

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Political Science 398  
The Politics of India, Pakistan and Ceylon

Spring 1962  
W. H. Morris-Jones

The course is of sixteen lectures and reading is (very approximately) related to these. Asterisked titles are those of basic importance. The list is deliberately made long and exact page references kept to a minimum; it is hoped that students will read widely and along their own different lines, making a selection from the titles here given.

Bibliographies

- Patrick Wilson, Government and Politics of India and Pakistan, 1885-1955: a bibliography of works in Western languages (1956)
- F. G. Carnell, The Politics of the new states: a select annotated bibliography (1961)
- International Political Science Abstracts, 1951 -  
Southern Asia Accessions List, Library of Congress, 1952-

Background to the course

Some general awareness of the historical background of the pre-British period is desirable for a full grasp of the present-day politics of this area with its ancient culture and traditions:

- W. H. Moreland and A. C. Chatterjee, A short history of India (1953) is the best full-scale single volume history.
- T. G. P. Spear, India, Pakistan and the West (3rd ed., 1958) is an excellent brief introduction to India's cultural and political history. (Chapters I-VI on the pre-British period).
- W. Norman Brown, The U.S., India and Pakistan (1953) contains a useful brief interpretation of Indian history and culture.
- T. Walter Wallbank, A Short History of India and Pakistan (1958).
- B. G. Gokhale, The Making of the Indian Nation (1958) is a recent Indian re-assessment.
- \*J. Nehru, The discovery of India (3rd ed., 1951) is less systematic history but has the advantage that it tells the reader something about Nehru himself. (Chapters I-VI).

It may be useful to mention works which present and interpret Indian culture:

- W. T. de Bary, Sources of Indian Tradition (1958) is a valuable book of readings.
- A. L. Basham, The Wonder that was India (Evergreen paperback) is a fine introduction to Hindu civilisation.



- S. Radhakrishnan, The Hindu view of Life (1927) is the work of a distinguished scholar skilled and experienced in presenting the East to the West.
- A. de Riencourt, The Soul of India (1960) is an interesting modern interpretation, but unreliable and perverse in parts!

It is not unrewarding to approach the study of unfamiliar countries by reading imaginative literature and life stories. Some political biographies are listed later but the following deserve mention on general grounds:

- P. Tandon, Punjabi Century (1961)
- H. C. Chaudhuri, The Autobiography of an Unknown Indian (1951), a gem of writing, full of atmosphere and insight.
- E. M. Forster, Passage to India and Hill of Devi tell the sensitive reader a great deal about India.
- R. K. Narayan's several novels illumine brightly various facets of Indian life, e.g., Bachelor of Arts, The Guide. So do the autobiographical writings of N. Sircar (Indian Boyhood) and S. Ghose (And Gazelles Leaping).
- Also prominent among modern novelists are Khushwant Singh, K. Markandaya, V. Madgulkar, Jhabawala.
- A slight acquaintance with the political ideas and institutions of ancient India is useful:

- D. Mackenzie Brown, The White Umbrella (1953) gives brief commentaries and excerpts from Indian writings.
- <sup>u</sup> Kautilya's Arthashastra (Trans. R. Shamasastry) (4th ed., 1957) is the famous mediaeval classic.
- U. N. Ghoshal, Hindu Political Theories is a standard survey of ideas.
- A. S. Altekar, State and Government in Ancient India (1949) gives an account of institutions.

#### A. Legacies of British Rule

##### 1. General features of Colonial rule in South Asia

- E. Thompson and G. T. Garrett, Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India (1934) is a standard history. (Mainly consult Books VI-VIII).
- P. Woodruff (pseud. for Philip Mason), The Men who ruled India (2 vols., 1953-54) is a brilliant portrait of a governing elite.
- A. B. Keith, Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy, 1750-1921 (1922) for reference.
- \*T. G. P. Spear, India, Pakistan and the West (Chapters VII-X) is an excellent brief account which may be supplemented by such books as G. Wint, The British in Asia (1954), P. Moon, Strangers in India, P. Griffiths, The British Impact on India, L. S. S. O'Malley, Modern India and the West



K. H. Panikkar, Asia and Western Dominance (1953) is a strong Indian reply to western historians. (See also his Survey of Indian History for another re-assessment job).

J. Plamenatz, On Alien Rule and Self-Government (1960) is an exceptionally valuable philosophical discussion of the colonial situation.

## 2. British Government <sup>in</sup> India

The structure of bureaucratic rule as established in the post-mutiny ~~uniting~~ period.

A. B. Keith, Constitutional History of India, Chapter VI.

\*R. Coupland, Report on the Constitutional Problem in India  
Vol. I The Indian Problem, 1833-1935, pp. 7-27.

P. Griffiths, op.cit., Section II.

Thompson and Garrett, op.cit., pp. 472-498, 527-540.

L. S. S. O'Malley, I.C.S. (1931)

Sir E. Blunt, I.C.S. (1937)

Doctrinal influences on the governing class are discussed in

E. Stokes, The English Utilitarians and India (1959)  
(especially Chapters 1 and 4) and in

R. N. Iyer, "Utilitarianism and all that," pp. 9-71 in R. N. Iyer  
(Ed) St. Antony's Papers No. 8, 1960

G. O. Trevelyan, The Competition Wallah (1864) will convey its period to some readers.

## 3. Nationalism in India

The character of national sentiment and the stages of the movement.

E. Kedourie, Nationalism is a brilliantly written essay of general importance.

R. Emerson, From Empire to Nation (1960) considers new nationalism and compares them with those of Europe.

General surveys of Indian Nationalism are rather disappointing:

A. R. Desai, Social Background of Indian nationalism (1948)

C. F. Andrews and G. Mookerji, The Rise and Growth of Congress (1938)

W. R. Smith, Nationalism and Reform in India (1938)

But there are several period snapshots from the inside which are worth looking at including some important biographies and autobiographies:

R. Tagore, Nationalism

S. Banerjee, A Nation in the Making (1925)



- \*M. K. Gandhi, An Autobiography (1927 and later editions)
- M. K. Gandhi, Hind Swaraj (1908: English editions 1912 and later)
- \*J. Nehru, Autobiography (Paperback 1958)
- D. V. Tahmankar, Tilak (1956)
- L. Fischer, Life of Gandhi (Paperback 1954)
- H. Toye, The Springing Tiger (biography of S. C. Bose)
- \*M. Brecher, Nehru: a political biography (1959)
- A. K. Azad, India wins freedom (1959)

Of some interest and perhaps curiosity are some British opinions expressed on the way:

- V. Chirol, Indian Unrest (1910)
- E. Bevan, Indian Nationalism (1913)
- L. J. L. Dundas (Lord Ronaldshay), Heart of Aryavarta (1925)
- R. Byron, Essay on India (1931)

#### 4. Reforms

The constitutional development of India up to the transfer of power

- A. B. Keith, Constitutional History of India, Chapters VII-XII
- \*R. Coupland, op.cit., Vol. I, Chapters III-X; Vol. II
- P. Griffiths, op.cit., Section III

Of exceptional value are the reviews contained in certain reports:

- \*Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms (Montagu- Chelmsford), 1918. Cmd. 9109
- \*Report of the Indian Statutory Commission (Simon), 1930. Cmd. 3568-9

Some useful studies have been made of the working of political institutions under post-1918 reforms:

- A. Appadorai, Dyarchy in practice (1937)
- K. B. Krishna, The Problem of Minorities (1939)
- Sir G. Schuster & G. Mint, India and Democracy (1941)
- B. P. Singh Roy, Parliamentary Government in India, (1943)
- H. Tinker, Local Self Government in India, Pakistan and Burma (1954), mainly Chapters VII-XI and the conclusions in Chapter XVI

Account must be taken of the movement of Muslim nationalism which influenced the reforms and led to the eventual partition:

- \*W. C. Smith, Modern Islam in India (1946) (See also the portions of his Islam in Modern History (1957) dealing with India and Pakistan where some of his earlier views are modified.)
- A. H. Albiruni, Makers of Pakistan (1950)
- R. Symonds, The Making of Pakistan (1951, 3rd ed.)



5. Ceylon

- G. C. Mendis, Ceylon under the British (1944)  
 C. Collins, Public Administration in Ceylon (1951)  
 I. D. S. Weerawardana, Government and Politics in Ceylon, 1931-1946 (1951)

As in the case of India, official reports have great value:

- \*Report of the Special Commission on the Constitution (Donoughmore),  
 1928. Cmd. 3131  
 \*Report of the Commission on Constitutional Reform (Soulbury),  
 1945. Cmd. 6677

B. Politics and Society6. The social roots of Indian political life

A general survey of Indian social structure is contained in Kingsley Davis, The Population of India and Pakistan. One part of this vast subject is the nature of traditional rural society. A good survey of the literature is "Caste - a trend report" in Current Sociology VIII, 3. The following are some of the more noteworthy works:

- S. C. Dube, Indian Village (1955)  
 M. Harriott, Village India (1955)  
 M. N. Srinivas, India's Villages (1955)  
 G. H. Carstairs, The Twice Born (1958)  
Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Tribes (for reference)

Another part is the character of the Westernised urban political elite:

- B. T. McCully, English Education and the Rise of Nationalism  
 B. B. Misra, The Indian Middle Classes (1962)  
 \*E. Shils, The Intellectual Between Tradition and Modernity: the Indian Situation (Comparative Studies in Society and History, Supplement 1, 1961)  
 Uslem J. & R. H., Western Educated Man in India (1955)  
 F. Carnell, "S. Asian Nationalism and the West" in G. F. Hudson (Ed.) St. Antony's Papers No. 7, 1960

7. Politics in a changing society

The political significance of those social factors is brought out in:

- \*M. N. Srinivas, "Caste in modern India" in Journal of Asian Studies,  
 (16(4), 1957)  
 \*L. I. and S. H. Rudolph, "Political Role of India's caste associations" in Pacific Affairs, 33(1) 1960

Margaret Cormack, She who rides a peacock



- \*R. L. Park and I. Tinker (Eds.), Leadership and political Institutions in India (1959), Parts 7 and 8
- F. G. Bailey, "Politics in Orissa" in The Economic Weekly, August-November 1959
- \*S. Harrison, India: The Most Dangerous Decades (1960)
- \*M. Weiner, "The Politics of S. Asia" in G. A. Almond and James Coleman, The Politics of Developing Areas (1960), especially pp. 153-183
- L. Binder, Religion and Politics in Pakistan (1961)
- B. Ryan, Caste in Modern Ceylon (1953)

C. Leading events and issues in politics since independence

8. A chronological framework of the political history of the last 15 years, including the initial transfer of power.

Accounts of the transfer of power are found in

- E. W. R. Lumby, The Transfer of Power in India, 1945-7 (1954)
- V. P. Menon, The Transfer of Power in India (1957)
- R. Symonds, op.cit.

Eyewitness descriptions are given in

- A. Campbell-Johnson, Mission with Mountbatten (1951)
- P. Moon, Divide and Quit (1962)
- L. Hosley, Last Days of British Raj (1961)
- Sir F. Tucker, While Memory Serves (1950)

Some general discussion of transfer problems is contained in

- Sir W. I. Jennings, The approach to self-government (1956)  
and in his Problems of the New Commonwealth (1958)

9. An indication of the main issues in the political life of the three countries since independence

Narrative histories of the short period of 15 years are naturally not yet available and the leading events and issues are mainly to be read about in general accounts of contemporary politics. Some books have been devoted to particular issues but it is appropriate to list them later rather than at this point.

While the first part of the course deals with the factors and materials of politics, the second part attempts an analysis of the political systems which have been in process of formation and operation. This analysis is conducted in terms of (1) the machinery of government (2) the movement of political forces and (3) the establishment of political institutions - mainly electoral, parliamentary and judicial - which are regarded as "ordering" the



political forces and 'mediating' between them and the machinery of government.

The leading general accounts of the political systems of India, Pakistan and Ceylon may be first mention:

- \*N. D. Palmer, The Indian Political System (1961) is the best general account.
- N. Srinivasan, Democratic Government in India (1954)
- \*M. Weiner, "The Politics of South Asia" in Almond and Coleman, op.cit.
- G. McT. Kahin (Ed.), Major Governments of Asia (1958) contains contributions by Palmer on India and Callard on Pakistan.
- \*K. Callard, Pakistan: a political study (1957)
- \*M. Ahmed, Government and Politics in Pakistan (1959)
- \*K. B. Sayeed, Pakistan: the formative phase (1960)
- \*H. Wiggins, Ceylon: Dilemmas of a New Nation (1960)

Some interesting general comments are found in:

- \*Vera Dean, New patterns of democracy in India (1959)
- T. Zinkin, India Changes (1958), especially Part 4 Democracy in the New States, Rhodes seminar papers published by the Congress of Cultural Freedom 1958).

#### D. Governance

##### 10. The Constitutional Frameworks

- The Constitution of India (latest edition)
- The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan (1956)
- Jennings, The Constitution of Ceylon (3rd ed., 1953)
- B. N. Rau, India's constitution in the making (1960) contains some papers of India's constitutional advisor.
- \*C. H. Alexandrowicz, Constitutional Developments in India (1957), is an excellent analysis of some leading parts of the Constitution.
- H. V. Pylee, Constitutional Government in India (1960), a good general commentary on the constitution.
- V. P. Menon, The Integration of the Indian States (1956), shows how princely India disappeared.
- G. W. Chaudhury, Constitutional Development in Pakistan (1959)
- W. I. Jennings, Constitutional Problems in Pakistan (1957), a technical legal study of the constitutional puzzles of 1954.



11. The machinery of government

Indian Institute of Public Administration, The Organisation of the Government of India (1958), a detailed reference manual

- \*A. Chanda, Indian Administration (1958)
- \*N. D. Palmer, op.cit. Chapter 8.
- M. Zinkin, Development for Free Asia (1956), Chapter 8.
- B. B. Majumdar, Problems of Public Administration in India (1954)
- P. H. Appleby, Public Administration in India (1953) and  
Re-examination of India's administrative system (1956),  
reports for the Planning Commission.
- A. D. Gorwala, Report on Public Administration (1951), Report on the efficient conduct of state enterprises (1951),  
The Role of the administrator and Of Matters Administrative (1960) - two reports, a lecture and a collection of essays.
- K. Santhanam, Union-State relations (1960)
- Park and Tinker, op.cit., Part 6
- N. C. Roy, The Civil Service in India (1958)
- S. S. Khara, District Administration in India (1960)
- D. R. Gadgil, Indian Planning and the Planning Commission (1958)
- K. Santhanam, Democratic Planning (1961)
- M. V. Pylae, "Government Enterprises in the Indian Economy,"  
in Asian Survey, Sept. 1961.

E. Political Forces and Movements

## 12. Partly this entails a study of parties:

- M. Weiner, Party Politics in India (1957) has a narrower scope than the title implies; it examines a fragmentation among opposition parties.
- S. H. Rudolph, 3 mimeographed studies of the Congress Party organisation prepared for the Center for International Studies, M. I.T. (1955)
- M. V. Ramana Rao, Development of the Congress Constitution (1958)
- G. D. Overstreet and M. Windmiller, Communism in India (1959), a most comprehensive study.
- M. R. Masani, The Communist Party of India: a short history (1954)
- J. A. Curran, Jr., Militant Hinduism: a study of the R.S.S. (1951)
- Park and Tinker, op.cit., Part 4

## 13. Partly, movements cutting across parties are concerned - especially linguistic and provincial separatist tendencies:



- J. V. Bondurant, Regionalism vs. Provincialism (1958)  
 \*S. S. Harrison, op.cit.  
 H. Weiner, "State Politics in India" in Asian Survey, June 1961  
Report of the States Reorganisation Commission (1955)  
Report of the Official Language Commission (1956)  
 H. Tennyson, India's Walking Saint (1955) is the story of Vinoba Bhave, founder and leader of the Gandhian Bhovdan movement.  
 Park and Tinker, op.cit., Part 5 discusses some influence groups.  
 M. W. Fisher and J. V. Bondurant, Indian Approaches to a Socialist Society (1956)  
 K. Callard, Political Forces in Pakistan, 1947-1959 (1959)  
The Report of the Court of Inquiry into the Panjab Disturbances (Munir Report) (1954)  
 T. Vittachi, Emergency '58 (1958). Ceylon's race riots described.

## F. The Ordering of Political Life

### 14. Elections and Parliaments

On elections:

- Reports of the Election Commissioner on the General Elections in India 1951-52 (1955) and for 1957 (1961), in each case especially Vol. I  
 A. H. Somjee, Voting Behavior in an Indian Village, Baroda University Political Science Series No. 2, 1959  
 A. Maitra, The Political Mind of India (1952)  
 M. W. Fisher and J. V. Bondurant, Indian Experience with Democratic Elections (1956)  
 I. D. S. Weerawardana, Ceylon General Election of 1956 (1960)

On representative legislatures:

- \*W. H. Morris-Jones, Parliament in India (1957)  
 Park and Tinker, op.cit., Part 3  
 I. D. S. Weerawardana, Senate of Ceylon (1955)

### 15. Machinery of Justice and local democracy

On the judicature:

- S. R. Sharma, The Supreme Court in the Indian Constitution (1959)  
 Law Commission of India, 14th Report (on the reform of Judicial Administration) - a summary (1960)

On Community Development and Panchayati Raj:

- Park and Tinker, op.cit., Part 7  
Report of the Team for the Study of Community Projects (1957)  
 H. J. Friedman, "Pakistan's Experiment in Basic Democracies" in Pacific Affairs, June 1960, and "Notes on Pakistan's Basic Democracies" in Asian Survey, December 1961.



- Sayeed, K. B. "Pakistan's Basic Democracy" in The Middle East Journal, Summer 1961
- S. C. Dubo, India's changing villages (1958)
- J. Iqbal, The ideology of Pakistan (1959)
- Planning Commission, Programme Evaluation Organisation, Evaluation Reports, especially Seventh.
- Association of Voluntary Agencies for Rural Development, Reports of study teams on democratic decentralisation in Rajasthan and Andhra (1961)

G. Ideas and Tendencies

16. A discussion of new styles of political thinking which have developed in the new states.

- J. V. Bondurant, Conquest of Violence (1958), an outstanding analysis of Gandhian ideas and the satyagraha technique so distinctive a feature of Indian politics.
- \*J.P. Narayan, Swaraj for the People (1961), the most recent essay by an important thinker.
- M. N. Roy, ~~Some recent selected writings~~ Parties, Politics & Power (1960)
- A. Mohta, Politics of a Planned Economy. A modern socialism.
- Sampurnanand, Indian Socialism (1961). Socialism reconciled with tradition.
- K. M. Panikkar, The State and the Citizen (1956), pp. 1-32, 114-121
- S. Narayan, Socialistic pattern of society
- S. H. Rudolph, "Consensus and Conflict in Indian Politics," in World Politics, April 1961



## CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS INTERNACIONALES

CALENDARIO DE CURSOS PARA 1963

CURSOS	1er Semestre	2o. Semestre
PROBLEMAS INTERNACIONALES CONTEMPORANEOS DE LA AMERICA LATINA	Feb: INTRODUCCION Prof. Morales	Jul: COLOMBIA Prof. Uribe Vargas
	Mar: "	Ago: VENEZUELA Prof. Luis Cabana
	Abr: PROBLEMAS ECONOMICOS Prof. Bravo	EL SALVADOR (1a.sem.) Prof. Martínez Moreno
	BRASIL Prof. de Souza Samp.	ARGENTINA (2a.quince.) Prof. José Ma. Ruda
	May: PROBLEMAS ECONOMICOS Prof. Bravo	Sep: ARGENTINA (1a.quince) Prof. José Ma. Ruda
	BRASIL Prof. de Souza Sampa.	Oct: PERU Prof. Wagner de Reyna
	Jun: CHILE Prof. Bernstein	Nov:
HISTORIA DE LAS RELA- CIONES INTERNACIONALES DE MEXICO	Feb: PERIODO INDEPENDENCIA A INTERVENCION. Pro. Bosch García	
	Mar: "	
	Abr: PERIODO REP. Restaura- DA A PORFIRIATO IN- CLUSIVE. Prof. Cosío Villegas,	
	May: REVOLUCION Varios conferenciantes	
	Jun: Aspectos ECONOMICOS Varios conferenciantes	
ESTADOS UNIDOS Y EL MUNDO OCCIDENTAL	Febrero-junio: Prof. Solberg	Julio-noviembre: (15 de) Prof. Duroselle
EL SISTEMA SOVIETICO	Febrero-junio: Prof. Brodersen	Julio-noviembre: Prof. Anderson
LA INDIA ACTUAL		Julio-septiembre: Prof. Morris-Jones
LA CHINA POPULAR		Julio-sep Prof. Schwartz



COURSE EXAMINATION  
MODERN INDIAN POLITICS

Time available: Three hours

Answer either three or four questions

1. "British rule ended but its influence remains". Discuss.
2. Was India's nationalist struggle a wasteful consequence of Indo-British misunderstandings or a valuable preparation for the modern self-governing state ?
3. Describe and assess the significance of either (a) the absorption of the Indian princely states, or (b) the subsequent reorganisation of states on mainly linguistic lines.
4. Is India a true federal state?
5. Outline the constitutional position and actual role up to the present of either (a) The President of the Republic and the State Governors or (b) The Supreme Court.
6. What light does the social anthropologists' study of caste throw on the nature of rural politics?
7. How far do you agree that the parliamentary system in India is 'no more than a mere facade'?
8. "In the Indian situation, the only good government has to be bureaucratic government". Discuss.
9. How would you attempt to classify the Indian political parties other than Congress ?
10. "Congress is itself a multi-party system". Comment.
11. Why is the Communist Party of India (a) as strong as it is, and (b) as weak as it is ?
12. Explain the political significance of either (a) the problem of religious minorities or (b) the problem of the national language.
13. Discuss the causes and consequences of either (a) the Community Development programme or (b) the establishment of Panchayat Raj.
14. "Full-scale national economic planning is not easily compatible with free party competition". Comment with reference to the Indian position.



C. E. I.

Contemporary India

Prof. W.H. Morris-Jones

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The political significance of these social factors is brought out in:

°M.N. Srinivas, "Caste in modern India" in Journal of Asian Studies. 16(4), 1957.

°L.I. and S.H. Rudolph, "Political Role of India's caste associations" in Pacific Affairs, 33 (1) 1960.

°R.L. Park and I. Tinker (Eds.), Leadership and political Institutions in India (1959), Parts 7 and 8

°S. Harrison, India: The Most Dangerous Decades (1960).

°M. Weiner, "The Politics of S. Asia" in G.A. Almond and James Coleman, The Politics of Developing Areas (1960, especially pp. 153-183.

C. Leading events and issues in politics since independence.

8. A chronological framework of the political history of the last 15 years, including the initial transfer of power.

Accounts of the transfer of power are found in

E.W.R. Lumby, The Transfer of Power in India, 1945-7 (1954)



R. Symonds, op. cit.

Eyewitness descriptions are given in

A. Campbell-Johnson, Mission with Mountbatten (1951)

P. Moon, Divide and Quit (1962)

L. Mosley, Last Days of British Raj (1961)

Some general discussion of transfer problems is contained in

Sir W. I. Jennings, The approach to self-government (1956)  
and in his Problems of the New Commonwealth (1958)

9. An indication of the main issues in the political life of the three countries since independence

Narrative histories of the short period of 15 years are naturally not yet available and the leading events and issues are mainly to be read about in general accounts of contemporary politics. Some books have been devoted to particular issues but it is appropriate to list them later rather than at this point.

While the first part of the course deals with the factors and materials of politics, the second part attempts an analysis of the political systems which have been in process of formation and operation. This analysis is conducted in terms of (1) the machinery of government (2) the movement of political forces and (3) the establishment of political institutions—mainly electoral, parliamentary and judicial—which are regarded as 'ordering' the political forces and 'mediating' between them and the machinery of government.

The leading general accounts of the political system of India, may be first mentioned:

°M. Weiner, "The Politics of South Asia" in Almond and Coleman, op. cit.

G. McT. Kahin (Ed.) Major Governments of Asia (1958) contains a contribution by Palmer on India.

Some interesting general comments are found in:

°Vera Dean, New patterns of democracy in India (1959)

T. Zinkin, India Changes (1958), especially Part 4

Democracy in the New States. Rhodes seminar papers published by the Congress of Cultural Freedom (1958).

D. Governance

10. The Constitutional Frameworks.

H. V. Pylee, Constitutional Government in India (1960), a good general commentary on the constitution.



V.P. Menon, The Integration of the Indian States (1956), shows how princely India disappeared.

11. The machinery of government

Indian Institute of Public Administration, The Organisation of the Government of India (1958), a detailed reference manual.

°A. Chanda, Indian Administration (1958)

The Role of the administrator and Of Matters Administrative (1960) - two reports, a lecture and a collection of essays.

K. Santhanam, Union-State relations (1960).

K. Santhanam, Democratic Planning (1961)

E. Political Forces and Movements.

12. Partly this entails a study of parties:

M. Weiner, Party Politics in India (1957) has a narrower scope than the title implies; it examines a fragmentation among opposition parties.

G.D. Overstreet and M. Windmiller, Communism in India (1959), a most comprehensive study.

M.R. Masani, The Communist Party of India: a short history (1954).

Park and Tinker, op. cit., Part 4

13. Partly, movements cutting across parties are concerned - especially linguistic and provincial separatist tendencies:

J.V. Bondurant, Regionalism vs. Provincialism (1958)

°S.S. Harrison, op. cit.

Park and Tinker, op. cit., Part 5 discusses some influence groups.

F. The Ordering of Political Life.

14. Elections and Parliaments

On elections:

A. Mehta, The Political Mind of India (1952)

On representative legislatures:

°W.H. Morris-Jones, Parliament in India (1957)

Park and Tinker, op. cit., Part 3



15. Machinery of Justice and local democracy

On Community Development and Panchayati Raj:  
Park and Tinker, op. cit., Part 7  
S.C. Dube, India's changing villages (1958)

G. Ideas and Tendencies

16. A discussion of new styles of political thinking which have developed in the new States.

J.V. Bondurant, Conquest of Violence (1958), an outstanding analysis of Gandhian ideas and the satyagraha technique so distinctive a feature of Indian politics.

Sampurnanand, Indian Socialism (1961). Socialism reconciled with tradition.

K.M. Panikkar, The State and the Citizen (1956), pp. 1-32, 114-121.

S.H. Rudolph, "Consensus and Conflict in Indian Politics". in World Politics, April 1961.



## MODERN INDIA

*Prof. Morris-Jones*

### TOPICS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

#### 1st Week - Preparation for Independence

- (a) Does it make sense to speak of a country being well- or ill-prepared for independence? Consider various contrasted post-colonial situations.
- (b) Can the colonial government make a contribution to this preparation? Can it avoid doing so? What contributions were made in the case of India?
- (c) How far can a people prepare itself for independence? What features of the pre-independence Indian Congress were helpful to its later life? Are there ways in which some forms of nationalist struggle may prove to have been a handicap when independence comes?

#### 2nd Week - The social and cultural bases of democracy

- (a) Can one usefully speak of 'pre-conditions' for democracy? What would they include?
- (b) What is the relevance of religious divisions and social divisions such as caste to the prospects for democratic politics?
- (c) Are the behaviour patterns and attitudes appropriate to a democratic system unlikely to be found in a traditional rural society?

#### 3rd Week - The problem of 'national integration'

- (a) What are the threats to integration most spoken of in India? What is their history and what is their present strength? Consider - Communalism, Provincialism and Linguism, Casteism.
- (b) What is the impact on integration of -
  - economic development,
  - political processes,
  - direct government action?

#### 4th Week - The system of One Dominant Party

- (a) What are the characteristics which distinguish this system from One-Party, Two-Party and Multi-Party systems?
- (b) How far is there a multi-party system within the Congress?
- (c) What is the role of the other parties?



(d) How serious is the absence of strong Opposition ?

5th Week - Federalism, Planning and the meaning of Parliament

(a) What is the effect on constitutional federalism of -  
the Planning Commission machinery,  
the all-India strength of Congress,  
the emergence of regional elites,

(b) What is the significance of the parliamentary system when  
combined with one dominant party ?

(c) What is the role of the Supreme Court ?



## ASIAN SURVEY

Other parties include the following:

- Andhra: In 1957 the Krishak Lok Party won 22 seats and 5% of the vote. In 1962 the K.L.P. was part of the Swatantra Party.
- Assam: In 1962 the Hill Leaders Conference won 11 seats and 5.2% of the vote. It captured 11 of the 15 seats in the autonomous hills district including all 5 in the Khasi-Jaintia Hills.
- Bihar: In 1962 the Jharkhand Party won 20 seats and 4.4% of the vote compared with 30 seats and 7.0% in 1957.
- Madhya Pradesh: In 1962 Ram Rajya Parishad won 10 seats and 3.8% of the vote compared with 4 seats and 2.8% in 1957. The comparable figures for the Hindu Mahasabha are 6 seats and 3.2% in 1962, 7 seats and 4.0% in 1957. The Socialist Party, which put up candidates for the first time in 1962, won 14 seats and 4.8% of the vote.
- Maharashtra: The Peasants and Workers Party won 15 seats and 7.5% in 1962 compared with 31 seats and 10% in 1957; the Republican Party (formerly the Scheduled Caste Federation) won 3 seats and 5.4% compared with 9 seats and 5.3% in 1957.
- Madras: The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam won 50 seats and 27.0% of the vote compared with 15 seats and 13.8% in 1957.
- Punjab: The Akali Dal won 19 seats and 12% of the vote. It did not put up candidates in 1957. In the 1952 elections, the Akali Dal polled 16.3% of the vote.
- Rajasthan: Ram Rajya Parishad won 3 seats and 2% of the vote compared with 17 seats and 9.6% in 1957.
- Uttar Pradesh: The newly formed Socialist Party won 24 seats and 8.2% of the vote.
- West Bengal: The Forward Bloc won 13 seats and 4.6% compared with 8 seats and 3.9% in 1957.

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MYRON WEINER is associate professor of political science and member of the Center for International Studies at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. His forthcoming book, Politics of Scarcity, will be published by the University of Chicago Press in August. He is currently in India on a Guggenheim Fellowship.

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TABLE 1. LOK SABHA RESULTS<sup>o</sup>

Party	1962	1957	1952
Congress	353	371	364
Communist Party	29	27	16
Praja Socialist Party <sup>†</sup>	12	19	
Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party			9
Socialist Party			12
Jan Sangh	14	4	3
Swatantra	18		
Other Parties and Independents <sup>‡</sup>	59	73	85

<sup>o</sup>All the tables provided here are derived from material provided by the Press Information Bureau of the Government of India.

<sup>†</sup>The Praja Socialist Party was created in 1953 through a merger of the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party and the Socialist Party. Later, one faction of the Praja Socialist Party headed by Ramanmohar Lohia broke away and re-established a separate Socialist Party.

<sup>‡</sup>In the 1962 elections, other parties include: Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, 7 seats (all from Madras); Ganatantra Parishad, 4 seats (all from Bihar); Akali Dal, 3 (all from Punjab); Socialist Party, 5; Republican (formerly Scheduled Caste Federation), 3; Muslim League, 2; Ram Rajya Parishad, 2; Forward Bloc, 2; and the Hindu Mahasabha, 1.



TABLE 2. VOTES POLLED IN LOK SABHA ELECTIONS

Party	1962	1957	1952
Congress	51,247,168	57,579,593	47,665,875
Communist Party <sup>o</sup>	11,377,765	10,754,075	3,484,401
Praja Socialist Party	7,819,088	12,542,666	
Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party			6,156,558
Socialist Party			11,216,779
Jan Sangh	7,265,514	7,149,824	3,246,288
Swatantra†	7,337,017		
Other Parties and Independents	28,674,167	32,487,757	34,174,594

<sup>o</sup>The 1952 vote for the Communist Party as reported here is deceptive since many CPI candidates ran in that election as independents or under the banner of front parties.

†A number of parties which put up candidates in 1957 merged into the Swatantra Party before the 1962 elections.



TABLE 3. LEGISLATIVE

State	Congress			Swatantra			Communist		
	Seats 1957-1962		% Votes 1957-1962	Seats 1962	% Votes 1962		Seats 1957-1962	% Votes 1957-1962	
Andhra <sup>o</sup>	187	177	41.3-47.4	19	10.4		37	51	29.2-19.5
Assam	71	79	52.4-48.3	0			4	0	8.1- 6.4
Bihar	210	185	41.9-41.3	50	17.3		7	12	5.1- 6.2
Madhya Pradesh	232	142	49.8-38.6	2	1.2		2	1	1.6- 2.1
Maharashtra	137	214	48.7-51.2	0	0.4		13	6	3.6- 5.9
Madras	151	139	45.3-46.1	6	7.9		4	2	7.4- 7.8
Mysore	151	138	52.1-49.8	9	7.2		0	3	1.9- 2.3
Punjab	120	90	47.5-43.8	3	3.9		6	9	13.6- 7.1
Rajasthan	119	88	45.2-40.0	36	16.9		1	5	3.0- 5.4
Uttar Pradesh	286	248	42.4-36.1	15	4.6		9	14	3.8- 5.0
West Bengal	152	157	46.1-47.3	0			46	50	17.8-24.9
Gujarat	97	113	48.7-50.7	26	24.6		0	0	3.6- 0.2

<sup>o</sup>The 1957 vote is the combined total of votes polled in the Assembly



# SURVEY

## ASSEMBLY RESULTS

Praja Socialist			Jan Sangh			Other Parties and Independents		
Seats 1957-1962	% Votes 1957-1962		Seats 1957-1962	% Votes 1957-1962		Seats 1957-1962	% Votes 1957 1962	
16	0	5.6- 0.5	0	0	0.1- 1.0	61	53	23.3-21.2
8	6	12.8-12.6	0	0	0.5	25	20	26.8-30.8
31	29	16.2-14.3	0	3	1.1- 2.8	70	39	35.7-18.2
12	33	13.2-10.7	10	41	9.9-16.7	32	69	25.5-30.4
33	9	9.0- 7.2	4	0	1.4- 5.0	77	33	37.2-29.71
2	0	2.6- 1.3	0	0	0.0- 0.1	48	59	44.7-37.3
18	20	14.1-13.7	0	0	1.4- 2.3	39	38	30.6-24.7
1	0	1.3- 0.9	9	8	8.6- 9.6	18	42	29.1-34.7
1	2	2.4- 1.5	6	15	5.5- 9.1	49	30	43.4-27.1
44	38	14.5-11.4	17	49	9.8-16.8	74	65	29.4-26.0
21	5	9.9- 5.0	0	0	1.0- 0.5	33	40	25.2-22.0
3	7	9.0- 7.8	0	0	1.6- 1.6	32	8	37.2-15.1

elections in Andhra in 1955 and Telengana in 1957.



# "La India Actual"

## Result Sheet

Names	Attendance	Grade	General Remarks
Alvarenga, Antonio Octaviano		6.5	Moderate factual basis but infinished and incomplete answers. Little ability to discuss.
Arce Behrens, Fernando		9.0	Thougltit ful and well composed answers showing intelligence and interest.
Badima, Kesate		7.5	Answers tend to be quite full - even irrelevant at times however. But the presentation is mechanical and 'wooden'.
Cárdenas Armenta, Lázaro		8.4	Moderately competant.

13 de septiembre de 1963.

Prof. W.H. Morris-Jones



# "La India Actual"

## Result Sheet

Names	Attendance	Grade	General Remarks
ALVARENGA.		6.5	Moderate factual basis but unfinished and incomplete answers. little ability to discuss.
ARCE BEHRENS		9.0	Thoughtful and well composed answers showing intelligence and interest.
BADIMA KESATE		7.5	Answers tend to be quite full - even irrelevant at times however. But the presentation is mechanical and 'wooden'.
CARDENAS ARMENTA.		8.4	Moderately competent.



"La India Actual"

Result Sheet

Names	Attendance	Grade	General Remarks
Correa Villalobos, Francisco		8.4	Factually good and well expressed but sfoilt by one 'fail' answer.
Eiting, Keenan G.		8.9	Evidence of work and thoughtfulness.
Ferrer, Carlos V.		8.4	Shows intelligence and very fluent composition. But material rather thin.
Fuentes Méndez, Jorge A.		8.9	Some exceptionally thoughtful passages and good expression throughtont.

13 de septiembre de 1963.

Prof. W.H. Morris-Jones



# Result Sheet

Names	Attendance	Grade	General Remarks
CORREA VILLANOBOS		8.4	Factually good and well expressed but spoilt by one 'fail' answer.
EITING		8.9	Evidence of work and thoughtfulness.
FERRER		8.4.	Shows intelligence and very fluent composition. But material rather thin.
FUENTES MENDEZ		8.9	Some exceptionally thoughtful passages and good expression throughout.

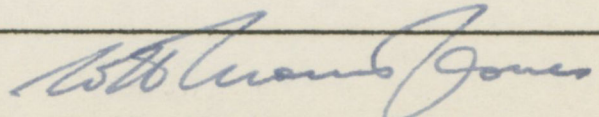


"La India Actual"

Result Sheet

Names	Attendance	Grade	General Remarks
Gómez Robledo, Sofía		7.5	Mainly ordinary but some patches of interesting ideas.
Martínez Mendieta, Marcos		7.9	Answers marked by enthusiasm but also unclear and in one case very untidy inteed.
McLean, Helen		8.9	Vary full, clear and thoughtful.
McClymont, Susan L.		8.4	Never less than competant and interested.

13 de septiembre de 1963.

  
Prof. W.H. Morris-Jones



# Result Sheet

Names	Attendance	Grade	General Remarks
GOMEZ ROBLED0		7.5	Mainly ordinary but some patches of interesting ideas.
MARTINEZ MENDIETA		7.9	Answers marked by enthusiasm but also unclear and in one case very untidy indeed.
McLIN.		8.9	Very full, clear and thoughtful.
Mc CLYMONT		8.4	never less than competent and interested.



"La India Actual"

Result Sheet

Names	Attendance	Grade	General Remarks
Mencos Paz, José Antonio		7.5	Not empty, but rather ordinary.
Meyer Cosío, Lorenzo		9.0	A very worthy performance showing good absorption of material, real interest and capacity for work, intelligence in presentation
Meyer Picón, Santiago		8.0	A most impressive polished maturity and compactness of expression. But material very thin.
Moreno Martínez, Jorge		8.4	Seems to have read more than most and produces it quite well.

13 de septiembre de 1963.

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# Result Sheet

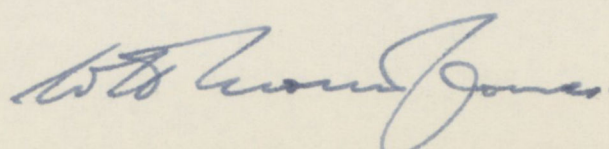
Names	Attendance	Grade	General Remarks
MENCOS PAZ		7.5	not empty, but rather ordinary.
MEYER COSIO		9.0	A very worthy performance showing good absorption of material, real interest and capacity for work, intelligence in presentation.
MEYER PICON		8.0	A most impressive polished maturity and compactness of expression. But material very thin.
MORENO MARTINEZ		8.4	Seems to have read more than most and produces it quite well.



Result Sheet  
"La India Actual"

Names	Attendance	Grade	General Remarks
Moreno Toscano, Carmen		8.4	Mainly coherent, balanced and well - informed but sometimes reptitive and confused.
Ortiz Monasterio, Angel		7.9	Sometimes wordy and a little naive but some signs of ingenuity.
Ortiz Staines, Manuel		7.0	A very 'flat' performance with some errors and mis understandings.
Ramírez Araiza, Alfredo		9.4	The best performance of the class - full and intelligent answers with signs of independent thought.

13 de septiembre de 1963.

  
Prof. W.H. Morris-Jones



# Result Sheet

Names	'Attendance'	Grade	General Remarks
MORENO TOSCANO		8.4	Mainly coherent, balanced and well-informed but sometimes repetitive and confused.
ORTIZ MONASTERIO		7.9	Sometimes wordy and a little naive but some signs of ingenuity.
ORTIZ STAINES		7.0	A very 'flat' performance with some errors and misunderstandings.
RAMIREZ ARAIZA		9.4	The best performance of the class — full and intelligent answers with signs of independent thought.

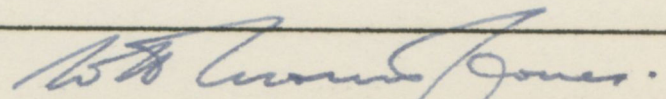


"La India Actual"

Result Sheet

Names	Attendance	Grade	General Remarks
Reed, Linda J.		8.9	Extremely full answers marred only by a certain wordiness.
Rodríguez García, Víctor M.		7.5	Evidence of thought but lack of grasp and penetration.
Rutter, Susan P.		7.4	Mainly fair and sometimes courageous, but one 'fail' answer.
Sepúlveda Amor, Margarita		7.0	Expression very good but content thin and one 'fail' answer.

13 de septiembre de 1963.

  
Prof. W.H. Morris-Jones



# Result Sheet

Names	Attendance	Grade	General Remarks
REED.		8.9	Extremely full answers marred only by a certain wordiness.
RODRIGUEZ GARCIA		7.5	Evidence of thought but lack of grasp and penetration.
RUTTER		7.4	Mainly fair and sometimes courageous, but one 'fail' answer.
SEPULVEDA Amor		7.0	Expression very good but content thin and one 'fail' answer.



"La India Actual"

Result Sheet

Names	Attendance	Grade	General Remarks
Suárez Gaona, Enrique		8.5	Competant and adequate grasp.
Terán Munguía, Argentina		8.5	Some parts exceptionally well thought ont and well expressed.
Trejo López, Antonio		6.4	Shws eagerness and willignes but is very limited. The work very poorly presented.
Ursúa Coke, Eugenio		7.9	Very considerable maturity of expression, thoughtful, crisp and coherent. But the material too thin.

13 de septiembre de 1963.

Prof. W.H. Morris-Jones



# Result Sheet

Names	Attendance	Grade	General Remarks
SUAREZ GUANA		8.5	Competent and adequate grasp.
TERAN MUNGUIA		8.5	Some parts exceptionally well thought out and well expressed.
TREJO LOPEZ		6.4	Shows eagerness and willingness but is very limited. The work very poorly presented.
URSUA COKE		7.9	Very considerable maturity of expression, thoughtful, crisp and coherent. But the material too thin.



## Result Sheet

Prof. W.H. Morris-Jones



## Result Sheet

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