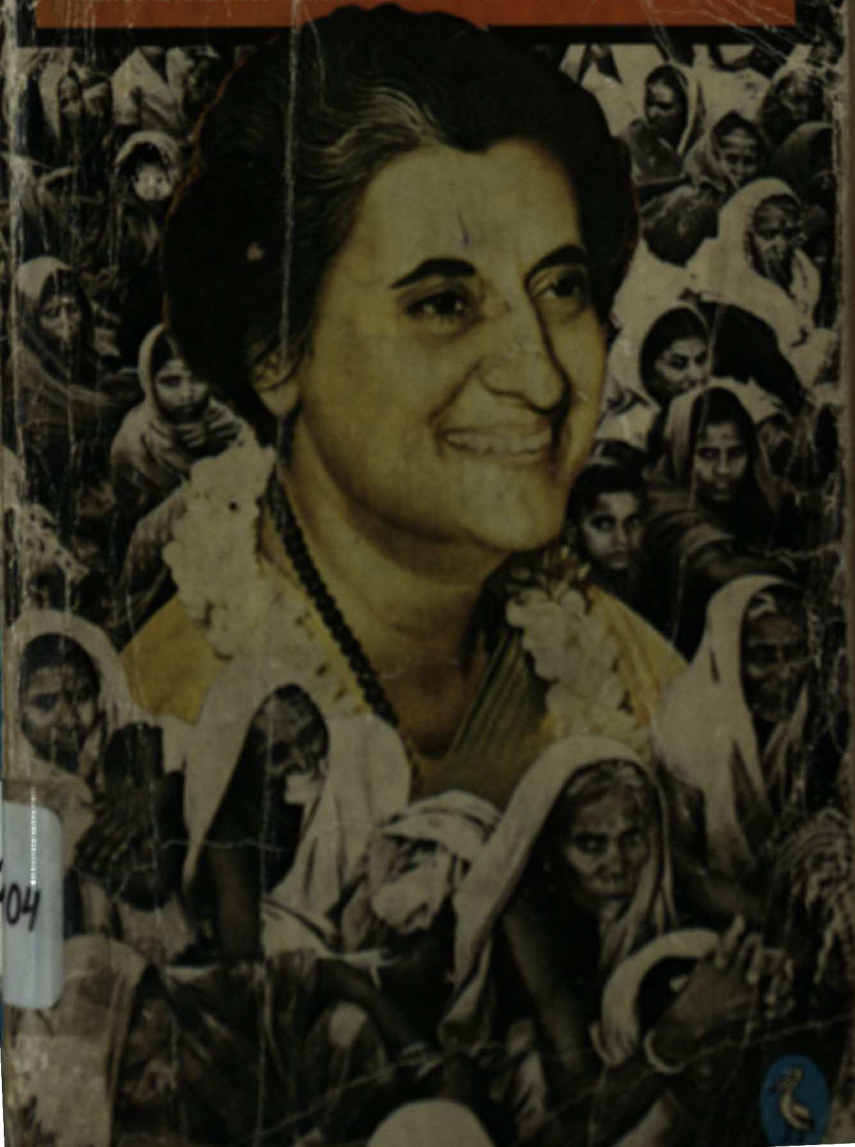


DAVID SELBOURNE

# AN EYE TO INDIA

THE UNMASKING OF A TYRANNY

A BRUTAL AND IGNOMINIOUS PERIOD IN THE HISTORY OF THE NATION



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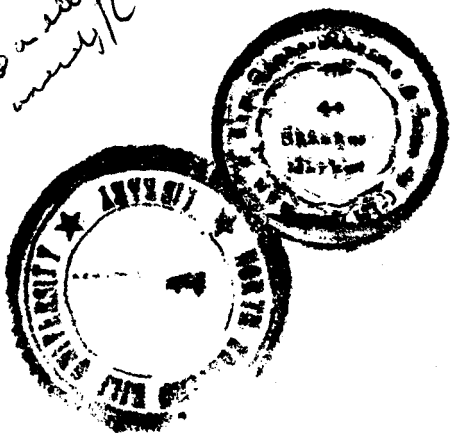
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David Selbourne was born in London in 1937. He was educated at Manchester Grammar School, Balliol College, Oxford, and the Inner Temple. He has been Tutor in Social and Political Theory at Ruskin College, Oxford, since 1967, and visited India as Aneurin Bevan Memorial Fellow (1975-6).

His work as a playwright, which includes *Class Plays*, *The Two-Backed Beast*, *Samson* and *Dorabella*, has been seen at the Traverse Theatre, Edinburgh, the NUS Drama Festival, the Edinburgh Festival Fringe, the Crucible Theatre, Sheffield and the Everyman Theatre, Liverpool. His previous political writing includes *Brook's Dream*, an essay on the politics of the theatre, and *An Eye to China*. He has also contributed to the *Guardian*, *Harper's*, *Tribune*, and other journals.

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David Selbourne

# An Eye to India

The Unmasking of a Tyranny



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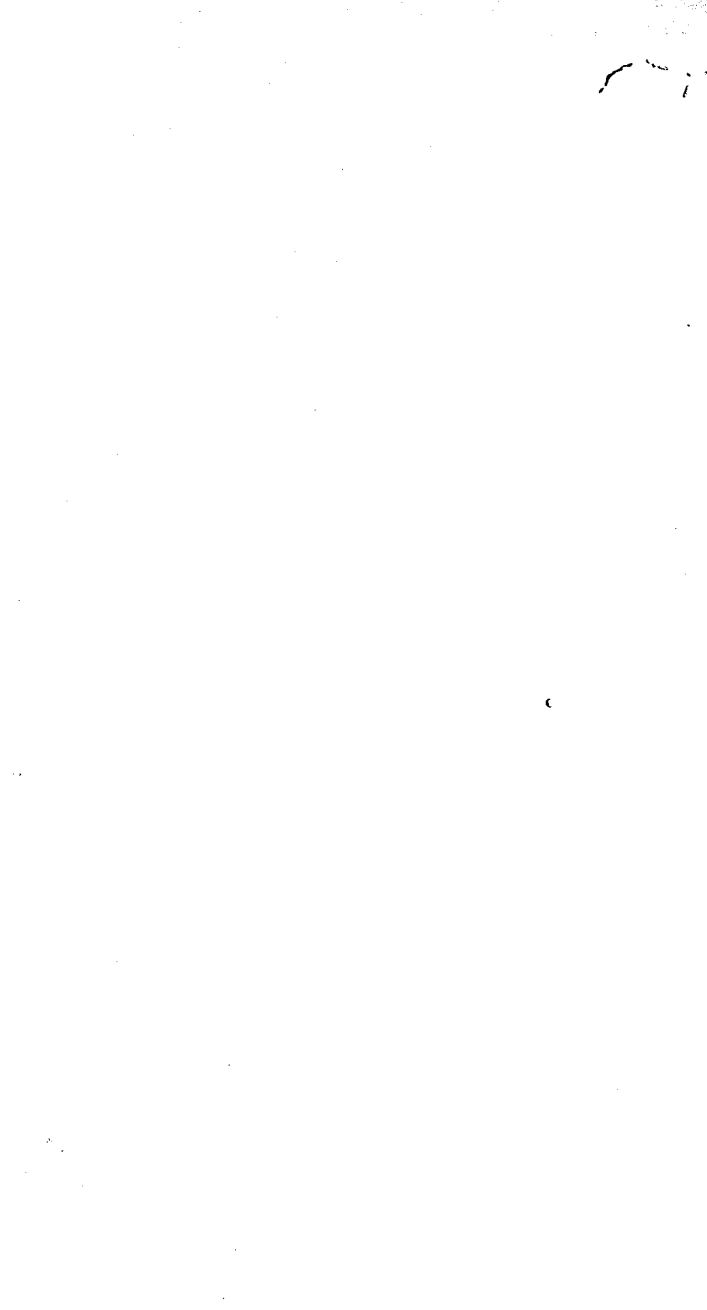
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# Contents

List of Tables vii

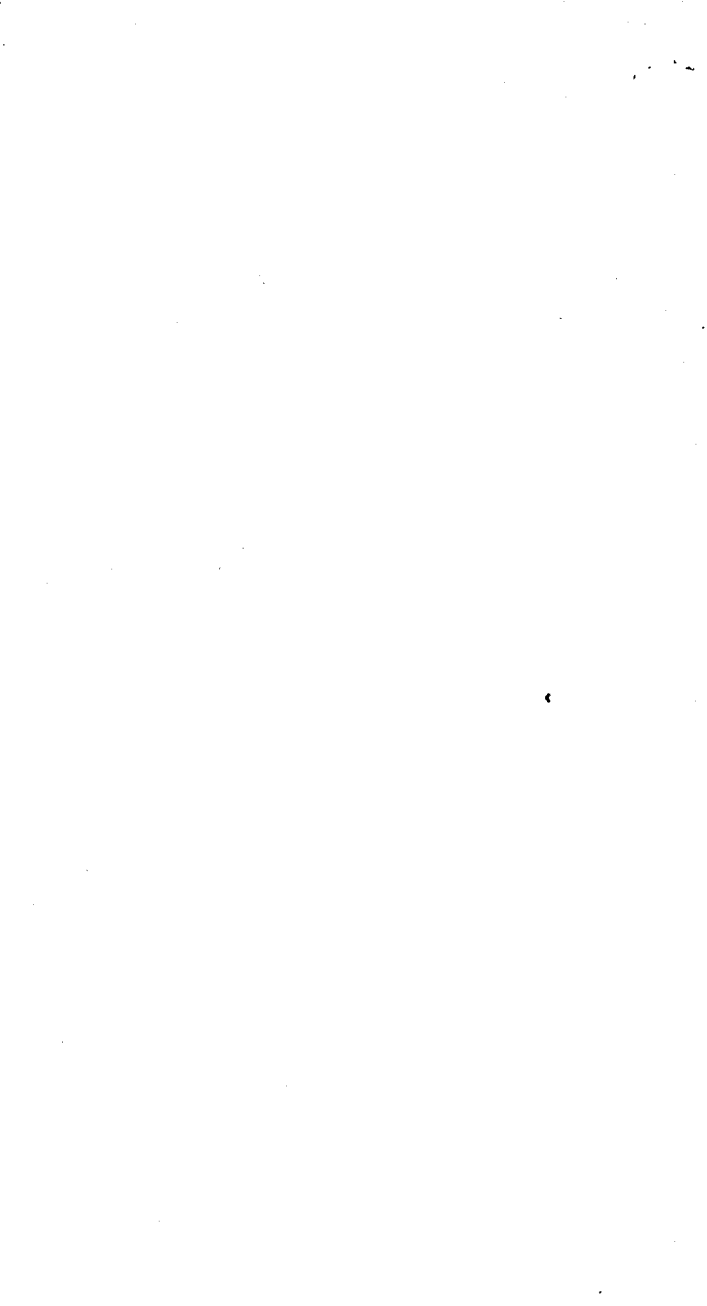
Preface xi

- 1 From Crisis to Crisis 1
  - 2 On the Condition of the People 34
  - 3 The Politics of Illusion 79
  - 4 An Eye to India: First Sequence 122
  - 5 Swinging into Action 129
  - 6 The New Deal 193
  - 7 Resurgence and Degeneration 255
  - 8 The Indian Road to Socialism 313
  - 9 An Eye to India: Last Sequence 367
- Appendix: Select Documents 371  
Statistical Tables 421
- Notes 437
- Select Bibliography 517
- Glossary 522
- Index 525



## List of Tables

- 1 National income of India, 1960-61 to 1974-5 421
- 2 Annual growth-rates of national income and money supply from Third Five-Year Plan period to 1975-6 422
- 3 Net availability per day of cereals and pulses 423
- 4 Per capita annual availability of some key articles of consumption 424
- 5 Percentage share in total consumption by decile groups, 1968-9 425
- 6 Landholdings survey, 1961-2 426
- 7 Distribution of operational holdings according to size, 1970-71 426
- 8 Estimated number of rural households according to area of land owned, 1971-2 427
- 9 Distribution of assets of rural households on 30 June 1971 427
- 10 Direct and indirect taxes as percentages of total tax revenues (1948-9 to 1975-6) 428
- 11 Assets, sales and profits of selected medium and large private sector companies, 1970-71 to 1973-4 429
- 12 Percentage of salaries and wages in gross value added, 1950-51 to 1972-3 430
- 13 Outstanding long-term foreign investments by source, 1955 to 1969 431
- 14 Outstanding long-term foreign investment (by industry), 1955 to 1969 432
- 15 Significance of private and public sectors in the Indian economy 433
- 16 Inflow of external assistance - gross and net 434
- 17 Aggregate external assistance - by source 435
- 18 Defence expenditure of the government of India: current expenditure and capital outlay, 1950-51 to 1976-7 436

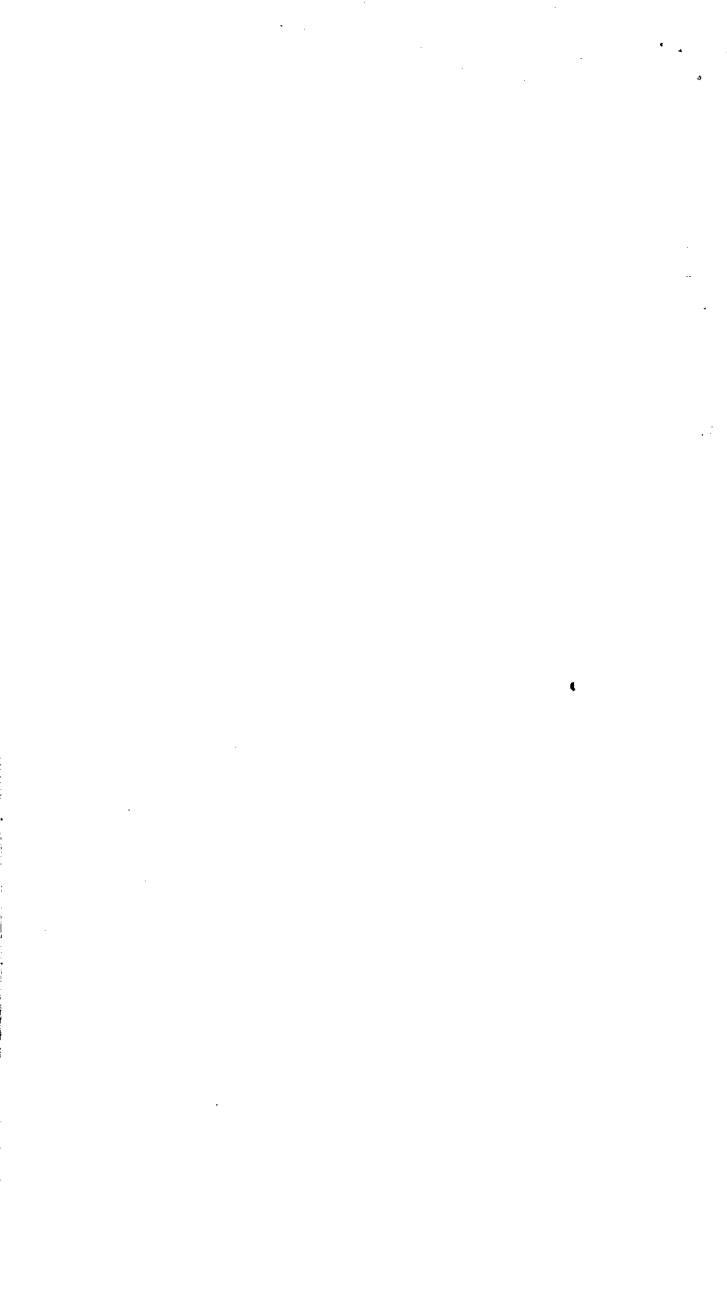


India is a vast and diverse country that has something to offer to everyone. The beauty of the Taj Mahal by moonlight, the finest monument to love ever created; the beat and rhythm of folk dances which have come down the ages almost unchanged; crowded, colourful bazaars contrasting with the peace and grandeur of snow capped mountains, the quiet backwaters of Kerala fringed with coconut palms – these are a few of the countless facets of India which are timeless in their appeal.

*Department of Tourism, Government of India, 1975*

The face of truth is covered with a golden disc. Unveil it, O Pūsan, so that I who love truth may see it.

*Isá, 15*



## Preface

The passage of events during the emergency in India is recorded in this book. I have tried to show what the roles of its architects and protagonists were; and the illusions and cruelty, lies and violence to which India was subjected. But this could not be an end in itself, nor has it been my main purpose.

For the emergency was part of a continuum in the history of India since independence. It is a history which cannot be perceived as a simple trilogy: that is, as a pre-emergency democracy ('the world's largest'), an emergency dictatorship, and a post-emergency democratic restoration. Moreover, the emergency served – as no previous sequence of events has done in modern India – to make manifest the nature of the political economy of India, the nature of the state, and the condition of the Indian people. Finally, the Indian emergency, as a response to political and economic crisis, constitutes a paradigm case, an object lesson, whose implications cannot be confined to India.

This is true also of the nature and source of the support, inside and outside India, which was given to the assaults on the people and institutions of India during the emergency, a brutal and ignominious period in the history of the nation. Attempts by some to dignify the emergency, from whatever standpoint and whether in terms of utilitarian necessity or as a form of 'socialist' progress, can now be seen in focus. Others, eyes closed and ears stopped, saw and heard little or no evil. For them, the trains ran on time also. It is for this reason, and because the record of the crimes committed against the Indian people requires to be made safe from cancellation by denial and evasion, that almost every emergency event and statement referred to in the text has been given its attribution. But for

the reader who does not choose to check or follow these authentications, the book may be perfectly well read without them.

I have been concerned, too, with questions of method, a search for those forms which would enable me to establish the truth about India. This has led me in chapter 2, for instance, to bring together observed life with the empirical and quantitative measure of it; indeed, I have attempted this synthesis in the text as a whole, believing that only a combination of perceptual and rational knowledge can carry the reader to the heart of the matter. Indeed, the setting of the book and its continuous theme is the condition of the people; a condition, with other factors, propelling India towards revolution, surviving the succession of one faction by another, and one illusion by another – the last, and perhaps greatest, that of the transformation of India by election.

I owe apologies in advance for any mistakes there may be in the transcription and transliteration of names from faded or badly typed documents, some of which had a rough passage from India. There may be other mis-hearings and mis-readings where information was orally transmitted, or was partially suffocated by the censor. But what was happening in emergency India was clear at the time, and has since merely become clearer. In the last analysis, therefore, the shortcomings are my own; varieties of censorship and intimidation, and other restraints, cannot be blamed for them.

I would like to thank Peter Preston and Malcolm Dean of the *Guardian*, Dick Clements of *Tribune*, Lewis Lapham of *Harper's*, and Paul Sweezy of *Monthly Review* for having given me opportunity on different occasions to speak of the circumstances of India; Neville Maxwell for encouraging me to write this book; my wife, whose own work at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in the University of Birmingham on problems of ideology and historical method led to helpful discussions at all stages of this text's writing, but who bears no blame for any of its errors of judgement; Sybil Brooke for typing from the manuscript with great skill, care and speed; and the library staffs of the Indian Institute and the Institute of Commonwealth Studies in Oxford for their assistance.

Above all, I am indebted to those who – often at risk to themselves – provided me with facts and assistance during a long journey through emergency India. I have chosen not to name them here; but they are the real authors of this work, just as the condition of the Indian people, and not the eye of the beholder, is its subject.

David Selbourne, 19 April 1977



## I From Crisis to Crisis

In exercise of the powers conferred by clause (1), article 352 of the constitution, I, Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, President of India, by this proclamation declare that a grave emergency exists, whereby the security of India is threatened by internal disturbances.

26 June 1975

The President has proclaimed emergency. This is nothing to panic about.

*Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister, 26 June 1975*

The Indian arena measures 3,280,483 square kilometres. It is the seventh biggest country in the world. Within this area are 600 million people. It is the second largest society, after China. India is rich; to the World Bank, with its own perspectives and vocabulary, 'rich in potential but slow to develop'.<sup>1</sup> It is in the United Nations' fourth division of politics, those which are known to possess great riches, but remain poverty-stricken and immobile.

Thus, Mrs Gandhi's Finance Minister C. Subramaniam declared, perhaps with a certain ingenuousness, in the Lok Sabha (Lower House) of the Indian Parliament, 'We should find out why the backwardness is persistent.'<sup>2</sup> He was referring specifically to Bihar, the richest and poorest state of India. It is the richest in resources, and the poorest in the condition of its people. 'As far as land resources are concerned,' he continued, and on the terrain of fact, 'it has got the richest soil. As far as water resources are concerned, no other state is its equal. With regard to minerals it has got a rich mineral wealth also.'<sup>3</sup> Why this backwardness?' he demanded of his audience. 'Is there no remedy for it?' he inquired of them.

India is a rich country, which is poor. It is rich in minerals

## 2 On the Condition of the People

It is not difficult to 'sell' India as a land of dreams, a land full of mysteries and grandeur, snow-capped mountains, golden beaches, age-old monuments, colourful festivals, traditions and ancient religions.

*Raj Bahadur, Minister for Tourism and Civil Aviation, 6 March 1976<sup>1</sup>*

The progress of a country like India cannot properly be judged in terms of the gross national product.

*Indira Gandhi, 20 February 1976<sup>2</sup>*

The success achieved by India has been spectacular by any standard, either west or east, or developing or developed countries.

*Indira Gandhi, 13 April 1976<sup>3</sup>*

They are already awakening from their dreams, here, wrapped in rags, grey-clouted like the sheeted and phantom dead, against the dull cold dawn; grey-on-grey. Men in ragged greatcoats and broken shoes are huddled, like down-and-outs, in the hillocked, hummocked rough beside the Delhi road, waiting for the first light. Brown thin hands are purple brown with cold, or mitted; with numbed and blown finger-ends; breath funnelling from turned-up collars, and tousled scarved heads. At small heaps of cracking, crackling twigs ('O Agni, showerer of sparks, O Agni, bring us riches!'), are thin-tongued spitting fires, and stick-like arms and legs, crouching before the whorls of smoke in sackcloth and ashes.

In the dawning cold light of day, grey-upon-grey, the poor, lapped and swathed in rags, and risen from their pavement hearths and pallets, begin to stalk the streets like beasts. 'Dawn

### 3 The Politics of Illusion

I am sure you are all conscious of the deep and widespread conspiracy which has been brewing, since I began introducing certain programmes of benefit to the common man and woman of India.

*Indira Gandhi, 26 June 1975<sup>1</sup>*

Mrs Gandhi's régime is also exceedingly corrupt . . . baser elements usually come to the top in such an environment, which is what happened both in the Congress Party hierarchy and in the civil service.

*Ashok Mitra, former Chief Economic Adviser  
to the government of India, Economist,  
24 January 1976*

Disruptive forces inside the country will be ruthlessly put down. The Government and Congress Party will fight these forces until they are eliminated, and the country made safe for democracy.

*Indira Gandhi, May Day, 1976<sup>2</sup>*

Our passage through the dark labyrinth of the people's condition thus ends not in the light of progress, but in the resumption of the analysis of power and its uses with which I concluded the first chapter. It is necessary now to gather together matters referred to in passing; matters of ideology, theory and practice, and the politics of Indian illusion.

The latter's range is wide. It includes the familiar alternations of professed innocence and brutal practice. It includes 'freedom of action' unable to extricate itself from the accommodations of economic dependence; building the power of capital for 'socialism's' progress; asserted autonomy of mind and sovereign political language, with the long-echoing accents and

## 4 An Eye to India: First Sequence

A crocodile in red blazers, pressed grey flannels, and black well-heeled shoes, with blazing eyes and gleaming black hair, treads the pink-to-rust park paths, the soft dust stifling their scuffing footfalls. There is a bliss in this clear blue heaven and fresh day; the crows floating easy in the sky, the people squatting in silence, unmoving.

On the hard ground before you, are torpid bodies sleeping, dead to the world, undisturbed by boys' voices beneath the flowering trees, heads pillowed upon folded arms, fingers crooked or stiffly splayed, bony knees and bare spindle-shanks bent into a rigid slumber.

It is as calm and mild now as any Riviera morning.

On the park's grey-blackened domes are winged statuary, immobilized; the dark coat on the sparse grass – is it a coat, or a body lying? – stirring and turning, shifting its position. A glossy grey-and-black crow, *Corvus splendens*, with darting eye and black sheen, iridescent with purple, blue and green, hops and struts on the pink pathway before you.

A ragged woman with bare feet, her bird-thin ankles ringed, in a faded green sari, bends in the shadow of the trees, buttocks sharp as blades, and stoops to her small harvest of brushwood, gathered up into thin arms; she straightens up, as the smart boys pass in the sunlight, with their bright polished chatter and formal manner.

A statue, weary to death, stretches its wings on the tip of a cupola, like Eros poised upon a fountain, or an avenging Fury. Beside the little planted flowers, a small child sits in the thin grass, its lips, nose and eyes fly-spotted; a brown-and-cream striped squirrel, sitting up on its haunches, watches for a moment with beady eyes and tiny clasped hands.

## 5 Swinging into Action

We have not been able to give the people the food they need, or shelter or education or many of the other things. But we have given them a new self-confidence, and I think that is a very big thing. We have given them the courage to speak out.

*Indira Gandhi, to the Rajya Sabha, 22 July 1975<sup>1</sup>*

I am a poor person and India is a desert. I do not know how to arrange the facts for you. But you can let the world know what has happened. It is your duty.<sup>2</sup>

*S. Doraiswamy, veteran leader of the Indian Congress Party<sup>3</sup>*

Such things did not exist, even under British rule, such atrocity and dishonour, such propaganda, and such lying. It is not for this that Congress fought the British.

The Need of the Hour is Discipline.

Silence is Golden.

Avoid Rumours and Loose Talk. Do Your Duty.

*(street slogans)*

The new politics of 'swinging into action'<sup>4</sup> was not only to extend the world of illusion, cruelty and corruption, but to enter into headlong collision with reality, as well as with the opposition. An Indian juggernaut rolled forward, from 26 June 1975, and crushed beneath its heavy wheels those who stood in its way – devotee and opponent alike, as in tradition. In this chapter I will single out for attention some aspects of the process; the interaction of institutional change and destruction. I will leave the search for any compensatory and redeeming features in the

## 6 The New Deal

The new economic programme has generated all-round enthusiasm and new hope among the masses, as it is an expression of the nation's deep and abiding commitment and resolve to rid itself of poverty and inequality. It must be implemented with utmost speed and efficiency.

*All-India Congress Committee (AICC)  
resolution, 28 December 1975<sup>1</sup>*

The 20-point programme is not significant. Great changes are happening in India. We have taken a swing to the extreme right. We will either succeed on a large scale, or fail on a large scale. But it is the political, not the economic, changes which are important.

*Ayub Syed, AICC member, 16 January 1976<sup>2</sup>*

The economic policy of the government will continue to be left of centre.

*Indira Gandhi, 30 December 1975<sup>3</sup>*

A fruit seller gave everything she had to the divine child Sri Krishna, captivated by his charming appearance, and the divine imprints on his tender palm. That she would have to starve for the day was totally out of her mind. And in return for the fruits she offered, the Lord blessed her with a fortune; her basket was full of precious stones.

*Hindu, 12 January 1976*

The crux of the matter has already been stated. Proclamation of the 'new' – a key-word both in political and commercial advertising – was the old but in a renewed paroxysm of the body politic, with its features newly distorted. And it was not so much newness as continuity, and not so much continuity as

## 7 Resurgence and Degeneration

A man is a performing flea. He can be trained.

*D. K. Barooah, president of the Congress Party, 12 April 1976<sup>1</sup>*

The element of fear brought about by the emergency is beneficial, for fear can be a potent motivating factor when all other means fail.

*K. Brahmananda Reddy, Minister for Home Affairs, 5 April 1976<sup>2</sup>*

I saw a beggar being beaten by two policemen and crying, in the street beneath my balcony. I went back into the room. I wanted to interfere, but decided against it.<sup>3</sup>

The Indian people have a terrific capacity to bear their hardships.

*Indira Gandhi, 1 April 1976<sup>4</sup>*

Such a political order as India's, emergency or no emergency, is violence; the magnitude of poverty and riches, suffering and privilege, is violence. In addition, the miseries and strengths of the people arrayed and encamped on the land-mass of India, toiling and wasting in their hundreds of millions – at best deceived, inert and pauperized, at worst alert and organized – indict and endanger power. Their presence challenges it to further violence. As they are and as they stand, their very visibility and ubiquity are a source of danger to minority class and faction. The constant and latent fear of the awesome and greater power of the people, both inchoate and focused, arouses – emergency or no emergency – not only the reflexes of paternalism, contempt and hatred, but violence. The instrumental use of such violence is the reflex of power; and redoubled violence, the reflex of power corrupted and additionally embattled.

## 8 The Indian Road to Socialism

The victims who talked with me related incidents where they or other political prisoners were hung upside down; were stripped naked and severely beaten with shoes, steel rods and gun butts; had burning candles applied to their bare soles, which were then punctured with nails. The devices for torture which are being used in police stations and jails in India are as varied as they are inhumane and revolting.

*Professor Ved Nanda, The Nation, 21 February 1976*

We are going to run this country as we think best.

*Indira Gandhi, 1 April 1976<sup>1</sup>*

Democracy has taken deep root in the country and has come to stay.

*D. K. Barooah, president of the Congress Party, 26 June 1976<sup>2</sup>*

Your Excellency: It is with deep regret that the International League for Human Rights must submit a communication to the United Nations, evidencing a consistent pattern of gross violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms engaged in during the last year by the government of India . . . There are many reliable reports that the government of India has resorted to torture, brutality, starvation and other mistreatment of prisoners arrested during the last year.

*The International League for the Rights of Man, to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, 31 May 1976<sup>3</sup>*

A sense of fearlessness has developed among the most oppressed sections of the population. They are beginning to realize how to defend their rights.

*D. K. Barooah, Link, 27 June 1976*

## 9 An Eye to India: Last Sequence

The construction-boss (with a speculative turn of mind), legs crossed, with his whisky, and sitting in a warm light, says 'Beggars we don't like. They do not take pains to earn a living.'

Knees, wrists and ankles – bodies bent in three – wrenched, dislocated and shrivelled, are set down upon the pavement. There are varieties of beggary and beggar. In the apartments' long shadows, an extended arm is a pillow.

Sipping, he sits deep in his sofa. Some have had their legs broken and twisted, bent behind them, disarticulated; to move, hopping on their hands, buttocks scraping the ground, rags trailing.

The soda siphon hisses, the servant closing the french windows softly behind him. The philosophical speculator is deep in thought, brow furrowed. His lady-wife joins him, perfumed and charming; hands folded in her lap in repose; a graceful and erect posture, and proud posing.

... the poor haunted girl-child stands before you, blood streaking her ragged skirt, turning and staring, pointing beyond the last circle to a crucifixion, or Golgotha ...

She says, arranging the folds of her sari, 'It is pointless to feel pity'; the speculator pensive. He says, breaking his own silence, and with a Roman stoicism, 'We must have courage to wash them away completely.'

There will be a day of reckoning for this; a balancing of the books and a new equation, though they rise now, the speculator and his brahminical lady, parcels rustling, through twenty floors or more; up, in a swift high-rising acceleration, soaring high over the lolling heads and stumping beggars, and the clotted runnels of the teeming city; and braking softly – doors hissing open, and closing quickly – to a smooth touchdown, and a marble landing.

## Appendix: Select Documents

*From Members of Parliament to the Speaker of the Lok Sabha,  
21 June 1975*

New Delhi  
June 21, 1975

To the Hon'ble Speaker,  
Lok Sabha,  
New Delhi.

Sir,

We are perturbed that summons for the Monsoon Session of Parliament this year have not been received so far. It has been the practice in the past to have the Monsoon Session from the middle of July and to send the summons by the first week of June. It is pertinent to invite your kind attention to a decision taken by the General Purposes Committee of Lok Sabha at their sitting held on April 22, 1955 and their following recommendation on the time-table of the three sessions of the Lok Sabha to be held every year :

(1)	(2)	(3)
<i>Session</i>	<i>Date of commencement</i>	<i>Date of termination</i>
Budget	February 1	May 7
Monsoon	July 15	September 15
Winter	November 5 or four days after Deepavali whichever is later	December 22

The Cabinet also agreed with these recommendations and

## Appendix: Statistical Tables

Table 1 National Income of India, at 1960-61 Prices:  
1960-61 to 1974-5

Year	Net national product (Rs. million)*	Per capita national product (Rs.)	Index no. of NNP, 1960-61 base	Index no. of per capita NNP, 1960-61 base
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1960-61	132,940	306.3	100.0	100.0
1961-2	137,630	310.0	103.5	101.2
1962-3	140,450	309.4	105.6	101.0
1963-4	148,450	319.9	111.7	104.4
1964-5	159,170	335.8	119.7	109.6
1965-6	150,210	310.4	113.0	101.3
1966-7	152,430	307.9	114.7	100.5
1967-8	166,600	329.2	125.3	107.5
1968-9	170,570	329.9	128.3	107.7
1969-70	179,550	339.9	135.1	110.8
1970-71	190,350	351.8	143.5	115.1
1971-2	192,990	348.4	145.5	114.0
1972-3	191,300	337.4	144.2	110.4
1973-4	197,240	340.1	148.7	111.3
1974-5†	200,400	337.7 (GOI)	150.7	110.3

\*'Rs. million' refers here, and throughout, to 'millions of rupees'.

†*Economic Times*, 27 November 1975

SOURCES: *Economic Survey, 1970-71* (GOI), for data up to 1969-70; Central Statistical Organization, cited in *India 1976*, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, (GOI), Delhi 1976, Table 11.1, p. 142.

The data on net national product (NNP, col. 2), and on per capita national product (col. 3) for the period 1960-61 to 1974-5, show a slow and halting rise; after 1970-71 their significance for the people is a dire one. Note that the per capita national product (col. 3) has actually fallen from 1970-71. Together with Table 2 (q.v.), comparing the trends of NNP, money supply and wholesale prices, they provide the quantifications of India's economic stasis and the trend of inflation.

## Notes

The main abbreviations employed in the notes are as follows:

- ABP *Amrita Bazar Patrika* - the daily paper  
AICC All-India Congress Committee  
DAVP Directorate of Advertising and Visual Publicity  
*Econ. Times* *Economic Times*  
EPW *Economic and Political Weekly*  
GOI Government of India  
*Hindu (Int. Ed.)* *Hindu (International Edition)*  
*Hind. Times* *Hindustan Times*  
IG Indira Gandhi  
*Ind. Exp.* *Indian Express*  
MIB Ministry of Information and Broadcasting  
PBEI *India: Pocket Book of Economic Information, 1973 and 1974*,  
Delhi, Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance,  
GOI, 1975  
PBLs *Pocket Book of Labour Statistics, 1975*, Simla, Labour  
Bureau, Ministry of Labour, GOI, 1975  
PODS *Preserving Our Democratic Structure*, Delhi, DAVP,  
MIB, GOI, 1975  
qu. quoted in  
RBI Reserve Bank of India  
TPP 'Torture of Political Prisoners in India, March 1976', compiled  
by the Lok Sangharsh Samiti, for the International League for the  
Rights of Man.

### CHAPTER ONE: FROM CRISIS TO CRISIS

1. 1976 World Bank report, qu. *Hindu*, 17.5.76.
2. On 4 Aug. 1975; qu. GOI, *The Turning Point* (DAVP, MIB, 1975).
3. PBEI, p. 2; GOI, *India Today: Basic Facts* (MIB, 1974), pp. 10-11; F. T. Jannuzi, *Agrarian Crisis in India: The Case of Bihar* (University of Texas Press, 1974).

## Glossary

<i>Acharya</i>	spiritual guide, illustrious man
<i>Āditya</i>	the sun, god of the sun
<i>Adivasi</i>	aboriginal, 'tribal' inhabitant of India
<i>Agni</i>	fire, the god of fire
<i>Ahimsa</i>	non-violence
<i>Arjuna</i>	a great warrior, brother-in-law of Krishna (q.v.)
<i>Atharvaveda</i>	the fourth <i>Veda</i> (q.v.)
<i>Ātman</i>	the light of self
<i>Ayurveda</i>	the ' <i>Veda</i> of life', a work on medicine
<i>Bhagavad-gītā</i>	the 'song of the adorable', a poem in the Mahā-bārata (q.v.)
<i>Bidi</i>	cigar, cigarette
<i>Brahman</i>	soul of the universe, divine or absolute essence
<i>Bustee</i>	group of hutments
<i>Chapراسي</i>	messenger, courier
<i>Dacoit, dacoity</i>	armed robber, robbery
<i>Deepavali, Diwali</i>	autumn festival of lights
<i>Devadasi</i>	temple attendant, temple prostitute
<i>Dharna</i>	sitting outside the door of someone's house to enforce performance of a duty
<i>Durbar</i>	court, levée
<i>Ghat</i>	landing place, wharf, place of cremation
<i>Ghee</i>	clarified butter
<i>Gherao</i>	picket
<i>Gitā</i>	see <i>Bhagavad-gītā</i>
<i>Goonda</i>	gangster, thug, bully
<i>Harijan</i>	'child of god', untouchable

<i>Indra</i>	ruler over the deities of the firmament
<i>Inquilab</i>	revolution
<i>Isá</i>	one of the Upaniṣads (q.v.)
<i>Jawan</i>	soldier
<i>Jhuggi</i>	slum dwelling
<i>Kalazar</i>	visceral parasitical disease
<i>Karma</i>	act of piety and duty
<i>Khanda</i>	section of a Vedic hymn
<i>Kisan</i>	cultivator, peasant
<i>Kohl</i>	antimony powder, used as eye make-up
<i>Krishna</i>	incarnation of Vishnu, the preserver
<i>Lathi</i>	stick, bludgeon
<i>Lok Sabha</i>	assembly or house of the people, Lower House of Parliament
<i>Mahābārata</i>	epic poem of the Hindus
<i>Mantra</i>	metrical prayer, invocation
<i>Mundaka</i>	one of the Upaniṣads (q.v.)
<i>Pada-yatra</i>	journey on foot
<i>Padma Vibhushan</i>	honorific title awarded by the Indian state (lit. 'one whose adornment is a lotus')
<i>Paise</i>	denomination of currency, worth about one seventeenth of a penny
<i>Pan</i>	areca nut and spices, rolled up in a betel-leaf
<i>Panchayat</i>	council
<i>Pindari</i>	plunderer, marauder
<i>Pūsan</i>	deity of providence, the provider
<i>Rajya Sabha</i>	assembly or house of the states, Upper House of Parliament
<i>Rigveda</i>	one of the four <i>Vedas</i> (q.v.)
<i>Sabha</i>	assembly
<i>Sadhu</i>	sage, mendicant
<i>Sanyasi</i>	religious mendicant
<i>Sarpanch</i>	head of a <i>panchayat</i> (q.v.)
<i>Sarvodaya</i>	communal welfare
<i>Satyagraha</i>	non-violent resistance

<i>Satyagrahi</i>	non-violent demonstrator
<i>Shri, shrimati</i>	prosperity, prefix of honour
<i>Siva</i>	Hindu deity, the destroyer
<i>Suttee</i>	a faithful wife, widow's suicide
<i>Taitirriya</i>	part of the second – Yajur – <i>Veda</i> (q.v.)
<i>Taluk</i>	subdivision of a district
<i>Titiksā</i>	endurance
<i>Unani</i>	Greek, Graeco-Arabic medicine
<i>Upaniṣad</i>	mystical doctrine of Hinduism
<i>Uṣā</i>	dawn, daughter of heaven
<i>Vanaspati</i>	hydrogenated vegetable oil
<i>Vasus</i>	eight attendants of Indra (q.v.), personifications of nature
<i>Veda, vedas</i>	'divine knowledge', four holy books of Hinduism
<i>Yama</i>	god of the dead
<i>Yamadudargal</i>	messengers of the god of death
<i>Zenana</i>	woman's part of the house
... <i>Zindabad!</i>	Long live . . . !

# Index

*References to notes are given in italic numerals*

- Aarey, 267, 273, 493  
Abdullah, Sheikh Mohammed, 458  
Abraham, Abu, 354, 458  
academic freedom, *see* Civil liberties, Universities  
Achuthanandan, V. S., 400  
Acton, Lord, 176  
Addy, Premen, 453  
Adilabad, 334  
Adishesiah, Malcolm, 310, 504  
Ādityas, the, 36, 522  
*adivasis*, *see* "Tribal peoples"  
Advani, L. K., 30, 387, 405  
Afghanistan, 344  
Aga, S. A., 469  
Agarwal, Additional-Judge, 149n  
Agni, 34, 36, 522  
Agra, 50, 307, 332  
agrarian relations, *see* Land  
Agricultural Development Corporation, 244  
agriculture  
  graduates, 297n  
  labour, 3, 8, 10, 17, 40, 43-4, 65-6, 77, 109, 175, 205-14, 274-5, 287n, 290, 320, 368-9, 377, 383, 413-14  
  Ministry of, 212  
  production, 2-5, 10-11, 43-4, 192, 195, 209, 215, 227-8, 246, 297, 363, 489  
*ahimsa*, *see* Non-violence  
Ahmed, Fakhruddin Ali, 1, 92, 151, 156, 209, 212, 249, 251, 262, 309, 394-7, 456, 459, 479, 480, 491, 497, 512, 516  
Ahmed, Z. A., 477  
Ahmedabad, 26, 51, 152, 177n, 331, 398, 469  
Aid-India Consortium, 240, 243  
air-force, Indian, 350  
AITUC, *see* All-India Trade Union Congress  
Aiyar, Mr Justice V. R. K., 303n  
Akola, 275, 407  
Aleppey, 405, 406  
Ali, Akkel, 442  
Ali, Arshed, 442  
Aligarh Muslim University, 166, 497  
Allahabad, 409  
  High Court, 27, 98, 114, 115, 132, 133, 232n, 372, 380, 443, 463, 464  
Allende, Salvador, 31  
Alliance Against Fascist Dictatorship in India (AAFDI), 515  
Alliance Française (Calcutta), 262  
All-India Civil Liberties Conference, 398

- All-India Congress Committee (AICC), 85n, 193, 197, 301n, 379, 453, 459, 480, 484, 491, 498, 501, 506, 509, 516
- All-India Fighters' Federation, 459
- All-India Manufacturers' Association, 232
- All-India Radio (AIR), *see* Mass media
- All-India State Bar Councils, 150
- All-India Trade Union Congress (AITUC), 144, 171n, 181-2, 217, 218n, 289, 415, 476, 498, 514
- aluminium, aluminium industry, 224, 484
- Alwar, 410
- Ambala, 329, 332, 411, 412
- Ambarnath, 494
- America, United States of, and Indo-American relations, 5n, 14, 53, 56, 120, 153, 157, 159n, 192, 235, 237-9, 243n, 244, 330n, 344, 346-50, 431, 435, 486, 488, 489, 515
- Amerongen, Otto Wolf von, 238
- Amethi, 308
- Amin, Idi, 157
- Amnesty International, 15, 19, 54n, 113n, 143, 151n, 158, 405, 440-42, 468, 507
- Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 356n
- Amritsar, 166
- Amrud, Lal, 249
- anaemia, 61, 68
- Anand, Jagjit, 457
- Anand Marg, 443, 466, 503
- Andhra Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh government, 17, 24, 64, 67, 163, 275n, 276, 291, 303, 305, 334n, 447, 480
- Chambers of Commerce, 227n
- Angre, S. C., 405
- Anna-DMK, 474
- ANS Institute of Social Studies (Patna), 446
- 'anti-fascism', *see* 'Dark forces', Fascism, 'Fascism'
- Antulay, A. R., 516
- apprenticeship, 'new scheme' for, 198, 224, 377, 485
- Argentina, 153
- Arjuna, 310n, 522
- army, Indian, 18, 131, 173, 191, 195n, 328-30, 350, 356, 363, 366, 392, 436, 459, 506
- pensions, 329
- Arora, S., 495
- Arrah, 292
- arrests, *see* Imprisonment
- Arunachalan, V., 223
- Asaf Ali road (Delhi), 280
- Ashok Leyland, 55-7, 217, 220, 448
- Assam, 149, 160, 166, 214, 310, 406, 407, 411
- Assam Rural Workers' Union, 483
- Association of Indian Engineering Industries (AIEI), 213
- Association for Social Health, 451
- astrologers, 80, 453
- Atharvaveda*, 36, 522
- Atomic Energy Authority, 241 *see also* Nuclear programme
- Aurangabad, 174, 275n
- Australia, 243n
- automobile industry, *see* Cars
- Avadi Resolution, 386
- Ayurveda*, 306, 522

- Azad, Ibne, 453  
 Azees the policeman, 321  
 Bahadur, Guru Tegh, 498  
 Bahadur, Raj, 34  
 Bahinpathy, H., 405  
 Bahl, A. K., 232n  
 Baig, Tara Ali, 496  
 Baji, A. R., 158  
 Bajpai, Vidyadar, 308  
 balance of payments, 229,  
     244-5, 490  
     *see also* Exports, Foreign aid,  
     Imports, Trade  
 ballet, Tamil, 196  
 ballot rigging, *see* Elections  
 Banasu the bonded labourer, 447  
 Banda, 406  
 Bandaranaike, S., 109, 502  
 Banerjee, Sivasdas, 483  
 Banerjee, S. M., 458, 468  
 Bangalore, 204n, 212, 322, 379,  
     405, 409, 416-19  
     bar association, 322  
     University, 166, 168  
 Bangladesh, 2, 344, 345-6,  
     384n, 436, 486  
 Bank of America, 489  
 Banking, Minister of, *see*  
     Mukherjee, Pranab  
 Bardhan, P. K., 440, 445  
 Bareilly, 332  
 Baroda, 177-8, 261, 476  
 Barooah, D. K., 93, 101, 102,  
     119, 148, 153, 159, 165,  
     176, 177, 190, 195n, 196,  
     197, 204, 255, 266, 302, 313,  
     319n, 324, 364, 442 *passim*  
 Barrackpore, 340, 509  
 Barsi, 271-2  
 Barua, Bedabrata, 463, 464  
 Baruat, 485  
 Basavapunnaiah, M., 357  
 Basti, 328n  
 Basu, Jyoti, 358n, 442  
 Basu, Jyotirmoy, 30, 113, 373,  
     394, 406, 463, 464  
 bauxite miners, 208  
 BBC, 284, 354, 456, 509  
     *see also* Press - foreign  
 Bechtel Corporation (US), 239  
 Bedi, Dayal Singh, 323  
 Beg, Mr Justice M. H., 133,  
     146, 350  
 beggars, 49, 62-3, 71, 76, 255,  
     258-9, 264, 266-8, 273,  
     306, 326-7, 367-8, 493-4,  
     503, 506  
 Behar, Bhagabat, 405  
 Belgaum, 321  
 Belgium, 243n  
 Benares, *see* Varanasi  
 Benares Hindu University, 165,  
     309, 473  
 Bengal, 5  
     *see also* West Bengal  
 Bennett, Coleman and company,  
     491  
 Bhadoria, Sarla, 405  
 Bhagabati, B. C., 455  
 Bhagalpur, 62, 294n  
 Bhagat, B. R., 141  
*Bhagavad Gitā*, 64, 73, 522  
 Bhaguna, H. N., 212  
 Bhagwati, Mr Justice P. N.,  
     146, 350  
 Bhaktavatsalam, M., 475  
 Bhanwar, Bhagirath, 405  
 Bharadwaj, Jagannath, 498  
 Bharat Aluminium, 516  
*Bharat Ratna*, 499  
 Bharati, Bhairav, 182  
 Bharatiya Lok Dal (BLD), 143,  
     333, 342, 365, 405, 409, 411

- Bhatt, Kirit, 178  
 Bhatt, Mr Justice R. P., 160  
 Bhatt, V. V., 445  
 Bhawe, Vinoba, 98, 99n, 334, 508  
 Bhiwandi, 494  
 Bhogeshwari temple, Barsi, 272  
 Bhoomaiah, Jangam, 334, 453  
 Bhopal, 304, 494  
     University, 167  
 Bhusan, Shashi, 460  
 Bhushan, Arya, 119n, 459, 479  
 Bhutto, Z. A., 345n  
*bidi* manufacture, 67  
 Bihar, Bihar government, 1, 5, 8-9, 24, 26, 35-7, 45, 62, 68n, 71, 163, 183, 184, 192, 208, 228, 249-54, 261, 276, 292, 294, 323n, 328n, 333n, 340n, 409, 437, 438, 447, 449, 479, 486, 491, 495  
 Bihar Debt Relief Act, 46  
 Bihar Land Ceiling Act, 8  
 Bihar Legal Aid Board, 303n  
 Bihar Moneylenders' Act, 46  
 Bikaner, 306  
 Bilaspur, 482  
 Birla, B. M., 246, 295, 458, 500  
 Birla, G. D., 239  
 Birla monopoly, 116, 289, 305  
 Birmingham, 360n  
     University, 261  
 birth control, *see* Family planning, Sterilization  
 'Black Hole of Calcutta', 58  
 black money, 109-10, 112, 202, 202-4, 226, 231n  
     *see also* 'Economic offenders', 'Smugglers'  
 black-marketeering, 26, 102, 202n  
     *see also* 'Economic offenders'  
 Blackburn, R., 453  
 Blaug, M., 452  
 blindness, 49, 62, 64, 67  
 Blitz, 98, 360  
 Bombay, 48, 50-52, 55, 59n, 61, 70n, 149, 166, 201, 204n, 208, 219, 232, 241, 266-8, 273, 289, 447, 451, 492, 494  
     High Court, 26, 149n, 160, 398n  
     University, 165, 279n, 514  
 Bombay Prevention of Begging Act, 493  
 'Bonapartism', *see* Louis Bonaparte  
 bonded labour, *see* Labour Bonded Labour Act, 482  
 bonus, Bonus Amendment Act, 180, 216-18, 290, 415, 483  
     *see also* Wages  
 Bora, Sonewar, 406  
 Border Security Force (BSF), 21, 173, 280, 329, 387  
 Borders, William, 475  
 Bose, J. P., 406  
 Bose, Subhas Chandra, 83, 304n, 502  
 bourgeoisie, *see* Classes  
 Bowers, R. G., 262  
 Bowring, 417  
 Bradinath, C., 447  
 Brazil, 249, 360, 362  
 Brezhnev, Leonid, 241, 350  
 brick-workers, 499  
 Britain, Indo-British relations, 2, 5n, 52, 56, 120, 220, 235, 237, 239n, 243n, 276, 354-5, 359, 431, 435, 488  
     *see also* British rule in India  
 British Insulated Callenders and Cables (BICC), 514

- British Leyland, 55, 57, 220n  
*see also* Ashok Leyland
- British rule in India, 16, 56, 58, 80, 129, 143, 147, 157, 164, 182, 260, 264, 287n, 306, 318n, 319n, 345n, 387, 394, 401, 467
- budget (1976), 192, 201, 230-35, 253, 295n, 305, 487, 490
- Bujevic, A., 450
- Bunder, 322
- Bunge Corporation (US), 486
- Burdwan, 452
- Burma, 344, 362
- Business Standard*, 233
- Business Week*, 232n
- Cadbury Fry, 232n
- Caesarism, 24, 362
- Cairo, 156
- Calcutta, 48, 50, 55, 74, 149, 166, 262, 289, 292, 293-4, 300, 302, 304, 308, 340n, 345n, 357, 451  
 corporation, 164n  
 High Court, 406  
 High Court bar association, 509  
 Metropolitan Development Authority, 111  
 Port Trust, 462  
 University, 168, 304n, 310  
*see also* West Bengal
- Calicut, 476
- calories and proteins, 4, 42, 438
- Campaign for the Release of Indian Political Prisoners (CRIPP), 515
- Canada, 243n, 428
- Canterbury, Archbishop of, 513
- capital punishment, 16, 80, 334-5
- capitalism, capitalist  
 development, 5, 7, 11-12, 52-3, 79, 82-3, 220-21, 233, 238, 316, 318, 355, 361-2, 413-14, 429-33, 515
- industrial, 5, 51-3, 83, 217, 219, 230-31, 359; *see also* Economy - industrial
- rural, 3, 10, 227-8; *see also* Economy - rural, Landlordism  
*see also* Private sector, Profits
- cars, car sales, 231, 248, 307
- industry, 55-7, 220, 224, 485  
*see also* Maruti scandal
- caste, caste-system, 58-9, 68, 70, 74, 96, 272
- Castro, Fidel, 511
- cement industry and workers, 289, 484
- ensorship and the censor, 9n, 31, 131-3, 136, 139-41, 154-61, 170, 186, 260, 265n, 288, 292, 300, 303, 316, 327-8, 335n, 351n, 374-6, 378, 389-93, 398, 466, 471  
*see also* 'Press Guidelines'
- Census (1971), 61, 66, 447, 450
- Central Bank of India, 114
- Central Industrial Security Force, 21, 329n
- Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 23, 25, 28, 102, 120n, 178, 234, 349
- Central Reserve Police (CRP), 18, 21, 173, 280, 284, 294, 329, 383
- Centre of India Trade Unions (CITU), 16n, 53n, 144, 173, 181, 217, 249, 289, 298, 332, 358, 415, 441, 472, 474, 476, 477, 491, 499, 514

- cereals, 3-4, 423  
*see also* Food, Pulses
- Cha Bagan Mazdoor Union, 483
- Chagla, M. C., 26, 29, 189,  
 398-9, 442-3, 478, 513
- Chakravarty, F., 451
- chambers of commerce, 227n,  
 232  
*see also* Federation of Indian  
 Chambers of Commerce  
 and Industry
- Chand, Krishnan, 497
- Chand, Malik, 352
- Chanda, 268
- Chander, Kailash, 456
- Chandigarh, 270
- Chandra, Ramesh, 322
- Chandra, Satish, 473
- Chandrachud, Mr Justice  
 Y. V., 133, 146
- Chandranandan, P. K., 406
- Chandrashekar, M. L., 416
- chaprasis*, 97
- Charanjeet, 166
- 'charge-sheets', 53, 54, 56, 174,  
 181, 449
- Chas Nala mining disaster,  
 249-54, 261  
*see also* Mining
- Chattopadhyay, P., 454
- Chattopadhyaya, D. P., 114,  
 239, 487, 489
- Chaturvedi, Ravi, 168
- Chaturvedi, T. N., 488
- Chaudhry, R. H., 464
- Chaudhuri, Nirad, 453, 478, 499
- Chaudhuri, Tridib, 389, 403
- Chauhan, Jaswant Singh, 178
- Chavan, S. B., 275, 471, 493
- Chavan, Y. B., 102, 114, 239,  
 382, 460, 461, 466, 489,  
 498, 511, 512, 514
- 'cheap labour', 7, 12, 13, 220-21
- Cheetah colony (Bombay), 494
- chemical industry, 224, 484
- Chen Chao-yuan, 348
- Chiang Kai-shek, 81, 295,  
 305n, 353, 356
- Chichripur, 275, 280
- children  
 condition of, 35, 37, 38, 47,  
 64-5, 67, 68n, 72, 76-7,  
 266-7, 277, 369-70, 449  
 labour, 64-5, 207, 450  
 sale of, 47, 71, 452
- Chile, 31, 119, 120, 360
- China, India-China relations, 1,  
 2, 11, 14, 25, 53, 72, 74, 84,  
 91-2, 102, 107, 118-19, 192,  
 273n, 295, 326, 344,  
 346-51, 356, 362, 366, 436  
*see also* 'Chinoiserie'
- Chingleput, 287n
- 'chinoiserie', Indian, 235,  
 295-8, 501
- Chintan, V. P., 474
- Chirac, Jacques, 515
- cholera, 61
- Chopra, police superintendent,  
 322
- Chou En-lai, 511
- Choudhuri, Moinul Haque, 114
- Christians, 497
- CIA, *see* Central Intelligence  
 Agency
- Citizens Cherish Democracy*,  
 177n
- Citizens for Democracy, 152n,  
 177n, 331, 442
- civil disobedience, *see*  
*Satyagraha*
- civil liberties, 17, 26, 28, 81,  
 130-34, 137, 142-3,  
 145-7, 160, 162, 164-9,

- 179-80, 191, 197, 318,  
320n, 331, 348, 357, 359,  
379, 382, 398, 400, 508,  
515  
*see also* Rights
- civil service, civil servants, 97,  
110, 154, 160, 162-4,  
275n, 304, 339, 375
- 'Clive of India', 58
- classes, class-struggle, 6-7,  
11-12, 18-19, 24-5, 48, 51,  
76, 77-8, 80-81, 82, 86-8,  
90, 92, 142, 155, 156, 160,  
178ff, 189, 190, 209, 216-21,  
232-3, 246-9, 260, 270,  
274ff, 285ff, 300, 303, 308,  
315-20, 325-6, 333-4, 336,  
338, 352, 355, 357ff, 375,  
383-4, 392, 413-15  
*see also* Labour Movement,  
Landlordism,  
Lumpenproletariat, Rural  
uprisings, Strikes
- coal, coal industry, 224-5, 228,  
249-54, 256, 484  
*see also* Mining
- Coal India, 254n
- Cochin, 18, 308
- coconut oil, 421
- Coggan, Donald, 513
- Coimbatore, 64, 407
- Colombo, 350-51, 511
- Comecon, 241n
- Commerce, Minister of, *see*  
Chattophadyaya, D. P.
- Commerce, Ministry of, 163
- Committee for Civil Liberties in  
India, 515
- Commonwealth Parliamentary  
Conference, 468
- 'communalism', 31, 320n, 335,  
392
- Communist Party of India  
(CPI), 13n, 29-31, 86, 97,  
102, 103, 105, 106-8, 140,  
144, 146-7, 148, 149, 157,  
173, 175-6, 178n, 179,  
184-7, 197, 199, 207, 209,  
211, 225n, 233, 236, 247-8,  
265n, 282n, 286-7, 291,  
333, 337-8, 341, 342n, 343,  
347n, 348, 356-7, 359, 365,  
383, 389, 395, 397, 441,  
443, 461-2, 474, 498, 499,  
509  
*see also* Congress Party
- Communist Party of India,  
Marxist (CP-IM), 18-20,  
24, 29, 30, 103n, 105n, 106,  
137, 143-4, 173, 185, 197,  
214, 291, 299, 332, 333,  
341-2, 343, 357-8, 364,  
382-4, 405, 406, 407, 408,  
412, 413-15, 441, 461, 481,  
515
- Communist Party of India,  
Marxist-Leninist  
(CPI-ML), 17, 24, 29,  
185, 294, 299, 332, 358,  
441, 466
- Communist Party of the Soviet  
Union (CPSU), 186, 248,  
489
- Concorde, 243n
- condition of the people, *see*  
Daily life, India - facts  
and statistics
- 'Congress for Democracy',  
212n, 365  
*see also* Congress Party -  
factions
- 'Congress-O', 22  
*see also* Congress Party -  
factions

- Congress Party**, 6, 16, 80ff,  
 100-101, 103ff, 129, 151,  
 153n, 155n, 176, 177, 182n,  
 196-8, 202, 207, 231, 250,  
 282-3, 286, 298ff, 315ff,  
 333-6, 341, 343, 348, 350,  
 353, 357, 360n, 362ff,  
 379-80, 385-6, 413-15,  
 444, 458, 459, 474, 475  
**corruption**, 15, 79, 84, 108ff,  
 132, 150, 170, 176-7, 214,  
 287n, 301n, 328, 337n; *see*  
*also* **Corruption**  
**CPI and**, 106-7, 178n,  
 186-7, 197, 337-8, 348, 364  
**electoral defeats**, 15, 22, 26,  
 95n, 170, 176, 232, 363-6  
**factions, factionalism**, 9,  
 22-3, 27-8, 82, 85, 96-9,  
 101, 112, 131, 137, 141,  
 163, 176-8, 185, 212n, 286,  
 300-301, 308, 330, 333,  
 336-7, 339-40, 362-5, 385  
**leadership**, 27-8, 79, 110-11,  
 131, 195n, 336-7, 338n,  
 365, 382, 385-6, 458  
**president of**, *see* Barooah,  
 D. K.  
**Seventy-Fifth Conference**,  
 105, 153n, 250, 457, 459,  
 479, 480, 484, 491, 501, 502  
**'Socialism'**, *see* 'Socialism'  
*see also* **Youth Congress**  
**'Congress-R'**, 22  
*see also* **Congress Party -**  
**factions**  
**Constituent Assembly (1949)**,  
 189, 478  
**constitution**, 14-15, 25, 26-7,  
 93, 95, 121, 132-6, 138,  
 146, 148-54, 188-9, 320n,  
 324, 342n, 363, 372, 387,  
 389-90, 397, 399, 414  
**article 14**, 131, 132  
**article 19**, 133-4, 145n, 179,  
 251  
**article 21**, 131, 132  
**article 22**, 22, 131, 132  
**article 23**, 209  
**article 25**, 276  
**article 31**, 148  
**article 38**, 153n  
**article 45**, 60  
**article 226**, 149-50, 340, 416,  
 469  
**article 227**, 340  
**article 352(1)**, 1, 22n, 188  
**article 359(1)**, 131  
*see also* **Constitutional**  
**amendment, Rights**  
**constitutional amendment**, 9,  
 130ff, 146, 148, 150-54,  
 332, 340-43, 358, 363, 382,  
 385, 390, 414, 466  
**38th amendment**, 132  
**39th amendment**, 132, 133,  
 136  
**40th amendment**, 132  
**42nd amendment**, 342-3  
*see also* **Swaran Singh**  
**Committee**  
**construction industry**, 432  
**consumer goods industries**, 224  
**consumption**, 198, 200, 219,  
 228, 229, 231, 245, 422-5,  
 438  
**Cook Industries**, 486  
**'coolies'**, 74  
**Coonoor**, 237n  
**Cooperative Credit Society**, 10  
**cooperative movement**, 175  
**copper**, 484  
**'corporate sector'**, *see* **Private**  
**sector**

- corruption, 5, 8, 10, 15, 20, 24,  
 25-6, 30, 49, 70-71, 79, 80,  
 84, 86, 88, 94, 100, 108ff,  
 147, 149, 160, 162-3, 173,  
 175, 200-205, 206, 211ff,  
 236, 257-9, 309-11, 327,  
 330, 363, 372, 386, 462, 466  
*see also* Black money,  
 Congress Party, 'Economic  
 offenders', Maruti  
 scandal, Nagarwala case
- Corvus splendens*, 122
- cotton, 227, 359, 486  
 cloth, 4, 199, 228, 241, 377,  
 421, 486; *see also* Textiles
- Council for Scientific and  
 Industrial Research  
 (CSIR), 297n, 455, 501
- Council for Socio-Political  
 Studies, 458
- courts, *see* Judiciary, Rule of law
- Cowley, 57, 220n
- CPI, *see* Communist Party of  
 India
- CPI-M, *see* Communist Party  
 of India, Marxist
- CPI-ML, *see* Communist  
 Party of India, Marxist-  
 Leninist
- Cuba, 351
- Current, 85n
- Customs Act, 203
- Dacca, 346, 348n
- 'dacoits', 293, 294, 403, 522
- daily life, the spectacle of,  
 34-40, 47-8, 48-9, 57, 63,  
 67, 69, 72-3, 74-7, 110,  
 122-8, 147-8, 256-9,  
 262-3, 263-4, 269, 312,  
 367-70
- Daily Telegraph, 294n
- Daji, Homi, 484
- Dakshin Barasat, 298
- Dalimcote, 215
- Damodar, river, 251
- Dandavate, Madhu, 387, 406
- Dandekar, V. M., 445
- Dange, S. A., 186, 247-8,  
 338n, 477, 478, 509
- Daria, Mohan, *see* Dharia,  
 Mohan
- 'dark forces' and 'evil designs',  
 23, 32, 100, 101-3, 120-21,  
 173, 175, 178, 187, 238,  
 306, 329, 344, 353  
*see also* 'Fascism',  
 'Right-reaction'
- Daru, C. T., 152, 331
- Das, Arvind Narayan, 446
- Das, Major B. L., 298-9, 501
- Das, Bepin Pal, 489, 511
- Das, P., 438
- Dasgupta, Biplab, 441, 514
- Datta-Chaudhuri, Mrinal, 497
- Dava, 275
- Davangere, 416
- Davey, Brian, 457
- Dayal, Bhagat Singh, 115
- De, Niren, 146n
- deaf and dumb, the, 64
- 'dearness allowance', 216, 219,  
 231, 359, 415  
*see also* Wages
- death-rate, 61
- debt  
 national, *see* Economic and  
 political dependency  
 personal, 4, 8, 14, 44-7, 51-2,  
 54, 72, 196, 205, 207,  
 208-10, 214, 227, 242,  
 266, 368, 377, 446-7, 482,  
 499; *see also* Labour -  
 bonded, Money-lenders

- Debt — *contd.*  
 relief, 45-6, 208-10, 320; *see*  
 also Twenty-Point  
 Programme
- Deccan, 2
- defence expenditure, 433  
*see also* Army, Nuclear  
 programme
- Defence, Minister of, *see* Lal,  
 Bansi
- Defence of India Rules (DIR),  
 16, 21, 141, 142-3, 154,  
 166, 179, 284, 327, 403,  
 413, 415, 507
- Delhi, 28, 48, 50, 67, 71,  
 112n, 116, 143, 149, 154,  
 155, 166, 177, 210, 239n,  
 269n, 270n, 271, 275n,  
 277, 279-81, 283-4, 289,  
 302, 321n, 323, 328n, 329,  
 336n, 340n, 360n, 451-2,  
 483, 495, 497, 507, 509,  
 513
- bar association, 283-4
- corporation, 335n
- development authority, 279,  
 302
- High Court, 149n, 284, 331,  
 335n, 407
- 'model scheme', 296
- police band, 196
- railway board, 493
- riots, 277, 279-81, 307
- University, 168, 320, 361n,  
 468, 472, 473, 495
- University teachers'  
 association, 323
- Delhi State Electricity  
 Workers' Union, 491
- Dell, Edmund, 354
- democracy in India, 14, 16-17  
 19, 20-21, 32, 52, 61n,  
 79-81, 82, 91, 94-5, 97, 102,  
 103-5, 130, 134, 135, 138,  
 148, 149, 151, 153, 155,  
 161, 165, 167, 174, 191,  
 257, 282, 283, 284n, 313,  
 314, 318, 320, 325, 335n,  
 341-2, 346, 352, 355,  
 364-6, 372ff, 399, 415  
*see also* Civil liberties,  
 Rights, Parliamentarism
- Denmark, 243n
- Deoras, P. J., 494
- Desai, Hitendra, 177-8, 207n
- Desai, Morarji, 30, 176,  
 364-6, 394, 400, 406-7,  
 467-8, 507
- Deshmukh, Nanaji, 400
- Deshmukhs of Nalgonda, 214
- Deshpande, Roza, 498
- Desikar of Valivalam, 10
- detainees, *see* Imprisonment
- detention without trial, *see*  
 Imprisonment
- devadasis, 70n
- development,  
 'under-development', *see*  
 Economic and political  
 dependency, Economy -  
 stagnation, Imperialism
- development expenditure, 172
- Devraj, 322
- Dewas, 322
- Dhan, Ram, 137, 385, 402
- Dhanbad, 183, 249-54, 261,  
 491
- Dharia, Mohan, 364, 379-81,  
 385, 407, 507
- dharna, 28, 519
- Dhulla, 446
- Dias, A. L., 310
- diesel engine manufacture, 485
- Dilsuk the bonded labourer, 447

- Dimitrov, Georgi, 157, 320, 329, 505
- DIR, *see* Defence of India Rules
- dismissal and  
 'retrenchment', 54, 162-3, 167, 181-2, 184, 223, 225n, 247, 358, 383, 415, 473  
*see also* Industry - closures, Lay-offs
- 'distress sales', 227-8
- division of labour, international, 11, 13, 238-9, 242
- DMK, *see* Dravida Mummetra Kazhagam
- dockers, 290
- Doraiswamy, S., 129
- Dorji, K. L., 512
- dowry system, 66, 304 ..
- D'Penha, H. J., 139, 158
- Dravida Mummetra Kazhagam (DMK), 105, 169-76, 287n, 342, 473
- drug companies, *see* Pharmaceutical industry
- 'dumb millions', *see* 'Poorer and weaker sections'
- Durawala, Phiroz Rustomji, 453
- Durgapur, 294, 500  
 steel plant, 514
- Dutt, Gargi, 504
- Dutt, V. P., 101, 311n, 449, 460, 506
- dyeing, screen-printing, 485
- dynamite, discoveries of, 178, 476  
*see also* sabotage
- East India Chrome Tannery, 477
- economic and political dependency, 5, 6, 10, 11-14, 54, 79-80, 119-20, 221, 226, 229, 234-45, 330, 344, 346-51, 361-3, 428-9, 434-5  
*see also* Foreign aid, Foreign investment, Foreign policy, Imperialism, Trade
- Economic and Political Weekly*, 20, 182, 423, 424
- 'economic offenders', 22, 114, 197, 199-204, 247, 331, 377, 380  
*see also* 'Smugglers', Taxation
- Economic Surveys* (GOI), 10, 222, 242-3, 246n, 421-4, 428, 434, 438, 490
- Economic Times*, 20, 99n, 232n, 267, 421, 430
- 'economism', 87, 248
- Economist*, 20n, 79, 233, 243n, 280n
- economy  
 industrial, 5-6, 11-14, 51-8, 65-7, 202, 216-54, 421-2  
 money supply, 422  
 rural, 1-5, 7-11, 38-9, 43-8, 65-7, 109, 202, 205-15, 227-8, 368-9, 423-7, 515;  
*see also* Agriculture - production, Land - agrarian relations, Landless, Landlordism  
 stagnation, 3-4, 6, 10-11, 47, 180, 226, 314, 359, 421-4;  
*see also* Recession, Unemployment  
*see also* Economic and political dependency, Inflation, 'New deal'
- edible oils, 359, 424, 486

- education, 59-60, 61n, 64-5, 71,  
86, 89, 129, 191, 198, 274,  
275n, 295-6, 299, 366,  
449, 473; *see also* Literacy,  
Students, University
- Education, Minister of, *see*  
Hasan, Nurul
- Education, Ministry of, 64,  
449, 501
- Egypt, 241
- elections, electoral malpractice,  
15, 18-21, 22n, 26-7, 94,  
104, 109, 132, 153, 170,  
176, 206, 211, 338-9, 342,  
343, 358, 363-5, 396-7,  
466, 468
- Electoral Laws Amendment  
Act, 132
- electricity, electrical power  
workers, 228, 280, 289,  
293, 377, 499
- electrode manufacture, 485
- elephantiasis, 63
- embroidery, 67
- emergency, states of, 7, 14, 341,  
366  
declaration of 1961, 155n  
declaration of 1971, 14n  
declaration of June 1975, 1,  
22, 30-33, 86n, 113, 130-31,  
136, 154, 195, 216, 232,  
301, 315-16, 320n, 353,  
365-6, 373n, 374, 379-80,  
394, 405ff, 413
- employers, *see* industrial  
employers
- Employers' Federation of India,  
223
- employment, *see* Agriculture -  
labour, Industry - labour,  
Unemployment
- engineering industry and  
workers, 224, 289, 290
- Ennore, 449
- equal pay, 215, 415  
*see also* Women - labour
- Ernakulam, 322, 408, 476
- Erumeli case, 461
- evictions from land, and  
anti-eviction Acts, 8, 10,  
383  
*see also* Land, Rents
- 'evil forces', *see* 'Dark forces'
- exchange-rates, 13, 241, 346
- excise duties and reliefs, 231,  
233-4, 428  
*see also* Taxation
- exports, 3, 13, 229, 231, 233,  
235, 240-41, 244-5  
*see also* Trade
- 'family planning', 243, 271-82,  
296, 307, 326-8, 497, 513  
*see also* Sterilization
- famine, 3, 4-5, 228, 439
- Farakka, 345
- fascism, 81, 266, 292, 314,  
317-20, 329, 362, 383  
*see also* 'Fascism'
- 'fascism', 'fascist conspiracy',  
23, 24, 28, 31-2, 101-2,  
107, 112, 138, 142, 145,  
172, 185-6, 188, 234, 247,  
264, 283, 306, 309, 310,  
316, 325, 328, 338, 351,  
354, 399, 460  
*see also* 'Right reaction'
- federalism, 14-15, 153, 169-79,  
341  
*see also* 'Toppling'
- Federation of Indian Chambers  
of Commerce and Industry  
(FICCI), 99n, 223, 238,  
295, 485

- Fernandes, George, 91, 103n, 178, 179n, 184, 331, 335, 364, 416, 508
- Fernandes, Lawrence, 335n, 416-19
- Fernandes, Michael B., 416
- Fernbach, D., 505
- fertilizers, fertilizer industry, 228, 289, 485
- feudalism, 3, 8, 188, 205, 214, 233, 351  
*see also* Landlordism
- filariasis, 61, 63
- Finance, Minister of, *see* Subramaniam, C.
- Finance, Ministry of, 203
- fishermen, 52n, 72, 448, 482
- 'flying squads', 99, 202-5  
*see also* 'Economic offenders', Taxation
- food, food-grains, 3-4, 10, 129, 191, 231n, 423
- import purchase, 227n, 239, 241, 359, 486, 489
- output, *see* Agriculture - production
- prices, 227, 359, 486
- state-purchase and distribution, 4n, 228, 234n, 296, 340, 377; *see also* Distress sales
- Foot, Michael, 355, 513
- Ford, Gerald, 132
- Ford, Henry, 115
- foreign aid, foreign borrowing, 5, 10-12, 14, 229, 235n, 237, 242-5, 346, 350, 359, 414, 431-2, 490, 515
- Foreign Exchange Regulation Act, 235
- foreign investment and profit, 5, 10, 12-13, 54-7, 220-21, 229-31, 233-9, 245, 295n, 347, 349, 360, 362, 431-2, 487, 488, 489  
*see also* Budget, Multi-national companies
- foreign policy, foreign relations, 12, 13-14, 32, 102-3, 107, 118-21, 221, 238-9, 241-2, 343-51, 392  
*see also* Non-alignment
- foundry workers, 289
- France, 2, 153, 243n, 315, 334, 431
- Frankel, Francine, 440
- 'free enterprise', *see* Capitalism, Private sector
- Freeman, Orville, 237-8
- Friends of India Society, 515
- Fulcrum*, 335
- Gandhi, Indira, 1, 7, 9, 19ff, 46n, 61n, 79, 92, 94, 96-8, 110ff, 129, 132, 140n, 141, 171-2, 173n, 174, 184, 190, 193, 195n, 233, 250, 255, 281, 286n, 287n, 296, 301, 313, 321n, 323, 338, 343, 346-7, 348, 350, 353ff, 372ff, 440 *passim*
- on agricultural labour, 207, 209
- on capital punishment, 334n
- on compulsory sterilization, 277
- on the condition of the people, 7, 38, 129
- on the constitution, 151-2
- on corruption, 116
- on the CPI-M, 19-20
- on democracy, 20-21, 106, 135, 149, 174
- on the DMK, 172

**Gandhi - contd.**

- on economic policy, 193
  - on education, 129, 453
  - on the emergency, 1, 31-2, 190-91
  - on the enemies of India, 120-21, 261
  - on 'fascism', 102n, 188n
  - on feudalism, 149
  - on flattery and followers, 96, 99
  - on the Gujarat elections, 26, 460, 468
  - on imprisonment, 33, 143
  - on Indian progress, 11, 34
  - on industrial relations, 183
  - on the Jan Sangh and RSS, 102n, 178n
  - on the Kerala government, 178n
  - on land reform, 9, 87, 212, 482
  - on the 'larger good', 230n
  - on the law, 149
  - on Mao Tse-tung, 348
  - on the March 1977 election 363
  - on the Maruti scandal, 116, 464
  - on Marxist governments, 106
  - on the Mishra and Nagarwala cases, 112n
  - on nationalization, 236
  - on the opposition, 32-3, 95-6, 333n, 457
  - on the police and the emergency, 190
  - on the press and censorship, 117, 154, 161
  - on production, 236, 246
  - on 'rural uplift', 512
  - on sabotage, 293
  - on secularism and temple-worship, 101n
  - on 'self-reliance', 242
  - on sharing the people's distress, 90, 499
  - on slander and intrigue, 117-18, 172
  - on socialism, 84-5, 336n
  - on tax evasion, 200
  - see also* Nehru family
- Gandhi, Mahatma, and**
- 'Gandhian', 24, 25, 28, 30n, 81, 82n, 83, 89, 91, 99n, 119, 137, 143, 157, 171, 200n, 306, 308, 319n, 334, 385-6, 401, 453, 459
  - see also* 'Non-violence', *Satyagraha*
- Gandhi, Sanjay, 111, 113-16, 157, 167, 194, 195, 223n, 278, 280n, 297, 298, 300-309, 337, 350, 354n, 356, 365, 454 *passim***
- Gandhi, Sonia, 464**
- Gandhi Jayanti day, 200n**
- Gandhinagar (Madras), 448**
- Gangapur, 322**
- Ganges, river, 113, 125-6, 345, 348n**
- garment workers, 290**
- Gauhati, 214n, 310**
- University, 166**
- Gavai, H. S., 159n**
- Geneva, 332n**
- George, A. C., 475**
- Germany, *see* West Germany**
- Ghalake, Shahu Laxman, 272**
- Ghauri, S. R., 510**
- Ghose, Sankar, 479**
- Ghosh, Niren, 463**
- Ghosh, P. K., 302**
- Ghoshpukur, 442**

- Giri, Gadadhar, 407
- Gokhale, H. R., 114, 143, 235, 342n, 365, 461, 469, 488
- Gold Control Act, 203
- gold hoarding, 109
- 'goondas', 51, 325, 522  
*see also* Industry - violence,  
 State - violence
- Gopalakrishnan, R., 453
- Gopalan, A. K., 137, 358n, 382-4, 403, 467
- Gopalan, C., 445, 450
- Gopiballabpur, 17
- Gorakhpur, 328n
- Go-ray, N. G., 9, 18, 387-8, 389, 467, 474, 504
- Gore, Mrinal Kashan, 407
- Goregaon, 226n
- Gorki, Maxim, 365
- Gowalkar, M. S., 336n
- Gowd, Kista, 334, 453
- grain purchases, *see* Food - import purchase
- Grant, N. B., 516
- Greece, 153
- 'Green Revolution', 10, 40, 48, 420, 440
- Griffiths, Eldon, 354
- gross national product, *see* Income - national
- groundnut oil, 424
- Guardian*, 149n, 267n, 335n, 338n
- Guatemala, 153
- Guha, Samar, 373, 407
- Gujarat, Gujarat government, 15, 24, 26, 169-70, 172, 176-9, 206n, 228, 232n, 261, 331, 339, 447, 468, 475, 509  
*see also* Janata Front, 'Toppling'
- Gujral, I. K., 490
- Guntur, 306, 454
- Gupta, Bhupesh, 471, 510
- Gupta, D. L. Sen, 463
- Gupta, Indrajit, 140, 477, 478
- Gupta, Lala Hans Raj, 323n
- Gurgaon, 113
- Gurley, J. G., 455
- Gwalior, 408
- habeas corpus*, *see* Rights
- Halur, 286n
- Hamani, Hasit, 456
- Hancock of Ashok Leyland, 220n
- handicraft production, 83
- handloom industry, 377
- Hansen, Roger, 438
- Harijan*, 30n
- haryajans*, *see* Untouchables
- harvests, *see* Agriculture - production
- Haryana, 111, 114-16, 163, 209, 295, 328n, 352, 407-12  
 Agricultural University, 166
- Hasan, Nurul, 89, 166, 310, 449, 501
- Hashmi, Syed Ahmed, 461
- Hathi committee, 236n
- Hatia, 292
- Hauz Kaas (Delhi), 166n, 323
- health, *see* Public health
- Health, Minister of, *see* Singh, Karan
- Health, Ministry of, 163
- Hicks, John, 261
- Himachal Pradesh, 98, 496
- Hind Mazdoor Panchayat (HMP), 415
- Hind Mazdoor Sabah (HMS), 181, 217, 415
- Hindu*, 13, 158, 193, 237n, 238n, 274, 275n, 287

- Hindupur, 321  
*Hindustan Times*, 13, 20  
*Hindustan Times Weekly*, 338n  
 Hissar, 406  
 Hitler, Adolf, 25, 265  
 hoarding, 24, 226-8  
 Hoda, Mohammed, 515  
 Holden, David, 459, 513  
 Holland, 2, 243n  
 Home Affairs, Minister of, *see*  
   Reddy, Brahmananda  
 Home Affairs, Ministry of, 210,  
   279, 293, 329n, 356n, 468  
 homelessness, 36, 50-51, 62, 68,  
   205-6, 228-9, 260, 267, 276  
   *see also* 'House sites', Slums  
 Hong Kong, 238, 304, 360  
 Hooghly  
   district, 442  
   river, 345n  
 hosiery industry, 485  
 'house sites', provision of, 196,  
   205-6, 276, 286, 482  
   *see also* Twenty-Point  
   Programme  
 Huda, Noorul, 407  
 Hukma the landlord, 447  
 Hyderabad, 289, 401, 474
- Idukki, 322  
 illiteracy, *see* Literacy  
 imperialism and  
   anti-imperialism, 5, 80-81,  
   102, 119-20, 188, 234, 338,  
   348, 351, 354, 362, 414  
   *see also* British rule in India,  
   Economic and political  
   dependency, Foreign aid,  
   Foreign policy, Multi-  
   national companies, Trade  
 imports, import policies, 13,  
   233-4, 240, 243, 245, 359  
   licences, 114, 377  
   *see also* Trade  
 imprisonment  
   political, 16-19, 29-31, 91,  
   101, 106, 113, 131, 133,  
   136, 142-4, 158, 163-7,  
   173, 181, 182, 183, 191,  
   284, 294, 306n, 313ff,  
   331-2, 352, 358, 364-5,  
   373, 379ff, 441, 461, 507  
   preventive detention, and  
   regulations for, 16, 18,  
   21-2, 131-4, 142-3, 145-7,  
   153, 154, 215, 310, 331-2,  
   362, 413; *see also* Defence  
   of India Rules,  
   Maintenance of Internal  
   Security Act  
   *see also* Jails, State - violence,  
   Torture  
 income  
   national, and national  
   product, 34, 48, 421-2  
   per capita and disposable, 4,  
   42-3, 45, 75, 207, 226,  
   421-2, 428; *see also* Real  
   earnings, Wages  
 indebtedness, *see* Debt  
 India  
   beauties of, ix, 34, 35, 58, 75,  
   317; *see also* Daily Life  
   compared with other  
   countries, 1-2, 7, 11, 42,  
   91-2, 192, 213n, 220,  
   248-9, 273n, 304, 330n,  
   362, 438, 486  
   facts and statistics, 1-5, 7-8,  
   41-5, 48, 50-52, 59-63, 64,  
   65-8, 71-2, 207-8, 273n,  
   274, 421-36, 439, 449, 450,  
   451, 488, 497  
   *see also* Foreign policy,

- Pacifism, Population, State, Trade
- Indian Bar Council 149n
- Indian Council of Child Welfare, 277
- Indian Council of Medical Research, 42, 61, 450
- Indian Council of Social Science Research, 59
- Indian Council of Social Welfare, 456
- Indian Engineering Export Council, 489
- Indian Express*, 30, 68n, 145n, 335
- Indian History Congress, 165
- Indian Institute of Technology, Bombay, 516
- Indian Institute of Technology, Kanpur, 166
- 'Indian Mutiny', 58
- Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC), 54, 89, 171, 174, 181-3, 217-18, 289, 339, 350, 415, 476, 484, 498, 514
- Youth Front, 304
- Indian Ocean, 349, 350
- Indian School of Social Sciences (Calcutta), 446-7, 451, 452
- Indian Workers' Association, 354, 515
- Indo-American Chamber of Commerce, 489
- Indo-American relations, *see* America
- Indo-Soviet relations, *see* Soviet Union
- Indo-US Business Council, 237, 489
- Indonesia, 360
- Indore, 166, 182, 405, 408, 410, 473
- Indra, 36, 523
- Industrial Development Bank, 244
- Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Act, 485
- Industrial Finance Corporation, 114
- industrialization, 12-13, 52-3, 362n
- industry
- accidents, 182, 216n, 225, 249-54
- closures, 181, 195, 219, 223-4, 225n, 247, 289-90, 358, 415; *see also* Lay-offs, Lockouts
- disputes, *see* Classes, Strikes
- employers, management, 53-6, 83, 99, 182, 185, 216n, 218n, 219, 224, 246, 297, 361, 383, 484
- labour, 6, 18, 51-7, 64, 65, 89, 216-20, 246-54, 289-91, 319, 340, 358, 414-15; *see also* Labour movement, Trade unions
- production, 67, 113-16, 133, 167, 175, 181, 182, 184, 191, 198, 205, 217ff, 239, 246-54, 306, 359n, 375, 377, 383, 392, 486, 490, 508
- violence, 16, 18-20, 53-7, 174, 181-2, 476, 477; *see also* State - violence
- Industry, Minister for, *see* Pai, T. A.
- Industry, Ministry of, 246n
- inequality, 6-9, 10-11, 34ff, 58-9, 73, 83, 193-4, 197,

- inequality — *contd.*  
 198–208, 214ff, 326, 423,  
 425–7
- inflation, 4, 6, 11, 23, 31, 43,  
 110, 180, 194–5, 221–3,  
 225–8, 240, 322, 352, 354,  
 355, 386, 421–2, 425  
*see also* Prices
- Information and Broadcasting,  
 Minister of, *see* Shukla,  
 V. C.
- Information and Broadcasting,  
 Ministry of, 62, 196
- Institute of Criminology and  
 Forensic Science, 72n
- Institute of Democracy and  
 Socialism, 230n, 457, 466
- Institute of Engineers, 296
- International Bank of  
 Reconstruction and  
 Development (IBRD), 435
- International Business Machines  
 (IBM), 235n
- International Commission of  
 Jurists (ICJ), 332n
- International Construction  
 Company (UK), 491
- International Development  
 Agency (IDA), 244, 435
- International Labour  
 Organization (ILO), 16,  
 18, 53, 54n, 64, 181–2, 183,  
 249, 441, 468, 472
- International League for Human  
 Rights, 313, 437, 504
- International Monetary Fund  
 (IMF), 244
- International Press Institute, 509
- International Transport  
 Workers' Federation, 515
- International Women's Year,  
 66n, 402
- investment, *see* Capitalism,  
 Foreign investment,  
 Private sector, Public  
 sector
- investment procedures,  
 'liberalization' of, 199, 221,  
 230–39, 377
- Iran, Indo-Iranian relations,  
 237, 238n, 244, 360, 362
- Irani, C. R., 508
- iron ore, 224
- irrigation, water-supply and  
 conservation, 2–3, 60n, 61,  
 100, 175, 206, 228, 297, 377
- Islamabad, 345
- Ismail, Mohammed, 476, 496–7
- Italy, 153, 431
- itinerant labour, 52n, 110
- Jacob, John, 461, 477, 478, 479,  
 482, 493, 512
- Jadhavpur University, 450, 501
- Jagdeesan of Ashok Leyland, 55
- Jagmohan (Delhi development  
 authority), 502
- jails, 16, 30, 33, 107n, 147–8,  
 200n, 217, 294n, 313, 323,  
 331, 332, 334n, 360n,  
 394–5, 401–12, 416–19, 441  
 break-outs, 292, 293–4, 358,  
 500
- Jaipur, 166, 409, 504
- Jama Masjid, 279, 496
- Jamait-e-Islami, 466
- Jammu, 459, 460, 506
- Jammu and Kashmir,  
 Maharajah of, *see* Singh,  
 Karan
- Jan Sangh, 24, 29, 30, 102n,  
 105, 143, 232, 332, 333,  
 335, 336n, 342, 365, 405,  
 408–12, 463, 497, 503, 515

- Janata*, 335  
 Janata colony (Bombay), 494  
 Janata Front (Gujarat), 169,  
 176-8, 206n, 331, 475  
 Janata Party, 333, 364-6  
 Jannuzi, F. T., 437  
 Japan, Indo-Japanese  
   relations, 2, 5n, 53, 153,  
   235n, 237, 243n, 248-9,  
   273n, 304, 360-61, 428,  
   432, 488, 515  
 Jat, Motilal, 322  
 Jawaharlal Nehru University,  
   Delhi (JNU), 165, 167,  
   309, 360n, 468, 473  
 Jayakwadi, 267  
 Jericho, fall of, 197, 334  
 Jethmalani, R. B., 149n  
 Jha, Bhogendra, 469  
 Jha, Gangadar, 447  
 Jhunjun, 322  
 JNU, *see* Jawaharlal Nehru  
   University  
 Joarder, Dinesh, 407  
 Jodhpur, 285, 493, 498  
   Maharajah of, 312  
 Johry, K. N., 455, 501  
 Jones, R. R., 56, 449  
 Joshi, Jaganatharao, 373, 403,  
   407  
 journalists, *see* Press  
 'J.P. movement', *see* Narayan,  
   J. P.  
 judiciary, judicial system, 103,  
   133, 145-50, 153, 160,  
   334n, 361, 380, 392, 466,  
   508  
   political assaults upon, 130,  
   132-3, 138, 148-50, 163,  
   340, 341, 343n, 414, 469  
   *see also* Rule of law  
 Jumna, river, 35  
 Juneja, Mulak Raj, 323  
 Jung, Ali Yavar, 267  
 jute industry, 182n, 223, 227,  
   229  
   *see also* Textile industry  
 Kachwai, Hukam Chand, 408  
 Kaiser Corporation (US), 239  
 Kakinada, 321  
 Kakubhai the commercial  
   director, 76, 123-4  
*kalazar*, 61, 523  
 Kalyan, 494  
 Kalyansundaram, M., 474  
 Kamaraj, K., 286, 499  
 Kamath, H. V., 478  
 Kania, Mr Justice, 160  
 Kanpur, 166  
 Kant, Krishan, 9, 97n, 137, 144,  
   385-6, 403, 454, 457, 467  
 Karanjia, R. K., 360, 458  
   *passim*  
 Karat, Prakash, 433  
 Karimnagar, 321  
*Karma*, 76, 123-4, 523  
 Karnataka, Karnataka  
   government, 111, 143, 207,  
   208n, 215, 269, 305n, 321,  
   445, 447, 451, 483  
   High Court, 416  
 Karnik, V. A., 491  
 Karol Bagh (Delhi), 496  
 Karunakaran, K., 293  
 Karunanidhi, M., 171-4, 261,  
   475  
 Kashi, 446  
 Kashkari, Chaman, 444  
 Kashmir, 71, 209, 449  
 Kathpur, 482  
 Kaul, T. N., 354  
 Kaushik, Purshottam, 408  
 Kavhe, 272

- Kellogg Corporation (US), 239  
 Keny, L. B. 165  
 Kerala, Kerala government, ix,  
     15, 17, 107n, 146, 157, 166,  
     167, 178n, 184, 281, 289,  
     293, 308, 322, 340n, 342,  
     383, 405, 406, 408, 412,  
     415, 447, 449, 452, 461,  
     476, 493, 497, 499, 509,  
     510  
 Kerala, Chief Minister of, *see*  
     Menon, Achutha  
 kerosene, 228  
 Khammam, 306  
 Khan, Rashid ud-din, 91,  
     309-10, 456, 504  
 Khandagosh, 452  
 Khanna, Mr Justice H. R., 133,  
     145, 146n  
 Kisan Sabhas, 205, 413, 481,  
     523  
 Kishan, Ram, 408  
 Kohli, O. P., 323  
 Kota, 410  
 Kothari, D. C., 515  
 Kothari, Rajni, 337n, 443, 514  
 Kottayam, 476  
 Kovilpathu, 10  
 Krishna, 64, 128, 193, 310n,  
     523  
 Krishna, Kraleti, 321  
 Krishna, Raj, 445  
 Krishnan, N. K., 486  
 Krishnan, Parvathi, 477  
 Krishnayya the *satyagrahi*, 321  
 Kuan, 452  
 Kukadi, 267  
 Kulkarni, R., 468  
 Kumar, Divendra, 168  
 Kumar, Raj, 147  
 Kumar, Rawan, 352  
 Kumar, Saraswati, 8  
 Kumar, Virendra, 408  
 Kumbara, 322  
 Kumolagaon, 452  
 Kundilal the landlord, 368,  
     447  
 Kunte, P. K., 448  
 Kuomintang, 81, 86-7, 309,  
     353, 362  
 Kurdu, S. K., 408  
 Kurian, M., 436  
 Kurnool, 67  
 Kuryan, A. P., 408  
 Kuzmin, Alexander, 188  
 labour  
     bonded, 3, 46-7, 52n, 70,  
         133, 142, 196, 205, 209-10,  
         242, 248, 261, 320, 353,  
         368, 377, 446-7, 482; *see*  
         *also* Indebtedness,  
         Landlessness  
     'cheap', 7, 12-13, 220-21  
     itinerant, 52n, 110  
     *see also under* Agriculture,  
         Children, Industry,  
         Women  
 Labour, Minister of, *see* Reddy,  
     Rhagunatha  
 Labour and working class  
     movement, 24, 25, 92, 106,  
     121, 138, 154, 171, 179-84,  
     216-21, 225n, 248, 287-91,  
     300, 318-20, 330, 349, 357,  
     361-2, 413-15  
     *see also* Trade unions  
 Ladwada, 177  
 Lahiri, Somenath, 477  
 Lal, Bansi, 111, 113, 115, 250,  
     328, 329n, 336, 364-5,  
     456 *passim*  
 Lal, Hardivari, 408  
 Lal, Krishan, 323

- Lal, Ram, 408  
 Lalsingh the landlord, 447  
 land  
   agrarian relations, 3, 7-11,  
     43-8, 86-7, 205-14, 297-9,  
     361-3, 426-7; *see also*  
     Economy - rural,  
     Landlordism  
   'ceilings', surplus land and  
   'ceiling' legislation, 7-8,  
   10, 109, 211-13, 276, 377,  
   439, 515  
   ownership, structure of,  
     426-7; *see also* Land -  
     agrarian relations,  
     Landlordism  
   records and registers, 9, 211  
   reform and land distribution,  
     7-11, 82-3, 91, 109, 142,  
     187, 196, 205, 211-15,  
     220, 286, 320, 327; 340,  
     353, 359, 361, 363, 439,  
     482, 483, 499; *see also*  
     Twenty-Point  
     Programme  
   tenure, *see* Land - agrarian  
     relations  
 landless, landlessness, 3, 4, 8,  
   9-10, 43, 45, 47-8, 51, 66,  
   87, 196, 197, 205-14, 242,  
   266, 276, 320, 353, 358n,  
   369, 377, 427  
 landlordism, landlords, 3, 8-10,  
   17, 24, 44-8, 81, 84, 90,  
   104, 109, 175, 205-14,  
   227-8, 247, 293, 296, 316,  
   320, 327, 334n, 351n, 353,  
   358n, 362-3, 368-9, 383,  
   413, 426-7, 447, 482  
*see also* Economy - rural,  
 Feudalism, Land -  
 agrarian relations  
 lay-offs, 181, 183, 219, 223-4,  
   225n, 247, 415, 484, 485  
*see also* Industry - closures  
 leather-processing industry,  
   tannery workers, 289, 477  
 Lee, Jennie, 354-5, 465, 512,  
   513  
 legal aid, 303n  
 Lenin, V. I., 187, 217, 516  
 leprosy, lepers, 49, 61, 62-4,  
   66n, 260, 267-8, 327  
 life expectancy, 61  
 Limaye, Madhu, 113, 373, 409,  
   463  
 Link, 29n, 84n, 175, 347n  
 literacy, illiteracy, 44, 59-60,  
   64, 65, 71, 78, 274, 281,  
   297, 304, 327, 449, 497  
*see also* Education  
 lockouts, 181, 183, 219, 223-4,  
   225n, 306, 358  
*see also* Industry - closures  
 Lok Sangarsh Samiti, 333, 400,  
   406, 504, 507  
 London, 259, 356, 506, 515  
 Long March, the, 295  
 Louis Bonaparte and  
   'Bonapartism', 315-16,  
   325, 328, 505  
 Lucknow, 66n, 67, 166, 306,  
   473  
 Ludhiana, 166, 360n  
 lumpenproletariat, 51, 300-301,  
   308, 316, 325, 329, 339,  
   350  
 Machiavelli, 11  
 machine-tool industry, 485  
 Maddison, Angus, 457  
 Madhavan, S., 498  
 Madhopur, 322  
 Madhuban, 68

- Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh government, 71, 163, 219n, 275n, 293, 294, 322, 340n, 405, 408-12
- Madon, Mr Justice, 160
- Madras, 48, 50, 55, 62, 64, 72, 113n, 147, 171, 173, 261, 287n, 289, 447, 448, 453, 475
- University, 310
- Madras Urban Landowners' Association, 482
- Madurai Agricultural College, 297n
- Mafatlal, Arvind, 456
- Magdoff, Harry, 440, 516
- magistrates, magistracy, 146n, 164, 339, 417, 482
- Mahalanobis, P. C., 439
- Maharashtra, Maharashtra government, 62, 159n, 168, 204n, 207, 208, 209, 266, 269, 271, 275-6, 301n, 339, 406, 407, 448, 483, 495, 509
- Housing Board, 226n  
*see also* Bombay
- Mahavir, Bhai, 463
- Maheshakti, 97
- Mahindra, Harish, 485, 490
- Maidan (Calcutta), 341n
- Mainstream*, 335
- 'mainstream', the, 175, 291
- Maintenance of Internal Security Act (MISA), 16, 19, 21, 29, 133, 134, 142-3, 144, 147, 149n, 154, 165, 166, 177n, 179, 186, 252, 331, 332, 336, 342n, 358n, 379n, 403, 405ff, 441, 473, 474
- amendments to, 16, 21, 131, 133, 134, 467
- Majhi, C. P., 488
- malaria, 61, 62
- Malda, 309, 407
- Malhotra, Inder, 267n, 458  
*passim*, 483 *passim*
- Mali, Krishna Sopan, 271-2
- Malik, Mukhtiar Singh, 411
- Malkani, K. R., 394, 463
- Malleswaram, 416-17
- malnutrition, 4, 42, 54, 61, 62, 366, 446
- Malthus, T. R., 281, 326
- Mamdani, Mahmood, 495
- Mandelia, D. P., 503
- Mandsaur, 409
- Manekshaw, General, 466
- Mangalore, 322
- Mankhurd, 494
- Manoharan, K., 474
- Mao Tsé-tung, 91-2, 103n, 347n, 348
- Marachi, 8
- Marcona Corporation (US), 239
- marriage, early, *see* Children - condition of, Women - condition of
- Maruti scandal, 111, 112-16, 143, 304n, 307, 463-4
- Marx, Karl, marxism and marxists, 83, 87, 106, 115, 186-7, 217, 218, 264, 304, 366, 445, 446, 462, 471, 505  
*Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, 505 *passim*
- Masih, Kumari, 168
- mass media, 31, 157n, 158-9, 241-2, 300, 351n, 356n, 389-90, 500  
*see also* Press
- Mathew, Mr Justice, 133
- Maurya, B. P., 474

- Maxwell, Neville, 107, 440  
*passim*, 461 *passim*
- May Day, 79, 88, 248, 290, 413, 415
- Mayer, Anthony, 456 *passim*
- Mazumdar, Charu, 17n
- McGovern, George, 465
- medical care, *see* Public health
- Meerut, 166, 485
- Mehra, S., 445
- Mehrauli, 196
- Mehta, Ashok, 400, 507
- Mehta, Om, 337, 389, 458, 467, 468, 472 *passim*
- Mehta, Prasannabhai, 484
- Menon, Achutha, 167, 178n, 184, 186n, 191, 219, 350, 477, 509
- Menon, Krishna, 117n
- mental handicap, 64
- Metal Box Company, 21r
- Middle East (West Asia), 222, 239
- Midnapore, 340, 509
- Migs and Mig spares, 241, 346
- Minglas plantations, 215
- mining, mineworkers, 45, 181, 183, 184, 208, 218, 224, 249-54, 283, 432
- Minu the bonded labourer, 368, 447
- Mirdha, R. N., 114
- Mishra, Jaganath, 457
- Mishra, S. N., 113, 373, 387, 409, 463
- Mishra, L. N., 111-12
- Misra, Jeneshwar, 409
- Mitra, Ashok, 79, 88, 111, 162, 201, 438 *passim*
- Mizos, the, 14
- Modak, Bejoy, 496, 497
- Mody, Piloo, 30, 409, 507
- Moghul Empire, 324n
- Mohapatra, L. K., 100n
- Mohsin, F. H., 147, 468, 475, 479, 497, 500, 512
- Mokameli, 62
- money supply, 422  
*see also* Inflation
- money-lenders and  
 money-lending, 45-7, 51, 52n, 70, 109, 208-10, 251-2, 320, 363, 368, 447  
*see also* Debt
- monopoly, monopolists, *see* Capitalism, Foreign investment, Multi-national companies, 'Private sector'
- 'moratorium on debt', *see* Debt - relief, Twenty-Point Programme
- Moscow, 186, 247, 350, 477, 511  
*see also* Soviet Union
- Moslems, 279, 280, 285, 497
- Motherland, 463
- Muhammad, V. A. Seyid, 460
- Mukherjee, Biswanath, 460, 514
- Mukherjee, H. N., 16, 459, 463, 488
- Mukherjee, Pranab, 165, 201, 203, 204, 291, 336, 365, 481, 487
- Mukherjee, Samar, 343, 403, 483, 494
- Mukhi, Mr Justice, 149n
- multi-national companies, 54-7, 220-21, 232n, 234-8, 414  
*see also* Foreign investment, 'Private sector'
- Mundiyeruma, 322
- Munich, 25, 195, 319
- Mussolini, Benito, 265
- mustard oil, 424

- Mutgekar, Ashok, 321  
 Muzaffarnagar, 328n  
 Muzaffarpur, 323n  
 Myrdal, Gunnar, 43  
 Mysore, 109, 166, 263, 322,  
 340n  
 University, 164n, 473
- Nadiad, 177  
 Nag, Gopal Das, 225n  
 Nagarwala, R. S., 111-12, 462  
 Nagas, Nagaland, 14, 510  
 Nagchaudhuri,  
 vice-chancellor of JNU,  
 167  
 Nagda, 182n  
 Nageswaran, K. A., 486  
 Nagpur Resolution, 386  
 Nagpur University, 473  
 Nahata, Amrit, 464  
 Naik, J. P., 449  
 Naik, Laxminarayan, 409  
 Naini, 409  
 Nair, K. M., 146  
 Nairobi, 239  
 Nalgonda, 214, 321  
 Namboodiripad, E. M. S., 357,  
 358n, 403  
 Nanda the bonded labourer, 447  
 Nanda, Ved, 313, 505  
 Nandnagar (Delhi), 280  
 Nangal, 511  
 Napoleon Bonaparte, 97n  
 Narain, Raj, 30, 113, 409, 463  
 Narayan, J. P., and 'J.P.  
 Movement', 24-30, 90, 91,  
 93, 120, 333-4, 387, 394,  
 406, 443, 444, 508  
 Narayan, Shriman, 99n, 469  
 Narayanan, V. D., 448  
 Nariman, Additional  
 Solicitor-General, 469
- Narora programme, 195, 196  
 Nasik, 407  
 Nation, 313  
 National Alliance of Young  
 Entrepreneurs, 232, 234  
 National Physical Laboratory,  
 461  
 'National Resurgence  
 Programme', 234, 244, 253,  
 292, 295, 299, 319, 330,  
 343-4  
 National Sample Surveys,  
 422-4, 439  
 National Service Scheme  
 (NSS), 298-9, 501  
 National Students' Union of  
 India (NSUI), 283, 304,  
 462  
 nationalism, national  
 chauvinism, 83, 107, 119,  
 299, 301n, 308, 318-19,  
 335, 362, 459  
 nationalization, 83, 86, 236-7,  
 249n, 251n, 304, 379, 385,  
 414, 459, 502  
*see also* Public sector  
 Navajivan press, 177n  
 navy, Indian, 18, 350  
 Naxalbari, 17  
 'naxalites', 'naxalite movement',  
 17-18, 29, 105, 107n, 293,  
 295, 441, 466  
*see also* Communist Party of  
 India (Marxist-Leninist),  
 Rural uprisings  
 Nayar, Kuldeep, 30, 149n, 445,  
 457  
 Nehru, B. K., 343n, 468, 506, 512  
 Nehru family, 22, 109, 111, 284n,  
 296n, 301, 307, 336, 355, 502  
 Nehru, Jawaharlal, 16, 81, 83,  
 107, 119, 155n, 157, 183,

- 307, 319n, 320n, 355, 380,  
386, 387, 398n, 454, 460, 465  
*Autobiography*, 318n  
Nepal, 344  
Netherlands, *see* Holland  
'new deal', 130, 133, 171,  
193-254, 305, 347, 354, 362  
*see also* 'National Resurgence  
Programme', Twenty-Point  
Programme  
'New Economic Programme', *see*  
'New deal', Twenty-Point  
Programme  
New York, 356n  
New Zealand, 2  
news agencies, *see* Censorship,  
Press, Press Trust of India,  
*Samachar*  
newspaper and printing workers,  
289, 485  
newspapers, *see* Press  
Neyveli, 462  
Neyveli Lignite Corporation, 514  
Nigeria, 11  
Nixon, Richard, 132  
'non-alignment', 13-14, 221,  
243n, 344, 350-51, 511  
*see also* Foreign policy  
'non-violence', 13, 14, 16, 24, 25,  
76, 82, 83, 105, 171, 334-5,  
359, 381, 400-404  
*see also* State - violence  
North Bengal, 215  
Norway, 243n  
nuclear programme, nuclear  
weapons, 61n, 119n, 239,  
241, 344, 346, 349, 356, 436  
Nurunnahar, 442  
nutrition, 42, 198  
*see also* Malnutrition  
Oberoi-Sheraton hotel (Bombay),  
59n, 462  
Ojha, P. D., 445  
Ootacamund, 474  
*Opinion*, 335  
opposition, *see* Classes,  
Communist Party of India  
(Marxist), Communist Party  
of India (Marxist-Leninist),  
Jan Sangh, Janata Party,  
Narayan, J. P., 'Right  
reaction', Socialist Party  
Orissa, Orissa government, 5, 62,  
100n, 208, 209, 340n, 405,  
409, 410, 447, 509  
Overseas Congress Party, 360n,  
461  
Overseas Development Council,  
2, 438, 515  
pacifism, state, 11-12, 16, 119,  
334-5  
*see also* 'Non-violence', State -  
violence, Wars between  
India and its neighbours  
*pada-yatras*, 92, 212, 308, 330n,  
499, 523  
*Padma Vibhushan*, 309, 310, 523  
Pai, Purshottam, 322  
Pai, T. A., 6, 9, 114, 190, 220,  
239n, 295, 440, 479 *passim*  
Pakistan, Indo-Pakistan  
relations, 11, 14, 102, 107,  
110, 118, 119, 273n, 336n,  
344-6, 436, 438  
Pal, Lakhan, 332  
Palkhiwala, N. A., 467, 487  
Panaji, 249  
*panchayats*, 25, 206, 213, 272,  
287n, 481, 523  
Pande, G. C., 165, 310, 504  
*Meaning and Process of  
Culture*, 310n

- Pandeya, Laxminarain, 409  
 Panekar, S. D., 451, 452  
 Pania 'tribals', 446, 482  
 Pant, K. C., 253, 459, 485  
 Pant University, GB, 460, 501  
 para-military forces, 18, 21, 61n,  
 131, 170, 172-3, 176, 195n,  
 221, 269, 279-81, 284, 289,  
 290, 291, 329-30, 335, 341,  
 344, 354n, 356, 362, 436  
*see also* Border Security  
 Force, Central Reserve  
 Police
- Parganas (the 24), 298, 514  
 Paris, 240, 243, 248, 515  
 parliamentarism, parliamentary  
 democracy, 12, 14, 19, 27-8,  
 81, 83, 103, 113, 135-51,  
 152-3, 160, 310, 340-43,  
 352, 354n, 364, 371-3, 382,  
 389-90, 466-7, 513  
 political assaults upon, 9n,  
 130-32, 135-6, 139-41,  
 148-9, 318, 332, 340-41,  
 343n, 378, 387, 405-12,  
 466-7
- Parliamentary Affairs, Minister  
 of, *see* Raghuramiah, K.  
 parliamentary consultative  
 committee on home affairs,  
 403
- parliamentary estimates  
 committee, 298, 448, 449,  
 501
- Parliamentary Proceedings  
 (Protection of Publication)  
 Act, 140n
- Party Life*, 247
- Patel, Babubhai, 177n, 507  
 Patel, H. M., 343, 510  
 Patel, K. M., 276  
 Patel, Lachchu, 334n
- Patiala, 410, 504  
 Patil, Veerendra, 403  
 Patna, 250, 292, 303n, 502, 507  
 University, 168  
 Patna 'Anti-Fascist' Conference,  
 188, 234, 310, 460, 465,  
 478, 513
- Patnaik, Biju, 409  
 Patnaik, Prabhat, 453  
*Patriot*, 157n  
*Pavo cristatus*, 39  
 Pawar, Rambhau Sakharam, 272  
 Pawar, Tatyia Bondu, 272  
 peasantry, *see* Agriculture -  
 labour, Economy - rural,  
 Land - agrarian relations
- Peking, 346, 511  
*see also* China
- penal code, 47  
 'peons', 75, 97  
 'People's Awakening Week', 28  
 People's Representation Act,  
 140  
 People's Struggle Committee,  
*see* Lok Sangharsh Samiti
- Petlad, 177  
 petroleum industry, 429  
 pharmaceutical industry,  
 workers, 236-7, 289
- Phulchand the *satyagrahi*, 322  
 Pillai, B. M., 474  
*pindaris*, 324n
- Pinochet, General Augusto, 157  
 planning, state, 2n, 12, 51n, 61n,  
 62, 83, 195-6, 220-22  
 First Plan, 454  
 Second Plan, 439  
 Third Plan, 419  
 Fourth Plan, 195n, 273n  
 Fifth Plan, 41n, 42, 60, 172,  
 198, 246n, 439
- Planning Commission, 202

- plantations, plantation workers,  
45, 68, 215, 223, 236, 289,  
432, 451, 483, 489
- plastics industry, 485
- plutonium, 346
- Podar, K. K., 483, 484
- police, police violence, 16,  
17-18, 20, 25-6, 49, 51,  
53-4, 56, 57, 68n, 71, 77,  
110, 136, 145, 156, 163,  
165-6, 175, 181, 186,  
190-91, 201, 212, 214, 249n,  
251n, 269, 271, 279-81,  
293-4, 304n, 309-10, 313,  
316, 321-3, 328n, 330, 332,  
339, 352, 360, 366, 382-3,  
387, 392, 399, 401-3,  
416-19, 442, 476, 504, 513  
*see also* State - violence
- poliomyelitis, 61, 237n
- political prisoners, *see*  
Imprisonment, Jails
- political slogans, 129, 225,  
228-9, 256-7, 263, 265,  
295, 333
- Poona, 165, 453, 501
- Poonandee, 56
- 'poorer and weaker sections',  
88-90, 194, 196, 200, 206n,  
208n, 210, 230, 250, 284,  
286, 377, 385, 425, 428
- population, 1-2, 6, 41, 48, 60,  
65-6, 180, 264, 273n, 281,  
304, 314, 324, 326-7, 423,  
497, 515
- populism, 23-5, 29, 81, 90, 92,  
170, 171, 197, 202, 233,  
285, 286-7, 297, 300-301,  
303-5, 314, 333, 362
- poverty line, 4, 41-3
- 'pragmatism', 83, 85-7, 88, 197,  
229, 237
- Prabhakavan the prisoner, 322
- Prakash, Gian, 450, 506
- Prakash, Om, 323
- Prakash, Satya, 323
- Prasad, Krishna, 321
- Prasad, Siddheswar, 492
- 'pre-censorship', *see* Censorship
- presidency, the 132, 152-3, 156,  
342, 372, 392, 397, 414, 466  
ordinances, 1, 15, 22, 131-4,  
142, 146, 156, 203, 208,  
215-16, 467  
*see also* Ahmed, F. A.
- Presidency College (Calcutta),  
283, 477, 498
- Presidency jail (Calcutta), 292,  
293-4, 500
- President of the Congress Party,  
*see* Barooah, D. K.
- 'presidential rule', 16, 19, 170,  
175, 178, 206n, 212n, 342  
*see also* Federalism, 'Toppling'
- press, and journalists, 30, 103n,  
104, 130, 133, 137-40,  
154-62, 284, 289, 302n,  
308-9, 316, 320n, 335, 351n,  
356n, 364n, 379, 382, 398,  
463, 471, 472, 508, 509  
foreign (and media), 277, 307,  
351n, 354, 356n, 375, 376,  
398, 513  
*see also* Censorship, Mass  
media, 'Press Guidelines'
- Press Council, 156, 157
- 'Press Guidelines', 133, 139-41,  
154-8, 364n, 374-6, 378,  
391-3, 467, 470  
*see also* Censorship
- Press Information Bureau, 154,  
374, 376
- Press Trust of India (PTI),  
66n, 157n, 463 *passim*

- Prevention of Publication of  
Objectionable Matter Act,  
342n, 364n, 413, 470
- preventive detention, *see*  
Imprisonment
- prices, price indices, 2-4, 6n,  
24, 26, 43, 100, 175, 179,  
191, 195, 198, 219, 220,  
225-8, 245, 359, 377, 421-2,  
486, 514  
*see also* Inflation
- Prime Minister, *see* Gandhi,  
Indira
- prison manual, model, 402
- prisons, *see* Imprisonment, Jails
- 'private sector', 5, 12-13, 55-7,  
83, 86, 99n, 195, 200, 202-4,  
217, 219, 222ff, 246n, 341,  
349, 361, 428-33, 454, 502  
*see also* Capitalism
- privy purses, 86
- production and productivity,  
*see* Agriculture -  
production, Industry -  
production
- profits, profitability, 12, 159n,  
195, 216, 227, 230, 234,  
236, 241n, 247, 428-30,  
479-80
- Prohibition Programme,  
Twelve-Point, 134, 200, 480
- proletariat, *see* Classes, Industry  
-labour, Labour movement,  
Trade unions
- property right, 134, 148, 205-6
- provident funds, 18, 216n, 319
- PTI, *see* Press Trust of India
- public health, 59, 60-63, 198,  
277, 282n, 497
- 'public sector', 5, 83, 99n, 192,  
214n, 236, 246n, 303n, 349,  
430, 439  
*see also* Nationalization
- pulses, 3, 420
- Pune, 277, 460
- University, 473
- Punjab, 163, 207, 214, 250,  
269n, 275, 276, 285, 340n,  
360n, 410, 411, 471
- Agricultural University, 360n
- Punjab National Bank, 114
- Punjab Special Powers (Press)  
Act, 470
- Punjab and Haryana High  
Court, 332
- Punjabi University, 504
- Puri, K. R., 487
- Purola, 451, 452
- Pūsan, ix, 523
- Qidwai, R. A., 168
- Qureshi, Mohammed Shafi,  
265n, 336, 459, 493, 498
- Rada College (Ludhiana), 166
- Radical Humanist Association,  
152n
- Radical Review*, 447, 448, 449,  
451
- Rae Bareli, 286n
- Raghuramiah, K., 135, 303, 305,  
389, 466
- Rahman, M., 495
- Rahman, Sheik Mujibur, 109,  
345, 354n
- Rai, A. S., 513
- railways, railway workers, 18,  
75, 100, 224, 292-3, 294,  
493, 494, 498
- strike, May 1974, 18, 32, 53,  
103n, 112  
*see also* 'Trains are running on  
time'
- railway-wagon manufacture, 485

- Raina, 452  
 Raj, K. N., 516  
 Rajasthan, 5, 71, 110, 285, 293  
     306, 322, 408, 409, 410,  
     447, 449, 451, 478, 483  
     University, 165, 166, 310,  
     473, 504  
 Rajdhani express, 265n  
 Ram, Jagjivan, 98, 207, 212,  
     248, 261, 365, 382, 389,  
     445, 455, 466, 489, 499  
 Ram, Maya, 452  
 Ram, N., 448  
 Ramachandran, S., 174  
 Ramamurthy, P., 358n  
 Raman, Edida, 321  
 Raman, V. P., 468  
 Ramaswamy, K. S., 55n, 476  
 Rangakol, 47  
 Rangarajan, Mr Justice S., 149n,  
     150, 469  
 Ranicherra, 215  
 Ranipur, 68n  
 Rao, Kamala, 451, 452  
 Rao, Koka Kurma, 321  
 Rao, Madan Mohan, 113n  
 Rao, Murlidhar, 321  
 Rao, Rajeswar, 247, 338, 491,  
     509, 514  
 Rao, Vengal, 480  
 Rao, Vikram, 178, 331  
 Rao, V. K. R. V., 232, 487, 496  
 rape-seed, 424  
 Rashtrapati Bhavan, 97, 323  
 Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh  
     (RSS), 29n, 102n, 143,  
     178n, 336, 443, 460, 466,  
     503  
 Rath, N., 445  
 Ravi the *satyagrahi*, 321  
 Ray, Chief Justice A. N., 133,  
     145, 149, 350  
 Ray, Rabi, 410  
 Ray, Satyajit, 309  
 Ray, Siddhartha Shankar, 105,  
     151n, 154, 163n, 172, 231n,  
     232, 248, 339, 340n, 341,  
     442 *passim*  
 RBI, *see* Reserve Bank of India  
 real earnings, 6, 10, 180, 195,  
     226, 422, 439  
     *see also* Income, Wages  
 recession, 6, 11, 23, 180, 183,  
     195, 217, 218 ff, 266, 355,  
     359  
     *see also* Economy - stagnation  
 Red Flag canal, 297  
 Reddy, Brahmananda, 143n,  
     178, 189, 255, 293n, 294,  
     323n, 329n, 331, 342, 394,  
     403, 457 *passim*  
 Reddy, G. K., 475, 479  
 Reddy, Narsinha, 321  
 Reddy, Rhagunatha, 87, 114,  
     217, 218, 223, 248, 250,  
     251, 455, 484, 485, 491, 498  
 Reddy, Shiyam Sundar, 214  
 refrigerators, 231  
 Reichstag fire, 320n, 505  
 religion, religious obscurantism,  
     58, 70n, 83, 98, 100, 299n,  
     327, 335, 361, 459  
 Remedios the clerk, 279n  
 rents, 3, 8, 43-4, 109, 226, 320  
 Representation of the People  
     Act, 397  
 Research and Analysis Wing  
     (RAW), 21, 329  
 Reserve Bank of India (RBI),  
     114, 172n, 195, 234, 359,  
     422, 427, 429-30, 434-6,  
     438 *passim*  
 'retrenchment', *see* Dismissal  
     and 'retrenchment', Lay-offs

- Revolutionary Socialist Party  
 (RSP), 389  
 'right reaction', right opposition,  
 22-3, 29-31, 101-2, 107,  
 137, 142, 145, 186-8, 218n,  
 234, 247-8, 316, 325, 335-6  
 338n, 379, 385, 399  
*see also* Jan Sangh, Rashtriya  
 Swayam Sevak Sangh  
 rights under the constitution,  
 15, 22, 131-4, 142, 145ff,  
 166, 179, 181, 215, 234,  
 249, 251, 254, 276, 278,  
 291, 313, 320, 335, 340,  
 382, 390, 401, 413-15, 469  
*see also* Civil liberties,  
 Constitution  
*Rigveda*, 35, 523  
 Rizvi, Ammar, 297  
 Rodriguez, Carlos Rafael, 511  
 Rohtak, 407, 409, 410, 411  
 Romania, 350, 511  
 Rowlatt Act, 147  
 RSS, *see* Rashtriya Swayam  
 Sevak Sangh  
 rubber industry and workers,  
 289, 485  
 Rudra, Ashok, 512  
 Rudrapur, 96  
 rule of law, 25, 132, 146, 150,  
 284n, 310, 382, 396, 509  
*see also* Judiciary  
 'rumour-mongers', 129, 281n  
 'rural uplift', 89-90, 206n, 298,  
 512  
 rural uprisings, insurrectionary  
 movements, 8, 14, 15,  
 17-18, 24, 45, 83, 92, 262,  
 264, 292-4, 298-9, 347, 349,  
 361  
*see also* Naxalites  
 Rustom, K., 177  
 Ryder, Lord, 220  
 Sabarigiri, 293  
 sabotage, 178n, 260, 292-5, 358  
*Sadhana*, 335  
 Saharsa, 68n  
 St George's Hospital (Bombay),  
 201  
 St Xavier's College (Calcutta),  
 261  
 Sakhalecha, Virendra Kumar,  
 410  
*Samachar*, 157n, 295, 351n, 475  
*passim*  
*San Francisco Examiner*, 190  
 Sandhu, I. K., 504  
 'Sanjay Canal', 297  
 Santiniketan, 310  
 Sariska, 410  
 Sarup, Krishan, 323  
*Sarvodaya*, 25, 333n, 334, 523  
 Sathe, V. P., 468, 481  
 Satpathy, Nandini, 340n  
 Satta, 368, 446  
*Satyagraha*, *satyagrahis*, 25,  
 321-3, 332n, 334, 400-403,  
 523-4  
 Satyapal the *satyagrahi*, 352  
 Saudi Arabian development  
 fund, 244  
 Saxbe, William, 239, 359  
 scabies, 61  
 'scheduled castes', 'backward  
 classes', 46n, 178  
 schools, schoolteachers, *see*  
 Education  
 Scindia, V. R., 373  
 Sea-Rock Hotel (Bombay),  
 492-3  
 'secularism', 83, 100, 257, 277,  
 341, 459  
*see also* Religion

- Secunderabad, 334, 453  
 Sen, Jagannath, 410  
 Sen, Mangal, 410  
*Seminar*, 327, 335, 337n, 443  
*passim*  
 Sen, Amartya, 438, 445  
 Sen, Asoke, 502  
 Sen, Mohit, 108, 462  
 Sen, S. N., 310  
 Sen, Ugra, 410  
 Sen Committee, 168  
 Sengupta, J., 487  
 Sequeira, Erasmo de, 373  
 sesamum oil, 424  
 Sethi, P. C., 488, 489  
 Sezhiyan, Era, 373, 403, 441, 443, 466, 467  
 Shah, J. C., 398n  
 Shah, K. K., 475  
 Shah, S. A., 454  
 Shah of Iran, 360  
 Shahada tribal belt, 446  
 Shaikhawat, Bhairon Singh, 410  
 Shajapur, 408  
 Shakya, Mahadeepak Singh, 410  
 Shamim, Shamim Ahmed, 140n, 467  
 Shankar, Udaya, 322  
 share prices, *see* Stock exchanges  
 Sharma, A. P., 447  
 Sharma, D. K., 168  
 Sharma, Jugal Bihari, 322  
 Sharma, Prem Dutt, 452  
 Sharma, Ram Rattan, 410  
 Sharma, Ramesh, 322  
 Sharma, Vishnu, 354  
 Shastri, Lal Bahadur, 22, 119n  
 Shaw, Robert, 499  
 Shekhar, Chandra, 137, 364, 385, 410, 458, 507  
 Shillong, 500  
 Shimoga, 143  
 Shinde, A. P., 479, 486, 514, 515  
 Shinde, S. S., 494  
 Shiv Sena, 30, 268n, 443  
 shoe industry workers, 289  
 Sholapur, 271  
 Shrimali, K. L., 165, 309, 504  
 Shriniketan, 299n  
 Shukla, B. R., 459, 493  
 Shukla, G. V., 354, 506  
 Shukla, V. C., 114, 157n, 158, 178, 295, 364n, 365, 471, 508, 516  
 Shustari, Mansoor Najefi, 360n  
 Sianfu, 305n  
 Siddiqui, M. K. A., 447  
 Sikar, 322-3  
 Sikkim, 14, 291, 512  
 Silverman, Julius, 355, 513  
 Simla, 98, 264, 283, 345  
 Simons, Lewis, 501  
 Simpson's (Madras), 13n, 55, 224  
 Singapore, 238, 304, 360  
 Singapore Indian Congress, 461  
 Singh, Balbir, 411  
 Singh, Charan, 394, 468, 507  
 Singh, Chattar, 270  
 Singh, Dal, 411  
 Singh, Dev, the landlord, 447  
 Singh, Dinesh, 113  
 Singh, Hariprasad, 182n  
 Singh, Hira, 481  
 Singh, Karan, 61, 62, 109, 251, 273n, 277n, 281, 449, 462, 492, 495, 496, 501  
 Singh, Narendra, 411  
 Singh, N. K. P., 512  
 Singh, Raj Deo, 497  
 Singh, Ranbis, 464  
 Singh, Swaran, 153, 354, 365  
*see also* Swaran Singh Committee

- Singh, Thakur, the landlord, 447
- Singh, T. N., 403
- Sinha, Arun, 8, 495
- Sinha, D. V., 158, 454, 471, 472
- Sinha, Sarat Chandra, 483
- Sinha, Surajit, 310
- Sinha, T. P., 323n
- Siva, 370, 524
- Sivaramabharathy, K. A., 411
- Sivasilam, A., 55n, 224, 449, 477
- slogans, *see* Political slogans
- slums, slum-dwellers, 50-51, 226n, 268-71, 305, 447, 448, 494
- demolition, 51n, 148, 160, 268-71, 279-81, 302, 305, 325, 448, 494, 496, 498; *see also* Property right
- see also* Homelessness
- smallpox, 61
- 'smugglers', 102, 175, 197, 200-201, 377
- Snow, Edgar, 305n
- social security, unemployment insurance, 6, 18, 182, 216n, 415
- 'socialism', 7, 10, 13n, 22, 29, 79, 81-92, 103, 106-7, 137-8, 151n, 184, 196, 217, 229, 230, 257, 265, 277, 295, 299, 305, 313ff, 386, 459, 502
- see also* 'Socialist Republic' of India
- Socialist International, 102
- Socialist Party (SP), 24, 29, 105-6, 143-4, 178, 185, 332, 333, 335, 341-2, 358, 365, 383, 387, 389, 405ff, 515
- 'Socialist Republic' of India, 153, 332, 341
- 'socialization of urban land', 197, 377
- Sokhi, Swaran Singh, 557
- Solomon, Mark, 513
- Sonepat, 510
- Soni, Ambika, 302
- Soudha, Vidhana, 416
- South Asia, 14, 344-8, 356
- South Extension (Delhi), 271
- South Korea, 237, 246, 304, 360
- Southall, 513
- Souza, L. de, 451
- Soviet Union, Indo-Soviet relations, 5, 13-14, 83, 107, 188, 192, 221, 229, 237, 241-2, 243n, 245, 330, 338, 344, 346-51, 359, 363, 432, 439, 490, 511
- 'spirituality', 100n
- Sri Lanka, 2, 11, 109, 344, 438, 502
- Srikakulam, 17, 321
- Srinivasan, 'Bendy', of Ashok Leyland, 55
- Srirangapatnam, 262
- stagnation, *see* Economy - stagnation
- state
- characterization and practices of the, 6, 8, 11-12, 14-15, 23, 80-84, 92-4, 95-6, 100-101, 108-11, 118-21, 138-9, 142, 145, 156, 163-4, 169, 179-80, 182-4, 194ff, 278ff, 315ff, 371ff, 421-36
- violence, 11-12, 14-21, 24, 25-6, 33, 53-8, 68n, 71-2, 76-8, 110, 112-13, 133, 136-7, 143-4, 147, 255,

- 256-82, 293-4, 300-309,  
320-23, 334, 352, 358n,  
360-63, 496; *see also*  
Industry - violence,  
Paramilitary forces,  
Police, Torture
- State Bank of India, 30, 111,  
284
- states' rights, *see* Federalism
- Statesman, 61n, 335
- Steel and Allied Products  
(Calcutta), 289
- steel industry, steelworkers, 195,  
217, 223, 224, 289, 439,  
485
- Stephen, C. M., 468
- sterilization, 160, 222, 271-82,  
286, 306, 320, 326-8,  
495-6, 503, 508  
*see also* 'Family planning'
- stock exchanges, share prices,  
230, 232, 233, 257, 359
- Stolypin, P. A., 366
- stone-breakers, 64, 208
- 'stooge unions', 54-5, 110, 174,  
448  
*see also* Trade unions
- strike, right to, *see* Rights
- strikes, anti-strike measures, 18,  
32, 53-5, 88, 95, 144, 166,  
171, 173, 181, 183-4, 217,  
219, 223, 225n, 240, 248,  
286, 289-90, 304, 306,  
329n, 358, 362, 413-15,  
477, 499
- Strnu the bonded labourer, 447
- structuralism, 262
- Student Federation of India  
(SFI), 144, 166, 441, 502,  
514
- students, student unions, student  
movement, 30, 133, 164-7,  
297-9, 304n, 309, 310, 320,  
360n, 377, 413, 473, 504,  
514
- Subramaniam, C., 1, 2n, 3, 7,  
46, 86, 109, 113, 114, 119,  
190, 227, 230, 233-6, 242,  
243n, 295, 297, 446 *passim*
- sugar, sugar industry, 227, 289,  
359, 421, 486
- suicide, 72-3, 452
- Sukha the bonded labourer, 447
- Sukumaran, police  
superintendent, 322
- Sulku the landlord, 447
- Sultanpur, 328n
- Sun Yat-sen, 81
- Sunkadakatte, 212
- Supreme Court, 22, 133, 145-7,  
150, 254, 278, 342, 372,  
380, 392, 396, 506  
*see also* Judiciary
- Supreme Court bar association,  
509
- Surana, G. M., 486
- surgeons, 297, 501
- Surjit, H. S., 358n
- 'surplus' land, *see* Land -  
'ceilings', Land - reform
- Swamy, Subramaniam, 490, 507,  
515
- Swaran Singh Committee,  
153-4, 332, 340-42, 343n,  
516  
*see also* Constitutional  
amendment
- Swatantra Party, 232, 409
- Sweden, 243n, 428
- Switzerland, 428
- sycophancy, 93, 96-9, 137, 139,  
149, 157, 159, 170, 175,  
260, 284n, 300, 301, 305,  
308, 360

Syed, Ayub, 85n, 193, 197, 200,  
211, 284n, 301n, 479, 498,  
501

Tagore, Rabindranath, 157  
*Tairriya Upanishad*, 35, 521

Taiwan, 237, 246, 515

Taj Hotel (Bombay), 267n

Taj Mahal, ix, 35, 50, 75

Talukdar, B., 411

Tamil Nadu, 15, 105, 169-76,  
219n, 234n, 261, 287n, 289,  
291, 297n, 340n, 415, 445,  
459, 474, 498, 507, 509

Tanagra, 477

Tanjore, 17

Tanwar, Rajender, 323

*Tass*, 232, 233

Tata, J. R. D., 460, 461

Tata, N. H., 223

taxation, tax-evasion, 8, 114,  
197, 199-204, 206, 221,  
223, 228, 230 ff, 251, 335n,  
375, 377, 392, 428-9, 481,  
508

*see also* 'Black money',  
'Economic offenders',  
'Smugglers'

tea-plantations, *see* Plantations

teachers, *see* Education,

Universities

technology, technological  
development, 38-9, 60, 235,  
236n, 238, 242, 261, 296n,  
304n

Telengana, 17

television, 231, 242, 248

tenancy, land tenure, *see*

Economy - rural,

Feudalism, Land - agrarian  
relations, Landlordism

terms of trade, *see*

Exchange-rates, Exports,  
Imports, Trade

Texas, 356n

textile industry, textile workers,  
51-2, 219n, 223, 224,  
289-90, 484

Thakar the landlord, 447

Thane, 494

Thangappan the prisoner, 322

Thanjavur, 17, 475

Thatcher, Margaret, 355

Thavaraj, M. K., 481

Tibetan refugees, 283

Tihar jail (Delhi), 200n, 323,  
332, 360n, 406, 408, 409,  
410

Timarpur police station (Delhi),  
323

*Times, The*, 230n, 269n

*Times of India*, 45, 46, 62, 68n,  
111; 226n, 232, 252, 267,  
338n

*Times of India Year-book*, 13n,  
432

Tinaikar, S. S., 447

Tiwari, Ghanshayam, 322

Tiz Hazari courts (Delhi), 283

tobacco, tobacco workers, 227,  
289

toddy workers, 499

Tohra, G. S., 411

'toning up', 163n, 174, 179, 191

'toppling', 15, 18-19, 169-79,  
341, 474

torture, 19, 94, 105, 107n, 144,  
182, 183, 240, 292, 313-14,  
320-24, 331, 335n, 352,  
359-60, 394, 400-404,  
416-19, 461, 507

*see also* State - violence

'total revolution', *see* Narayan,  
J. P.

- 3, 12-13, 221, 229,  
235-45, 346-8
- deficit, *see* Balance of  
payments
- trade unions, trade unionism,  
12, 18, 21, 24, 30, 53-5, 65,  
110, 130, 133, 134, 160,  
167, 179-84, 185, 199,  
216-19, 231, 232, 283, 286,  
288-91, 332, 343, 357-8,  
413-15, 451, 483, 491, 498,  
514
- see also* Labour and working  
class movement
- 'trains are running on time',  
191, 257, 265, 321, 513
- 'tribal peoples', 46n, 70, 210,  
285, 291, 446, 482, 483
- Trilokpuri, 280
- Tripathi, D. P., 166n
- Tripura, 160, 166, 209
- Trivandrum, 107n, 166, 476
- tuberculosis, 61-2, 66n, 450
- Twenty-Point Programme, 41n,  
100n, 131, 159n, 167, 173,  
187, 193-214, 217-18, 221,  
224, 228, 233, 247, 250,  
263-4, 296, 302n, 303n,  
305, 320n, 330, 338, 366,  
377, 380, 386, 466, 480,  
486
- Twenty-Five-Point Programme,  
25, 195, 319
- Turkman gate (Delhi), 278-81,  
497
- Tyagi, O. P., 463, 480
- Tyler, Mary, 491, 492
- typhoid, 61
- tyre-making industry, 485
- Ulhasnagar, 494
- Unani, 306, 524
- UNCTAD, 239
- 'underdevelopment', *see* British  
rule in India, Economic and  
political dependency,  
Foreign investment,  
Imperialism, Landlordism
- unemployment,  
underemployment, 3, 6, 41,  
45, 48, 54, 57, 66, 72n, 75,  
96-7, 182, 195, 198, 207,  
217, 219, 223-5, 239n, 266,  
288, 320, 369, 438, 452, 508
- insurance, *see* Social security
- United Kingdom, *see* Britain
- United Nations and UN Charter,  
1, 313, 403-4, 468, 504
- UN Declaration of Human  
Rights, 403
- United States of America, *see*  
America
- United Trade Union Congress  
(UTUC), 415
- universities, university teachers,  
30, 133, 138, 143, 154, 160,  
162, 164-9, 304, 309-11,  
323, 360n, 473, 504
- see also* Students
- University Grants Committee,  
168, 473
- 'unlawful encroachments', *see*  
Slums - demolition
- untouchables, 45, 46n, 68, 210,  
212, 213, 285, 482, 495,  
522
- Upaniṣads, 35, 38, 73, 127, 524
- Uṛuṣa epops, 368
- uranium, 239, 346
- Urs, D. Devraj, 111, 305n
- Urs, D. V., 164n
- Uruguay, 362
- Uṣā, 35, 524
- USSR, *see* Soviet Union

- utilitarian argument, 52-3, 71, 73, 87, 135, 138, 141-2, 145, 160, 180, 194ff, 225, 246ff, 264-5, 314, 322, 324-7, 352-3
- Uttaiah, police sub-inspector, 322
- Uttar Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh government, 62, 66n, 71, 96, 204n, 209n, 212, 213, 214, 232, 275, 286, 289, 293, 297, 308, 327, 328n, 336n, 340n, 406, 409, 410, 411, 446, 447, 449, 451, 452, 481, 486, 496
- Uttar Pradesh Debt Relief Ordinance, 46
- Uttar Pradesh Ministers and Legislators (Publication of Assets and Liabilities) Act, 204n
- Vagiswari, A., 445
- Vajpayjee, A. B., 113, 463
- Valivalam, 10
- Valluvar Kottam, 459
- vanaspati*, 424, 524
- Varadarajan, K. V., 55n, 220, 483, 484, 491, 492
- Varanasi, 102, 126-7, 166, 178, 213
- Varma, Ravindra, 404
- vasectomy, *see* Sterilization
- Vasu the prisoner, 322
- Vasus, the, 36, 524
- Vedas*, 36, 98, 524
- Verma, Balind, 469
- Verma, Mahadeo Prasad, 411
- Verma, Nirmal, 506
- Verma, Phool Chand, 411
- Vidyalankar, Amarnath, 484
- Vidyapati, 370
- Vij, Fateh Singh, 412
- Vijayam, Pinari, 412
- Vimadal, Mr Justice, 149n
- violence, *see* 'Goondas', India, Police, State, Torture
- Visakhapatnam, 303
- Vishnoi, Hermant Kumar, 304
- Vishwa Bharati, 501
- Vivekananda, 319n
- 'voluntary disclosure', *see* Taxation
- Vyalikaval, 416
- Wadi, 177
- Wage Freeze Act, 216
- wages, wage cuts, wage increases 3, 6, 18, 43-4, 57, 65, 67, 180, 182n, 207-8, 210, 215-20, 226, 231, 304, 319, 359, 362n, 383, 430, 486
- minimum, 8, 18, 43, 44, 111, 196, 205, 207-8, 214n, 215, 377, 445-6
- see also* Bonus, Income, Real earnings
- Waldheim, Kurt, 504
- Wanchoo Committee, 202
- Wang, Tung-hsing, 347n
- wars between India and its neighbours, 14, 107, 110, 118-19, 346, 436
- Washington, 26, 189, 248, 326n
- see also* America
- water conservation, water supply, *see* Irrigation
- weavers, 52n, 377
- Weimar, 189, 194
- West Bengal, West Bengal government, 5, 6n, 8, 15, 17-20, 44, 87, 105, 111, 163n, 182n, 192, 207, 213, 214, 219n, 223, 225n, 228, 271, 289, 298-300, 302, 308,

- 20, 328n, 330n, 339-40,  
406, 407, 415, 449, 471, 500  
Chief Minister, *see* Ray,  
Biddhartha Shankar  
West Germany, Indo-German  
relations, 2, 5n, 52-3, 235,  
237, 238, 243n, 249, 431,  
435, 488  
'Westminster model', *see*  
Parliamentarism  
Whitelaw, William, 355  
*Why Emergency?*, 27n  
women  
condition of, 37-8, 40, 47, 49,  
60, 65-73, 74, 76-7, 257-9,  
451, 452  
labour, 8, 10, 65-9, 77, 122,  
124-5, 207, 215, 251n, 258,  
451  
Women in India, Committee on  
the Status of, 67, 451  
Woollacott, Martin, 458  
woollen workers, 289  
workers' participation, 199,  
217-18, 247, 377  
working class, *see* Agriculture -  
labour, Children - labour,  
Classes and class struggle,  
Industry - labour, Labour  
and working class  
movement, Trade unions,  
Women - labour  
World Bank, 1, 111, 221, 226,  
229, 239-40, 243-4, 326n,  
437, 515  
World Health Organization  
(WHO), 62, 68, 450  
Works of Defence Act, 114  
Wright, Canon Kenyon, 355  
Yadav, Chandrajit, 114, 250, 253,  
491  
Yadav, D. P., 60n  
Yadav, G. P., 457, 458  
Yadav, Sharad, 412  
Yadava, J. S., 472  
Yama, 110, 524  
Yamuna Nagar, 352  
Yedke, Ganpat Nana, 272  
Yellamma, 70n  
Yeravada prison (Poona), 165,  
453  
yoga, 306, 493  
'Youth Against Famine', 298  
*Youth and Sanjay Gandhi*, 307  
Youth Congress, 16, 20n, 141,  
167, 181, 283, 298, 300ff,  
329, 331, 337-9, 341, 358,  
502, 509  
Yugoslavia, 2



Shesant

laughy - strong

player - most demands

seems 7

calm - most polit

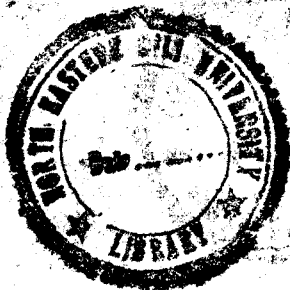
Serge - pulled under lock

day - later

**DIGRETT**

quiet - light

university - month univ



by ~~captain~~ <sup>captain</sup> ~~major~~ <sup>major</sup>



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