of victory has been sobered, however, by the staggering task of building a new nation out of a war-torn shambles, and with very little economic base to build on. Mujib has also had to deal with the task of disarming his own guerrillas, and of resisting revenge reactions against non-Bengalis.

At the moment of writing, the problems of Pakistan and Bangladesh seem to have just begun.

(Students should also consult the syllabus unit on Afghanistan for material relevant to the North-West Frontier area of Pakistan.)

Questions for Consideration:

1. Compare the 1956 and 1962 Constitutions of Pakistan. Describe the system of Basic Democracies. Evaluate the role of the military in Pakistan.

2. What was the rationale for the One Unit provision? What were the regionalist objections to it?

3. What were the principal grievances of East Pakistan? What were the Government of Pakistan's counter-arguments?

4. What are the regional political grievances of the Sindhis? Of the Pathans? Of the Baluchis?

5. Identify the principal political parties of Pakistan, with their leaders and positions. Describe Bhutto's domestic program.

6. What are the principal domestic political problems that Mujib now face in Bangladesh?

Suggested Reading:

Area Handbook for Pakistan. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1971. Chapters 13-14 (pp. 227-286).

The first chapter cited gives succinct summaries of Pakistan's successive constitutional systems, and describes briefly the structure and components of government. The second chapter covers political issues, parties and pressure groups, and the dynamics of their interaction up to early 1970.

Richard S. Wheeler, The Politics of Pakistan: A Constitutional Quest. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1970. Chapters 2-5 (pp. 37-207) and Chapters 7 and 8 (pp. 232-314).

This recent book by an American scholar is an authoritative study of the Pakistani political system to the end of the Ayub era, and covers in some depth the many constitutional, institutional and regional issues that have plagued the Pakistani leadership. The entire book is recommended for political and economic officers assigned to Pakistan.

Note: There is very little publicly available written material as yet on the most recent political developments in Pakistan and Bangladesh. As to occasional material, students will wish to read the Department of State's Current Information, "India and Pakistan: The Troubled Subcontinent" of January, 1972, for a brief analysis, with statistics, of the effects of the bifurcation of Pakistan. Also, the Bureau of Intelligence and Research

has published a research study entitled, "Indo-Pakistani Crisis--Chronology of Key Events," which covers the period from the Pakistani elections in December, 1970, through the conclusion of hostilities in December, 1971. For the Government of Pakistan's views, see its White Paper on the Crisis in East Pakistan, August 5, 1971. For a contrary view there is Sidney H. Schanberg's "Pakistan Divided" in the October, 1971, issue of Foreign Affairs.

* Khalid B. Sayeed, The Political System of Pakistan. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1967. Chapters 5-10 (pp. 101-260).

  This is one of the best books available on the Pakistani political system. By a Pakistani scholar, it is particularly good on the bureaucratic structure down to grass-roots levels.

* Mohammed Ayub Khan, Friends Not Masters: A Political Autobiography. Oxford University Press, New York, 1967. Chapters 6-8 (pp. 70-113) and Chapters 11 and 12 (pp. 186-241).

  An unusually candid and insightful autobiography by the former President of Pakistan. It is especially useful in its reflection of the Pakistani military point of view.

* D. N. Banerjee, East Pakistan: A Case Study in Muslim Politics. Vikas Publications, Delhi, 1967. Part III (pp. 169-185).

  The passage cited gives a brief statement of an East Pakistani's view of the developing political situation in that area, up to the end of the Ayub period, and before the disintegration of 1971. The other two parts give in some detail the origins and evolution of the issues in the pre- and post-independence eras. Useful for its viewpoint and focus.

G. Economics and Development.

1. India.

The central fact of India's economic situation is its crushing population. The 1971 census registered a population of 547 million, having increased by 24% in the preceding ten years. In fact, the rate of increase rose from 21.5% in the preceding decade. A continuation of the present rate would mean an additional 130 million by 1981. The Government of India is engaged in a large-scale family planning program, and hopes thereby to bring down the birth rate substantially in coming years. The magnitude of the task, and the problems faced, are formidable, however. Meanwhile, with an annual per capita income of $91 (1971), the economy must run fast, just to stand still.

Some 73% of the Indian labor force is engaged in agriculture, most of which is carried out on small farms using traditional methods of cultivation. The pressure on the land has been enormous, with resultant problems of tenancy and landless labor, fragmentation of holdings and peasant debt.

With a vast population to feed, and food production dependent on an uncertain monsoon, India has always been prone to periodic food shortage, and even famine. The most recent such period was from 1965 to 1967, when large-scale food aid from the U.S. averted mass starvation. Since independence, India has been a chronic deficit food producer, but in recent years dramatic strides have been made in increasing wheat and--to a lesser degree--rice yields. The so-called Green Revolution, while promising self-sufficiency in food, is causing social problems, as it favors the large producer.

India's principal crop is rice, grown mainly in the river valleys and coastal areas, while the wheat crop, grown mostly in the northwest, is somewhat less than half that of rice. Other major crops include oilseeds, cotton, jute, sugarcane, tobacco, tea and spices.

The ruling Congress Party is committed to the ideals of socialism, and in practice has pursued a planned economy with public, mixed and private sectors. The formulation of the successive 5-year plans, of which there have been four since 1952, is a complex bureaucratic and political process. Results have been mixed. Many of the achievements have been impressive, but there have also been periodic problems, such as exchange shortage, inflation, unbalanced production and underemployment of resources, and sometimes social and economic objectives seem to conflict.

In addition to seeking self-sufficiency in food, which appears within grasp as a result of recent emphasis on agricultural production resources, the plans have sought to expand industry, and with considerable success. At independence, India already had a significant industrial base, mainly in coal, iron and steel, and textile manufacture, and an unusually well developed transport system. Under recent plans, more steel and power plants have been built, and industrial production has been dramatically expanded to include the manufacture of automobiles, aircraft, railway equipment, telephones, chemicals and fertilizers, and heavy machinery and machine tools. Since 1965, it has even developed a substantial defense industry.

India has had a persistent trade deficit due mainly to the need for large imports of capital goods, raw materials, components and spare parts for industrial development. It has also had to import large amounts of good grains especially during shortage years, and armaments since the India-China War of 1962. Her principal suppliers (1970) were U.S., U.S.S.R., Canada, U.K., W. Germany and Japan. Her principal exports are jute manufactures, tea, iron ore, cotton textiles, leather, iron and steel, oilcake, cashews and tobacco. Her principal customers (1970) were U.S., Japan, U.S.S.R. and U.K. Over half the exports to the U.S. were jute manufactures and nuts.

India has been the recipient of massive amounts of foreign aid--some $18 billion all told, although the per capita rate is low compared to other aid recipients. The U.S. has contributed some $10 billion, over 50% of all U.S. development aid in the last 20 years. About half was in PL 480 food. The other major free world donors are U.K., Canada, W. Germany, Japan, France and the World Bank. These, together with the U.S. and five smaller contributors, coordinate their assistance through an Aid-India Consortium formed in 1958. Since 1954 the U.S.S.R. and its allies have extended some $2 billion in aid. Soviet aid has been focused on the public sector, and U.S. aid generally on the private.

Upon the outbreak of hostilities between India and Pakistan in December, 1971, the U.S. suspended aid to India. As of mid-1972, the suspension was still in force.

Questions for Consideration:

1. Describe the principal agrarian problems in India, and the programs that have been devised to deal with them.

2. What are the economic and social consequences, present and prospective, of the Green Revolution?

3. Describe the process of formulating the Five-Year Plans. What are the principal characteristics of each of the four plans? What have been the major economic criticisms leveled against the plans?

4. What are the principal components of India's industrial complex, and how are they allocated as between the public, mixed and private sectors? Locate and describe the "coal-iron-and-steel triangle."

5. What are the purposes and procedures of the Aid-India Consortium? What effects would a major reduction of aid have on India's economy?

Suggested Reading:

Beatrice Pitney Lamb, India: A World in Transition, 3rd Edition. (See above under D. History.) Chapter 15 (pp. 276-314).

This is an excellent summary of the main features of the Indian economy and development program. It maintains an objective balance in weighing strengths and weaknesses, and presents a perceptive and comprehensive picture in a short space.

S. Chandrasekhar, ed., Asia's Population Problem. Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., New York, 1967. Chapter 3, "India's Population: Fact, Problem and Policy," pp. 72-99.

The author is India's leading authority on population. In this chapter, as its title indicates, he summarizes and analyzes the data, and describes some of the efforts to stem the runaway population growth. He closes with a fervent plea for a crash program, without which, "the outlook is gloomy indeed."

Area Handbook for India. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1970. Section III (pp. 463-683).

This is recommended primarily as a source of statistical and factual data on the full range of Indian economic matters. The text may also be topically consulted, though it is unintegrated, uneven, and short on analysis. Unfortunately, the data only goes up to 1968; for more recent figures, the best source is the AID Data Book.

* Francine R. Frankel, India's Green Revolution: Economic Gains and Political Costs. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J., 1971. 232 pp.

A sober analysis of the economic and social effects of the new agricultural technology, based on five recent studies of sample districts. In the process, it gives an up-to-date portrayal of the current agricultural situation in India, and points up some of the dilemmas faced by India's planners.

* A. H. Hanson, The Process of Planning: A Study of India's Five-Year Plans 1950-1964. Oxford University Press, London, 1966. 560 pp.

This is a very thorough study of India's first three 5-year plans, with emphasis on the process of their formulation and the political, as well as economic, issues involved. The author is a British political scientist. Although it covers only the earlier period of India's development effort, it is authoritatively relevant to the entire concept of planning, and makes a good groundwork for anyone who will be dealing with the Indian economy. For advanced students only.

* Paul Streeten and Michael Lyston, eds., The Crisis of Indian Planning. Oxford University Press, London, 1968. 416 pp.

This is a collection of twelve articles, mostly by British authorities, covering political, economic, social and external aspects of current development planning in India.

* Ashok V. Bhuleshkar, ed. Indian Economic Thought and Development. Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1969. 445 pp.

This is a collection of thirty articles, most of them by Indian economists, on a very wide range of current economic topics. Useful for selective reference.

* Ralph Braibanti and Joseph J. Spengler, Administration and Economic Development in India. Duke University Press, Durham, 1963. 312 pp.

The first six of these essays deal with administrative aspects of the Indian development program, and are useful for anyone who will be involved in that activity. The last four essays deal with the effects of tradition on development, and with the tax burden on Indian agriculture.

G. Economics and Development.

2. Pakistan and Bangladesh.

The division of the original Republic of Pakistan into disparate East and West Wings caused as many economic problems as political ones; in fact many of the latter have their roots in the former. Separated by a thousand miles, the East Wing (now Bangladesh) had 75 million people (1971 estimate) compared with 60 million in the West, and on one-sixth the area of land, so that the density per square mile in the East was 1340 compared to 190 in the West. The East produced about 40% of the total GNP, to the West's 60%, resulting in a per capita GNP of about $100 in the East, and $180 in the West. Some 5% of the population of the East is urban, 22% of that of the West. The West provided about 80% of the senior Civil Service, and 95% of the officer corps of the armed forces.

The climate of West Pakistan is relatively dry, but the agricultural land is well-watered by the Indus River system and extensive irrigation. The East has a heavy monsoon, and its land is largely deltaic; its problem is flood control. The staple crop of the West is wheat, and its production has dramatically increased in recent years as a result of the so-called Green Revolution. The staple of the East is rice, and it has yet to respond much to the new technology. Except for some jute processing plants and small industries, the economy of the East is largely agricultural. While the economy of the West is also basically agricultural, there has been a much greater investment in industry there than in the East. There was a very large imbalance in the trade between the two wings, with the West selling much more than it bought from the East. The agricultural production of the East was severely affected by the devastating cyclone and tidal wave of 1970 and the floods of 1971, to say nothing of the political upheavals and war in the latter year.

Far the greatest cash crop and export earner was the jute of the East. The principal export of the West is cotton, raw and processed, valued at around 60% of the jute exports in the last years of the 1960s. At that time, the U.S., U.K., and (West) Germany were the principal sources of imports, while the U.K., U.S. and China were the principal export customers of undivided Pakistan.

It is still too near the event to make an appraisal of the full economic effects of the war and the independence of Bangladesh, or to forecast the patterns of the economic future for each as separate nations.

When Pakistan was created in 1947, many doubted that it was economically viable. It had no significant resources other than its agricultural land, and negligible industry, power production, institutional structure and technological capability. About 10% of its population were refugees, concentrated mostly in the West, and its traditional patterns of trade and communications were disrupted by the persistent hostility with India. Yet, by the late 1960s it had made remarkable progress in economic development, macroscopically considered, with a growing industry, an effective institutional framework, and an impressively expanding agricultural production.

The decade following independence (1947-57) continued generally chaotic, and what gains in production were achieved were more than offset by population increase. With the beginning of the "Ayub era" in 1958, the curve began to rise, as the effects of U.S. aid began to be felt, and the economic plans took body under the strong, pragmatic leadership of Ayub. The Second 5-year Plan (1960-65) more than met its goals and the economy as a whole expanded dramatically. The Third Plan (1965-70), however, began to run into difficulty mainly as a result of the 1965 war with India, with its heavy defense costs, budget and foreign exchange dislocations, and a year's suspension of foreign aid. It was exacerbated by two bad harvest years. Yet, due mainly to the impressive rise in agricultural production, substantial economic growth had resumed by the end of the decade. Pakistan's general economic success was based mainly on the development of the West, and its very success increased its disparity with the East, which had neither a dynamic agriculture nor industry, and had not shared fully the fruits of growth.

The United States and its fellow free-world members of the Aid-to-Pakistan Consortium have been far the largest contributors of economic aid, though their contribution has progressively declined since 1965, while aid from communist countries has increased.

It is impossible at this time to foresee the patterns of either development or aid for Pakistan and Bangladesh in the post-war period.

Questions for Consideration:

1. What has been the role of the private sector in Pakistan's development, and what was the Government's policy toward it? What social problems have accompanied economic development?

2. Describe the principal features of the Indus Basin development program. How is it financed?

3. What factors made possible the Green Revolution in (West) Pakistan? Why did it not occur in Bangladesh?

4. Why was capital for industrial development focused mainly on the West? Give both sides of the argument as to the allocation of development resources between East and West.

5. What are some of the economic consequences that may emerge from the new close relationship between India and Bangladesh?

Suggested Reading:

Comment: There is as yet no published material available on the economic situation of either Pakistan or Bangladesh since the 1971 war, and most pre-war studies do not sharply separate the economies of East and West, but rather treat them as a single macrocosm. Some basic data on divided Pakistan will be found in the issue of the Department of State's Current Information series, entitled, "India and Pakistan: The Troubled Sub-Continent," January, 1972.

Area Handbook for Pakistan. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1971. Chapter 17, "Character and Structure of the Economy," pp. 327-345.

This chapter is the only brief and reasonably up-to-date summary description of (undivided) Pakistan's economy currently available. The remainder of the Handbook's Section III - Economic (pp. 327-532) may be consulted topically on specific aspects of the economy, and for statistical data up to the late 1960s.

* Joseph J. Stern and Walter P. Falcon, Growth and Development in Pakistan - 1955-1969. Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, Cambridge, 1970. 88pp.

This is a somewhat technical, but succinct and authoritative analysis of Pakistan's economic development, by two Harvard economists. It is also the most recent published study currently available. Recommended for all with special interest in the subject.

* Gustav F. Papanek, Pakistan's Development: Social Goals and Private Incentives. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1967. 354pp.

This book, by the Director of Harvard's Development Advisory Service, is a thorough but readable evaluative analysis of Pakistan's development, from a somewhat broader point of view, including social as well as purely economic factors. Although it was published five years ago, it is a perceptive and authoritative study well worth reading by those with special interest.

* Leslie Nulty, The Green Revolution in West Pakistan: Implications of Technological Change. Praeger Publishers, New York, 1972. 150pp.

The middle portion of this book is rather detailed and technical, but Chapter 2 gives an excellent description of agriculture in West Pakistan, while Chapters 5 and 6 give a sober critical evaluation of the economic effects of the new agricultural technology.

* Aloys Arthur Michel, The Indus Rivers: A Study of the Effects of Partition. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1966. 595pp.

This is an exhaustive study of the economic development of the Indus basin, including the political context. For advanced students, especially useful for those concerned with development in the area.

* Nafis Ahmad, An Economic Geography of East Pakistan, 2nd Edition. Oxford University Press, London, 1968. Part III, "The Economic Geography of the Present," pp. 117-338.

The first three titles listed above cover the economics of East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) as part of undivided Pakistan. Those with a special interest in Bangladesh will do well to examine the passage here cited, wherein nearly all aspects of its economy are well-presented in considerable detail. It also contains abundant statistical data, and many useful maps.

H. International Relations.

India-Pakistan. The foreign relations of India and Pakistan are primarily a function of their relations with each other. Since the country's creation, Pakistan's leaders have been convinced that India is determined on its demise, and their single-minded international purpose has been defense against that conceived threat. India has enjoyed at least a three or four to one preponderance of power, though most Pakistanis still cling to the belief that their superiority in religion and virility could nullify that preponderance, if powerfully aided from abroad.

The Indians disliked and opposed the concept of Partition from the outset. There is no clear evidence that they have at any time been committed to a policy of nullifying it, but certainly in the many problems that flowed from Partition, they were almost constantly antagonistic to Pakistan.

One important dispute, over the distribution of the waters of the Indus system, was finally settled by a treaty in 1960 negotiated under the auspices of the World Bank.

The most persistent issue between the two countries, however, concerned the status of Kashmir, a former princely state under a Hindu Maharajah, but with a population 80% Muslim. At the time of Partition, princely states had the option of acceding to India or Pakistan, or (at least theoretically) of remaining independent. Originally, the Kashmiris--both the Maharajah and the Kashmiri Muslim political leader, Sheikh Abdullah--preferred independence. In October, 1947, however, well-armed Pakistani tribesmen invaded the state in force, in reaction to which the Maharajah, with the concurrence of Abdullah, acceded to India. The latter sent troops to counter the incursion, and after a year of desultory fighting and UN good offices, a Cease-Fire line was established. It left under Pakistani occupation the area near the Pakistani frontier (Azad Kashmir), and the remote northern tribal agencies. The remainder of Kashmir, including the important Vale, was left to the Indians.

There followed a decade and a half of on-and-off negotiations in search of a definitive settlement, but agreement could be reached neither on terms of a plebiscite, nor of a partition. India originally accepted the idea of a plebiscite after troop withdrawal, but after 1954, when Pakistan concluded a military aid agreement with the U.S., India's position hardened and it maintained that the Kashmir assembly's ratification of the accession was sufficient expression of popular will.

In early 1965, India finally extended the full application of the Indian Constitution to Kashmir, with the effect of formally incorporating Kashmir into the Indian Union. In reaction, Pakistan launched guerrilla incursions into Kashmir, apparently expecting a pro-Pakistan Kashmiri uprising, which did not occur. The crisis escalated, however, and in August, 1965, a full-scale war broke out lasting for six weeks, when a UN cease-fire was established. The USSR extended its good offices, and an agreement between India and Pakistan was signed in Tashkent in January 1966, providing for

withdrawal of troops back to the cease-fire line. The latter remains the effective frontier today, except for minor adjustments made by Indian forces in the course of the 1971 fighting.

The latest confrontation occurred in 1971 over the deteriorating internal situation in East Pakistan. (See syllabus section F. Politics and Government. 2. Pakistan and Bangladesh.) India accused the Pakistan military government of genocide in Bengal, and found itself eventually with over ten million Bengali refugees, a burden which it said threatened economic stability. The Bengalis established a government-in-exile in Calcutta, and Bengali guerrillas--the Mukti Bahini--were trained and armed in India for operation in East Pakistan. The Pakistanis accused India of intervention in Pakistan's internal affairs, and of plotting aggressively the dismemberment of Pakistan.

As the situation worsened, troops of both sides moved into forward positions, and cross-border shelling and Indian military raids began in the East. On December 3, Pakistani planes bombed Indian airfields in the northwest, claiming that Indian troops were already in East Pakistan. Indian forces pursued their offensive in the East, and on December 16 accepted the surrender of the Pakistani Army in Bangladesh. There was also some serious fighting on the western front, mainly along the Kashmir cease-fire line, but it was largely a static engagement with only a limited seizure of territory by the Indians.

The issue was brought to the UN Security Council, where the USSR vetoed successive US-sponsored ceasefire and withdrawal resolutions. Such a resolution was adopted in the General Assembly on December 7, and was immediately accepted by Pakistan. On December 16, the day of Pakistan's surrender in the east, India announced a cease-fire in the west, which took effect the following day.

With Bangladesh established and widely recognized, and with Pakistan beset with internal difficulties, Mrs. Gandhi and Bhutto met in Simla in July 1972 to seek a relaxation of tensions. They agreed to settle disputes peacefully and bilaterally, and to withdraw troops from both sides of the frontier. They left unsettled, however, the future of some 90,000 Indian-held Pakistani POW's, and neither side modified its position on Kashmir.

China. Indian relations with China were cordial up to the late 1950's. The Indians tended to see the Chinese communists as Asian nationalists, and generally supported Chinese positions internationally. This was the period of "Hindi-Chini bhai-bhai" (brotherhood), when the Panch Shila of peaceful coexistence governed their relations. This cordiality even survived the Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1950, though it began to wane rapidly as the Chinese tightened their hold there in the last years of the decade. By the early 1960's the cordiality had turned to animus in a dispute over India's northeastern border and the Aksai Chin area of Ladakh. In October-November, 1962, the Chinese attacked the Indian forward positions, and delivered a stunning military blow. Having forced the Indians back, the Chinese then

unilaterally withdrew to their original positions. Since then, relations have been estranged, and the border positions have remained frozen.

Pakistan, profiting from Sino-Indian enmity, and to balance the military aid the US gave India to counter the Chinese, developed closer ties with China through the 1960's, and to this day has been receiving substantial aid--both material and diplomatic--from China.

USSR. In the mid-1950's, the Soviet leadership adopted its "peaceful coexistence" strategy with the Third World as its primary target, and found the Indian leadership willingly receptive to its appeal. Even more compelling than the ideological aspect, however, was the fact that Pakistan in 1954 joined the Western alliance system, and began receiving US military aid. Both Soviets and Indians saw this move as directed against themselves, and thus found common cause. This sense of common cause was reinforced as each found itself increasingly at odds with China. India to this day has insisted that it still adheres to a policy of non-alignment, but it has accepted substantial military and economic aid from the USSR, as well as diplomatic support. The USSR remained neutral in the 1965 India-Pakistan War, and was thus able to mediate the peace. But in the 1971 India-Pakistan confrontation, India and the USSR concluded a Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation, and the Soviet Union extended substantial diplomatic support to India, and early recognition and economic assistance to the new nation of Bangladesh. Both parties to the treaty appear, however, to have retained considerable freedom of action, and Soviet attitudes toward Pakistan have been generally restrained.

US. The US-Indian relationship after independence was friendly but largely uninvolved. After Korea, however, Indian leaders began to see the US activities in Asia as neo-imperialist and adverse to Asian nationalism. When the US executed a military aid agreement with Pakistan in 1954, and the latter joined the western alliance system, India's attitudes toward the US cooled rapidly, and stayed cool for the next eight years. This was the period when Krishna Menon lost no opportunity, in the United Nations and elsewhere, to lambaste the policies of the US.

All this changed abruptly with the Chinese attack on India in 1962, when the US suddenly seemed the great protector in Indian eyes. After the Chinese crisis subsided, however, and as India's relations with Pakistan again worsened, India's irritation with US military aid to the latter again came to the fore, and the momentary euphoria wore off. However, India was heavily dependent on US economic aid, especially during the difficult drought years of the mid-1960's, and a modus vivendi evolved that was a mixture of economic collaboration and muted political friction. In the Indo-Pakistan War of 1971, Indian anger with the US rose probably to its highest peak, in reaction to what the Indian leadership conceived to be the US "tilt" toward Pakistan.

From its alliance with the US, Pakistan derived substantial military and economic aid, resulting in at least a partial redress of the imbalance of power in the subcontinent, and in an effective development program. For

its part, Pakistan performed as a loyal ally diplomatically and militarily, maintaining close and cordial relations. From the outset, however, the two allies perceived different threats--the US from the communist world, Pakistan from India. The alliance first began to cool when the US provided military aid to India to counter China in 1962. It suffered further when, with the outbreak of the 1965 India-Pakistan War, the US cut off aid to both sides, an act which Pakistan held reprehensible for an ally. Pakistan remained formally within the alliance, but in name only, as it developed close relations with China. Finally, however, it found in 1971 that it could appeal to both the US and China as counterweights to India and the USSR, though not successfully enough to prevent the bifurcation of the country.

Other. For Pakistani and Indian relations with Afghanistan, Nepal and Ceylon, see syllabus units on those countries.

Questions for Consideration:

1. Compare the accession crises in the former princely states of Junagadh, Hyderabad and Kashmir. What are India's arguments against holding a plebiscite in Kashmir?

2. Defend, first the Pakistani, then the Indian, positions and actions in the Bangladesh crisis of 1971.

3. What effect would a further worsening of the Sino-Soviet dispute have on the international position of India? Of Pakistan?

4. Analyse possible Soviet conceptions of national interest relative to (West) Pakistan.

5. Put yourself in the position of a top Indian strategist: How do you assess India's self-interest relative to a Soviet naval presence in the Indian Ocean?

6. Assume you are Bhutto: What diplomatic strategies are open to you in quest of security in the present unbalanced situation?

7. What effect is the present power imbalance in the subcontinent likely to have on India's and Pakistan's relations with their respective neighbors?

8. What policy options are available to the United States in the present situation?

Suggested Reading:

Beatrice Pitney Lamb, India: A World in Tradition, Third Edition, 1968. (See above under D. History.) Chapter 16 - Foreign Policy (pp. 315-343).

Once again this book provides us with an excellent brief summary, perceptively but objectively presented, this time on India's foreign policy. While it goes only through the mid-1960's, it covers effectively all the main aspects of India's foreign relations, except the most

recent crisis. (Alternatively, Chapter 15, pp. 381-422, of the Area Handbook for India, 1970, gives a very good summary of India's foreign relations.

Area Handbook for Pakistan. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1971. Chapter 15, pp. 287-307.

A capsule summary of the main facets of Pakistan's foreign relations.

President Richard Nixon, U.S. Foreign Policy for the 1970's: The Emerging Structure of Peace. A Report to Congress, February 9, 1972. Pp. 141-152 - South Asia.

This passage gives the official U.S. view on the recent events and current situation in South Asia.

William J. Barnds, India, Pakistan and the Great Powers. Praeger Publishers, New York, 1972. 386 pp.

The first eleven chapters (pp. 1-247) of this new book present an excellent, authoritative, objective and thorough analysis of the international relations of India and Pakistan from independence to the eve of the final outbreak of hostilities in late 1971. Chapters 12-17 (pp. 248-348) are a judgmental analysis, clearly and judiciously reasoned, of the processes and problems that must be dealt with in U.S. policy toward South Asia. It is a valuable source, especially as it effectively covers virtually every aspect of the subject matter of this section. Though it is a bit long for a short course of general area study, it should be read by any who are to be actively involved in these relationships. It was written under the auspices of the Council on Foreign Relations by a former staff member of the Office of National Estimates.

The following articles from periodicals are recommended:

Thomas Perry Thornton, "South Asia and the Great Powers," World Affairs, March 1970. (An unusually clear analysis by a member of the State Department's Planning Staff.)

Chester Bowles, "America and Russia in India," Foreign Affairs, July 1971. (An opposition view by the former Ambassador to India.)

Phillips Talbot, "The Subcontinent: Menage a Trois," Foreign Affairs, July 1972. (A perceptive analysis of the current situation in South Asia by the former Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs.)

* Paul F. Power, ed., India's Non-Alignment Policy: Strengths and Weaknesses. D.C. Heath and Co., Boston, 1967. 114 pp.

This is a collection of fourteen essays by leading political scholars--mostly Indian and American--analyzing and evaluating India's foreign policy from a variety of points of view. A useful spectrum, for political specialists.

* Bhabani Sen Gupta, The Fulcrum of Asia: Relations Among China, India, Pakistan and the USSR. Pegasus, New York, 1970.

This book was written by an Indian government official while on a fellowship at Columbia University. It presents a judicious Indian view of major international developments in the subcontinent since 1950.

* J. Bandyopadhyaya, The Making of India's Foreign Policy: Determinants, Institutions, Processes and Personalities. Allied Publishers, Bombay, 1970. 286 pp.

This book is by a former Indian Foreign Service Officer. Chapter 4 (pp. 150-223) is particularly useful for anyone who will be dealing with the Indian Ministry of External Affairs. The remainder of the book is interesting in revealing how an Indian professional views the determinants and processes of foreign affairs in India.

* B. L. Sharma, The Kashmir Story. Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1967. 271 pp.

This is a partisan analysis of the Kashmir situation by an Indian official who has dealt with Kashmir affairs since the problem first arose.

* Mohammad Ayub Khan, Friends Not Masters: A Political Autobiography. Oxford University Press, London, 1967. Chapters 9 and 10, Foreign Policy I and II, pp. 114-185.

This is a clear and forthright statement of Pakistan's foreign policy views by the man who made it until 1969.

* Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, The Myth of Independence. Oxford University Press, Karachi, 1969. 188 pp.

An outspoken expression of views on a wide range of foreign policy issues by the present Prime Minister, and former Foreign Minister of Pakistan. Generally critical of the U.S.

* G. W. Choudhury, Pakistan's Relations with India--1947-1966. Pall Mall Press, London, 1968. 341 pp.

A thorough study of all aspects of Indo-Pakistani relations, from the Pakistani viewpoint.

* Mohammed Ahsen Chaudhri, Pakistan and the Great Powers. Council for Pakistan Studies, Karachi, 1970. 140 pp.

A relatively recent analysis of Pakistan's relations with the U.S., U.S.S.R. and China, with an appendix assessing the current (pre-1971) state of the Kashmir conflict from the Pakistani point of view.

NOTE: There is at present no published material available on the foreign relations of Bangladesh.

II. AFGHANISTAN

A. Geography.

B. History.

C. Society and Culture.

D. Politics and Government.

E. Economics and Development.

F. International Relations.

A. Geography.

Afghanistan is a land-locked country whose geography is dominated by the mountain range of the Hindu Kush that lies athwart it laterally, channeling communications through its passes, and constituting an internal ethnic boundary. An equally dominant feature is the Suleiman Range of mountains that runs irregularly on both sides of the southeastern border, and is the homeland of the dominant ethnic element--the Pathans (Pushtuns/Pukhtuns). Afghanistan is an arid country, traversed by several important rivers, including the Kabul, the Helmand system, the Hari Rud, and the Amu Darya (Oxus), that constitutes the northern boundary. Important minorities of Tajiks, Uzbeks and Turkmen live to the north of the Hindu Kush, and the Mongoloid Hazaras in a transverse area westward from Kabul.

Questions for Consideration:

1. Locate the principal mountain ranges, rivers, deserts and cities of Afghanistan. Trace the principal roads and locate the major passes.

2. Trace the national boundaries, and describe the geographic areas on the other side of the borders. What are the major routes of access--from the southeast, from the north, from the west? What and where is the Wakhan Corridor?

3. What are the zones of occupation--both in Afghanistan and in neighboring areas--of the country's principal ethnic groups--Pathans, Tajiks, Uzbeks, Turkmen and Hazaras?

Suggested Reading:

(Intensive study of the map of Afghanistan and of its regional setting should accompany the reading program.)

Area Handbook for Afghanistan. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1969. Pp. 9-35 and 61-84.

A summary description of the physical environment, and of the distribution of ethnic and linguistic groups.

M. Konishi, Afghanistan. Kodansha International, Palo Alto, Calif., 1969.

This little book contains some excellent color photographs of Afghanistan with a travelogue text.

B. History.

The history of Afghanistan falls roughly into three periods:

1. From historical beginnings to 1747, Afghanistan had no national identity, and served as a pathway to India for successive waves of conquerers from Central Asia and Iran. The history of this period reveals the geopolitical dynamics of the area, and explains the continuing interplay of Iranic, Turkic and Indic influences and cultural traditions.

2. In the period from 1747 to 1919 the Afghans acquired a national identity, and managed to retain it through the Great Game of the 19th Century, when the British sought--by successive interventions--to protect their Empire in India against the threat of Russian expansion toward Iran and Afghanistan from the Caucasus and Central Asia. It was in this period that Afghanistan evolved into a buffer state, a condition that persists today.

3. The period from 1919 to the present is characterized domestically by the effort--with setbacks and recoveries--to modernize an extremely traditional society. Since World War II, Afghanistan's international situation also underwent some change, with the withdrawal of Britain, the emergence of Pakistan, and the Cold War. The period since WWII will be covered mainly in the sub-sections below on Politics, Economics and Development, and International Relations.

Questions for Consideration:

1. Analyze why Afghanistan, alone of all the land approaches to the Indian sub-continent, served as the pathway of conquest. What were the principal routes and bases in Afghanistan used by invaders?

2. What was the situation in the mid-18th Century in Iran and India, out of which Ahmed Shah forged the Afghan nation?

3. What were the principal arguments in the British debate between advocates of the Forward Policy and those of the Close Border system? What was the Curzon system?

4. Why were the northern and southeastern borders of Afghanistan established where they were? What is the heritage of potential instability that resulted?

5. What were the modernizing reforms instituted by Amanullah in the 1920's, and why did they fail?

Suggested Reading:

Arnold Fletcher, Afghanistan: Highway of Conquest. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N.Y., 1965. Pp. 27-240.

This book is narratively written and easy to read, and therefore serves as a good introduction to Afghan history. The author is an American, and--although heavily dependent on British sources, Afghan sources being virtually non-existent--it is fairly free of bias. He summarizes the early history in a single chapter, and then in thirteen chapters carries the history down to World War II. (The last three chapters will be cited under International Relations.)

W.K. Fraser-Tytler, Afghanistan: A Study of Political Developments in Central and Southern Asia, Third Edition. Oxford University Press, London, 1967. 350 pp.

This is the "standard text" on Afghan history. It covers essentially the same ground as Fletcher, but somewhat more thoroughly, including substantial coverage of the early period. The author spent thirty-one years dealing with Afghan and North-west Frontier affairs, having arrived there in 1910 as a young cavalry officer, and departed finally in 1941 after serving as British Minister in Afghanistan. The author is thus unusually well-informed, but of course writes from a British imperial point of view. The last brief chapter of the third edition covers the period from 1953 to 1964, and was written by Michael Gillett, the British Ambassador at Kabul during much of that period. Chapters X and XIII of Part II give a very good description of the British debates over frontier policy, which has left its legacy for Afghanistan and Pakistan today.

* James W. Spain, The Pathan Borderlands. Mouton & Co., The Hague, 1963. Pp. 21-38 and 101-192. See also Bibliographical Note, pp. 273-275.

This is an excellent and clearly-written history of the Pathans on both sides of the frontier, by an American scholar, and more objective than most. (See Bibliographical Note regarding writers' biases.) The passages cited above cover the history down to the creation of Pakistan in 1947.

* Olaf Caroe, The Pathans: 550 B.C.-A.D. 1957. St. Martin's Press, New York, 1958.

The author spent most of his life as a British officer dealing with Pathans in the frontier areas of what is now Pakistan, in the latter days of the British raj. Despite his obvious bias, this is without doubt the definitive history of the Pathans. It is for advanced students only, but is a must for anyone expecting to deal intensively with them. Though it focuses somewhat on the eastern (Pakistani) Pathans, it covers the Afghans Pathans as well. It is much the best source for the earliest period of Afghan history (pp. 1-246); it also covers the second period thoroughly and with the intimacy of personal participation in the later days (pp. 249-420). Only the last chapter (XXVI) deals with the current period, but it gives a useful assessment of the Pushtunistan Question.

* Leon B. Poullada, "Political Modernization in Afghanistan," in Grassmuch and Adamec, eds., Afghanistan: Some New Approaches. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1969. Pp. 99-148.

An essay on Amanullah's ill-fated modernization effort of the 1920's, by a former Foreign Service Officer and Afghan scholar. For advanced students.

* Vartan Gregorian, The Emergence of Modern Afghanistan: Politics of Reform and Modernization, 1880-1946. Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1969. 586 pp.

This is the best researched and most thorough history of the period covered, and it has an exhaustive bibliography at the end. In view of its length, it is recommended only for advanced students.

C. Society and Culture

The dominant ethnic group in Afghanistan is the Pathan (Pushtun/Pukhtun), whose principal habitat is the land to the south of the Hindu Kush, and extending as well into the frontier areas of what is now Pakistan. It is a tribal society, and follows the tribal code of conduct known as Pushtunwali. Tribal genealogy is the prime determinor of social status.

In addition, there are important minorities of Tajiks, Uzbeks and Turkmen to the north of the Hindu Kush, and of Hazaras occupying a transverse area westward from Kabul, known as the Hazarajat.

There remain substantial numbers (2 million estimated) of pure nomads in Afghanistan, known generically as kuchis. Most Afghans, however, are settled in villages. There is also a growing urban population, about one-tenth of the total.

The Muslim religion is official and universal in Afghanistan, and the influence of the mullahs is conservative and strong. The wearing of the veil by Afghan women was compulsory until 1959. The society as a whole remains strongly traditional, and the processes of modernization, while steadily advancing, are still in a very early stage.

Questions for Consideration:

1. What are the principal Pathan tribal groups? What differences are there between the eastern and western Pathans? What are the tribal affiliations of the Afghan royal family? Advanced students should be able to sketch the main genealogical lineages of the principal tribal units and leaders.

2. What are the principal themes of the Pushtunwali?

3. What is the status of women in Afghan society? What is the role of the mullah?

4. What are the ethnic affiliations and characteristics of the non-Pathan minorities of Afghanistan? To the extent of the limited material available on the minorities, contrast their cultures with that of the Pathan.

Suggested Reading:

Arnold Fletcher, Afghanistan: Highway of Conquest. (See above under History.) Pp. 9-26.

This is a very brief, but good summary of Afghan ethnic patterns.

Donald N. Wilber, Afghanistan: Its People, Its Society, Its Culture. Human Relations Area File, New Haven, Conn., 1962. Chapter I and pp. 36-140.

This is a fairly comprehensive and sound survey of the principal themes and characteristics of Afghan society and culture, by an American Iranic scholar. It is about the only source (other than the Area Handbook, which draws on it) that gives broad coverage of these subjects.

James W. Spain, The Pathan Borderlands. (See above under History.) Pp. 39-100.

These three chapters give a clear description of the ethnic, social and cultural characteristics of the Pathans of both sides of the border.

* Olaf Caroe, The Pathans. (See above.) Pp. 3-24.

Chapter I, The Genealogies, gives a description of the eponymous lineages of the principal Pathan tribes, which is very helpful in clarifying tribal relationships. The two maps at the end of the book show tribal locations and distributions.

Unfortunately, there has been very little written specifically on the minority ethnic groups of Afghanistan, beyond such brief items as appear in Wilber and the Area Handbook. Advanced students may wish to pursue this subject in sources on Central Asia.

On religion, see also the South Asia Area Syllabus section on Islam. On modernizing trends, see the sub-sections below on Politics and Economics and Development.

D. Politics.

The traditional political dynamics of Afghanistan has been conditioned by the strength of the tribes and the mullahs. They have in the past enjoyed the power to unseat the royal dynasty, whose political influence and survival has depended on its ability to maintain a balance in inter-tribal politics (it has never been able to dominate them completely), and to keep the mullahs pacified.

Since the middle 1950's the present dynasty has been engaged in a slow and cautious program of modernization. To carry it out, it has had to neutralize the conservative tendencies of the tribes and mullahs, which even today remain strong political forces. The dynasty has, however, made substantial progress in establishing constitutional and representative government, in education, and in economic and social development. Foreign aid programs--including both Soviet and American--have been instrumental in the modernizing process. The dynasty's success in carrying forward its program will depend largely on its ability to maintain its own cautiously progressive balance between the conservative elements on the one side, and the liberalizing pressures of students and new urban elements on the other. The non-Pathan minorities have been politically passive, but they constitute a potential source of instability. Political parties are not as yet permitted in Afghanistan.

Questions for Consideration:

1. How are tribal political decisions made? What are the roles of the khans and the tribal jirgehs (councils)?

2. Describe the traditional relationship between the central government and the tribes. How has this relationship changed in recent years?

3. Describe the roles of the King and of the royal family in exercising political authority. How have these roles been affected by the 1964 constitution?

4. What is the legislative structure and process prescribed by the 1964 constitution? How has it succeeded in practice?

5. What political groupings have been emerging with representational government? What were the principal demands of the students in their demonstrations of the late 1960's?

Suggested Reading:

Area Handbook on Afghanistan. (See above.) Pp. 175-205.

A very good summary of the governmental system and political dynamics of Afghanistan, including traditional elements, constitutional reform, and emerging political forces.

Richard S. Newell, The Politics of Afghanistan. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N.Y., 1972. Pp. 70-116 and 162-204.

The two chapters cited give the most up-to-date accounts now in print, of constitutional developments and recent political events. The book is by a young American scholar who studied in the area in the mid-1960's.

John C. Griffiths, Afghanistan. Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1967. Pp. 65-116.

The two chapters recommended are a perceptive, if somewhat subjective and discursive, analysis by a British scholar, of current political processes and ferment in Afghanistan to the date of publication. The text of the 1964 Constitution is set forth in an appendix (pp. 147-169).

* Leon B. Poullada, The Pushtun Role in the Afghan Political System. Paper presented before the Association of Asian Studies, April 1970.

This is an extremely valuable study, especially for the advanced student, of the political dynamics of the Pathan tribes and their relationship to the larger body politic.

* Patrick J. Reardon, "Modernization and Reform: The Contemporary Endeavor," in Grassmuck and Adamec, eds., Afghanistan: Some New Approaches. (See above under History.) Pp. 149-203.

This is a description by an American scholar, of the modernizing process from the Daud period in the late 1950's, through the 1960's; an excellent analysis. See also the chronology on pp. 260-338 of the same volume.

The advanced student will also wish to consult the periodic reports of Louis Dupree, published by the American Universities Field Service.

E. Economics and Development

The base of the Afghan economy is agriculture, especially the raising of cereals (mainly wheat), livestock, cotton and fruits and nuts. The only significant mineral resources now exploited are the extensive natural gas deposits adjacent to the Soviet border. The only manufacturing enterprise of magnitude is in the field of cotton textiles. The country enjoys considerable hydroelectric potential, which is in process of being developed with foreign aid.

Afghanistan's very substantial and continuing economic development has been the product largely of foreign aid. As a result largely of politically motivated competition, Afghanistan has enjoyed one of the largest inputs per capita of aid from all sources, of any country in the world, and the effect on the Afghan environment has been dramatic and profound. Aid has been directed to the construction of roads, airfields, dams, factories, and silos, and to land reclamation, resettlement schemes, and the educational system. Virtually all the arms and equipment of the Afghan military establishment are supplied through military aid from the Soviet Union and its allies. The Soviet Union has also been far the largest donor of economic aid, and as U.S. aid has fallen off in recent years, the ratio of Soviet to American aid is increasing. The rapid pace of development has brought in its wake a broad range of economic and social problems.

Questions for Consideration:

1. Compare and evaluate the Soviet and American aid efforts.

2. What are the international and domestic economic consequences of Soviet exploitation of the northern deposits of natural gas?

3. What are the principal economic, social and political problems resulting from development?

Suggested Reading:

Richard S. Newell, The Politics of Afghanistan. (See above under Political.) Pp. 117-161.

This chapter on internal growth and external aid gives a fairly succinct and up-to-date summary of Afghan development programs and problems.

John C. Griffiths, Afghanistan. (See above under Political.) Pp. 117-134.

This brief chapter gives a perceptive critical analysis of the development effort in Afghanistan, highlighting a number of problems.

Area Handbook on Afghanistan. (See above.) Section III, Economic. Pp. 245-361.

This is an extremely useful compendium of Afghan economic information, and it can be consulted topically.

F. International Relations

Afghanistan's international relations are governed primarily by two factors: (1) Its strategic position on the approaches to the Indian sub-continent, and the pressures generated thereby; and (2) the fact that the southeastern border bifurcates the dominant Afghan ethnic group, the Pathans, leaving roughly half of them as a restive minority in neighboring regions of Pakistan.

Afghanistan must live with a powerful and potentially expansionist neighbor on her northern frontier, with whom trade and communications links are being

constantly developed. The constant preoccupation of Afghan leaders is with the maintenance of national independence. With the withdrawal of British power in India, and Afghanistan's exclusion from the Western defense system, the power balance in the area has become uneven, and they have had to adapt their strategy accordingly.

The Afghan leaders have endorsed the nationalist aspirations of the Pathans in Pakistan, although their objectives have not always been clear. Afghan relations with Pakistan have suffered as a result, reaching a low point in 1961-63 when Pakistan broke relations and closed the border, virtually sealing Afghanistan off from access to the West. The Pushtunistan Question remains a source of regional instability susceptible to adventuresome exploitation.

Questions for Consideration:

1. Analyse the array of possible Soviet interests in Afghanistan.

2. What strategies are available to the Afghans in defense of their independence? Compare their situation now with that during the Great Game.

3. What are the various demands that have been advanced by the Pushtunistan movement? Analyse the motives of the principal protagonists on both sides of the border.

4. What would be the consequence for Afghanistan of the disintegration of Pakistan?

Suggested Reading:

Arnold Fletcher, Afghanistan: Highway of Conquest. (See above under History.) Pp. 241-287.

This is a good brief summary of the post-war period in Afghan international relations. It goes only to the mid-1960's, but little substantive has changed since then.

* James W. Spain, The Pathan Borderland. (See above under History.) Pp. 193-272.

The four chapters cited here give one of the most thorough analyses of all aspects of the Pushtunistan Question, and its implications for Pakistan as well as Afghanistan. The last chapter places the situation in the context of the Great Game as presently being played.

See also sources cited under Politics for most recent developments.

III. NEPAL

A. Geography.

B. Ethnic Communities and Cultures.

C. History.

D. Government and Politics.

E. Economics and Development.

F. International Relations.

A. Geography.

Few countries in the world are more completely dominated by their geography than Nepal. About the size of Florida, it stretches for 500 miles along no less than four mountain ranges that extend in parallel in a roughly east-west direction. The north-south cross section of some 100 miles traverses three of the ranges and cuts into the fourth.

The territory adjacent to the Indian border is known as the Terai. Through it lengthwise (east-west) runs the southernmost of the four ranges--the relatively low-rising Siwalik Hills. The southern part of the Terai is merely an extension of the Gangetic plain of northern India. The northern portion was once a dense jungle infested with a dangerous type of malaria. It is being cleared now, and the malaria largely eradicated, and now offers considerable developmental promise.

To the north of the Terai, the Mahabharat Range rises steeply like a wall to a height of some 10,000 feet. North of this range is the zone known as mid-Nepal, the heartland of the country, with valley floors ranging from about 4,000 to 6,000 feet. Centrally situated in this zone is the Kathmandu Valley, a circular basin about 25 miles in diameter at some 4,500 feet in altitude.

To the north of mid-Nepal are the High Himalayas. The Nepalese sector of this range contains no less than twenty peaks of over 24,000 feet, a mountain-climber's paradise. Northward of the Himalayan crestline is a zone known as the Inner Himalaya, consisting of dry, high-altitude valleys. The northernmost of the four parallel ranges is the Tibetan border range, rising to not more than some 20,000 feet.

While the Tibetan border range is generally lower than the High Himalayas, it nevertheless constitutes the water shed between the southward and

northeastward drainage systems. This fact has profound geographic significance, as it means that the Himalayas and other ranges to the south are cut by deep river valleys that provide the principal arteries of communication, and in a north-south direction. There are three main river systems--from west to east, the Karnali system, the Gandaki (or Narayani) system, and the Kosi system. The Kathmandu Valley is drained by the Baghmati River. They all feed into the Ganges. As there are many geographic barriers to east-west travel, it is often necessary, in going from one section of Nepal to another, to go down into India, and then back up into Nepal by the river valley arteries.

Until 1956, there were literally no roads in Nepal outside the Kathmandu Valley and the area immediately adjacent to India; cars had to be carried to Kathmandu by coolies. In that year, however, an Indian-built road was opened, tortuously connecting Kathmandu with India. Later, the Chinese built a road from Kathmandu to Tibet. Other road-building has been underway, but communications remain a major problem for this mountain kingdom.

The Indian monsoon (see syllabus section I A) waters the southern slopes of the Himalayas from June to September, with the consequence that the vegetation below 12,000 feet is fairly rich. The climate in mid-Nepal is pleasant. Average temperatures in Kathmandu range from 50 degrees in January to 78 degrees in July, and its average annual rainfall is 58 inches, most of which falls in the monsoon.

The population is about 11 million. Its composition will be described in the next section.

Questions for Consideration:

1. Where are the principal passes to Tibet? Give a strategic appraisal of the geography of the northern border.

2. Analyse the geographic factors that have contributed to Nepal's reputation of virtual impregnability from the south.

3. What are the principal geographical differences between the Eastern, Central and Western regions of Nepal, and what are their relative prospects for development? Same question between the Terai and mid-Nepal.

4. Where are the principal roads and airfields, including those under construction?

5. Name and locate the principal urban centers of Nepal.

Suggested Reading:

Area Handbook for Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1964. Chapter 3, pp. 25-46.

This gives a brief summary description of the principal geographical features of Nepal.

Pradyumna P. Karan, Nepal: A Cultural and Physical Geography. University of Kentucky Press, Lexington, 1960. 100 pp.

A comprehensive geography of Nepal, this book is particularly useful for its many maps. One must beware of reading too much precision into them, however, since the data is necessarily sometimes speculative.

Jeremy Bernstein, The Wildest Dreams of Kew: A Profile of Nepal. Simon and Schuster, New York, 1970. 186 pp.

". . . are the facts of Kathmandu. . . ." is the rest of the Kipling couplet from which the title is taken. This book is by no means confined to geography, but is a broad journalistic profile of the country in personalized rapportage. Parts of it appeared in the "Reporter at Large" department of the New Yorker magazine. The book provides a pleasantly readable, comprehensive introduction to Nepal.

* Toni Hagen, Nepal: The Kingdom in the Himalayas. Kimmerly and Frey, Berne, 1961.

The author of this book is a Swiss geologist who spent many years studying and surveying Nepal from one end to the other; he probably knows more about the Nepalese back-country from first-hand experience than any man alive. Persons with special interest will find it highly rewarding. Copiously illustrated with the author's photograph.

B. Ethnic Communities and Cultures.

The population of Nepal may be divided roughly into three broad groups: Indo-Nepalese, Tibeto-Nepalese, and aboriginal.

The dominant ethnic community is the Indo-Nepalese of mid-Nepal, sometimes referred to in the literature as Pahari. They are the descendants of high caste Hindus--mostly Brahmans and Kshatriyas (see syllabus section I E)--who are believed to have taken refuge in the Nepal midlands from the Muslim invasions of their Rajput homelands in the early centuries of the second millennium A.D. Their language is Nepali (sometimes called Gorkhali or Khaskura), which is related to Hindi, but not mutually intelligible.

The other major communities of Indo-Nepalese are those in the Terai, many of whom are indistinguishable from the Indian peoples of adjacent border areas. There is also in the back-country of the Terai a people known as Tharus, whose principal distinction has been the ability to survive (barely) in the malarial areas of the Terai.

The aboriginals of Nepal may be the Newars, although no one knows for certain what their origins are. From the beginnings of history they have inhabited the Kathmandu Valley, where they now comprise about half the population. They are gifted artisans with an affinity for urban life and an aptitude for education, trade and bureaucracy. There are both Hindu and Buddhist Newars, who coexist without religious animus. Both groups have their own caste structures which are strictly adhered to. Their language is Newari, which is usually classed as Tibeto-Burman, though it has distinctive features of its own.

The ethnic boundary between the Indo-Nepalese and Newars, on the one hand, and the Tibeto-Nepalese, on the other, is an altitude line at roughly 6,000 feet. Few of the former live above it, and few of the latter live below. Authorities vary as to the ethnic classification system used, but the principal groups are the Gurungs and Magars in the highlands of the central west, the Tamangs in the center, and the Sunwars, Rais and Limbus in the east. Along the entire northern border strip are groups loosely classed as Bhotia, meaning Tibetan, which in the east include the Sherpas of mountain-climbing fame. All these groups have Mongoloid features, and they all practice Buddhism of the Tibetan variety. Each community has its own language.

The study of the ethnology of Nepal is still in its infancy, and both historical sources and statistics are sparse and unreliable. But roughly speaking, the Paharis comprise about 48% of the total population, the Indo-Nepalese of the Terai about 29%, the Tibeto-Nepalese about 18%, and the Newars about 5%.

Questions for Consideration:

1. What are the principal castes of the Pahari community? To what community and caste does the royal family belong?

2. Describe the relationship between Hinduism and Buddhism in Nepal. What have been the principal Tibetan influences on religion there?

3. Compare the status and role of the Pahari and Newar communities in the Kathmandu Valley. What have been some of the principal Newar contributions to the art forms of Asia?

4. Compare the attitudes of the Pahari, and the Indo-Nepalese of the Terai, relative to one another.

5. What are the several usages of the term "Gorkha"?

Suggested Reading:

Area Handbook for Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1954. Chapters 4-5, pp. 47-83, and Chapters 8-10, pp. 103-132.

These five chapters give a very good, and quite thorough, coverage of the subject matter treated in this section.

In addition, P. P. Karan's Nepal, cited in the preceding section, has a chapter on cultural diversity (pp. 63-73), with useful maps. Toni Hagen's Nepal, also cited in the preceding section, likewise has a chapter on racial and ethnic diversity (pp. 57-81), that emphasises the Tibeto-Nepalese communities; its ethnical cross-section diagrams on page 64 are conceptually useful. It should be noted, however, that each of the writers cited has a slightly different theory of ethnic classifications and relationships.

C. History.

Nepal did not become a unified political entity until the middle of the 18th century. Before that time it was a congeries of small kingdoms and feudal communities, whose history is obscure.

Lying adjacent to the north Indian heartland, the Terai and Kathmandu Valley were under the heavy influence of the early empires that were seated there. (See syllabus section I D 1.) The Buddha was born in the Nepal Terai in the 6th century B.C., and the Buddhist Emperor Ashoka is reputed to have visited the Valley in the 3rd century B.C. The Guptas also exercised strong influence on Nepal in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., at which time their resurgent Hinduism was introduced in the Valley, where it has since coexisted with Buddhism in a relaxed state of partial fusion.

In the 7th century A.D., Nepal was in a state of virtual union with Tibet for a time, and became an important entrepot in the communication channel between India and China. In succeeding centuries, Nepal's relations with Tibet and China have varied from warm to cold, with intervals of relative mutual isolation.

Around the 13th century A.D., the Muslim invasions of northern India led to the dislocation of a substantial number of high caste Hindu families, especially from Rajputana. These took refuge in the outlying valleys of mid-Nepal and became the backbone of the Pahari elements of the Nepalese population, which are now dominant culturally and politically.

About the same time, the Malla dynasty was established in the Kathmandu Valley, where it ruled until the middle of the mid-1700's. In the last centuries of its rule, the dynasty split into factions, and the polity into several small kingdoms and principalities. In the Kathmandu Valley alone, a bowl about 25 miles in diameter, there were no less than three kingdoms, usually at war with one another.

Meanwhile, the descendants of Rajput refugees had established a principality of rising power seated in the town of Gorkha, 65 miles west of Kathmandu. In the mid-18th century, under the leadership of Prithvi Narayan Shah, all of Nepal was brought under Gorkha rule. The Nepali nation dates, in effect, from 1769, when Prithvi Narayan completed the subjugation of the Kathmandu Valley. The Shah dynasty continues to rule Nepal to this day.

Prithvi Narayan and his successors embarked on a campaign of territorial expansion, which led to a war with Tibet in 1788-89. This provoked the Manchu emperor of China to despatch a punitive expedition into Nepal in 1792, which reached a point only 20 miles from Kathmandu before withdrawing.

The Nepalese also ran afoul of the expanding British power in north India, as they pressed their conquests to the west, south and east. This led ultimately to the Anglo-Nepalese War of 1814-16, which was settled by the Treaty of Sagauli, divesting Nepal of its latest conquests, and granting Britain the right to maintain a Resident in Kathmandu.

By the 1840's the Shah royal family had split into squabbling factions, each supported by different families of the nobility. After the assassination of one of the factional leaders, the entire court was summoned to the courtyard, or Kot, of the royal palace, where they began slaying one another. The Kot Massacre of 1846 eliminated virtually the entire nobility of the country. Out of the chaos, a relatively minor military officer, Jang Bahadur, stood forth, and soon had the country under his control. Instead of seizing the throne, however, he forced the King to accept him as hereditary prime minister with the title of Maharajah, and the adopted family name of Rana. The King, who is regarded as an incarnation of the Hindu god, Vishnu, became a figurehead in palace confinement.

The Ranas ruled Nepal as a private estate until 1951. They continued the policy of absolute exclusion of foreigners, except for the British Residency. They also adopted a mutually advantageous policy of cooperation with the British, providing them with troops at the time of the Indian Mutiny and the two World Wars.

With the independence of India in 1947, progressive and discontented elements in Nepal became restive. Many were congregated in exile in India, where they had founded the Nepali Congress, more or less in the image of the Indian Congress. They were encouraged by the Nehru government, both for ideological motives, and because of the latter's concern at having a feudal fossil and a power vacuum on the northern frontier as China established its military occupation of Tibet (1950).

The revolution was launched from India in late 1950, and marks the beginning of modern Nepalese history. The following year, the full authority of the King was restored, and the Rana regime came to an end.

King Tribhuvan pledged himself to the establishment of a parliamentary democracy under a constitutional monarchy. His efforts, under close Indian guidance, to institute a parliamentary system, were not successful. Upon his death, his son, Mahendra, continued the effort, while drawing away from India's guiding hand. In early 1959, he promulgated a constitution establishing a legislative body, and elections were promptly held. The Nepali Congress won a sweeping victory, and its leader, B. P. Koirala, became Prime Minister.

At the end of the following year, however, the King resumed direct rule, after dismissing the Koirala government on grounds of corruption, abuse of power, and inability to maintain law and order. In 1962, he promulgated another constitution, establishing a "partyless" panchayat system, which will be further described in the section on government and politics below.

King Mahendra died in January, 1972, and was succeeded by his 26-year-old son, Birendra.

Questions for Consideration:

1. Describe the principal events and issues in Nepal's relations with Tibet and China from the late 18th to the early 20th centuries. What were the

causes and terms of settlement of the Nepali-Chinese War of 1791-93? Of the Nepali-Tibetan War of 1855?

2. What were British attitudes and objectives vis-a-vis Nepal in the period before and after the Anglo-Nepalese War of 1814-16? What territories were divested from Nepal by the Treaty of Sagauli? How did the British exercise their influence in Nepal? Describe the policies of the British and the Rana regime relative to one another.

3. Describe the Rana family system, and its exercise of political control. What weaknesses in it contributed to its own ultimate downfall? Give names and approximate dates of the leading Rana Maharajahs.

4. Analyse the causes of the revolution of 1950-51. Describe its outbreak and course of development. What was the Indian role?

5. Describe the situation in late 1960 that led the King to dismiss the Nepali Congress government. What was the Gorkha incident?

6. Identify: B. P. Koirala; M. P. Koirala; K. I. Singh; Bharat Shamsher; Tanka Prasad Acharya; Dilli Raman Regmi.

Suggested Reading:

Area Handbook for Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1964. Chapter 2. Historical Setting, pp. 7-24.

This is a very satisfactory summary of the high points of Nepal's history through the 1950's.

* Leo E. Rose, Nepal: Strategy for Survival. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1971. 310 pp.

Professor Rose of the University of California is probably the leading American scholar on the Himalayan region. This book, together with the one cited just below and another in the next section, both of which he co-authored, constitute a trilogy that covers about everything one might need to know about the politics of Nepal, past and current. The volume here cited is an analytical study of Nepal's international relations from national origins to 1970. It is comprehensive, authoritative and well-written. It is an important resource for anyone who will be dealing with these matters.

* Bhuwan Lal Joshi and Leo E. Rose, Democratic Innovations in Nepal: A Case Study of Political Acculturation. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1966. 551 pp.

This is an exhaustive study of Nepal's efforts at political modernization. It covers thoroughly both institutional development and political dynamics. The main bulk of the book deals with the period from 1951 through 1964. For the political specialist.

D. Government and Politics.

Both formally and in practice, political authority in Nepal focuses directly on the person of the King. As noted in the preceding section, the effort to institute a parliamentary system of democracy ended in failure in 1960, when King Mahendra dissolved the short-lived Parliament, banned political activity, and resumed direct rule.

In 1962, the King promulgated a new constitution establishing a panchayat system, with the declared objective of building democracy from below, rather than imposing it from above. At the base of the system are the village and town panchayats, or councils, whose members are elected by assemblies consisting of all adult residents of the locality prescribed. Representatives of these in turn elect district panchayats, who in turn elect zonal panchayats. At the top of the system is the 125-member National Panchayat, again elected from below, except for 16 members appointed by the King, and 24 elected to represent professions, particular classes, and the university. The King appoints the Prime Minister and cabinet from among members of the National Panchayat. The latter's powers, however, are very limited, and dependent on royal consent.

Under the panchayat system, political parties are legally banned. Before the King banned political activity in 1960, the Nepali Congress under the leadership of B. P. Koirala had established itself clearly as the dominant party, having swept the 1959 elections. When the King dismissed it from power, B. P. Koirala and other party leaders were imprisoned. A substantial number, however, managed to flee the country, and set up a party-in-exile in India under Subarna Shamsher. After having earlier abandoned an unsuccessful effort to wage an underground resistance campaign in Nepal, the Congress leaders in 1968 agreed to work on an individual "partyless" basis within the panchayat system. In return, the King released B. P. Koirala from prison and pardoned Subarna Shamsher. They and their former Congress colleagues continue to constitute probably the strongest political element in Nepal, even though the party structure has been--at least apparently--eliminated.

The second highest number of seats and votes in the 1959 election went to the Gorkha Parishad, a relatively rightest faction united to resist the increasing power of non-Gorkha elements in Kathmandu and the Terai, and to oppose Indian influence. Many of its leaders had been associated with the old Rana regime. In 1962, however, its leader, Bharat Shamsher, announced its merger with the Nepali Congress in exile.

The Communist Party of Nepal was legalized in 1956, and, with 7% of the votes, won four seats in the 1959 elections. Since 1960 it has operated underground. The party is sharply split, however, between moderate and extremist factions, the former proposing to work within the system, and the latter against it.

The biggest question mark in Nepal's domestic future is how the new King will exercise his political authority, and what policies he will establish on political development. These remain yet to be seen.

Questions for Consideration:

1. Analyse the factors that resulted in the concentration of power in the person of the King. What are the strengths and weaknesses, and contradictions in this situation?

2. Describe the structure of the panchayat system, and its electoral procedures. What are the powers of the National Panchayat? Compare the panchayat system with the executive structure for administration.

3. What are the roles of the Prime Minister and Cabinet in the present system of government?

4. What were the principal policies and programs of the Nepali Congress when it was in power?

5. Describe the factional dispute within the Communist Party. Who are the factional leaders? What is the Kisan Sangh?

6. Analyse the extent and limitations of national identity among the several ethnic components of the Nepalese population.

Suggested Reading:

Area Handbook for Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1964. Chapters 11-12, pp. 143-185, and Chapter 15, pp. 219-227.

These chapters give very good summaries of the governmental structure, and political dynamics and attitudes, in Nepal, up to 1964, which includes the establishment of the panchayat system, under which party politics is suppressed.

Leo E. Rose and Margaret W. Fisher, The Politics of Nepal: Persistence and Change in an Asian Monarchy. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1970. Chapters 2-4, pp. 34-119, and Chapter 7, pp. 164-175.

This is the third "basic book" of the trilogy mentioned in the foregoing section. The chapters cited may be considered a more detailed and up-to-date alternative to the recommendation given first above. It is also more evaluative and analytical.

* Also, Chapters 19-23, pp. 395-517, of Joshi and Rose, Democratic Innovations in Nepal, cited in the preceding section on history, give a detailed exposition of the institution of the panchayat system, and an analysis of trends.

* Anirudha Gupta, Politics in Nepal: A Study of Post-Rana Political Developments and Party Politics. Allied Publishers Private Ltd., Bombay, 1964. 324 pp.

This book, by an Indian scholar, is a detailed analysis of politics in Nepal in the politically active decade from 1951-1961. It covers the minor parties and political figures, as well as the major ones, and has a wealth of data. It is a useful resource for the political specialist.

E. Economics and Development.

When the Rana regime was displaced by the revolution of 1950-51, the Nepalese economy was one of the most primitive economies in the world, with no contact and only negligible trade beyond its own boundaries. It was a subsistence economy based on rice production. As earlier noted, there were no roads outside the Terai and Kathmandu Valley, and the country's freight was carried on the backs of coolies. There were only two or three hazardous dirt airstrips. There were no medical personnel with modern training, and large areas of the Terai were uninhabitable because of endemic disease. There were no modern schools. The government did not have a budget, as revenues were treated as the private income of the Rana family. In the two decades since, great changes have occurred, and much progress has been made, but the economy remains at a very low level of development with a per capita annual income of about $70.

Most of Nepal's development has been the result of foreign aid, and it is as dependent on this aid as ever before. Fortunately for Nepal, that aid has been increasing, from $8.3 million in 1962 to $30 million in 1970. In 1970, 52% of the external assistance came from India, 27% from communist China, 16% from the U.S., 2% each from the U.K. and U.S.S.R., and 1% from other sources, including the U.N. Since the U.S. aid program began in 1951, to 1971, the U.S. contributed about $110 million, half of which was in Indian rupees accumulated from PL 480 food sales in India. At a present annual rate of about $8 million, U.S. aid focuses on agriculture, education, health, and rural development.

The greatest development investment has been in transport and communications. The development of agriculture and small industry has also had high priority. One of the most successful efforts has been the eradication of malaria in the Terai, resulting in the opening up of large areas of promising land to development. Considerable progress has also been made in education.

90% of the population is agrarian, and the government has put forth a land reform program with limited success thus far.

Despite efforts to broaden its markets, nearly 90% of Nepal's external trade continues to be with India, and there seems to be little prospect of material change in that pattern.

Questions for Consideration:

1. Where are the principal projects in transport development, and what foreign countries are the major contributors to them?

2. What are the main features of the Nepalese land tenure system? Describe the government's land reform program. What are the major obstacles to its implementation?

3. What are the principal problems and frictions in Nepal's economic relations with India? What are the main provisions of the 1971 trade treaty with India?

4. Describe Nepal's trade with Tibet and China, and evaluate its prospects, with the new roads to and through Tibet.

Suggested Reading:

Leo E. Rose and Margaret W. Fisher, The Politics of Nepal: Persistence and Change in an Asian Monarchy, 1970. Chapter 5, pp. 120-143.

This is a thin, but up-to-date summary of the highlights of the Nepalese economic situation and development program.

For recent developments in economic relations with India, see the following two articles from the ASIAN SURVEY:

Pashupati Shumshere J. B. Rana, "India and Nepal: The Political Economy of a Relationship," July, 1971.

Rishikesh Shaha, "Nepal: Reflections on Issues and Events of 1971," February, 1972.

Sharán Hari Shreshtha, Modern Geography of Nepal (Economic and Regional). Educational Enterprise, Kathmandu, 1968. Chapters 8-16, pp. 48-135.

This booklet by a Nepalese geographer gives the most recent catalogue readily available of the development enterprises and resources of Nepal. It can be topically consulted.

* Eugene Bramer Mihaly, Foreign Aid and Politics in Nepal: A Case Study. Oxford University Press, London, 1965. 202 pp.

An American political scientist here analyses the foreign aid program and its politico-economic effects in Nepal. While it does not go beyond 1962, it is a thorough and penetrating study, and worthy of the attention of anyone dealing specifically with Nepal's development.

* B. P. Shreshthi, The Economy of Nepal: A Study in Problems and Processes of Industrialization. Vora & Co., Bombay, 1967. 274 pp.

This is a thorough, technical study by Nepal's leading economist, with focus on the industrial potential and prospects. For the economic specialist only.

F. International Relations.

Nepal's international relations are clearly dominated by its geographical situation as a small landlocked country between two much larger powers--India and China.

Ethnically, religiously and culturally, the predominant elements of the Nepalese population have their roots in India. Yet they have developed over many generations the kind of defiant independence characteristic of hill peoples, and an extreme sensitivity to any intrusion on that independence.

King Tribhuvan and the Nepali Congress were indebted to India for critical assistance in effecting the overthrow of the Rana regime in 1951, and the years immediately following saw a strong input of Indian influence in Nepalese affairs. When King Mahendra succeeded to the throne in 1955, he sought means to reduce Nepal's dependence on India, and to this end established relations with China in 1956, and began to accept economic aid from that source.

As Indian relations with China worsened in the early 1960's over the border dispute, Nepal settled its own border problems amicably with China. India was also displeased by the King's action in late 1960 of unseating the Nepali Congress government, which leaned toward closer relations with India than did the King. When it appeared that India was going to tolerate political activism by Nepali Congress refugees in India, the King signed an agreement with the Chinese for the construction of a road to Tibet, with obvious strategic implications. Relations between India and Nepal became increasingly acrimonious right up to the eve of the Chinese attack on India in October 1962.

The shock of that attack led both Nepal and India to drop their mutual acrimony. India seems to have abandoned any inclination to encourage or tolerate interference in Nepal's internal affairs, so long as stability is maintained. For its part, Nepal muted its complaints and embraced the policy of nonalignment with special fervor and immediate application. Nepal's chronic apprehension regarding its "colossus to the south" is not likely to totally fade away, however, and frictions have most recently arisen over issues of trade and transit that have hopefully been settled by the treaty of 1971.

While Nepal has had historically based interests in Tibet, these have been totally submerged by the Chinese occupation. Although not insensitive to the perils of Chinese power in Tibet, Nepal's interest, since 1956, in developing relations with China, has been to lessen its dependence on India, and occasionally to use China as a counterweight to India in a buffer country's balancing game. The opening of the road to Tibet has not resulted in the increase in trade and communication that had been anticipated, but Nepal's leaders are likely to preserve a prudent China relationship as insurance against India.

Nepal's other international relationships, with Pakistan, the U.S.S.R., the U.K., U.S. and U.N., are all motivated by the same purpose--to broaden its

channels of international intercourse to minimize its dependence on India, while adhering to a policy of strict nonalignment.

The U.S. recognition of Nepal in 1947 terminated any question as to Nepal's sovereignty at the time when Britain was giving independence to India. When the Rana policy of exclusion of foreigners ended with the revolution of 1950-51, the United States was the first country invited to establish a new presence in Nepal, although permission to open an embassy was not granted until 1959. The U.S. has extended substantial economic aid to Nepal, and has consistently supported Nepal's independence and integrity.

Questions for Consideration:

1. Describe the crisis with New Delhi in 1961-62. How did it subside? What are India's interests in Nepal?

2. Analyse Nepalese relations with China since 1956. What have been the principal fruits of that relationship? Describe also the thorns.

3. Discuss Nepal's interpretation and application of the policy of nonalignment, and its policy of diversification.

4. Analyse U.S. interests and options in Nepal.

Suggested Reading:

Leo E. Rose and Margaret W. Fisher, The Politics of Nepal: Persistence and Change in an Asian Monarchy. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1970. Chapter 6, pp. 144-163.

This chapter gives an excellent brief analysis of Nepal's international situation, and the flexible policy it has adopted to preserve its national integrity.

* Part IV, pp. 177-291, of Leo E. Rose, Strategy for Survival, 1971, cited in Section III C above, is an excellent extended analysis of Nepal's current international relationships.

Janardan S. Pradhan, Understanding Nepal's Foreign Policy. L. Pradhan, Kathmandu, 1969. 90 pp.

This little booklet is interesting for its expression of foreign policy positions strictly from the Nepalese viewpoint. The first 28 pages are a commentary on the historical background of Nepal's international situation. The author then deals in turn with Nepalese relations with India, China, Pakistan, the U.S. and U.S.S.R., and with the Nepalese interpretation of nonalignment.

IV. SRI LANKA (CEYLON)

A. Geography.

B. Ceylonese Buddhism.

C. Communities and Castes.

D. History.

E. Government and Politics.

F. Economics.

G. International Relations.

A. Geography.

Sri Lanka (Ceylon) is an island variously described as shaped like a pear, a pearl or a Westphalian ham. It is about half the size of Illinois, 270 miles from north to south, and a little over half as wide. It lies within ten degrees north of the equator. Geologically, it is an extension of the Indian peninsula, and is separated from its southeast coast by the shallow Palk Strait. The island's northernmost extension is the Jaffna Peninsula. About 40 miles south of Jaffna, a train-ferry plies the 18 miles between Pamban and Mannar Islands which are connected by bridges to the Indian and Ceylonese mainlands, respectively. Just south of the ferry route is a chain of small islands called Adam's Bridge.

Climatically, the country is divided into a Wet Zone, comprising the southwestern quadrant, and a Dry Zone which includes the rest of the island. The rain comes with the two monsoons (see syllabus Section I A). The southwest monsoon regularly drenches the Wet Zone beginning in May. The northeast monsoon, which begins in November, is less certain, but brings most of the rainfall that the northern and eastern sections of the island receive. In the lowlands temperatures are fairly even year-round, averaging in the low 80's, but there is a constantly high humidity. The Wet Zone has a lush vegetation. In the Dry Zone it is more sparse, and agriculture depends heavily on irrigation.

The hill country lies in the middle of the southern half of the island. Though the highest point is only 8281 feet, most of it is over 5000 feet, sharply serrated, with high plateaux. Except for its easternmost extension, the hill country lies in the Wet Zone, and is noted for its tea plantations.

The capital is on the west coast at Colombo, which is also a major commercial seaport. The port of Trincomalee, on the east coast, is one of the few natural harbors in the Bay of Bengal, and served the British as a major naval base.

In 1971 the population was 12 3/4 million, and has been increasing at the rate of 2.3% per annum, or by almost a quarter per decade.

Questions for Consideration:

1. Evaluate the strategic significance of Sri Lanka, both regionally and oceanically.

2. What is the longest river in Sri Lanka? Where are its source and mouth?

3. Name and describe the principal plateaux and mountain groups of the hill country.

4. Locate the following: Galle, Anuradhapura, Nuwara Eliya, Batticaloa, Matara, Kandy, Mannar.

5. Trace the network of major roads and railways on the island.

Suggested Reading:

Area Handbook for Ceylon, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1971. Chapter 2, pp. 7-28.

This is a comprehensive, but succinct, survey of the principal geographical features of the island.

* Argus John Tresidder, Ceylon: An Introduction to the "Resplendent Land", D. van Nostrand Co., Inc., Princeton, 1960. 237 pp.

This is a pleasant little book, lightly written by a former USIS officer in Ceylon and appropriately described by him as an "aperitif." His descriptions of the land, people and culture of the island are impressionistic and evocative, though the portions on current events are now dated. It is light reading, and should whet the appetites of personnel assigned to Ceylon.

B. Ceylonese Buddhism.

Buddhism is an offshoot from the same conceptual root system that produced Hinduism, and it shares--often with its own interpretations--many of the basic concepts of Hinduism, such as samsara, moksha, dharma, yoga, and the Cosmic Wheel. These are described in syllabus Section I B above. There are also, however, many differences between the two religions. Perhaps the most important of these is the Buddhist rejection of brahmanical (priestly) supremacy and ritual, and its own emphasis on right conduct and monasticism. Buddhism also tends to place greater emphasis on negation.

The founder of Buddhism was a north Indian prince named Siddhartha Gotama, who achieved Enlightment, or Buddhahood, in the 6th century B.C., and then devoted himself to teaching the "Way." There is an implausible Ceylonese legend that the Buddha visited the island during his lifetime. There is no doubt, however, that Buddhism came to Sri Lanka very early, probably by the 3rd century B.C., and the Sinhalese conceive themselves to have a very special status relative to the Buddha.

By the beginning of the Christian era, Buddhism had branched into two schools. One, known as the Mahayana, or Great Vehicle, spread into China and the rest of eastern Asia. The other is known as Theravada, or sometimes, pejoratively, as Hinayana, or Lesser Vehicle, and is the tradition observed in Ceylon, Sri Lanka, Burma, Thailand and parts of Indo-China. Theravada is generally considered to be the earlier tradition, more strictly bound to the original canon, and committed to monasticism, while Mahayana is less inhibited, and popular, rather than monastic, in approach. The Sinhalese, therefore, conceive themselves as the preservators of the pure tradition.

Buddhist monks are known as bhikkhus, and the collectivity of the monkhood is called the Sangha. There is no overall pontifical leadership. Each bhikkhu, however, belongs to a vihara, or monastery, each of which has its own elected abbot.

During the colonial period, the Sangha in Sri Lanka became relatively isolated, and parochial. About the turn of the century, however, a reawakening was sparked, ironically as a result of a wave of Western interest in Buddhism. What began as a reawakening became a resurgence after independence, as Buddhism became associated with Sinhalese nationalism and ethnic identity. It has become an important political force, which will be cited again in the syllabus section below on Government and Politics (Section IV E).

Questions for Consideration:

1. Give briefly the story of the Buddha's life.

2. State the Four Noble Truths and the Eightfold Path. What is the concept of nirvana?

3. How many bhikkhus are there in Sri Lanka? Where are the principal viharas?

4. What are the principal differences between Mahayana and Theravada Buddhism?

5. Analyse why Buddhism is so compelling a force in Sinhalese nationalism?

Suggested Reading:

Area Handbook for Ceylon. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1971. Chapter 11, Religion, pp. 189-216.

This sets out in summary form the basic information on Ceylonese Buddhism, as well as brief comments on other religious communities on the island.

* Christmas Humphreys, Buddhism. Penguin Books, London, 1962. 256 pp.

The distinguished British scholar and founder of the Buddhist Society, gives here a clear and authoritative description of Buddhism in all its aspects. While comprehensive in its coverage, its core emphasis is on the Theravada. This is probably the best single reference available on Buddhism.

* Heinrich Zimmer (Joseph Campbell, ed.), Philosophies of India. World Publishing Co., New York, 1961. Part III, Chapter IV, Buddhism, pp. 464-559.

This book was recommended in syllabus section I B on Hinduism. The chapter cited is a perceptive and vivid exposition of Buddhist concepts in the broader context of Indian thought.

For material on the current political resurgence of the Buddhist community, see section below on Government and Politics, specifically the citations in Wriggins' Ceylon: Dilemmas of a New Nation, and Smith's South Asian Politics and Religion.

C. Communities and Castes.

For a country its size, the society of Sri Lanka is divided into a remarkably complex mosaic of communities in greater or lesser degree of tension relative to one another, with troublesome political consequences.

The dominant Sinhalese community is itself divided into Low-Country Sinhalese (62%) and Kandyan, or Up-Country Sinhalese (38%). The former, especially those in the south and west, were more exposed to European influences and education, and some even converted to Christianity and adopted European names. Although far less prosperous economically, the Kandyan Sinhalese consider themselves the preservators of the pure Sinhalese tradition, and are militantly Buddhist and nationalist. The split is reflected in contemporary political orientations.

The Tamils, comprising some 22% of the total population of the island, are also divided into two groups of approximately equal numbers--the Ceylon Tamils and the Indian Tamils. The former have inhabited the island since ancient times. They are concentrated mainly in the Jaffna peninsula and along the east coast. Many were also educated and recruited by the British administration, so that there is a substantial Tamil population in Colombo, as well. The Indian Tamil community derives from the importation of plantation labor over the last century and a half. They are concentrated in the hill country, and the question of their citizenship has been a sore political issue. Thw two Tamil communities have little contact with one another, though Sinhalese hostility tends to drive them into common cause.

The social structures of Sinhalese and Tamil communities alike are based on the caste system, which is described in more detail in syllabus section I E. The Sinhalese, being mostly Buddhist, do not endow caste with the same degree of religious significance as do the Hindus, and have no priestly (brahman) or princely castes. The highest is the Goyigama, a cultivator caste. There are only a few brahmans among the Ceylon Tamils, mainly for ritual purposes. Their dominant caste is the Vellala, whose traditional occupation is agricultural. In both communities the caste system is strong, however, and aspects of it even survive conversion to Christianity.

Another important community is that of the Moors, Muslims whose ancestors were Arab sailors and traders who settled in the island's northern, and later eastern, ports. They intermarried frequently with Tamils, and most adopted the Tamil language. But they have preserved their religion and ethnic identity, and comprise over 6% of the total population.

Finally, mention should be made of the small but influential community of residents of European ancestry, pure and mixed. They are known by the Dutch term Bhurghers, regardless of national origin. They are largely an urban community.

Questions for Consideration:

1. Contrast the attitudes and values of low-country and up-country Sinhalese. What are the leading castes of each? What is the background and present status of the Karava caste?

2. Describe the structure and dynamics of a Sinhalese village.

3. Describe the Sinhalese Christian community and its background.

4. Compare the backgrounds and caste systems of Ceylonese and Indian Tamils.

5. What are the population percentages, and where are the principal concentrations of Ceylon Tamils? Of Indian Tamils? Of the Moorish community? Of Sinhalese Christians?

Suggested Reading:

Area Handbook for Ceylon, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1971. Chapters 5-7, pp. 75-129.

These three chapters give a very good summary description of the principal Ceylonese ethnic groups, and their social systems.

W. Howard Wriggins, Ceylon: Dilemmas of a New Nation. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1960. Chapter II, Section III. The Social Setting: The People, pp. 19-50.

This book by an American scholar is an excellent basic text on Ceylon, now unfortunately dated in parts. The section here cited, however, is a clear description of the social mosaic of the island.

B. H. Farmer, Ceylon: A Divided Nation. Oxford University Press, London, 1963. 74 pp.

This booklet, by a British scholar, gives one of the clearest brief explanations of the complex patterns of tension and conflict among the several religious, linguistic and caste communities that compose the population of Ceylon. It is presented in the historical context.

* E. R. Leach, ed., Aspects of Caste in South India, Ceylon and North-west Pakistan. Cambridge University Press, London, 1960. Michael Banks, "Caste in Jaffna," pp. 61-77, and Nur Yalman, "The Flexibility of Caste Principle in a Kandyan Community," pp. 78-112.

These are two excellent brief studies of caste as practiced by Ceylon Tamils, and by Sinhalese. Those interested in an exhaustive study of caste in Sri Lanka are referred to Nur Yalman's magnum opus, Under the Bo Tree, 1967 (406 pp.).

D. History.

According to the Mahavamsa, a legendary history of Sri Lanka composed in the 4th Century A.D., the ancestor of all the Sinhalese was Vijaya, grandson of a union between a north Indian princess and a lion, which accounts for the name "Sinhala," meaning "lion people." He and his followers are said to have arrived in Sri Lanka on the day the Buddha died, in 544 B.C. according to the Ceylonese tradition. The legend goes on to say that the great Indian Buddhist Emperor Ashoka (273-237 B.C.) sent his own son, Mahinda, to complete the conversion of the Sinhalese to the true Buddhist faith. Thus, from the beginnings of historic time, the Sinhalese have conceived themselves as having a special Aryan racial identity sanctified by a religious mission. Certainly the Sinhalese language is related to the Aryan languages of northern India, and is totally alien (beyond word borrowings) to the Dravidian languages of south India, such as Tamil. The Sinhalese settled in the Dry Zone of northern Sri Lanka, with their capital first at Anuradhapura, and later at Polonnaruwa. In the first millennium A.D., they developed a high level of civilization centered on massive irrigation works.

No one knows when the Tamils first arrived in Sri Lanka; they may even pre-date the Sinhalese there. But from earliest times it is known that the Sinhalese had intimate contact with them, both friendly and hostile. There were dynastic intermarriages and alliances, and occasionally Tamils held the throne at Anuradhapura. There were constant struggles, however, and in the 11th century A.D., the island was ruled by the Chola dynasty of South India for over 70 years. Although other factors were also at work, the Sinhalese have always blamed the Tamils for their ancient civilization's decline, which began about that time.

The Portuguese first arrived in Sri Lanka in 1505, initiating what the Ceylonese call "the 450 years of foreign rule." By the mid-17th century they were supplanted by the Dutch. Though their primary interest was trade, they extended their rule over the lowland areas of the island. Yet, they were never able to conquer the Sinhalese kings who had established themselves in the hill country with their capital at Kandy, and who perpetuated the old Sinhalese traditions in defiance of the colonial powers.

Although they had made earlier incursions, the British firmly established themselves in Sri Lanka in 1796. Their purpose was both commercial and strategic--in their struggles with the French they needed the harbor of Trincomalee. In 1815 they conquered the Kandyan kingdom, and from that date until 1948, the entire island was under British administration.

As colonial regimes go, the British administration of Ceylon was a fairly felicitous one, and independence was achieved relatively smoothly and without much rancor. Under British rule, a Western-educated elite had evolved, with a core of prosperous low-country Sinhalese. It was this group, organized as the United National Party (UNP) under D. S. Senanayake, that controlled the government without serious challenge from independence until 1956.

By the latter year, however, the non-Westernized Sinhalese coalesced into a strong political faction led by the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, rallying around a pro-Buddhist and "Sinhalese only" platform. The years following their electoral victory in 1956 saw rapidly increasing tension between the Sinhalese and Tamil communities, culminating in an outbreak of bloody violence in 1958. Bandaranaike was assassinated by a Buddhist monk in 1959. The following year, his widow, Mrs. S.R.D. Bandaranaike, led the SLFP to electoral victory and headed the government until 1965.

Questions for Consideration:

1. Describe the Sinhalese national self-image.

2. What role did the Tamils play in the island's history down to the coming of the Europeans? What ties did they have with the Indian mainland?

3. What factors led to the decline of the Sinhalese kingdoms at Anuradhapura and Polonnarawa?

4. Describe the Kandyan Kingdom and its fate.

5. Contrast the British administration of Ceylon with that of India.

6. What was the background of the Ceylonese leadership at independence?

Suggested Reading:

Area Handbook for Ceylon. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1971. Chapter 3, pp. 29-64.

This is a terse summary of Ceylonese history from the beginnings to 1960, probably the best and most objective capsule version.

S. Arasaratnam, Ceylon. Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1964. 182 pp.

Part I of this book (pp. 1-38) gives a somewhat dated analysis of post-independence problems and politics. Part II (pp. 41-172) gives an excellent brief history of the Sinhalese, the Tamils, the Muslims, and Western influences on the island. The author is a Sinhalese scholar.

E.F.C. Ludowyk, The Modern History of Ceylon. Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, New York, 1966. Pp. 203-272.

Advanced students will find the earlier part of this book to be the best historical treatment of the British period on the island. The passage specifically cited gives an excellent and balanced narrative of post-independence developments to 1965.

* M. D. Raghavan, India in Ceylonese History, Society and Culture. Asia Publishing House, New Delhi, 1969. 200 pp.

This book, by a South Indian historian, [illegible]rly account of Indian contacts and influences in Ceylon[illegible] advanced students will wish to consult it selectively for [illegible] viewpoint reflected.

* G. C. Mendis, Ceylon Today and Yesterday. The Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd., Colombo, 1963. 225 pp.

This is a collection of essays by the dean of [illegible]ese historians, on topics covering the full range of the islan[illegible]story. For advanced students.

E. Government and Politics.

In May 1972, Sri Lanka adopted a new constitution which terminated its former nominal allegiance to the British Crown, and established instead a republic within the Commonwealth.

The former Parliament was reconstituted as a unicameral National State Assembly with 157 members elected by universal adult suffrage for 6-year terms. (The first term will be limited to 5 years from the adoption of the Constitution, as the incumbents had already served two years.) The Prime Minister, who holds the effective executive power, is selected by and responsible to the Assembly. It also elects the President upon nomination by the Prime Minister; the President's role is largely formal.

As noted in the section on History, the relatively conservative, western-oriented United National Party (UNP) held power from independence to 1956. Having been organized by D. S. Senanayake, who was killed in a fall from a horse in 1952, the party in latter days has been led by his son Dudley.

In 1951 S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike withdrew from the UNP, and established the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), which became the instrument of Buddhist and Sinhalese militants and grassroot discontents. The party was swept into power in 1956 on a wave of rising feeling on the part of the latter elements. It is left-of-center, and espouses a nationalized economy, but claims to be non-Marxist and committed to parliamentary methods. Bandaranaike was assassinated in 1959, and the party leadership, and premiership, were soon taken over by his widow.

After a period of growing Sinhalese-Tamil tension, and socio-economic unrest, Mrs. Bandaranaike lost the 1965 election to Dudley Senanayake's UNP, which had redressed a rightward drift by adopting a pro-Sinhalese platform calling for democratic socialism--though with a strong private sector.

In 1970, however, the electoral pendulum swung back, and Mrs. Bandaranaike was returned to power after a substantial electoral victory at the head of an SLFP-led coalition of the left.

The strongest of the Marxist parties is the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP), a Trotskyist movement that goes back to the mid-1930's. The Ceylon Communist Party is split into pro-Moscow and pro-Peking factions, with the former far the stronger, at least electorally.

The Tamil community gives its principal support to the Federal Party (FP) which seeks an autonomous Tamil state within a federal union. As a rallying point for Tamils, it has largely supplanted the conservative Tamil Congress which lost favor due to its collaboration with the UNP. The language issue is the focus of the Tamil's discontent, and as the language provision of the new constitution is not acceptable to most of them, more trouble may be foreseen.

Since the middle 1950's, Sri Lanka has been rent by periodic outbursts of violence resulting from communal tensions, exacerbated by, or exacerbating, social and economic discontent. The latest of these was a violent uprising in April 1971, led by the People's Liberation Front (PLF), a rag-tag coalition of communist extremists who mobilized a substantial following of discontented youth. Their revolt surprised the Government, and was put down after much bloodshed and mass arrests.

Questions for Consideration:

1. Analyse the factors that led to the sweeping SLFP electoral victory in 1956. What were the principal factions that coalesced to produce that victory, and their attitudes and grievances?

2. What are the principal issues between the Sinhalese and the Tamils? Describe the course of their conflict since the mid-1950's. What are the prospects for the future?

3. What are the political orientations of the several far left political parties? What accounts for the relative strength of Trotskyism as represented by the LSSP?

4. Analyse the causes and results of the April Revolt of 1971.

5. Consider the prospects, in terms of relative strengths and weaknesses, for the SLFP and the UNP.

Suggested Reading:

Area Handbook for Ceylon. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1971. Chapters 13, 14 and 17.

These chapters give a synoptic summary of the governmental structure, and political dynamics and attitudes, through the elections of 1970.

Note: More recent developments will be found covered in the article by "Politicus," entitled "The April Revolt in Ceylon," in the March, 1972 issue of Asian Survey.

H. Howard Wriggins, Ceylon: Dilemmas of a New Nation. (See Section IV C above.) Chapters VI and VII, pp. 169-270.

The first of these chapters analyses the Sinhalese-Buddhist resurgence, while the second deals with the issues and tensions between the Sinhalese and Tamil communities. As they were published in 1960, they do not deal with most recent developments, but they are still one of the best treatments available on these subjects. Chapter V, Section I, pp. 104-149, also gives a useful description of the origins and basic orientations of the principal Ceylonese political parties.

* Robert N. Kearney, Communalism and Language in the Politics of Ceylon. Duke University Press, Durham, 1967. 165 pp.

The tensions and political interactions between the Sinhalese and Tamil communities is the subject of this study by an American scholar.

* Donald E. Smith, ed., South Asian Politics and Religion. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1966. Part IV. "Ceylon: The Politics of Buddhist Resurgence," pp. 451-546.

These four chapters, by the editor and two Ceylonese scholars, give a thorough analysis of the political activism of Buddhists on the island, and the attitudes that motivate them, a dominant factor in Ceylonese political dynamics.

* Calvin A. Woodward, The Growth of a Party System in Ceylon. Brown University Press, Providence, 1969. 238 pp.

This is a thorough study of the evolution of Ceylonese political parties and of the patterns and character of their interaction since independence. For the political specialist.

F. Economics.

The Ceylonese economy is almost entirely dependent on agriculture, and is dual in structure, with a plantation economy based on tea, rubber and coconuts, and a subsistence economy based on rice cultivation. Until the 1950's, it was fairly prosperous by Asian standards. From that time, however, Sri Lanka began experiencing serious difficulties in obtaining adequate prices and markets for its export commodities, while its demand for imports was heavy.

The Ceylonese economy continues to be closely tied to trade with Britain and the sterling area, which is in approximate balance. There is, however, a substantial and growing deficit in the island's trade with India and its other trading partners. When Sri Lanka was facing crises in the 1950's over its commodity exports, it concluded a series of rice-rubber barter deals with Communist China. Since then, China has been a significant trading partner, accounting for some 11% of the total trade. The dollar area (U.S. and Canada) accounts for a little over 10% of the island's external trade.

Sri Lanka has received foreign aid from a variety of sources. Free world aid is coordinated by the World Bank, and the principal contributors have been the U.S., U.K., West Germany and Japan. Aid from communist sources has been on a smaller but increasing scale, and comes principally from East Germany, the U.S.S.R. and China. Aid from the U.S. has twice been temporarily curtailed, first, because of Sri Lanka's China trade, and later, because of its nationalization of American businesses in Sri Lanka. U.S. aid continues at present at a moderate rate, mostly in the form of food loans.

Domestically, successive Ceylonese governments have instituted a very high but costly level of social services, including a rice subsidy whereby rice is sold far below cost, while producers are guaranteed high prices. As Sri Lanka is a deficit food producer, this has put a very heavy strain on the economy. International lending sources are inclined to withhold credit until this extravagance is curtailed, but the maintenance of these services has become a virtual political imperative.

In addition, Sri Lanka is afflicted with other problems common to developing countries, such as increasing population, underemployment, and social tensions.

Questions for Consideration:

1. Analyse the economic effects of the maintenance of the rice subsidy.

2. What are the principal problems affecting the tea and rubber plantations and trade?

3. Briefly describe Sri Lanka's economic development program.

4. Analyse Sri Lanka's external debt relative to its trading patterns. What are its credit prospects?

5. Evaluate the economic effects of the rice-rubber barter arrangements with China.

Suggested Reading:

Area Handbook for Ceylon. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1971. Part III. Economic, pp. 309-443.

Chapter 18 gives a brief summary of the character and structure of the economy, while Chapter 22 describes trade patterns briefly. The remainder of the section cited may be consulted topically.

* H. N. S. Karunatilake, Economic Development in Ceylon. Praeger Publishers, New York, 1971. 378 pp.

The author is Director of Economic Research at the Central Bank of Ceylon, and has degrees from the London School of Economics, and Harvard. It is the most up-to-date study of Ceylon's economy, and is authoritative and comprehensive. It covers the principal economic policies and problems, and gives both historical background and current analysis. An important resource for the economic specialist.

* Donald R. Snodgrass, Ceylon: An Export Economy in Transition. Economic Growth Center, Yale University, New Haven, 1966.

The data in this book is now rather out-of-date, but it is one of the few comprehensive studies of the Ceylonese economy available. Economic specialists should be familiar with it.

G. International Relations.

Sri Lanka's principal international preoccupation is with India, her "colossus to the North." India has inevitably been concerned with the fate of the Indian Tamils, most of whom have been excluded from Ceylonese citizenship. After a long period of increasing tension over the issue, a pact was finally concluded in 1964, calling for both repatriation to India, and the granting of Ceylonese citizenship to Indian Tamils, in roughly reciprocal numbers, over a fifteen-year period. To date, relatively few had been either granted citizenship, or repatriated.

During the Indo-Pakistani crisis of 1971, Sri Lanka granted landing and overflight rights to Pakistani planes carrying reinforcements to what was then East Pakistan, until it was forced by Indian pressure to desist. Sri Lanka looks with considerable apprehension on India's increase in regional power following her victory over Pakistan. Sri Lanka would no doubt welcome relationships that would tend to shield her from the weight of India.

Sri Lanka has found Communist China a profitable trading partner and source of aid, and the two have maintained cordial and mutually helpful political relations.

The United States curtailed its economic aid to Sri Lanka when the latter first began to trade with China in the early 1950's. It was later resumed, but curtailed again in 1963 when U.S. businesses on the island were nationalized. Again aid was resumed, and continues at a moderate rate, though in 1970 the Ceylonese government asked the U.S. to terminate the programs there of the Peace Corps and the Asia Foundation.

Sri Lanka's foreign policy sways with the party in power. When the UNP is in office, relations with the West generally warm. When the leftist SLFP is in, as at present, relations with the West tend to cool, while those with the Communist world, especially China, flourish. The events of 1971--the April revolt and India's sweeping victory over Pakistan--seem to have produced a braking effect on the current leftward swing, however, as Mrs. Bandaranaike gropes for protective relationships.

Questions for Consideration:

1. What are the specific provisions of the 1964 pact on Indian Tamils? Analyse India's interests in Sri Lanka and the options available to it. What other issues are there between the two countries?

2. What advantages and liabilities derive from Sri Lanka's warm relations with Communist China?

3. How does the Ceylonese government conceive its situation in the South Asian regional context?

4. What are the Ceylonese government's views on the Indian Ocean?

Suggested Reading:

Area Handbook for Ceylon. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1971. Chapter 15, Foreign Relations, pp. 273-280.

This chapter gives a very brief summary of Sri Lanka's principal international relationships.

H. Howard Wriggins, Ceylon: Dilemmas of a New Nation. (See Section IV C Above.) Chapter X, pp. 373-417.

While this w published in 1960, it still provides a valid analysis of the factors and forces that determine Ceylonese foreign policy, and there is very little other material available specifically on the island's international relations.

* S. U. Kodikara, Indo-Ceylon Relations Since Independence. Ceylon Institute of World Affairs, Colombo, 1965. 259 pp.

This is an exhaustive study of all aspects of contemporary relations between the two countries. The author is a Ceylonese historian. For the political specialist.

* H. N. S. Karunatilake, Economic Development in Ceylon, 1971. (See Section IV F Above.) Chapter 11. Foreign Aid, pp. 275-306.

This chapter gives a thorough and up-to-date analysis of the foreign assistance that has been extended to Sri Lanka from all sources.