

**THE DISCOURSE ON NATION BUILDING
IN INDIA AND CHINA: 1947-60**

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

By

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Acknowledgement

My M. Phil dissertation has undoubtedly marked the threshold of an academic pursuit. The unwavering guidance, endurance and support of my supervisor Dr. T.G. Suresh, despite my many lapses have been my strength. Not once did I encounter the fear of approaching him with my problems for I knew that he would certainly understand them.

I wish I could find a better word 'thank-you' to express how I feel but this wish is truly heartfelt that may God give every researcher a patient, encouraging and perceptive guide like him.

My sincere gratitude to the staff of Jawaharlal Nehru University Library, IDSA Library and Nehru Memorial Library and CSDS Library.

My special gratitude to Patricia Oberoi and C.S.D.S who helped me in learning during workshop on Chinese studies organized by CSDS.

I would like to thank my Mother for her constant encouragement. This arduous task would have taken its toll on me had it not been for my mother who resided as a pillar of strength in my subconscious.

Without my friends Latika, Deepti, Shailendra who helped me sort out my mess, be it my Xeroxes or the state of mind, this dissertation would not have been possible.

Finally, all the errors therein, I claim solely as mine.

Date

Nidhi Lakhotra

*Dedicated to
my Parents*

INTRODUCTION

The discourse on nation building in India after independence and China following the liberation since the mid-twentieth century had different trajectories. In each case what has been focused on was the purpose and role of the state. It has been viewed that the role of the state is to bring about economic, political and social development. There were many similarities in the circumstances and conditions in which both the countries started their nation building process. Both the countries started their goal of economic development they include a vast similarities in terms of geographical areas, regional imbalances, large population, agriculture based economy, poverty, weak infra-structure and unequal access to national resources.

If we closely examine both the cases we will see some historical differences. India suffered at the hands of colonial power for over two centuries. However this subjugation have been of course different from that of the Chinese experience who bear the brunt of imperialist aggression beginning from 1839. This was ended with the liberation in 1949. The fight for freedom in their respective countries was led by the communist party and Indian National Congress. Indian National Movement which was led by masses but that mass-base was absent after Independent as compared to China. It has increasingly become elite oriented politics. On the other

hand in China even developmental process after liberation has the active support of the people, like formation of cooperatives, communes, propaganda for need of Marriage law Act etc.

The approaches to economic development and “socialist transformation” was also different. No doubt, both the countries were influenced by Soviet Union’s model of “Centralized Planning”. India was mainly interested in mixed economy and notion of welfare state. China during first five year plan was very much influenced from soviet model of socialist construction but when it followed strategy of Great Leap Forward and cooperativization of agriculture this purely highlight the fact that China cherished economic development process which suits to Chinese realities. But in both the countries the strategy of ‘heavy-industry-first strategy’ was followed strongly. Because it was considered as the fastest way to achieve growth.

The socialist transformation was also different from Nehruvian socialism which clearly did not involve any transformation in property relation, such as abolition of private ownership of means of production. It was more closer to the concept of equity and social justice. But in China, there were bureau of material supply in the state Council of China which controls the distribution of material from producers to producers. The planning authority orders the producers to produce certain consumer goods and distribute to the consumer. It assigns labourers to work in union’s

production units. It also controlled production of capital goods and construction of investment projects.

In spite of, the above mentioned factors the basic difference is the involvement of masses in the discourse of building nation. In China mass campaigns and mass movements were undertaken to overall development strategy. The CPC had faith in the human agency that "People alone are the motive force of history". Mass involvement added dynamism to the policies of the CPC to destroy old order and build new system. Such a mass mobilization and involvement was lacking in India which produced vastly different results.

Through my dissertation I have tried to analyse the discourse of nation building in both the countries after 'liberation' in Chinese case and 'Independence' in Indian case. I have drawn a comparison of both the countries on certain issues and approaches that led to different results of developmental programme. Undoubtedly I have given more importance to the idea of popular participation in accompanying the developmental and reconstruction programme and also in the discourse of nation building.

Objectives of the Study:

1. To examine the idea of nation building as it was debated in India and China.

2. To compare the different circumstances under which the discourse of nation building was carried out in both the countries.
3. To examine the role of a strong state in China's transition to a modern republic.
4. To explore the idea of nation emerged out of the "Concept of State" in the Chinese case.
5. To compare the basic issues and approaches adopted by both the countries towards development.
6. To explain why the Chinese nation which was feudal and underdeveloped half a decade ago emerged as a Modern and technologically powerful country today .
7. To assess the relatively weaker role that played by Indian masses as compared to China. Where concept of 'nation' has been identified with the people.
8. To explore a suitable nation building theory that would appropriate for third world countries like India and China.

Chapter one will discuss the meaning of the word 'nation' and various perspective that revolves around the concept. I will discuss various nation building theories from western and third world Countries point of view. Karl Deutsch's assimilation view and some ethnic Question raised by many scholars which hinder the way of assimilation. In this

Chapter-1, I will discuss social Integration theory from western scholars and will give minute reference to Discourse Theory of nation building. It includes various approaches like historical, sociological and development approach around which theories of nation building is woven. But personally Rajni Kothari's approach of building nation in third world countries and Discourse theory which highlights nationalism as an ideology finds at most relevance. Because in both cases nation building process was interchangeable with "developmental" and "Modernization" and at that time as discourse theory underlines nationalist feelings and expectations which were very high when these countries started process of nation building.

Chapter two, describes the peculiar circumstances and conditions under which India became independent and emerged as a nation-state. It discussed ethnic questions and cultural diversities and various sociological and political debates that come under the discourse of nation building in India. It Highlights the role of Jawaharlal Nehru as a modernist. It discussed the economic reconstruction programme, planning process, political consideration adoption of constitution and human developmental programmes. It highlights the discourse of building a nation with in time period of 1947-60.

Chapter three, highlights the various debates on Chinese nationalism. It project the idea that Chinese nation emerged out of strong state. The role of state were highlighted by CPC

Mao Zedong's policies and nationalist expectation after liberation. The Chapter doesn't throw much light on liberation movement but it discussed various nationalist feelings and policies among which discourse of nation building process is to be constructed by elite and masses.

Chapter four, compares the various parameters, issues and approaches used by both the countries in their development programme. It highlights some similarities and difference in which the discourse of nation building started. It highlights the facts that why India lag far behind Chinese experiences of making a strong nation and at last it explored some reasons that led to difference of various results.

In my dissertation while examining these issues I have attempted to answer the following questions.

1. Which nation building theory is conducive to both the countries given their differences and similarities of experience?
2. Was Elite politics which were based on western idias of modernism, secularism, constitution which was criticized as 'bag of borrowing', socialism were successful to India settings?
3. In Chinese case is state comes first than nation?
4. What were the facts which led to d ifferent result in the discourse of building nation in India and China?

CHAPTER-1

THEORIES OF NATION BUILDING

The meaning of the word 'Nation' has undergone vast changes in the course of time. This term is generally associated with territory, language and history. The word Nation originated from Latin word "Natio" It has the same meaning with the word "Natus". 'Natio' means 'born'. Natio also personifies "Goddess of birth" nation is understood as one group of people who belong together in a same way because of similarity of birth¹. In earlier time chief of Irish clan was called "captain of his nation". So frequently it came to be associated with power and sovereignty. Later ruling class and elite were called "The nation" and in this context it meant a free self governing body. Now a days we identify nation with a people constituted as a state. In this view every state forms a nation and every citizen is a member of nation. The word nation was used for the people of Homogeneous important factor which all associated with national language, civilization and religion coincide in a given territory². But it is equally true that in a nation people may speak several language or comprise several religion, and the same language or religion may be found in different nations.

The most important and frequently referred criterion used to define nation is language. Sometimes importance is given to race, religion, civilization, territory and citizenship in a state.

1 Hutchinson, John & D. Smith, Anthony (2000), Nationalism, Routledge Publication, P.20.

2 Frederick, Hertz (1966), Nationalism in history and politics. Routledge Publication, P. 7.

According to Renan above the mentioned factors are very important but the most important among them is solidarity on the consciousness of sacrifices made in the past and willingness to make such a sacrifices in the future or the other way we can say. It's the body of people who have done great things together in the past who hoped to do great things in the future. He considers nation is essentially a spiritual and political principle. Renan assume that nation whose identifies are based on shared memories will continue to shape main common destinies.

To understand the proper meaning of the word "Nation" we have to go through the views of different authors. Nation actually emerged in the historical context which commence the group of people that they belong at the same deep level and share unique bonds. According to Peterson, "A nation being 'a people, a folk held together by same or all of such more or less immutable characteristics as common descent, territory, history, language, religion. Way of life or attributes that member of a group have from birth onwards³."

In Max Weber's view "nation is community of sentiments which could adequately manifest it self in a state of it's own. Hence a nation is a community which tend to produce state of it's own⁴. While interpreting the meaning of nation Max Weber gives top most priority to 'solidarity'. National solidarity may be linked to the memories of common political regime, common descent and homogeneity etc.

3 Oommen, T.K (1960), State and Civil society in India: studies in nation building, Sage Publication Pvt. Ltd., P. 1.

4 Hutchinson & John. D, Smith, Antony (Ed.) (2000), Nationalism, Vol-I, Routledge Publication, P. 9.

Joseph Stalin has also given importance to the history in nation building process. According to him, “A nation is a historically constituted community of people with common psychological make up which manifest its common culture. In the words of Stalin “A nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people formed on the basis of common language, territory, common life and psychological make up which manifested in common culture”⁵. He differentiated Races and tribes on the one hand and imperial state on the other hand. Nation come into existence when several elements came together especially economic life, language and territory. According to Joseph Stalin a nation is primarily a community of people. It is necessarily not racial or tribal. Language constitute one of the characteristic feature of nations, but language is not the only criterion to identify a nation sometimes two different nation speak the same language but it is not necessarily the one who speaks one same language is nation. In the way territory is one of the important factor but not the only criterion but internal economic bond be there to hold a nation. He gives more importance to spiritual bonding which manifest the peculiar feature of national culture. He termed psychological make up as “National Character”.

Clifford Geertz identified two competing yet complementary components, ethnic and civil. The ethnic dimension is portrayed as a commitment to primordial loyalties for example colonial legacy, long period of work, sacrifices and dimension Nation symbolises these common glories in the past and common will in the present. A nation reflects a grand solidarity constituted by

5 Hutchinson & John D. Smith, Anthony (eds.) (2000), Nationalism, Vol-I, Rutledge Publication, P. 23.

the sentiments of sacrifices which one has made. The other dimension is civic citizenship in the Modern state.

According to Smith “Nation is a named human population occupying a historic territory or homeland and sharing common myths and memories; a mass public culture; a single economy; and common signs and duties for all members”⁶. The term nation is associated with the term primordialism. It means that certain cultural attributes such as kinship and descent, language, religion, customs and historical territory are attached to it.

After going through the various views and definitions of various authors we can say that word “Nation” is definitely a cultural concept different attributes can be associated with it but at time which attributes is more important for example language, race or economic ties it is difficult to tell the exact degree but all these components constitute integral part of nation. It is a natural concept which one inherits by birth, but the context of nation building is different because it is engineered by intellectual, leaders and elites.

Our main concern is to highlight nation building process. Authors from the west and third world countries gave different attributes to the concept of nation building. Some authors think that nation building is very close to the concept of modernization and developmental issues. In the west it is considered to be a tool of political development. We will discuss all the dimensions attributes of nation building process in the following pages.

The term “nation-building” came into vogue among historically oriented political scientists in the 1950s and 1960s.

6 Smith, Anthony. D (2000), The Nation in history, Polity Press, U.K., P. 3.

Its main proponents included such leaders of the American academic community as Karl Deutsch, Charles Tilly, and Reinhard Bendix. Nation-building theory was primarily used to describe the processes of national integration and consolidation that led up to the establishment of the modern nation-state--as distinct from various form of traditional states, such as feudal and dynastic states, church states, empires, etc. "Nation-building" is an architectural metaphor which, strictly speaking, implies the existence of consciously acting agents such as architects, engineers, carpenters, and the like. However, as used by political scientists, the term covers not only conscious strategies initiated by state leaders but also unplanned societal development. The concept of "nation-building" became for political science what "industrialization" was to social economy.

The traditional, pre-modern state was made up of isolated communities with parochial cultures at the "bottom" of society and a distant, and aloof, state structure at "the top," largely content with collecting taxes and keeping order. Through nation-building these two spheres were brought into more intimate contact with each other. Members of the local communities were drawn upwards into the larger society through education and political participation. The state authorities, in turn, expanded their demands and obligations towards the members of society by offering a wide array of services and integrative social networks. The *subjects* of the monarch were gradually and imperceptibly turned into *citizens* of the nation-state. Sub state cultures and loyalties either vanished or lost their political importance, superseded by loyalties toward the larger entity, the *state*.

Stein Rokkan's model saw nation-building as consisting of four analytically distinct aspects.^{7[3]} In Western Europe these aspects had usually followed each other in more or less the same order. Thus, they could be regarded not only as aspects but also as *phases* of nation-building.

The first phase resulted in economic and cultural unification at elite level. The second phase brought ever larger sectors of the masses into the system through conscription into the army, enrollment in compulsory schools, etc. The burgeoning mass media created channels for direct contact between the central elites and periphery populations and generated widespread feelings of identity with the political system at large.

In the third phase, the subject masses were brought into active participation in the workings of the territorial political system. Finally, in the last stage the administrative apparatus of the state expanded. Public welfare services were established and nation-wide policies for the equalization of economic conditions were designed.

In the oldest nation-states of Europe, along the Atlantic rim, the earliest stage of these processes commenced in the Middle Ages and lasted until the French Revolution. While it is impossible to pin-point exactly when the entire nation-building process was completed, it certainly went on for several centuries. In the ideal variant, each consecutive phase set in only after the previous one had run its course. This ensured the lowest possible level of social upheavals and disruptions, Rokkan believed.

⁷ Stein Rokkan, Dimensions of state formation and nation building. A possible paradigm for research on variations within Europe, in Tilly, *The formation of national states*: 570ff.

Karl Deutsch find some problem in defining nation in terms of territory, language, history and social heritage. He believed nation emerged out of fusion of state and people. In his words, "A nation is a people who have hold of a state or who have developed quasi-governmental capabilities for forming, supporting and enforcing a common will." Karl Deutsch gives extraordinary importance to communication. According to him a community which has common history is a community which has facilities of communication. Communication consists of storage, recall, transmission, recombination, reapplication of relatively wide range information. The whole idea of communication reflects symbols, habits, memories, operating preferences. The communicative facilities of society includes a socially standardized system of symbols which can be language or any other auxiliary code such as alphabets, system of writing, painting etc. people have a strong sense of solidarity and they are held together from 'within' by communicative efficiency. In large economies where industrial development have taken place it facilitates the migration of population because of more employment opportunities, whenever migration take place people come in the contact of new culture and language consequently it will lead to the national assimilation if assimilation could not take place among dynamic groups then growth of nationalism among newly mobilized population will take place. The rebellious nationalism of newly mobilized population rejects the language or culture of dominant nationality but despite this fact mobilized population share some of the values because it want to acquire mean of dynamic group. In words of Karl Deutsch "The intensity and appeal of nationalism in a world of sharply differentiated income and living standard perhaps may tend to be inversely

proportional to the barriers of mobility between region and classes, and directly proportional to the barriers against cultural assimilation, and to the extent of economic and prestige differences between classes, cultures & religions”⁸.

Karl Deutsch also discussed about development and social mobilization. He draws up important relation between the two. According to Deutsch national assimilation and differentiation was found to be a process of social mobilization which accompanies growth of market, industries, towns, literacy and mass communication. He believed that modernization is the outcome or social mobilization but later he changed his views about the relationship between social mobilization and assimilation. He altered his views become non industrialized state who are multiethnic tend to destroy the unity of states whose population already divided into several groups with different language. As I have discussed in early paragraphs. If newly mobilized group do not assimilated they tend to produce nationalism.

Karl Deutsch gives importance to mobilization in the national building process according to him “A nation is a result of the transformation of the people, on the several ethnic elements in the process of social mobilization.” He found some uniformity which have been found in the growth of nations for example shift from subsistence agriculture to an exchange economy is often characterized by national integration. Where there is exchange economy great interchange of good and services there is more possibility of national or at least regional, linguistic and cultural “awakening”. When there is exchange

⁸ Deutsch, Karl. W (1979), Tides among Nations, Macmillan publishers, P. 23.

economy culture is interchange at different times and different rates in different region. The more developed area act as centers of cultural and economic attraction where population is concentrated. It's because of traffic and communication. Where there is mobility within towns and increasing ties of social mobility, communication and multiple economic exchange between town and country national development is promoted in these areas. In his book "Nationalism and social communication" Deutsch treated assimilation and mobilization as two causally related processes. If assimilation stays ahead of mobilization or keeps abreast of it then everybody will be integrated into one people on the other hand, where mobilization is fast and assimilation is slow opposite happens.

In the mid-1970s, discussions on nation-building took a new turn. In a seminal article pointedly titled "Nation-building or Nation-destroying?" Walker Connor launched a blistering attack on the school of thought associated with Karl Deutsch and his students.⁹ Connor noted that the nation-building literature was preoccupied with social cleavages of various kinds--between burghers and peasants, nobles and commoners, elites and masses--but virtually or totally ignored *ethnic* diversity. This Connor regarded as an inexcusable sin of omission, since, according to his computation, only 9 percent of the states of the world could be regarded as ethnically homogeneous.

Since "nation-building" in the Deutschian tradition meant assimilation into the larger society and the eradication of ethnic peculiarities, Connor believed that in world history it had produced more nation-*destroying* than nation-*building*. However,

⁹. Walker Connor (1994), *Ethnonationalism. The Quest for Understanding*. Princeton: Princeton University Press: First published in 1972, pp. 22-66.

the efficiency of active engineering in nation-building, he held, had generally been greatly exaggerated. Very often it was counterproductive, regularly producing a backlash of ethnic revivalism. Complete assimilation of ethnic minorities had largely failed all over the world, even in that alleged stronghold of consummate nation-building, Western Europe, Connor maintained.

Another reason behind the fundamental flaws of nation-building theory Connor found in the terminological confusion caused by the diverse usages of the word "nation." As he pointed out, this term sometimes is used with reference to cultural groups and peoples, while at other times it describes political entities (states), expressions such as "United Nations" and "international politics." Even more misleading, he felt, was the tendency to use the term "nation" to describe the total population of a particular state without regard for its ethnic composition.

While reserving the term "nation" for ethnic groups only, Connor discarded all objective cultural markers as valid identity demarcations for these units. Neither common language, common religion, nor any other shared cultural reservoir within a group qualified as a genuine sign of nationhood. Any such attempt to objectivize the nation was to mistake the cultural manifestations of a nation for its essence. The true nature of the ethnos was in all and every case the sense of common ancestry shared by its members, Connor asserted. The nation is the ultimate extended family. To be sure, hardly ever could a common origin of the members of the nation be proven. In fact, very often it can be established that a nation stems from diverse ethnic

sources. The belief in a common genetic origin can therefore usually be shown to be pure myth. Nonetheless, adherence to this myth has remained a *sine qua non* for every nation, Connor maintained.¹⁰

Later theoreticians developed Connor's understanding in two different directions. The "modernists"--such as Benedict Anderson, Tom Nairn, Ernest Gellner and Eric Hobsbawm--strongly underlined the myth aspect of the nation. In a celebrated book-titled, Benedict Anderson coined the expression "imagined communities" to describe modern nations. The nation is a product of imagination in the sense that the members of the community do not know each other personally and can only imagine themselves to be in communion with each other. However, Anderson distanced himself from Gellner and Hobsbawm who took the "imagination" metaphor one step further, interpreting it in the direction of "invention" and "fabrication." The nation should not be defined as "false consciousness" Anderson insisted. Definitions like that would imply that there are such things as "true communities" which can be juxtaposed to "artificial" nations. "In fact, all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined."¹¹

At the same time, Anthony Smith, Rasma Karklins and others developed Connor's themes further in another direction, strongly emphasizing the ethnic aspect of the nation. While agreeing with the modernists that "nations" as we know them are recent phenomena, Smith insisted that they have a long prehistory, evolving out of ethnic cores. Of the conglomerate of

¹⁰ Ibid. First published in 1978.

¹¹ Benedict Anderson (1994), *Imagined Communities*, London: Verso, p.6.

ethnic groups existing in earlier ages, some developed into would-be nations aspiring for nationhood and a state of their own, with a few eventually acquiring it. Why do some groups succeed while others fail? Often this must be explained as a result of historical contingencies, a confluence of felicitous circumstances--but it may also be due to the active efforts of determined nationalists, the nation-builders.¹²

Smith and his disciples retained but re-employed the term “nation-building” introduced by the earlier, modernist school of thought. In accordance with their “neo-primordialist” understanding of all modern nations as products of age-old ethnic building material they heavily underlined the cultural, symbolic, (ethnic) and myth-making aspects of nation-building:

“Even for the most recently created states, ethnic homogeneity and cultural unity are paramount considerations. Even where their societies are genuinely “plural” and there is an ideological commitment to pluralism and cultural toleration, the elites of the new states find themselves compelled, by their own ideals and the logic of the ethnic situation, to forge new myths and symbols of their emergent nations and a new “political culture” of anti-colonialism and the post-colonial (African or Asian) state”.¹³

I will discuss mainly four model of Nation building in west.

1. State-ness and Nation-ness: the structure of the centre and the links with peripheries.

¹² Anthony D. Smith (1992), Nationalism and the Historians, in Anthony D. Smith, ed., *Ethnicity and Nationalism*, Leiden: E.J.Brill, p.74.

¹³ Anthony D. Smith (986), The Ethnic Origins of Nations, Oxford University Press, Blackwell, p. 147.

2. Stages and sequence of nation building, elite integration, and mass mobilization.
3. Economic and cultural alliance and the character of the commitment to the centre.
4. In influence of western experience of nation building on the third world.

The first model 'state-ness and nation-ness: The structure of the centre and the links with peripheries' represent the need of structural and institutional approach in the study of political development. In a political system cleavages and oppositions are removed with in a territorial population through the development of institutions. For this Erik Allardt presented a two dimensional model of possible path of development from the stage of "mechanical solidarity" to the stage of "organic solidarity" He stressed on the fact that aim of nation building is a unified nation rather than a human & tolerant society. Peter Nettle gave the essential dimension of state-ness by. Corporate distinctiveness of the central and provisional administrative personnel from established local families, the second dimension focused an primordial or cultural collectiveness in the territorial peripheries and they initiated the process of assimilation and mobilization there are the essential feature of state-ness and generate sound political system.

Some countries differ in the degree of state-ness and nation-ness for example Ireland, Switzerland and Austria there are all nation state but they differed in state-ness and nation-ness there are some variation and contrast in their cultural unification, official language and religious or organisation. Switzerland, Netherland & Belgium are very weak in administrative resource.

Ardent Lijphart called it consociational' system become they developed through alliance between independent cities and provinces.¹⁴ With contrast Austria and Nordic countries are higher on 'State-ness' as well as an "Nation-ness"

"Stages & sequence of nation building" the second model is elite integration, and mass mobilization". This model stressed the need of centre forming alliance and sub-cultural segmentations. These factors were closely tied with nation building, elite integration and mass mobilization Stein Rokkan reported on a comparative study recruitment to parliament in Norway and Switzerland from 1860 to 1920. he distinguished between "Ancient regime phase" which was marked by high barriers against new entrants into elite class. In "mass mobilization phase the cultural and economic organization opened challenges for rise of new elite from unprivileged class and then followed "International phase" which is characterized by organizational saturation and establishment of new professionals. In the third model of Nation building process Stein Rokkan presented a model of four sources in the structuring of territorially defined political organisation which have been already discussed in detail.

This model also focus commitment to the center. Rajni Kothari stressed the importance of the concept of segmentation for the study of centre formation and nation building in the third world countries. In Asia and Africa developments were different from Europe because in third world countries "centers' are

14 Rokkan, Stein 'Centre formation, Nation building & cultural diversity', in Eisenstadt, S.N & Rokkan; Stein (Ed.) (1973), Building states, and Nations (Vol-1), Sage publication, P. 18.

comparatively weak and divided because they lack resources for effective cultural unification.

The last model of nation building western experience of nation building on the decision facing the third world Ranji Kothari expressed dissatisfaction with the western model of political development because they are least helpful to the third world countries because in Europe political centre controlled the sub cultural centre but in Asia only may to achieve stability is to form autonomous sub-centres. In third world countries less attention has been given to the political issues they give more attention to the developmental issues, population growth, family planning, spread of literacy, development of mass media, and diffusion of modern technology. This model deals with the modernization of traditional societies. In the zeal of economic development may respect political development. It is presumed that once basic social and economic tasks are performed the necessary political development will follow. This type of model is inspired from modernization which began with the rise of science and rationality in western Europe in eighteen century because of intellectual flowering which is called enlightenment. The role of politics and leadership lay in admitting there basic transformations in social and economic organisation. Politics play the subsidiary role of "structuring interest" at given point of time. So he is very dissatisfied with the western model of political development because it offer very little guidance to the third world. So third world countries ignores the problem of political reality. More emphasis is given to economic development through the historical model of industrial growth and

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urbanization¹⁵. According to Rajni Kothari, “The conceptual framework of development of nations should be a linkage between national and international level of state and nation building on the one hand between political economic factors on the other hand.” Theories of nation building should not reduce to modernization.

SOCIAL INTEGRATION THEORY AND NATION BUILDING

In the liberal tradition of the 19th century we may identify two somewhat divergent views on national integration. One dominant line of thought regarded the cultural and linguistic dissolution of the minorities into “high cultures” as not only historically inevitable but also as indisputably beneficial to the minorities themselves. This process was often labeled “assimilation,” “acculturation” or “amalgamation” rather than “integration,” but no clear distinctions were made among these concepts. It goes without saying that an individual fully assimilated into the national culture also would be successfully integrated into the larger society.

A classic expression of the assimilationist view may be found in John Stuart Mill’s *Considerations on Representative Government*:

“Experience proves that it is possible for one nationality to merge and be absorbed in another: and when it was originally an inferior and more backward portion of the human race the absorption is greatly to its advantage. Nobody can suppose that it is not more beneficial to a Breton, or a Basque of French

15 Kothari, Rajni (1976), State and Nation building, Allied Publishers, Pvt. Ltd. P. 4.

Navarre, to be brought into the current of the ideas and feelings of a highly civilized and cultivated people--to be a member of the French nationality, admitted on equal terms to all the privileges of French citizenship, sharing the advantages of French protection, and the dignity of French power--than to sulk on his own rocks...¹⁶

A somewhat different view was taken by Lord Acton. He was more inclined to see cultural diversity as a blessing for the members of society and a safeguard against tyranny: "The presence of different nations under the same sovereignty . . . provides against the servility which flourishes under the shadow of a single authority, by balancing interests, multiplying associations, and giving the subject the restraint and support of a combined opinion."¹⁷[¹⁰] Not unity and uniformity, but diversity and harmony ought to reign in society, Acton maintained. However, by no means did he regard all cultures as equal or equally worthy of preservation. On the contrary, one of the main reasons why people from different cultures ought to be included in the same state was that "inferior races" could thereby be raised, by learning from intellectually superior nationalities:

"Exhausted and decaying nations are revived by the contact of a younger vitality. Nations in which the elements of organization and the capacity for government have been lost . . . are restored and educated anew under the discipline of a stronger and less corrupted race."¹⁸

¹⁶ Mill, John Stuart (1946), On Liberty and Considerations on Representative Government, Oxford University Press, Blackwell, pp. 294-95.

¹⁷ Acton, John Emerich Edward (1967), Essays in the Liberal Interpretation of History, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, p. 149. Originally published in 1862.

¹⁸ Ibid. p. 150.

In fact, Acton was prepared to use such phrases as “the cauldron of the State” in which a “fusion” takes place through which the vigor, the knowledge, and the capacity of one portion of mankind may be communicated to another. Thus, his arguments for a multicultural state lead us towards a surprising result: under the tutelage of a superior nationality, members of the less advanced cultures in the state will shed many of their distinctive traits and learn true civilization. Exactly how much will remain of their peculiar identities (to use a modern word which Acton does not employ) remains unclear,¹⁹ but his vision of social integration was not as far removed from John Stuart Mill’s as many observers have been led to believe.

Most of what was written on nation-building and integration in the 1960s and 1970s stood in the combined tradition of Mill and Acton. To Karl Deutsch and his disciples, nation-building and national integration were but two sides of the same coin, indeed, simply two ways of describing the same process. A major object of nation-building was to weld the disparate population elements into a congruent whole, by forging new loyalties and identities at the national level at the expense of localism and particularistic identification. Deutsch specified four stages by which he expected this process to take place: Open or latent resistance to political amalgamation into a common national state; minimal integration to the point of passive compliance with the orders of such an amalgamated government; deeper political integration to the point of active

¹⁹ On the one hand, he saw the multinational character of Austria as one of the assets of this state. In the Habsburg domains no single nation was so predominant as to be able to overcome and absorb the others. On the other hand, Acton accepted the idea that, in the course of time, a state may produce a nationality. Acton, *Essays*: 152 and 156.

support for such a common state but with continuing ethnic or cultural group cohesion and diversity, and finally, the coincidence of political amalgamation and integration with the assimilation of all groups to a common language and culture.²⁰

The modernists saw successful assimilation as a prerequisite for upward social mobilization for members of minority cultures. Only those individuals who mastered the language and the cultural code of the dominant group could aspire for achievement. In most of his writings Deutsch also saw the creation of the homogeneous society, with equal opportunities for all groups, as fully attainable.^{21[14]}

Walker Connor took issue with the assimilation theory of the modernizationists on two accounts. He did not believe that the eradication of cultural differences in society was necessarily a good thing.²² Also, he questioned the one-to-one relationship between modernization and cultural homogenization.

“The continuous spread of modern communication and transportation facilities, as well as statewide social institutions such as public school systems, can have a great influence upon programs of assimilation. But can the nature of that influence be predicted? It is a truism that centralized communications and increased contacts help to dissolve regional cultural distinctions within a state such as the United States. Yet, if one is dealing not with minor variations of the same culture, but with two

²⁰ Deutsch, Karl, “Nation-building and national development some issues for political research”, in Deutsch and Foltz, *Nation building*, pp. 7-8.

²¹ Connor pointed out that there was some vacillations and inner inconsistencies in Deutsch's writings on the subject. Connor, *Ethnonationalism*: 30-35. Deutsch's basic optimism was at times interrupted by fits of pessimism. The upbeat mood prevailed, however, and resonated in a number of scholarly works on ethnic integration in the 1970s.

²² He described it as “succumbing to foreign cultural inroads.” Connor, *Ethnonationalism*, p. 139.

distinct and self-differentiating cultures, are not increased contacts between the two apt to increase antagonism?"²³

In later articles Connor dropped the question mark and more and more fiercely insisted that this was indeed the case. Advances in communication and transportation tend to increase cultural awareness among minorities by making their members more conscious of the distinctions that set their own community apart from other groups. The individual comes to identify more and more closely with his own in-group, contrasting himself to the immediate surroundings.²⁴

This view was accepted and even somewhat sharpened by Arend Lijphart, another pioneer of the new trend in integration theory. Lijphart distinguished between essentially homogeneous societies, where increased contacts are likely to lead to an increase in mutual understanding and further homogenization, on the one hand, and "plural societies," where close contacts are likely to produce strain and hostility, on the other. In societies of the latter type, segregation among the dominant cultural groups would be preferable to integration, he maintained. "Clear boundaries between the segments of a plural society have the advantage of limiting mutual contacts and consequently of limiting the chances of ever-present potential antagonisms to erupt into actual hostility."²⁵

The writings of Lijphart and Connor produced "a minor revolution" in thinking about the processes of national

²³ Ibid, p. 21. Reprint from 1966.

²⁴ Ibid, p. 37 (Reprint from 1972); Ibid, p. 171 (Reprint from 1979).

²⁵ Lijphart, Arend (1977), Democracy in Plural Societies, Yale University Press, New Haven, p. 88.

integration, as Anthony Birch put it.²⁶ It would certainly be wrong to see this as a switch from the assimilationist vision of Mill to the more pluralist vision of Acton: their “revolution” was far more radical than that. Whereas Acton remained a firm believer in the blessings of cross-cultural intercourse, and for that very reason extolled the multinational state as an unqualified good, Connor and especially Lijphart on the contrary not only accepted but relished the abundance of plural states. They were skeptical not only to the possibility but indeed also to the desirability of assimilation.

On the issue of assimilation, Ernest Gellner took a stance in-between the two positions sketched above. Himself a Central European thoroughly integrated into British academe, he shared the conviction of the early liberals and modernizationists that full assimilation of cultural minorities was highly desirable, but he was somewhat more pessimistic about its feasibility. Gellner identified what he called “entropy resistance” as a major obstacle to successful assimilation, and, by the same token, to the social mobilization of minorities. By “entropy” Gellner meant the inherent tendency of modern industrial society to erase social and regional barriers, creating a homogeneous, equalized society. The territorial and work units of industrial societies are basically *ad hoc*, he pointed out: “Membership is fluid, has a great turnover, and does not generally engage or commit the loyalty and identity of members. In brief, the old structures are dissipated and largely replaced by an internally random and fluid totality, within which there is not much (certainly when compared with

²⁶ Birch, Anthony H. (1989), Nationalism and National Integration, Unwin Hyman, London, p.70.

the preceding agrarian society) by way of genuine substructures.”²⁷

However, some group attributes, Gellner maintained, have a marked tendency not to become evenly dispersed throughout society over time. Very often these entropy-resistant, ineradicable traits are of a physical/physiological nature, such as black skin (or, to stick to Gellner’s more surrealistic variant: blue pigmentation). Whenever a high number of persons of blue (black) complexion are located near the bottom of the social ladder, color may become an easily detectable identity marker checking the upward social drift of all blue people. A convenient tool for social stigmatization and oppression of the have-nots has thus been found.

So far, it would seem that Gellner’s theory of entropy resistance would belong to the research of racial discrimination rather than to the study of ethno-cultural integration. However, Gellner goes on to claim that “some deeply engrained religious-cultural habits possess a vigor and tenacity which can virtually equal those which are rooted in our genetic constitution so firm as to be comparable to some physical characteristic.”²⁸ Thus, while Connor and those who agree with him see the impediments to smooth cultural assimilation as stemming from the very logic of modernization itself, Gellner located these hindrances in traits and characteristics which are usually borne by only some members in society

Prof. Victor S. D’Souza has tried to put sociological perspectives in terms of nation building and development

²⁷ Gellner, Ernest (1990), Nations and Nationalism, Oxford University Press: Blackwell, p. 63.

²⁸ Ibid, p. 71.

process. He uphold the view that in political sense, nationalism stands for political unify which is secured by the willingness cooperation among all section of society. But such a unify can be established if it is found in the appropriate socio-cultural transformation. In order to threw the socio transformation. It is important to know that is meant by social structure. Social structure is a model of basic structure of society which reflects long lasting relationship. The social structure grouping are based on three major type of social relationship hierarchical , affiliation and territorial bonds, the hierarchical power is based on the dimension of power which divides people into superior and subordinate categories. The affiliation relation refers to the dimension of love and hate, like or dislike which is manifested in culture, territory or geographical space is the other major dimension in the formation of social structure grouping. The people who belong to same geographical area have strong possessive territorial sentiments. These different structural group play their important role in society but when there is clash of interests in among the groups. It becomes problematic and tend to acquire inequality. The most powerful group among there group bind the society by political unity. These type of societies which one found socially and politically called plural societies. In these societies cooperation is not achieved willingly so these societies can't be called as nations but plural societies can be transformed into national societies if we reduce inequality among different groups in a social structure. In spite of difference in a group if they have emphatic understanding with each other they can be called nations. This kind of integration is appropriate for building a National society. These type of societies emerged out of heterogeneous model. So, this model rejects the presumption

that societies should have prerequisite of a common language, a proudly shared historical experience, a common religion tradition and social homogeneity. Such a model of nation building and development planning should address to the task of development the individual and transforming the society rather giving importance to forces of economic development²⁹.

Romila Thapar provided a historical respective analysis of history in her article “Nation building, development process and communication – towards a Renaissance” Says that concept of nation and nation state is the development of modern times. The nineteen centenary Indian renaissance broadly sort inspiration from European thought. She thought that interaction of a cultural system is possibly a healthier way of projecting culture in a nation state than the aim of confronting to a monolithic pattern. There is need for the development of a rational culture in the process a nation building.

Shanti Swarup In his article “The imperatives of nation building process” bring out the new dimension of nation building which subsumes integration of pluralistic society, socio-economic development and political cohesion. According to him the aim of nation building is to achieve vertical as well as horizontal integration means different region of society feel they are equally partner in nation building and benefited from the system as well as national community vertical integration implies to give social and economic justice to all through a democratic process. These two horizontal and vertical integration implies the importance of national integration along with

²⁹ D' Souza, Victor, “Nation building and development process”. In Singh, L.R (Ed.) (1994) Nation building and development process, Nice Printing Press, New Delhi, P. 38.

modernization and development process. In the process of national integration there is need for strengthening democracy by promoting economic development, political participation and distributive social justice.

Yogesh Atal in his article “Insulator and Apertures: dynamic of nation building”, say that notion building is a synonym with modernization and national integration. In his view nation building is related to the development of polity that is characterized by stability and people’s firm commitment to it. Nation building involves the utilization of skills of social and political engineering. The Index of nation building is the index of the degree of political cohesion and integration³⁰. The programme thus put emphasis on making structure more functional and cohesive.

So, we see that word nation is interpreted in cultural attributes, some shared experience and commonalities. These issues have been discussed in detail. But building a nation is somewhat which can be associated with engineering by intellectuals and leaders. But we can easily demarcate a line between Nation building in west and third world countries. Karl Deutsch’s assimilationist view and walker canner’s rejecting Deutschican thesis because of ethnic peculiarities which hinders the way of easy assimilation. The Integrative view of society and Psychological make up of population through “Imagined communities” are the basic thesis around which discourse of nation building revolves in west. But In third world countries which were mainly colonies of west the paradigm of building a nation is some what different. It revolves around issues like

30 Yogesh, Atal, “Insulator & Apertures: Dynamics of Nation Building” in yogesh, Atal (Ed) (1981), Building A nation, Abhinav Publication.

colonial past, nationalist expectations and socio-economic reconstruction. Nation building in these countries could be explained through discourse theory which sets out value of nationalism as an ideology. In these countries when discourse of nation building is to be started nationalist feelings and expectations are very high. Discourse theory was given by Laclau and Mouffe. They give reference to hegemony which was Influenced from Gramsci's work.

The discourse of nation building in India and China revolves around nationalist feelings and developmental issues. It has its roots in struggle for independence and It is engineered by intellectuals and leaders but in both the cases there were "Nation in making" which will be discussed in next chapters that how this great nation of Asia is consolidated in diverse cultural situations and in frail economic conditions. The problem of cultural diversity can be minimized because in these countries the policies and programmes of leaders have full legitimacy and support of people because they feel that their participation in the system will be there. Freedom brings new aspirations for them.

So from the above discussion on various views of building nation it is very difficult to draw common factors around which a nation has to be structured because different nations have peculiar Characteristics on the basis of which discourse of nation building has started. But it stands on pillars of some common issue like integration of plural society by nationalist feelings, developmental issues, some past glories and shared experiences.

CHAPTER 2

DISCOURSE ON NATION BUILDING IN INDIA: 1947-60

A nation emerges in a distinct historical context where group of people became convinced of their collective belonging to the same culture and share a common bonds. It is often thought of as “a people or a folk held together by some or all of such more or less immutable characteristic as common decent, territory, history, language, religion, way of life or other attributes that member of a group have from birth onwards.¹ The above definition throw light on shared experience and commonalities among people which constitute the ‘basis of nation building. In Indian case there is religious as well as cultural pluralism. Indian religion can be categorised into two parts that is religion of the Indian origin and religion of alien origin. The Hinduism has been expanding to other regions in Asia. The people who belong to religions of foreign origin are perceived as lesser Indians which goes against the spirit of plural society.

Stalin says “Common language” is one of the most important component of a nation. According to this approach it is problematic to term India as a nation in the absence of common language. The problem of Independent India is not that it is not a nation, but it has different type of nations as compare to the other nations of the world. The dictum of one language, one-nation is not a workable position in the Indian

¹ Oommen, T.K. (1990), State and civil society in India: studies in nation building Sage Publication Pvt. Ltd., p. 1.

context. Central issue of nation building revolves around the tensions between of cultural, religious and linguistic pluralism. The process of 'nation in making' have been created out of long historical continuities and shared experience. Indian nationalist movement which has witnessed mass mobilisation provided the basis that later helped for nation building process in the country. Cannor does not agree that Indian national movement which brought the diverse segment of population against the British control could be called as Indian Nationalism. He termed the Indian national movement as "wartime alliance".² Historian like Irfan Habib says that Marxist without any hesitation believes that "India... is not a nation because it has neither a common language nor common culture"³. Indian Marxist hold the view that Indian national unity is the function of a united struggle against imperialism. Logically once the external enemy disappeared fear is generated that it would split up into different nations.

Marxist theory assume that progress of humanity has given rise to parallel communities of people, class, nation and others, when development of society take place tribe, nationality and nation occupy a prominent place among socio-historical community. Many years ago the word nation is used to express ethnic peculiarities of different communities of people like family, language, custom and belief those generally implied to the tribal communities. When feudalism decay and capitalism came, then the concept of nation become

² . Canor, Walker (1972), Nation Building or Nation destroying? world politics, vol. XXIV, No. 2.

³ Mukherji N. Pradhan (1992), "Social Conflicts in India: Nationl building or nation destroying? An agenda for urgent research" in *Man & Development*, Dec, p. 22.

significant. Nation emerged in inevitable product of the bourgeois nation. Nation also exist under socialism and this will not disappear till mature stage of communism is achieved. If we take Marxist view these are so many social and cultural pluralism in India which hinder the way of building a nation. Hobsbawn says that political conflict in India ranges from agrarian to religious and from autonomy to succession. These facts prove that India to yet to crystallize into a nation. He distinguished between nation building and state formation. New independent state has yet to mature as nation to quote Hobsbawan,

*“maturity to a nation implies an emotional- affective attachment of an average citizen to one’s own country, transcending those based on his primordial attachments”.*⁴

T.K. Oommen is of the belief that cultural pluralism is a obstacle in the way of nation building because cultural pluralism encourage nationalities based on religion and language. Which is a chief obstacle in the way of nation building because cultural pluralism encourages nationalities based on religion and language which is a chief obstacle in the way of nation building in Asian and African countries.⁵

4 Hobsbawn, EG (1990), Nations and Nationalism since 1780: programme, Myth, Reality, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

5 The dimension of Indian plurality can be adequately comprehended when we realise that within its political boundaries line some 844 million people (census 1991) speaking 14 major languages and 1652 mother tongues (census 1971 monograph 10:260) they belong to six major reasons and practice many more faiths. There are over 300 tribes of which 56 have population ranging from over 100,000 to 500,000. They constitute roughly eight percent of the country’s population. There are over 3,000 castes of which the most deprived ones, the scheduled caste constitute nearly 16 percent of India’s population (census of India part-II B(iii) 1981, XIX; part-II B(ii) 1981, XIX) the Indian constitution recognizes the most backward social

The notion of welfare state which initiated the process of modernization gave emphasis on meritocracy and achievements social and spatial mobility, transparent and communication and common system of education which ultimately undermine the traditional ties and value based on race, language and religion. Third world countries have their hope from legacy of nationalist feelings. The third world countries they fought the Imperial powers during strength from keeping their primordial collectivism. In European countries, empires dissolved into nation states because they believe in "one-nation, one-state" but after Independence colonies of third world try to retain their multi-national character"⁶. In the country like India primary task of nation building was to maintain and reinforce the nationalist expectancy. The context of there hopes were three fold that is political integration, economic development and cultural pluralism. There is a big divide in the cultural mainstream. On the one side there is dominant nationality union is called 'centre' and dominant nationality of the periphery. The ideology of the dominant class is perceived and legitimized as "nationalism". On the other hand peripheral communities is stigmatized as "communal". Primordial collectivism is more prominent among periphery rather than centre of the system because event of community is likely to be more among deprived. The aim of the primordial collectivism of periphery is not to practice and profess their language or to procure their style of life but they demand economic benefits and political rights on the basis of their group affiliation.

and economic status of these scheduled groups and has guarantee there rights of preferential treatment and protective discrimination.

⁶ Oommen T.K. (1990), state & society in India, Sage Publication Ltd. P.44.

So, in the third world countries of Asia and Africa composed of multi-national and linguistic groups the way towards of nationhood has been problematic. To build an authentic nation state by building a cultural mainstream reducing the periphery to the marginals is different. India can have strong nation state with multiple cultural 'centers'. Different cultural collectivities should be encouraged to nurture their identities. Their economic opportunities and political rights should not be denied.

As discussed earlier the views of Rajni Kothari's criticism of nation building process in the third world countries that they gave more importance to economic factors than political issues. So, theory of nation building reduced to modernization. The concepts of modernization was interchangeable with "development" and "Nation building"⁷. The fact behind other statement is that less industrialized and less modernized countries of world generally follow the proven path of economic development and progress. So, in nation building process third world countries like India gave emphasis on post colonial development through historical model of industrial growth and urbanization.

After Independence Nehru became the symbol of India's new beginning of a modern nation state. Nehru and Gandhi differed on the vision free India to be constructed however both agreed that "Swaraj" means more than political considerations. In the powerful book "Hind Swaraj". Gandhi envisioned Swaraj on moral grounds by equating it with "self rule". Unlike Nehru, he was against industrialization and

⁷ Kothari, Rajni (1976), State and nation building, Allied Publishers, New Delhi, p.2.

favoured small scale industry and decentralization. In his words, *“Industrialization on a mass scale will necessarily lead to passive or active exploitation of the villagers as the problem of competition and marketing came in. Therefore we have to concentrate on the village being self-contained, manufacturing mainly for use”*⁸. Gandhi’s idea emerged out of his religious conviction. For him individual service was the way to discover the divine. But Nehru’s temples of modern India consisted of dams for irrigation it also included institution of high learning particularly in science. In the words of Jawaharlal Nehru while commenting on Bhakra Dam, *“Probably no where in the world is there a dam as higher as this... As I walked around the site I thought that these days the biggest temple and mosque and gurudwara is the place where man works for the good of mankind”*⁹.

Nehru gave emphasis on large scale industrialization which reflected in the second year plan. Nehru saw the solution of development problem in the planned nationalization of industry and the encouragement of state and cooperative enterprises. It was believed that economic planning and industrialization will enhance national unity. In the words of Mahadev Ranade, *“The agitation for political rights may bind the various nationalities of India together for a time. The community of interests may cease when these rights are achieved. But commercial union of various Indian nationalities once established will never cease to exist. Commercial and industrial activity is, therefore, a bond of very strong union and*

⁸ Cited in Chatterjee, Partha (1986), Nationalist thought and the colonial world, O.U.P., p. 88.

⁹ Cited in Khilnani, Sunil (1997), The idea of India, Penguin Publishers, p. 61.

is therefore, a mighty factor in the formation of a great Indian nation.”¹⁰

After independence, India gave paramount importance to development and modernization process. As a modernist Nehru had firm faith political institutions and liberties, and at the same time he argued that building a strong nation has to be backed by sound economy.

History took a turning point on the day of independence. Jawaharlal Nehru while addressing to the nation from the walls of Shah Jahan’s historic Red Fort said.

“At the stroke of midnight hour, when the world sleeps – India will awake to the life and freedom. A moment comes, which comes rarely in the history when we step out from old to new, when an age ends, and when soul of nation long suppressed find utterance”¹¹.

Nehru’s vision of tryst with destiny lies in economic betterment of masses. Industrialization is considered as nation power of the economy because industrialized economy ensures economic and political independence of the nation, Nehru’s idea of socialism also rest on the pillars of equity and heavy industrialization but along with it he emphasized cultural peculiarities of India. Equality is entailed in progress of industrialization. After independence ultimate aim was to achieve a equitable society. To quote Nehru, *“our final aim can be only be a classless society with equal economic justice and a*

¹⁰ Cited in Khilanani, Sunil (1997), The idea of India, Published by Penguin Group, p. 9.

¹¹ Jawaharlal Nehru’s speeches., Vol. I *The publication division ministry of Information & broadcasting*, P. 25.

society organized on planned basis for the raising of mankind to higher material and cultural levels, to a cultivation of spiritual values, of cooperation, unselfishness, the spirit of service, the desire to be right, goodwill and love"¹².

But at the time of independence conditions were not favorable to initiate the task of building a nation. Independence brought the pain of partition. Society was fragmented and communalized that yet to be welded in a nation. Before, India begins with immense social, economic and political problems the consequences of partition had effect on weakening nationalist fervor. Partition brought immense destruction. From thousand people of both the communities were wounded and made homeless.¹³ Many people lost their lives those who survived fear generated in them that they could be safe among the members of one is own community.

Partition had immediate impact on Indian economy because it upset economic integrity. There was possibility of emerging food problem because that area which surplus wheat, cotton, jute merged into Pakistan's territory. Jawaharlal Nehru in a broadcast from New Delhi on August 19, 1947 said, "*I have received thousand of messages from abroad... and from Indians from very remote corner of the world. Nothing can effect me more than who have cut from their motherland; They have hungered for India's freedom even more than perhaps we have, and coming of this freedom have been a tremendous event in*

¹² Cited in Chatterjee, Partha (1986), Nationalist thought and colonial world. O.U.P.

¹³ Barbara D. Metcalf & Thomas R. Metcalf (2002), The Concise History of India, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

*their lives*¹⁴. There were murder and looting in many places and refugees were poured from one place to another. Jawaharlal Nehru said that he would give way to move who want to go to east Punjab but we would not like to encourage mass migration of people across new borders because it would involve tremendous misery of all concerned.

The young and immature congress had to settle the millions of refugee. Partition encouraged communalism. Princely states have different political structure in British rule. Indian national government get problem of integrating them as a nation state Nehru was engaged in the reorganization of India's provinces. The problem originated from India's colonial past. Britishers formed their provinces and separated one hundred of India's princely states from them. As a result, some language group like Oriya and Telgu speakers were split among other provinces. Jawaharlal Nehru wrote to his chief minister to quote *"I would give up talking about linguistic provinces... the factors to be considered in redistribution are geography, economy, financial relating to security and defense... and rejecting the more of one language one state"*¹⁵.

In these conditions Indian leaders began the task of national consolidation and reconstruction with admirable energy and devotion. Nehru's vision of India is depicted in his words, *"For us in India we have to build the nationalism, integrating various parts and creeds and religion of our country before we launch into real internationalism"*.

¹⁴ Jawaharlal Nehru's speeches (1948-49) vol. I, The Publication Division Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, p. 64.

¹⁵ Cited in M. Judith Brown (2003), Nehru: A political life, Chapter No. 11. Structuring the nation, OUP.

The primary task of the nation builders in India was to live up to people's expectations. The role of leaders and intellectuals became even more prominent when post colonial state began the task of restructuring the nation from the frail economy and diverse social conditions. On the seventh anniversary of independence Nehru concluded

“The building up of new India has always seems to be not merely a orientation of improving agriculture or industry etc.... there could be no economic advance without breaking down, restrictive social customs including class divisions and barriers to women's free participation in national life... In fact we can't build unity of Indian unless there is emotional awareness not only of political but economic and social equality.”¹⁶

After Independence Nehru realized that India is not structured but “nation in making”. Indian leaders felt that democracy was the basic component. In nation building process democracy was linked with unity of India. He gives more emphasis on rapid industrialization and planning public sector, development of heavy industry, science and technology. So, Nehru's reformist and progressive agenda was one of the most important feature of nation building in India. Mass mobilization of people in Indian National Movement and unique condition of partition and reorganisation of society are special feature on which discourse of nation building started.

ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION AFTER INDEPENDENCE

The backward stagnant economy which India inherited as a legacy of colonial imperialism came to a historical turning point at the dawn of independence Jawaharlal Nehru favoured

¹⁶ M. Judith Brown (2003), Nehru: A political life, OUP.

industrialization. He expressed his view in a speech. 'The need for equality was entailed in the very logic of progress. Progress meant industrialization; industrialization required the removal of barriers which prevented particular group from finally participating in the entire range of new economic activities, hence industrialization required equality of opportunity'¹⁷. Again in another speech underlining the importance of industrialization, Jawaharlal Nehru says. "The spirit of the age demanded industrialization; without it, not only would be basic economic problem of poverty will remain unsolved even the political formation of independent nationhood would be threatened. It was not, therefore, a matter of moral or aesthetic choice. It was simple fact of modern life, determined globally by one condition of modern day economic production'¹⁸. Reform of Indian economy was based on action plan with the two strategies. Firstly, activities were made to remove the basic constraint such as rapid growth of population, illiteracy, unemployment, poverty, infrastructure, out dated technology and lower level of productivity. Secondly activities were aimed at making the optimum use of limited resources in order to accelerates growth for maximum welfare.

On the eve of Independence the Indian economy was stagnant and handicapped because of low investment low output and low exports because during colonial era government economic policies in India were concerned more with protecting & promoting British Interest the administrative primary

¹⁷ Jawaharlal Nehru speeches, (1957-1961) vol. 3 *The Publication Division Ministry of Information and Broadcasting*, New Delhi, p. 23

¹⁸ Jawaharlal Nehru's speeches, (1954-1961), vol. 3 *The Publication Division Ministry of Information and Broadcasting*, New Delhi, pp. 184-85.

occupation was with maintaining law and order and tax collection these activities absorbed bulk of public revenues.

At the time of independence, the economy's role was overwhelmingly small. Per capita income was Rs. 240 recorded a positive growth rate of 3% between 1905 and 1915 and it showed negative growth rate of 3% during the time between 1936 and 1945. After independence on (1948-49) net national product was 8,850 crores and per capita income was 248 Rs. agriculture sector symbolizes backwardness mainly because of semi feudal land tenure, out dated technology and low productivity. Farmers were suffering with the small fragmented holding and outdated technologies. Low output was direct result of agriculture stagnation. Rate of agriculture output was 17.6 lakh tons while wheat was 7.0 lakhs tons. Rate of agriculture output was 0.3 percent while population growth rate was 1.0% annual. Immediately after independence our economy was lopsided between 1931 and 1947 agriculture production declined and in 1943 worst famine came consequently purchasing power of rural population declined¹⁹. Agriculture was also in bad condition and depends on monsoon. We have lack of infrastructure facilities, road, railways, airways, electric power. 40.1% people die before attaining age of twenty years. Average life span was 32.1 years. There was lower form of production in individual sector. Light industry contributed 78 percent of total gross output of manufacturing sector. Country suffered from regional imbalances.

¹⁹ B.P. Guha & Deb Nath, K.R. (1998), Fifty Years of Indian Independence (1947-97)- STATUS, Growth and Development., B.R. Publishers, New Delhi PP.5- 7

Table number one shows increase in net national product, per capita income and net investment from 1948-49 to 1960-61.

Item units I	At 1948-49 Prices	At 1960-61 Prices
Net National Product (In crores)	8,850	9650
Per capita income (in Rupees)	248	269
Net Investment (in crores)	-	764
Net Investment as % of Net Nation product percentage	-	8.8 (estimated)

Sources : *Economic survey(1969-70)*, planning commission indicator(1968), ministry of finance.

After independence large scale investment were taken to remove growth constraint, semi feudal tenure, poor infrastructure, our dated farming technology. Since independence our national government have been making planned endeavor to promote agrarian development by intensifying an attack on agriculture backwardness. Jawaharlal Nehru in a broadcast to nation on 31st Dec, 1952 said, "for the progress of agriculture, as needed for any kind of national progress a proper land policy is needed. We have gave same way towards by putting an land in many states to zamindari and Jagirdari system. We must compete this task and eliminate all intermediaries in land and ceiling on one holding of land.....greater production is essential both through agriculture and industry, if we are to fight poverty

and raise standards.” B.P. Guha and K.R. Debanath in their books “India fifty years of independence: 1947-97-status, growth and development.” discussed the following land reforms.

1. Land reforms measures aiming at abolition of intermediaries, enforcement and abolition of tenure rights.
2. Removal of infrastructure and institutional handicap by mobilizing large investment on irrigation, power and transport, and also stream lining the institutional set up to promote effective support to financing and marketing activities.
3. Measures were for capital investment to strengthen R and D effect in agriculture.

Consequently because of these measures in land, agriculture, output which recorded an insignificant growth rate of less than 0.5 percent per annum in pre independent period. By 1964-65 the growth rate of food grain output level rose upto 2.87 per annum while rate of growth of non food grain was almost double of this. The net output of agriculture and related activities is estimated to have rose by over 50 percent since 1950. Between 1950-51 & 1971-72 gross irrigated area has increased by sixteen million arisen from less than 100,000 tons²⁰

In order to bring all over development in economy the preparatory work of development project initiated in 1944. The great deal of useful works has done between 1944 & 1946 to

²⁰ Ibid, p. 40.

outline broad strategy and policies of development. The industrial policy resolution of 1948 accept this fact that government have major role in initiating and regulating developments in one of the sector in economy the directive principle of state policy was incorporated in constitution to define the broad objective of socio-economic policy.

In second five year plan emphasis was given on the development of basic heavy industries. Total investment in the economy had recorded on increase of 70% during first five year plan period and continued to rise further. The total investment in the first plan was 3,360 crore Rs it increased to 6750 crores between first plan and second plan and these two added up to Rs. 10,110 crores investment. In these two plans together the share of public sector investment was 52%. In the first plan emphasis was given on primary sector like agriculture, community development & irrigation which contributes 31% of total plan . The following table shows the investment made by government in various sectors.

Table No. 2

Composition of aggregate investment, India during first two five year plans

	First plan	Percentage	Second plan	Percentage
Agriculture	9.1	27	12.6	19
Industry & minerals	4.41	12	18.1	27

Power	2.7	8	4.8	7
Transport	5.9	18	14.1	21
Other	11.5	35	17.9	26
Total	33.6	100	67.5	100

Sources – Planning Commission, Perceptive Planning Division, “*estimates of incremental capital output ratio for the Indian economy*”, New Delhi, 1969.

Because of heavy investment GDP increased from 8979 crores to 15254 crores in 1960-61 per capita net national production was 112 crores in 1950-51 which increased to 1350 cores. Index of agriculture production was 8.5 cores in 1950-51 which increased to 36.2 in 1960-61. electricity generation was 3.1 billion in 1950-51, which increased to 16.9 in 1960-61. Total plan outlay was 1950-51 was 260 crores which increased to 1117 crores in 1960-61.

During first three plans industry grew even rapidly more than agriculture at the compound growth rate of 7.1% per annum between 1951 & 1965. in Second plan 70% of plan expenditure was on industry. The intermediate and capital growth industries like basic metals, chemicals, transport, equipment and electrical goods grew very faster than consumer good industry like textiles. Rate of growth of manufacturing industry textile grew 2.98% chemical products grew 7.9% basic metal Alloy grew to 6.52% men electrical machinery grew to 17.64% and transport grew 14:83% ²¹.

²¹ Charavarthy, Sukhamoy (1987), Development Planning: the Indian experience., OUP, P. 111.

Consequently the economy diversified. The following table shows growth of production in selected industry.

Table No. 3

Growth of Production in selected Indian consumer industry

Consumer Industry	1950-51	1960-61
Sugar	534	801
Cotton Yarn	837	1079
Jute textile	116	350
Paper or paper board machinery	-----	-----
Power - driven pumps (thousand)	30	109
Electric motors	99	728
Machine tools	37	70
Cotton textile machinery (Rs. Million)	NA	104
Cement machinery	NA	.6
Railway Wagon[thousand]	2.9	11.9
Automobiles	10.5	55
Bicycles	98	1071
Consumer Industry	1061	2699

Source: Reserved Bank of India, Government of India, India Pocket Book Economic Information, 1973 and 1974, Report on growth of production in selected industry.

In the scope and range of economic activities undertaken by government is another significant feature of post independent period. About 70 percent of total recurrent budget of the center and state in 1950-51 was absorbed by defence maintenance and general administration. The following table through light on heavy investment undertaken by public sector.

Table No.4

Sources of finance for investment, India 1950-5 to 1972-3 (Rs Billion)

	First plan	Percentage	Second plan	Percentage
Net investment	32.6	100	63.6	100
Net Capital inflow	2.1	6.4	19.2	31.2
Domestic saving	30.5	93.6	44.4	69.8

Sources- C.S.O., estimates of national product... op.cit, R.B.I. Report on currency of finance, 1973-74

Apart from Industry and agriculture the early planners gave up most priority to development of infrastructure, including health which were greatly neglected in colonial past

Table No. 5

The following table shows growth of infrastructure facilities on India (1950–61)

	1950-51	1960-61
Power generation (billion kwh)	6.6	16.6
No, of villages & towns electrified (thousand)	3.7	26.0
Surfaced road (thousand km)	157	236
Railway freight (billion km)	44.2	87.7
School enrolment (million)	23.5	44.7
University enrolment (million)	0.4	1.05
Hospital development (million)	125	186

Source: Government of India, Fourth Five Year Plan: A draft outline, Govt. of India.

Jawaharlal Nehru and early Indian planners were actually aware of backwardness in science and technology and therefore made massive efforts to over come this shortcoming. In a broadcast to the nation on 31st Dec, 1952 Jawaharlal

Nehru says, *“we live in the age of science. We hear and read of revolutions, but the greatest revolutionary forces of the past 150 years has been science, which has transformed human life and has changed political, social and economic organization”*²². So Nehru’s temple of modern India also includes institution of higher learning particularly in scientific field. In 1948 the atomic energy commission was set up laying the foundation of creditable advance which India had to make in the sphere of Nuclear science and related areas national development on scientific research and development were growing rapidly with each plan. It increased from Rs 10 million in 1949 to Rs. 4.5 billion in 1977.

Nehru’s idea of economic development generate from modernist framework. He advocated industrialization and underscored the importance of national planning. His idea of economic planning were interwoven with this socialist principles and industrialization in the wake of modernity and he try to link political independence with economic independence. His chief programme focus on the implementation of leftist programme which promote the economic equality and growth which further help to eradicate poverty and unemployment for Nehru the proper management of the economy was central to his vision of forging the nation in the year after independence. He said in 1955, *‘I am fed up of politics. My entire life has been spent in politics and even now I have to give most of my time to it, but I do not want to make my time in either politics or international affairs. My mind is full of economic problems and the need to make economic progress, to*

²² Mukherjee and Tagra, Jawaharlal Nehru : The architect of modern India, Reliance Pursuing House, New Delhi, P. 290.

make the people better off, and so on....the real problem before us is the economic progress in India."²³. Nehru gave more importance to economic considerations and developmental issue rather than the development of political structure and organization. His concept of democracy is also inalienable part of his economic considerations. Nehru believed that the process of economic, social and cultural development on the one hand and of socialist transformation on the other hand were mutually re-enforcing. He believed keeping aloof from the mainstream of economic and social development the socialists can not imagine socialist transformation.

Nation Building Through Economic Planning

During long period of India's struggle for freedom. Indian leaders feel the necessity of eradication of poverty. The need for industrialization and reconstruction of socio-economic life for this importance of economic planning was felt in ensuring economic development and social justice have come to be recognized even before independence. After independence Nehru chosen the path of planning for establishment of socialist pattern of society to be achieved through non violence, peaceful, non coercive means, Nehru therefore followed the policy of flexible socialism through the system of economic planning.

In Indian case planning process begin in 1950s. In Indian case it was commodity centered approach." Represented form of government gives "community

²³ Cited in Brown , M. Judith (2003), Nehru: A political life OUP, PP. 236-237.

development.”²⁴ In which plan project was to be shared by collective community as a whole. The main objective of Indian planning is to lay foundation of industrialization in 1950's & 1960s.

The second five year plan which aimed at heavy industrialization is known as “Nehru – Mahalonbis and formed linkage in third plan it was realized that priority should be given to agriculture. So, second and third plan was contrasted second plan aimed at capital accumulation under the condition of structural backwardness. In the third, five year plan's first chapter “planned economy” was more or less written by Nehru, himself.

Indian planners like Nehru were concerned about various relationships in AICC resolution of Nov in 1945 Jawaharlal Nehru laid emphasis on

1. Nationalism of banking and industry
2. Defence and public utility service under public sector.
3. Industry which is concerned with food, clothing and other consumer good were to be reserved for cottage and small scale industry.
4. State control investment and dividends in private sector.

Nehruvian socialism means planned mixed economy dominated by public sector. It was considered of economic as well as political considerations. Means of securing economic growth rapid industrialization. Putting forward the social objective of planning before the parliament in 1954 Jawahar

²⁴ Charavarthy, Sukhmoy (1987), Planning with Indian experience, Oxford University Press, p. 111.

Lal Nehru said. *“We are starting planning for 360 million human beings in India... What do the 360 million people want?... It is obvious enough that they want food; It is obvious enough that they want clothing, that they want shelter, that they want health... I suggest that the only policy that we should have in mind is that we have to work for 360 million people; not for a few, not for a group but the whole lot, and to bring them up on equal basis.”*²⁵

Political Transformation

The post independent politics of nation building, state building and social transformation of India was integrally linked with inter related pillar of democracy pluralism, federalism for creating new egalitarian society. The context of political development in new nations like India where ancient land slowly seeking culture of modern world without denouncing its old age traditions and diversities, such a attempt is realized through democratic process and multi party system based on the free competition among parties and parliamentary institution. In 1928, Motilal Nehru committee had framed a draft spelling out the feature of India’s polity – it recommended parliament form of government. Foundation of new government was forging the political process for mobilizing support for state policy in Indian politics. It was neither suppressed nor confined to small aristocracy. On the contrary politics provides large setting with in which decision making regard to economic development and social change

²⁵ Cited in Chandra, Bipin (1999), India after independence, published by Penguin Book India Ltd., New Delhi, p. 500.

take place. State intervention in economic and social issues are justified by the ideology of development. Indian leaders initiated the process of change through creation of government systems which was based on liberal economic theory of freedom and equality. Indian leaders borrowed the western liberal philosophy and Indianised it with unique Indian practice like grant of special privileges to the backward group in society and the scheduled caste and tribes was the innovative designed to help the economically and socially weaker section of community. Language diversity is also reconsolidated at the adoption major regional language having legal status.

The creation of planning commission within political structure was one among political developments to attain planned economic growth. Community development programmes and panchayati Raj institution were adopted within framework of India political system. These were undertaken for the social and economic development at the grass root level.

At the time of independence other parties, were the Congress, the Socialistic party, the Communist, the Kisan Majdoor, praja party and the Bharatiya Jan sangh were functioning actively and successfully in 1951-52 and it was very crucial to the development of parliamentary democracy in India. But those parties were characterized by split early 1950's provincial zamindar league merged within the Kishankar Lok Party. Socialist party first divided into Praja socialist party, The Swatantra party which was formed in 1961 took the form of Janta party of Bihar, the Indian Democratic

Congress of Madras and United Independent Front or Madhya Pradesh. In 1952, there were total seventy four political parties out of which fourteen were national parties . In 1957 their total number reduces to sixteen out of which four were national parties and 12 state parties.

After independence the congress party became the lead player. It was like one party dominant system. Other parties were free to compete for power in electoral areas because in that period entry was easy and constitutionally guaranteed. But these parties could not displace congress.

Consensus and the opposition parties were “parties of pressure.”²⁶ Historian like Bipan Chandra said that after independence congress was transformed from a movement into a party. During Nehruvian era congress remained basically a party of the central or middle with left orientation. It stood for nationalism, economic development, social justice and equalization of opportunities. At the time of independence Gandhi was called for the dissolution of congress as a political party engages in the pursuit of political power and government office. He called congress party a vehicle for social transformation. Gandhi showed least insight for power dimension and of the national consolidation just before his death in 1948 he proposed the dissolution of the congress as political machine and he proposed converting congress in to Lok Seva Sangh. He emphasized that “congress should be kept out of unhealthy completion for power.”²⁷

²⁶ Kothari, Rajni (1970), Politics in India, Little Brown Co. India.

²⁷ Kathari, Ranji (1970) Politics in India, Little Brown Co. India

After independence congress enjoyed legitimacy because it was a nationwide organization. Congress under Nehru produced a consensus in present around socio-economic goals, around the spirit of nationalism which gave basic identity to all Indian symbols and provide basis of confidence. Other opposition parties do not act like strong opposition coalition to challenge congress power but it worked on factionalism which is the congress. Nehru's victory in Intra – party conflict had political implications it symbolizes acceptance of modernist strategy of congress party. Nehru's intellectual orientation and progressivism sharply contrasted with Patel's organizational commitment and conservatism. Patel was leader of right wing. Patel too shared basic element of national movement based on commitment to democracy and civil liberties, secularism, social reforms and pro-poor orientation. But patel's conservatism found expression with regard to question of class and socialism. But Nehru believed that democracy and socialism being indivisible in a speech to Constituent Assembly in 1948. Nehru says, "A democracy is not a purely political affair. The nineteen century conception of democracy of each person having a vote was a good enough conception these deep but it was incomplete, and people think in terms of a larger and deeper democracy today.....After all there is no equality between the person who has tremendous education advantage and the person also has had none. So educationally, economically and otherwise people differ greatly..... It becomes incumbent on us, not only for humanitarian reason but from the stand point of fulfillment of fundamental democracy to rise up those people who have low positions down in the social and economic scale and to bring

to then equality of opportunity of growth and progress.”²⁸ Nehru’s road to self realization was based on the two things first democracy and another economic development.

After independence congress party emerged as a principal political force in the country with a over whelming majority of seats at center and in most of the states. In Lok Sabha it served 364 out of 489 seats and 74.4% of all seats. In state assembly it won 2,246 out of 3,283 seats or 68.4 percent of all seats ²⁹Congress do not hold monopoly of power. In 1952, it failed to get absolute majority in four states Madras, Pepsu, Orissa and Travancore-Cochin.

Political participation of the people has increased in several ways after independence. 173 million people voted in 1952. Their number increased to 193 million in 1957 and in 1962 elections 212 million people voted their notes. In first general election 45.7% people participated it was impressive percentage because in 1961-62 urbanization was 18% literary 24% newspaper were read by 1.29% in such as adverse condition if 55.4 percent people participated in election it means it is a important rate.

The Nation and the Constitution

Law and constitution are necessary for building a dynamic and progressive society. India needs a strong commitment for social engineering based on Justice and equality. Constitutional assembly’s work ended in 1950 for making the constitution of new Republic of India. Constitution

²⁸ Jawaharlal Nehru’s speeches (1946-49),vol. I, The Publication Division Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, govt. of India, P-45.

²⁹ Chandra, Bipan (1999), India after independence Penguine Book of India, New Delhi.

promised to lay the foundation of India's democratic institution, the constitution addressed the need to promote social opportunities. In particular it defined "fundamental rights" of all citizens which include equality before law, freedom of speech and expression the right to personal liberty and protection against exploitation. Directive principles of state policy which were incorporated in the constitution lay emphasis on the right to an adequate means of livelihood and free legal aid, free and compulsory education for all children and right to work

Dr. Ambedkar the chairman of Constitutional assembly drafting committee concluded his work.

On 26th Jan 1950 we are going to enter into life of contradiction. In politics we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality."³⁰Gandhi and Ambedkar both differed on the notion of equal citizenship. Because Ambedkar says dalit should have right to elect separate representative to central and provincial legislature but Gandhi oppose it. B.R. Ambedkar who became chairman of drafting committee of Indian constitution became instrument in putting together one of the most progressive democratic constitution in the world which guarantee fundamental right of freedom and equality irrespective of religion or caste and at the same time producing special representative in legislature for untouchables class. The new constitution has declared in Article 17 that untouchability was abolished and any observance of it would be made punishable offence. In 1955 parliament in Delhi precede to use it

³⁰ Dreze, jean and Sen Amartaya (2002), India: Development and participation, O.U.P. PP 373.

exclusive right to legislate in this matter and passed Untouchability Act.”³¹

Historian like Bipan Chandra is of the belief that constitution origin lies deeply in the Struggle for independence from Britain and in the movements for responsible and constitutional government in the princely states.

The leaders of Indian National Movement popularize the notion of parliamentary democracy, social and economic justice which was the essential feature of constitution. Constitution was a culmination of constitutional development made by them in 1861, 1892, 1909, 1919, and 1935. When constitution was written after independence, India leaders' did not abandon the constitutional legacy of Pre-independent era. So constitution was heavily adopted from government of India act of 1935.

Jawaharlal Nehru expressed his hopes before constituent assembly.

“The first task of this assembly is to free India through a new constitution, to feed the starving people and to clothe the naked masses, and to give every Indian the fullest opportunity to develop himself according to his capacity.”

So when constitution was adopted, it included fundamental rights and directive principles along with parliamentary form of government. It also included some provisions of decentralization which were based on Panchayati Raj. In India concept of secular state was adopted which was part of nationalistic forces against communal forces.

³¹ Chatterjee Partha (2003), The Nation in heterogeneous time. Macmillan Private Ltd.

After Independence there was dramatic changes in the legal, political, educational and social status of women since independence. During Indian National Movement nationalist feeling were high among women. They marched in processions, defy the law and went to jail. So, after independence it was felt that women should have right to vote, they should aspire to hold jobs and to inherit parental property. B.R. Ambedkar, the law minister of Independent India submitted a bill which raised the age of consent and marriage, upheld monogamy, women were given right to divorce, maintenance and inheritance and treatment of dowry as women's property women have also played an important role in peasant, tribal, farmers, trade union and environment movements. There were not much women's movement in fifties and sixties but In the Tebhaga Peasant movement in Bengal in 1946-47 who organized themselves on the separate platform of Nari Bahini. Communist Women activities also mobilized rural women on issues like right to finance and property, and village level Mahila Atma Raksha Samities were formed against the issue of domestic violence and wife beating. In Telangana movement of 1946-50 women's participation was quite significant.

These were some basic issues which were given due importance after independence. The whole process of reconstruction and transformation were undertaken within democratic framework. After Independence policies of Congress has full legitimacy. The discourse on building a nation started in peculiar circumstances of partition, consolidation of princely states, reorganization of state, people's aspirations from post colonial leaders. In spite of

these diverse situations the programme started in nationalist mainstream because newly independent state like India wants to retain its freedom by Integrating various streams and to make them believe that they are equally partner and beneficiary in the system.

Jawaharlal Nehru's ideas about economic planning, socialism, secularism, adoption of constitution which is "big bag of borrowing" evolved from western influence. But were these peculiar features proved fruitful to India settings no doubt after independence the policies of leader's have legitimacy but it lack a common ideology and involvement of people that we experience in struggle for independence during Indian National Movement. The discourse on Nation building in initial years were undertaken by intellectuals and political leaders. I will discuss all the corner stones and issues in the last chapter which draw a comparison between Indian and China's nation building process. This chapter mainly throw light on issues, policies and national leader's expectations during initial years of Independence. Though we do not get spectacular results but discourse or "nation in making" has started with great vigor and energy.

CHAPTER 3

THE DISCOURSE ON NATION BUILDING IN CHINA: 1949-60

The Maoist discourse of social change in China attacked symbols that belonged to older culture. But during the reform period the return of traditional culture coincided with western modernity. Western writings on modern China have been influenced by what is called from culturalism to nationalism argument. Joseph Levenson In his book Confucian China and its modern fate says that imperial china was essentially a cultural entity which is defined in terms of confucian and traditional culture.¹ The close relation between culture and nation remained a prominent feature in Chinese thought until nineteenth century. When China encountered European powers these two concepts were separated.

Torbjorn Loden argues that China's nationalism emerged as a part of a new state formation. He observes that national identity is a mean and strong state is the end. In twentieth century china it was a different process where the state tried to invent a nation rather than a nation seeking to establish a state. John Fitzgerald says, "Chinese Nation has been created and re-created in the struggle for state power, and it has ultimately been defined by state as a reward of victory."² Liang Qichao defined national identity with consciousness of the Chinese citizen. He criticized the fact that national identity is defined in

¹ Suresh, T.G., (2002), "Rediscovering Nationalism in Contemporary China" in *China Report* (Jan-March) p. 13.

² Fitzgerald, John (1996), "The Nationless state: The search for a nation in modern Chinese nationalism:" in Chinese Nationalism, (eds) Jonthan Unger Aarmonk : NY, ME Sharpe Publication, p. 57.

ethnic and social factors. He put forward the concept of “great nationalism” that will undermine the several ethnic groups in china but Sun Yat-Sen identified Chinese nations in which ethnic identity was most important element. He says race and state had corresponding relationship in ancient china. China has been developing a single state out of single race, while foreign countries have developed many state from race and included many nationalities within one state³. China’s Marxist-Leninists have defined people by referring to social classes rather than race or citizens. Chinese communist presented the idea of class as liberals used the idea of citizen or nationalist use racial factors. Marxists Leninists believed that Chinese nation as based on solidarity of various revolutionary social classes. They attacked earlier ‘bourgeois’, feudal’ and bureaucratic capitalistic state on the ground that they failed to represent the nation adequately.

The nationalist ideology constructed by the CPC during the war of liberation and afterwards favoured socialism. Externally party programmes were against Imperialism and internally it aimed at the overthrow of bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism.

In china, state nationalism potrayed the state as the embodiment of the nation’s will and in this way they tried to create a sense of nationhood among all it’s citizens. State nationalism and it’s nation building programme is identified with state policies. So, development programmes became a nationalist movements and collective effort to transform china into powerful and modernized nation. Social communication played an

³ Sun Yet-Sen, San Min Chul (943), The Three Principles of the People (translated by Frank W. Price, edited by L.T Chen Chunking), *Ministry of Information*, p. 6.

important role in the growth of nationalism. Post -1949 development in the field of transport, postal and electronic, communication, media industry, education and popularization of the national language have contributed to the growth of national consciousness.

This great nation, centuries ago was “the sick man of Asia” China had to face several wars by imperial powers, there was mass corruption among governmental officials and land lord commercial class. The economy of this agrarian nation was very fragile which cause millions of deaths. China was defeated in Sino-japanese war of 1894-95 and became party a of Japanese semi-colony, consequently unequal treaties, control of tariffs on goods were in foreign hands so, China came in the grip of foreign debt.

Sun Yat-Sen who was the leader of 1911 republican revolution described foreign impact as ‘triple oppression’, political, economic and ethnic’ reducing china to a sub-colony”⁴ Modern industry was in the grip of foreign powers it did not contribute towards comprehensive industrialization and rural prosperity. It just only served foreign interest. China has a large agrarian population. The agrarian technology was also primitive⁵. The land lord who comprised 2 percent of the population, occupied 22 percent of national income and made no significant production contribution. In short we can say that china was a prototype of underdeveloped nations with large agrarian population, limited land, primitive technology and low per capita Income. Men, Women and Children worked twelve

⁴ Selden, Mark, (1979), People’s Republic of China, Monthly Review Press, New York and London, pp-5

⁵ Ibid pp-6.

hours shift seven days a week but got very low wages. Child labour was rampant in big industries. Shanghai Silk factory, in 1926 concluded that many of its child employees are no more than seven year old and some probably younger.⁶ Workers and their family does not have enough to live on. Working class families spent 60 – 70 percent of their meager income on food & many were in permanent debt. In 1927 Kuomintang & Chiang Kai-Shek broke ties with communist party and launched a bloody repression of working class movements.

The Peoples Republic of China (PRC) has emerged as one of the most powerful nation in the world today. The trajectory of China from being feudal to modern industrial society has been remarkable. The vision for social and economic transformation in China became a reality following the liberation while proclaiming the establishment of the new People's Republic on 1st Oct 1949 Mao Zedong expressed his profound concern to build a strong nation. Addressing the Chinese people Mao said *"We will work bravely and industriously to create our civilization and will at the same time will never be again a insulted nation. We have to stand up like men. No imperialist will be allowed to invade our territory again"*⁷.

In the above context it seems a relevant question to explore as to how a nation with long history of backwardness and defeat at the hands of foreign powers, later emerged as technologically powerful country. Mao Zedong in his speech "on the people's democratic dictatorship" delivered on the twenty-eighth anniversary of Communist Party of China showed his

⁶ There was heart rendering story of a child who was beaten up badly by his master for being late in bringing lunch in sun scorching heat on bare foot.

⁷ Selden, Mark, People's Republic of China, Monthly Review Press, p. 65.

concerns for the uprising of masses. He stated the objective of the Chinese revolution, *“Internally arouse the masses of the people. That is Unite the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, form a domestic United Front under the leadership of the working class and from this to the establishment of state which is People’s Democratic Dictatorship under the leadership of the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants”*⁸.

As a name of the nation “People’s Republic of China” suggests, the participation of the masses in the reconstruction of the economy and agrarian reform was significant. It enhanced the legitimacy of communist party of China. In the process of nation building, “masses” assumed the central place because it was believed that people are the motive force of history. This provided a two way learning process between people and leaders. About the concept of mass-line Mao said *“From the masses, to the masses. It means trying ideas of the masses and concentrate them, then go to the masses and propagate and explain these ideas until the masses embrace them as their own, hold fast to them and translate them into action, and test the correctness of these ideas into action”*⁹ .

The CPC developed this leadership doctrine called as “mass line” on the other hand it corporate vanguard role of party and at the same time encouraged strong participatory role for the people. The basic idea behind mass line was that leaders should always remain close enough to the people to understand there fundamental desires and concerns. The concept of mass line

⁸ *Mao Tse-Tung “On the peoples democratic dictatorship” in selected works of Mao Tse-Tung, Vol. II, Foreign Language Press, Peking.*

⁹ *Mao Tse-Tung, “some question concerning method of leadership” in selected works of Mao Tse-Tung. Peking Foreign Language Press, p. 290.*

eliminate two problems, one was losing touch with popular sentiments and generate political apathy among the people. Mass line encouraged popular political activity and it demanded that government bureaucrats should listen to the peoples problem and should make regular contact with them. Mao observed in 1938 that, *“Weapons are important factors in war but not a decisive factor, It is people not things that are decisive. The context of strength is only a context of military and economic power, but also a conquest of human power and morale.”*¹⁰

In china at the time of national reconstruction there were many nationalities and it was not an easy task to unite all of them. Han constitute the majority nationality. In china 6 percent of non-Han minority population covers 60 percent of national territory. The CPC had emphasized on nationalism of all the people that tried to evolve national ethnic minorities in the process of nation building.

Mao Zedong’s vision of new china involved not only transforming the material conditions, but also ideology and culture in the society to quote, *“All empty words are useless, we must give people visible material wealth... the primary aspect of our work is not to ask things form the people... We can organize, lead and help the people to develop production, Increase material wealth, step by step we can raise their political consciousness and cultural levels:”*¹¹

For strengthening the national unity and radically changing the nation, the CPC proposed a four class alliance

¹⁰ Selden, Mark (1979), Peoples republic of China, Monthly Review Press, New York and London, p. 16.

¹¹ Mao Tse-Tung, “Ching- Chi wen-yu ts ‘ai-cheng wen-t’ I (1947), Economic and Financial Problems, Hsin Min-Chechiu-Pan-She, Hong-Kong, p. 200.

which involved the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie. They were instrumental in uniting the people and forming a new state. These four classes with the CPC in the leading position will build their dictatorship over other classes in china. This was the time when china remained divided between these forces that were supporting the CPC's policies and those who have allied themselves with the remnant of old who had their political and ideological loyalties to western imperialism. The combination of two aspects, democracy for the people and dictatorship over reactionaries that brings the concept of people's Democratic Dictatorship. China's process of nation building was lead by the working class and the communist party that interlinked agriculture and Industrial production. Mao Zedong's important essay "On new democracy" written at a crucial stage in china's reform period, articulated the fervent desire for a profoundly transformed Chinese nation to quote, *"Our aim is to built a new society and new state for the Chinese nation that new society and new state will have not only a new politics and a new economy but a new culture."*¹² Thus, Chinese revolution was firstly a democratic revolution and secondly socialist one.

Prasenjit Duara in his book Rescuing History from the nation give special significance to historical aspect of the nation building i.e. the national uprising as a discourse of history as one main factor that stimulated the masses towards building a nation. He further says china is a nation because it has history. How history evolve the nation is evident in Chinese case in republican era (1911-49). According to Duara, people could not

¹² Mao Tse-Tung, (1969), *On new democracy*, In selected work of Mao Tse-Tung, Vol. II, Peking foreign language press pp-340.

construct A nation without history, for the Chinese communists the preparatory period for the first step began with Opium war in 1840. when China's feudal society start changing into semicolonial one. Then followed the Sino-French war, Sino-Japanese war, the reform movement of 1898, the revolution of 1911, May 4th movements, the north expedition, the war of the agrarian revolution and the war of resistance against Japan.

These process of national awakening later modified the entire Chinese people against imperialism and feudal forces that finally established an independent and democratic society and complete the revolution. The people's movements was influenced by October revolution of 1917.

In 1940 Mao Zedong appealed to Chinese people to join hands against the bourgeois dictatorship and imperialist powers. In this context he emphasised the vision of a new Chinese nation based on scientific culture that refute feudalist superstitions. The political structure will be of a democratic republic which is a joint dictatorship of all revolutionary classes. In new people's Republic necessary steps will be taken to confiscate the land of land lords and distribute to the peasant having little or no lands. Regarding economy the new democracy authorised state to regulate capital, equilisation of land ownership and Industries will never be own by few. Therefore politics, economy and culture of new republic will combine socialist elements.

The building up of a radically new and socialist china has a greatly difficult task because china population was 450 million which was almost a quarter of the world's total population. About nine-tenth of her inhabitants belonged to Han Nationality. The minority nationalities included Mongol, Hui, Tibetan,

Uighur, Miao, Yi, Chunang, Chunghia and Korean nationalities.¹³ So in short china was a country with a large population composed of many nationalities. The communist party in china was significant in uniting the people under the banner of socialism. At that time china's military power were very weak, The economy was backward, the political system was undemocratic, corruption was rampant and passivism was prevailing in society. The CPC under took the responsibility of uniting the nation the party could achieve the goal through the propagation of its ideas of social justice and national salvation. One of the most important social policy of the CPC was it's approval to the agrarian question. Party recognized the fact that peasant are the basic force in anti- Japanese war and were in the favour of democratic reform. The agrarian reform is proposed for peasantry in which land rent should be reduced to 25 percent rent is to be collected only after harvest. Land tax is to be paid by owner of land. Communist party also paid full attention for education in the field of administration and natural science.

NATION BUILDING IN CHINA SINCE LIBERATION :

Political Legitimacy:

When the people's republic of China (PRC) was formally established on 1st October 1949 the nation's new leaders found themselves into many problems. Society and polity were fragmented, public order had decayed and economy suffered from severe inflation and unemployment. China's fundamental

¹³ Mao Tse-Tung (1975), *The Chinese nation in Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung*, Vol. II, Peking Foreign Language Press p. 306.

economic and military backwardness created hurdles to the elite's goal of building imperial powers which was a culmination of revolutionary struggle gave legitimacy to leadership, The CPC's policies was success in bringing socialist transformations, Agrarian Reform, Economic development that adds legitimacy to the regime.

Since Tiananmen, China's leaders have tried to forge a new ideological connection between economic performance and legitimacy by arguing that political stability is an essential precondition for economic development. CPC was emphasized a developmental oriented neo authoritarianism that claims that authoritarian rule is necessary during the earlier stage of economic development. The argument is that CPC is only force capable of holding China together and guiding economic development China's political leader continue to employ socialistic goal in order to legitimate CPC rule. The emphasis were given on nationalist goal and highlights the party's success in building China into a powerful state and secondly it emphasized on economic goal and claims that political stability provided by CPC rule is necessary for continued economic growth. Each legitimization strategy seeks to appeal to values and goals shared by Chinese people.

Role of the Communist Party of China

The organic law of 1949 made it clear Chinese people's republic was not a "dictatorship of proletariat" as in the Soviet Union but a democratic dictatorship led by the CPC on the basis of four class alliances: The working class, the peasant class, the petty bourgeois and the national bourgeois. The CPC had a

organizational presence down to grass roots and it included substantial number of peasants into the party. The party made progress in social reform programmes which was backed by mass support. That included poor section of rural society. In mid 1950 land reform was conducted into old liberated areas. One third peasant's household in these areas had been organised in Mutual Aid Teams which was the first step to collectivization.

New liberated areas were conquered by military. In these areas CPC's control was negligible. So, there was armed resistance by Kuomintang military units, forces of secret society, ethnic minority and other locally systemized self defense group, PLA continued its action to eradicate such a tendencies. Its membership increased in the period from 1948 to the end to 1950 from 2.8 million to 5.8 million¹⁴.

Major source of personnel in CPC was the recruitment of "New Cadres" who possessed skills which was lacked by old cadres. When party extended its membership it limited its scope of activities because many functions were beyond the control of new government. So, private groups were encouraged to provide service to the public. In 1950 private religious bodies controlled 40 percent of China's educational Institutions.

CPC's policies had succeeded in bringing economic development. So, CPC had support of educated elite. In theory, the temporary supreme organ of the state power was establishment of Chinese people's political consultative conference (CPPCC). In 1949, CPC convened a meeting of over Twelve hundred people from all strata of society which is called

¹⁴ Macfarquhar, Rodrick (ed) (1993), Politics of China: 1949-89 Cambridge University Press, p. 22.

CPPCC, which included member of CPC, Delegates included representative of patriotic association, minor political parties, China's democratic League and KMT reactionary committee, Among these twelve hundred there were several war lords, few members of KMT, prominent lawyers, doctors, professionals, social workers, artist, members of ethnic minorities and religious leaders.

The CPPCC passed a Common Programme. It functioned as a proto constitution until elections could be held and constitution is adopted. The Programme declared china which was a democratic dictatorship of four classes, "The working class, the peasantry, the Petty bourgeois which included people like tradesmen, small shops, owners the national bourgeois were those who have substantial means and who were considerate as patriots. It was assumed that under leadership of working class the CPC, the people's democratic dictatorship would suppress imperialism, the land lord class, The bureaucratic capitalist class and KMT reactionaries.¹⁵

CPPCC drew it's lineage from the political consultative conference convened by KMT in early 1946. Sun Yat-Sen laid down the foundation of United Front both United Front and CPPCC were democratic Parties but political power rest in the hands of CPC.

In 1949, communist rule was military and Decentralized Military Control Commission was established as the supreme local authority because it was very difficult to administer the nation under uniform policies. So, China was divided into Six

¹⁵ Dreyer, Tufel June (1996), China's Political System, Macmillian Press Limited pp. 83-86.

large regions. Four of these regions were, The central south, East China the north west and south west were run by military Administrative committees. But in 1954 when conditions were conducive and smooth military rule was changed into civilian rule. In 1934 Mao said, *“Our principle is that the party commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command party.”*¹⁶

For the first time party congress was convened in 1956. During the period of transformation the party membership increased to 10.7 million members. In the period of transformation government had deep involvement in social, economic and political life of people. In the mid of 1950's Chinese people felt that Chinese politics has become bureaucratized, red tapism prevailed and decision were made in offices without any first hand knowledge of actual conditions.

Frank J. Goodnow commented about kind of political system suited to Chinese conditions. To quote, “China's history and traditions, her social and economic condition, her reality with foreign powers all make it probable that the country would develop ... constitutional government... more easily as a monarchy than as republic.”¹⁷

The party was blamed for its 'subjectivism'. The party was criticized because it copied foreign experiences and adopted Marxist- Leninist ideology in the party. There was over bureaucratization. Bureaucrats were treated as “Privileged elite”. Party members were seeking their own advantage and they ignore interest of people. Third drawback of CPC was

¹⁶ Macfarquhar, Rodrick (ed.) (1993), The politics of China: 1949-89, Cambridge University Press, p-29.

¹⁷ Nathan J., Andrew (1997), China's transition, Columbia University Press, p. 63.

“sectarianism” CPC members have tendency to feel superior to non-party members.

In 1956 “Hundred Flower Campaign” was launched. A well known classical Chinese expression which means, “Let hundred flower blossom Let a hundred school of thought content” was used by Mao Zedong in order to encourage intellectuals to express their views. No doubt there was intensive equality to communist party of china but party was trying to built a egalitarian and collective society¹⁸ Mao Zedong assumed criticism should be constructed within the framework of Communist Party of China.

Hundred flower experiment were failed because intellectuals essentially stood on the side of socialism and had no fundamental clash of Interest with the system. In 1957, Intellectuals responded to this campaign. Mao hoped that bureaucratic tendencies will be criticized but people stood against the system it self. They presented anti revolutionary view as ‘bourgeois’.

Under ‘Anti Rightist’ campaign many intellectuals were arrested who spoke against the system and many of them were expelled to countryside to do agriculture labour.

On the one hand CPC regime had gained popular support as a result of achievement in the social order, launched economic developmental programme & improved living condition. It accomplished a basic social and Institutional transformation on the other hand party used persuasive coercive methods to win support of people.

¹⁸ E-Moise, Edwin (1994), Modern China. Longman Group Publisher, p. 128.

Government structure:

Under organic law the supreme organ of the state was Central Peoples Government Council which exercised executive, legislative and Judicial powers. It met twice a month to deliberate on high polices of state. Its number include chairman Mao, the six vice-chairman, and fifty six other elected by People's Political Consultative Councils.

When Government Council is not in session it's power are delegated to Administrative Council. The state Administrative Council was headed by premier, under the number of vice premiers. Under them there were four committees political and legal affairs, Financial & Economics, cultural and Education. Each Committee directed a determined number of various ministries, commissions and boards. State Administrative council were peoples Supreme Court and Procurator General's office. There were six unique great administrative area each has Jurisdiction over several minorities.¹⁹

Role of Mao Zedong

Mao Zedong was unchallengeable leader of CPC throughout from 1947-57. Mao's authority was legitimized by his major initiatives to reform. Mao's policies were supported by people. Mao Zedong became the precursor of establishing strong state.

The first initiative of Mao Zedong was the involvement of Chinese troops in the war of Korea in 1950. China opposed to American intervention in Korea. The cost of the venture which had to bear was very high but it enhanced Mao's reputation of political wisdom.

¹⁹ H.S.U, CY Immauel (1990), The Rise of Modern China, Oxford University Press, pp. 647-648

Secondly, Mao's initiative to speed up pace of agricultural cooperativization in mid 1955 and mass mobilization in the collectivization in 1956 enhanced Mao's legitimacy.

Thirdly, the establishment of Chinese model of socialism.

Fourthly, Mao's concept of "New Democracy" which was undertaken in 1940 it adopted Marxist-Leninist ideology to the Chinese situation during the transition from semi-colonial and semi-feudal to socialism.

It stipulated that economic structure should consist of three sections:

- The state economy, in which government should control big industries, mines, enterprises and public utilities.
- The agricultural economy, in which individual farms should develop into collective farms.
- The private economy, in which the middle and small capitalist should be allowed to operate culture of new democracy which was national and anti feudal.

Thus we see, the policies of CPC and unchallengeable role of Mao Zedong bring reform in Chinese social sector, agriculture, economic sector and socialist transformation. The role of People's Liberation Army was also significant which adds strength to the regime. Shortly we can say in the discourse on nation building political regime had legitimacy of people. People embraced the new political structure as a instrument that maximizes or provide benefits to the people.

Economic Reconstruction

China's agrarian revolution gave way to the industrial revolution and socialist transition. China's trajectory towards industrialization like that of European capitalist nation, begin with agrarian revolution. Mao stated that without socialization of agriculture there can not be socialism and to develop socialist agriculture China must develop a powerful industry with state owned enterprises. The common programme of 1949 and principles of new democracy remained essential guide to economic and political reconstruction. China followed Soviet road to socialism which was based on highly centralized states and planned economy which emphasized the development of heavy industry and rapid collectivization of agriculture.

Economic reconstruction was outlined in the common programme which was based on the principle of mutual benefits to peasants, the workers and petty bourgeois. The social objective of this process included:

- (a) To raise the standard of living
- (b) To improve hygiene through health education campaigns.
- (c) To fight war against epidemics.
- (d) To set up child care centre, nursery and school.

In 1949 government inherited a badly disruptive economy. The inflation was very high. Floods have effected 30-40% of land, during the early year since the establishment of PRC, the central government initiated a set of policies aimed at circumscribing the private economy. As a result the role of private industries in the Chinese economy began to decline progressively.

Private sector which constitute 76% of the national economy in 1949 fell down to 36% in 1952. In the time period 1950-52 private retail trade dropped from 85% to 58%. Economic Planning was adopted in 1953 that favoured heavy industry. During 1953-57 temporary economic programme was adopted with the effect of this industrial production's annual rate increased to 40%. In 1957, China manufactured electrical mining and rail road equipment, Special alloy, pharmaceutical products China was in the process of changing from number of regional market to unified national market but in this plan agriculture progress was low except some large scale agriculture exports. Consequently in these reform programmes, more emphasis was given in technical specialisation institutional structure and qualitative aspects of cultural and educational activities.²⁰

²⁰ Chesneaux, Jean (1979) China the People's Republic 1949-76, The Harvest Press, p. 59.

The following table shows growth in GNP, agriculture and industries as a consequence of economic reform.

Table 3.1

Year	GNP Billion of 1957\$	GNP per Capital 1975 US\$	Agriculture 1957 = 1001	Industrial production 1957 = 1001	Grain output million metric tonns	Foreign Exports
1949	49	91	54	20	108	0.2
1952	82	144	83	48	154	1.3
1953	87	149	83	61	157	1.8
1954	91	153	84	70	160	2.2
1955	100	164	94	73	175	2.8
1956	108	173	97	88	183	4.5
1957	115	180	100	100	185	5.3
1958	137	209	109	142	200	11.1
1959	129	193	83	173	165	13.4
1960	129	189	78	181	160	8.7

Source: Selden, Mark (1979) "The People's Republic of China", Monthly Review Press, New York and London, pp. 135.

Between 1953-57 number of graduate rose from 48,000 to 56,000 at the university level, from 4,54,000 to 12,99,000 at secondary school level, from 1,18,000 to 1,46,000 in technical & professional studies and from 99,48,000 to 1,23,07,000 at primary school level.²¹

People's Republic of China started a new phase of socialistic construction and transformation. In 1953 planned construction under socialist framework was embraced. Consequently change from private to state and collective ownership in agriculture, handicrafts, capitalist industry and commerce took place. 70-80% heavy industry and 40% light industry was state owned in 1952 between 1949-52 industrial productivity increased to 42%. Average salary increased to 15% and real salary increased to 7%. During Economic Planning Army became professional and specialize. During the time period 1952-65 the annual average growth of domestic product increased form 3 to 4.5%. In 1952-59 the growth of China products was 8.5%. This is impressive rate of Chinese economy which was underdeveloped. It is very interesting to know how it attained impressive rate. The answer to this question lies in the capacity of Chinese economy to maximize rate of capital formation because of Soviet aid and new products units were also started. The rate of capital formation varied from 22 to 26% during Economic Planning. It was 38% during Great Leap Forward.²²

The soviet assistance to China's reconstruction programme was significant. The former provided technical services needed

²¹ Ibid, p. 60.

²² _____, (1959), Twenty year of Communist China, Vol. IB, Nov. 18-19, pp. 131.

for the growth and supplied equipment for 291 projects which form the nucleus of China's development programme. China imported machinery from Soviet Union which was one fourth in 1952 which raised to ¾ in 1957. During Economic Planning heavy industry enjoyed the highest rate of growth averages i.e., 26% during 1953-59. China's core industries recorded impressive achievements. Out put of steel was over 30 million tons. Coal was 350 million tons. The rapid growth of heavy industry was the direct result of conscious planning. In order to attain high degree of self sufficiency in basic industries the overall investment increased from 29% in 1953 to 57% in 1955.²³

In short we can say Chinese economic achieved fairly high rate of growth and implementation of the Economic Planning was a great success specially in heavy industries. Its success was based on Agrarian reforms and socialist transformation of economy. The success of Chinese reform was the result of pragmatic attitude and ability of Chinese leaders and government officials, the use of experimentation and above all support of Chinese people. Market economic system was succeeded because it was based on planned economy.²⁴

Agrarian Reform

In 1949, Chinese Society was semi feudal. China's agrarian system was unjust. Landlord and rich peasants who constitute less than 10% of rural population hold approximately 70 to 80% of land. Rich landlord exploit peasantry class, farm laborers, poor peasants, middle peasants and other people who constitute

²³ Ibid, p. 154.

²⁴ C. Chaw, Gregory (2002), China's Economic Transformation, Blackwell Publishers, p. 386.

90 percent of rural population hold only 20-30 percent of the land.²⁵ Consequently, China became victim of backwardness. In order to get rid of these problems Chinese leaders felt necessity to abolish system of feudal and semi feudal exploitation and realized the system of “land to the tiller”.

CPC destroyed the traditional ruling order in the countryside. It snatched power, prestige and wealth from the old elite. Later CPC distributed the land among landless labourers. They destroy landlords as a class. New structure was introduced from outside the villages which was composed of veteran communist and educated population of the cities. In villages the process of transformation was undertaken by traveling work teams. Every few months teams came and stay. These teams do specific jobs of tax collection and social transformation. These team do propaganda the poor peasant to support new government and to rise up to defend their interest against rich.

In the stage of the initial reforms PLA units came to the rural market, towns and to the villages because landlords have traditional power and influence over peasantry and ordinary peasants were afraid to oppose the forces.

Before Chinese liberation in 1947 Law Land was passed. It was most radical postwar official directive on land revolution. The participation of CPC and Army in confiscating and distributing land was significant. The Agrarian Law of 1947 were based on four principles:

²⁵ Selden, Mark, (1979) People's Republic of China, Monthly Review Press, New York and London, p. 238.

1. To give “Land to the tiller” on the basis of equal distribution to women and men, old and young, with administrative village as normal units of distribution.
2. The peasant association of each village takes charge of confiscation and redistribution.
3. All land of the landlords and surplus land of the rich peasants was confiscated. These landlord enjoyed the same right to equal ownership of land as peasants.
4. Land following the consequences of distribution may be freely bought, sold and rented.

The agrarian law of 1947 was proved very harsh for landlord class and rich peasants. Following the liberation of PRC the 1950 Agrarian Law replaced the 1947 Agrarian Law.

The 1950 law followed that rich peasant land which were rented out to tenants were to be redistributed this encourage rich peasant to raise productivity. Consequently even rich peasant reap benefit of economic advancement. In 1952, immediately after land reforms the average rich peasant’s family holding of lands, draft animals and tool as well as income exceeded by margin of 2%. The agrarian law in 1950 came into being for abolition of land ownership system, feudal exploitation, confiscation of land owner’s holding and redistribution of land among landless peasants.

The agrarian population was classified into five categories:

Landlords class: Landlord class was consist of large land properties

Rich peasants: Those who hold land but worked on it themselves. They also hire farmlands, lend money and renting part of the land to poor peasants.

Middle peasants: Those who owned land but work themselves without others help.

Poor peasants: Those who own little land. Who had to sell part of their land to make ends meet and who had to lend land to other.

Hired lands: Those who hired no lands and had to live on labour or loans.

The Agrarian reform law of 1950 stated.

- The land ownership system of feudal exploitation by landlords class should be abolished and system of peasant land ownership shall be introduced in order to set free the rural productive forces. Agriculture production was to be increased in order to give way to industrialization.
- The land, draft animals, farms implements and surplus grain of landlords and their surplus house in the countryside was confiscated but not their property.
- Industrial and commercial enterprises operated by landlords shall not be confiscated.
- Land and other properties of the middle peasants shall be protected from infringement.
- All the land and other means of production which was confiscated and requisitioned shall be taken over by peasants associations for equitable and rational distribution of land to poor peasant who have very little or no land.

- Land shall be distributed in a unified manner according to population. Which should be based on the principle of distributing the land to its tiller and making necessary readjustment in land holding by taking into consideration the amount, quality, location of the land.
- Agrarian law ensured that all agrarian reform measures confirm to interest and wishes of overwhelming majority of the people. The people' government at all levels shall be responsible to safe guard democratic right of the people.

By December 1952, agrarian revolution was completed and 700 million MOU (1/6 acres) of land had been distributed to 300 million peasantry. On the average in east and south China where population density was highest each received one MOU, in central China it received 2 to 3 MOU. In north China 3 MOU and in Manchuria 7 MOU. Land revolution favoured poor peasants and hired labourers.

In 1952 first phase of agrarian reform was completed and government started second phase of agrarian reform in 1953 which mainly includes collectivization. So that it could raise production. Collectivization included many stages and its lowest stage was "Mutual Aid" team where peasant worked jointly.

Third stage was fully socialized cooperative which was similar to soviet collective farms. In which all members collectively owned the land. By the end of 1956, 56 percent of all peasant household have officially became members of semi socialistic producers cooperatives. When collectivization campaign was completed in 1957 there were total of 760,000 to 800,000 cooperatives farms. A further move towards socialist

transformation was the introduction of the people's commune in 1958.

The personal and collective experience of land revolution produced "Fanshen" which means "turn the body". Agrarian reform transformed the passivism, fatalism and dependence of peasants over landlord class. Direct participation was the essential elements of Fanshen. The role of the Army, party or state to administratively redistribute the land and work teams which comprise of peasant activist of party cadres, students and intellectuals stimulated support, guidance and coordination. Apart from the economic reform the role of agrarian reform facilitated the discourse on which nation building program has to be built. Work teams, cooperatives and people's communes provided popular support to the policies of CPC it added to the legitimacy to the government. Apart from the fact that presence of various nationalities and regional disparities common programme of reform undermine all the differences. The old elite was stripped of its economic assets. Old order proved powerless and worthless. The old institution of class, temple and secret society has been displaced by new regime which provided conformity to the role of state to bring educational, mediatory & economic transformation.

Socialist construction & transformation in China

PRC entered a new phase of socialist construction and transformation in 1953. Finally in mid 1955 plan for the entire 1953-57 period was approved. Along with planned construction went socialist transformation. A change occurred from private to state and collective ownership in agriculture, handicraft, capitalist industry and commerce. The initial stage of transition to socialism was "State Capitalism" where private sector was linked to state sector. It was made clear that capitalist would retain about one quarter of the profit from enterprises. In economic terms 70-80 percent of heavy industry and 40 percent of light industry were state owned in late 1952.²⁶

The following table no. 3.2 shows socialist transformation of industry, percentage distribution of gross output of industry (excluding handicraft).

	I		II		III
			Composition of State Capitalist Industry		
Year	Socialistic Industry	State capitalistic industry	Joint state private enterprise	Privately owned enterprise executing state order	Capitalist industry
1949	34.7	9.5	2.0	7.5	55.8

²⁶ Macfarquhar, Rodrick (ed.) (1993), *The politics of China: 1949-89*, Cambridge University Press, p. 42.

1950	45.3	17.8	2.9	14.9	36.7
1951	45.9	25.4	4.0	21.4	28.7
1952	56.0	26.9	5.0	21.9	17.1
1953	57.5	28.5	5.7	22.8	14.0
1954	62.8	31.9	12.3	19.6	5.3
1955	67.7	29.3	16.1	13.2	3.0
1956	67.5	32.5	32.5	---	---
Source: State Statistical Bureau, Ten Great Year (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1960) p. 38					

Economic Planning favoured heavy industry there were 694 projects which were located in the big cities. Plan aimed at doubling industrial production by the annual rate of increase of 14 percent. 42 million Yuan were allocated to Economic Planning. It was estimated that 58% was to be spend on industry and only 7% on agriculture. 88% of the spending will be allowed to heavy industry. By 1957 the proportion of the output of modern industry and agriculture output has arisen from 26.7 percent to 36 percent. The gross value of modern industrial output increased by 98.3 percent in 1957. The increase in value of modern industrial output was 104.1 percent.²⁷

In 1952 steel production was produced 13,50,000 tons its quantity increased to 41,20,000 tons with an increased on 3.1 times. Electricity production in 1952 was 7,260 million kilowatt

²⁷ Chesneaux, Jean (1979), China The People's Republic 1949-76: The Harvest Press, pp. 58-59.

hours which increased to 15,900 million kilowatt hours within increases of 2.2 times. Generator which produced 30,000 kilowatt energy increased to 227,000 kilowatt with an increased of 7.7 times.²⁸ So we see after the adoption of Economic Planning industrial output energy production has been increased manifold.

The planned economic construction of PRC had influenced from Soviet model. As Mao Zedong declared in 1953, “There must be a nationwide upsurge of learning from soviet union to built our country”.²⁹

So, in the mid 1950s China was following soviet pattern. Its chief goal was to develop heavy industry like steel and machinery. Russian technology helped designing and building a large plan in many areas. Soviet Union provided 3.1 percent of investment during Economic Planning.

One important consequence of the emphasis on planning was that it created a link between economic objectives and social transformation. It brought some change in ownership pattern. It gave the state the direct control over economic resources. So consequently role of the state was increased. As we have already discussed in Chinese nationalism debate that Chinese nation emerged out of state. So by enhancing the nationalization of economy and introduction of cooperativisation of agriculture change the old social structure of power. In the worlds of Chairman of State Planning Commission Li Fuchun, “Socialism

²⁸ Selden, Mark (1979), People's Republic of China, Monthly Review Press, New York and London, p. 300.

²⁹ Closing speech of fourth session of CPPCC (7 Feb. 1953) in K.Faned, “Mao Tse-Tung and Lin Pao: Post Revolutionary writing”, p. 182.

cannot be built on the basis of small peasant economy; it must have large scale industry and large scale collective farming.³⁰

The Great Leap Forward

In 1957, China abandoned Soviet pattern of Economic Development. As we have already discussed China's conversion to socialist economy. It achieved industrial growth but agriculture production was very low. Cooperative in countryside began in 1958. Central committee endorsed "People's Communes" which grouped together 2000 household for organizing and combining economic & political functions Chinese countryside was organized into 26,000 communes which involved 5,000 household they established communal dining halls. So people who spend their time in cooking could be freed to work in the field. Many children were put in boarding schools. So, that parents could be spared for work. In 1958 and largely in 1959 Mao approved a very different approach. Mao was trying to achieve economic miracles by including masses. People were supposed to work for long hours. So that economic transformation that took years could be achieved in short period.

In the first eight months of 1958, agricultural production was above the level of 1957 and the level of steel production was 50 percent higher than in 1957. The total grain output was 195 million tons. In 1958, it increased to 200 million tons.³¹

In 1959, Great Leap Forward began to Decline. In this year weather was not conducive for production. In 1959, harvest amounted to only 170 million tons.

³⁰ Macfarquhar, Rodrick (ed). (1993), The politics of China: 1949-89. Cambridge University Press, p. 43.

³¹ E-Moise, Edwin (1994), Modern China, Longman Group Publisher, pp. 140-141.

Hunger was widespread and there was shortage of food. In 1957 there was low death rate as compare to the Great Leap Forward Year. In 1959 GLF failed so, many people died of starvation and hunger. About 1.46 percent of population i.e., 96,40,000 people died during this year. In 1960 the weather was very bad for production and for harvest. Harvest was further reduced to 144 million tons.

In economic terms Great Leap Forward was a failure. But in social terms, the establishment of common dinning halls and commune system reveals that policies of CPC was embraced enthusiastically by people. People's involvement in economic reform was significant. China's nationalism emerged as a part of state formation. In such a condition role of state and a national building becomes very Important.

Women Empowerment Programme

In China because of patriarchal society and Confucianism position of women in the society was very low. Before liberation Chinese society was feudal so women have no right to express themselves. There were customs like 'foot binding'. Women used to tie their feet with long cotton cloth in order to prevent its growth to attract Chinese men. Women education was very low. Women were engaged in low productive activities like spinning, sewing, embroidery and common house hold tasks. Confusian ideology underlines the fact that men is at men's position and women should be at women's position it means that women should be obedient to men and humility, obedience, devotion, and modesty should be virtue of young women.

Women's rights and the transformation of their role were inseparably linked to the outcome of struggle for the land. The

women's economic role were carried out by land revolution which guaranteed full equality of property rights and full participation in economic, social and political life. Women formed the half of population who became an indispensable force for building a new China. In land reforms all the liberated area mobilized women to take an active part in sharing on the land and struggle to eliminate feudalism. The basic policies which laid down by Central Committee decisions of February 1943 encouraged women's work. All women activities realized that under New Democratic Government all the laws of old society which mistreated women and forced them into humiliating position of obedience have ceased to exist. In old society feudal customs prevailed that underlines the economic dependence of women over men. After liberation women's right to property were realized. Women not only provided equal economic rights and equal status with men but they were provided equal share of land property in countryside.

Women played a significant role in production process in working with cooperatives and Mutual Aid Groups. In the course of production it was realized that there should be improvement in women's educational work. It was felt that women's consciousness should be raised to participate in new government. Consequently, in 1954, women were making 12 percent representation in People's Congress was 542 i.e., 17.8 percent. According to report of Xinhua News Agency, 300 heads or deputy heads of provincial city, country and district government were women.

In 1953, there was a nationwide educational campaign to enforce Married Law Act. The movement was initiated by Central

People's Government and carried out in all parts of country except national minority region. Marriage law act abolished the feudal system of arbitrary and compulsory marriage, which was based on superiority of men. It established new democratic based of free choice of partners, monogamy, equal rights for both sexes and protection of lawful rights of women & children. Men and women were granted equal right to choose their occupation.

CONCLUSION

Thus we see that China's nationalism played on important role in China's struggle for modernity and reform. May Fourth movement shifted the rationale of the state towards the Chinese people themselves. Mao Zedong visualized organizational power of nationalism and used it judicially to draw fractured society into a modern nation.

Mao said in 1965 "The Chinese nation is known through out of the world not only its industriousness and stamina but also for its ardent love of freedom and its rich revolutionary tradition".³²

So, essence of Chinese nation building does not lie in reform or agriculture instead of fact Chinese people have national feelings and their ardent desire to make China independent and strong. Chinese people followed policies of Mao Zedong and the road to socialism Chinese socialism was not a imitation of Soviet Union but Chinese people adopt the path of New Democracy to socialism which shifts to Chinese tastes. China always try to built a strong state out of the idea of nation. Instead the Chinese nation has been created and recreated in

³² Lieu, H. Leong and Wang, Shoguang (ed). (2004) "Nationalism, Democracy and National Integration in China", Routledge Curzon Publication, London, p. 151.

the struggle for state power, and it has ultimately been defined by state as a reward of victory.³³ Lowell Dittmer and Kim Samuel expressed their views that nation building without state sponsorship is not possible. Indeed one of the state has to express sense of political and social identity of its citizens. Most nation state today include within their jurisdiction more than one nation or potential nations.³⁴ No doubt CPC policies always craved for strong centre and state. But the greatness of CPC policies is not in the fact that they were utilitarian for strong state or nation building in China but the greatness lies in the enthusiastic efforts of people who provide legitimacy to the communist party of China to make a strong nation.

³³ Schubert, Guntor (Art.) "Nationalism and National Identity in Contemporary China: Assessing the Debate" in *Issues & Studies* (Sept/Oct. 2001) p. 129.

³⁴ Dittmer, Lowell and Kim, Sameul S. (eds) (1993), "Wither China's Quest for National Identity" in China's quest for National Identity, Cornell University Press, p. 160.

CHAPTER-4

CONCLUSION

The conception of nation building in India and China revolves around issues of Political Sovereignty, people's livelihood and development. The state in post colonial societies have been viewed as the main agency in these questions.

There exist a striking contrasts between the European experience in state making and nation-building and that of the developing societies. These differences emerged out of the distinct historical conditions and cultural context's of these two regions the role of ideology has also played a significant role in shaping these processes. This differences in historical experiences has been pointed out by many scholars on the subject. In the regard what helped Europe it its size of population, cultural homogeneity, early emergence of legal institutions and the centralized states. However these models evolved out of distinct experience cannot be applied to other areas.

The European notion of centralized state or the consociational democracy have little relevance to nation builders of Africa who have been trying to forge political authority out of multi-tribal societies.

The western scholarship has tried to explain political development and change in third world countries. They include the modernization theories include theories of national identity by Pye and Rustow, rationalization of authority by Silvert, structural differentiation and social mobilization by Deutsch, political participating by Almond and Verba, the development of

political capacity by Eisenstadt and center formation and coalition making by Rokkan and Bendix. These theories make distinction between society and politics. The western reflections on third world political experience have been questioned by scholars from the developing area.

These theories criticized on the basis that they did not provide causal theory of modernization and political development. These theories does not explain the relationship between operating political and economic structure. In that sense modernization paradigm failed to provide and adequate general or comparative analysis. The concepts of 'People', 'Elite' and common 'Civic' culture which is need in social mobilization later throw more light on the subject.

As discussed earlier social mobilization theory of nation building by Karl Deutsch which was further elaborated by Stein Rokkan argued that the nation-building process in Europe was toward the acquisition of "stateness". J.A Silva Michelena has pointed out the problematic empirical relationship between agricultural development and land reform on the one hand and urbanization and industrialization on the other. It has also ignored the international context of economic dominance and the linkage of the developing political system to the pattern of dominance and dependence. The relationship between social mobilization and politicization in the context of India and China to illuminate "Inputs" from society and state response in the form of "outputs" does not help much. The process of development involves the extent of urbanization and industrialization. In spite of it should be based on relationship between modernization of the traditional network of the society which includes agriculture and

rural countryside, and territorial distribution of a growing population on the one hand and growth of mobile and educated middle class on the other.

Toccutto Di Tella has reviewed nation building process in Latin American countries. He concluded on the basis of the study that there is instability and low level of commitment to the center. In these countries there is no legitimate conservative ideology but the ruling oligarchies had been concerned to protect short term economic interest than to develop strong and legitimate organs of decision making. So, the western emphasis on political development has little relevance to third world countries.

S.N Eisenstadt in his book modernization : protest and change also emphasized on the fact that western model of political development makes little sense for developing countries. The concept of nation state could not be taken to the goal of all political development. He identified three characteristics of modern political system.

- Modern political system has all vestiges of traditional and self legitimizing aspects.
- It establishes channels of access flow from peripherals to the center.
- It has positively oriented towards change.

He argues that most of the polities of third world still traditional or transitional. Modernization does not mean nation building in European sense. In western Europe the disintegration of Roman empires had left autonomous city states that were to form major counter weight against bureaucratic centralization and cultural unification through out the period of state formation and nation

building. In Asia, Chinese empire never fell apart completely and Indian empire did not fall apart completely to allow the growth of independent city economies before the coming of British Raj.

As I have discussed center and periphery model of nation building in first chapter. This model presumes three principles.

- Center formation through a leading territory or dynasty or a dominant social class.
- The process of infringement of the center on the periphery through the play of power and process of policy making.
- The encroachment of the periphery on the center through demands on the machinery of the state.

Some serious question can be raised on the validity of this model. If the “Center” is a territorial concept is there a single center or could there be more than one? If there is more than one center what is the conceptual relationship with them? What is the degree of social and cultural homogeneity for a center to be accepted as a legitimate locus of authority and loyalty?

Sometimes there is resistance to the dominant center from regional centers which conceive themselves as “counter-centers”. There are many example before us like in Canada there are English versus French. In Belgium, there are Walloons versus Flemings. In Spain there are Castilians versus other. In all these cases is former still conceived as a center the problem is more intensified if political and economic center does not lie at the same place. In some countries economic center lies outside the country. In some cases economic center is more powerful than “independent political center”.

Center periphery theory is also criticised on the basis of stability or continuity. Class characteristics in the comparative study is keep on changing. Its necessary to identify the actors, their social composition, their motives, who sides with whom and for what reason.

Now a days there are different sources of nation builders like intellectual elites, exploited masses and the dominant social class. In some nation intellectual class occupy the center place. Whereas, in other cases local elites are tied on dependent economic and political relationships with a center that play outside the territory. So it is very difficult to interpret the problem of relationship between center and periphery in a dynamic way, with a special attention to the changing character of both the center and periphery.

While securitizing this Rajni Kothari concluded that western model of nation building and their location of center can not be applied on third world countries. It is the matter of timing of economic versus political development. The center of western countries have been strengthened through the growth of city economies ahead on the major thrust toward nation building. In third world countries, the city economies are stagnant and the sate had to tackle issue of economic growth with the efforts of center building. Our search for a nation building theory in India and China revolves around some common issues. In both the cases nationalist feelings were very high, the role of strong center was felt, newly ex-colonial independent state i.e., India and newly liberated semi-colonial state such as China felt the necessity to reconstruct it's economy. In both the cases political

leadership played a dominant role to reform and structure old order.

The critique of modernization theories have argued that it has given less attention to political process. In the case of India and China the political leadership had played paramount role in nation building as dynamic agents. The role of Nehru and Mao Zedong in the nation building in India and China respectively is indispensable Rajni Kothari has attempted to apply center periphery framework to political development.

- In Indian case large size of cultural heterogeneity necessitate the growth of center which is not only territorial but has a political organizational locus through a dominant party. Such a center should bargain and accommodate a large number of intermediate center which should become the Loci of institutional and interest aggregation.
- In the presence of many center in process of national integration should not be conceived as linear and centralized, but there center should inter play between persistence autonomy of cultural center on the one hand the primacy of political center on the other hand.
- Since a framework of integration necessitates a measure of democratic functioning.
- In the process of integration the concept of center should move from being a territorial nation to political nation focusing on dominant party, coalition or leadership the concept of periphery also changes from being territorial to social classes in terms of castes, tribes and depressed classes.

In Chinese case we can locate the 'political center to dominant role of Chinese communist party and role of PLA. Because party played integrative role of many nationalities, bringing land reform, introducing, socialist transformation and economic growth. In Chinese case 'center' of political development lies ahead from 'economic development' center and modernization process.

As Rajni Kothari underlines the fact that in third world countries less attention has been given to political development they are more concerned about developmental issues, growth, family planning, spread of literacy, development of mass media and the diffusion of modern technology. This model deal with modernization of traditional societies. I have discussed this model in first chapter. This type of model of nation building which is synonymous with "modernization" and "development" is relevant to the discourse of nation building in India and china. In both the cases immediately after independence and liberation they were hindered by underdevelopment of industry, less production, dependence on import for a host of capital goods, intermediate and consumption goods. At the time of independence and revolution in China nationalist feelings and populace expectations were quite high. In both the cases colonial power drain out the resources which stimulate economic growth so development issues came into forefront.

Comparison of India and China in industrial growth and reasons for India's backwardness:

In the case of Agrarian sector the conditions of India and china were not vastly different. Both the countries were poorest in the world and had high levels of poverty, under nutrition and

illiteracy. In this phase industrialization was seen as the principle to economic growth. In India and china Feldman type strategy of industrialization were adopted. It restricted consumption in short run and diverted more resources to the production of investment in general and machine tools in particular. Both countries faced foreign exchange constraints. This development strategy was expected to raise the rate of growth and reduce dependence and international market for crucial goods, intermediate and component needed to realizes strategy of industry led development.

In both the countries development of heavy industry were adopted. India adopted for mixed economy frame work but initially it was based on dominance of public sector while china nationalized all included most small enterprises. China implemented land reform programme which liberated millions of agricultural laborers made the market for manufacture consumption and it was a truly mass market. It also underline the fact that consumption good sector was labor intensive. On the other hand India's land reform failed. The aim of India's agrarian policy has been to promote capitalist relation in agriculture. Government credit fertilizes and procurement programs have always rich peasants. Government assisted rich peasants in order to ensure large marketable surplus for the towns. Consequently there was extreme inequalities in rural-urban rates and urban middle class .Meghnad Desai in his book 'Development and Nationhood' has discussed disparities in the accusation of resources of China (p. 26). The private industrial sector was highly concentrated. Twenty family group controlled 20 percent of total private capital stock in 1951. This had

increased to 33 percent by 1958. In 1965, the monopolies commission found that 75 leading business groups in India owned 47 percent of assets of all non governmental companies. These groups are big bourgeoisie in India. In 1958 the two largest family groups Tata and Birla owned 20 percent of total private capital stock in Indian companies.

China's industry proved to be more dynamic because of the fact at initial state China's reform was restricted to agricultural sector. Land reforms allowed Chinese peasants to make independent decision on land allocation. Permission were granted to peasants to sale large share of output in open markets and allowing those prices to find their own levels. Growth in non-agriculture sector has been more agricultural driven than export led. This growth is equally distributed as compare to Indian case. The role of foreign capital is less involved in take over of domestic firms and investment in 'interior'. It is because of the fact China is dominated by ethnic Chinese capital and multinational from the metropolitan countries takes little risk in inventing in country under "one country two systems".

Industrial growth in India during the period 1951-65 averaged 7.79 percent. Chinese official statistics which was published in 1981 shows that industrial output in the period 1952-56 was recorded as 10.6 percent table no. 4.1 and 4.2 shows difference in industrial production and output in Indian and Chinese case.

Table No. 4.1 Shows index of industrial production (1960 = 100) in India

Year	Production
1951	52.0
1952	61.1
1953	59.8
1954	59.3
1955	69.7
1956	77.0
1957	80.2
1958	82.9
1959	98.9
1960	100

Source: Meghnad, Desai (2002), Development and Nationhood, Oxford University Press, p. 25.

China's : Index of Industrial Output (1949-60)

Year	Total Industrial Output	Producer Goods	Consumer goods
1949	11	6	25
1950	15	9	32
1951	21	23	42
1952	26	26	53
1953	33	22	64
1954	38	26	72
1955	40	28	71
1956	48	35	82
1957	54	42	88
1958	79	70	103
1959	96	89	115
1960	100	100	100
Rate of growth	21.24	27.57	13.54

Source: Chandra Sekhar, C.P, "Industrial Development" in Deshpande, GP and Acharya, Alka (eds.), Fifty Years of India and China : Crossing the bridge of dreams (2001) Published by Tulika, New Delhi, pp. 76.

India's growth suddenly rose from 4.5 percent in 1952-53 to 14.83 percent in 1955, then 2.1 percent by 1958. When second five year plan was adopted it rose to 10.8 percent. In China total industrial output was rose from the low base at 33.9 per cent per annum during 1949-52, it was 18.3 percent during 1952-60 and collapsed to 1.6 percent during 1952-60 because failure of Great Leap Forward.¹

Comparison of land reform in India and china.

In chapter no. 3, I have discussed land reform in China in detail which is considered a landmark development in nation building in China. But from Indian point of view land reforms didn't play significant role. Chinese land reform did not only bring economic, but social and cultural reform as well. Chinese land reform involved violence and executions. Anti feudal programme of land reform seen as the first step in total transformation of rural economy and agrarian class relation land reform were officially began with the Agrarian Law of June 1950 and process was completed by 1952.

The programme revolves around the concept of 'land to the tiller'. The chief objective of Agrarian Law to set free the rural productive force, develop agriculture production and thus pave the way for New China's industrialization. Mao Zedong delivering a speech, 'The general line on land reform: Unite 90% of population' which was delivered at a conference of Party Cadre in 1948 (Published in Chung-Chung pp 5-6). To quote Mao Zedong's view on land reforms "*Section of the middle peasant*

Chandra Sekhar, C.P. "Industrial Development" (Art.) in Deshpande, GP & Acharya, Alka (ed). Fifty Years of India and China (2001) published by Tulika, New Delhi, p. 76.

must be allowed to keep some land over and above the average obtained by one poor peasants... we do not advocate absolute equalitarianism the poor peasants and farm laborers will find themselves isolated and land reform will fail.”

In Indian case no such redistribution of land took place in India. By the end of late forties rural support base of the congress consisted of upper peasantry, the petty land lords and the owner cultivators. The distribution of land was practically missing. Those who were benefited from distribution got barren, unproductive or alkaline soil to farm with any resource to make use for it. Feudal exploitation did not come to end. Feudal landlords were transformed into modern capitalist land lords who continued their exploitation by means of wage labour. The equitable base of land reform in India case was missing. The social base of Indian land reform as compare to China was negotiable. It could not mobilize the masses to set-up collective structure which could both generate and guarantee employment. Amartya Sen and Jean Dreze in their book India development and participation underlines the fact that China's reform brought expansion of social security through supportive public intervention specially in field of education, health care, social security and land reforms.

The comparison of education reform in India and China

In Alka Acharya, Rama V. Baru and Geeta B. Nambissan's article 'The state and human development' drawn the following comparison on education. At the time of liberation only less than 20 percent of the population was literate in China. In 1997 China literacy rose to 83 percent. Enrolment of children in primary school reached up to 99.9 per cent in primary school. In

Indian case, in 1950 literary rate was 20 percent by 1997 it rose only to 54 percent. In terms of primary school completion, of from primary to middle school, Indian lag behind China.²

In China decision on reformation of the education system promulgated in October 1951. It stressed on technical learning and learning of new socialists values. Chinese education reform in 1950s were modeled on the Soviet approach to education which stressed on technical training to develop specialized skills. The need of technical training was tell because of first five year plan. There was increase in the number of specialized technical school at the secondary and university level to help in producing skill workers. In many places of length of schooling at the secondary and university levels was increased to ensure the quality of technical training. Consequently student enrollment in spare time primary and middle school increased from less than 2 million in 1953 to about 9 million in 1957.

“Despite poor level of economic growth and inadequate resource CPC in newly librated China gave way to literacy and basic education. On the other hand, India has neglected basic education and encouraged on elitist, urban biased school system characterized by economic, regional and social disparities”. Derze and Loh have expressed the need for ‘radical changes in public polity in India’, giving much greater priority to the widespread and equitable provision of basic education.

The first few years after liberation we saw a significant rise in literacy rates in China and by sixties, 43 percent of the population, aged six plus were estimated to see literate. The

² Archarya, Alka, Rama V. Baru, Geeta B. Nambissan, 'The state and human development' (Art.) in Fifty year of India China (2001) Published by Tulika, New Delhi, pp. 236-237.

adult population had gained literacy by sixties, itself. Consequently number of school and university increased in China. The following table 4.3 shows number of schools and universities in 1949-61 had increased in China.

Secondary school

Year	Primary schools	Professional	Regular	Others	Universities
1949	346,769	1,171	4,045	Na	205
1952	526,964	1,710	4,298	51	201
1955	504,077	1027	5,120	65	194
1958	776,769	3,113	28,931	20,062	791
1961	645,170	2,843	18,983	7,269	845

Source Archarya, Alka, Rama V. Baru, Geeta B. Nambissan, "The state and human development" in Fifty year of India China : Crossing the Bridge of Dreams, (2001) Published by Tulika, New Delhi pp. 238

The CPC has given emphasis on education in the process of social reconstruction of the society. Education is seen crucial for economic development. Education has played a pivotal role in building a socialistic consciousness. Education was brought under government control. By mid 1950's all private schools were nationalized literacy programs were undertaken as mass campaigns in which all sections of population were involved. In late fifties China adopted social and economic organizations of commune system and integrated system of social security that provided further impetus to the speed of schooling especially in rural areas. Miniban schools were managed by public assistance. Mass mobilization campaigns for literacy and schooling were conducted by political organization that helped the rapid spread of primary education at low cost. In contrast to

china basic education in India got off to slow start in the first few decades of independence. Free and compulsory education were shrine in constitution of India as one of the Directive Principles of State Policy but basic education reform were absent in that phase. These campaigns were initiated in late eighties. India lacks fall behind than china in terms of basic indicator of educational development. Chinese experience has a number of insights for India. Indian society is characterized by sharp economic and social disparities that led to difference in literacy and primary school in enrolments among different economic classes and social groups. Poor and socially discriminated groups in rural and urban areas excluded from schooling.

Thus we see Chinese reform in education was much more impressive than India. China's success to elementary education and egalitarian system of education was a successful case. The enrolment in schools in Indian case were less because of disparity in income and lap of successful' public policy. The expensive and exclusive 'public schools' is affordable to urban elite and middle class, which offer good quality in education enrolments in schools of poor and rural population was less.

Comparison of Planned Economic Development

Both India and China gave priority to heavy industrialization for economic growth. China's output was significantly higher than India's key industrial output. India was growing at rate of 3.5 percent per annum while China was growing at the rate of 5 percent. Chinese economic policy, in the mid 1950's followed the pattern of Soviet Union. The Chief goal was to develop heavy industry steel, machinery and other things. Russian technique help in designing and building large plant in many areas. Light

industry and agriculture bear second preference. Central planning was adopted in 1955. Planned construction was accompanied with socialist transformation. The change from private to state and collective ownership in agriculture, handicraft and capitalistic industry was some of the major steps. In this way income in China was ~~reduced~~^{increased} significantly.

It is not a hidden fact that Chinese industrial output and growth rate was fairly high as compared to India. Its reason could be long imperial British rule has drained out all the resources. British rule played less attention to surplus or production. The agricultural production was very less. In order to remove Agrarian poverty congress introduced cooperativisation in agriculture. As I have already discussed failure of land reform in India because no major distribution of land took place. Consequently land reform failed. Question of low production remains unsolved. Chinese socialist transformation was interlinked with Agrarian reform. In 1940, Mao Zedong in his speech "On New Democracy" put the emphasis to change semi feudal tendencies in China. So, growth in industrial production was based on Agrarian reform. This was the reason of Chinese success in socialist transformation. Another reason could be that India was not fully committed to socialism it adopted mixed economy that breeds vast disparities in income and distribution. India socialism is not relevant in terms of economic growth from the period 1947-60 because it just only provided a lip service to the people whereas it lacks actual reform. Meghnad Desai, in his book Development and Nationhood has rejected the 'Resource Drain' theory of west and deindustrialization. The reason behind the slow growth he thinks is destruction of handicraft industry. To quote "some destruction

of handicraft took place in the second half of eighteenth century as a result of physical coercion, the real destruction happened as a result of cheap machine made imports. However, this deindustrialization was not specific to India but occurred in all countries to which Britain exported, whether they were colonies or not”.

I have compared some core issues in India and China’s discourse on nation buildings that bring into limelight some important issues. The state’s role in development and participation was much more higher than India. China’s health literary mission was accompanied with mass campaign and improvement in socio economic basis. It was not only a one way process but people also give their feedback. In heath Bare Foot doctor schemes was launched to extend basic health service to remote areas.

In education as well traditional and modern system, formal and non-formal methods, were used to facilitate the speed of basic education mobilization of people for capital construction project in the field of land reclamation and water conservation was crucial to Chinese component. This type of mass mobilization was absent in India.

The role of the CPC was very dominant in bringing Chinese reform. CPC’s dominance in society and politics also made it possible to mobilize domestic resources to a greater degree and consumption was controlled thoroughly then was possible in liberal democratic setup in India. On the other hand Jawahar Lal Nehru’s modernist internationalist vision brought the concept of education, science and economic process, socialistic transformation of economy and heavy industry. China’s land

reform, new democracy, and from heavy industrialization, all these policies were adopted which suited to Chinese realities. The centrality and dominance of Indian National Congress in Indian state there were conflict within party Patel's conservative vision, Nehru's modernist agenda for reform, Gandhi's decentralization, facilitation of small scale industries and vision of 'Hind Sawaraj' were quite divergent views for the development and reconstruction to undertake. In China development strategies evolved and emerged without any conflict, debate or struggle for power. Consequently, the elite based politics in India and mass based politics in China directly effected policies in both countries and diverging consequences for growth and development in the two countries.

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