

AIM: What was an Independent India like?

Directions: Use your textbook, **World History: The Human Odyssey** pages 1085-1088 to answer the following questions on India in the years following independence. Fully answer each question!!

1. When the Congress Party began to rule India in 1947, identify **TWO** major problems that they faced.
2. Give **THREE** specific facts about the government that was set up in India under Nehru.
3. Identify **THREE** characteristics about the economic policy which the Indian government adopted.
4. Explain how Nehru and Gandhi differed with regard to the idea of industrialization and the role it should play in India's future.
5. What foreign policy did Nehru adopt for India? Explain how he tried to carry this out during the Cold War?

Directions: Use your textbook, pages 1090-1092 to answer the following questions. Use the section entitled "Life in India"

1. What did the new Indian constitution of 1950 say about the caste system? About Untouchables?
2. Identify **THREE** positive changes that were made after 1950 that helped women gain greater equality.
3. What conditions continue to exist in the countryside that continues the traditional treatment of women?

AIM: What was India like under the rule of Indira Gandhi?

Directions: Use your textbook, World History: A Human Odyssey, pages 1088 - 1090 to answer the following questions about Indira Gandhi's rule in India. You may answer the questions in the spaces provided below.

1. Upon her coming to power in India, what problem worried Indira Gandhi the most? Identify **TWO** things that she did to try and alleviate this problem.
2. Identify **TWO** things that Indira Gandhi did to try and curb India's population growth?
3. Define **GREEN REVOLUTION**.
4. Identify **TWO** major problems that resulted from the Green Revolution.
5. Name **THREE** criticisms of her government that made Indira Gandhi unpopular (and ultimately led to her 1977 defeat)
6. Explain who the Sikhs are? What did they want? AND what did Indira Gandhi do that ultimately led to her assassination

SECTION REVIEW

1. **Locate:**
 - (a) Yalu River
2. **Identify:**
 - (a) Richard Nixon
3. **Recall:**
 - (a) How did Deng Xiaoping hope to prevent the Chinese people from demanding political reforms?
 - (b) What changes led to a rapid increase in farm production in China during the 1980s?
 - (c) Why did the early Communists attempt to weaken the traditionally strong Chinese family structure?
 - (d) What event apparently caused Chinese "volunteers" to participate in the Korean War?
 - (e) What were the different positions of China and the Soviet Union toward the Cold War in the 1950s?
4. **Think Critically:** Why were urban Chinese more likely to abide by their government's call for only one child per family than rural Chinese?

THE EMERGENCE OF INDEPENDENT STATES IN SOUTH ASIA

For over a century, the peoples of the Indian subcontinent had been ruled by Great Britain. After World War II, they finally gained their independence. Ethnic and religious differences, however, made the process both difficult and violent.

Independence for India

At the end of World War II, Great Britain negotiated with both the Indian National Congress, which was mostly Hindu, and the Muslim League. British India's Muslims and Hindus were bitterly divided and unwill-

ing to accept a single Indian state. Great Britain soon realized that British India would have to be divided into two countries, one Hindu (India) and one Muslim (Pakistan). Pakistan would actually consist of two regions separated by over a thousand miles. One part was to the northwest of India (West Pakistan) and the other (East Pakistan), to the northeast.

Among Congress leaders, only Mohandas Gandhi objected to the division of India. A Muslim woman criticized him for opposition to partition, asking him, "If two brothers were living together in the same house and wanted to separate and live in two different houses, would you object?" "Ah," Gandhi replied, "if only we could separate as two brothers. But we will not. It will be an orgy of blood. We shall tear ourselves asunder in the womb of the mother who bears us."¹

On August 15, 1947, India and Pakistan became independent. However, Gandhi had been right. The flight of millions of Hindus and Muslims across the new borders led to violence, and more than a million people were killed. One of the dead was especially well known. On January 30, 1948, a Hindu militant assassinated Gandhi as he was going to morning prayer. India's new beginning had not been easy.

Independent India: An Experiment in Democratic Socialism

With independence, the Indian National Congress was renamed the Congress Party, and it began to rule India. It was not an easy task. Most of India's nearly 400 million people were poor and illiterate. There were many religions, ethnic groups, and languages. In fact, fourteen major languages were spoken throughout the country. Congress leaders spoke bravely of building a new nation, but Indian society was badly divided.

The new nation did have one advantage. The Congress Party had some experience in government. The leaders of the party were self-confident and fairly united. Jawaharlal Nehru (ju-WAW-hur-LAWL NAE-roo), the new prime minister, was a popular figure who was respected and even revered by millions of Indians.

India's new leaders had strong ideas about the future of Indian society. Nehru admired Great Britain's political institutions, but he had also been influenced by the socialist ideals of the British Labour Party. Nehru's

vision of the new India combined democratic political institutions with a moderate socialist economic structure.

Under Nehru's leadership, the new Republic of India adopted a political system based on the British model. There was a figurehead president and a parliamentary form of government led by a prime minister. There were many political parties, but the Congress Party, with its enormous prestige, was dominant at both the national and the local levels. The Congress Party claimed to represent all Indians, from rich to poor, from Hindus to Muslims and other minority religious groups.

Economic policy was modeled roughly after the program of the British Labour Party (see Chapter 29). The state took over the ownership of major industries, transportation, and utilities. Private enterprise was permitted at the local levels. Farmland remained in private hands. The Indian government also sought to avoid dependence on foreign investment and technological aid. All business enterprises were required by law to be owned primarily by Indians.

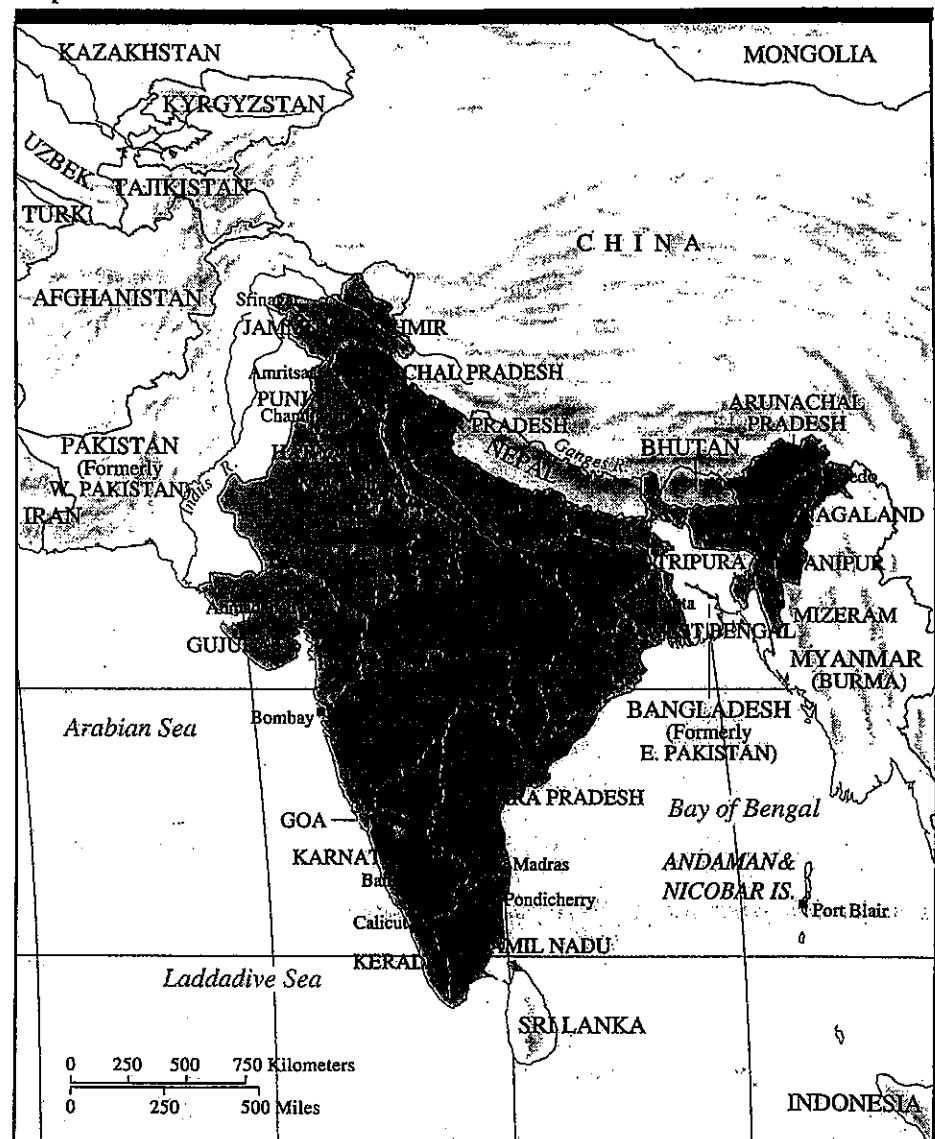
Nehru was fully convinced that in order to succeed, India must industrialize. In this respect, he departed sharply from Gandhi. Gandhi had believed that material wealth was morally corrupting. Only simplicity and nonviolence, he said, could save India, and the world itself, from self-destruction. Nehru, however, had little fear of material wealth (see "You Are There: Gandhi and Nehru—Two Visions of India"). He complained that Gandhi "just wants to spin and weave," referring

to Gandhi's practice of making his own cloth and garments.

Nehru actively pursued a policy of industrialization. He set up a series of five-year plans, which achieved some success. India developed a large industrial sector centered on steel, vehicles, and textiles. Industrial production almost tripled between 1950 and 1965.

Nehru also tried to bring about reforms in agriculture. In 1948, farming techniques were still primitive.

Map 33.3 Modern South Asia



Gandhi and Nehru: Two Visions of India

Whereas Jawaharlal Nehru saw socialism as the answer for India's ills, Mohandas Gandhi found the answer in the traditional village. Nehru favored industrialization to achieve material wealth, whereas Gandhi praised the simple virtues of manual labor. The first excerpt is from a speech by Nehru; the second is from a letter written by Gandhi to Nehru.

Nehru's Speech to the Indian National Congress

I am convinced that the only key to the solution of the world's problems and of India's problems lies in socialism. Socialism is, however, something even more than an economic doctrine; it is a philosophy of life and as such also it appeals to me. I see no way of ending the poverty, the vast unemployment, the degradation and the subjection of the Indian people except through socialism. That involves vast and revolutionary changes in our social structure, the ending of vested interests in land and industry. That means the ending of private property, except in a restricted sense, and the replacement of the present profit system by a higher ideal of cooperative service. In short, it means a new civilization, radically different from the present capitalist order. Some glimpse we can have of this new civilization in the territories of the U.S.S.R. Much has happened there which has pained me greatly, but I look upon that great and fascinating unfolding of a new order and a new civilization as the most promising feature of our dismal age.

Gandhi's Letter to Nehru

I believe that if India, and through India the world, is to achieve real freedom, then sooner or



▲ Mahatma Gandhi, on the right, shares a happy moment with Jawaharlal Nehru, on the left. The differences in their dress serve as a reminder of their sharply contrasting views for the future of India. Why was it particularly tragic that Gandhi was assassinated?

later we shall have to go and live in the villages—in huts, not in palaces. Millions of people can never live in cities and palaces in comfort and peace. Nor can they do so by killing one another, that is, by resorting to violence and untruth. I have not the slightest doubt that, but for the pair, truth and non-violence, mankind will be doomed. We can have the vision of that truth and non-violence only in the simplicity of the villages. The sum and substance of what I want to say is that the individual person should have control

(continued)

Gandhi and Nehru: Two Visions of India, continued

over the things that are necessary for the sustenance of life. . . . You will not understand me if you think that I am talking about the villages of today. . . . In the villages of my dreams the villager will not be dull—he will be all awareness. . . . Men and women will live in freedom, prepared to face the whole world. . . . Nobody will be allowed to be idle or to wallow in luxury. Everyone will have to do body labour.

1. What vision did Nehru have for the future of India?

India had few tractors, and fertilizer was rarely used. Most farms were small because of the Hindu tradition of dividing the land equally among all male children. Nehru realized that a more efficient farming system was needed if industrial growth were to continue.

First, the government tried to limit the size of landholdings, thereby forcing a redistribution of land to the poor. Second, it encouraged farmers to form voluntary cooperatives. Both programs, however, ran into severe opposition. Landlords simply evaded the new laws, and farmers refused to form cooperatives. As one farmer said, many feared that “everyone will leave it to the others to do the work and shirk his own responsibility.”

Under Nehru’s guidance, India adopted a neutral posture in the Cold War. It also sought to provide leadership to all newly independent nations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. This neutral and independent stance quickly placed India in opposition to the United States. During the 1950s, the United States was trying to mobilize all nations against what it viewed as the menace of international communism. India tried to remain friendly with both the United States and the

2. What vision did Gandhi have for the future of India?
3. What did Gandhi mean when he said “to achieve real freedom . . . we shall have to go and live in the villages—in huts, not in palaces”? How could living in huts make people free?
4. Gandhi says “Nobody will be allowed to be idle or to wallow in luxury. Everyone will have to do body labour.” How do you think this statement would be received if it were made by a politician in the United States? Explain.

Soviet Union. The country also worked to maintain good relations with the new People’s Republic of China, although the two nations did have border disputes.

India did not hesitate, however, to fight for what it considered its own self-interests. Tension between India and Pakistan increased during the early 1960s, which led to war in 1965. India won a quick victory, but hostilities remained. When riots against the Pakistani government broke out in East Pakistan in 1971, India intervened on the side of East Pakistan. The latter declared its independence as the new nation of Bangladesh (see later in the chapter).

The Post-Nehru Era in India

The death of Nehru in 1964 caused widespread concern about India’s future. In 1966, the leaders of the Congress Party selected Nehru’s daughter, Indira Gandhi (who was not related to Mohandas Gandhi), as the new prime minister. Indira Gandhi had had lit-

tle experience in politics, but she quickly showed that she could lead her nation.

Indira Gandhi basically followed her father's policies, continuing democratic socialism and maintaining neutrality in foreign affairs. In some ways she took an even more active stance than her father. She was especially worried about poverty in the countryside and launched a major program to reduce it. The government nationalized the banks, provided loans to peasants on easy terms, built low-cost housing, and distributed land to the landless.

Indira Gandhi was especially worried by India's growing population. Even in 1948, the country was not able to support its population of nearly 400 million. In the 1950s and 1960s, the population increased at a rate of more than 2 percent per year. To curb the rate of population growth, Gandhi adopted a policy of monetary rewards and enforced sterilization. Males who had fathered too many children were sometimes forced to have vasectomies. Despite these efforts, India has made little progress in holding down its growing population, now estimated at over 900 million.

The Green Revolution of the 1970s at least made the population problem more bearable. The Green Revolution was the work of researchers who introduced new strains of rice and wheat that were more productive and resistant to disease, but which required more fertilizer and water. Grain production increased from about 50 million tons per year in 1950 to 100 million in 1970.

India paid a price for the Green Revolution, however. Only wealthy peasants could afford to buy the necessary fertilizer. Therefore, even more poor peasants were now driven off the land. Millions fled to the cities, where they lived in vast slums. They worked at menial jobs or even begged for a living. Almost 40 percent of Calcutta's 8.4 million people live in slum dwellings, while hundreds of thousands remain homeless and sleep in the city's streets every night. Open sewers that drain into the water system have been a major factor in making Calcutta the "cholera capital of the world."

Indira Gandhi's population policy made her unpopular. Growing corruption in her government, as well as her censorship of the press and restriction of civil lib-



▲ *Indira Gandhi tried to help India's poor by providing low-cost loans, building low-cost housing, and giving land to those who owned none. She also helped extend voting rights. In what ways did she carry on her father's legacy?*

erties (begun in 1975), also turned Indians against her. As a result, she was defeated in the general elections in 1977. It was the first time the Congress Party had failed to win a majority at the national level since independence. Three years later, however, Gandhi was back in power after the Congress Party won new national elections. She soon faced a new challenge in the rise of ethnic and religious strife.

The most dangerous situation was in the Punjab (PUHN-JAWB), a province of India that was heavily populated by Sikhs (SEEKS). The Sikhs are followers of a religion founded in the fifteenth century that is based on both Hindu and Muslim ideas. Militant Sikhs

demanding independence for their province from India. Gandhi refused and used military force against Sikh rebels hiding in Amritsar (um-RIT-sur) in their Golden Temple, one of the Sikhs' most revered shrines. More than 450 Sikhs were killed. In revenge in 1984, two Sikh members of Gandhi's personal bodyguard assassinated her in her garden.

Indira Gandhi's son Rajiv (raw-JEEV), an airline pilot with little interest in politics, was now persuaded to replace his mother as prime minister. Rajiv Gandhi was not an effective leader, however. His government was criticized for inefficiency and corruption, as well as for not caring for the poor.

Rajiv Gandhi's government, however, did move in new directions. Foreign investment was encouraged. So, too, was private enterprise. Moreover, since Rajiv Gandhi's assassination in 1991, his successors have continued to transfer state-run industries into private hands and to rely on the free market. This has led to a noticeable growth in India's new prosperous middle class, now estimated at more than 100 million, or 11 percent of the population.

In the years after the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, the Congress Party remained the leading political party. However, its powerful hold over the Indian people was now gone. Rising new parties competed with the Congress Party for control of the national and state governments. At the same time, rising tensions between Hindus and Muslims continued to disturb India's stability.

Further problems came from economic growth. For one thing, India has experienced incredible environmental damage. Water and air pollution, as well as the leakage of chemicals, have led to illness and death for many people. Not all the environmental damage is due to industrialization, however. The river Ganges (GAN-JEEZ) is so polluted by human overuse that it is risky for Hindu believers to bathe in it. (Hindus believe the sacred water of the Ganges washes away evil.)

Moreover, not all Indians have benefited from the new prosperity. Nearly one-third of the Indian people live below the national poverty line. Millions continue to live in rural slums, such as the "City of Joy" in Calcutta. Thousands of families there live in primitive shacks and lean-tos, sharing water and toilet facilities.

Indeed, India has been described as two nations: an educated urban India of 100 million people surrounded by 800 million poverty-stricken peasants living in the countryside.

Daily Life in India

One of the major changes introduced in the newly independent India was the official elimination of caste distinctions. The constitution of 1950 guaranteed equal treatment and opportunity for all people, regardless of caste. Discrimination against the Untouchables was specifically outlawed. Of course, prejudice is hard to eliminate. Especially in the villages, the Untouchables are still denied basic human rights (see "Focus on Everyday Life: The Indian Village"). In the cities, however, material wealth rather than caste is increasingly beginning to define status. The days when upper-class Indians refused to eat in a restaurant unless they knew the caste of the cook are gone.

The position of women has also improved. In few societies was the life of women more restricted than in traditional India. Males were dominant in virtually all aspects of life. Females received no education and had no inheritance rights. They were expected to remain at home and were tied to their husbands for life.

After independence, India's leaders sought to give women equality with men. The constitution of 1950 forbade discrimination based on sex and called for equal pay for equal work. Child marriage and the payment of a dowry by the bride's family were outlawed. Women were encouraged to attend school and enter the labor market.

The lives of many Indian women have changed. Middle-class women in urban areas are much more likely to have jobs outside the home. Many hold managerial and professional positions. However, many, if not most, young Indians still accept the idea of arranged marriages. Moreover, an Indian woman is often expected to be a professional executive at work and a dutiful wife and mother at home.

In the countryside, the changes are not as noticeable. Female children are much less likely to receive an education or even to survive. According to a recent study, one-quarter of the female children born in India

The Indian Village

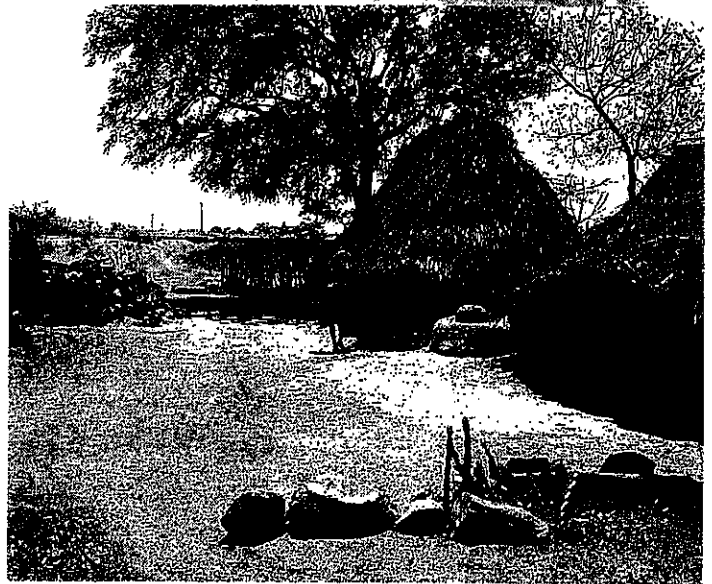
In the cities in India, the rise of a middle class has changed many of the traditional ways of life. This is not necessarily true in the villages of India. The rural poor appear to live in conditions little changed from past generations. Nearly 80 percent of the Indian people still live in traditional rural villages.

Although some progress in education has been made in India, in the countryside education has been neglected. Thousands of villages remain without schools. The graduation rate from primary school is only 37 percent, compared with more than 60 percent for all Asia.

In Indian villages, housing styles, customs, and methods of farming have changed little since they were first described by Portuguese travelers in the sixteenth century. According to recent statistics, nearly 40 percent of people in rural areas live below the poverty level. The vast majority live in mud-and-thatch dwellings without running water or electricity, without education, and often without hope. Their lives have been affected only slightly by the changes taking place in the cities or in the world beyond.

A visitor described one such village in the state of Uttar Pradesh (prah-DESH) in the upper Ganges valley:

I went inside every single cottage in the village. They are small mud huts with tiled roofs. The entrance is very low and many have no doors. Inside is a small walled-in yard, lined on one side with a little verandah, and one or at the most two rooms. In each room lives a whole family. Inside the room there is usually an earthen silo for storing grain, but no other furniture. The chula [a brick or earthen stove used for cooking] is in the verandah; straw lies scattered in the yard; in some a little



▲ *Despite some improvements and attempted reforms, almost 80 percent of India's population continues to live in primitive villages without running water, paved roads, or electricity.*

grain is drying on the floor. In the corner near the chula are piled neatly, face downward, the cooking utensils, earthen pots and a rare piece of brass.

That description was written in 1961, but could easily apply to thousands of Indian villages today.

1. What do the majority of the rural population in India live without?
2. What percentage of Indians in villages graduate from primary school?
3. Compare your home to the home described here. How are they similar? How are they different?

die before the age of fifteen because of neglect or even infanticide by their parents.

Pakistan since Independence

Unlike its neighbor India, Pakistan was in all respects a new nation when it attained independence in 1947. Pakistan, which consisted of two separate territories over a thousand miles apart, was unique. West Pakistan was always short of water. East Pakistan, comprising the eastern parts of the old Indian province of Bengal, was made up of the marshy deltas of two rivers and was densely populated with rice farmers. People in East and West Pakistan spoke different languages.

From its beginnings, the new state was a product of the Muslims' wish to have their own state. However, from the start, Pakistan's leaders made it clear that they were not extremists. Muhammed Ali Jinnah, leader of the Muslim League, which had been the chief force for a separate Muslim state, had a broad vision. A united India, he said, would have been a "terrific disaster." Jinnah also insisted that now that Pakistan was independent, it must put aside its past grievances with the new India. Pakistan, he said, must assure freedom of religion and equal treatment for all.

However, there were Muslim extremists who wanted a state based solely on Islamic principles. As a result, Muhammed Ali Jinnah's vision of a democratic society based on equal treatment for all citizens was only partly realized. His death in 1948 left his nation without a strong leader. The constitution of 1956 described Pakistan as an "Islamic Republic, under the sovereignty of Allah." Even though Pakistan was an essentially Muslim society, its first years were marked by intense internal conflicts. Most dangerous was the growing division between East and West Pakistan.

Many people in East Pakistan felt that the government, based in West Pakistan, ignored the needs of the eastern section of the country. In 1958, a military coup led by General Ayub Khan overthrew the civilian government. Khan believed that Pakistan was a badly divided nation. The only answer to the disunity, he thought, lay in a greater emphasis on law and order and less on democracy. His regime dissolved the constitu-



▲ Benazir Bhutto, shown here, proved to be a dynamic leader. Why do you think both India and Pakistan have had women prime ministers, but the United States has never had a woman president?

tion and set up a strong central government with a small group of 100,000 voters. His military government, however, was unable to curb the growing division between the eastern and western parts of the country. In March 1971, negotiations between representatives of East and West Pakistan broke down. East Pakistan now declared its independence as the new nation of Bangladesh. After a brief struggle, the Pakistan government gave in and recognized Bangladesh.

The breakup of the union between East and West Pakistan also led to the collapse of the military regime in West Pakistan. A new civilian government under Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (BOO-toe) took over, but the mil-