



NETAJI SUBHAS OPEN UNIVERSITY

STUDY MATERIAL

**POST GRADUATE
GEOGRAPHY**

Paper : 6

Group : A

**SOCIAL AND CULTURAL
GEOGRAPHY**

PREFACE

In the curricular structure introduced by this University for students of Post-Graduate degree programme, the opportunity to pursue Post-Graduate course in a subject as introduced by this University is equally available to all learners. Instead of being guided by any presumption about ability level, it would perhaps stand to reason if receptivity of a learner is judged in the course of the learning process. That would be entirely in keeping with the objectives of open education which does not believe in artificial differentiation.

Keeping this in view, study materials of the Post-Graduate level in different subjects are being prepared on the basis of a well laid-out syllabus. The course structure combines the best elements in the approved syllabi of Central and State Universities in respective subjects. It has been so designed as to be upgradable with the addition of new information as well as results of fresh thinking and analysis.

The accepted methodology of distance education has been followed in the preparation of these study materials. Cooperation in every form of experienced scholars is indispensable for a work of this kind. We, therefore, owe an enormous debt of gratitude to everyone whose tireless efforts went into the writing, editing and devising of proper lay-out of the materials. Practically speaking, their role amounts to an involvement in 'invisible teaching'. For, whoever makes use of these study materials would virtually derive the benefit of learning under their collective care without each being seen by the other.

The more a learner would seriously pursue these study materials the easier it will be for him or her to reach out to larger horizons of a subject. Care has also been taken to make the language lucid and presentation attractive so that they may be rated as quality self-learning materials. If anything remains still obscure or difficult to follow, arrangements are there to come to terms with them through the counselling sessions regularly available at the network of study centres set up by the University.

Needless to add, a great deal of these efforts is still experimental—in fact, pioneering in certain areas. Naturally, there is every possibility of some lapse or deficiency here and there. However, these do admit of rectification and further improvement in due course. On the whole, therefore, these study materials are expected to evoke wider appreciation the more they receive serious attention of all concerned.

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Vice-Chancellor

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POST GRADUATE GEOGRAPHY

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Notification

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Group – A

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UNIT 1 □ DICHOTOMIES IN GEOGRAPHY : PHYSICAL AND HUMAN, SYSTEMATIC AND REGIONAL, DETERMINISM AND POSSIBILISM

Structure

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1.1 DICHOTOMIES AND DUALISM IN GEOGRAPHY

Introduction— Dualism means the existence of two fundamental principles or concepts often in opposition to each other. The development of dualism and dichotomies in geography has classical antiquity and can be seen in the works of ancient Greek, Arab and Roman geographers. After the post renaissance period, the apparent dichotomies were developed for the different methodologies in the study of geography .Actually, dualism is characteristics of any field of learning, this learning could be diverted to different paths through their distinctive methodologies and give birth to a new form of dualism. In geography of ancient time there were two main themes of study. First, the study of unique things that means about different phenomena in particular places and second, the formulation of general concept by studying particular types of phenomena on the earth surface. So, naturally these two forms of study within a single field gave rise to methodological problem. As Geography is dynamic and complex in nature, its scope to exhibit dichotomies and dualism also increased with the span of time. Some of the important dichotomies in geography are-

- 1 General geography vs. Regional geography
- 2 Physical geography vs. Human geography
- 3 Deterministic geography vs. Possibilistic geography
- 4 Historical geography vs. Contemporary geography
- 5 Study of formal region vs. Functional region.

1.1.1 Dualism between Physical vs. Human Geography

The dichotomy between physical and human geography most probably started from the works of ancient Greek geographers like Hectaeus, Aristotle, Herodotus, Polybius, Strabo etc. Although the basic traditions in ancient Greek worlds were mathematical and literary but in that time scholarly writers also produced topographical descriptions of places in the known world, discussing both natural condition and cultural and the way of life of people living there, (Holt-Jenson, 1981, 9). Division of geography into physical and human branches takes place because of their different methodologies. In studies of natural phenomena, including climate, geology and landforms, it is possible to use the methods of natural science; however, they do not lead themselves very well to the study of social and cultural phenomena. Our generalizations about human groups must be limited in time and space, and must relate to statements of probability rather than certainty (Holt-Jenson, 1981, 13).

The trend of dichotomy between physical and human geography was initiated by the Greeks. In ancient Greek, Hectaeus gave more importance to physical geography, which is clear from his remark that 'we should take stock of what is around us and put the accumulated knowledge about the world together in usable form'. But Herodotus and Strabo were more interested in human geography. According to Strabo 'the geographer must take his point of departure from the man who has measured the earth as a whole.'

Varenus in his 'Geographia Generalis' (1650) first attempted to make essential differences between physical and human geography. Geography, he wrote focuses attention on the surface of the earth, where it examines such things as climate, surface features, water, forests and deserts, mineral, animals, and the human inhabitants. The human habitats of a place include "a description of the inhabitants, their appearances, arts, commerce, culture, language, government, religion, cities, famous places and famous men." (Dickinson and Howarth, 1933, 101)

1.1.2 Followers of the Physical Geography

Kant was considered as one of the supporters of physical geography because of his lectures on physical geography at University of Konigsburg in Germany between 1756 and 1796. But physical geography, as the term was commonly used in Kant's time included not only the features of the earth produced by natural processes, but

also the races of man, and the changes on the face of the earth resulting from human action. Kant saw man and his works in time association with the physical surroundings and he also recognized human action as one of the principle agencies but he made no distinction between them.

Geography, which Humboldt called 'Erdeschreibung' (earth description), dealt with variety of different kinds of interrelated phenomena that exist together in areas or segments of earth space. Carl Ritter also believed in Unity of Nature as Humboldt but he gave more importance to humans.

Elisee Reclus, was the most famous disciple of Carl Ritter .Reclus was credited with his work on systematic physical geography called 'La Terra' (1866-67).His geography put major emphasis on the study of the physical features of the earth's surface .After Reclus, Guyot worked in the field of physical geography, who was the first professor of physical geography and geology at the college of New Jersey (Princeton) from 1854 to1880 .In the time of Julius Frobel (1805-1893) , geography was not merely dualistic but was separated into two branches.

In geography, Darwinism was interpreted primarily as an evolution which was applied in both physical and human geography. The emergence of new geography in Germany had led great development in physical geography. Works of Peschel, Richthofen, Ratzel, Penck, and Hettner enriched this branch.

Peschel was the professor of geography at Leipzig in 1871, and his morphological research created an academic stir in physical geography. He seemed to have recognized the dualism in geography .Peschel excluded the study of man from it, but devoted his scientific energies and his teaching to both.

Richthofen was one of the followers of physical geography; to him geography is the science of earth surface and the things and phenomena that are casually interrelated with it.

Albert Penck is long remembered for his valuable contribution to the development of modern physical geography. He first coined the term geomorphology to refer the origin and development of earth's landform. After that Koppen, Mill, Mortonne, and Davis, were great scholars who put more emphasis on landforms and climates as the major concerns of geography. Koppen made several attempts to provide a satisfactory classification of climates, using temperature distinctions only. William Morris Davis was the professor of physical geography at Harvard university .According to Davis the study of geography is a means for introducing many kinds of physical sciences in a simple coherent frame work. Davis learned from Shaler to see organic life, including man, as a part of the whole physical landscape and thus he began to seek an even larger conceptual structure for geography. He formulated the concept of the cycle of erosion in 1899 to explain the landform development.Mackinder, Chislom, and Herbertson also recognized physical geography as the main field for geographers.

Voeikev and Dokuchaiev were the two most prominent pre-revolutionary Russian geographers who advocated in favour of physical geography, that geographers' should concentrate on the physical aspects of earth's surface. The pre revolutionary tradition of physical geography was carried by I. P. Gerasimov. Systematic studies of climatographic analogue, soil geography, glaciology, geomorphology, and bio geography, accompanied with the universal and generic concepts, appeared to have given a distinct status to physical geography in the Soviet Union.

However, geographers like Wrigley have mentioned that, in physical geography, law statements assume paramount importance in contrast to human geography where these are irrelevant.

1.1.3 Followers of the Human Geography :

Human geography is originated because the geographers were not fully satisfied to consider man as a part of nature but they also wanted to show that the man has the power to change the earth and have the realization of these changes.

Ratzel and Ritter were first to support this view. Ritter's regional geography was centred on men, the aim was to study the earth surface from the anthropocentric standpoint, to seek to relate man and nature and to see the relationship between man and his history and the ground on which he lived (Tatham, 1967, 44).

Ratzel first separated human geography from regional studies. He wrote 'Anthropogeographie' (1882) in which he attempted to develop the new method of natural science with in geography. Ratzel saw man as the end product of evolution, an evolution in which the emphasis was on the natural selection of types according to their capacity to adjust themselves to the physical environment. Kirchhoff studied human geography by the reverse method- by considering human condition in relation to natural condition. He gave more attention to the culture of human groups than to the physical aspects of the earth. This approach was adopted by Ratzel in his second volume of Anthropogeographie (1891) as he attempted to discuss the concentration and distribution of population, settlement, migration and diffusion of cultural characteristics.

French geographer Comte de Buffon in his book "Historic Naturelle" attempted to emphasize the change on the face of the earth by the action of man, in the process of developing civilization. In geography, according to Febvre, "We deal with man's work, man's calculation, man's movement, the perpetual ebb and flow of humanity, man not the soil or climate -is ever in the forefront."

Vidal de la Blache is regarded as one of the founding fathers of modern human geography. Blache pointed out the inherent weakness of the geographic concept of environmental determinism. He realized the futility of setting man's natural surroundings in opposition to his social milieu and of regarding one as dominating

other. His 'Principles de Geographie Humaine' is regarded by geographers as classic. The book deals with study of population density, clusters, major agglomerations in Europe, movements of population in Europe, man- milieu relationship, transport and communications etc. Blache regarded human geography as a natural science (Jenston, 1986, 207)

Jean Brunhes, was one of the out standing pupils of Vidal. He elaborated Blache's idea about human geography. His major work appeared in 1910 with the title "Geographie Humaine: essai de classification positive" He divided the essential facts of human geography into three categories-

1. The facts of the unproductive occupation of the soil: houses and roads (including rural).

2. The facts of plant and animal conquest: the cultivation of the plant and raising of animals.

3. The facts of destructive exploitation: plant and animal devastation, mineral exploitation. (Preston .E James, 1981,250).

Albert Demengeon was one of the students of Vidal de la Blache, Human geography according to him, is the study of human groups and societies in their relationships to the physical environment or geographical milieu. He emphasized the work of man in modifying his environment by means of communication, artesian wells, and the control of rivers and the evolution of new plants for human food. The study has four main aspects-

1. The influence of the geographical milieu on modes of life

2. The changes in the genre de vie under the impact of human milieu.

3. The distribution of human groups as the result of the natural milieu, and the degree of civilization.

4. The establishment in the landscape, due to the impact of the human groups on the land (Adhikari.S.1992, 147).

This dichotomy has worried the German geographers for a long time, but the French geographers stopped worrying about methodological questions of this sort after the death of Vidal in 1920.

In America Mark Jefferson, was the pioneer, with such papers as that of 1909 which dealt with the 'Anthropogeography' of some of the Great Cities .He brought the idea of 'Central places', 'The Primate City', and 'the Civilizing rails' in the field of human and urban geography.

1.1.4 Conclusion

From this discussion it can be properly understood that the human geography

basically deals with the mutual man -nature relationship which is interdependent. Geography studies the “observable-interrelated phenomena” occurring in different locations, on account of man environment relationship on the earth’s surface.

Human geography is inseparable from physical geography because the various phenomena on the spatial section of the earth’s surface have human elements. So, the dichotomy of physical verses human geography is artificial and illogical. The study of only the physical part or only the human part is not possible, because man can modify his physical environment. Without the reference of human activity, study of physical geography remains incomplete and the study of human geography mostly depend on the physical effects on human beings So, both are interrelated. For the survival of geography this dichotomy between physical geography vs. human geography should be eliminated.

1.2 SYSTEMATIC GEOGRAPHY VS. REGIONAL GEOGRAPHY

Systematic and regional geography were formally known as general and special geography. These two terms were first used by Bartholomew Keckermann in his lecture at Dazing in 1603. It is commonly believed that Varenus made use of Keckermann’s work in an organized manner and provided a clean demonstration of the relation between these two points of view (Barker, 1963, 113).

Basically this intellectual problem became of major importance in the early pre classical period of modern geography, as a result of the redundance of new information about specific places and the efforts to generalize this information.

Bernhard Varenus (1622-1650) first raised the dichotomy between systematic and regional geography. Varenus set forth the relationship between geographical writings that describe the characteristic of particular places and those that apply to all places. Varenus in his ‘Geographia Generalis’ (1650) divided geography into general or universal and special or particular branches.

In special or regional geography what Varenus intended was that with the exception of celestial features (climate) things must be proved by experience (by direct observation through the senses). But in systematic geography most things could be proved by mathematical or astronomical laws .Regional has particular importance for government and commerce but it leaves out the fundamentals of this field of study. It was rather difficult to establish laws in regional geography, for explanation must be descriptive where people are involved .Systematic geography provides all the fundamental which regional geography is lacking of, but to be of maximum utility they must be applied .After Varenus, this distinction between the two aspects of

geography was more explicitly stated by Gatter (1773-75), Kurg (1800) and particularly by Bucher (1812).

1.2.1 Followers of the Systematic Geography

Kant (1724-1804) was considered as one of the supporters of systematic geography. According to him Geography is an empirical science, seeking to present a "system of nature" and is a law finding discipline (May, J.A.1970, 147-151).

The leading German scholar Alexander Von Humboldt pointed out that in order to establish the unity of the total cosmos; it seemed more important to make systematic studies of particular kinds of phenomena in their interrelations in areas, than to prepare complete studies of individual areas. Humboldt pointed out that geography regarded all the objects as a natural whole as they stood in areal connection, in part with the earth body, in part with the universe (Hartshorne, 1976, 76-78). Humboldt put more stress on empirically observed facts and followed inductive method which means the logical process using observation of particular initial case in order to infer a general law from them. Humboldt strongly held the concept of 'Unity of Nature'. The phenomena of nature were studied in order to establish the coherence and unity.

Humboldt can also be described as a regionalist, his 'Essai politique su le ile de Cuba' are the major works in regional geography but he always gave greater emphasis on scientific process to indicate the interrelationship of different phenomena in areas. He is credited with having made geography an original and distinctive science, rather than a collection of facts from the physical and biological senses.

In the late nineteenth century, because of the Darwinian influence, geographers made significant contribution to systematic studies in geography. Oscar Peschel seemed to have recognized the dualism in geography. To Peschel, geography was to be a systematic, empirical science, its method, and observation, drawing induction from those observations, and correcting these by still new observation. His enormous respect for natural law led him to attempt causal classification of the life features of the earth's surface.

Richthofen followed the precedent of Humboldt, attempted to revive the close connection of geography to the natural sciences, and at the same time restored the Ritterian tradition. According to Richthofen geography is the science of the earth's surface and the things and phenomena that are casually interrelated with it.

Richthofen attempted to distinguish between the general geography and special geography. According to him general geography is not progressive, it is rather regressive; since it passes from the particular to general, from the condition to cause. It is analytical. Special geography is primarily descriptive and synthetic. To him, the essential observation on which any framework of concepts must be built had to be made in the field in particular areas where the features are unique.

Friedrich Ratzel provided the guideline for a comparable systematic study of human geography. The brilliant generalizations of Ratzel's work was the application of Darwin's biological concepts to human societies. This analogy suggested that groups of human beings must struggle to survive in the particular environments as much as plant and animal organisms must do. Thus, Ratzel initiated a new ground in demonstrating that cultural and natural phenomena that could be subject to systematic study.

During 1950's, systematic studies became much more important in the research and teachings of American geographers. Schaefer, Ullman and Ackerman were the precursors of this new paradigm.

According to Schaefer, a science is characterized by its explanations and explanation requires laws. In geography, the major regularities which are described refer to spatial patterns and hence geography has to be conceived as the science concerned with the formulation of the laws governing the spatial distribution of certain features on the surface of the earth.

Edward Ullman (1953) a professor of geography at University of Washington, thought that geography as areal differentiation implies that 'we are not seeking principles or generalizations or similarities, the goal of all sciences'.

In article in *Geographical Review* on the distribution of population in earth space, the astronomical physicist John, Q. Stewart (1947) told, 'there was no longer excuse for ignoring the fact that human beings obey mathematical rules resembling the 'Primitive laws of physics'. He said Geography as the study of regional uniqueness could never use the methods of physics which depend fundamentally on the recognition of regularities. For geography to be modern science it had to be redefined away from the irregular and towards the study of space as regularity that is space had to be reconceptualized not as the irregular characteristics of natural environments describable in metaphorical, poetical terms, but as distance pure, simple, and quantifiable.

Von Thunen, (1966), Christaller (1933), Alfred Weber (1929) etc. also expressed the notions of spatial regularity.

1.2.2 Followers of the Regional Geography

Ritter was a contemporary of Humboldt. Most of Ritter's earlier works point towards his zeal in the systematic studies. But later he was one of the founders of regional geography and stressed that geography should first concentrate on the study of all the interrelated phenomena to be found in each of all the areas of the world, and then on their basis systematic studies could be made on the relations of individual type of the phenomena.

According to Ritter the aim of geography should be "to get away from mere description to the law of the thing, described, to reach not a mere enumeration of

facts and figures, but together local and general phenomena of the earth surface." Ritter was a regional geographer who gave weight to man as an important component of the physical surroundings.

Hettner was one of the significant regional geographer. He defined geography as the chorological science of the earth's surface, or in other words, geography is the study of the earth (eardkunde) according the causally related differences -the science of areal differentiation of the earth's surface. Actually "the goal of the chorological point of view is to know the character of region and places through comprehension of the existence together and interrelation among the different realms of reality and their varied manifestations, and to comprehend the earth's surface as a whole in its actual arrangement in continents, larger and smaller regions and places" (Hartshorne, 1959, 13).

He pointed out that the systematic sciences ignore the temporal and spatial relationships and find their unity in the objective likeness or similarity of the subjects with which they are concerned.

But it is mainly due to Hettner that dualism, which so long hampered geography has been successfully overcome the problem. However some writers have accused Hettner of defining geography as essentially idiographic (regional) but it is not true. He attempted to make it clear that geography is both idiographic and nomothetic.

Vidal de la Blache seeks to establish geography as a distinct discipline. He rejected the deductive approach of Ratzel and supported inductive and historical method. He studied small natural regions (pays) which are manifestations of intimate relationship between man and nature that developed through the century's. He argued that the study of such small natural region, each of which is unique, should be the task of the geographers. So, he opted for regional geography as the core of the discipline. Man-nature relationship cannot be studied along systematic lines.

Demangeon in support of regional geography wrote 'every region has its unique character to which contribute the features of the soil, atmosphere, plants and man, The aim of all geographical research consists in the analysis of these features. The aim of description is to synthesized these and to show the interlocking of all the phenomena which comprise regional type (Demangeon, 1905).

Jean Brunhes, Sten de Geer etc were the other supporters of regional geography.

In the first half of twentieth century the great supports for regional geography came from the works of Carl O Sauer, Richard Hartshorne and Robert Platt etc. In that time regional geography was transformed from indispensable part of geography to the culminating branch. According to Wooldridge and East, for the general reader, regional geography is and always has been geography par excellence. In Annals of the Association of American geographers (1919) Nevin Fenneman wrote that "The one thing that is first, last and always geography and nothing else, is the study of areas in their compositeness or complexity that is regional geography."

The leading form of regional geography in the Anglo -American tradition was theorized by the eminent geographer Richard Hartshorne (1899-1992).

Hartshorne's 'The Nature of Geography' (1939) was symbolic of a particular style of descriptive regional geography. The main features of Hartshorne's conception of geographical part of knowledge are as follows—

He emphasized that geography seeks to acquire a complex knowledge of the areal differentiation of the worldPhenomena significant to areal differentiation having areal expression (Hartshorne, 1939, 463-5). He again pointed out that the things geographers deal with on the face of the earth are not uniformly distributed over it. The phenomena associated in a particular place are unsystematically related because they are produced by different processes. So, the task for the geographer is to study each process as it operates in particular places.

At last, after long discussion, Hartshorne and Ackerman decided that systematic and regional geography are not separate disciplines rather the parts of geography .Berry does not considered any conflict that exists between regional and systematic geography because they lie at the two extremes of a continuum. Some geographers considered regional geography as the traditional component of geography which was until recently widely considered sine qua non of the discipline. But another groups of geographers also considered that the regional concept is experiencing a reappraisal. Thus the dichotomy of systematic and regional therefore, falls as they do not oppose but support each other in the final analysis, of the subject matter of geography.

1.3 DETERMINISM VERSES POSSIBILISM

Geography is the study of the relationship between man and environment and from ancient time geographers have engaged themselves to study impact of man on environment and vice versa. This study is still relevant for better understanding of the changing pattern of man -environment relationship. Environmental determinism and possibilism are the two mutually exclusive philosophies in human geography, centered on man, whether man is to be looked upon as a 'passive being' or as an 'active force', reacting to his environment and changing it. The philosophy of environmental determinism is, perhaps, the oldest surviving philosophy that can be traced back to the classical antiquity. This idea has been inherited from Greek philosophy that nature is all powerful and not only directed but determined all the human activities. According to Haggett, 'environmentalism is the view that natural environment plays the major role in determining the behaviour patterns of man on the earth's surface'. After Second World War this dichotomy started. On the other hand philosophy of possibilism reflects the view that the pattern of human activity on the earth's surface is the result of the initiative and mobility of man operating within a frame of natural

forces. Without denying the limits every environment sets to man's ambition, they emphasize the scope of man's action rather than these limits. Haggett has defined it as follows, "Possibilism, in contrast to environmentalism, stresses the freedom of man to choose alternative patterns of behaviour despite geographic location (Haggett, 1972, 591).

1.3.1 Supporters of Determinism

Determinism is the oldest surviving philosophy so, it has classical antiquity. First, Greek and Roman scholars attempted to study the impact of nature on man. Hippocrates (420BC) in his 'Airs, Waters and Places' compared the easy going Asiatic living in a very favourable region with the penurious Europeans, with a hard hand of nature upon them. Aristotle in his Politics also showed the difference of colder Europeans with Asians in terms of courage, technical skill, and spirit. The people of Asia are thoughtful, skillful but without spirit. Where as Europeans are brave so they remain free longer than others.

Plato (428-348 BC) insisted that the observable things on the earth were only poor copies of ideas or perfect predicates from which observable things had degenerated or were in the process of degeneration.

Eratosthenes, Strabo, and Ptolemy were the eminent supporters of this view at that time.

The Middle Ages were dark periods for the development of sciences in Europe. But various supports came from Albertus Magnus, Cardinal Pierre d' Ailly, Ibn-Hawqal, Al Masudi, Al- Biruni, Ibn-Batuta, and specially from Ibn-Khaldun, who was the first scholar to have turned his attention specially to man- environment relations. His book 'Muquaddimah' in 1377 begins with a discussion of man's physical environment and its influence and with man's characteristics that is related to his culture or way of living rather than to the environment. During renaissance emphasizing the impact of environmental factors Bodin in 1566 described the peoples of northern lands as brutal, cunning, but gifted with the capacity for separating truth from falsehood. Inhabitants of temperate regions are more talented than those of the north, more energetic than those of the south and they alone possess the prudence necessary for command. Montesquieu, a century later, explained the determining effect of climate and soil on the character of the people as a guide to the law giver. People in cold climate are stronger physically, more courageous, more frank, less suspicious and less cunning than those of the south who are like old men, timorous, weak in body, indolent and passive. The hot climate is the cause of immutability of religion, manners, customs and laws in the eastern countries. He was of the opinion that island peoples are more zealous of their liberties than those of the continents. Kant also described that all inhabitants of hot lands are exceptionally lazy, they are also timid and the same two traits characterize also folks living in the north. From

these basic concepts inherited from Greek philosophers, the nineteenth century geographers developed the concept of deterministic study in a systematic way. Two of such geographers of the early part of the century Carl Ritter and Alexander Von Humboldt known for their 'positivist' approach based on empiricism, had attempted to give a new dimension to the idea of determinism and such hypotheses.

Alexander Von Humboldt (1769-1859), a German geographer, was considered as the pioneer of determinism in geography. In his book *Cosmos*, he described the effect of configuration of the Mediterranean on the evolution of early civilization. He wrote, "the influence of the sea was speedily manifested in the growing power of the Phoenicians and in the rapid extension of the sphere of general ideas."

He believed that the phenomena on the earth's surface were governed by laws, but all these would only become apparent when all facts and relationship had been observed in all parts of the earth. Carl Ritter (1779-1859) a German geographer propounded the influence of environmental factors not only on human activities but also on human character. He was a teleologist, and his views seem to be a manifestation of an implied determinist. Many people said that Ritter was not a determinist because he was much cautious to indulge in facile generalizations. Furthermore, though he was interested in the effect of the earth on man, the reciprocal action of man on earth was to him equally significant. Ritter in fact, pursued 'idealism' in his explanation to this concept of unity of nature vis-a-vis the hypothesis of determinism.

Darwin's ideas revolutionized the early nineteenth century hypothesis on determinism. William Morris Davis, Haeckel, Herbert Spencer, and Ratzel developed the concept of Darwin and established a relationship between Darwinism and Determinism. Fredric Ratzel may be considered as leader of environmentalism. In his 'Anthropogeographie', he showed the influences of the geographical environment upon history. In 1897 Ratzel published his work on political geography where he attempted to show that a state like some simple organisms, must either grow or die and can never stand still, it is the reflection of Darwinian idea of 'selection and struggle'.

Frederic Le Play, Buckle, and Demolins were the great contributors of this approach.

The most influential determinist of the early twentieth century, belonging to the Darwinian- Ratzelian heritage was the American geographer Miss Ellen Semple. In her classical work, 'Influence of geographic Environment' (1911) she noted- "Man is a product of the earth's surface. This means not merely that he is a child of the earth, dust of her dust, but that earth has mothered him, fed him, set him tasks, directed his thought, confronted him with difficulties that have strengthened his body and sharpened his wits, given him his problems of navigation or irrigation and at the same time whispered hints for their solution"(Semple, EC, 1911, P-1-2).

Huntington was often described as an imaginative thinker and interpreter of the

effects of climate on human life. His view is also known as climatic determinism. E. C. Dexter, Albert Brigham, H.J. Mackinder, Mechni Kov, Baranskily, Plekhanov supported the deterministic approach.

Apart from above geographers, several other scholars have supported fully or partially the concept of environmentalism. But with the advancement of knowledge, scientific and technological developments it was realized that man can use nature for his comforts. According to Tatham, although environment undoubtedly influences man, man in turn changes his environment, and the interaction is so intricate that it is difficult to know when one influence ceases and the other begins (Tatham, 1952, P-148). The possibilist paradigm views that the, Physical environment tends to provide the opportunity for a range of possible human responses and that people have considerable discretion to choose between them through their creative genius and creativity (Adhikari.S.2006, P-207).

1.3.2. Supporters of Possibilism

It was not until 1899 that a new dimension to the philosophy of possibilism was added by Paul Vidal de la Blache by the work of other geographers like Montesquieu, Comte de Buffon, George Perkins Marsh and Alfred Kirchoff. As opposed to the environmental determinism of the Darwinian-Ratzelian heritage, Blache set forth a conceptual frame work of possibilism which was later fully developed by a critical historian Lucien Febvre. Blache said that the physical environment provided a range of possibilities which man turned to his use according to his needs, wishes and capabilities in creating his habitat. He also said that in an area of human settlement, nature changed significantly because of the presence of man, and these changes were greatest where the level of material culture of the community was highest. According to him "nature is never more than an advisor." Febvre in his book 'Geographical Introduction to History' explained the man -environment relationship in a new form, when he wrote 'man is a geographical agent and not the least. He everywhere contributes his share towards investing the physiognomy of the earth with those 'changing expressions' which is the special charge of geography to study. He again proposed that 'there are no necessities but everywhere possibilities, and man as a master of these possibilities is the judge of their use.'

According to Brunhes 'we must add to the group of material forces whose incessant interplay we have seen this new force, human activity, which is not only a material thing, but which also expresses itself through material effects' (Brunhes, p27). American geographer Isaiah Bowman was a staunch admirer of the French possibilist paradigm. In his 'geography and the Social Sciences', Bowman stated 'as knowledge of the world spread, the association of event or condition with place widened, they became more complex, they had less or more significance with respect to mankind.'

Carl .O Sauer, and V.Whittlesey also supported the view of Possibilism, but like determinism, Possibilism is also an extreme concept and soon people realized that the impact of nature cannot be ignored. Man can use nature but there is a certain limit to such utilization. Striking a balance between extreme Determinism and extreme Possibilism, Griffith Taylor developed a new philosophy, called 'stop and go determinism' or 'neo-determinism', in the early 1940's.It may be, he stated that the well endowed parts of the world offer a number of different possibilities for making a living, but in some nine tenths of the earth's land area nature speaks out clearly: This land is too dry, too cold or too wet, or too rugged. Any settlers who fail to heed this nature-given limitation must face disaster. Debate on environmental determinism and Possibilism continued into 1960's, 1970's and 1980's and was actively pursued in the United Kingdom in the first decade after the Second World War.

O.H.K. Spate in 1957 proposed the philosophy of Probabilism in which physical environment is not considered as powerful to determine every human actions, it does, nevertheless make some responses more likely than others- 'human action was represented as not choice or compulsion, but a balance of probabilities. Haggett said 'Probabilism is a compromise position between environmentalism and possibilism that assigns different probabilities to alternative patterns of geographic behaviour in a particular location or environment.'Fleure, Spate, Woolridge and East, Roxby and Herbertson have expressed their ideas on man-environment relationship in terms of man's adjustment to nature and have also given due weightage to the modern scientific development. Thus the debate among geographers about whether people are free agents in their use of earth (environment) or whether there is a 'nature's plan slowly dissolved as the antagonists realized the merits in each case.

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UNIT 2 □ LANDSCAPE MORPHOLOGY—CULTURAL EXPRESSION OF CARL SAUER

Structure

- 2.1 The Morphology of Landscape
- 2.2 Concept
- 2.3 Conclusion
- 2.4 Selected Reading

2.1 THE MORPHOLOGY OF LANDSCAPE

Introduction—Landscape is a polysemic term referring to the appearance of an area, the assemblage of objects used to produce that appearance and the area itself.

Carl O Sauer (Dec 24, 1889 July, 18 1975) an American geographer introduced the term 'Morphology of landscape' in 1925. The influential article drew on the concept of 'land schaft' developed by German geographers most predominantly Passarge and Schuler. Carl Sauer used the term 'landscape' to denote the concept of geography to characterize the particularly geographic association of facts and suggested that equivalent term for landscape might be area or region. Sauer's thinking about cultural particularism and relativism was influenced by the work of Alfred Kroeber (1876-1960) and Robert Lowie (1883-1957). They were the members of the anthropology faculty at University of California. Kroeber was keen to explore how the particular associations of cultural traits are mapped the distinctive feature of particular people, but also how those traits interacted to map the total way of life, of a tribe of Californian Indians or the first peoples to domesticate plants. Kroeber put it this way. The concept of cultural area is a means to an end. The end may be the understanding of cultural processes as such, or of the historic events of cultures. A few years later Carl Sauer echoed these words precisely -a geographer 'is interested in discovering different patterns of living as they are found over the world -cultural areas. Geographer is, therefore, properly engaged in charting the distribution over the earth of the arts and artifacts of man to learn whence they came and how they spread what their contexts are in cultural and physical environments. Sauer went back to the writing of Passarge's land schaft, chorology (the science of region) associated with Richthofen, and studies of how natural landscape are transformed into cultural ones, associated with Hettner to conceive geography as a cultural history in its regional articulation.

2.2 CONCEPT

Sauer used the term 'landscape' to denote the unit concept of geography, to characterize the particularly geographic association of facts and suggested that equivalent terms for landscape might be area or region. Sauer was a fierce critic of environmental determinism, which was the prevailing theory in geography when he began his career. He proposed instead an approach variously called 'Landscape Morphology' or 'Cultural history'. This approach involved the inductive gathering of facts about human impact on the landscape over time. His goal was to re-establish geography as a respective science - a task all the more important because no other discipline had claimed for itself the 'section of reality' that comprise geography. That section of reality -one that he asserted was 'naively given' by the very nature of the world -was the landscape (Leighly,1963,316-17) Sauer therefore argued that the task of geography was to establish 'a critical system which embraces the phenomenology (science of phenomena which can be perceived as objects, occurrences or facts) of landscape in order to grasp in all of its meaning and colour the varied terrestrial scene' (Leighly, 1963,320).

The first step in the Morphology of Landscape approach was to make an elementary distinction between the cultural and natural landscape. According to him - "The design of landscape includes 1. The features of the natural area and 2. The forms superimposed on the physical landscape by the activities of man, the cultural landscape. The man is the latest agent in fashioning of the landscape"(Sauer: 1927,186)

In the Morphology of Landscape, Carl Sauer presented his model on the derivation of a cultural landscape. In this model it is shown that the culture is the factor that begins the process. Sauer downplayed the subjective aspects of the concept of landscape and stressed that landscape was an objective area to be studied scientifically through observation .In case of landscape morphology it has to be studied as an area made up of a distinct association of forms both physical and cultural. Sauer's position was that geographers should proceed genetically and trace the development of a natural landscape into a cultural landscape.

Actually the natural landscape existed as pure natural only before the introduction of man's activity in a particular area .Any natural scene Sauer averred, begins as a set of factors, geognostic (the underlying geology), climate, vegetation and so on. Over time these factors interact with each other to create the specific landscape forms (climate, geomorphic features, soil, specific association of vegetations etc.) that comprise the morphology -the shape and structure of the natural landscape itself. Such description of natural landscape (including the description of the processes a work overtime that give shape and structure to them) was according to Sauer, merely preliminary. The natural landscape is being subject to transformation at the hands of

man, the last and for us (geographer) the most important morphological factor which can change the shape and structure of physical landscape. By his culture man makes use of the natural forms, in many cases alters them, and in some destroys them.

The cultural landscape is fashioned from a natural landscape by cultural groups. Sauer wrote, 'Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium and the cultural landscape is the result.....The natural landscape of course is of fundamental importance, for it supplies the materials out of which the cultural landscape is formed. The shaping force however lies in the culture itself. Every social group imparts its cultural imprint on the natural landscape. In time this imprint produces what Sauer called a cultural landscape, which includes settlement patterns, distinctive structures, and transportation systems, all attributes of a society. The cultural landscape is therefore an effect and culture (working with and against nature) is a cause upon which we look. Sauer developed a powerful methodology for understanding the processes through which landscape is developed.

FACTOR	MEDIUM	FORMS
Culture -time-	Natural landscape	...Population density, mobility, housing ...Cultural Plan, structure, Landscape production, Communication etc.

Carl Sauer's schematic representation of the morphology of landscape (Mitchell, 2000, 29) notes that in contrast to environmental determinism, 'culture' becomes the primary agent of change and the results of that change -the cultural landscape is what is to be explained.

Over time the cultural landscape has changed and has become complex with each 'introduction of a different- that is alien culture' in an area a "rejuvenated of the cultural landscape sets in, or a new landscape is superimposed on remnants of an older one" (Leighly, 1963, 343).

Sauer and his numerous students developed the methodology laid down in *The Morphology and Landscape* to show how cultural development and transformation is (including conquest of indigenous peoples by imperial powers) constantly created and recreated at the places and landscapes where people live.

According to Mitchell, if Sauer's 'morphology' directed geographers to a more subtle notion of causality than that espoused by environmental determinism a notion that sought to understand how people lived in place and thus shaped it, rather than vice-versa - and if it also directed attention to the agency of human cultures, it also reasserted a renewed importance for descriptive studies. After all, one of the purposes of studying the landscape was to determine just what the evidence of 'culture' was.

Sauer himself suggested that geographers needed to concern themselves with the description of cultural forms that comprise the landscape. This is a strictly geographic way of thinking of culture.

2.3 CONCLUSION

Time and change are basic concepts of Carl Sauer's cultural landscape. The roots of Sauer's anti-evolutionism are found in his early rejection of environmental determinism for an empiricist and chorology of material culture traits and in his connection with contemporary anthropologies. 'The morphology of landscape' is of great importance because it essentially ended with the influence of environmental determinism in American geography. Sauer was the important founder of two geographical sub disciplines, cultural ecology and cultural geography. He was also one of the first geographers to express concern about the negative impacts of cultures on the natural environment. At his death in 1975, the American people as a whole lost one of the most articulate scholars this century has yet produced.

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UNIT 3 □ HARTSHORNE—SCHAEFER DEBATE ON REGIONAL DIFFERENTIAL AND SPATIAL ORGANIZATION

Structure

- 3.1 Hartshorne—Schaefer Debate (Regional tradition : Areal differentiation)**
- 3.2 Spatial tradition**
- 3.3 Conclusion**
- 3.4 Suggested Reading**

3.1 HARTSHORNE—SCHAEFER DEBATE (Regional tradition : Areal differentiation)

The significance of the Hartshorne-Schaefer debate in the development of tradition in geography after World War -II focused on a shift from a more idiographic, specific perspective to a more nomothetic, law making, and generalized perspective.

Regional tradition : Areal differentiation-during 1920's the focus of many American geographers moved away from man land relationship to a concern with regional studies. In the late 1930's, Richard Hartshorne wrote a monograph 'The Nature of Geography : A critical survey of current thought in the light of the past' (1939) which sought a logical rationale for geography as an academic study. For nearly two decades this work was cited as defining areal differentiation as the main stream of geographical scholarship.

According to Nicholas Entrikin (1989) it was symbolic of a particular style of descriptive regional geography with roots in German geography, especially the ideas of Alfred Hettner. Hettner defined geography as the study of the earth's surface, according to the causally related differences—the science of areal differentiation of the earth's surface. According to Hartshorne- "Geography seeks to acquire a complex knowledge of the areal differentiation of the worldphenomena significant to areal differentiation having areal expression. Consequently, geography depends first and fundamentally on the comparison of maps. In systematic geography, each particular element or element complex, that is geographically significant, is studied in terms of it's relation to the total differentiation of areas. In regional geography, all the knowledge of the interrelation of all features at given places— obtained in part from the different systems of systematic geography is integrated, in terms of the interrelations which

these features have with each other, to provide the total geography of those places (Hartshorne 1939, 463-5). He stated that geography is basically a regional study dealing with unique combination (interrelations) of characteristics in specific areas of the earth's surface; it is also largely descriptive 'no universals need to be evolved', other than the general law of geography that all areas are unique', (Hartshorne 1939, 468). Hartshorne contented that the purpose of geography is to provide accurate, orderly and rational descriptions and interpretations of areal or regional variability, it seeks to acquire a complete knowledge of the areal differentiation of the world, and therefore discriminates among the phenomena that vary in different parts of the world in terms of the geographic significance, i.e. their relation to the total differentiation of areas. The principal purpose of the geography, according to this tradition, is synthesis, as an integration of relevant characteristics to provide a total description of a place - a region - which is identifiable by its peculiar combination of those characteristics.

There is a close parallelism between history and geography. While history organizes facts chronologically, geography organizes them chorologically. So, history provides a synthesis for temporal sections of reality where as geography studies the spatial sections of the earth's surface.

This regional tradition became very popular and many research works emerged in the fields of urban geography, political geography, and social geography. While defining the 'new' field of social geography, Watson (1953) saw it 'as the identification of different regions of the earth's surface according to associations of social phenomena related to the whole environment.

3.2 SPATIAL TRADITION

This tradition had faced sudden death because of the emergence of a new research tradition in the mid 1950's, in the form of the single *Annals* article published in 1953 by a scholar Fred Schaefer, entitled 'Exceptionalism in geography, A methodological examination. (In the *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 43, 226-244)

In his paper he argued that the regional tradition implied the study of inherently unique or exceptional objects, regions and science is about the construction of generalization that cover groups of objects. He then pointed out that the object of such geographical study "to claim that findings of the individual systematic sciences were arrogant and that in any case its products were somewhat lacking instartlingly newer and deeper insights".

So, from regional traditions all of us can construct different boundaries to any region, such as the Great Central Valley (e.g. fluvially, structurally and politically);

and justify our choices logically and there is no universal way to choose one set of boundaries over another.

Schaefer believed that as a social science, geographic research should explore regularities in spatial patterns. The definition of geography should not emphasize chorology as advocated by Hartshorne, but rather it should be developed as a science of those factors governing the spatial distribution of certain features on the surface of the earth. It is the spatial arrangement of phenomena, not the phenomena themselves, that Schaefer believed should be the subject of the geographers' search for generalizations. Geographic methodology should be the basis for formulating generalization that can be stated as hypotheses to be tested against a large number of cases. If the hypotheses can be verified, it should be possible to formulate geographic theory.

Debate

Hartshorne claimed that geography does not share the methodology of other sciences because of the peculiar nature of its subject matter which include the study of unique places or region. But Schaefer opined that geography is not peculiar in its focus on unique phenomena; all sciences deal with unique events which can only be accounted for by an integration of laws from various systematic sciences, but this does not prevent the development of those laws. In case of history, historians must integrate laws of social science to explain what happened at a certain time.

Schaefer also pointed out some problems of applying nomothetic approach to geography as a spatial social science. These problems include experimentation, quantification and methodological selection.

In the three of his major publications (1955, 1958 and 1959), Hartshorne expressed his reaction to Schaefer's attack and criticism to his regional paradigm. He claimed that Schaefer's view ignores the normal standards of critical scholarship, and in effect offers nothing more than personal opinion, thinly disguised as literary and historical analysis (S.A.P.207).

Hartshorne's most bitter rebuttal of Schaefer's criticism was published in his monograph entitled 'Perspective on the Nature of Geography' (1959) in which he defined geography as that discipline which "seeks to describe and interpret the variable character from place to place of the earth as the world of man." He considered that human and natural factors do not have to be identified separately - any prior insistence on this was a function of the arguments of environmental determinism. He made an important distinction between 'expository' description and 'explanatory' description. 'Geography is primarily concerned to describe the variable character of areas as formed by existing features in interrelationships.....explanatory description of features in the past must be kept subordinate to the primary purpose'. Thus historical geography

should be the expository description of the historical present but the purpose of such dips into the past is not to trace developments or seek origins but to facilitate comprehension of the present. But the spatial tradition of Schaefer encourages the kind of specialization that can get you to the research frontier in a particular topic. The particular spatial distributions can be strictly human phenomena (language, religions, etc.), strictly natural phenomena (earthquake epicenter, vegetation association etc) or some sort of relationship between society and nature. So, any geographer does not have to learn about everything else in a region.

On the question raised by Schaefer 'Does geography seek to formulate scientific laws or to describe individual cases ? Hartshorne replied in the negative and pointed out the following difficulties in establishing such laws through geographical investigation-

1. Scientific laws must be based on large number of cases, but geographers study complex integrations in unique places.
2. Scientific laws can be best established in laboratory experiments which allow only a few independent variables to vary, but such type of work is impossible in geography.
3. Interpretation requires skills in the systematic sciences which are beyond the capacity of geographers and
4. Scientific laws suggest some kind of determinism but this is inappropriate to the human motivations which are in part the causes of landscape variation.

For these reasons the search for laws is irrelevant to geography. Hartshorne's was a positive view of geography; geography is what geographers have made it. Schaefer's was a normative theory of what geography should be, irrespective of what it had been (Johnston, 1983).

3.3 CONCLUSION

'Universities were expected to produce problem-solvers.....Statistics and models were ideal tools.....' Hence the shift to Schaefer's utilization of numbers and laws-making from Hartshorne's observational approach. Academia wanted more concrete proof of data and theory than the earlier approach could provide and wanted to complete more 'scientific' in their approaches to problem solving. After the Hartshorne-Schaefer debates of the early 1950's there began an evolution from the qualitative approach to quantitative approach in geography. Geography was able to expand to a larger degree with the invention of new technology, most notably GIS (Theriston). This spatial tradition enjoyed the dominance from the late 1950's to the mid 1970's but this dominance has been challenged since the 1970's by various radical, post

modern, and deconstructionist approach, many forms which attack the legitimacy of science it self.

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UNIT 4 □ NOMOTHETIC AND IDIOGRAPHIC APPROACHES IN GEOGRAPHY ; SYSTEM AND ECOLOGICAL APPROACHES IN GEOGRAPHY.

Structure

- 4.1 Nomothetic and Idiographic approaches in Geography**
 - 4.1.1 Development of Idiographic approach**
 - 4.1.2 Development of Nomothetic approach**
 - 4.1.3 Conclusion**
- 4.2 Ecological approaches in Geography**
- 4.3 Concept and Meaning of Ecology.**
 - 4.3.1 Geography and Ecology**
- 4.4 Systems approach in Geography**
 - 4.4.1 Application of Systems in Geography**
 - 4.4.2 Conclusion**
- 4.5 Suggested Reading**

4.1 NOMOTHETIC AND IDIOGRAPHIC APPROACHES IN GEOGRAPHY

Geography deals with the phenomena which occur in association on the Earth's surface, with distinct areal expressions and variations. But to study these phenomena some specific approaches are needed. More than twenty four centuries ago different ancient Greek scholars from Miletus like Thales, Anaximander, and Hactaeus represented the apparent dualism between those who seek to formulate generalizations and those who seek to describe unique things. In modern times these two points are described as nomothetic meaning law seeking and idiographic, meaning descriptive things.

There was a great controversy among the historians about the methodology of study. In the latter part of the nineteenth century Windelband, Dilthey, Rickert and other historians, chose to differentiate between those subjects which they regarded as idiographic method (the exploration of particular connection) and those which were

concerned with establishing generalization and were nomothetic in character. The term 'idiographic and nomothetic' were first used by Wilhelm Windelband in 1894.

In geography, although these two approaches appeared at Miletus more than twenty four centuries ago but the dualism developed only in the late eighteenth century in an organized manner.

The idiographic or empirical approach places primary emphasis on the description of particular grouping of nations and people in terms of lands, seas, countries and places. It does not seek to develop laws but to find out how phenomena account for the *genus loci*, the character of a place and its relation with other places.

The nomothetic approach seeks to establish theories relevant to the location and interrelation of places and to establish laws and make deduction on the basis of laws. These are the basic and traditional approaches in all geographical inquiry and their contrast and conflict have become more marked and difficult to bridge as knowledge of the surface of the earth has increased (Adhikari, S. 1992, p-65).

4.1.1 Development of Idiographic Approach

Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) is regarded as father of exceptionalism. Exceptionalism is the belief that geography and history are methodologically distinct from other sciences because they are peculiarly concerned with the study of the unique and particular.

Kant apparently characterized the position of both geography and history in relation to the other sciences as follows: 'We may classify our empirical knowledge in either of two ways; either according to conceptions or according to time and space in which they are actually foundThrough the former we obtain a system of nature, such as the Linnaeus, through the latter, a geographical description of nature.....Geography and history fill up the entire circumference of our perception: Geography that of space, history that of time (Hartshorne, 1939, 134-5)'.

Kant opined that geography is a spatial science and deals with particular things rather than mere descriptions for generalization or explanation. The Kantian thesis was apparently used by Hettner to establish that geography, along with history and certain other disciplines, was an idiographic rather than a nomothetic science.

In the nineteenth century's Germany, there emerged a new concept of new Kantianism, the followers of it, made a distinction between the cultural and historical sciences with physical sciences. The cultural and historical sciences deal with an intelligible world of 'non sensuous object of experience' which have to be understood so, they are idiographic. The natural sciences deal with the 'sensible world of science' which could be explained and which is thus concerned with the nomothetic.

But the Kantian thesis became important during the 1920's and 1930's because of

the strong reaction against so called determinist school and a consequent rejection of crude laws put forward as aids to explanation by writers such as Semple, Huntington and Griffith Taylor. Research thus tended to focus on small areas and this type of research generally included the uniqueness of areas and the idiographic method as its major tool.

French geographer Vidal de la Blache adopted this method and supported the idea of small natural regions (pays). Such small natural regions are manifestations of intimate relationship between man and nature that is developed through the centuries. The study of such small natural regions, each one of which is unique, should be the task of geographers. Lucien Gallois, Jean Brunhes, Camille Vallan etc were the supporters of Vidal.

According to Hartshorne, the ultimate purpose of geography is to study of areal differentiation of the world. Phenomena significant to areal differentiation have areal expression—not necessarily in terms of physical extent over the ground, but as a characteristic of an area of more or less definite extent. Some writers have accused Hettner of defining geography as essentially idiographic. Both Hettner and Hartshorne considered region to be a functional unit -an organism which was more than the sum of its parts. Sauer pointed out in 1925 that although geography was formerly devoted to descriptions of unique places as such the geographers had for a long time been seeking to formulate illuminating generalizations about the earth and man's place on it (Sauer 1925, 27).

4.1.2 Development of Nomothetic Approach

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, research workers attempted to develop the subject as a nomothetic science to a greater extent than might have been expected because of the Darwinian impact on geographical research. Scientists were looking for the governing laws of nature (and the materially conditioned social laws) and to considerable extent adopted a nomothetic or law - making approach. The contributions of Peschel, Richthofen, Ratzel, Gerald and Partsch etc are important in this sense.

At that time the inductive explanation was replaced by hypothetic -deductive method, which was especially a characteristic of the natural sciences. Scientific knowledge, obtained through the hypothetic -deductive explanation is a kind of controlled speculation. The method, known as positivism, was developed by a group of philosophers working in Vienna during the 1920's and 1930's (Harvey, 1969, 35). It is based on a conception of an objective world in which there is order, waiting to be discovered.

According to Schaefer, geography should be conceived as the science concerned with formulation of the laws governing the spatial distribution of certain features on

the surface of the earth. It is these spatial arrangements of phenomena and not the phenomena themselves, about which geographers should be seeking to, make law like statements.

Schaefer, with his 'spatial organization paradigm' initiated what may be called the quantitative and theoretical revolution in geography which replaced an earlier idiographic concern with areal differentiation by a nomothetic search for models of spatial structure. E.Lullman, Garrison, Jhon.Q.Stewart, Christaller, Zipf, B.L.J. Berry, M.Dacey, R.Morrill, W.Tobler, W.Warntz etc were important researchers who attempted to make geography as a law making discipline by producing different theories and models.

So, the new quantitative geography aimed at analyzing spatial data, development of spatial theory, construction and testing of mathematic models of spatial process - reflective of a paradigm-shift from the earlier regional inductive approach to systematic and deductive nomological approach (Fotheringhaur,2000).

4.1.3 Conclusion

Despite the dichotomies, the period from 1960 experienced a vigorous expansion of geographical research using quasi-scientific methods with emphasis on the law-seeking approaches and model based paradigms. Geographers were over many years concerned with the term 'uniqueness' because geographical phenomena on the surface of the earth are unique and distinguishable, as well as complex in character and causation. It is the idiographic attitude (Hartshorne, 1939/1961, 378-97). But this approach is not totally correct because a collection of unique causes might nevertheless confirm or reject a hypothesized relationship. If the causal relationships were themselves unique and changed inconsistently from place to place and from time to time then hypothesis testing would not be possible and in case of nomothetic or law seeking approach, generalization considering geographical system is always not possible because it is a dynamic system and change in all the variables are not equal.

Every observation has to do with things that are unique in time and place. But it is not even possible to identify any other feature as unique until there is some kind of empirical generalization with which to compare it. A very fundamental part of the scientific method consists in learning how to distinguish the relevant from the irrelevant, and this cannot be done with out a frame work of ideas. Geographers have always observed unique things, but they have also sought to formulate those illuminating concepts that make sense out of the apparent disorder of indirectly related parts. So, according to Hettner and Hartshorne geography is both idiographic and nomothetic, as indeed almost all other fields of learning must be (Hartshorne, 1959, 146-172).

4.2 ECOLOGICAL APPROACH IN GEOGRAPHY

Ecological approach is considered as recent progeny of geographical approaches and the main theme of this approach is to view the man -environment relationship in a single frame work of organic system. This organic system or ecosystem have been present since the non human world .In geography organic analogies have been considered antiquity but its application increased after the Darwinian revolution .Organic theories of the state go back at least to Plato and formed the basis of Hobbes's Leviathan in pre Darwinian times. After Darwin, Freidrich Ratzel in Germany, E.C.Semple in the USA, and E. Huntington in great Britain used the natural laws over every thing else.

As against this environmental deterministic view another view was also developed stating that the physical environment tends to provide the opportunity for a range of possible human responses and on the basis of intelligence, creativity people have to choose between them. This is known as possibilism and the supporters of this view were Vidal de la Blache, Jean Brunhes, Lucien Febvre etc.

So, from this two opposite views another view is developed as alternative approach to central theme in geographical inquiry, that of the relationship of man and environment in area. This approach is not similar to environmentalism rather it should be viewed in the sense that man and environment are inseparable and are constituents of the same organic system. One of today's major problems concerns the influence of scientific and technological progress of the environment or biosphere. As a result of revolution in science and technology, mankind's interaction with its environment is becoming complex, and due to the rapid industrialization, advancement of civilization, urbanization etc. one can observe shortage of natural resources, decline in their reproduction ,and a deterioration in their quality that exert a toxic influence on living organisms including man. In Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference (1996)

David Harvey draws our attention to four facets of the interactions among living organism that create the complexity of the world. These are—

1. Competition and the struggle for existence (the production of hierarchy and homogeneity)
2. Adaptation and diversification into environmental niches (the production of diversity)
3. Collaboration, Cooperation and mutual aid (the production of social form)
4. Environmental transformation (the production of nature) (Harvey 1996, p 190)[1]

Man as one of the parts of natural environment so, thus requires a clarification of the meanings which are attached to the concept of ecological approach.

4.3 CONCEPT AND MEANING OF ECOLOGY

In 1859 St. Hilaire Isodore Geoffroy, a French Zoologist proposed the term 'ethology' for the study of the relations of organisms within the family and society in the aggregate and in the community. The term ecology was coined by combining two Greek words 'okios' (meaning house or dwelling places) and 'logos' (meaning the study of) to denote the relationship between the organisms and their environment. Although there is some controversy about the original coining of the term but there is consensus that German biologist Ernest Haeckel first gave substance to this term. He used this first in 1886 but defined for the first time in 1870. Some of the important definitions of ecology are-

1. Ecology is defined as the study of the relations of the organisms or groups of organisms to their environment or the science of the interrelations between living organism and their environment (Odum).
2. Ecology is the study of plants and animals in relation to their environment (Haggett)
3. Ecology is the science of the mutual relationship of organisms to their environment (Monkhouse and Small).

The term ecosystem was proposed by A.G Tansley in 1935 in his book 'Ecology' and once again in 1946 in his book 'Plant ecology'. He said "ecosystem as a general term for both the biome the whole complex of organism -both animals and plants - naturally living together as a sociological unit [2] and its habitat. All the parts of such an ecosystem organic and inorganic, biome and habitat, may be regarded as interacting factors which in a mature ecosystem, are in approximate equilibrium: it is through their interaction that the whole system is maintained[3]."

From the concept of ecosystem we can get four properties or pillars of geographical investigations. These are -

1. Monistic view : Because ecosystem brings environment, man, plant and animal world in a single frame work, so it is considered as monistic and closes the age old dualism between determinism and possibilism.
2. Structure : Ecosystem is structured in a more or less orderly, rational and comprehensible way. From geographical point of view if the structures are identified then they may be investigated and studied.
3. Function : In ecosystem, there is continuous flow of matter and energy. So, from the input and output of matter and frame work of the system we can quantify the interactions and interchanges between component parts.
4. General system : Ecosystem is an open system and in a steady state possesses the property of self regulation, i.e. homeostatic mechanism. In geography, the study of ecosystem is important to explain the cause —effect relationship.

The evolution of the concept of “ecology” appears to have passed through the followings stages.

Stage -1 :

In the second half of the nineteenth century (1859) Darwin’s second major theme which made significant contribution to geography was the idea of organization and ecology which dealt with the interrelationship between all living things and their environment. Huxley in his ‘Man’s Place in Nature’ (1863) attempted to show how man had emphatically become a subject for scientific speculation, and Darwin treated modern man on the same level as other living things. [4]

Stage -2 :

Marxism, which created a scientific understanding of the laws that govern social development, distinguishes between man and the remaining world of animals. It views man as a socio biological phenomenon and human population above all as social formation. In this way it placed boundaries on the sphere to which a bio ecological approach may be applied in explaining the conditions of man’s existence and especially the major characteristic of social life. [5]

Stage -3 :

Recent studies of the substance of the present revolution in science and technology and its influence on environment have widened the concept of ecology and have led to the use of different terms like Human Ecology, Social Ecology, and Political Ecology etc.

The term Human Ecology was proposed by Harlan H Barrows in his presidential address before the Association of American Geographers in 1922. ‘Adjustment’ as Barrows used the word was not caused by physical environment but was a matter of human choice. Barrows felt however, that although the subject matter of geography had been lost in other disciplines, so, he sought for a unifying theme that would bring coherence to the study of geography. The unifying thing, he argued, could be provided by restricting attention to human ecology (Preston .E.James) [6]

The concept of Social Ecology came in to scientific uses in 1920’s by the work of American urban sociologist R E Park and E W Burgess. Social ecology is defined as a set of socio-ecological laws which may not fit into the old scheme of hard and first divisions of laws in to social and natural. These may be termed as socio-natural laws, maintaining the integrity of society-nature system. This society-nature relationship is viewed as constant rise and resolution of an ecological contradiction by ever better means leading to the gradual evolution of the organic world. [7]

Political ecology looks ecology to provide both knowledge about nature and theoretical analogies that can be applied to the study of culture and society, this has not led to much conversation between the disciplines.

Stage-4 :

The ecological approach has gained momentum during late 1960's to 1970's .In that time there was a great controversy developed between environmental protection and development. People began to think that the human existence would be threatened unless they adjust their relationship with environment. Different conventions and conferences have increased the importance of ecological approach in geography .Among those the most important are Stockholm conference (1972), Rio de Janeiro (1992), Kyoto Protocol (1997), Johannesburg earth summit (2002) etc. The public representation has been crucial to its successful vascularisation and its expanding influence. Ecology has entered the public imagination through a number of routes - popular books like Rachel Carson's Silent Spring (1962), Paul and Anne Ehrlich's work, natural history, documentary film and television (Mitman, 1999). [8]

Because of the impact of this awareness programme, the direction of researches in ecological studies in geography inclined around some of the comprehensive fields like bio diversity, climatic change assessment, Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), Carrying Capacity, Sustainability etc.

4.3.1 Geography and Ecology

Geography has always studied the environment taken as a whole (as a system) including its natural and anthropogenic (technogenic) components. Ecological approach in geography means to look the whole things on the earth surface including society, culture, institution, and economy at ecological point of view to over come the problems of resource crisis, adverse environmental conditions etc. Geographers have suffered from tensions between nomothetic and ideographic commitments because theoretical statements are now often made in mathematical form. So geographers should have their own contribution in the sense that ecology is not totally similar with geography though they are interrelated. Actually ecology deals with natural systems, where as geography deals with man's interactions with natural system.

Harvey's suggestion that we can find a common language in recognizing competition, adaptation, and the productions of the social forms and environmental transformation as points of shared insight should be pursued.

So, as a geographer we can engage with ecologists as potential allies in a wide range of conscious socio-ecological projects because many ecologists have abandoned the imaginary world in which humans are not found.

Only with the help of geographers, ecologists can say biodiversity is a process, not a state and that to protect and maintain that process will require substantial changes in the practice and rules that structure human life. Geographers work has a purpose, not to understand the world but to change it. As Harvey (2000) suggests.

“To continue ourselves (geographers) as ‘architects of our own faith and fortunes’ is to adopt the figure of the architect as a metaphor for our own agency as we go about our daily practices and through them effectively preserve, construct and reconstruct our life world” [9]

4.4 SYSTEMS APPROACH IN GEOGRAPHY

Geographers have certainly made considerable use of systems since the beginning of the discipline of geography. But the system approach related to the abstraction rather than reality appeared to have developed before the twentieth century because of its complex nature. During twentieth century the systems concept appears absolutely central for methodological and empirical explanations in Geography. The concept of systems is often associated with particular theorizing styles, i.e. positivism or functionalism. However, Williams (1983) observes the relationship between systems concepts and structuralism. At a time when geography appears to be adopting the new systems based paradigm, it seems quite important to evaluate the concept for its ambiguity. So, the theory of systems, particularly the interpretation given in General systems. Theory which is the framework for unifying all scientific thinking is therefore relevant, nevertheless, it is useful to identify some points where misunderstanding can arise and to attempt some evaluation of the claims of General System Theory as a unifying framework for all scientific thought and in particular, for geographical thought.

Ludwig Von Bertalanffy (1950) is credited with the development of the general systems theory.

According to James, a system may be defined as a whole (a person, a state, a culture, a business) which functions as whole because of the inter-dependence of its parts. A system comprises of three components

- (a) a set of elements;
- (b) a set of links (relationships) between those elements; and
- (c) a set of links between the system and its environment.

Every system has three basic aspects: structure, function and development. The structure is the sum of the elements and the connections between them. Functions concern the flows (exchange relationships) which occupy the connections. Development represents the changes in both structure and function which may take place over time. (Johnston, 1983, Holt-Jenson-1981). The structure of the system can be treated in two separate frameworks - closed system and open system.

CLOSED SYSTEM :

There is no input and output of matter.

[E] ——— [E] Closed system

OPEN SYSTEM :

These systems have both inputs and outputs of energy to maintain the system.
Input through put output.

[E] — [E] ——— [E] ———

Open system

TYPES OF SYSTEM :

There are various types of systems but we will concentrate only on those types of systems which are more suitable for analyzing complex spatial interactions. These systems include homeostatic, adaptive, dynamic and control systems.

HOMEOSTATIC SYSTEM :

Homeostatic systems are one that maintains a constant opening environment in the face of random external fluctuation (Rose, 1967, 106). Such systems resist any alteration in environmental conditions and exhibit a gradual return to equilibrium or steady state behaviour after such an alteration.

ADAPTIVE SYSTEM :

These systems are similar to homeostatic systems in much respect, but possess some special characteristics. The study of such systems provides a mode of approach to systems that are usually thought of as 'goal - seeking' or teleological sense. Such systems clearly rely upon feedback mechanisms of some kind in order to achieve the preferred state. This feedback may operate in a number of ways. Most analytic studies have conceptualized the problem by postulating that feedback effects the condition of the environment and thus alters the inputs until the desired responses (or preferred output) are achieved.

DYNAMIC SYSTEM :

Both homeostatic and adaptive systems show a change of state overtime as they move towards steady or preferred state. In truly dynamic systems, however, feedback operates to keep the states of the systems changing through a sequence of unrepeated states that is usually termed the trajectory or line of the system (Ashby, 1963, 25). Feedback may, for example, cause new preferred states to be identified (this is a characteristics of the learning process itself). Economic growth models, such as the circular and cumulative causation model, may be regarded as dynamic system.

CONTROLLED SYSTEM :

In these systems the operator has some level of control over the inputs. The controlled systems are of great interest in systems engineering and are of major concern for cybernetics (Harvey, 1969).

4.4.1 Application of Systems in Geography

The notion of system is not new in geographical thought. In geography from the very beginning systems are used in the form of functional approach, organismic analogy, and in the concept of regions as complex interrelated wholes and also in the ecological approach etc. But in the classical period the concept of systems remains on the periphery not at centre because elements of systems is identified in the work of Ritter, Vidal de la Blache, Brunhes, Sauer and others. The cause-effect relationships lead to the concept of systems and during the last few decades the position of systems concept has changed from the periphery to the centre.

The ecological approach is a good example of systematic view, Hartan Barrows (1923) claims that geography is the science of human ecology. Tansley in developing the concept of ecosystem as a fundamental organizing concept in geography, identifies the major characteristics of it and say: (a) it is monistic and brings the man, environment, animal world in a single frame-work for which interaction between component can be analyzed; (b) ecosystem has structure and (c) function, that involves continuous through-put of matter and energy (d) ecosystem is an open system tending towards a steady state under the laws of open system thermo-dynamics.

R.J. Chorley is the first geographer to have introduced general systems theory in geography. His paper 'Geomorphology and General Systems Theory' (1962) was the first major contribution devoted exclusively to a systems approach. He attempts to reformulate thinking in geomorphology in terms of open-system thermo-dynamics.

More recently Woldenberg and Berry (1967) have used systems concepts to analyze central place and river patterns, while Curry (1967) has also attempted to analyze settlement locations patterns in a systems framework. 'Spatial organization' of Haggett is also related with systematic view.

The most comprehensive attempt to forge a systems approach to geographical study has been done by Bennett and Chorley in their book entitled 'Environmental system: Philosophy, Analysis and Control' (1978) with the intention of providing unified multi-disciplinary approach to the interfacing of 'man' with 'nature'. The book was prepared for three main reasons - 1. to explores the capacity of systems approach to provide an inter-disciplinary focus on environmental structures and techniques.

2. to examine the manner in which a systems approach aids in developing the interfacing of social and economic theory and also physical and biological theory.

3. to explore the implications of these inter-facings in relation to the response of man to his current environmental dilemmas.

It is hoped to show that the systems approach provides a powerful vehicle for the statement of environmental situation of ever-growing temporal and spatial magnitudes,

and for reducing the areas of uncertainty in our increasingly complex decision-making arenas (Adhikari, S 1992-233). This approach is widely used in both human and physical geography.

4.4.2 Conclusion :

Systems approach in geography is very essential because it gives a framework from which we can analyze the interaction pattern or study the 'organized complexity with which geographers deal. Once the system has been successfully modeled, it can be manipulated using control theory which is a dynamic optimization technique permitting optimal allocation along the time horizons, and shifts emphasis from mere model construction to model to use. (Haggett, 1980) Systems analysis thus provides us with a convenient calculus for examining geographical problems.

Gregory (1978) attempts to criticize both systems analysis and general systems theory on the ground that they are intrinsically associated with positivism. The concept of one systems theory which is relevant for all the sciences may be seen as a fruit of the positivist concept of one science, one method. He further said that prominence given to control system may lead to instrumentalism.

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UNIT 5 □ RADICALISM

Structure

- 5.1 Radicalism in Geography**
- 5.2 Effects of radicalism in Geographical studies**
- 5.3 Radical stream**
- 5.4 Conclusion**
- 5.5 Suggested Reading**

5.1 RADICALISM IN GEOGRAPHY

Radicalism refers to political and social movements and ideologies that aim at fundamental change in the structure of the society. The advent of radicalism in Geography in the late 1960's marked the return of a 'dissenting tradition (Blaunt, 1979). Radicalism in geography offers both revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice.

RISE OF RADICALISM

Geography was by the late 1960's developed as a well established university discipline, part of the settled fabric of 'normal' educational life in most western countries. But the middle and late 1960's was an era of protest related with inequality, racism, sexism, environment, and many incidents like civil unrest, student riots, anti-war campaigns, anti colonial struggles have taken place due to many causes. One of the major causes of dissatisfaction was the American involvement in Vietnam War which increased the unrest among young generation because they considered the government decision as imperialist and anti freedom. These struggles were held not only in America but also in France, Britain and other countries. It was this difference between academic geography and real world socio-economic problems and struggles that inspired the early radical geographers like William Bunge, Blaut, and Richard Peet to call for a people oriented geography in which geographers would - (i) study for crucial social, economic and environmental problems with (ii) an eye to devising viable solution in (iii) a way that included the ordinary people subject to those problem and solution.

So, Frustration with the apparent instability of conventional geographic theory to provide a meaning foundation for a more relevant and more radical geography led a number of geographers towards an engagement with theories of social justice and ultimately Marxism with in human geography can be attributed to the dearth of

alternative within the discipline and the fact that prior to the 1960's —especially in comparison with other social with other social sciences -there was little in the way of social theory in geography beyond positivist idealism.

This then was a form of geographic activism in which research was focused on politically charged questions and solutions and in which geographers actively involved themselves with the people and communities. The first conspicuous attempt to radicalize human geography research was pioneered by the American geographer William Bunge, who in 1968 founded the 'Society for Human Exploration' at Detroit .It was believed that by becoming a person of the region in question, the geographer, by virtue of the experience gained, shall be able to appreciate better the kind of inputs required to improve the lot of the local residents. Such a participatory field work prepares the geographer to take the planning with the people rather than planning for them (R.D. Dikshit-1997).

5.2 EFFECTS OF RADICALISM IN GEOGRAPHICAL STUDIES

The radical movement had taken a number of different forms, leading to the inevitable division between liberals and radicals. The former stream supported the policy of incremental change within 'the system' where as the latter group of scholars held on the view that nothing short of revolutionary socialism could create a just society out of the modern capitalist corporate state. Radical geography was the impetus for two subsequent types of development regarding academy and activism.

LIBERAL STREAM

Among the academically oriented geographers, there was a concentered effort aimed at changing the focus of our discipline from earlier involvement in the study to the study of urgent problems of the day. So, the less radical welfare geography emerged which sought to use existing scientific geographical theories and methods in a more socially relevant and useful way (Smith, 1977) .Welfare Geography deals with problems of inequality, poverty, hunger, discrimination, crime, racial tension and access to social service. The concept of welfare was divided into three sets by Knox in 1975.According to him these included physical needs (nutrition, shelter, and health), cultural needs (education, leisure, recreation, and security) and higher needs (that could be purchased with surplus income).Smith and Knox set forth the tradition of the welfare approach in geography in an organized manner.

A number of such works, suggesting spatial policies for social improvement, were done in 1970's.Harries (1974) studied spatial variation in crime rates and the administration of justice, and argued that predictive models of criminal patterns could aid in the organization of police activities. Morrill and Wohlenberg (1971)

investigated the spatial variation in poverty in the united state, providing both social policies and spatial policies. Bunge (1971) prepared a 'geobiography' for a part of the black ghetto of Detroit, which has a deep humanitarian orientation for the future of mankind, which he interprets as a need to ensure a healthy existence for children.

Richard Morrill, who criticized the revolutionary premises of the New Left, still maintained that the academic's role was "to help bring about a more just, equal and peaceful society "and search for more 'radical' ways and means to achieve change.

From the middle of 1960's and onwards, articles dealing with more 'socially relevant' geographical topics began to appear in some of the discipline's main stream journals, and in 1969, 'Antipode', a radical journal of geography was founded at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts.

According to Smith (1994a) 'The welfare approach logically requires an holistic social science perspective' because it extends beyond the limits of a single discipline (Smith, 1994 a, P.676).

5.3 RADICAL STREAM

Among the activist, the dominant focus was on the search for more suitable models of organizational change. This stream was developed in the 1970's and 1980's with a number of full blown critical paradigms like Marxist and Feminist geography.

There have been many milestones in the march of activism with in geography over the part 30 years. To name a few, we might include, the formation of the Journal Antipod (1969), the Detroit/Toronto Geographical Expeditions (1973, 1975) pioneered by Bill Bunge, the organization of the union of socialist Geographers in the early 1970's, the formation of the I BG women and Geography Study Group in the same decade, the establishment of Gender, place and culture, and the fronting of a range of political, social and cultural issues of note to geographers in the Environment and Planning series, the creation of a range of specially groups with in the Association of American Geographers to nurture critical interests, the recents formation of the International Critical Geographers etc.

The first geographer to initiate Marxist thought and new trend in geography was David Harvey (1972). To Harvey, Marxist theory provides the key to understand capitalist production from the position of those not in controls of the means of production -an enormous threat to the power structure of the capitalist structure. It is helpful for understanding of the origin of the present system, with its many faceted inequalities, but also propounded alternative practices which would avoid such inequalities. For Peet (1977), the Marxist science begins with a material analysis of society, proceeds through a critique of capitalist control of the material base of society and proposes solution in terms of social ownership of that material base.

However, Peet (1977) has argued that the early 'radical' work by geographers in the late 1960's was liberal in its attitude and with changing time he also moved to a Marxism position replacing his earlier paper on poverty by a Marxism interpretation, based on assumption that inequality is inherent in the capitalist mode of production. David Harvey in his book 'Social Justice and the city' (1973) made a major contribution to the case for Marxism inspired, materialism theory development within geography. Marxism and the knowledges of environment and space (hardly the least significant of human understandings) produced powerful theoretical insights into profound issues of human existence, and these in turn produce disciplinary power in its many guises. Neil Smith's Uneven Development (1984) can be taken as symptomatic of the best of Marxist geography. 'Political ecology' emerged from Marxism inspired theories of society - nature relation in 1970's and early 1980's. Many of the Marxist concepts survive into the present geographical status and activist geographers continue to work with unions, farm, workers, homeless people, prison populations, high schools around issues of racism, classism, sexism, post colonialism, imperialism and many other forms of oppression, precisely because of deep personal and long term connections that draw people to particular activities and communities. Ruth Gilmore's work with prison population, Bennett Harrison's work with unions, David Slater's work with the Third world NGOs, Jan Monk's work with women's organizations and NGOs in both the Third and First world, Audrey Kobayashi's work against racism, Nick Bloomley's work with neighbourhoods on the eastside of Vancouver, Don Mitchell's work with high school teachers, Linda Peake's work with the women of Red Thread in Guyana to name a few - all works are developed due to effect of radicalism in geography.

5.4 CONCLUSION

According to Bloomley (1994), in the early 1990's, some leftist geographers were once more complaining of a chasm between geographical 'activism and the academy'. Some geographers advocated a return to grass -root involvement, while other like Tickell (1995) argued that geographer should more actively involve them in the local, and national 'state apparatus' in order to influence public policy. The radical geography characterized by social relevance and intense political activism, thus attempted to change the extent of the subject. The critique of conventional geography commented that it was an irrelevant gentle manly concern and also about its spatial fetishism - that is geography's restriction of causality to the spatial realm. But according to radicalists, geography could not conceptualize natural causation without resorting to a mechanical version of environmental determinism, because it lacked too the mediation of production as the main focus of nature society relation .According to Peet, reeling from criticisms of environmental determinism, lost for years in the by

ways of regional description, geographers in the 'quantitative revolution' rushed into a spatial 'science' which discovered and increasingly significant of life (space) only to fail to link it with other 'equally' important aspects of existence. This failure of linkage produced continued (if ameliorated) intellectual and theoretical isolation for the discipline of geography. So, for all its supposed deficiencies, Marxism saved geography from extinction, irrelevance or worse still, becoming a poor relative of regional science (Peet 1998).

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UNIT 6 □ GEOGRAPHY OF INEQUALITY AND GEOGRAPHY OF GENDER

Structure

- 6.1 Geography of Inequality**
- 6.2 Causes of Inequality**
- 6.3 Types of inequality**
 - 6.3.1 Economic inequality**
 - 6.3.2 Social inequality**
 - 6.3.3 Political inequality**
 - 6.3.4 Educational & Cultural inequality**
 - 6.3.5 Gender inequality**
- 6.4 Geography and inequality**
- 6.5 Geography of Gender**
- 6.6 Development of Geography of Gender**
 - 6.6.1 The first wave of feminism**
 - 6.6.2 Second wave of feminism**
 - 6.6.3 Third wave of feminism**
 - 6.6.4 Liberal feminism**
 - 6.6.5 Marxist and socialist feminism**
 - 6.6.6 Radical feminism**
 - 6.6.7 Eco feminism**
- 6.7 Conclusion**
- 6.8 Suggested Reading**

6.1 GEOGRAPHY OF INEQUALITY

Introduction— During the 1960's and the 1970's geography experienced what has been called a 'conceptual revolution'. One of the distinct consequences of the conceptual revolution in the contemporary human geography was the emergence of welfare geography in 1970's. It is an approach to human geography that stresses on

questions of inequality. Inequality implies distinctiveness along a dimension where one position is graded as better, bigger, larger or somehow superior to another. But what are the key dimensions of inequality?

In sociology classical writings provide clear messages on this topic. There are three fundamental aspects of inequality -class, power and status. Class conceptions are widely derived from Marxist idea about a person, position with regard to process. Simply, two classes are mentioned -Bourgeoisie (who own means of production) and Proletariate. Power is to get others to act in a way that is your own best interests, even though they might not wish resources (money, employee etc) for resources need to be used to achieve desired goals, and there is unevenness in the ability to use resources effectively to achieve desired ends. In contrast with class and power, status refers to social prestige or respect.

But despite their centrality to conceptualizations of social hierarchies and the complex debates over their interrelations ,these concepts still omit much which is clearly evident from the publication of social well being concept. According to Coates et al. (1977, p -9)social well being refers to a family of overlapping concepts that include level of living ,quality of life ,social satisfaction, social welfare, and standard of living etc. Nine basic components of social well being were identified-nutrition, shelter, social stability, the physical environment and surplus income. So, inequality does not mean the difference only produced from class, power and status but it can also be developed from uneven use of space. As for example women commonly feeling excluded from particular places, at least of at specific time of the day for fear of violent crime (Pain, 1997). This brings out a combination of insights of inequality in living conditions ranging from their uneven impact on people in same location ,their temporal specificity and also the way in which non events are integral to inequalities(Martin Phillips,2005 p-481)

6.2 CAUSES OF INEQUALITY

There are many reasons for the inequalities growing in societies. These causes are not distinct rather interrelated, non-linear and complex. Economic, political and social structures and their interrelation may produce different types of inequalities. In all complex societies, the total stock of valued goods is distributed unequally. The term social stratification refers to the complex of social institutions that generate observed inequalities of this sort. Acknowledged factors that impact inequalities in society include income, education, race, gender, culture, wealth consideration and development pattern. As for example, education is responsible for different types of inequalities. Education has resulted in an increase in wages for those with higher education, but has not increased the wages for those without an education. This may lead to greater inequality .Access to education may be able to transform the culture of society which

play a crucial role for societal development in terms of living standard, housing, medical facilities etc. Gender inequality also results from lack of education and psycho social factors. In many countries individuals belonging to certain racial and ethnic minorities are more likely to be poor. Proposed causes include cultural differences amongst different races or educational achievement gap and racism. Power is the ability to exercise, power takes a number of different forms but all involve the idea that it means the ability to get your own way with others regardless of the ability to resist you. Power can produce inequality in large scale. Out of the power various social systems are produced, with power some groups have the right to oppress another group which is powerless. Now a days the impact of globalization increases inequality in between rich and poor and in between developed and developing countries. In a recent reviewed article on globalization Mauro Geeillen writes that the evidence unambiguously indicates that there are more inequality across countries than ten, twenty, fifty or even hundred years ago. According to him, the widening gap across countries is caused by rising incomes, not by rising income inequalities. Not only the economic, political and social structures are responsible for inequality but also physical environment is one of the main causes to produce inequality. Different environment gives different types of opportunities or possibilities and material circumstances are also not same to all environmental conditions. So there are differences in nature, life style, working ability etc as well. According to Richard Lynn, the working ability is partially responsible for producing race and gender group difference in wealth, though this assertion is highly controversial.

At last, Global society at the twenty first century is rapidly moving towards social, economic and political integration. The rapidity of this development has caused many clashes and difficulties for nations, states as well as for groups, organizations, citizens for individual countries.

6.3 TYPES OF INEQUALITY

On the basis of social stratification we may classify inequality into different types, although the inequalities are not caused for one reason but it is very complex in nature. It has multiple and quasi independent dimension. The broad subdivisions of inequality are—

6.3.1 Economic inequality

It is expressed through the unequal distribution of wealth in society. This has obvious ramifications in terms of the location, is limited. Developed and developing countries are the results of economic inequality which have divided the whole world into haves and have nots. The core aspects economic inequalities are distribution of production and exchange process. According to Marx, there are two classes, one is

Master or owner and another is Labour. Now the advancement of civilization, globalization and free trade decreases the wage of labour and created a situation of vast unemployment which again develops inequality and poverty in a society. As for the possibility of the disadvantaged seeking better opportunities elsewhere, for most people the capacity to change their place, from poorly endowed to richly resourced location or state may be limited.

6.3.2 Social inequality

Sexism, racism, discrimination on the grounds of ethnic groups, faith, political opinion, social status or sexual orientation is clear indicators of social inequality. No society can survive sustainable or allow its members to live in dignity if there is prejudice and discrimination of any social group. Social inequality is the expression of lack of access of housing, healthcare, education, employment, opportunities and status. It is exclusion of people from full and equal participation. Because of the nature of our society in post industrial, competitive, capitalist, and commercially driven and consumer oriented- economic inequality and social inequality are inextricably linked. Social inequality is also produced by the impact of culture, religion and racism. Division of caste and their status may form psycho-social inequality, untouchability etc. So, our social system and structure is also responsible for inequality to some extent. Racial discrimination is also an important injustice which produces inequalities. There is some inbuilt inequalities in our society to maintain system of it self. As for example, the work forces the government, legislation and legislature.

6.3.3 Political inequality

The important goal of any political system is to be gain effectiveness in terms of superiority and power concentration which has opposite sense to equality. These concentrations are more in those countries where population is large and management system is complex. Although everyone has the right to vote to select representatives, but there is great division between powered people and general citizens. According to Anderson (1999) democratic equality is a need which aims to abolish socially created oppression, rather than following luck egalitarianism in correcting what is taken to be injustice generated by the natural order, a relational theory against the concern of the equality of the fortune perspective with a pattern distribution.

In the countries where democracy is transformed into military power or religion power, inequalities increase rapidly. Afghanistan, Pakistan etc. are examples.

6.3.4 Educational and Cultural inequality

There is distinction in terms of education and culture in every society. Educational and cultural inequality has great interrelation with economic opportunity. Rate of development is more in rich or economically supported countries, because they can afford the cost of higher education and technology from those countries where more

advanced culture emerged. In the same way culture and education also required for better economic support. On the basis of high technology and educational facility 'digital gap' has originated which is also a type of inequality. The countries with high information technology may differ from those countries of low access of these technologies, giving rise to digital gap.

6.3.5 Gender inequality

Social equality is fundamentally linked to gender equality. Global statistics place women behind men in relation to health, education, nutrition levels, political participation, legal rights, equal pay for equal work, amongst many other aspects of life. Gender inequality remains pervasive in all countries of the world.

6.4 GEOGRAPHY AND INEQUALITY

Social inequalities are mirrored in unequal access to space and desirable location so that social and spatial inequalities go together. As a result a number of geographers adopted a more humanistic approach in geography and concern for welfare geography. Bunge (1971) was so struck by the inequalities from his study of Detroit that he adopted rather emotive terms for his division of the city and emphasised the ways in which the poorer income groups and ethnic minorities of the city, were being exploited by the rest of the city, particularly by the elite business, entrepreneurial and professional classes who occupied his city of superfluity-pleasant suburbs and rural dormitory areas. Cox (1973) investigated the urban crisis in the light of racial tension and riots, municipal bankruptcies and the role of government in the urban economy. In fact, he presented his analysis in terms of conflict over access to sources of power.

This concern for social inequalities what Harvey called 'Social Justice and the city' is not new. Burgess and Park, two eminent sociologists who studied the social problems of Chicago during 1920's, such as housing, racial tension, and social deprivation. Harries (1974) studied spatial variation in crime rates and the administration of justice, and argued that predictive models of criminal patterns could aid in the organization of police activities. An interesting work on variations as the provision of health care facilities was done by Shannon and Dever (1974) who also suggested for spatial planning for the improvement of medical services being offered to the sick. Morrel and Wohleberg (1971) investigated the spatial variations in poverty in the United States, providing both social policies and spatial policies [Adhikari, S.2006, P.263].

But despite long standing engagement with matters of social concern, it is only recently that geographers in Britain and elsewhere have begun to explore links with the subject of ethics (Smith, 2003). This conception may right or wrong, good or bad is implicated in any human activity, all geographers are in some sense moral creations.

However the term 'moral geography' has been adopted in recent years as a label for a particular style of geographical investigations with a moral dimension. A major feature of geography's recent moral turn has been resurrection of interest in social justice (Smith 2000). In this approach the term equalization is used and they recognize that achieving equality is virtually impossible, but the moves in this direction are possible and morally justifiable. The process of equalization might be constrained by the 'difference principle' proposed by John Rawl (1971, P 302) which requires social and economic inequalities to be arranged so that they are 'to the greatest benefit of least advantaged'.

6.5 GEOGRAPHY OF GENDER

Geographers have sadly not given much recognition to the concept of gender. It is a phenomenon of remarkable variation from place to place, as well as from time to time and class to class. Despite geographical variations, class variations and individual variations, the world wide theme of the geography of gender is female subordination. Gender is a social phenomenon which is socially created. Some people consider gender as a purely social construction, independent of biology, while others define it as derived, directly or indirectly, from the interactions of material culture with the biological differences between the sexes. In either case, gender is socially constituted while sex is biologically determined (Oakley, 1972, Rogers 1980). As it is socially determined, the meaning will vary with society yet in the history of geography of humanity, women's subordination is omnipresent, no society has so constituted gender as to produce male subordination. The forms of subordination differ greatly, but all over the world, women's work tends to be defined as of less value than men's and women tend to have far less access to all forms of social, economic and political powers.

Feminine Geography was developed by the impact of radical-Marxist approach in geography. The women and Geography study Group of the Institute of British Geographers (IBG) collectively had written introductory text on feminine geography. The main theme of them was to remove gender inequality through social changes which might express long term real equality between men and women in terms of economic; political and social activities and profession. Since 1960's there has been a great upsurge in feminist writing and feminist thought has become much wider in scope and much profound in its impact. In terms of academic geography, an analytical focus on the intersection of production and reproduction spaces allowed geographers to incorporate gender as a fundamental parameter in environmental process (Rose 1984). Women and Geography study Group advocated 'change' not simply by adding women to geography, but by developing 'an entirely different approach to geography as a whole'. Feminine Geography looks at how socially created gender structures

from and transform space in a project dedicated to ending gender inequalities through social change. The geography of gender has a vital role to play in improving our understanding of the rapidly changing spatial mosaic of gender relations in world. Geography has lagged far behind the other social sciences in its appreciation of the impact of gender. Zelinsky, Monk and Hansen (1982) suggest two reasons for these both related to the nature of the subject: much of the work on women is done by women scholars and the proportion of women in geography is very low (Henshall Momsen 1980). Secondly, many geographers were unlikely to come face to face with women's issue in their research.

The period of middle to late 1980's saw two kinds of divides opening in feminist radical geography, which are outlined by Mc Dowell.

The differences are between feminist and masculinist and between perspectives within geography especially as post structural or post modern theory entered in the geographical scene. According to Mc Dowell the three central themes of Feminist approaches in geography are space, place and nature. The geography of gender involves spatial variation in gender relations, the social construction of gender identities in particular milieu, the ways nature is related to gendered distinctions and similar issues.

6.6 DEVELOPMENT OF GEOGRAPHY OF GENDER

Feminist theory and feminist geography grew together; history of women's movement has great influence on feminist geography, which is divided into three waves—

6.6.1 THE FIRST WAVE OF FEMINISM

According to Jane Freedman 'in the 1840's the women's rights movement has started to emerge in the United States with the Seneca Falls convention of 1848 and resulting Declaration of Sentiments which claimed for women the principles of liberty and equality, right to earn equal wages, inherit property and right to vote expounded in American Declaration of Independence.

Rupp quotes the arguments of Chaftz and Dwarkin (1986) that industrialization and urbanization play a critical role in the emergence of women's movements. In industrialized and urbanized societies, a large middle class develops, women get access to education, married women enter the labour force in large numbers and the resulting role expansion and conflict results in the gender based and ultimately feminist consciousness (Rupp-2001, 5470)

6.6.2 SECOND WAVE OF FEMINISM

The second wave of feminism began with radicalization of women during the anti-

Vietnam war and civil rights movements of the 1960's. The main theme of first wave feminism was equal rights and for second wave feminism it may be termed as 'feminism of women's liberation'. The First National Liberation women's Conference was held in Ruskin College, Oxford. This was a time of optimize, debate and the publication of feminism's formative literature. As for example Germaine's 'The Female Eunuch'(1970) Eve Figs's, 'Patriarchal attitudes'(1970), Shulamith Firestone's 'The Dialectic of sex'(1970), Kate Mittett's 'sexual politics'(1970), Betty Friedan's 'The Feminine Mystique'(1963), Gayle Rubin's essay 'The Traffic in women: Notes on the Political Economy of Sex'(1975).

6.6.3 THIRD WAVE OF FEMINISM

Third wave is a continuation of the first and second wave but there is a shift from logo centric to pluralistic approach to feminism. A number of factors shaped the development of the third wave known as 'Post feminism'. Women in the third world have been involved with issues like economic, environmental, legal, military, cultural and physical threats and violence against women. Their inclination has been only towards feminine agenda but they organize around different environmental issues as well.

On the basis of theoretical families, development of feminism may be classified into three groups. Liberal feminism, Socialist or Marxist feminism, and radical feminism. This classification has reproduced many research activities like psycho-feminism Post modern; post structural feminism, eco-feminism and so on.

6.6.4 LIBERAL FEMINISM

Based on the classical theoretical tradition of liberalism which views man as active, rational, and independent to have free choice to from government and enjoying equal rights and opportunities inherited not from any human authority or from God but from nature by birth, classical liberal feminist claim equal social and political rights for women. They did not claim any special privilege for women but asked only for equality. Contemporary liberal feminists have switched from equality to inclusion. Main supporters of this view were Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-97), J.S.Mill (1806-73), and Harriet Taylor (1807-1858), Elizabeth Cady Ctanton (1815-1902) and Virginia Woolf(1882-1941)[Classical liberal feminists] Betty Frieden(1963), Radcliffe Richards(1982), Okin(1989,1990)[contemporary liberal feminists].

6.6.5 MARXIST AND SOCIALIST FEMINISM

Socialist and Marxist feminists believed that women's subordination is a socio-economic product, without abolishing capitalist society or establishing socialist society women's emancipation is not possible. To Engles, women's subordination results from the institution of class society and is maintained because it serves the interests

of capital. Socialist feminism calls for reproductive democracy, including family and procreative decisions, as well as control over commodity production. The socialist feminists claim that capitalism and patriarchy are mutually interdependent and therefore, women's subordination is to be understood by both class and gender dynamics. Juliet Mitchell in *Women's Estate* (1971) states that women's position is determined by four structures-(i) Production - as member of work force (ii) Reproduction - reproduce human species. (iii) Socialization - caring and socialization of children. (iv) Sexuality - as sex object.

Hartmann (1976) views women's subordination as a result of the interlocking of the system of capitalism with patriarchy. He opines 'the same features such as division of labour, often reinforces both patriarchy and capitalist society, it is difficult to isolate it from the mechanism of patriarchy.

6.6.6 RADICAL FEMINISM

Radical feminism considered that patriarchy is the root cause of women's oppression and subordination. Figes (*Patriarchal Attitudes*, 1970) pointed out that it is the patriarchal system which pervades the culture, philosophy, religion, and morality of the society and gives to the women an inferior status. In 'Sexual politics' (1969) Kate Millett commented that relation between sexes is based on power, so it is political and from ancient time it is socialized through the family.

So, it is natural and in order to destroy patriarchy, family is to be destroyed because they are based on power and not on love.

Fire's tone (*The Dialectics of Sex* 1970) put more emphasis on biology rather than social condition for subordinate position. The natural capacity of women is to bear and rear babies. She believes modern technology may relieve women from the burden of pregnancy by artificial production in test tubes and in the way genuine sexual equality is established.

Radical feminism differs from Marxist feminism in the view that problem of Women can never be solved either by legislation or by revolution because both are controlled and led by man.

According to Pratt feminist geographers are also expanding their consideration of geography including environmental concerns.

6.6.7 ECO-FEMINISM

Eco-feminism is a movement that sees a connection between the exploitation and degradation of the natural world and the subordination and oppression of women. French feminist Francoise d' Eubonne [Eaubonne 1980; 44-45] first coined the term eco-feminism in 1974. Eco-feminists consider women and nature both as subject to the destructive socio- economic and technological systems of modern male-dominated

society. Eco-feminism became popular only in the context of numerous protests against environmental destruction. The conference at Mile Island in the 80s prompted large number of women in the USA to come together in the first eco-feminist conference. In patriarchal thought, women are identified as being closer to nature and men as being closer to culture. Nature is seen as inferior to culture. Maria Mies and Vandana Shiva, the famous eco-feminist want to propound the need for a new cosmology, different from capitalist patriarchy, in which life in nature is maintained by means of cooperation, mutual care and love. Only in this way it can be possible to respect and preserve the diversity of all life forms as true sources of well being and happiness of all.

6.7 CONCLUSION

Feminist study in geography is not very old rather it is in early stage of development with more theoretically oriented. It is now entering a new phase. The recognition of feminist geographers is increased for variety of work related to women's experience of oppression. The crude dichotomy of polar opposites -male and female, nature and culture, hetero and homo-sexuality, public and private, production and reproduction -are now being challenged in feminist theory and practice. New areas of theory and research are beginning to have an impact upon the discourse of feminist geography. McDowell and Ford identified three areas of emerging focus in research, namely (i) analyses of cultural representation (ii) works on sexuality, subjectivity and social relations and (iii) new developments in studies of the interrelationship of race, class and gender [R.D, Dikshit, 267].

Gender geography is related with class, religion, race, gender that means with whole social environment. It needs to develop alternate theories of space, place and environment which speaking the experience of oppressed peoples despite the problems of speak for other.

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UNIT 7 □ POST MODERNISM

Structure

- 7.1 Concept of Post modernism**
- 7.2 Modernism and Post modernism**
- 7.3 Main features of Post modernism**
 - 7.3.1 Basic concepts of Post modernism**
- 7.4 Post modernism in Geography**
- 7.5 Criticism**
- 7.6 Suggested Reading**

7.1 CONCEPT OF POST MODERNISM

Post modernism is a complicated term or set of ideas, that emerged in academic studies in the mid 80's of the last century. It is also hard to define, because it is a term which appears in many different disciplines, such as art, architecture, music, film, literature, sociology, communication, fashion, and technology. According to the Oxford Dictionary of Geography (2nd edition, 1997, 338) the term 'post modernism' refers to an architectural style which is composite of past styles, characterized by a variety of colours, stylistic details from many periods and what is claimed to be a return to a vernacular type..... It is a philosophical stance which claims that it is impossible to make grand statements—meta narratives-about the structures of society or about historic causation because everything we perceive, express and interpret is influenced by our gender, class and cultureNo interpretation is superior to another. It has brought to geographers recognition that space, place, and scale and social constructs, not external givers. Some geographers claim the post modernism challenges the dominance of time and history in social theories and instead stresses the significance of geography and spatiality.

For Lyotard, Post modernism is to be seen as a state of mind, as a way of describing the social, cultural and intellectual changes since the turning point of the 1950's, which marked the end of the post war period and opened a period of expansion in all fields of activity and generalized social change. This state of mind encourages rejection, be it of one way representations of the world, of totalizing visions of dogmas and also of the effort to identify articulate meaning. It manifests itself as an erosion of landmarks, a blurring of established ways of seeing and understanding and a loss of confidence in theories. In Lyotard's view, the priority for philosophy is to

avoid both the ambient positivist pragmatism and dogmatism; both are hegemonic, for moment the only solution is to operate by micrology [Benko, Strohmayer, 1997, P 8].

Post modernism may be said to represent a radical attack upon the mimetic theory of representation and search for truth. According to Duncan and Ley (1993) -It is anti foundational in that it explicitly rejects totalizing ambitions of modern social sciences. Such as epistemology, if taken seriously, is inescapable and radically relativist. Post modernism presents itself as a movement of deconstruction, intents on dismantling the hierarchy of knowledge and values, undermining all that gives meaning and all that has been developed as paradigm or model. It has been said that it is possible to live happily in a universe without explanation. For its detractors, Post modernism represents a cynical brand of compromise and opportunism, a widespread and affected nihilism, and acceptance born of passivity and common place effects, it is content with ambiguity, and has nothing to contribute to a political or Utopian programme.

As a method, post modernism is critical of the idea of totality and assumes that meaning is produced in language, not reflected by it, that meaning is not fixed but is constantly on the move and that subjectively does not imply a conscious, unified and rational human subject but instead a kaleidoscope of different discursive practices. In turn, the kind of method needed to get at these conceptions will need to be very flexible, able to capture a multiplicity of different meaning without reducing them to the simplicity of single structure. Derrida's deconstruction, Foucault's genealogy, Leotard's paralogism, the post modern ethnography of anthropologist such as Clifford (1988), the discourse analysis of various social psychologistsall these are attempts to produce a method that can capture history as a set of overlapping and interlocking fields of communication and judgement.

7.2 MODERNISM AND POST MODERNISM

The period of modernity started in the 16th century at the time of the renaissance and the emergence of capitalism. The philosophical movement of modernism arose in the time of Enlightenment (18th century) where the belief in universal human progress and sovereignty of scientific reasoning became important. The philosophers were searching universal laws and modernism was dominant until the 60's of 20th century.

Knox and Marshston (2004) defined modernity as a forward looking view of the world that emphasizes reason, scientific rationality, creativity, novelty and progress. At the time Scientists were more interested to disclose the truth.

Another important thing of modernism has been the growth of dichotomies and going out of boundaries of the main subject matter of geography.

According to Lyotard, modernism was based on three starting points or 'grand recits'-

1. The subjection of and total control over nature (economic rationalization)
2. The subjection of and total control over politics (Political rationalization)
3. The possibility of gaining objective knowledge (Scientific rationalization)

According to modern philosophical thought as people could think rationally, they could obtain objective knowledge (positivism) from which it was possible to create their best living environment and at least complete rational society would be developed and also history would be conquered.

To understand post modernism, it is necessary to know what Lyotard (1984) means by the term modern. According to him modern means 'to designate any science that legitimates itself with reference to a meta discourse-making an explicit appeal to some grand narrative, such as the dialectics of the spirit, the hermeneutics of meaning, the emancipation of rational or working subject or creation of wealth' or to put it in another way. Societies which anchor the discourses of truth and justice in the great historical and scientific narratives (recits) can be called modern (Adhikari, S.-2006, P-345).

In the space of 20 yrs. post modernity has become one of the most widely used concepts in discussions about art, literature and social theory. Geography, sociology, philosophy, literature, architecture, the plastic arts -all have entered their post modern period. It is hardly surprising that the term 'post'-is ambiguous in all these contexts. The term can imply continuity or change. But if it is continuity then why use a prefix to form a new term? Objectively, it separates, yet semantically it fails to establish a difference. 'Post' is suggestive for continuous and the liner-To break with modern, the post modern has to repeat the modern.

As an umbrella term for a wide variety of tendencies, post modern suffers from a definitional imprecision that reflects its heterogeneous content. As one of the leading theorists of post modernism has explained, it is an equivocal, disjunctive category, doubly modified by the impetus of the phenomena itself as by the shifting perceptions of its critics (Benko, Strohmayer, 1997, P-10).

Post modernism emphasizes the unclearness, the fragmented, and the multiformity, the missing of real conformity and of big ordering principle in society. This is not one universal truth, but there are multiple views or theories which always are bounded to place and time. Post modernists think the past as manifold of events; one event can't be seen separately because every event is not the same as the other, and these events also happened in another time where the world was different. There is no universal best culture, but there is a best culture for each individual.

7.3 MAIN FEATURES OF POST MODERNISM

Fredric Jameson (1984) has identified two significant features of post modernism: Pastiche and Schizophrenia. He said that the great modernisms were predicted on the invention of a personal, private style. But in a world in which stylistic innovation is no longer possible, all that is left is pastiche. The imitation of dead style can be seen in the 'nostalgia film'. We have lost our ability to locate ourselves historically.

Post modernism has a peculiar notion of time. Jameson (1991) seeks to explain what he means in terms of Lacan's theory of Schizophrenia. The originality of Lacan's thought in this area is to have considered Schizophrenia as a language disorder. It emerges from the failure of the infant to enter fully into realm of speech and language. It is because language has a past and future, because the sentence moves in time, that we can have what seems to us a concrete or lived experience of time. The schizophrenic, in short, experiences a fragmentation of time, a series of perpetual presents. Jameson (1991) contends that experiences of temporal discontinuity, similar to those maintained above, are evoked in post modernist works.

Derek Gregory (1989) has also identified three basic features of post modernism in geographic perspective—(i) post modernism is another type of post paradigm because post modern writers are immensely suspicious of any attempt to construct a system of thought which claims to be complete and comprehensive.

(ii) Post modern writers are hostile to the totalizing ambition of the conventional social sciences.

(iii) Post modernism has sensitivity to heterogeneity, particularly and uniqueness. Difference is a 'leit motif' of the post modernism.

7.3.1 Basic concepts of Post modernism :

1. **Deconstruction** : In Post modernism according to Jacques Derrida deconstruction of language occurs which means that every single word in a text can have thousand different meanings. In other words, the text has been seen to fail by its own criteria, the standards or definitions which the text set up were used reflexively to unsettle and shatter the original distinction.
2. **Phonocentrism Logocentrism** : Speech has been regarded as prior because it is closer to the possibility of presence than writing. Derrida called it phonocentrism. Besides being 'phonocentric' western philosophy is also logocentric. Logocentric is a substitute for meta-physics in order to foreground that which has determined metaphysical systems of thought (which depends on a foundation, a ground or a principle) their dependence on a 'logos'. 'Logos' is an essence or truth which acts as the foundation of our entire beliefs- example, Idea, Matter, the World Spirit, God etc.

Derrida developed a concept which he called 'difference' and that referred 'to differ' -to be unlike or dissimilar in nature, quality or from- and 'to differ' to delay, to postpone. Language is the play of difference which are generated by those differences. Derrida attempted to incorporate into the meaning of 'Difference' the sense of deferring. Difference is itself endlessly deferred.

3. **Metaphor** : In the past metaphor was often studied as an aspect of the expressive function of language, but it is actually one of the essential conditions of speech. An influential post structuralist thinker Michel Foucault was particularly fond of using geographical metaphors such as territory, domain, soil, horizon, geopolitics etc. Spatial metaphors include position, field etc. Metaphor determines to a large extent what we can think in any field.
4. **Spatiality and historicism** : Foucault suggested earlier that there has been a devaluation of space. Space was treated as the dead, the fixed, the undialectical, the immobile, time, on the contrary, was richness, fecundity, life, dialectical (Foucault, 1980). From the epistemological view point the single most important contribution of post modernism has been to connect the bias towards historicism 'by putting spatial at the centre of explanation, spatial dialectic along the historical dialectics. The historical imagination is never completely space less. Historicism has been defined in three different ways by Raymond Williams (1983)—
 - i) Neutral - a method of study using facts from the past to trace the precedents of current events,
 - ii) Deliberate- an emphasis on variable historical conditions and contents as privileged frameworks for intrer preting all specific events,
 - iii) Hostile an attack on all interpretations and prediction which is based on notion of historical necessity or general laws of historical development.

Lefebvre's spatial project provides a new dimension about spatialized dialectic, an insistent demand for a fundamental change in the ways we think about space, time and being about geography, history and society, about the production of space, the making of history and the constituting social relations and practical consciousness.

Heterotopia

Foucault clarified its concept of heterotopia which means the characteristics of spaces of the modern world. The heterogeneous spaces of sits and relations, called heterotopias' are constituted in every society but take quite varied forms and change over time, as history unfolds in its adherent spatiality.

Convergence of three spatiazation

Soja (1993, 61) identifies three different paths of spatialization that tend towards a creative convergence: 'Post-historian', 'post Fordism' and 'post modernism'.

The first is rooted in the fundamental reformation of nature and conceptualisation of social being that reassert space, challenging the dominance of history.

The second spatialization is directly attached to the political economy of the material world and the most recent phase of socio- spatial restructuring of post Second World War era:

The third spatialization has a framework of a cultural and ideological reconfiguration with recognition of a new post modern culture of space and time. It overlaps with post historicism and post Fordism as a theoretical discourse.

7.4 POST MODERNISM IN GEOGRAPHY

Post modernism is a way of thinking came after modernism. This was also the case in geography. The post modern way a thinking in geography was also a sort of reaction on the modernistic way. Post modernism has taught geographers a lot. The most important, that is learned from it is that 'observation are steered and selected, colored and organized by the ideas, expectations of the observer' Post modernism lays the emphasis on the meaning of Geography instead of the material aspects of geography.

In correlation with the shift to the meaning of geography is the rise of the cultural geography. Since the rise of Post modernism, the interest in aspects of the daily life in the Western culture was rising first, and thus also cultural geography was rising. Through cultural geography, some new themes are introduced in geography, as for example race, gender, sexuality, language, subcultures and identity. Some works related with post modernism are-Post industrial society (Bell, 1973; Touraine, 1969), post development (Escobar 1992), Post urban (Kling etal.1991), Post capitalist (Vakaloulis1994), and such as Post Marxist (Peet, Watts, 1993). Many theories have been modernized by becoming 'Post'; post modernized simmel (Weinstein, 1993), Post Weberian industrial location (Scott, 1988, Benko 1991), Post television culture (D.Agostino, Tafter) and even public administration and marketing have become post modern. Post modernity has become coupled with feminism (Bondi 1990, Nicholson 1990, Soper 1990), ecology (Ferry 1992), Environmental Problems (Grandy 1996), religion (Bhatt 1996, Gellner 1992), Planning (Dear 1986, 1991, Soja 1993), and space (Bonnet, 1992, Harvey 1990).

7.5 CRITICISM

The impact of post modernism in geography and many other social sciences and humanities have been considerable. Five philosophical arguments associated with post modernism are - (a) Distrust of metanarrative and grand theory (b) emphasis on difference, (c) the problematisation of representation (d) recognition of situatedness of knowledge (e) its particularization social critique - each of these has been the subject of criticism [p,71] Harvey for example, has been highly critical of post modernism particularization of social critique, claiming that post modern thinking shut -off other voices from access to more universal sources of power by ghettoizing them with in an opaque otherness (Harvey, 1989 P, 117)

Harbermas who claimed post modernists such as Lyotard and Foucault were guilty of performative contradiction in that they often failed to enact their own argument fully. He suggests that while post modernists disparage meta narrative and grand theories, they often employ them in their own writing.

Kellner argued that Lyotard's account of post modernism employs a master narrative of the decline of the meta narrative of modernity and set up a grand, totalizing concept namely the local knowledges can not communicate with each other. Honneth rejection of meta- narratives is contradicted by the repeated emphasis on respecting difference and local knowledge.

The emphasis given to notions of difference, otherness and the incommensurability of language has also been criticized for neglecting other aspects of social life, such as commonality and collectively.

Post -modernists insist that the field of the social science is heterogeneous and nontotalizable. as a result, they rule out sort of critical social theory which employs general categories like gender, race and class. In their view there is nothing to be gained in the critical analysis of large -scale institutions and social structures.

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UNIT 8 □ RECENTS TRENDS IN GEOGRAPHY IN METHODS AND CONTENTS

Structure

- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 Geographical trends from late 19th century to 1940's.
- 8.3 Geographical trends in 1950's and 1960's.
- 8.4 Geographical trends in 1970's and 1980's.
- 8.5 Geographical trends after 1980's.
- 8.6 Suggested Reading

8.1 INTRODUCTION

All academic disciplines evolve and geography is not an exception. Geography is a unique science because it integrates various disciplines like physical, economics, social, political, historical and medical sciences in relation to space and environment. Education philosophers and theorists such as Kuhn (1962) and Schlanger (1983) have developed models to understand how academic disciplines and fields come into existence and how they change over time. Kuhn in his classic book. 'The Structure of Scientific Revolutions' defined paradigm as the entire constellation of beliefs, values, techniques and so on shared by the members of a given community (Kuhn 1970,p-175)In the traditional Kuhnian formulation, it is not the accumulation of knowledge that causes changes in science, such changes are caused by a revolution. In this formulation change is effected through a linkage of events :

Paradigm A —> Normal science—> Anomalies—> Crisis—>
Revolution —> Paradigm B

Methodology of a discipline is the logic used in the explanation. The major philosophical, methodological, theoretical view points in a discipline at any given time constitute the thought of the discipline. Whether that discipline is paradigmatic or not depend on the degree of dominance of any specific view point or view points. The dominance of view points are called as trends.

8.2 GEOGRAPHICAL TRENDS FROM LATE 19TH CENTURY TO 1940's.

The scientific milieu in the latter half of 19th century and early twentieth centuries

was dominated by Darwinian ideas and hypothesis of determinism received a new scientific dimension and became a law making approach from generalization. This new scientific method gradually replaced the inductive teleological philosophy of Ritter and sought to offer a mechanical explanation or more precisely the hypothetic deductive method. Deductive, Newtonian cause and effect and systematic study were important methods at that time. The nineteenth century's Darwinian tradition seems to have well continued to the first half of twentieth century with much scientific precision, explanation and validation. William Morris Davis stated that geography was concerned with the analyses of the relationships between inorganic control and organic response which was again the notion of Newtonian cause and effect relationship. Concept of ecology was also developed at that time.

But with the advancement of society and material culture of people, there has been a reaction to the extreme generalization of the environmental determinism which doubted their universal application. Therefore an alternative approach 'possiblism' was developed revolving around Vidal's works of the lifestyles (*genres de vie*) that developed in different geographic environment. So, the method of field work and case studies were applied hereby so that in same environment the causes of difference between groups could be explained. Although Possiblism and regional geographical school established a new trend, but it did not immediately displace its predecessor and survived side by side up to 1960's.

During the period 1919 -22, works of Sauer ('Economic Problems of Ozark High land of Missouri' in 1919, 'Geography as Regional Economies' in 1920, Problems of Land Classification' in 1920 and 'Objectives of Geographical Study' in 1922) were regarded as significant contribution to geography. His ideas fully developed in 'The Morphology of Landscape'. According to him geographer's role is to investigate and understand the nature of transition from natural to the cultural landscape and the successive stages through which the cultural landscape has passed during its transformation.

The concept of Chorology as an approach to study geography was first developed by Richthofen and redefined by Alfred Hettner. Hartshorne was a supporter of regional geography. Hartshorne used the term 'areal differentiation' to characterize the way in which geographers dealt with the wide variety of phenomena, physical, economic and social which exist together in area and distinguish them from other areas (Taaffe, 1974 p-6). Hartshorne believed in synthesis method based on field work and mapping.

It should be noted that these debates and different approaches occurred without any revolution. The modification of both chorology and landscape view gave rise and spatial organizational trend in 1950's and 1960's.

8.3 GEOGRAPHICAL TRENDS IN 1950's AND 1960's.

1950's and 1960's were characterized by great changes in both methods as well as contents in geography. Taaffe described the background for these changes. According to him "as the integrative studies of the forties and fifties produce, the absurdity of attempting genuinely holistic studies with and without clearly stated selection criteria soon become evidentMost geographers were not really trying to synthesize everything in an area, nor were they trying to synthesize all phenomena of significance to man which had significant spatial expression. These increased awareness of spatial bias in the selection of problems led in the fifties and sixties to increasingly explicit statements of the spatial view in geography"(Taaffe, 1974,6-7).

Schaefer brought this paradigm shift by criticizing the exceptionalists's claims made for the regional paradigm. Bunge's 'Theoretic Geography' (1962), Haggett's 'Vocational Analysis in Human Geography' (1966) and David Harvey's 'Explanations in Geography' (1969) were basically elaborations of Schaefer's original criticisms. Subsumed under the umbrella of spatial organization, numerous studies on spatial interaction, spatial system, social planning and regional taxonomies were developed. Schaefer, with his spatial organization, paradigm, initiated what may be called the quantitative and theoretical revolution in geography. This spatial organization paradigm associated with a specific philosophy of logical positivism.

The method of study persisted in this time included the mathematics and statistical techniques to formulate models and laws for the explanation of phenomena. It is applicable to those phenomena that can be expressed in terms of quantity. It is an analytical method of enquiry related to geographical problems. At the same time the development of information technology, use of computers; GIS techniques etc were able to change the sphere of geography. So, the methods behind the geographical research changed rapidly and led to a shift from a descriptive type to an empirical law making scientific study.

Due to the methodological change, geographical contents became rich with the inclusion of many scientific theories and models like gravity model (Reilly), Principle of Least Effort (Zipf), Diffusion model (Hagerstrand), Theory of Games and Economic Behaviour. Von Neuman, Morgenstern, The volume on cybernetics (Nobert weiner) Bunge's monograph on Theoretical Geography, etc. According to Gould the major development and respectability that geography has are due to the elucidating works by mathematically talented geographers. Tobler's work led to the development of true cartographic research, Darcy's work have extended geographic theories, Wilson's work in entropy maximization models has changed the way we look at the world. (Gould, 1979, p148-9). He commends Webber's ability to translate geographic observation and hypothesis from the verbal to the more manipulatable language of mathematics (Gould, 1979, p148)

8.4 GEOGRAPHICAL TRENDS IN 1970's AND 1980's.

As a result of dissatisfaction from spatial analysis, many geographers of 1970's and 1980's sought alternative approaches to geographic problems. Methodologically quantitative techniques were not valid in human geography; it obscures the more fundamental social questions. To replace it, humanistic and behavioural geography were emerged. Because of the weakness of positivism, many geographers have suggested alternate philosophical approach to study the spatial system. During the 1980's, geographical thinking truly got revolutionalised as increasingly geographers got engaged in research on not only the relationship between space and society or space and social theory but went further to establish the significance of theory and philosophy as the basic identity of the discipline (Dear and Flusty 2002). Pragmatism provided a suitable philosophy in the 1980's for those who would like to use value based scientific methodology to solve human problems. In the view of Pragmatism, space is functional; and the meaning of space is functional of the practical consequences of that space. Space is a composite of error and knowledge. But a credible alternative to positivism is phenomenology. It is a philosophy that seeks to disclose the world as it shows itself before scientific inquiry, as that which is pre-given and pre supported by the science. Idealism, on the other hand accepts that there is a real world outside the individuals' consciousness. Idealism implies one type of Hermeneutic approach which is the theory of interpretation and clarification of meaning. Realism is a alternative explanation to idealism.

On the basis of these philosophical changes, methodologies of the geographical study transformed. It turns inductive from hypothesis-deductive and the main aim of these studies is to build general statements out of observations of ongoing processes. Inductive method involves moving from particular instances of relations among variables to the formulation of hypotheses and from these to the development of propositions. Many scientists had claimed that laws and theories were derived from the observation of repeated regularities, and historical dialectical method. Different trends developed because of critical revolution in geography in 1970's will continued to be important in the 1980's. Among them the most important are Environmental causation, Sustainable development, welfare approach, Marxism, Feminism, Globalization and International Trade.

8.5 GEOGRAPHICAL TRENDS AFTER 1980's.

By the late 1980's a new issue had arisen in geographical thought. It can be summerised under the heading of post modernism. Post modernism is a confusing term because it represents a combination of different ideas. As method it is critical of the idea of totality. In particular, this body of work assumes the following : that

meaning is produced in language ,not reflected by it; that meaning is not fixed but is constantly on the move and that subjectivity does not imply a conscious ,unified and rational human subject but instead a kaleidoscope of different discursive practices. In turn, the kind of method needed to get at these conceptions will need to be very supple, able to capture a multiplicity of different meanings without reducing them to the simplicity of a single structure. Derrida's deconstruction, Foucault's genealogy, Lyotard's paralogy, the discourse analysis of various social psychologists-all these are attempts to produce a method that can capture history as a set of overlapping and interlocking fields of communication and judgement. In the 1990's, both inside and outside Marxist geography, initiatives started building up to initiate debates on critical studies in theory and practice. For the first time, such a move extended beyond the Anglo -Saxon coverage, incorporating Europe, Latin America and Asia. These endeavours joining with other contemporary geographical praxis [Harvey 2000, 2001, Dear, Flusty, 2002. Johnston, Taylor and Watts, 2002, Amin and Thrift ,2002,Smith 2000] have been raising crucial questions about the relevancy of the subject in the Post Fordist ,Post Modernist world and focusing on the significance of space in social theory(Guha,Banerjee.S, 2004).

The scientific and technological revolution can release man from the bondage of space allowing the whole land to be his home, as boundaries demarcation groups of men disappear as faster modes of transportation and communication come into existence.

Geography at the end of the 20th century was engaged in fathoming the depth of disparity on a world scale and even within states, its spread and nature and ways to overcome it. So, sustainable development became the main issue. In the 21st century the world may witness globalization of a different kind-uneven distribution of resources and development leading not to dominance but to cooperation at a much higher level.

Geography as a regional science will have moved miles from what Isard (1960) made it look like when he created the idea of such science linking geography, economics and planning.

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Notes

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মানুষের জ্ঞান ও ভাবকে বইয়ের মধ্যে সঞ্চিত করিবার যে একটা প্রচুর সুবিধা আছে, সে কথা কেহই অস্বীকার করিতে পারে না। কিন্তু সেই সুবিধার দ্বারা মনের স্বাভাবিক শক্তিকে একেবারে আচ্ছন্ন করিয়া ফেলিলে বুদ্ধিকে বাবু করিয়া তোলা হয়।

— রবীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর

ভারতের একটা mission আছে, একটা গৌরবময় ভবিষ্যৎ আছে, সেই ভবিষ্যৎ ভারতের উত্তরাধিকারী আমরাই। নূতন ভারতের মুক্তির ইতিহাস আমরাই রচনা করছি এবং করব। এই বিশ্বাস আছে বলেই আমরা সব দুঃখ কষ্ট সহ্য করতে পারি, অন্ধকারময় বর্তমানকে অগ্রাহ্য করতে পারি, বাস্তবের নিষ্ঠুর সত্যগুলি আদর্শের কঠিন আঘাতে ধূলিসাৎ করতে পারি।

— সুভাষচন্দ্র বসু

Any system of education which ignores Indian conditions, requirements, history and sociology is too unscientific to commend itself to any rational support.

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PREFACE

In the curricular structure introduced by this University for students of Post-Graduate degree programme, the opportunity to pursue Post-Graduate course in any subject is equally available to all learners. Instead of being guided by any presumption about ability level, it would perhaps stand to reason if receptivity of a learner is judged in the course of the learning process. That would be entirely in keeping with the objectives of open education which does not believe in artificial differentiation.

Keeping this in view, study materials of the Post-Graduate level in different subjects are being prepared on the basis of a well laid-out syllabus. The course structure combines the best elements in the approved syllabi of Central and State Universities in respective subjects. It has been so designed as to be upgradable with the addition of new information as well as results of fresh thinking and analyses.

The accepted methodology of distance education has been followed in the preparation of these study materials. Co-operation in every form of experienced scholars is indispensable for a work of this kind. We, therefore, owe an enormous debt of gratitude to everyone whose tireless efforts went into the writing, editing and devising of a proper lay-out of the materials. Practically speaking, their role amounts to an involvement in invisible teaching. For, whoever makes use of these study materials would virtually derive the benefit of learning under their collective care without each being seen by the other.

The more a learner would seriously pursue these study materials the easier it will be for him or her to reach out to larger horizons of a subject. Care has also been taken to make the language lucid and presentation attractive so that they may be rated as quality self-learning materials. If anything remains still obscure or difficult to follow, arrangements are there to come to terms with them through the counselling sessions regularly available at the network of study centres set up by the University.

Needless to add, a great part of these efforts is still experimental-in fact, pioneering in certain areas. Naturally, there is every possibility of some lapse or deficiency here and there. However, these do admit of rectification and further improvement in due course. On the whole, therefore, these study materials are expected to evoke wider appreciation the more they receive serious attention of all concerned.

Professor (Dr.) Subha Sankar Sarkar

Vice-Chancellor

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Historical Geography

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Paper 4 - Group B
Physical Geography

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**Paper-6 : Group B(I)
Historical Geography**

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UNIT □ 1.1 NATURE SCOPE AND CONTENT; SOURCE MATERIALS OF GEOGRAPHY; LITERATURE, TRAVEL ACCOUNTS ARCHIVES AND CHRONICLES

Structure

- 1.1.0 Introduction
- 1.1.1 Definition of Historical Geography
- 1.1.2 Source Material of Historical Geography
- 1.1.3 Source Material of Historical Geography of India
- 1.1.4 Further Reading

1.1.0 Introduction

Historical geography is the study of the human, physical, fictional, theoretical and “real” geographies of the past. Historical geography studies a wide variety of issues and topics. A common theme is the study of the geographies of the past and how a place or region changes through time. Many historical geographers study, geographical patterns through time, including how people have interacted with their environment, and created the cultural landscape.

Historical geography seeks to determine how cultural features of various societies across the planet emerged and evolved, by understanding their interaction with their local environment and surroundings.

In its early days, Historical geography was difficult to define as a subject. A textbook from the 1950s cites a previous definition as an ‘unsound attempt by geographers to explain history. Its author, J.B. Mitchell, came down firmly on the side of geography : ‘the historical geographer is a geographer first last and all the time’. By 1975 the first number of the *Journal of Historical Geography* has widened the discipline to a broader church: ‘the writings of scholars of any disciplinary provenance who have something to say about matters of geographical interest relating to past time’.

For some in the United States, the term *historical geography* has a more specialized meaning: the name given by Carl Ortwin Sauer of University of California, Berkeley to his program of reorganizing cultural geography (some say all geography) along regional lines, beginning in the first decades of the 20th century. To Sauer, a landscape and the

cultures in it could only be understood if all of its influences through history were taken into account: physical, cultural, economic, political, environmental. Sauer stressed regional specialization as the only means of gaining sufficient expertise on regions of the world. Sauer's philosophy was the principal shaper of American geographic thought in the mid-20th century. Regional specialists remain in academic geography departments to this day. But some geographers feel that it harmed the discipline; that too much effort was spent on data collection and classification, and too little on analysis and explanation. Studies became more and more area-specific as later geographers struggled to find places to make names for themselves. These factors may have led in turn to the 1950s crisis in geography, which raised serious questions about geography as an academic discipline in the United States.

This sub-branch of human geography is closely related to history and environmental history. At many colleges it is a field of study in Historical studies.

1.1.1 Definition of Historical Geography

Basically Historical Geography is a sub-field of Human Geography dealing with the works of explorers and geographers of the past and their relations with the present. It can precisely be stated that Historical Geography is interested in reconstruction of past Geographical phenomena at present. So Historical Geography can be defined in more general terms that the study of past geographical or events. The study of past geographical phenomena is inseparable from geography in general, because to understand the present status of any geographical phenomenon or phenomena past study is inevitable. It is true that without having any knowledge of past events the knowledge of present becomes meaningless.

Nature, Scope and Content of Historical Geography

Since the emergence of the subject Geography as an academic discipline (Darwin) historical studies have featured prominently in the subject. The fact that historical geography studies both space (chorology) and time (chronology) leads some to contend that it is as much a mode of analysis as discrete branch of knowledge. Certainly, the field can appear almost boundless since in contrast to other sub branches of geography, it is defined not by concentration on a particular area of theme but by its focus on the dimension—that of time. It has been argued that all geography is historical geography since a full understanding of the present requires an appreciation of the past. In practice, however, the subject matter of historical geography has been defined by practitioners in a slightly less eclectic manner, typically summarized as (a) Geography of the past, (b) Changing landscapes, (c) the past in the present and (d) Geographical history.

Methodologically, these may be distributed into static or synchronic reconstruction of the past periods and process studies of geographical change. In addition to the centrality of time historical geography has also traditionally been characterized as an academic as opposed to applied discipline.

Major Areas of Temporal (Historical) Explanation in Geography

The main areas of geographic research specifically involving the study changed through time (Darwin) are : (a) cultural geography (study of landscape); (b) innovation diffusion (spread of phenomena over space through time); (c) time geography—relates to analysis of space, time, patterns and process; (d) the process–form approach to explanation—geographers are becoming more and more interested in reference to spatial process which requires study of past and present location.

Approaches to the Study of Historical Geography

There are four approaches to the study of Historical Geography

- (i) Operation of the geographical factor in history;
- (ii) Evolution of cultural landscapes;
- (iii) Reconstruction of past geography;
- (iv) Study of geographical changes through time.

(i) ***Operation of the geographical factor in history*** : In regard to the operation of geographical factor in history it is noted that any phenomenon or events could best be understood by studying, listing and classifying the operation or action of particular groups of factors and effects, each group producing its own particular pattern of influence. So in shaping the history of past the geographical factor such as physical i.e. relief, climate, soil, vegetation etc play important role. In the development of historical events geographical factors dominate the entire process of development.

(ii) ***Evolution of cultural landscapes*** : The concept of Historical Geography as the study of the changing landscape was an obvious extension of the wider concept of geography as the study of landscapes. The study of landscapes and their transformation is inseparable linked to the study of the landforms at temporal scale i.e. past. The knowledge of state of past landscapes is essential for understanding the transformed landscape i.e. the cultural landscape. Such a concept of the sub field has led to the widely subscribed view that historical geography must concern itself with the study of the process through which human groups have over time succeeded in transforming the area of their habitants from a mere pieces of virgin territory into cultural landscapes reflecting their thoughts and way of life. This approach to historical geography was

given form and substance by Darby's attempt at systematization of the major items to be included in the study of evolution of the landscape in Britain.

(iii) **Reconstruction of past geography** : Reconstruction of past geographies was by far the most orthodox and unexceptionable views of historical geography. Mackinder subscribed to this view of the subfield, so that historical geography was defined as the branches of geography specifically concerned with the study and analysis of the historical present. Most of the important studies in historical geography belonged to this type. In the interest of the present reconstruction of the past is essential. This reconstruction of past geography belonged to this type. In the interest of the present reconstruction of the past is essential. This reconstruction of past geographies is dependent on a number of source materials.

(iv) **Study of geographical change through time** : The study of geographical change through time essentially linked to the study of aerial function relationships between phenomena of diverse origins existing together in particular segments of earth surface. This relationship is extremely linked with time. Because the areal functional relationship change and develop in time i.e. the changes in geographical phenomena takes place in temporal scale.

1.1.2 Source Material of Historical Geography

The study of the geographical phenomena of the past is possible if there are certain bases. These base upon which the study of the past geographies can be carried out are called source material of Historical Geography.

The source material of Historical Geography can be classified into nine different categories. These are : (a) *Texts and literature*, (b) *Travel accounts*, (c) *Classical Geographies*, (d) *Classic Histories*, (e) *Dynastic Archives and Chronicles*, (f) *Revenue records* (g) *Military campaigns*, (h) *Temple records* and (g) *Old maps*.

These source materials are almost common for all countries.

(a) **Text and Literature**

Text, particularly religious and quasi-religious texts, such as *Vedas*, *Brahmanas*, *Sutras*, *Upanishads* and *Puranas* contain much useful material on the geographical character of the regions and places in which they were composed. Information of geographical character contained in these sources is of immense value for scholars engaged in the study of historical geography of India. These invaluable materials were used by number of scholars in their works for reconstruction of the geography of various regions of India at different points of time. Notable among them are the contribution of

Bird, J (*Historical Geography of Hindustan and the Origin of the Social State among Hindus—journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1840*), Cunningham, A (*The Ancient Geography of India, 1871*), Dey, N.L. (*Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India, 1927*), Law, B.C. (*Historical Geography of Ancient India*), Sircar, D.C. (*Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, 1960*), Walford, F. (*Ancient Geography of India—Asiatic Research, 1822, Part 14*) etc.

B.C. Law based his geography of Early Buddhism on the fragmentary evidence lying buried in the Pali-Buddhist text. N.L. Dey (1927) prepared a detailed index of all geographical references occurring in the ancient Sanskrit and Pali texts. S.M. Airs monumental work on the Geography of the Puranas broke new grounds by using the tools of modern geography to understand the real significance of geographical references in the ancient texts. The religious and quasi-religious texts of ancient India were so enriched with geographical information that being utilized painstakingly by large number of scholars, in addition to the above mentioned scholars, the following scholars are also worth mentioning: Bhargava, P.L (*The Geography of Rigvedic India - I, 1964*), Fleet, J.F (*The Topographical list of the Brihat Samlita - 'Indian Antiquary' -1899*). Majumdar, R.C (*Classical Accounts of India 1919-21*); Stein, A (*Kalhana's Rajtarangini, vol.1 and 2, 1900*) and so on. Bhargava, P.L (1964) used geographical material occurring in the Rigveda and Mukherjee, A.B. (1969) used similar material from Upanishads and the Jataka tales.

Sources Epic and Literary

The great epics Ramayana and Mahabharata are rich in geographical context. The invaluable geographical information contained in these epics was utilised successfully by number of scholars. The notable scholars who used this material are: Das, M, 1894 (*Geography of Asia based on the Ramayana - Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*), Dikshitar, V.R.R. (*Geographical Data of the Dakhin and South India as Gathered from Ramayana- Indiai 'i Culture 1935 I.4*) etc. Like Ramayana, the geographical materials contained in Mahabharata were also utilized for the study of historical geography of that period. Literary sources such as the works of Kalidasa were used for an understanding of the geography of the period by Gupta S.I, 1963 (*Meghdoot - A geographical analysis - National Geographical Journal of India 9(3.4)*), Law B.C. (*Geographical Aspects of Kalidas's Works, 1954*) and by Sivarainamurthy - 1932 (*Geography of Kalidasa - Journal of Madras Geographical Association 7,1*) etc.

(b) Travel accounts

Travel accounts constitute an invaluable source of information for the historical geographer. These records offer the rare opportunity of having an eye-witness account of the lands and peoples visited by the traveller concerned at a given point of time. In

the Indian context, most valuable among these travel records are the narratives of the Chinese pilgrims Hiuen Tsiang, and to a lesser degree, Fa-Hain and Sung-Yun; the Arab travellers Ibn Batuta and Alberuni and a number of European travellers who toured the country during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The enormous evidence in Hiuen Tsiang was ably sifted, annotated and analysed by Beal. The latter (28, 1957-58) took great pains in identifying place-names and other geographic references mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang. This evidence was utilized by Cunningham (55, 1371) who not only cast it in the geographical mould but also compared it with the accounts of Alexander's campaign to produce a brilliant geographical account of Buddhist India.

The narrative of medieval Arab traveller Ibn Batuta was translated and edited and annotated by Gidd (76, 1929; 1962). Yule (134k 1874) analysed the geographic content on India in the *Rehla*, while Haig (81, 1337) discussed his travels in Sind, identifying place-names and assessing the geographical significance of the narrative.

Wheeler (1881, 1890) and Macmillan (1895) incorporated valuable material on Indian geography as contained in the travel accounts of some important European travellers of the seventeenth century such as Terry, Delia Valle, Tavernier, Thevenot, Fryer, Hamilton, Niebuhr, Hawkins, Roe and Careri. The extracts from the works of Wheeler and Macmillan were compiled in a volume (182, 1956) and constitute a useful source material on the geography of this period. The geographical content in the account of Peter Mundy's travels in the seventeenth century was thoroughly annotated by Temple in the Hakluyt Society's edition (177, 1919).

(c) *Classical Geographies*

Classical geographies of India, such as those of the Greeks in the ancient period and of the Arabs in the medieval period, are valuable contemporary source-books for the historical geography of their time. The Greek accounts of India, among others those of Diodorus, Herodotus, Megasthenes, Arrian, Strabo, Quintus, Siculus, Justin, Plutarch, Frontinus, Nearchus, Apollonius, Pliny and Ptolemy, were extensively used in a number of studies. Cunningham's work (1871) has already been referred to; other notable contributions include McCrindle's studies (112, 1879; 113, 1882; 114, 1885; 115, 1926) on the geography of ancient India and Majumdar's commentary in his *Classical Accounts of India* (117, 1960). The value of Me Crindle's work has been enhanced by the fact that he annotated the accounts on points related to geography and identified place names with their Sanskrit originals. Me Crindle's work was later edited by Majumdar (113, 1927), who also provided detailed notes embodying later researches.

Arab geographical works on India have been similarly utilized by scholars in reconstructing the geography of early medieval India. These accounts of India came from a large number of Arab geographers, travellers, mariners and merchants, like Ibn Khurdadhbih, Ibn Haugal, Al-Masudi, Al-Maqdisi, Al-Biruni, Al-Idrisi, Abul Fida and Ibn Majid, who threw light on this otherwise little known Indian scene of the early medieval times. The geographical content of these accounts was extensively used by Ahmad (6, 1939; 7, 1947). Alavi (14, 1940; 17, 1950; 1951; 1952; 1954; 15, 1965; 16, 1966), Ahmacl (3, 1953; 1954; 1955; 9, 1956-57; 10, 1955; 11, 1954). Ali (23, 1950) and Law (104, 1955). Later Ali (19, 1960) translated section II of M. Reinauc's work from the original French and enhanced the value of the work by adding annotations, comments and explanatory notes.

(d) *Classic Histories*

Geographical material of immense value occurs in the Indian classical history. Some of the important works in this category which have been extensively utilized by scholars for reconstructing the geography of the past are *Rajatarangini*, *Chachnama*, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, *Muntakhabat-ul-Tawarikh*, *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, *Akbarnama* and *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. The geographical material in these works has been organised and made usable by the translators and editors and further utilised by those who referred to the geographical evidence contained therein to enrich and illustrate their studies on specific problems of historical geography. Notable among these contributions are those of All Ahmad and Lees on *Muntakhyb-ud-Tawarikh* (3, 1861-69), Raverty on *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* (143, 1970), Beveridge on *Akbarnama* (30, 1873-87), Blochmann (38, 1877), Jarrett (1891), D. C. Phillot (1927) and Sarkar (12, 1949) on *Ain-i-Akbari*, Stein (169, 1900) on *Rajatarangini*, Hasan (82, 1918) on *Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh*, and Ali (18, 1927-28; 1930) on *Miraat-i-Ahmadi* and Ross (155, 1895) on *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*.

Another class of works constitutes the writings which have elaborate topographical details. Of them special mention may be made, of *Haft Aqleeni*, Abdul Latif's *Journey to Bengal* (1600-09) *Malwnat-al-Afaq*, *Safarnama-i-Mukhlis* and *Chhahar Gulshan*. They have been critically examined by Ross, Harley and Haqqi (156, 1918; 1927; 1939) and Sarkar (103, 10285), besides being used by Irfan Habib in his *Agrarian System of Mughal India* (78, 1963) and Karimi in his urban geographical study of Akharnagar (99, 1970).

(e) *Dynastic Archives and Chronicles*

Geographical material is available in a scattered manner in day-books, court histories, chronicles, biographies, genealogical rolls, correspondence and orders which were maintained or were issued by the various dynamics and their courtiers. The richness of *Akbarnama* as a source of geographical material has already been alluded to. Some

other works of significance in this category, which have been utilised in geographical studies, are *Babarnama*, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* and *Tuzak-i-Jahan*. The commentaries and annotations on these texts, among others, by Beveridge (31, 1921; 1909-14) and Rogers (154, 1913; 1927; 1931) enhance their value as source material for researches on the Mughal period. Tod (179, 1329; 1832) used genealogical rolls of the Rathors furnished by Jam priests and preserved in the temple records, poetic histories and other bardic literature. They are rich in reference to the character of the tracts and of the peoples ruled by these royal lineages. Khan (83, 1939) has similarly utilized bardic literature for reconstructing the political geography of the past as far as the territories Jammu and Kashmir are concerned.

Revenue Records

For the late medieval period, Mughal documents on revenue and other agricultural statistics provide a vast treasure of useful information hitherto untraceable in Indian history for any period antecedent to the Mughals. Of these *Ain-i-Akbari* has been extensively used by economic historians such as Moreland (119, 1929) and Irfan Habib (78, 1963) whose works are important aids in research on the economic geography of Medieval India. Besides Irfan Habib's work was based on a number of contemporary sources such as *Ganj-i-Barawurd* of Amanullah Khin Husaini, *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani* of Yusuf Mirak (163-1), *Char Chaman-i-Jiarhaman* of Rai Chandrabhan Brahman (C. 1656) and *i-numbei* of accountancy manuals and statistical tables of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, notably *Yad-dasht-i itfujmil-i-Jarna* (C. 1646-7), *Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Alamgiri* (C. 1659), Nand Ram Kayastha's *Siaqnana* (1694-6) and Brij Rai's *Dasfur-al ArnaH Shahanshahi* (C. 1727).

1.1.3 Source Material of Historical Geography of India

Absence of definitive geographies and maps prepared in India during ancient and medieval periods pose a definite challenge for the scholars studying historical geography of India. The nature of source materials has posed the most serious challenges to scholars engaged in researching on the historical geography of India. It is a difficult task to search for bits of information of geographical significance in essentially non-geographical accounts, to shift the small grains of authentic facts from the gravel of myths, exaggeration and poetic fancies and to fit them into a systematic framework so as to present the man-environment relationship in a particular historical phase.

1.1.4 Further Reading

Mitchell, J.B. (1954): Historical Geography (Hodder and Stoughton educational. Journal of Historical Geography Volume 1, Number 1, 1975).

UNIT □ 1.2 TERRITORIAL ORGANISATION OF JANAPADAS IN ANCIENT INDIA; TRADE ACCOUNTS OF HIUEN TSANG AND IBN-E- BATUTA

Structure

1.2.0 Introduction

1.2.1 The Janapadas of Madhya Desa or Central Region

1.2.2 The Janapadas of Udicya or North-Western Region

1.2.3 Janapadas of Apranta or South-Western Region

1.2.4 The Janapadas of Prachya or Eastern Region

1.2.5 The Janapadas of Daksinapatha or Southern Region

1.2.6 Trade Accounts of Hiuen Tsang

1.2.7 Trade accounts of Ibn-e-Batuta

1.2.8 Further Readings

1.2.0 Introduction

The Puranic lists of journals (or territorial units) and people (or communities) are identical for the simple reason that each janapada is named after the community inhabiting it or vice-versa. For instance, the Kuru janapada was the territory occupied by the Kurus, while "Nsikyās was the name given to the people occupying the Nasik region. Thus in all Puranic accounts the terms people and janapadas are synonymous and interchangeable.

For the following discussion on the identification and location of the janapadas of Bharatavarsa we shall follow the Puranic classification and sequence. The Puranas give the list of janapadas or people in each major region in a certain order which runs as follows:

- 1) The janapadas of Madhya Desa or Central Region
- 2) The janapadas of Udicya or North-Western Region
- 3) The janapadas of Aparanta or South-Western Region
- 4) The janapadas of Prachya or Eastern Region
- 5) The janapadas of Daksinapatha or Southern Region

1.2.1 The Janapadas of Madhya Desa or Central Region

The old name of the Upper Ganga Basin, the United Provinces of Agra and Ayodhya was not too ugly for use as a label, for it suggested some of the significant disunities typical of this area, though there is enough fundamental unity for it all to be included in a single region, even if we extend its eastern limits down to the Bihar valley, to include at least Patna and the confluences of the Son and the Gandak; and its northwestern limits to the valley of the Ghaggar which lies between the Yamuna and Sutlej.

Ramayana, as well as of the Puranas, 'The Great Battle' was fought on its northwestern margins, the lead of Krishnas's early exploits was the western border, the home Rama was in Ayodhya and the centre of Brahmanism was at Varanasi. The Buddha and his creed were born here, and it was the appropriate centre of the empire of Asoka; traces of his Pataliputra still surviving in the subsoil of Patna. It was the Hindustan of the Muslim historians and Delhi, Agra, Allahabad, Jaunpur and Lucknow were medieval capitals. It has always been the heart of India, typically Indian and securely India. Central India was almost as safe a bulwark as the Himalayas both the north-western highlands (beyond Punjab) and the south-eastern ocean were remote, and the lands of approach from both were difficult and unattractive. Its security helped to make it, in a 'land of Sanctuaries', the richest in shrines; its nodality helped to make it the home of Hindi, the nearest approach amongst the Indian languages, to a *lingua franca*, and it has much fundamental unity in structure and relief, in climate and its vegetational controls, in the density and occupation of its people.

It is to be remembered that the whole Upper Ganga Basin, as defined above, was once mostly covered with woodlands and forests. The earliest Aryan settlements were on the rivers amidst cleared or open lands. It was from these nuclei that the territories of various tribes or communities who had settled there grew into compact units and led to the foundation of the respective janapadas and kingdoms. Naturally within a uniform plain the boundary lines or frontier zones between the different territories were either the broad flood plains of the great rivers or the thick forests which remained uncleared for a long time. Some of these forests (Suayamjatavana) remained the normal feature of the land. For instance the Kuru-jangala was a wild region in the Kuru realm, which, extended as far as the Kamyaka forest. The kingdom of Uttara-Panchala was founded in this jungle tract. The Anjanavana at Saketa, the Mahavana at Vaisali and the Mahavana at Kapilavastu were natural forests, which extended up to the slopes of the Himalayas. The Parileyyakavana was an elephant-forest at some distance from Kausambi on the way to Saravasti. The Lumbinivana on the Rohini the Nagavana of the Vajji kingdom,

the Salavana of the Mallas at Kusinara, the Bhesakalavana in the Bharga Kingdom, the Simsapavana at Kausambi, the forest to the north of Setavya in Kosala and the one near Alvi and the Pippalivana of the Mouriyas may be cited as typical examples of natural forests which covered a substantial area of the Basin.

The Puranic janapadas of the 'Middle Country' can therefore be defined in terms of two natural features, the rivers and the forests. They are the following:

(a) *Kuru*: The land of the Kurus was originally the hinterland of Doab west of Yamuna where they first settled. Later they pushed their boundary towards the east across the Yamuna and the Doab to the Ganga. The Puranic Janapada of Kuru may be identified with the region bounded by the Ghaggar in the west, the Ganga on the east and the forest belts in the north and the south. Their two capitals, Indraprastha on the Yamuna and Hastinapur on the Ganga are well known.

(b) *Jangala*: This Janapada is usually associated with the Kurus and is sometimes called Kuru Jangala. It may therefore be inferred that Kuru Jangala was the wasteland of the Kurus and that it occupied the wooded northeastern part of their territory, which extended up to the Kamyaka forest in the north.

(c) *Pancala*: The Janapada of Pancala may be considered as coterminous with Rohilkhand of modern times, with the central portion of the Yamuna-Ganga Doab added to it. It extended from the Ganga in the west to the Sarju on the east occupied only the northern half of their doab and the middle portion of the Yamuna and Ganga Doab. It had two divisions, the north with its capital at Ahicchatra and the southern, with its capital at Kampila. They have been identified as Ramnagar (in the Bareilly district) and Kampilya (in the Furrukhabad district) respectively. The dividing line between the northern and southern Pancala was the River Ganga. The southern boundary of the Pancala territory again coincided with forest belts already mentioned above.

(d) *Kosala*: The Kosala Janapada approximately coincided with the Sarju-Rapti Doab. It also had two capital cities, Sravasti and Saketa. According to some epics and some Buddhist works Ayodhya seems to have been the earliest capital and Saketa the later. In Buddha's time Ayodhya became an unimportant town, but Saketa and Sravasti were two of the six great cities of India. Sravasti has been identified with Sahe-Mahet which lies on the boundary of the Gonda and Bahraich districts, 19 miles from Balrampur. At times Kosala extended further south beyond the Sarju and included and not only the Gomati-Ganga-Sarju triangle but also absorbed the Janapada of Kasi.

(e) *Kasi*: It is one of the ancient janapadas with its capital at Varanasi and was counted among the sixteen Mahajanapadas of India. It extended to and included the

southern portion of the Ganga-Gomati Doab and also the Trans-Ganga Tract bounded in the north and south by forest belts.

(f) *Magadha*: Further east of the Kasi-Kosala janapadas beyond the Son and south of the Ganga was the Janapada of Magadha. It was bounded by the son on the west, the Ganga on the North and the spurs of the Vindhyan Plateau which touch the Ganga near Monghyr on the east, and Vindhyan forest on the south. This janapada should normally be included in the eastern lands but since it lies on the borders of the 'Eastern' and 'Middle Countries' and also because the territory of Magadha annexed lands to the west of the Son, the Puranas thought it fit to include Magadha too in the 'Middle Country.'

(g) *Kuntala*: This janapada has been located by Cunnigham to the south of Ganga near Chunar. If this is correct the Kuntala janapada could correspond to the Mirzapur District of U.P. between the Ganga and Son rivers. A major part of the Ganga-Son Doab was covered with forests and woodlands.

The Janapadas of the Trans-Yamuna Region (Western)

Before identification of those janapadas which were located in this region, i.e., approximately in the present east Rajasthan and which were included in the 'Middle country' of the Puranas, it would be ideal to take note of its physical framework.

The dominating features of Rajasthan are the Aravallis and the desert of Thar. The main Aravalli Range extends from Gujarat in the southwest to Delhi in the northeast. The steep front to the desert plain of Thar is formed of discontinuous ridges, the highest, the great granitic mass of Mt. Abu (5,646ft) lies off the main axis in the extreme southwest. Around Udaipur the Aravallis reach their culmination in a greatnode of spurs and curring ridges; hence another series of low ridges strike off east-north-east. These ridges run parallel to and south of the Banas river, which cuts across them towards the south, near Tonk, to join the Chambal. They then run further towards the Gambhira river to the Bharatpur region, from where they turn towards to north parallel to the Yamuna and pass through Deeg to Alwar. In Alwar, the eastern and the main western ridges meet to form a complex of low hilly country from where a spur of the same system meets the Yamuna at Delhi.

Another series of hills, low and sometimes, low and sometimes detached, belonging to the Vindhyan system runs from Chitor to Fatepur Sikri (in Agra District) north of the Chambaf. Most pronounced ridge of this system is the Bundi Range which effectively cuts off the Kotah basin from the northern regions.

Thus the whole Rajasthan may be divided into the following physical units: (i) The Awar-Jaipur region, (ii) The Bharatpur-Dholpur-Karauli region, (iii) The Bundi-Tonk region, (iv) The Mewar or Udaipur region, (v) The Trans-Aravalli region occupying the western slopes of the main Aravalli range; and (vi) The Kotah-Jhalwar basin.

In Hiuen Tsang's time (i) Alwar was called Vairata, (ii) it was a part of Surasena, later called Braja, (iii) were known as Vadari and Gujara, (iv) was included by the Puranas in the Madhyadesa and (v) the Vindhyan lands.

1.2.2 The Janapadas of Udiera or North-Western Region

A glance at the list of north-western janapadas given in the Puranas would at once show that they intend to enumerate the sub-regions of the entire basin of the Indus as well as the regions of the Makran Coast which are ethnically, politically and geographically associated with that basin. The Indus basin extends from the land drained by the Sutlej in the east to the catchment area of the Kabul river on the west and from the northernmost area.

A closer examination of the list reveals that the Puranic janapadas covered the following zones or sub-regions of the Indus region as defined above:

- a) The western mountainous zone. This included the present Makran, Baluchistan and Waziristan.
- b) The northern and northeastern mountain (or the Himalayan) zone drained by the affluents of the Kabul and the Indus rivers.
- c) The western bank of the Indus from its confluence with Kabul river to the delta of the Indus.
- d) The eastern bank of the Indus from the Punjanad (where all the Punjab rivers meet) to the sea.
- e) The Punjab plains
- f) The deltas.

(1) *The janapads of the Western Mountainous zone*

(a) *The Makran region:*

- (i) One of the regions of the Makran is the basin of the river Hingol, a winter torrent named Tomeros by the Greeks. Its principal town, Hinglaz contained among others an important shrine of Siva which used to draw crowds of pilgrims from India. The shrine appears to have been in existence even before the days of Alexander.

In medieval times when Makran was under the Arabs, Hinglaj rose in importance and was one of the principal towns of those regions. The Puranas recognize it as a janapada under the name Angaloka.

- (ii) A region adjoining Hingol valley is that of the Parikan River. Herodotus called the inhabitants of this region as the Parikanoi (a Greek transcript of the Persian form of Parikan the plural of the Sanskrit Parvaka meaning the people of the hills). The Puranas appear to designate this janapada by the name Pallava.
- (iii) The valley of the Dasht river, though an insignificant river now, may have supported a community or tribe in ancient times. This valley and the adjoining valley of the Bahu river, on whose mouth Gwadaor is situated, gained considerable importance under the Arabs who considered Makran as the threshold of India and whose main routes from Bampur (southeaster Persia) to Debel (Indus Delta) traversed those valleys behind the coastal ranges. Ibn-i-Haukal, Istakhri and Idrisi mentioned the grandeur of their towns, Kiz, Rasak and Faharpara etc.
- (iv) The next region in Makran towards the Indus delta is that of the river Purabi known as Lasbela. The city of Annabel is at present only an insignificant town, but picturesquely perched on the banks of the Purali river, it was an important centre during the Arab occupation and commanded for hundreds of years of coastal high road to India. The whole of the valley is rich in ancient sites like Gondakahar and Gondrani and was part of a Buddhist kingdom which extended from Armabel to Gandava (near Kalat).

(b) *Baliuchistan and Waziristan*

- (i) *Kalatayaka* of the Puranas is apparently the Kalat region of Baluchistan. It practically coincides with the valley of the Malla river which almost touches the foot of the bounding ranges.
- (ii) *Bahlka or Valhlka*: Balis was a well-known region of Baluchistan, south of Quetta and the Bolan Pass, whose rivers, though not reaching the Indus, drain its basin. It has been described as 'a district in the desert'. It is a place with much cultivation but with few amenities. It contains a few towns, such as Afnjai, Kushk, Sivi of which Kushk was the residence of the Amir. It was also known as Balistan. Vahiika of the Puranas evidently corresponds to the region covered by the valley of the Bolqn, Nari and Gokh rivers. It almost coincided with what was formerly known as British Baluchistan, the land of the Balochis.
- (iii) North of the Vahiika region, we come to the valleys of the Zhob, The Kunder and the Gomal. The upper Gornal has always supported one of the most famous people

of the region, the Waziris, who have retained their identity and independence even up to the present time.

- (iv) Further north one can come across the important valleys of Kurram and its affluent, the Tochi. The upper Kurram irrigates the Thai region, one of the most beautiful spots in North Waziristan which is probably identical with the Talagana janapada of the Puranas. The Tochi River has given its name to the tribe which occupies its valleys, the Tochis.
- (v) North of the Talagana and adjoining the Peshwar is the land of the well-known tribe, the Afridis. It is certainly the same as the Aprytac of Synelas or the Aprita of the Puranas and the Mahabharata.

(2) *The janapadas of the Northern Mountain zone of the Indus Basin*

(a) *The Basin of the Kabul River*

Practically all the tributaries of the Kabul river which reach it from the northern mountains are associated with tribes or communities which are in most cases synonymous with the Puranic janapadas of the same name. The following associations have been available:

Gandhara (associated with the lower Kabul valley).

Satadruja the valley of the Panjkora, which meets the Swat river downstream, has been the home of another frontier tribe with its capital at Dir. It may be identified with the Darva janapada of the Puranas.

Kamboja (associated with the valley of the Kunar River) is to be noted that the Puranas did not mention Kamboja as a part of the Indus basin.

Lampaka (associated with the upper Kabul valley) is the same as the Lambagae of the Greeks and Lamghan of Loday.

(b) *The Northern and Northeastern Mountain (Himalayan) Zone*

The following intermontane valley region which are fairly well-known has rightly been included by the Puranas in their list of the janapadas of the Indus Basin, since all of them lie on the affluents of the Indus which join it on its left or eastern bank.

1. Aurusa is the same as ancient Urusa or the modern Hazara district of the North-Western Frontier Province of Pakistan.
2. Darada is still the land of an ancient tribe known as Daradas who live in the valley of river Kisenganga in Kashmir, Shardi is its principal town.
3. Kasmira or Kashmir valley drained by the Jhelum River.

(3) *The Western bank of the Indus from the Kabul River to the delta of the Indus*

The lowland belt which runs parallel to the Indus along its western bank has always been an extremely dry and sandy tract. Ptolemy mentioned for only about a dozen towns of some importance from Amb (Embolina) to Karachi (Kolaka). There were however, a few communities which occupied the valleys of western streams which could find their way into the Indus in spite of the intervening desert belt. One of such rivers is the Kurram whose valley was the territory of the Vatadhanas already mentioned. On the south of this territory appears a town named Paradabhatra in Ptolemy's list of stages on the route parallel to the west bank of the Indus. The name is indicative of a janapada mentioned in the Puranas as Parada which from the Greek accounts appears to coincide with Mithankot region of Dera Ghazi Khan district of the Punjab (Pakistan).

South of the Parada and west of the Indus was the Sindhu janapada which extended along the bank of the river as far south as Sahwan, and important stage on the north-south route.

(4) *The janayadas of the eastern bank of Indus from the Panchanad to the Delta*

- (i) the Puranas mention two janapadas which, according to various references to have occupied the eastern littoral of the Indus, one of them was the Sudra (Xodraka of the Greeks, expressly mentioned by Ptolemy as a region on the left bank of the Indus). The Sudras, according to the Mahabharata occupied the region where the Saraswati disappeared in the desert. If the dry bed of the Harka is taken as that of the Saraswati (which is probable), the Sudra janapada with the Uch-Khanpur region of Bahawalpur can be identified.
- (ii) Further downstream was the land of Suviras who from all accounts, occupied the territory contiguous to that of the Sindh but on the opposite bank of the river. Sauvira, therefore, coincides with the Bohri-Khairpur region of Sindh.
- (iii) To the South of Saivira, but again east of the Indus where it starts flowing in a number of deltaic streams, was the land of Abhiras. The janapada of Abhira (Aberia of the Periplus) therefore practically covered the western part of the Hyderabad district of Sind.

(5) *The janapadas of the Punjab Plains*

The name Punjab or Panchanad was applied originally only to the five great rivers of the Salt Range – in the days when the Beas did not join the Sutlej up to Bahawalpur. All these rivers have always been of great importance, the distribution and movements of the people depended wholly and directly on them, and though their courses have

been changing and still change within certain limits and their shoals shift, they carry a considerable amount of water and have always formed with few exceptions, boundaries between the janapadas of ancient India and also the districts of today. But the boundaries have been largely related to the vagaries of the rivers which have been changing their courses all the time. For instance in the extreme south of the Sind-Sagar Doab, the Indus changed its course over a canal dug from the Chenab to the Indus and the Chenab had to make a new confluence with it about 60 miles further south. Multan once stood on an island in the Ravi and Tamerlane's men could work down the Ravi into the Chenab; but the Ravi joins the Chenab now above Multan thirty miles above.

A characteristic of the doabs of the Punjab is the occurrence of high banks between pairs of rivers. These not only provided excellent sites for towns and cities but also checked to some extent the shifting of the channels. Thus the Jhelum and the Chenab could never swing west of the Jhelum bank (right bank) or east of the Chenab bank (left bank); and the same is true of the right bank of the old Beas and the left bank of the Sutlej. In fact the high bank of the Jhelum runs the whole way along its western flank, isolating it wholly from the Indus.

Before the irrigation canals came into existence, the population distribution in the doabs was always concentrated in the northern belt of a doab, i.e., the piedmont zone of the mountains. It is no wonder therefore that in general the capital cities of the ancient janapadas of the Punjab were located on strategic sites at the foot of the mountains.

The following is a brief analysis of Puranic list of the janapadas of Punjab and their relation to the major rivers and their doabs.

- i. **Gandhara** has already been mentioned along with the **Trans-Indus janapadas**. In fact it extended across the upper Indus to the line of hills which radiate from the Rawalpindi to the south-west, thus encircling the north-western corner of the Sind-Sagar Doab which faced towards the west rather than the east.
- ii. Another sub-region of the **Sind-Sagar Doab** is the basin of the river Sohan which is completely enclosed by the Salt Range on the east and the valley of the Indus on the west. The northern part of this basin, i.e. the Rawalpindi and Pindi Gheli region appears to coincide with the **Sinika** or **Pidika** janapada of the Puranas, while the eastern basin, i.e., the Talagang-Minawali region was probably unpopulated due to aridity of landscape.
- iii. Adjacent to the above and its east was the janapada named **Jaguda** or **Jangala** which coincided with the southern half of the Jhelum-Chenab Doab. Jangala usually indicated an arid bushy country according to the Puranas.

- iv. The northern portion of the Jhelum-Chenab Doab comprised the famous janapada of **Kaikeya** whose capital **Rajgarha** or **Girivraja** has been identified with Jalalpur by Cunningham.
- v. The Ravi-Chenab Doab was the land of the Madrakas whose capital Sakela has been identified with Sainglawala Tibba by Cunningham.

1.2.3 Janapadas of Apranta or South-Western Region

The Matsya Purana enumerates the following janapadas which are designated as the Western Janapadas.

(a) Janapadas mentioned in Matsya Purana

- i. Barukaccha which has been rightly identified as the Broach region. To be precise the coastal janapada was located north of the estuary of the Narmada and extended to the south of the Mahi.
- ii. Samahiya janapada is associated with the Mahi river and appears to have been contiguous to Bharukaccha. The relief features which demarcated these two janapadas in the dead-level coastal plain could only be the lower Mahi which forms a wide estuary at its mouth. It appears to have included the entire basin of the Sabarmati situated north of the Mahi.
- iii. Saraswata janapada coincided with the region drained by the river Saraswati which falls into the Rann of Kutch. It corresponds with the Patna-Mehasana Plains between the foothills of the Aravallis and the Kutch.
- iv. The Saraswata adjoined the Arbuda janapada which was situated to its north-east and occupied the south-western spurs of the Aravallis which contained and enclosed the headwaters of the rivers Sabarmati and Banas. It may have coincided with the Sirohi-Kotra-Palanpur triangle.
- v. Kachika janapada was no doubt the Kutch region.
- vi. The Kathiwar peninsula was divided into two janapadas, Anarta and Surastra, the former occupying the northern half and the latter the southern; both separated by the thickly forested mountain core of the peninsula.

(b) Janapadas mentioned in Puranas other than Matsya Purana

A few more janapadas have been included by other Puranas (except Matsya) in the western region of Bharatvarsa, but Matsya locates them in the south and includes them

in the list of southern janapadas. The conclusion is that Matsya prefers Narmada as the natural and cultural boundary between southern India and the rest of the country. Other Puranas carry this boundary further south to include the Tapti valley and as we will see presently their boundary followed the crest of the hills (Sahyadri), Gawilgarh, Ajanta, Mahadeo and Maikal) which extend in a general east-west direction south of Tapti.

The janapadas which have been added by some Puranas on account of the shifting of the dividing line between north and south India are as follows:

- (i) Surala (Siralā, Murala). This janapada in all probability coincided with the lower Tapti basin centred round Surat and Navasari which command this region. This identification has a purely regional basis and needs confirmation from extra-geographical sources.
- (ii) Tapasa (Tamasa, Svapada) janapada was identical with the Khandes region which played an important role in medieval history. It covered the whole of the middle Tapti basin between the Sahyadri and Satpura hills and lay towards the east-west route, along the Tapti valley and the subsidiary southern route to upper Godavari. Its core appears to have been roughly the quadrilateral formed by the towns of Savda (near Bhusawai), Pacohra, southwest of Jalgaon, Songir and Tapal as shown on modern maps.
- (iii) Further up the Tapti valley there appears to have been another janapada, Turiamina which was drained by the upper Tapti. This janapada is likely to have covered the whole valley of the Tapti between Badnur and Burhanpur and approximately coincided with southern Nimar.
- (iv) The valley of the River Purna, a tributary of the Tapti which is separated by the former by the Gawilgarh Hills was divided into two territories. The middle and lower Purna valley formed the Rupasa janapada, and the upper Purna valley, the Karaskara. The latter occupied the southern foothills of the Gawilgarh hills near the existing Elichpur and Karasgaon towns in northern Amaravati.
- (v) Nasikya appears to be associated with the present town of Nasik and the janapada probably covered the whole of the Darna basin in which Nasik is situated. The Vayu Purana adds that, besides these janapadas, there are other also which are located on the banks of the Narmada but they are not mentioned. This statement shows that the above janapadas are exclusive of the Narmada janapadas, which is correct since none of the janapadas mentioned above happens to be in or about the Narmada valley.

(c) *Janapadas added to the list of western janapadas*

The following janapadas have been added to the list of western janapadas by some Puranas (Makandeya, Vayu and Brahmanda) but have been omitted altogether by the Matsya. This shows that these janapadas were added when more details regarding the western coast of India became available.

- (i) Surparaka (or Suryaraka) is evidently the western coastal plain drained by the river Surya which runs parallel to the coast from north to south and enters the sea near Bassein. It approximately with the Thane district of Maharashtra. In fact both the names of this janapada as given by different Puranas are correct. The sites of Safale, Nala Sopara and Siopara which occur within this region are marked on modern maps.
- (ii) Kalavana (Kolavana) appears to be associated with the towns of Kalavan which stands on the Girna river, a southern tributary of the Tapti. The Kalavana janapada, covered the Girna valley up to the point where it descended from the plateau into the plain of the Tapti, that is up to. Chalisgaon. It was separated from the Nasikya janapada by the Chandor range and the Surala janapada by the crest of the Western Ghats.
- (iii) There are only two regions in the western coastal plain which remain unaccounted for in the above scheme of identifications. One is the coastal plain between the mouths of the Tapti and Narmada rivers and the other between the Surala and Suryaraka janapadas. The former may be the Kuliya janapada drained by the Kim River and the latter the Durga.

1.2.4 The Janapadas of Prachya or Eastern Region

The Prachya or 'Eastern Country; of the puranas may be broadly defined as the basins of the lower Ganga and the Brahmaputra rivers.

Anga

The first reference to the Angas is found in the Atharva-Veda where they find mention along with the Magadhas, Gandharis and the Mujavats, apparently as a despised people. The Jaina Prajnapanana ranks Angas and Vangas in the first group of Aryan people. It mentions the principal cities of ancient India. It was also a great center of trade and commerce and its merchants regularly sailed to distant Suvarnabhumi. Anga was annexed by Magadha in the time of Bimbisara.

Magadha

The Magadha was one of the most prominent and prosperous of mahajanpadas. The capital city Pataliputra (Patna, Bihar) was situated on the confluence of major rivers like Ganga, Son, Punpun and Gandak. The alluvial plains of this region and its proximity to the iron rich areas of Bihar and Jharkhand helped the kingdom to develop good quality weapons and support the agrarian economy. These factors helped Magadha to emerge as the most prosperous state of that period. The kingdom of the Magadhas roughly corresponded to the modern districts of Patna and Gaya in southern Bihar and parts of Bengal in the east. The capital city of Patna was bounded in the north by river Ganges, in the east by the river Champa, in the south by the Vindhya mountains and in the west by the river Sona. During Buddha's time its boundaries included Anga. Its earliest capital was Girivraja or Rajagriha (modern Rajgir in Patna district of Bihar). The other names for the city were Magadhapura, Brihadrathapura, Vasumati, Kushagrapura and Bimbisarpuri. It was an active center of Jainism in ancient times. The first Buddhist Council was held in Rajagriha in the Vaibhara Hills. Later on, Pataliputra became the capital of Magadha.

Kalinga

The ancient territorial subdivision of east-central India, Kalinga corresponded to various states which were: the present day northern Andhra Pradesh, almost the whole of Orissa and also a little portion of Madhya Pradesh. Kalinga strictly stretched not even a little farther than the south of the Godavari River thereby excluding the territory of Andhra which lied between Godavari and Krishna, then known as Vengi.

Semi-Hindu tribes were the inhabitants of the hinterland of Kalinga which was led through the thickly forested and mountainous country of the central India and the Indo-Gangetic Plain's. Kalinga was the host to a rich seaborne trade with Myanmar (then Burma) and also with farther south and east areas. This rich sea trade was possible due to the ports of Kakinada, Vishakhapatnam, Chicacole, and Ganjam and the important cities of Rajahmundry and Vizianagaram.

It was first conquered by the founder of the Nanda Dynasty (c.343 - C.321 BCE), Mahapadma of Magadha. Later the Magadhan Empire succeeded Kalinga a little later after the fall of the Nanda dynasty. But no later the Mauryan king Ashoka recaptured and took over Kalinga's throne in the 3rd century BC. Ashoka conquered Kalinga after the unpopular Kalinga war which is believed to be a terrible war and which saw a lot of bloodshed and chaos. It is said that it was after this war that King Ashoka converted to Buddhism after witnessing so much of bloodshed and destruction.

When the historical Kalinga war was fought which proved to be a turning point for the Mauryan emperor Asoka and made him embrace non-violence and the teachings of Buddha. This war had witnessed the maximum bloodshed and furious killing. The military campaign of Ashoka against Kalinga was one of the bloodiest in Mauryan history. On account of his army's unexpected bravery, Emperor Asoka issued two edicts specifically calling for a just and benign administration in Kalinga. However the south of Orissa remained unconquered by this Mauryan Emperor. Eventually it was Ashoka who began spreading Buddhism and Buddhist philosophy all over Asia.

Eventually the coastal parts were ruled by the Somavamshis of southern Kosala, who controlled the strategic town of Chakrakotta (in the former Bastar state). Out of all the rulers of Kalinga, the most famous ones were the Eastern Gangas (Ganga Dynasty). Their dynasty began ruling in the mid-11th century. They sometimes competed and allied themselves with the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi.

The following century saw the renowned Anantavarman Chodnagadeva, who built the temple of Jagannath at Puri. This temple was later protected and looked after by the Eastern Gangas (Ganga Dynasty), and like typical Indian belief the God was treated as their landlord.

Then in the 13th century the famous Sun temple at Konark was built by Narasimha I. From 1238 to 1305 the Eastern Gangas successfully ruled and withstood the Muslim infiltration, which happened in the north. But the downfall of the dynasty started in 1324 when the Sultan of Delhi invaded south Kalinga.

1.2.5 The Janapadas of Dakshinapatha or Southern Region

Assaka or Ashmaka

The Country of Assaka or the Ashmaka tribe was located in *Dakshinapatha* or southern India. In Buddha's time, the Assakas were located on the banks of the river Godavari (south of the Vindhya mountains). The capital of the Assakas was Potana or Potali, which corresponds to Paudanya of Mahabharata. The Ashmakas are also mentioned by Panini. They are placed in the north-west in the *Markendeya Purana* and the *Brhat Samhita*. The river Godavari separated the country of the Assakas from that of the Mulakas (or Alakas). The commentator of Kautiliya's Arthashastra identifies Ashmaka with Maharashtra. The country of Assaka lay outside the pale of Madhyadesa. It was located on a southern high road, the *Dakshinapatha*. At one time, Assaka included Mulaka and abutted Avanti.

Kuntala

The Kuntala janapada was located in southern Maharashtra and northern Karnataka state before it was annexed into the Magadha Empire. The Kuntala janapada comprised modern Kolhapur, Satara, Solapur, Ahmadnagar and Bid (Maharashtra), as well, North Karnataka and the Simoga and Chitaldurga districts of the old Mysore State. In an inscriptional passage the upper valley of the Krishna is said to be in the country of Kuntala (Mirashi, Studies in Indology, Vol. I, p. 9.). In the Udayasundarikatha of Sodhdhala (11th cen. AD.) Pratisthana on the Godavari is the capital of the Kuntala country. The Aihole inscription (7th cen. AD.) speaks of three Maharashtra: Vidarbha, Aparanta and Kuntala. It is described as a seven and half lakh province. The Early Chalukyas of Badami and the Later Chalukyas of Kalyani were known as Kuntaleshwaras or lords of Kuntala. Satavahanas and Rastrakutas were known as Kuntalesvaras (rulers from Kuntala).

Kuntala Janapada issued coins dated to 600 to 450 BC. This is one of the seventeen Janapadas which issued coins before Mauryas. The usual coin from Kuntala has a mysterious design that resembles a system of pulleys with or without a triskele symbol. These coins have previously been assigned to the Ashmaka Janapada, but are now assigned to Kuntala. Because of the force of the striking of the die on a round planchet, these coins have a scyphate shape. The coins are in copper and silver. The highest denomination weighs from 6.3g to 7.5g. Their symbols include Scorpion.

Avanti

The country of the Avantis was an important kingdom of western India and was one of the four great monarchies in India in the post era of Mahavira and Buddha. The other three being Kosala, Vatsa and Magadha. Avanti was divided into north and south by the river Vetravati. Initially, Mahissati (Sanskrit Mahishamati) was the capital of Southern Avanti, and Ujjaini (Sanskrit: Ujjayini) was of northern Avanti, but at the times of Mahavira and Buddha, Ujjaini was the capital of integrated Avanti. The country of Avanti roughly corresponded to modern Malwa, Nimar and adjoining parts of the Madhya Pradesh. Both Mahishmati and Ujjaini stood on the southern high road called *Dakshinapatha* which extended from Rajagriha to Pratisthana (modern Paithan). Avanti was an important center of Buddhism and some of the leading *theras* and *ihells* were born and resided there. King Nandivardhana of Avanti was defeated by king Shishunaga of Magadha. Avanti later became part of the Magadhan empire.

1.2.6 Trade Accounts of Hiuen Tsang

Hiuen Tsang (602 - 664) was a famous Chinese Buddhist monk, scholar, traveller, and translator who described the interaction between China and India in the early Tang

period (618 - 907 AD). Born in Henan province of China in 602 or 603, from boyhood he took to reading sacred books, including the Chinese Classics and the writings of the ancient sages.

While residing in the city of Luoyang, Xuanzang entered Buddhist monkhood at the age of thirteen. Due to the political and social unrest caused by the fall of the Sui dynasty, he went to Chengdu in Sichuan (Szechuan), where he was ordained at the age of twenty. He later travelled throughout China in search of sacred books of Buddhism. At length, he came to Chang'an, then under the peaceful rule of Emperor Taizong of Tang. Here Hiuen Tsang developed the desire to visit India. He knew about Faxian's visit to India and, like him, was concerned about the incomplete and misinterpreted nature of the Buddhist scriptures that had reached China.

He became famous for his seventeen year overland journey to India, which is recorded in detail in his autobiography as well as a biography, both of which provided the inspiration for the epic novel *Journey to the West*.

In 629, Hiuen Tsang reportedly had a dream that convinced him to journey to India. The Tang Dynasty and Eastern Tiirk Gokturks were waging war at the time; therefore Emperor Tang Taizong prohibited foreign travel. Hiuen Tsang persuaded some Buddhist guards at the gates of Yumen and slipped out of the empire via Liangzhou (Gansu), and Qinghai province. He subsequently travelled across the Gobi Desert to Kumul (Hami), thence following the Tian Shan westward, arriving in Turpan in 630. Here he met the king of Turpan, a Buddhist who equipped him further for his travels with letters of introduction and valuables to serve as funds.

Moving further westward, Hiuen Tsang escaped robbers to reach Yanqi, then toured the non-Mahayana monasteries of Kucha. Further west he passed Aksu before turning northwest to cross the Tian Shan's Bedal Pass into, modern Kyrgyzstan. He skirted Issyk Kul before visiting Tokmak on its northwest, and met the great Khan of the Western Tiirk, whose relationship to the Tang emperor was friendly at the time. After a feast, Hiuen Tsang continued west then southwest to Tashkent (Chach/Che-Shih), capital of modern day Uzbekistan. From here, he crossed the desert further west to Samarkand. In Samarkand, which was under Persian influence, the party came across some abandoned Buddhist temples and Hiuen Tsang impressed the local king with his preaching. Setting out again to the south, Hiuen Tsang crossed a spur of the Pamirs and passed through the famous Iron Gates. Continuing southward, he reached the Amu Darya and Termez, where he encountered a community of more than a thousand Buddhist monks.

Further east he passed through Kunduz, where he stayed for some time to witness the funeral rites of Prince Tardu, who had been poisoned. Here he met the monk Dharmasimha, and on the advice of the late Tardu made the trip westward to Balkh (modern day Afghanistan), to see the Buddhist sites and relics, especially the Nava Vihara, or Nawbahar, which he described as the westernmost monastic institution in the world. Here Hiuen Tsang also found over 3,000 non-Mahayana monks, including Prajnakara, a monk with whom Hiuen Tsang studied early Buddhist scriptures. He acquired the important Mahavibhasa text here, which he later translated into Chinese. Prajnakara then accompanied the party southward to Bamyān where Hiuen Tsang met the king and saw tens of non-Mahayana monasteries, in addition to the two large Bamyān Buddhas carved out of the rockface. The party then resumed their travel eastward, crossing the Shibar Pass and descending to the regional capital of Kapisi (about 60 km north of modern Kabul), which sported over 100 monasteries and 6,000 monks, mostly Mahayana. This was part of the fabled old land of Gandhara. Hiuen Tsang took part in a religious debate here, and demonstrated his knowledge of many Buddhist schools. Here he also met the first Jains and Hindus of his journey. He pushed on to Adinapur (later named Jalalabad) and Laghman, where he considered himself to have reached India. The year was 630.

Hiuen Tsang left Adinapur, which had few Buddhist monks, but many stupas and monasteries. His travels included, passing through Hunza and the Khyber Pass to the east, reaching the former capital of Gandhara, Purushapura (Peshawar), on the other side. Peshawar was nothing compared to its former glory, and Buddhism was declining in the region. Hiuen Tsang visited a number of stupas around Peshawar, notably the Kanishka Stupa. This stupa was built just southeast of Peshawar, by a former king of the city. In 1908, it was rediscovered by D.B. Spooner with the help of Hiuen Tsang's account.

Hiuen Tsang left Peshawar and travelled northeast to the Swat Valley (the location of Oddiyana is disputed between Swat valley and Odisha). Reaching Oddiyana, he found 1,400 old monasteries, that had previously supported 18,000 monks. The remnant monks were of the Mahayana school. Xuanzang continued northward and into the Buner Valley, before doubling back via Shabaz Gharni to cross the Indus river at Hund. Thereafter he headed to Taxila, a Mahayana Buddhist kingdom that was a vassal of Kashmir, which is precisely where he headed next. Here he found 5,000 more Buddhist monks in 100 monasteries. Here he met a talented Mahayana monk and spent his next two years (631-633) studying Mahayana alongside other schools of Buddhism. During this time, Hiuen Tsang writes about the Fourth Buddhist council that took place nearby,

ca. 100 AD, under the order of King Kanishka of Kushana. He visited Chiniot and Lahore as well and provided the earliest writings available on the ancient cities.

In 633, Hiuen Tsang left Kashmir and journeyed south to Chinabhukti, thought to be modern Firozpur India, where he studied for a year with the monk-prince Vinitaprabha.

In 634, he went east to Jalandhar in eastern Punjab, before climbing up to visit predominantly non-Mahayana monasteries in the Kullu valley and turning southward again to Bairat and then Mathura, on the Yamuna river. Mathura had 2,000 monks of both major Buddhist branches, despite being Hindu-dominated. Hiuen Tsang travelled up the river to Srughna before crossing eastward to Matipura, where he arrived in 635, having crossed the river Ganges. At Matipura Monastery, Hiuen Tsang studied under Mitrasena. From here, he headed south to Sankasya (Kapitha), said to be where Buddha descended from heaven, then onward to the northern Indian emperor Harsha's grand capital of Kanyakubja (Kannauj). It is believed he also visited Govishan present day Kashipur in the Harsha era, in 636, Hiuen Tsang encountered 100 monasteries of 10,000 monks (both Mahayana and non-Mahayana), and was impressed by the king's patronage of both scholarship and Buddhism. Hiuen Tsang spent time in the city studying early Buddhist scriptures, before setting off eastward again for Ayodhya (Saketa), homeland of the Yogacara school. Hiuen Tsang now moved south to Kausambi (Kosam), where he had a copy made from an important local image of the Buddha.

Hiuen Tsang now returned northward to Sravasti, travelled through Terai in the southern part of modern Nepal (here he found deserted Buddhist monasteries) and thence to Kapilavastu, his last stop before Lumbini, the birthplace of Buddha. Reaching Lumbini, he would have seen a pillar near the old Ashoka tree that Buddha is said to have been born under. This was from the reign of emperor Ashoka, and records that he worshipped at the spot. The pillar was rediscovered by A. Fiihrer in 1895.

In 637, Hiuen Tsang set out from Lumbini to Kusinagara, the site of Buddha's death, before heading southwest to the deer park at Sarnath where Buddha gave his first sermon, and where Hiuen Tsang found 1,500 resident monks. Travelling eastward, at first via Varanasi, Hiuen Tsang reached Vaisali, Pataliputra (Patna) and Bodh Gaya. He was then accompanied by local monks to Nalanda, the great Buddhist university of Indian state of Bihar, where he spent at least the next two years. He was in the company of several thousand scholar-monks, whom he praised. Hiuen Tsang studied logic, grammar, Sanskrit, and the Yogacara school of Buddhism during his time at Nalanda. Rene Grousset notes that it was at Nalanda (where an "azure pool winds around the monasteries, adorned with the full-blown cups of the blue lotus; the dazzling red flowers of the lovely kanaka hang here and there, and outside groves of mango trees offer the

inhabitants their dense and protective shade”) that Hiuen Tsang met the venerable Silabhadra, the monastery’s superior. Silabhadra had dreamt of Hiuen Tsang’s arrival and that it would help spread far and wide the Holy Law. Grousset writes: “The Chinese pilgrim had finally found the omniscient master, the incomparable metaphysician who was to make known to him the ultimate secrets of the idealist systems. The founders of Mahayana idealism, Asanga and Vasubandhu...Dignaga...Dharmapala had in turn trained Silabhadra. Siladhadra was thus in a position to make available to the Sino-Japanese world the entire heritage of Buddhist idealism, and the *Siddhi* Hiuen Tsang’s great philosophical treatise...is none other than the *Sitmma* of this doctrine, the fruit of seven centuries of Indian [Buddhist] thought.”

From Nalanda, Hiuen Tsang travelled through several countries, including Campa, to the capital of Pundravardhana, identified with modern Mahasthangarh, in Bangladesh. There Hiuen Tsang found 20 monasteries with over 3,000 monks studying both the Hinayana and the Mahayana. One of them was the Vasibha Monastery (Po Shi Po), where he found over 700 Mahayana monks from all over East India. He also visited a stupa originally built by Ashoka Somapura Mahavihara at Paharpur in the district of Naogaon, Bangladesh.

After crossing the Karatoya, he went east to the ancient city of Pragiyotishpur (modern Guwahati) in the kingdom of Kamarupa (modern Assam) at the invitation of its Buddhist king Kumar Bhaskaravarman. Later, the king escorted Hiuen Tsang back to the Kannauj at the request of king Harshavardhana, who was an ally of Kumar Bhaskaravarman. to attend a great Buddhist council there which was attended by both the kings.

Hiuen Tsang turned southward and travelled to Andhradesa to visit the famous Viharas at Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda. He stayed at Amaravati and studied ‘Abhidhammapitakam’. He observed that there were many Viharas at Amaravati and some of them were deserted. He later proceeded to Kanchi, the imperial capital of Palavas and a strong centre of Buddhism.

Travelling through the Khyber Pass of the Hindu Kush, Hiuen Tsang passed through Kashgar, Khotan, and Dunhuang on his way back to China. He arrived in the capital Changan, on the seventh day of the first month of 645, and a great procession celebrated his return.

Return to China

On his return to China in AD 645, Hiuen Tsang was greeted with much honour but he refused all high civil appointments offered by the still-reigning emperor, Emperor

Taizong of Tang. Instead, he retired to a monastery and devoted his energy to translating Buddhist texts until his death in AD 664.

1.2.7 Trade accounts of Ibn-e-Batuta

Ibn-e-Batuta (1304-1368) was a Moroccan Berber Muslim scholar and traveller who is known for the account of his travels and excursions called the *Rihla* (Voyage) in Arabic. His journeys lasted for a period of nearly thirty years and covered almost the entirety of the known Islamic world and beyond, extending from North Africa, West Africa, Southern Europe and Eastern Europe in the West, to the Middle East, Indian subcontinent, Central Asia, Southeast Asia and China in the East, a distance readily surpassing that of his predecessors and his near-contemporary Marco Polo. With this extensive account of his journey, Ibn-e-Batuta is often considered as one of the greatest travellers ever.

A 13th century book illustration produced in Baghdad by al-Wasiti showing a group of pilgrims on a Hajj. All that is known about Ibn-e-Batuta's life comes from the autobiographical information included in the account of his travels. Ibn-e-Batuta was born into a family of Islamic legal scholars in Tangier, Morocco, on February 24, 1304 during the time of the Marinid dynasty. As a young man he would have studied the Sunni Maliki "school" of Muslim law which was dominant in North Africa at the time. In June 1325, when he was twenty one years old, Ibn Battuta set off from his hometown on a hajj (pilgrimage) to Mecca, a journey that would take 16 months, but he would not see Morocco again for 24 years. His journey to Mecca was by land and followed the North African coast crossing the sultanates of Abd al-Wadid and Hafsid. His route passed through Tlemcen, Bejala and then to Tunis where he stayed for two months. He usually chose to join a caravan to reduce the risk of being attacked. In the town of Sfax, he got married for the first of several occasions on his journeys. In the early spring of 1326, after a journey of over 3,500 km (2,200 mi), Ibn-e-Batuta arrived at the port of Alexandria, then part of the Bahri Mamluk Empire.

He spent several weeks visiting the sites and then headed inland to Cairo, a large important city and capital of the Mamluk kingdom, where he stayed for about a month. Within Mamluk territory, travelling was relatively safe and he embarked on the first of his many detours. Three commonly used routes existed to Mecca, and Ibn-e-Batuta chose the least-travelled: a journey up the Nile valley, then east to the Red Sea port of Aydhab. However, upon approaching the town he was forced to turn back due to a local rebellion. Returning to Cairo, Ibn Battuta took a second side trip to Damascus (then controlled by the Mamluks), having encountered a holy man during his first trip who prophesied that he would only reach Mecca after a journey through Syria. An additional

advantage to the side journey was that other holy places lay along the route — Hebron, Jerusalem, and Bethlehem, and the Mamluk authorities made great efforts to keep the routes safe for pilgrims. After spending the Muslim month of Ramadan in Damascus, he joined up with a caravan travelling the 1,500 km (930 mi) from Damascus to Medina, burial place of the Islamic prophet Muhammad. After 4 days in the town, he journeyed on to Mecca. There he completed the usual rituals of a Muslim pilgrim, and having graduated to the status of al-Hajji, faced his return home but instead decided to continue journeying. His next destination was the Hkhanate situated in modern-day Iraq and Iran.

An interactive display about Ibn-e-Batuta in Ibn Battuta Mall in Dubai, United Arab Emirates. On 17 November 1326, after a month in Mecca, Ibn-e-Batuta joined a large caravan of pilgrims returning across the Arabian Peninsula to Iraq. The caravan first went north to Medina and then, travelling at night, headed northeastwards across the Nejd plateau to Najaf, a journey lasting approximately 44 days. In Najaf he visited the mausoleum of Ali (Ali ibn Abi Talib), the fourth Rashidun (rightly guided Caliph), and son-in-law of Muhammad, a site venerated particularly by the Shi'a community. At this point, instead of continuing on to Baghdad with the caravan, Ibn-e-Batuta started a 6 month detour that took him into Persia. From Najaf he journeyed to Wasit and then south following the Tigris to Basra. His next destination was the town of Esfahan across the Zagros Mountains in Persia. From there he headed south to Shiraz, a large flourishing city which had been spared the destruction wrought by the Mongol invasion on many more northerly towns. Finally, he headed back across the mountains to Baghdad arriving there in June 1327. Parts of the city were in ruins as it had been heavily damaged by the army of Hulagu Khan. In Baghdad he found that Abu Said, the last Mongol ruler of the unified Ilkhanid state was leaving the city and heading north with a large retinue. Ibn-e-Batuta travelled with the royal caravan for a while, then turned north to Tabriz on the Silk Road. It had been the first major city in the region to open its gates to the Mongols and had become an important trading centre after most of its nearby rivals were razed. On returning again to Baghdad, probably in July, he took an excursion northwards following the Tigris, visiting Mosul, then Cizre and Mardin, both in modern Turkey. On returning to Mosul he joined a "feeder" caravan of pilgrims heading south for Baghdad where they met up with the main caravan that crossed the Arabian Desert to Mecca. Ibn Battuta was ill with diarrhea on this crossing and arrived back in Mecca weak and exhausted for his Second hajj in East Africa.

Ibn-e-Batuta then stayed for some time in Mecca. He suggests in the Rihla that he remained in the town for three years: from September 1327 until autumn 1330. However,

because of problems with the chronology, commentators have suggested that he may have spent only one year and left after the hajj of 1328. Leaving Mecca after the hajj in 1328 (or 1330) he made his way to the port of Jeddah on the coast of the Red Sea and from there caught a series of boats down the coast. His progress was slow as the vessels had to beat against the south easterly winds. Arriving in the Yemen he visited Zabid, and then the highland town of Ta'izz where he met the Rasulid Malik (king) Mujahid Nur al-Din Au. Ibn-e-Batuta also mentions visiting Sana'a, but whether he actually did is doubtful. It is more likely that he went directly from Ta'izz to the port of Aden, arriving at around the beginning of 1329 (or 1331). Aden was an important transit centre in the trade between India and Europe. In Aden, he embarked on a ship heading first to Zeila on the African shore of the Gulf of Aden and then on around Cape Guardafui and down the East African coast. Spending about a week in each of his destinations, he visited Mogadishu, Mombasa, Zanzibar, and Kilwa, among others. With the change of the monsoon, he returned by ship to Arabia and visited Oman and the Strait of Hormuz. He then returned to Mecca for the hajj of 1330 (or 1332). Byzantine Empire, Golden Horde, Anatolia, Central Asia and India.

After spending another year in Mecca, Ibn-e-Batuta resolved to seek employment with the Muslim Sultan of Delhi, Muhammad bin Tughluq. Needing a guide and translator for his journey, he set off in 1330 (or 1332) to Anatolia, then under the control of the Seljuqs, to join up with one of the caravans that went from there to India. A sea voyage from the Syrian port of Latakia on a Genoese ship landed him in Alanya on the southern coast of modern-day Turkey. From Alanya he travelled by land to Konya and then to Sinope on the Black Sea coast. Crossing the Black Sea, Ibn Battuta landed in Caffa (now Feodosiya), in the Crimea, and entered the lands of the Golden Horde. He bought a wagon and fortuitously was able to join the caravan of Ozbeg, the Golden Horde's Khan, on a journey as far as Astrakhan on the Volga River. Upon reaching Astrakhan, the Khan allowed one of his pregnant wives, Princess Bayalun, supposedly an illegitimate daughter of Byzantine Emperor Andronikos III Palaiologos, to return to her home city of Constantinople to give birth. Ibn-e-Batuta talked his way into this expedition, his first beyond the boundaries of the Islamic world. Arriving in Constantinople towards the end of 1332 (or 1334), he met the Byzantine emperor Andronikos III Palaiologos and saw the outside of the great church of Hagia Sophia. After a month in the city, he retraced his route to Astrakhan, then continued past the Caspian and Aral Seas to Bukhara and Samarkand. From there, he journeyed south to Afghanistan, the mountain passes of which he used to cross into India. The Delhi Sultanate was a new addition to Dar al-Islam, and Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq had resolved to import as many Muslim scholars and other functionaries as possible to

consolidate his rule. On the strength of his years of study while in Mecca, Ibn-e-Batuta was employed as a qazi ("judge") by the sultan. Tughlaq was erratic even by the standards of the time, and Ibn-e-Batuta veered between living the high life of a trusted subordinate, and being under suspicion for a variety of reasons against the government. Eventually he resolved to leave on the pretext of taking another hajj, but the Sultan asked him to become his ambassador to Yuan Dynasty China. Given the opportunity to both get away from the Sultan and visit new lands, Ibn-e-Batuta took the opportunity to Southeast Asia and China.

En route to the coast, he and his party were attacked by Hindus, and separated from the others, he was robbed and nearly lost his life. Nevertheless, he managed to catch up with his group within ten days and continued the journey to Khambhat (Cambay). From there, they sailed to Kozhikode (Calicut) (two centuries later, Vasco da Gama also landed at the same place). However, while Ibn-e-Batuta visited a mosque on shore, a storm came up, and one of the ships of his expedition were sunk. The other then sailed away without him and ended up being seized by a local king in Sumatra a few months later. Fearful of returning to Delhi as a failure, he stayed for a time in the south of India under the protection of Jamal-Ud-Din. Jamal-ud-Din was ruler of a small but powerful Nawayath sultanate on the banks of the Sharavathi River on the Arabian Sea coast. This place is presently known as ilosapattana anti is located in the Honavar tehsil of Uttara Kannada district. When the sultanate was overthrown, it became necessary for Ibn-e-Batuta to leave India altogether. He resolved to carry on to China, with a detour near the beginning of the journey to the Maldives. He spent nine months in the Maldivian islands, much longer than he had intended. As a qadi his skills were highly desirable in these formerly Buddhist islands that had been recently converted to Islam, and he was half-bribed, half-kidnapped into staying. Appointed chief judge and marrying into the royal family of Omar I, he became embroiled in local politics and ended up leaving after wearing out his welcome by imposing strict judgements in the laissez-faire island kingdom. In the Rihla he mentions his dismay at the local women going about with no clothing above the waist, anti remarking his criticism of this practice, but being ignored by the locals. From there, he carried on to Sri Lanka for a visit to Adam's Peak (Sri Pada). Setting sail from Sri Lanka, his ship nearly sank in a storm, then the ship that rescued him was attacked by pirates. Stranded on shore, Ibn-e-Batuta once again worked his way back to Kozhikode, from where he then sailed to the Maldives again before getting on board a Chinese junk and trying once again to get to the Mongol Yuan Dynasty China. This time he succeeded, reaching in quick succession Chittagong, Sumatra, Vietnam, the Philippines and then finally Quanzhou in Fujian Province, China. From there, he went north to Hangzhou, not far from modern-day Shanghai. He also

described traveling further north, through the Grand Canal to Beijing, although it is considered unlikely that he actually did so and then returned home.

The Black Death returning to Quanzhou, Ibn-e-Batuta decided to return home to Morocco. Returning to Calicut (Kozhikode now) once again, he considered throwing himself at the mercy of Muhammed Tughlaq but thought better of it and decided to carry on to Mecca. Returning via Hormuz and the Ilkhanate, he saw that the state had dissolved into civil war with Abu Said having died since his previous trip there. Returning to Damascus with the intention of retracing the route of his first hajj, he learned that his father had died. Death was the theme of the next year or so, for the Black Death had begun, and Ibn-e-Batuta was on hand as it spread through Syria, Palestine, and Arabia. After reaching Mecca, he decided to return to Morocco, nearly a quarter century after leaving it. During the trip he made one last detour to Sardinia, and then returned to Tangier to discover that his mother had also died, a few months before.

After a few days in Tangier, Ibn-e-Batuta set out for a trip to al-Andalus — Muslim Iberia. Alfonso XI of Castile and Leon was threatening the conquest of Gibraltar, and Ibn-e-Batuta joined up with a group of Muslims leaving Tangier with the intention of defending the port. By the time he arrived, the Black Death had killed Alfonso, and the threat had receded, so Ibn-e-Batuta decided to visit for pleasure instead. He travelled through Valencia and ended up in Granada. Leaving al-Andalus, he decided to travel through one of the few parts of the Muslim world that he had never explored: Morocco. On his return home, he stopped for a while in Marrakech, which was nearly a ghost town after the recent plague and the transfer of the capital to Fez. Once more he returned to Tangier, and once more he moved on. Two years before his own first visit to Cairo, the Mahian Mansa (king of kings) Musa had passed through the same city on his own hajj and had caused a sensation with his extravagant riches — West Africa contained vast quantities of gold, previously unknown to the rest of the world. While Ibn-e-Batuta never mentions this specifically, hearing of this during his own trip could have planted a seed in his mind, for he decided to set out and visit the Muslim kingdom on the far side of the Sahara desert to Mali and Timbuktu.

A 13th century book illustration produced in Baghdad by al-Wasiti showing a slave-market in the town of Zabid in Yemen. In the autumn of 1351, Ibn-e-Batuta left Fez and made his way to the town of Sijilmasa on the northern edge of the Sahara desert in present day Morocco. There he bought some camels and stayed for four months. He set out again with a caravan in February 1352 and after 25 days, arrived at the salt mines of Taghaza which were situated in the bed of a dry salt lake. The buildings were constructed from slabs of salt by slaves of the Masufa tribe, who cut the salt in thick slabs for

transport by camel, Taghaza was a commercial centre and awash with Malian gold, though Ibn-e-Batuta did not have a favourable impression of the place: the water was brackish and the place was plagued with flies. After a 10 day stay in Taghaza the caravan set out for the oasis of Tasarahla (probably Bir al-Ksaib) where it stopped for 3 days to prepare for the last and most difficult leg of the journey across a vast sand desert. From Tasarahia a Masufa scout was sent ahead to the oasis town of Oualata to arrange for a party to bring water a distance of four (lays travel to meet the thirsty caravan. Oualata was the southern terminus of the trans-Saharan trade route and had recently become part of the Mali Empire. Altogether, the caravan took two months to cross the 1,600 km (990 ml) of desert from Sijilmasa. From there, he travelled southwest along a river he believed to be the Nile (it was actually the Niger River) until he reached the capital of the Mali Empire. There he met Mansa Suleyman, king since 1341. Dubious about the miserly hospitality of the king, he nevertheless stayed for eight months. Ibn Battuta disapproved that female slaves, servants and even the daughters of the sultan went about completely naked. He left the capital in February and journeyed overland by camel to Timbuktu. Though in the next two centuries it would become the most important city in the region, at the time it was small and unimpressive, and Ibn-e-Batuta soon moved on by boat to Gao where he spent a month. While at the oasis of Takedda on his journey back across the desert, he received a message from the Sultan of Morocco commanding him to return home. He set off for Sijilmasa in September 1353 accompanying a large caravan transporting 600 black female slaves. He arrived back in Morocco early in 1354.

The Rihla : After returning home from his travels in 1354 and at the instigation of the Sultan of Morocco, Abu Inan Fans. Ibn Battuta dictated an account of his journeys to Ibn Juzayy, a scholar whom he had met previously in Granada. The account, recorded by Ibn Juzayy and interspersed with the latter's own comments, is the only source of information on his adventures. The title of the manuscript may be translated as A Gift to Those Who Contemplate the Wonders of Cities and the Marvels of Travelling but is often simply referred to as the Rihla or "The Journey". There is no indication that Ibn Battuta made any notes during his 29 years of travelling, so, when he came to dictate an account of his adventures, he had to rely on his memory and to make use of manuscripts produced by earlier travellers. When describing Damascus, Mecca, Medina and some other places in the Middle East, Ibn Juzayy clearly copied passages from the 12th century account by Ibn Jubayr. Similarly, most of Ibn Juzayy's descriptions of places in Palestine were copied from an account by the 13th century traveller Muhammad al-Abdari.

Western Orientalists do not believe that Ibn-e-Batuta visited all the places that he described and argue that in order to provide a comprehensive description of places in the Muslim world Ibn Battuta relied on hearsay evidence and made use of accounts by earlier travellers. For example, it is considered very unlikely that Ibn-e-Batuta made a trip up the Volga River from New Sarai to visit Bolghan and there are serious doubts about a number of other journeys such as his trip to Sana'a in Yemen, his journey from Balkh to Bistam in Khorasan and his trip around Anatolia. Some orientalist have also questioned whether he really visited China. Nevertheless, whilst apparently fictional in places, the Rihla provides an important account of many areas of the world in the 14th century. Ibn-e-Batuta often experienced culture shock in regions he visited where local customs of recently converted peoples did not fit his orthodox Muslim background. Among Turks and Mongols, he was astonished at the way women behaved (he remarked that on seeing a Turkish couple, and noting the woman's freedom of speech, he had assumed that the man was the woman's servant, but he was in fact her husband) and he felt that dress customs in the Maldives, and some sub-Saharan regions in Africa were too revealing. After the completion of the Rihla in 1355, little is known about Ibn-e-Batuta's life. He was appointed a judge in Morocco and died in 1368 or 1369. For centuries his book was obscure, even within the Muslim world, but in the early 1800s extracts were published in German and English based on manuscripts discovered in the Middle East containing abridged versions of Ibn Juzayy's Arabic text. When French forces occupied Algeria in the 183. They discovered five manuscripts in Constantine including two that contained more complete versions of the text. These manuscripts were brought back to the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris and studied by the French scholars, Charles Defremery and Beniamino Sanguinetti. Beginning in 1853, they published a series of four volumes containing the Arabic text, extensive notes and a translation into French. Defremery and Sanguinetti's printed text has now been translated into many other languages. Ibn-e-Batuta has grown in fame and is now a well-known figure.

Places visited by Ibn-e-Batuta

Ibn-e-Batuta travelled almost 75,000 miles in his lifetime. Here is a list of places he visited. Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia Tangier Fes Marrakech Tlemcen (Tilimsan) Miiiana Algiers Djurdjura Mountains Bejala Constantine - Named as Qusantlnah. Annaba - Also called Bona. Tunis - At that time, Abu Yahya (son of Abu Zajaria) was the sultan of Tunis. Sousse - also called Susah. Sfax Gabes Libya Tripoli Mamluk Empire Cairo Alexandria Jerusalem Bethlehem Hebron Damascus Latakia Egypt Syria Arabian Peninsula Medina - Visited the tomb of Prophet Muhammad. Jeddah - A major

port for pilgrims to Mecca. Mecca - Performed the Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca. Rabigh - city north of Jeddah on the Red Sea. Oman Dhofar Bahrain Al-Hasa Strait of Hormuz Yemen Qatif Byzantine Empire and Eastern Europe Kenya Antalya Bulgaria Azov Kazan Volga River Constantinople Central Asia Khwarezm and Khorasan (now Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Eastern Iran and Afghanistan) Bukhara and Samarkand Pashtun areas of eastern Afghanistan and Pakistan) India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh Punjab region (now in Pakistan and northern India) Delhi, Uttar Pradesh Deccan Konkan Coast Kozhikode Malabar Coromandel Coast In India. Bengal now Bangladesh and West Bengal Brahmaputra River in Bangladesh visited the area on his way to China. Meghna River near Dhaka Sylhet met Muslim saint Hazrat Shah Jalal Yamani, commonly known as Shah Jalal. China Quanzhou - as he called in his book the city of donkeys Hangzhou — Ibn Battuta referred to this city in his book as “Madinat Alkhansa”.

He also mentioned that it was the largest city in the world at that time; it took him three days to walk across the city. Beijing - Ibn-e-Batuta mentioned in his journey to Beijing how neat the city was. Other places in Asia Burma (Myanmar) Maldives Sri Lanka - Known to the Arabs of his time as Serendip. Sumatra Malay Peninsula Malaysia Philippines - Ibn-e-Batuta visited the Kingdom of Sultan Tawalisi, Tawi-Tawi, the country's southernmost province. Somalia and East Africa Mogadishu Berbera Kilwa Mombasa Mali West Africa Timbuktu Gao Takedda Mauritania Oualata (Walata) During most of his journey in the Mali Empire, Ibn-e-Batuta travelled with a retinue that included slaves, most of whom carried goods for trade but would also be traded as slaves. On the return from Takedda to Morocco, his caravan transported 600 female slaves, suggesting that slavery was a substantial part of the commercial activity of the empire.

1.2.8 Further Readings

Bhattacharya, B. Urban development in India Since Pre-Historic times

Chandra, Satish,: Medieval India

Habib, Irfan: The agrarian system of Mughal India- 1956 to 1707

UNIT □ 1.3 TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE; AGRICULTURE, TRADE AND URBANISATION DURING THE MUGHAL PERIOD

Structure

- 1.3.0 Introduction**
- 1.3.1 Trade and Commerce in Mughal Period**
- 1.3.2 Urbanisation during Mughal period**
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- 1.3.4 Territorial Expansion During Akbar**
- 1.3.5 Mughal's relations with Rajput and territorial expansion**
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- 1.3.7 Mughal's relations with the Marathas and territorial expansion**
- 1.3.8 Mughal's relations with the Sikhs and territorial expansion**
- 1.3.9 Mughal's relations with Assam and territorial expansion**
- 1.3.10 Further Readings**

1.3.0 Introduction

The Mughal Empire and its dominance in India

It is an established fact that the Mughal Empire was the dominant power in the Indian subcontinent from the mid-16th century to the early 18th century. It began in 1526, at the height of their power in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, they controlled most of the Indian Subcontinent, extending from Beluchistan in the west to Bengal in the east, and from Kashmir in the north to the Kaveri basin in the south. As has been established its population at that time was estimated to be between 110 and 150 million, over a territory of more than 3.2 million square kilometres (1.2 million square miles). The greatest portions of Mughal expansion was accomplished during the reign of Akbar (1556-1605). The empire was maintained as the dominant force of the present-day Indian subcontinent for a hundred years further by his successors Humayun, Jahangir, Shah Jahan, and Aurangzeb.

Agrarian system in Mughal India

The extensive cultivated land of the plains, valleys and hill-slopes of India has been created in the course of stubborn struggle against nature which Indian peasant has carried out for thousands of years. The study of the agrarian system of Mughal India should begin with the survey of the extent of the cultivated area in the present time. This account takes the account of the "Twelve Provinces" in Abul Fazal's *Ain-i-Akbari* as it contains area statistics for all north Indian provinces, except Bengal and Kashmir. These Statistics are assigned to the 40th year of Akbar's reign of 1595-6. For each province a figure is given in *bighas* for what is called *zamin-l pahituda* or 'measured land'. An entry is provided against each *Sarkar* (the territorial division of a *suba* or provinces); following this, figures are entered separately for all the *mahalls* or *paraganas* comprising the *Sarkar*. The great record of the *Ain* remained unique in Mughal times, but statistics though of a more summary kind, were compiled in the later years of Aurangzeb's reign (1659 - 1707). One table surviving in two or three manuscripts, gives the *raqba* or area statistics for each province, together with the number of villages, divided into those measured and unmeasured in the *Chahar Gusthan* written by Rai Chaturman in 1759 - 60. Information about the area and villages is also provided separately for each *Sarkar*.

Considering the kind of land covered by measurement in the Mughal period, Moreland has suggested that we should identify it with the "total cropped area" of modern statistics. It inconcluded this certainty, but in this connection it should be stated more properly, perhaps of the area sown, since the measured area also included the *nabud*. or area affected by crop failure. However, measurement does not seem to have been confined to land actually cultivated and was extended also to land regarded as cultivable.

The measured area of the Mughal records then corresponds broadly to the area covered by these categories in modern agricultural statistics "total area cropped (or sown), "current fallows" and cultivable wastes other than fallows". It is obvious that while the land actually cropped can be precisely determined, the word "cultivable" is open to many definitions, and it is difficult to say whether the Mughal and modern (British-Indian) statisticians used the same criteria.

The most vulnerable feature of India's agriculture during the Mughal period was harvesting of two and in some areas three crops a year. The larger portion of the land was single-cropped - for 'rabi' and 'kharif harvest. Transplanting of paddy as today, was the method practiced.

In the Upper Ganga Plains and also parts of the South, wells were the chief source of irrigation. Most of the wells were *Kachha*. Wells were annually made during the rabi

season. Crops depended mostly upon rainfall and partly on wells. Irrigation tanks extended in peninsular India. The colonial system of South Indian dams, tanks and canals remained.

The Indian economy remained as prosperous under the Mughals as it was because of the creation of a road system and a uniform currency, together with the unification of the country. Manufactured goods and peasant-grown cash crops were sold throughout the world. Most important industries included shipbuilding (the Indian shipbuilding industry was as advanced as the European, and Indians sold ships to European firms), textiles, and steel. The Mughals maintained a small fleet, which merely carried pilgrims to Mecca, imported a few Arab horses in Surat. Debal in Sindh was mostly autonomous. The Mughals also maintained various river fleets of Dhows, which transported soldiers over rivers and fought rebels. Among its admirals were Yahya Saleh, Munnawar Khan, and Muhammadan Saleh Kamboh. The Mughals also protected the Siddis of Janjira. Its sailors were renowned and often voyaged to China and the East African Swahili Coast, together with some Mughal subjects carrying out private-sector trade.

1.3.1 Trade and Commerce in Mughal Period

The economic structure in Mughal Empire was dependent on agriculture, trade and other industries. According to historians, since time immemorial agriculture has always been the backbone of economy of the country. Thus, in the Mughal era also agriculture was actually the biggest source of income. Moreover, it was also one of the main sources of livelihood of majority of the people in the country. The major crops that were grown during the Mughal era included millets, oilseeds, cereals, hemp, chilli, sugarcane, cotton, indigo, betel and other cash crops. Indigo cultivation was popular at that time in various places like Agra and Gujarat. On the other hand, Ajmer was well known for the production of best quality sugarcane. Improved transport and communication facilities also helped the development of economy during the reign of Mughal emperors. There was tremendous demand for cash crops like silk and cotton as because the textile industry was flourishing during the Mughal period.

Moreover, during the reign of Mughal emperor Jahangir, Portuguese introduced the cultivation of tobacco and potato in India. Mughal emperor Babur introduced the cultivation of several other central Asian fruits in the country. Moreover, during the reign of Akbar Firoz Shah's Yamuna canal was repaired for irrigation purposes, The artistic life-style of the Mughal rulers also encouraged art and architecture, handicrafts and trade in the country. During that era, the merchants and the trader class were divided into large business powers. During the Mughal era, trade both inside the country and

outside grew markedly. One of the main reasons cited by the historians for such development is the economic and political merger of India. Further, constitution of law and order over broad areas also created favourable environs for trade and commerce. Rapid development of trade and commerce was also supported by the improved transport and communications systems. Another factor that helped in the high rate of growth of business in that period was the arrival of European traders and growth of huge European trade. Fatchpur Sikri, Lahore and Agra were the chief centres of silk weaving whereas Cambay, Broach and Surat in Gujarat were the major ports for foreign trade and business.

1.3.2 Urbanisation during Mughal period

The Mughal Emperors preferred to settle in cities and towns. By the time of the Mughals, cities had grown in importance. Urbanisation and fixed markets also helped in expanding economy in Mughal Empire. Initially, the weekly market concept was popular. Eventually several trade centres in prosperous cities with the growth of the economy. Besides the metalled highways, river transport system was also considered significant for navigation throughout the year. Such initiatives by the rulers were vital contributing factors in the developed economy of the era.

The most valuable works on the study of urbanisation during the Mughal period are those of Abul Fazl, a courtier of Emperor Akbar (1542-1608), giving more accurate information about the towns and cities in India of that time. He produced two voluminous works - '*Ain-i-Akbari*' and '*Akbar Nama*' of which the former may be considered as the store house of geographical information.

In *Ain-i-Akbari*, at its second volume, Abul Fazl mentioned that the empire of Akbar, covering the entire western and central parts of India, was divided into 15 *Subahs* (provinces), subdivided further into 05 *Sarkars* (districts) and there were altogether 2.837 townships in 1595. He did not mention the names of all of these towns, many of which were small centres, but referred only to the larger ones. The names of towns and cities occurring in different *Subahs* as mentioned by Abul Fazl are the following:

1) *Thi Subah or Province of Bengal* : Janatabad (Gaur); Mamudabad; Sonargaon; Chatgao (Chittagong); Katak (Cuttack); Pun (Purushottama); Tanda Fathabad; Khalifabad, Bhal; Tajpur; Nasratabad; Pinjarah; Barbakabad; Sylhet; Sulaimanabad; Jalesar; Ramuna; Raepur; Mednipur, Maudaran; Manak patan;

2) *The Subah of Bihar* : Gaya; Tirhut; Rohtas; Bchar; Patna; Seor; Monghyr; Hajipur.

3) *The Subah of Illahabad (Allahabad)*: Illahabad; Baranasi; Jaunpur; Chanadah (Chunar); Kalinjar; Ghazipur; Manikpur; Kurrah.

4) *The Subah of Oudh* : Awadh (Ajodhya); Babraich; Nimkhar; Lucknow; Kheri; Gorakhpur; Bilgram; Khairabad.

5) *The Subah of Agra* : Agra; (Fatehpur) Sikri; Mathura; Kalpi; Kanauj; Gwalior; Alwar; Kanori; Narwar.

6) *The Subah of Malwa*: Ujjain; Chanderi; Mandu; Dhar; Raisin; Garha; Sarangpur; Jalalabad; Handia; Nandurbar; Mandeso; Gogran; Kotri, Parwa.

7) *The Subah of Dandes (Khandesh)* : Asir, Burhanpur; Adisabad; Dhamarni; Choprah; Thalner.

8) *The Subah of Berar* : Elichpur; Panar; Shahpur; Kallam; Mahur; Ramgir; Kherla; Basim; Pathri; Mehkar.

9) *The Subah of Gujarat* : Ahmedabad; Pattan; Champner; Mahmudabad; Gogo; Cambay; Sidhpur; Barnagar (Valnagar); Surat; Rander; Daman; Tarapur; Mahim; Bassein; Broach; Hansot; Junagarh; Somnath; Manglor; Diu; Porbandar; Korinor; Ahmadpur; Muaffarabad; Mul Mahadeo; Dwarka; Bhuj; Nawanagar; Sinor; Abugarh; Nandod; Baroda; Sinor; Godhra, Sarath.

10) *The Subah of Ajmer*: Ajmer; Udaipur; Chitor; Jodhpur Nagor; Bikner; Jaisalmir; Amarkot; Jalor.

11) *The Subah of Delhi*: Delhi; Badaon; Sarnbhai, Hansi; Sahnah (Sohna); Hisar. Sarhind; Mirath (Meerut); Saharanpur, Rewari.

12) *The Subah of Lahore*: Laho Nagarkot; Jaiandhar; Sialkot; Mankot; Rohtas.

13) *The Subah of Mullan* : Multat ; Bhakkar; Brahmanabad; Alor; Kobhar (Ramnagar).

The Sarkar of Kashmir : Srinagar.

Besides those mentioned above, a few more names appear in Akbar-Narna. These are Ambala; Sirsa; Panipat; Chitor; Firozabad; Rajauri; Punch; Bhagalpur; Kul (Aligarh); Jalalabad; feshwar, Hajipur; Ranthampur; Mirtha (Merta); Gadha; Khirar (Khera); Chunar; Kotah; Arrah; Akbarnagar (Rajmahal); Baighatta; Burdwan; Barcilly; Bishnupur; Bhadrijan; Dacca; Darbhanga; Jessor ; Ludhiana; Pattan, Satgaon.

In spite of over-estimation, Abul Fazl brought forward the truth with all forcefulness that urbanisation was no longer an isolated phenomenon, but had become diffused throughout the country. The total number, however inflated, gives the impression of a high degree of urban development and his reference though confined only to the

important towns and cities, makes this further confirmed. Thus Abul Fazl's invaluable contribution to our knowledge in this field cannot be underestimated. Instead of getting piecemeal information for the centuries following the visit of Hiuen Tsang in the seventh century, again we get a more or less full picture of the spread of urbanisation. This offers the scope of making an assessment of the overall progress attained during the intervening thousand years and ascertains if pattern in the spatial distribution of urban centres had undergone any substantial change.

From Abul Fazl's writing we gather that there were at least 18 large cities in India at that time. They were: **Agra, Sikri, Delhi, Ahmedabad, Lahore, Cambay, Elichpur, Burhanpur, Asir, Ujjain, Mandu, Ayodhya, Lucknow, Chittagong, Varanasi, Jaunpur, Raepur and Mednipur.** From his descriptions it is gathered that —

1. **Agra.** first made capital by Iskandar Lodi in 1504, lying on the left or the eastern bank of the river Jamuna, was a "matchless city" during Akbar's time which "for its air and water makes Badgad ashamed of the Tigris and Egypt of the Nile". At this time the city sprawled on both the banks of the river for five Kos. It contained more than five hundred masonry buildings of beautiful architecture. This large city, "the centre of Hindustan", was filled with people from different countries and turned into "the emporium of the traffic of the world".

2. **Sikri,** or Fatehpur Sikri, previously a village, "rose to be a city of the first order" during Akbar's rule, where on the summit of a hill large fort was built. Within it palaces, residence for the nobles, a college, benevolent institutions and baths and a large market were constructed. The plains surrounding the hill became studded with numerous mansions and gardens converting it into a great place of concourse "such as might move the envy of the world".

3. **Delhi:** In describing Delhi as one of the greatest cities of antiquity, Abul Fazl traces its history from about 1200 A.D. onwards when it had been built by different Muslim rulers magnificence of which were still recognizable in their ruins. In spite of ruinous character of the most part of the city, its cemeteries were populous and Abul Fazl called this "wondrous city" as a Metropolis.

4. **Ahmedabad:** Abul Fazl described Ahmedabad as a noble city in a high degree of prosperity", unrivalled for the display of its choicest products of the entire world. The Metropolis, as called by him, had 360 purahs or wards each of which possessed all the requisites of a city. 84 of them being in a flourishing state in his time.

5. **Lahore:** This was "a very large city", being among the first in size and population. As a seat of the Government, it contained many splendid buildings and gardens. People from different countries of the world resided here and their manufactures made a

surprising display. There were more than a thousand workshops in the city producing a large range of "masterpieces of workmanships". The traders and craftsmen of this "illustrious city" had the capacity of easily supplying a large army.

6. Varanasi: Abul Fazl called it a large city famous for being the chief seat of learning in Hinduism from time immemorial. Beautiful cloths were woven here.

7. Ayodhya or Awadh: It was "one of the largest cities of India" at that time highly "esteemed as one of the holiest places of antiquity".

8. Jaunpur Founded sometime in the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. by Firuz Shahs. Jaunpur developed into a "great" and a large city" in Akbar's time where woollen carpets were manufactured.

9. Cambay or Kambhayet was large city where merchants of divers' kings reside and wherein there are fine buildings and much merchandise.

10. Burhanpur, described as a large city, was "embellished with many gardens", and "inhabited by people of all countries and handicraftsmen play thriving trade".

11. Asir developed as the residence of the Governor with a fortress on a lofty hill with "a large and flourishing city" at its foot.

12. Ujjain.

13. Mandu, another large city, had a fort the circumference of which was 12 kos. "For some period it was the seat for government and stately edifices still recall their ancient lords".

14. Chittagong was a large city "considered an excellent port and is the resort of Christian and other merchants".

15. Raepur.

16. Mednipur.

17. Lucknow

18. Elichpur

Nothing much is said except calling them large cities.

1.3.3 Territorial organisation of the Mughal Empire

The historians consider embarking upon study the territorial expansion of the Mughals and the consolidation of the Mughal rule in India through their relations with other powers of India and abroad. Their relations with the Rajputs, Deccan kingdoms,

Marathas, Sikhs, Assam and with Persia and Central Asia form here a part of our discussion.

The main architect of this political expansion was Akbar, who ruled India for fifty years from 1556 to 1605. His successors Jahangir (1605 - 1627), Shah Jahan (1627 - 1658) and Aurangzeb (1658 - 1707) had added some more territories to the empire built by Akbar, particularly in the Deccan, during the rule of the last two rulers.

1.3.4 Territorial Expansion During Akbar

Akbar was 14 years old when his father Humayun died and remained under the guardianship of Bairam Khan for some years. On hearing about Humayun's death the latter coronated Akbar at Kalanur in Punjab in 1556. At the time of his accession, Akbar inherited from his father a kingdom comprising Punjab, Delhi and Agra. In course of four decades Akbar expanded his kingdom virtually over the whole of India.

Within a period of some months of accession of Akbar, Hemu, the energetic wazir of Muhammad Adil Shah of Bihar, occupied the territory from Bayana to Delhi including Agra. The Mughals under Bairam Khan moved towards Delhi and defeated Hemu in the second battle of Panipath in November 1556. After the victory, Akbar entered Agra, which became the capital city of the Mughals. During the next four years, Bairam Khan crushed the Afghan power in different parts of the country. In those four years (1556-60), Bairam Khan enjoyed the supreme position of the state as the regent and the wakil. But due to his arrogant nature and tendency to concentrate all powers in his hands, Akbar removed him from service in 1560.

Taking himself away from the regency of Bairam Khan, Akbar embarked upon a policy of conquest. During the four decades, from the expedition against Malwa in 1561 to the fall of Asirgargh in 1601, he played the role of a great conqueror and empire builder. Malwa was conquered from its sultan Baz Bahadur. In the same year he conquered the strategic fort of Chunar.

The year 1562 witnessed a turning point in the emperor's life when his first pilgrimage to the shrine of Khwaja Moinuddin Chisti at Ajmer, Raja Bharmal Kachwaha of Amber (now Jaipur) proposed his eldest daughter's marriage with the emperor. This marriage was the first step towards winning the political and military support of the valiant Rajputs whom the Sultans of Delhi had failed to subdue or convert to Islam. Hence, the foundation was laid by Amber of the Mughal-Rajput alliance. The other Rajput principalities, with the sole exception of Mewar, followed suit.

After a brief siege in 1562 the strong fortress of Merta in Marwar (Jodhpur) was captured. Chandrasen, the ruler of Marwar, surrendered to Akbar in 1563. Rulers of

Bikaner and Jaisalmer also made their surrender to Akbar and entered into matrimonial alliances with the Mughals. By the end of 1570, all prominent princes of Rajasthan, except the Rana of Mewar surrendered to Akbar and were absorbed in Mughal nobility. These conquests without the use of arms were living examples of the triumph of Akbar's diplomacy, his readiness to recognize the full autonomy of the Rajput princes in their internal affairs and his catholicity in religious matters.

Gondwana, an independent state in central India, was ruled by Rani Durgawati, widow of Dalpat Shah. This kingdom was conquered by Akbar in 1564. Later in 1567, Akbar handed over the kingdom to Chandra Shah, the brother of Dalpat Shah.

In Rajputana Rana Udai Singh, son of Rana Sanga or Rana Sangram Singh, of Mewar offended Akbar by giving shelter to Baz Bahadur of Malwa. He also refused to accept the Mughal-Rajput alliance. Mewar lay on the route to the province of Gujarat, which could not be conquered without securing the submission of at least the fort of Chittor. Hence, Akbar decided to conquer Mewar. Moreover, Akbar's supremacy over the Rajput states would have remained incomplete without the conquest of Mewar. Akbar himself conducted the siege of the fort of Chittor in 1567. Next year the fort fell into the hands of the Mughals after a desperate resistance.

Following the conquest of Malwa and Mewar, Akbar turned towards Gujarat in 1572. It was a rich province commanding a large share of India's trade with Western Asia and Europe. From the ports of Gujarat, the Haj pilgrims proceeded to Mecca and other holy places of Arabia. At that time Gujarat was divided into seven warring principalities over which the nominal king Muzaffar Shah III exercised little authority. Akbar himself led an expedition to Gujarat and completed it in 1573.

Bengal and Bihar were ruled by Suleiman Karrani, who acknowledged the overlordship of Akbar. But as Daud, the son and successor of Suleiman, refused to bow head towards the Mughals, Akbar conquered those provinces between 1574-76 from him. Raja Man Singh of Amber, the grand son of Raja Bharmal, conquered Orissa in 1592 when he was governor of Bihar. He was appointed the subedar of Bengal as a reward for his success.

The Mughal-Rajput contest over Mewar did not end with the fall of Chittor in 1568. After the death of Rana Udai Singh in 1572, his son Rana Pratap Singh continued it. Hence, a battle was inevitable as the Rana wanted to throw off the Mughal subjugation. The Mughal army, led by Man Singh of Amber won the famous battle of Haldighati against Rana Pratap Singh in 1576. But Mewar was not fully subjugated to the Mughal empire. Till his death in 1597, Rana Pratap Singh continued the struggle and barring Chittor, he recovered almost the whole of Mewar.

A rebellion broke out in the Mughal empire, which troubled Akbar during 1581-82. The chief architect of the rebellion was his half brother Mirza Muhammad Hakim, the ruler of Kabul. Though Kabul was a part of the Mughal empire, Mirza Hakim ruled over it like an independent ruler. Sensing the impending danger Akbar proceeded to Kabul and occupied it without much difficulty. Giving charge of Kabul to the sister of Mirza Hakim, Akbar returned to Agra. But soon Mirza Hakim came back and began to rule Kabul in his sister's name. Finally Kabul was made a province of the Mughal empire after the death of Mirza Hakim in 1585, Akbar then annexed Kashmir in 1586, Sindh in 1590 and finally by the year 1595, the complete supremacy of the Mughals over the North-West frontier was established.

After establishing himself in northern India, Akbar planned to extend his empire in the Deccan. In 1591 he sent emissaries to Khandesh, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golkunda, the states of the Deccan asking them to accept Mughal supremacy. Of these only Sultan Raja Ali Khan of Khandesh agreed to submit to the Mughals. The internal disputes in Ahmadnagar helped Akbar to dispatch his first expedition to it in 1595 under the command of Prince Murad and Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, son of Bairam Khan. Chand Bibi, the ruler of Ahmadnagar, was defeated and she ceded Berar to the Mughals. After sometime Chand Bibi attacked Berar and took it back. The Mughals led a fresh expedition against Ahmadnagar in 1597 and 1599, when Akbar himself supervised the siege of the territory. In the meantime Chand Bibi died. The Mughals placed only the capital city and the adjoining territories of Ahmadnagar under their administrative control. The remaining part remained under the control of their Sultan. In 1601 the fort of Asirgarh was captured. This was the last campaign of Akbar's life, and Khandesh was annexed to the Mughal empire. Hence Mughal territories in the Deccan included Khandesh, Berar and the annexed portion of Ahmadnagar. All these territories were combined and placed under Prince Daniyal. Thus, the major expansion of the Mughal empire took place during the reign of Akbar. But during the reign of his successors, viz, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, very little was added in terms of territory.

1.3.5 Mughal's relations with Rajput and territorial expansion

The Mughal policy towards the Rajputs contributed to the expansion and consolidation of the Mughal empire under Akbar and his successors. Akbar was the first Muslim ruler of India who adopted a policy of conciliation towards the Rajputs and other non-Muslim subjects. The liberal measures such as the abolition of jizyah, remission of pilgrim taxes, etc fortified people's faith in Akbar as a liberal ruler. But in adopting the conciliatory policy, Akbar did not deviate from his imperialist designs of bringing under his sway the whole of Hindustan. Akbar's Rajput policy shows that it hinged on three planks. As mentioned above, there were a few Rajput chiefs like those

of Amber (Jaipur) and Bikaner, who on their own accord, offered submission. The emperor treated them nicely. In sharp opposition to this, was the state of Mewar, which bravely defied the Mughal authority despite numerous handicaps and obstacles. It is commonplace with historians to praise the virtues of Rana Pratap Singh and condemn other Rajput chiefs as cowards. This is quite wrong. Akbar was not motivated in his Rajput wars by any whim of fanaticism or religious persecution. He waged wars against both Hindus and Muslims in order to consolidate the empire and bring the whole country under one central authority.

During Akbar's time Mewar did not come to the alliance with the Mughals. But a series of attacks by Jahangir finally led Rana Amar Singh, son of Rana Pratap Singh, to agree to accept Mughal suzerainty in 1615. Jahangir offered the most liberal terms to Mewar. Amar Singh was reinstated in Mewar, who also got the fort of Chittor and a jagir was granted to his son Karan Singh. Thus ended a long drawn out struggle between Mewar and the Mughals.

Jahangir continued Akbar's policy of giving favours to the leading Rajput Rajas and of entering into matrimonial relations with them. Shah Jahan also maintained the alliance with the Rajputs. During his reign, Rajput contingents served with distinction in such far-flung areas as the Deccan, Balkh in Central Asia and Qandahar. However, no Rajput Raja was appointed governor of a province and no matrimonial relations were made with the leading Rajputs Rajas – though Shah Jahan himself was the son of a Rathor princess.

But Aurangzeb caused serious rift in the Mughal-Rajput relation by his policy of annexation of Marwar (Jodhpur) in 1679. He wanted to annex Marwar after the death of its ruler Raja Jaswant Singh by de-recognizing the claim of his posthumous son Ajit Singh to the throne of Rathor. The war against Marwar continued with fluctuating fortunes for nearly thirty years. From the side of Marwar the campaign was conducted by the Rajput chief Durga Das. The Sisodias of Mewar also joined hands with the Rathors of Marwar. Aurangzeb's policy towards Marwar and Mewar was clumsy and blundering and brought no advantage of any kind to the Mughals. Particularly the Marwar venture of Aurangzeb proved to be the height of political un-wisdom and it affected the whole body politic of the Mughal empire.

1.3.6 Mughal's relation with Deccan Kingdoms and territorial expansion

As stated above Akbar was the first Mughal emperor who extended the Mughal suzerainty over the Deccan states. Though Akbar successfully brought most of Ahmadnagar under the Mughal control, yet during the time of his successor Jahangir,

the state of Ahmadnagar considerably increased its power under the able leadership of its Abyssinian Prime Minister, Malik Ambar. Jahangir also followed his father's policy of territorial expansion beyond the river Narmada. The first target was the half-conquered Sultanate of Ahmadnagar. Ahmadnagar under Malik Ambar started challenging the Mughal power. He succeeded in getting support of Bijapur also. From 1608 onwards a number of campaigns were sent by Jahangir against Ahmadnagar. But he failed to achieve any notable success. Despite the expenditure of millions of rupees and loss of thousands of lives, the Mughal frontier in Deccan did not advance a single mile beyond the limits achieved by Akbar.

During the reign of Shah Jahan, Mughal conflict with the Sultanate states of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golkunda in the Deccan was revived. Ahmadnagar was the first to be defeated and most parts of the Nizam Shahi kingdom were included into the Mughal empire. In 1636 Shah Jahan himself arrived in the Deccan and after a mock show of strength, forced Bijapur and Golkunda to accept the Mughal suzerainty. But these kingdoms were not integrated into the Mughal empire. Rather, two separate treaties were concluded with the rulers of Bijapur and Golkunda by Shah Jahan. After the treaties, the rulers of Bijapur and Golkunda accepted the Mughal suzerainty and agreed to pay annual tribute to the emperor. The same year, Shah Jahan deputed his seventeen year old son Aurangzeb as the Mughal viceroy of the Deccan. For eight years Aurangzeb was in the charge of the viceroyalty of the Deccan. The Mughal territories in Deccan under his charge were divided into four Subas - (i) Ahmadnagar with the recently occupied portion of Nizam Shahi territory (ii) Khandesh with its capital at Burhanpur and stronghold at Asirgarh, (iii) Berar with its capital at Ellichpur, and (iv) Telengana with its capital at Nanded.

Aurangzeb started his second term as the viceroy of the Deccan in 1653. His second viceroyalty occupies an important place in the history of land settlement in the Deccan. He received the services of a very skilled revenue administrator named Murshid Quli Khan whom he appointed as the diwan. For purpose of revenue administration Murshid Quli Khan divided the Mughal subas into low-lands and high-lands. Todarmal's Zabti system of survey and assessment was also extended to the Deccan with some changes best suited to the local conditions. These measures led to improvement in agriculture and increase in the revenue in a few years. Todarmal's Zabti system will be discussed in next.

Aurangzeb planned to annex Golkunda in 1656 on the pretext that its ruler had failed to pay the promised annual tribute to the Mughals. In this task Mir Jumla, the wazir of Golkunda helped Aurangzeb as the former had a conflict with the Sultan of Golkunda. Aurangzeb laid siege of Golkunda and pleaded with emperor Shah Jahan to permit its annexation. But on the intervention of Dara Shikoh, elder brother of Aurangzeb,

urgent orders were issued to lift the siege of Golkunda. Hence, a second treaty was concluded with Golkunda in 1656. Aurangzeb's principal associate MirJumla joined the Mughal service. In 1657, the Adil Shahi kingdom of Bijapur was attacked but on the intervention of Shah Jahan and Dara Shikoh peace was made with Bijapur.

After becoming the emperor Aurangzeb followed an aggressive policy towards the Deccan kingdoms. His moves in the Deccan can be divided into two phases, viz., (i) annexation of Bijapur and Golkunda and (ii) his prolonged war with the Marathas. Aurangzeb wanted to compel the rulers of Bijapur and Golkunda to abide by the treaty of 1656-57 and surrender the territories to the Mughals. Aurangzeb sent Jai Singh, Bahadur Khan and Diler Khan to carry on the task one after another, but they failed to achieve the objective by their military strength. It was Shah Alam, the subedar of Deccan, who achieved some measure of success over Bijapur by a policy of peace and diplomacy. But Aurangzeb was not satisfied with it as he wanted complete annexation of the kingdom of Bijapur to the Mughal empire. In 1685 Aurangzeb sent a farman to the new ruler of Bijapur, Sultan Sikandar Adil Shah asking him to acknowledge the Mughal sovereignty and grant passage to the Mughals through his kingdom to deal with the Marathas. However, the Sultan refused to accept any of these terms. Hence, the Mughals led a campaign against Bijapur in 1685 and in the next year its Sultan Sikandar Adil Shah surrendered to the Mughals. Thus Bijapur integrated into the Mughal dominion.

Aurangzeb was not happy with Abdullah Qutb Shah, the sultan of Golkunda, who helped the Marathas financially and helped Sikandar Adil Shah militarily against the Mughals. Prince Muazzam was directed to invade the territory. Finally, Aurangzeb reached Golkunda and besieged its fort in 1687. Abdullah Qutb Shah surrendered to the Mughals. Thus Golkunda, like Bijapur was integrated into the Mughal dominion.

1.3.7 Mughal's relations with the Marathas and territorial expansion

The Marathas in the Deccan began to emerge as a formidable power from the early 17th century. The declining power of the Sultanate states of the Deccan and the involvement of the Mughals in the northern affairs helped Shivaji to emerge as a potential factor in Indian politics. Within a short period of time and through hard work, Shivaji, the second son of Shahji, established a powerful Maratha kingdom in the Deccan.

As early as 1657, Aurangzeb, as the subedar of the Deccan, attempted to align Shivaji, but failed. Aurangzeb's departure from the Deccan and the ongoing war of succession amongst the sons of Shah Jahan enabled Shivaji to act freely at his will. He captured vast areas of northern Konkan from Mahuli to Mahad. Bijapur, which tried to check Shivaji's rise, failed to do so. Shivaji killed its general Afzal Khan and

occupied Panhala and southern Konkan. On ascending the throne of Delhi, Aurangzeb sent Shaista Khan as the subedar to the Deccan. But he was defeated in 1663 at Poona. Jai Singh, the next subedar of the Deccan, succeeded in defeating Shivaji at Purandar in 1665. By the treaty of Purandar, Shivaji surrendered 23 out of 35 forts under him. But Shivaji could not be completely suppressed. Quarrel between Prince Muazzam, the Subedar of the Deccan, and his general Diler Khan weakened the position of the Mughals in the Deccan and Aurangzeb's involvement in the affairs of the North-West frontiers led Shivaji to revamp his position by re-annexing the forts ceded to the Mughals by the treaty of Purandar. Finally, Shivaji crowned himself as a king in 1674 at Raigarh fort.

It was after the death of Shivaji in 1680 that Aurangzeb decided to renew the aggressive policy towards the Deccan by fighting a war with Shambhuji, the son and successor of Shivaji. With the help of some Deccani states, he tried to suppress the Maratha power by capturing Raigarh, the capital of the Marathas. Shambhuji was killed. In spite of this success, the Mughals could not crush the Marathas out and out.

1.3.8 Mughal's relations with the Sikhs and territorial expansion

Guru Nanak (born, 1469 - died, 1538) was the founder of Sikhism. The fourth Guru Ram Das maintained a very cordial relation with Emperor Akbar, who gave him a huge plot of land near Amritsar containing a large pond, near which now stands the famous Sikh shrine, the Golden temple.

Relations between the fifth Guru, Guru Arjun Dev and Akbar though were cordial deteriorated after the accession of Jahangir. It is generally believed that Jahangir was annoyed because Guru Arjun Dev gave blessings to his rebel son Prince Khusru. For this the Guru was fined two lakhs of rupees and was ordered to erase from the Granth Sahib certain verses, which were objectionable to both Muslims and Hindus. As the Guru refused to do so, he was put to death in 1606. Guru Arjun Dev was succeeded by his son Guru Har Govind, who transformed the Sikhs into a militant community. Jahangir could not tolerate his military policy and consequently he was arrested and imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior. However, the Guru was set free in 1621 and the two developed very friendly relations. He was too given a mansab of 400 horses, 1000 foot soldiers and 9 guns in the Mughal army.

During the reign of Shah Jahan, the relations between the Mughals and the Sikhs became more bitter. Guru Har Govind came into an open conflict with the Mughals. The quarrel started as the Guru refused to return to Shah Jahan the hunting hawks which accidentally came to his hermitage. Shah Jahan became angry and wished to

punish the ashramites including the Guru, but he was desisted from doing so by the Sikh officials in the Mughal service. No doubt this incident sowed the seeds of future discontent between the two. The Sikhs and the Mughals fought over the question of founding the city of Sri Govindpur near the bank of the river Beas by Guru Har Govind. It was Abduila Khan, the Mughal governor of Jullundhar who attacked the Guru and was defeated. After that two imperial horses were taken away by the ashramites and on being demanded by the Mughals, the Guru refused to return them. As a result, a Mughal contingent attacked the Guru in 1613, but it was defeated. Another expedition sent by the Mughals was repulsed near Kartarpur. Ultimately, Guru Har Govind, realizing the futility of the resistance left Punjab retired at Kiratpur in the valley of Kashmir where he spent the last days of his life.

The next Guru Har Rai made friendship with Prince Dara Shikoh and was able to maintain excellent relation with Shah Jahan. The Guru helped Dara against Aurangzeb in the war of succession. Hence, Aurangzeb, after he was enthroned, summoned the Guru to the court but the Guru excused himself by sending his eldest son, Ram Rai, who was asked to interpret certain passages in the Granth Sahib which were reportedly against Islam. He interpreted them in a manner which satisfied Aurangzeb. This offended the Guru who disinherited him and appointed his second son Hari Krishan, a minor, as his successor. He lived only three years as the head of the organisation and died as a minor.

The relations between Aurangzeb and Guru Teg Bahadur, the successor of Guru Hari Krishan and the 9th Guru of the Sikh community, were not cordial. Aurangzeb summoned the Guru to Delhi who took some time to reach the capital. This enraged Aurangzeb who arrested the Guru. Later he was put to death for refusing to do any miracle or to embrace Islam.

The tragic death of Guru Teg Bahadur made his son and successor, Guru Govind Singh, the 10th and the last Guru, a bitter enemy of the Mughals. He created the Khalsa and those who accepted the new form of baptism were required to wear a distinct dress code beginning with five K's, viz., Kesh (long hair), Kripan (sword), Kangha (comb), Kachcha (short drawers) and Kara (steel bracelet). The followers of Guru Govind Singh turned into soldier-saints and followed a policy of fighting Muslim fanaticism with Sikh fanaticism. The activities of the Guru were not liked by the hill rajas, who, with the help of the Mughals, defeated the Sikhs and besieged their headquarters Anandpur. The Sikhs were also defeated in the second encounter at Chamkaur. The Guru lost his four sons in these encounters. In another contest at Khidrana or Muktsar, the Guru defeated the Mughals and settled down at Talwandi Sabo known as Dam Dama Sahib.

The relations between Guru Govind Singh and the next Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah I was cordial and the Guru agreed to accompany him to the Deccan. But the Guru was treacherously murdered in the middle of the journey. Guru Govind Singh had nominated Banda Bahadur as his military successor but abolished the institution of Guruship.

1.3.9. Mughal's relations with Assam and territorial expansion

Mughal's relations with Assam began in the reign of Jahangir. Islam Khan, the Mughal subedar of Bengal, invaded and annexed Kamrup or Koch Hajo, the western part of Assam, in 1613 from its Koch ruler Parikshit Narayan. The annexation of Kamrup led to a series of battles between the Mughals and the Ahoms who ruled in the eastern part of Assam. The Mughals ruled over Kamrup uninterruptedly from then to 1658 till the war of succession among the sons of Shah Jahan began. But the authority of the Mughals was not fully established in Kamrup. The Assamese, particularly under the Ahom king Pratap Singha, time and again tried to expel the Mughals from Kamrup. The Ahom-Mughal contest for mastery over Kamrup dragged on with periodic interval till the end of the 17th century. The war of succession in Delhi helped the Assamese to reoccupy Kamrup in 1658.

Disheartened at the loss of Kamrup, Aurangzeb sent Mir Jumla, the Mughal governor of Bengal, in 1661 to occupy Assam. Mir Jumla, after capturing Kamrup, defeated the Ahoms and captured the Ahom capital of Gargaon. Later, a treaty at Ghiiadharighat was concluded in 1663 between Mir Jumla and Jayadhwaj Singha, the Ahom king. But the victory of the Mughals was short lived. The Assamese thereafter defeated the Mughals in a number of battles. Hence, Aurangzeb sent Raja Ram Singh of Amber to Assam to retrieve the Mughal position. At the famous battle of Saraighat in 1671, the Ahom general Lachit Barphukan decisively defeated the Mughals. Aurangzeb did not send any force after this debacle. The Mughal army finally decided to withdraw from Assam in 1682.

1.3.10 Further Readings

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Nagri, H.K.: Urbanisation and Urban Centres under the Great Mughals

Tripathi, R. P. : Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire

UNIT □ 1.4 AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRIALISATION, URBANISATION AND TRADE IN COLONIAL ECONOMY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO EASTERN INDIA; DEVELOPMENT OF PORT ORIENTED TRANSPORT NETWORK; ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF GATEWAY CITIES

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1.4.0 Introduction

The Indian subcontinent, in its different parts, experienced a long period of colonial rule starting from the 17th century through to the middle of the 20th century and incidentally the provinces of the Eastern India experienced its impact more than any other parts of the country. Actually **Colonial India** is a part of the Indian subcontinent which was under the control of European colonial powers, through trade and conquest. The first European power to arrive in India was the army of Alexander the Great in 327-326 BC. The satraps he established in the north west of the subcontinent quickly crumbled after he left. Later, trade was carried between Indian states and the Roman Empire by Roman sailors who reached India via the Red Sea and Arabian Sea, but the Romans never sought trading settlements or territory in India. The spice trade between India and Europe was one of the main types of trade in the world economy and was the main catalyst for the period of European exploration.

1.4.1 History of Colonial Economy in India

In the year 1757 Mir Jafar, the commander in chief of the army of the Nawab of Bengal, along with Jagat Seth, Maharaja Krishna Nath, Umi Chand and some others, secretly connived with the British, asking support to overthrow the Nawab in return for trade grants. The British forces, whose sole duty until then was guarding Company property, were numerically inferior to the Bengali armed forces. At the Battle of Plassey on 23 June 1757, fought between the British under the command of Robert Clive and the Nawab, Mir Jafar's forces betrayed the Nawab and helped defeat him. Jafar was installed on the throne as a British subservient ruler. The battle transformed British perspective as they realised their strength and potential to conquer smaller Indian kingdoms and marked the beginning of the imperial or colonial era in the subcontinent.

During the 19th century British policy in Asia was chiefly concerned with expanding and protecting its hold on India, viewed as its most important colony and the key to the rest of Asia. The East India Company drove the expansion of the British Empire in Asia. The company's army had first joined forces with the Royal Navy during the Seven Years' War, and the two continued to cooperate in arenas outside India: the eviction of Napoleon from Egypt (1799), the capture of Java from the Netherlands (1811), the acquisition of Singapore (1819) and Malacca (1824), and the defeat of Burma (1826).

From its base in India, the East India Company had also been engaged in an increasingly profitable opium export trade to China since the 1730s. This trade, unlawful in China since it was outlawed by the Qing dynasty in 1729, helped reverse the trade imbalances resulting from the British imports of tea, which saw large outflows of silver from Britain to China. In 1839, the confiscation by the Chinese authorities at Canton of 20,000 chests of opium led Britain to attack China in the First Opium War, and the seizure by Britain of the island of Hong Kong, at that time a minor settlement.

The British had direct or indirect control over all of present-day India before the middle of the 19th century. In 1857 the Sepoy Mutiny, a local rebellion by an army of sepoys escalated into the Rebellion of 1857, which took six months to suppress with heavy loss of life on both sides. The trigger for the Rebellion has been a subject of controversy. The resistance, although short-lived, was triggered by British East India Company attempts to expand its control of India. According to Olson, several reasons

may have triggered the Rebellion. For example, Olson concludes that the East India Company's attempt to annex and expand its direct control of India, by arbitrary laws such as Doctrine of Lapse, combined with employment discrimination against Indians, contributed to the 1857 Rebellion. The East India Company officers lived like princes, the company finances were in shambles, and the company's effectiveness in India was examined by the British crown after 1858. As a result, the East India Company lost its powers of government and British India formally came under direct British rule, with an appointed Governor-General of India. The East India Company was dissolved the following year in 1858. A few years later, Queen Victoria took the title of Empress of India.

In the late 19th century India received a serious setback in the economy with a series of serious crop failures, leading to widespread famines in which at least 10 million people died. The East India Company had failed to implement any coordinated policy to deal with the famines during its period of rule. This changed during the *Raj*, in which commissions were set up after each famine to investigate the causes and implement new policies, which took until the early 1900s to have an effect.

The slow but momentous reform movement developed gradually into the Indian Independence Movement. During the years of World War I, the hitherto bourgeois "home-rule" movement was transformed into a popular mass movement by Mahatma Gandhi, a pacifist. Apart from Gandhi, other revolutionaries such as Shaheed Bhagat Singh, Chandrashekar Azad and Subhas Chandra Bose, were not against use of violence to oppose the British rule. The independence movement attained its objective with the independence of Pakistan and India on 14 and 15 August 1947 respectively.

In India trading rivalries brought other European powers in the country. The Netherlands, England, France, and Denmark established trading posts in India in the early 17th century. As the Mughal Empire disintegrated in the early 18th century and then the Maratha Empire became weakened after the third battle of Panipat, the relatively weak and unstable Indian states which emerged were increasingly open to manipulation by the Europeans through dependent "friendly" Indian rulers.

During the 18th century Britain and France struggled for dominance through proxy Indian rulers and also by direct military intervention. The defeat of the redoubtable Indian ruler Tipu Sultan in 1799 marginalised French influence. This was followed by a rapid expansion of British power through the greater part of the subcontinent in the early 19th century. By the middle of the century, the British had already gained direct or indirect control over almost all of India. British India contained the most populous

and valuable provinces of the British Empire and thus became known as “the jewel in the British crown”.

1.4.2 Colonial economy of India under the British Raj

The Colonial economy of India describes the economy of India during the years of the British *Raj* from 1850s to 1947. During this period, the Indian economy essentially remained stagnant, growing at the same rate (1%) as the population.

The Historians often wonder why India did not undergo industrialisation in the nineteenth century in the way that Britain did. In the seventeenth century, India was a relatively urbanised and commercialised nation with a buoyant export trade, devoted largely to cotton textiles, but also including silk, spices, and rice. By the end of the century, India was the world's main producer of cotton textiles and had a substantial export trade to Britain, as well as many other European countries, via the East India Company. Yet as British cotton industry underwent a technological revolution in the late eighteenth century, the Indian industry stagnated, and industrialisation in India was delayed until the twentieth century. Historians have suggested that this was because India was still a largely agricultural nation with low wages levels. In Britain, wages were high, so cotton producers had the incentive to invent and purchase expensive new labour-saving technologies. In India, by contrast, wages levels were low, so producers preferred to increase output by hiring more workers rather than investing in technology.

There are ample evidences that the British imperialism was more pragmatic than that of other colonial powers. Its motivation was more of economic than any other. There was none of the dedicated Christian fanaticism which the Portuguese and Spanish demonstrated in Latin America and less enthusiasm for cultural diffusion than the French (or the Americans) showed in their colonies. For this reason they did not put their effort to westernise India but took initiative in this regard only to a limited degree.

1.4.3 The scenario of Agriculture and industry in India during Colonial Period

The Indian economy grew at about 1% per year from 1880 to 1920, and the population also grew at 1%. The result was, on average, no long-term change in income levels. Agriculture was still dominant, with most farmers at the subsistence level. Extensive irrigation systems were built, providing an impetus for growing cash crops for export and for raw materials for Indian industry, especially jute, cotton, sugarcane, coffee and tea.

Jamsetji Tata, an Indian entrepreneur began his industrial career in 1877 with the Central India Spinning, Weaving, and Manufacturing Company in Bombay. While other Indian mills produced cheap coarse yarn (and later cloth) using local short-staple cotton and cheap machinery imported from Britain, Tata did much better by importing expensive longer-stapled cotton from Egypt and buying more complex ring-spindle machinery from the United States to spin finer yarn that could compete with imports from Britain.

In the 1890s, Tata launched plans to expand into heavy industry using Indian funding. The Raj did not provide capital, but aware of Britain's declining position against the U.S. and Germany in the steel industry, it wanted steel mills in India so it did promise to purchase any surplus steel Tata could not otherwise sell. The Tata Iron and Steel Company (TISCO), now headed by his son Dorabji Tata (1859-1932), opened its plant at Jamshedpur in Bihar in 1908. It became the leading iron and steel producer in India, with 120,000 employees in 1945. TISCO became an India's proud symbol of technical skill, managerial competence, entrepreneurial flair, and high pay for industrial workers.

1.4.4 Pattern of Agriculture

During the period of Colonial rule, agricultural production grew substantially in order to feed a population which grew from 165 million in 1757 to 420 million in 1947. The new system of land ownership offered some stimulus to increase output, and there was substantial waste land available for development. The colonial government made some contribution towards increased output through irrigation. The irrigated area was increased about eightfold, and eventually more than a quarter of the land of British India was irrigated. Irrigation was extended both as a source of revenue and as a measure against famine. A good deal of the irrigation work was in the Punjab and Sind. The motive here was to provide land for retired Indian army personnel, many of whom came from the Punjab, and to build up population in an area which bordered on the disputed frontier with Afghanistan. These areas, which had formerly been desert, became the biggest irrigated area in the world and a major producer of wheat and cotton, both for export and for sale in other parts of India. Apart from government investment in irrigation, there was a substantial private investment, and by the end of British rule private irrigation investment covered nearly 25 million acres of British India.

Improvements in transport facilities (particularly railways, but also steamships and the Suez Canal) helped agriculture by permitting some degree of specialisation on cash crops. This increased yields somewhat, but the bulk of the country stuck to subsistence

farming. Plantations were developed for indigo, sugar, jute and tea. These items made a significant contribution to exports, but in the context of Indian agriculture as a whole, they were not very important. In 1946, the two primary staples, tea and jute, were less than 3.5 per cent of the gross value of crop output. Thus the enlargement of markets through international trade was less of a stimulus in India than in other Asian countries such as Ceylon, Burma or Thailand.

In spite of a formidable growth in agricultural production very little was done to promote agricultural technology in India during the Colonial rule. There was some improvement in seeds, with no extension service, no improvement in livestock and no official encouragement to use fertilizer. Statistics are not available on agricultural output during the British rule, but all the indications suggest that there was substantial growth. There is no published data to assume whether output rose faster or more slowly than population, but it seems likely that the movements were roughly parallel.

For the last half century of British rule, the main calculations of output are those by George Blyn. His first study, which has been widely quoted, was published in 1954 by the National Income Unit of the Indian Government and showed only a 3 per cent increase in crop output in British India from 1893 to 1946, i.e. a period in which population increased 46 per cent. His second study, published in 1966 showed a 16.6 per cent increase, and that too, has been widely quoted, but he also gives a modified series which shows a 28.9 per cent increase. This seems preferable, as the official figures on rice yields in Orissa, which are corrected in his "modified" estimate, seem obviously in error. However, even Blyn's upper estimate is probably an understatement because he shows a very small increase in acreage. It is difficult to believe that per capita food output could have gone down as much as he suggests, whilst waste land remained unused. There has been a very big increase in the cultivated area since independence and it seems likely that the increase in the preceding half century was bigger than Blyn suggests.

The basic reports on areas under cultivation are those provided by village accountants (patwaris) in areas where land revenue was periodically changed, and by village watchmen (chowkidars) in areas where the land revenue was permanently settled. There was some incentive for farmers to bribe patwaris to under-report land for tax purposes, and chowkidars are all too often illiterate and drowsy people, who would usually report that things were normal, *i.e.*, the same as the year before. There is, therefore, a tendency for under-reporting of both levels and rates of growth in areas covered by statistics, and the areas not covered by statistics were generally on the margin of cultivation and may have had a more steeply rising trend than the average area covered.

1.4.5 Pattern of Industry and Trade

According to many historians British rule led to a de-industrialization of India. R.C. Dutt argued, "India in the eighteenth century was a great manufacturing as well as a great agricultural country, and the products of the Indian loom supplied the markets of Asia and Europe. It is, unfortunately, true that the East India Company and the British Parliament, following the selfish commercial policy of a hundred years ago, discouraged Indian manufacturers in the early years of British rule in order to encourage the rising manufactures of England. Their fixed policy, pursued during the last decades of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth, was to make India subservient to the industries of Great Britain, and to make the Indian people grow raw produce only, in order to supply material for the looms and manufactories of Great Britain".

Nehru argued that the British deindustrialized India, and that this "is the real the fundamental cause of the appalling poverty of the Indian people, and it is of comparatively recent origin".

There is a good deal of truth in the deindustrialization argument, Moghul India did have a bigger industry than any other country which became a European colony, and was unique in being an industrial exporter in pre-colonial times. A large part of the Moghul industry was destroyed in the course of British rule. However, it is important to understand precisely how this deindustrialization came about and to try to get some idea of its quantitative significance in different periods. Oversimplified explanations, which exaggerate the role of British commercial policy and ignore the role of changes in demand and technology, have been very common and have had some adverse impact on post-independence economic policy.

During the one hundred years from 1757 to 1857 the British wiped out the Moghul court, and eliminated three-quarters of the warlord aristocracy (all except those in princely states). They also eliminated more than half of the local chiefs (zamindars) and in their place established a bureaucracy with European tastes. The new rulers wore European clothes and shoes, drank imported beer, wines and spirits, and used European weapons. Their tastes were copied by the male members of the new Indian 'middle class' which arose to act as their clerks and intermediaries. As a result of these political and social changes, about three-quarters of the domestic demand for luxury handicrafts were destroyed. This was a shattering blow to manufacturers of fine muslins, jewelry, luxury clothing and footwear, decorative swords and weapons. It is not known how important these items were in national income, but so far as if one guess that the home market for these goods was about 5 per cent of Moghul national income. The export

come to India—all these provided the Government of India, at a time when the administrative machinery was already out of joint as a result of partition, with a task which was as stupendous as any nation ever had to face. If in its initial stages the situation had not been controlled with vigore, the consequences would have brought down the Government itself”.

At a press conference in February 1959, Nehru said : ‘When we decided on partition I do not think any of us even thought that they would be this terror of mutual willing after partition. So we paid a double price for it, first, you might say politically, ideologically; second, the actual thing happened that we lived to avoid”.

It can be said that political upheavals following the Indian Independence Act 1947 and redrawing of political frontiers/boundaries along religious pattern, transfer and division of sovereignty and changes of regives from the British to the natives have found million of people into exile and caused mass movements far in excess of those normally resulting from supply and demand on the world employment market. This mass movement of million of people across the new political boundary and their subsequent settlement in new levels, undoubtedly, provided the required sustenance to the growth of communalism, to which both India and Pakistan have suffered most. In India, particularly, Muslim constituted a significant minority and they have not integrated with the dominant Hindu nation, rather they preserve all aspects of their own culture and religion, but the massive influx of Hindu and Sikh population, from across the boundaries following partition, necessarily sustained an anti-Muslim feeling that in turn gave input to communal tension—one of the most important and biggest challenge to the secular fabric of Indian tradition of tolerance and synthesis.

Communalism is one of the major consequences of partition that still causes ‘some amount’ of instability in the geography of Indian federation. Pakistan and for that rattles Bangladesh do not have significant minority population, rather, whatever Hindu and Sikh populations dared to stay even after partition, and mass movement/migration, latter they were forced to flee usually by government action in the 50s. A majority of them fled to India, and other moved to Europe and America. Today, these is no problem of communalism in Pakistan and in Bangladesh because Hindus and Sikhs are almost non-existent rather they preferred to merge with the dominant Muslim nation.

Those who fled Pakistan and India soon after partition of their own are called ‘Flüchtlinge’, and those who left their homclands, usually by government action, may be called ‘Vertriebenen’ or ‘Heimatvertriebenen’. Bulk of the refugees whether

Muslims or Hindus or Sikhs were 'fluchtlinge', because they were forced to leave their homelands and belonging by the locals. Had they remained they might have been subject to political, social, economic and other disabilities. Even today, there is refugee problem particularly with regard to granting citizenship to the refugees and providing rehabilitation to them. These people, called refugees, do not have voting rights.

(2) The Kashmir Question

Perhaps the biggest challenge that emerged as a result of partition has been the Kashmir question and that has left a diabolic imprint on the political space of the subcontinent. It is one of the major geopolitical implications that has caused the nucleaization of the subcontinent's geopolitics. The genesis of the Kashmir question lies in the two-nation theory on the one hand and the loopholes in the Indian Independence Act 1947 which was rather ambiguous with regard to the political destiny of the Indian States. The Indian Independence Act 1947, had made a provision that 'the Indian states would have to accede to either of the Dominions' : India and Pakistan, through signing the 'Instrument of Accession', and there was no other alternative for them. The British Government, however, terminated the paramountcy or suzerainty of the crown once these Indian states. "Legally the Indian states there upon became independent. But it was absolutely absurd to think of the subcontinent divided into to large new independent nation carving out of British India with one of these nations divided by some thousand miles of the territory, and peppered with scores of other 'independent states' ranging in size from Hyderabad and Jammu and Kashmir to a few some area." (Palmer, 1961, 88)

However, the accession of the Indian States to India was secured by peaceful negotiations before August 15, 1947, and in a little over two years after independence the political geography of India was rationalised by the merger or the consolidation and integration of the Indian states. India was unified as never before in the history. All but three of the Indian states whose territories were geographically contiguous to the new State of India had acceded to the Indian Union. The three exceptions were significant, particularly since they imposed further strains on the already unhappy relation with Pakistan : Junagadh, Hyderabad and Jammu & Kashmir.

Junagadh became a part of the Indian State after a plebiscite in February, 1948. Hyderabad acceded to India in November 1948. These two Indian states had Muslim rulers with Hindu majority, so not much problem was involved with regard to their accession because the people wanted merger. But the case of Jammu & Kashmir was different.

The state of Jammu & Kashmir was consisted of four different political/cultural landscapes. Muslim northern Kashmir (Gilgit & Baltistan tycar); Buddhist Ladakh, Hindu Jammu Area, and the vale of Kashmir with mixed population, but the Muslim constituted the bulk of the population. Nevertheless, Jammu and Kashmir had a Muslim majority population, but with a Hindu ruler.

The Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir refused to accede either to Pakistan or to India prior to August 15, 1947, contrary to the advice of the Governor-General Lord Mountbalten. Rather he wanted both India and Pakistan to sign the 'Standstill Agreement' with him. The Indian Independence Act 1947, had a specific provision of the 'standstill agreement', according to which, pending the decision of the Indian States with regard to their political status vis-a-vis their accession to either of the states, both India and Pakistan were required to provide transit right to the Indian States, across their territories so that their commercial function with the outside world could be maintained, and this could be done through signing the 'standstill agreement'.

Pakistan was quick enough to sign the standstill agreement with the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir with the objective perception that it implicitly amounted to accession of the State with Pakistan. India, however, refused to sign the standstill agreement and declared that it would sign it only when the Maharaja agreed to accede with India. But, it needs to be mentioned here that even during the British period, Jammu and Kashmir's enjoyed transit right across the territories of the Punjab and Sind, and used the port of Karachi. The city of Jammu was linked with Sialkat by a single track broadgange railway that used to carry the bulk of people and trade of Jammu and Kashmir to the outside world. Hardly, there was say such link with the mainland of India rather there was a narrow link rood with no practical relevance, it resembled with a 'widened cart track'.

Pakistan, however, consistently exerted pressure on the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir to replace the standstills agreement by accession, on in other words, Pakistan wanted the Maharaja to sign the Instrument of Accession in its (Pakistan) favour. But, the Maharaja resisted the pressure. He was apprehensive that such a move might cause its embarrassment to the Hindu population of Jammu region which in turn could anger the Government of India, similarly, if he had decided to accede to India, there would have been Muslim uprising in Northern Kashmir and in the vale and that would have been beyond his capabilities to suppress. The Maharaja was in dilemma what to do and what not to do? This was perhaps the

reason that he preferred to distance from both India and Pakistan, and maintained an independent stand. However, Pakistan believed in the fact that being a Muslim majority state Jammu and Kashmir should accede to Pakistan as had been the case with the British provinces where the 'principle of cultural-religions contiguity' was followed to bring about the division of territories between that nation. Pakistan wanted the same principle be followed in the case of Jammu and Kashmir.

Delay on the part of the Maharaja to take a final decision with regard to accession to Pakistan raised doubts to his motives that Pakistan could not sustain any longer. Pakistan, however, faced a problem of tribal uprising in its North-Western Frontier Province where the tribal wanted merger with Afghanistan. Similarly, the tribal of Baltistan and Gilgit of Kashmir, also revolted that worried the Maharaja. In order to calm down the uprising in the NWFP, Pakistan motivated them to invade Jammu and Kashmir to help the tribal of Baltistan and Gilgit. A massive infiltration was planned with the object of 'forced' accession of Jammu and Kashmir with Pakistan. The security system of the Maharaja was too weak to resist the infiltration, this was what apperceived in Pakistan. It was felt that the collapse of the security system of Jammu and Kashmir would be inevitable once infiltration on a large scale, beyond the boundary was undertaken. It actually happened. Tribal invaders, backed and encouraged by Pakistan had pushed to within a few kilometers of Srinagar, the capital of Jammu and Kashmir. The Maharaja appealed for help, that India refused, however, on Lord Mountbatten's advice, to send unless the Maharaja acceded to India. On October 26, 1948, Jammu and Kashmir acceded to India. However, Lord Mountbatten announced on October 27, 1948 that 'as soon as law and order have been restored in Kashmir, and the territory cleared of the invader, the question of the accession should be settled by a reference of the people'. But, Pakistan could not wait further when it saw the success of the Indian army in pushing back the invader. The Pakistan army, then, openly involved, and crossed over the boundary. India and Pakistan nearly became involved in a war over Kashmir in 1948. However, because of the initiating of the United Nations that the war could be ceased.

Since January, 1949, a cease-fire line (that later i.e., in 1972 came to be known as line of control) has prevailed, and the State has been in fact divided along the cease-fire line (line of control). Repeated efforts by the United Nations and by the

U. N. society Council to workout a plan for steps leading to a resolution to the Kashmir conflict acceptable to both India and Pakistan have failed.

Kashmir accession to India was final and irrevocable. The State Legislative Assembly endorsed the accession, and the State became one of the countituent units of the Indian Union. Pakistan refused to accept the accession and renowned it an saying illogical, unpractical, and without any legal sanction. Instead, it insisted that the destiny of the State should be determined by a vote of the people. India's contention was that the accession was legally denable, given the provision if the accession of India States in the Indian Independence Act 1947 wherein the Rules had the right to take decision of their kingdom because the sovereignty lay on them not on then subject. The Maharaja was alone competent modern the rule, to take decision on the accession. Pakistan contention was more motional and religion-inspired rather, than legal. It wanted to apply the principle of the 'two-nation' theory, so as to claim their accession of the state. Pakistan had attempted military solution to resolve the Kashmir conflict, and for that it invaded Jammu and Kashmir in 1948, 1965, 1971 and in 2001. In 1965 and 2001 it engineered massive infiltration, although the attempt to push the line of contend (LOC) to further east, and to redraw it, were foiled by the Indian security tones.

The Kashmir conflict is a politics-territorial consequence of partition. It is a conflict, emanating from the faulty provision of the Indian Independence Act 1947. The nuclearisation of South Asian geopolitics may be said to an implicit geopolitical implication of partition of the subcontinent along the religions pattern. The split of the 'Indian nation' as an result of the partition into the Muslim nation and Hindu nation, has made both of their 'enenia' to each of them with political dynamium of mutual exclusiveness, confined to their respective political bounds.

(3) The Canal Water Question

One of the major implications of partition was the disruption of the Punjab canal system. Most of the canals went to West Pakistan while most of the river with their sources went to India vis-a-vis China, besides, most of their courses travel long across the Indian territories. However, the Indian part of the Punjab became a 'day zone' with no canals. "As consequence of partition the question of the use of the water of these rivers, whose annual flow in twice that of the Nile, became crucial for Pakistan, but for some years no progress war mode in resolving this life-or death issue'.

Large part of former West Pakistan had too little water and was dependent on rather uncertain supplies which had to be made available through some half dozen of the rivers which make up the Indus River system—the vital artery of former West Pakistan. Three of these rivers—the Jhelum, the Chenab and the Indus itself rise in Tibet or in remote parts of Kashmir, but three other—the Beas, the Ravi and Sutlej—flow through North-West India into West Pakistan, and can therefore, be directed for India's uses. 'Rainfall is scanty in the plain area and without the river and the irrigation system, the plain of the Indus basin would be desert'. But with the system of irrigation developed over the last hundred years, the river supported a population of about 50 million in the drive northwest of the subcontinent mostly the Punjab, which was approximately one-tenth of the total population of the subcontinent. However, partition put roughly 40 million people to West Pakistan side and the remaining 10 million people to Indian side.

Here, it needs to be mentioned that the boundary line of the new states was delimited by a boundary commission, whose term of reference delegated to it the obligation "to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab, on the basis of uncertainty the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslim. In doing so, it will take into account other factor (Spate 1947)." The other factor were primarily economic in nature. When the boundary commission made its inquiry, passion were high and it is understandable that the religion differences necessarily influenced the course of the boundary. 'meanwhile the most serious 'other factor'—the desirability a necessity of avoiding so far as possible any disruption of the canal systems on which the prosperity of all communities depended—was largely lost sight of or at most received formal lip service (Spate 1947)".

The irrigated area chiefly affected by partition was that lying between the Ravi and the Sutlej river. Here canals, originating in territory that was to become Indian, delivered water to fields that were to become Pakistan. As mentioned above that partition or division of the irrigated area was the fact that all rivers of the Punjab had their sources in the Indian held part of Kashmir. Since partition of the Punjab in 1947, there was a prolonged dispute between India and Pakistan regarding the division of the Water. Pakistan's need was, however, greater, but India was in a position to control the large part of the water. Whatever solution might be adopted, a heavy capital investment would certainly be required both for extension to the canal system and for building of dams and other works. The International Bank, for Reconstruction and Development—the World Bank became interested in adapting

the irrigation system to the new structure of political boundaries. In collaboration with the United States, United Kingdom and a number of the commonwealth countries, a plan was worked out to provide the capital, while India and Pakistan, worked out the technical details. In 1960 two treaties were signed, one between the World Bank and all the countries providing the capitals, and the other between India and Pakistan.

The treaty allocated the water of the eastern rivers—the Ravi, the Beas and the Sutlej—for the use of India, and of the three Western river—the Indus, the Jhelum and the Chenab—for the use of Pakistan. The agreement created the Indus Basin Development Fund of about \$900 million to finance the construction of irrigation and other works in Pakistan provided for in the Indus Water Treaty. Approximately \$640 million is to be supplied by the participating Governments, \$174 million by India under the Indus Waters treaty, and \$80 million by a World Bank loan to Pakistan.

To quote Pounds (1963 : 326) : "Very little water, if might be expected would be allowed to flow by way of the Eastern River into Pakistan, and the more easterly parts of the later could be obliged to obtain their irrigation water from the Western Rivers. This would clearly require elaborate hydraulic engineering works and much of the vast capital investment has been used for this purpose. The effect of the new irrigation canals has been to slow the flow from mainly northeast to southwest direction to one more nearly from north to south. This complex and costly arrangement may be said to be due to the simple fact that the Punjab was partitioned more regard to communal feelings than the hydraulic engineering."

The refugee problem, the Kashmir conflict and the Water disputes were the major geopolitical consequences and implication of partition of the subcontinent in 1947. Although, the refugee problem have, to a greater extent, been resolved, but the communal passions so created as a result of partition along the communal religions patterns, are causing havoc in some of the sensitive region of the Republic that have raised question to India's 'secular raison detre'. Similarly, the Kashmir conflict between India and Pakistan has given rise to, what may be called 'nuclear geopolitics' in the sub-continent with an ever-increasing nuclear arm race and armageddon scenario. The Kashmir conflict has also sustained cross-border terrorism to cause collapse of the system in Jammu and Kashmir. The water-disputes have by and large, resolved exception few minute areas of disputes and conflicts.

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3.3 Organization of Indian States Since Independence

Immediately after the plan to partition the subcontinent and to grant independence on August 15, 1947, was announced by the British Government, the Indian Government decided to set up a states ministry to handle the problem of the integration of the Indian states. The Indian Independence Act of 1947 did not propose a solution for the problem of the Indian states, but it terminate the paramountcy a suzerainty of the crown over there political units. Legally the Indian states, numbering more than 500, thereupon became independent. It was a gigantic problem to secure the accession of these 'quasi-independent' Indian states, particularly after the lapse of the paramountcy.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was placed in charge of the states ministry, and in the next two year or so this determined and influential man, who also served as Deputy Prime Minister until his death in 1951, "by a combination of cajolery and firmness not only secured the accession of most of the Indian States to the Indian Union but also merged and integrated many of them and laid the foundation for their full integration into the new Indian nation". The accession of the states to the Indian Dominion war by and large secured by peaceful negotiation before August 15, 1947, except for Junagadh Hyderabad and Jammu and Kashmir, whose accession to the new Indian nation took sometimes. In a little over two years after independence the political geography of India was rationalized by the merger or the consolidation and integration of the Indian states. Pateli first act as states Minister was to appeal to all the Princely rulers of Indian states in territories contiguous to the Indian-Dominion-to-be to accede to the Union in three subjects, foreign relation, defense and communication. A similar appeal was need by the Governor General Lord Mountbatten, in an address to the Chamber of Princes on July 25, 1947. In a remarkable display of cooperation, the Indian Princes responded to the appeal, and all but three of the Indian states whose

territories were contiguous to the new Indian nation had acceded to the Indian Dominion.

Junagadh, a Hindu small state with a Muslim ruler in Kathiawar, became a part of the Indian Dominion after a plebiscite in February 1948. Hyderabad, the largest of the Indian states, with a Muslim ruler and a Hindu majority, agreed to accede to the Dominion in November 1948, after the police of the Nizam surrendered before the Indian army which 'invaded' the state in September 1948. On being invaded by the Muslim tribal infiltration, the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, unable to sustain the pressure of invasion and infiltration, appealed to the Government of India for help. The Government of India refused to send help unless the Maharaja acceded to India. On October 26, 1947, he acceded to India. Jammu and Kashmir was a Muslim majority Indian state with a Hindu ruler. In 1948 both India and Pakistan nearly became involved in a war over Kashmir. However, since January 1, 1949, a cease-fire line has prevailed, and the state has been divided along the cease-fire, that, later in 1972, came to be known as the 'line of control'. Roughly 1/3rd part of the state is under the occupation of Pakistan, while a substantial part of Ladakh, a constituent unit of Jammu and Kashmir is under China's occupation since 1957.

With the integration and accession of Indian states, which were geographically contiguous to the Indian Union, the number of 'constituent' political units went to 27. The newly created system of 27 political units or for that matter states was expensive, inequitable, and asymmetrical. The boundaries framed after the integration of Indian states, followed by their merger with the British Provinces, were economically, linguistically, culturally and administratively as proved to be illogical and impractical.

Indian Constitution and Organization of States :

The Republican Constitution of India was proclaimed on January 26, 1950, and it made provisions for the organization of Indian states, consisting of both the territories of the former Indian states and the British Provinces that had created an asymmetrical politics-administrative system of 27 political units. These political units, numbering 27, were divided into four parts A, B, C and D, similar in their constitutional make-up based on the principle of federalism.

1. The constitution of India provided for nine Part 'A' states : Assam, Bihar, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, the Punjab, United Provinces and West Bengal—Corresponding to British Provinces.

2. Eight Part 'B' states were created that included Madhya Bharata, Patiala and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU), Rajasthan, Samashtie, Travancore-Cochin, Hyderabad, Mysore and Jammu and Kashmir. Except the last three Part B States, the former five states were formed by joining together other former Princely States, large and small. These were the earstwhile Indian States.
3. The Constitution also provided for ten Part 'C' States—Ajmer, Bhopal, Bilaspur, Cooch-Bihar, Corng, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Kutch, Manipur and Tripura. The list was amended almost immediately to change the name of the United Province to Uttar Pradesh, to omit Cooch Bihar from the list of Part 'C' States and to odd Vindhya Pradesh to the list.
4. The Andaman and Nicobar Island were listed in a Part 'D' category. Part 'A' and Part 'B' States were regarded roughly as of equal status (Jammu and Kashmir was in a rather different states, became of the disagreement with Pakistan over this territory), but Part 'C' States were definitely of lesser states, and was in fact administered by the President of India, through a Chief Commissioner or Lieutenant Governor. Executive power in Part 'A' States was exercised by a Governor, appointed by President of India, in Part 'B' States the executive head—except in Jammu and Kashmir—was known as a Rajpramukh, while in Jammu and Kashmir, the same was called Sadar-i-Riyasat.

However, in 1953 the number of States was increased to 28, when a separate State of Andhra was created out of the upper part of Modern State. It was the first linguistic State to be created in the Union.

Linguistic Movement and (Re)-Organization of the States

The unequal states of Part A, B, C and D states necessarily made the Indian feduation highly asymmetrical, geographically inexpensive and administratively inefficient. It lacked the true character of a feduation, the feudal boundaries were drawn without any regard to either the physical or the cultural features. Even the boundaries of the British Provinces were illogical in the sense that they were drawn only for administrative purposes, ignoring the regional interests and aspiration of the local and/or regional cultural entities. Independent India interacted and most unrealistic internal administrative boundaries which were further complicated by the merger of the territories of the Indian States with those of the territories of the Budish

Provinces, followed by the grouping and categorization of Part A, B, C States. The cultural loyalty that remained subdued and, rather, hidden during the British period, started expressing its territorial identity. The first of its kind of cultural-loyalty, expressing through linguistic regionalism occurred in the upper part of the Modern State where the Telegu-speaking people declined to stay further with the Tamil-speaking people. In December, 1952, Potti Sriramalu, in a gesture of self-sacrifice that aroused the Telegu-speaking people of north Modern State, fasted ante death is Modern on the issue of a separate state for his people, and shortly afterwards the Government of India, against its own deceives, province the create a separate State of Andhra. The new state came into existence in the fall of 1953.

The Indian National Congress had always supported, of course, implicitly, the organization of the subcontinent along linguistic, and a decision to this effect was taken, dating back of 1921. But, soon after independence it took a return and opposed its own decision. Nevertheless, a three-man commission, known as the Das commission was set up in 1948, to investigate the question of linguistic territorialization of the republic. But, the commission strongly disapproved the formation of linguistic federation on the ground that it might loosen the federal structure to the extent as to have weakened the unity and antiquity of the newly born Republic. However, not satisfied by the observation of the Das commission, the congress appointed another commission, known as the JVP committee in 1949. The JVP committee gave an ambiguous recommendations, because it expressed its concern not in such a strong way as did the Das commission with regard to the formation of linguistic states.

Growing agitation for the creation of linguistic spread to different region after the formation of the state of Andhra in 1953. The Ministry of Home Affair, Government of India, then, appointed a three-man states Reorganization Commission on December 29, 1953, to inquire into the demands of the linguistic entities that sought to create this own territories in a way an to give (geo)-political expression to their identity.

After careful consideration, the commission recommended that the number of states of Union be reduced from 28 to 16 with three union territories. The Commission was conscious of the unity and indegriety of the newly-born Indian Republic. It emphatically declared that none of the federating units would be

sovereign and independent. However, the recommendation of the commission were partially modified in the Lok Sabha (Lower House of the Parliament). The arrangement was changed, however, in the State Reorganization Act of 1956 and in the Constitution (Seventh Amendment) Act of 1956, both of which went into effect on November 1, 1956. The new map of India was organized mainly on a linguistic basis. The only major exception to the linguistic basis of (re)-organization, after November 1, 1956, were the state of Bombay, which was enlarged on divided and the Punjab, where the linguistic situation was complicated by other factor. After the re-organization the Indian Republic consisted of fourteen states of equal legal status—the distinction between part A, Part B, and Part C states disappeared—and six Union Territories—Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Manipur, Tripura, the Andaman and Nicabar Islands and Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands—which were centrally administered.

Bearing in mind that its first task was the 'presentation and strengthening of the unity and security of India' the commission warned against excessive deference to linguistic feelings, for 'further emphasis on narrow loyalties by equating linguistic region with political and administrative frontier must diminish the broader sense of the unity of the country. Nevertheless, the commissioned recommended new linguistic states for the south and it warned that "further deferment of a general reorganization will cause dissatisfaction and disappointment".

Listed in order of number of person speaking each language as a Mother tongue, the coincidence of language and state was as follows : Telegu-Andhra Pradesh; Tamil-Madras; Bengali-West Bengal; Kannada-Mysore; Malayalam-Kerala; Oriya-Orissa; Assamese-Assam.

Having in effect conceded the essentially linguistic basis of states (re)-organization, the Indian Government found that its decision were generally welcomed in most of the country, but definitely unpopular in linguistically frustated Bombay State and the Punjab. The Commission, also, disapproved the formation of tribal state, in spite of 'increasing' tribal nationalism in central India and in northeastern region.

On May 1, 1960, yielding at long last to the continuing agitation among both the Marathi—and the Gujrati-speaking peoples of Bombay State, the Government of India divided Bombay State into the two States of Gujrat, with a temporary capital

at Ahmedabad, and Maharashtra, with its capital in the city of Bombay. This brought the number of Indian States to fifteen.

The Naga, a district tribemen of the northeast under the political control of the Assam Government, had been claiming for complete independence since 1928. Since, they lacked any well-organized political organizations and parties, they could not succeed in their claims, rather, they were made to be part of Assam. When the member of the States Reorganization Committee visited them, they demanded for a separate Naga State. Since, the commission was against the creation of tribal state, the demand for a Naga State was rejected. However, in 1960, it was announced that the Indian Government had accepted in principle the demand for a separate Naga State, to be carved out of Assam, as one of the constituent unit of the Indian Republic. Finally, a separate Nagaland State was created in 1963, raising the number of States to sixteen. It was the first tribal state to be created in the Union. The creation of Naga State was designed to contain the growing discontent and hostile activities of Nagas against the Indian State.

The Akali Dal, the militant Sikh organization had long been demanding a separate Sikh State within the Union along the linguistic line, but the linguistic issue in the Punjab was complicated by the fact that the two main languages, Hindi and Punjabi, were linguistically similar, therefore, the bifurcation of the Punjabi Subha along linguistic line was not possible. However, locational vulnerability of the Punjabi Subha, being a frontier political unit, and the growing religious dicotomy between the Sikhs and the Hindus that made the Government of India to concede the demand leading to the bifurcation of the Punjab in 1966. The Hindi-Hindu area of the Punjab were territorially grouped and then, taken out of the Punjab as a New State Haryana. Although, a simple study of the split of the Punjab may appear to be an outcome of linguistic chauvinism, but a deeper study would reveal that it was more a result of intolerance religiosity of the Sikh people. With the creation of Haryana the number of State in the Union rose to seventeen.

On account of being sandwiched between China in the north, Myanmar (Burma) in the east, and Bangladesh (castwhite East Pakistan) in the southwest, the north-eastern region of the Indian Republic is linked to the mainland by a

narrow strip of land, called the chicken neck. Its location has always remained vital and vulnerable too. Here, the forces of disintegration were territorialized in such a way that the entire integration with the mainland always remained threatened. Moreover, the various tribal people had long been seeking to be recognized as Nation and sub-nation. It was a region of instability, in spite of several political changes. The process of political integration and organization of the north-eastern region, therefore, started with the enactment of the North-East Areas Recognition Act of 1972, and, as a result, there emerged the states of Meghalaya, Manipur, Tripura, Nagaland and the Union Territory of Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh which were latter given statehoodness. In fact, all these politics-territorial units were parts of Assam, and the tribal entities that belonged to there units had long expressed their discontent against the Assamese, and they strove for their recognition or nations and subnation. The organization of the northeastern areas was a geopolitical necessity. The reorganization of the northeastern regions pacified the feelings because of the attainment of the state-hood.

Creation of New states and bifurcation of States continued as a political process so as to strengthen the participatory-democracy on the one hand and to give territorial recognition of cultural entities on the other hand. Towards the end of the last century three States : Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh underwent bifurcation and/or split : Jharkhand (Bihar); Chhattisgarh (Madhya Pradesh) and Uttaranchal (Uttar Pradesh) were created. The territorial organization of these new states was necessitated to contain growing problem of tribalism and economic deprivation that the regions which were taken out and made states, underwent for years together. States like Assam, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh are likely to bifurcated in the coming future. The Government of India is seriously thinking to set up a second states Reorganization Commission to look-into problems of Bodoland, Karbialong, Cachar in Assam; Gorkhaland in West Bengal, Vidarbha in Maharashtra and Telengana in Andhra Pradesh. These are the sub-state units are some of them all district councils with some administrative power to deal with local affairs, therefore, the territorial organization of these sub-state territorial units either into Union Territories or into states, cannot be ruled out if the Indian state is to sustain the pressure of movement.

Incorporation of Foreign Possessions and their Organization

Portugal and France had some territorial possessions in the subcontinent and most of them occurred in the Peninsular Region of the Indian Republic. These were fine French possession : Chandernagor, Pondicherry, Karikal, Mahe and Yanaor. The first one integrated to India in 1949 without any referendum. While the remaining four were transferred to India by France on November 1, 1954 again without any referendum. Similarly the Portuguese possession like Dadra and Nagar Haveli merged with the Union on July 21, and August 2, 1954, but the Merger of Goa, Daman and Diu was not smooth, rather, these Portuguese territories were forced-acceded through the military actions. They became parts of the Indian territory on December 19, 1961.

People of these Portuguese and French possession had long desired to be assimilated in the Indian cultural system and they had supported all kinds of such movements that sought for their liberation from the foreign rule. Later, these territories were made either Union territories or merged with the neighbouring states of the Union Goa which was a Union Territory, later became a state of the Union.

In 1975, Sikkim became a part of the Indian Union through a referendum. It was the 22nd state of the Union when it acceded to the Indian Republic. The accession was conditioned by an amendment to the constitution, passed in the parliament on April 26, 1975. The accession of Sikkim and the merger of the Portuguese and French territories, infact enlarged the spatial extent of the Republic, and the political geography of it, also, underwent some fundamental changes.

The Republic of India consists of a Mosaic of different nationalities and communities with territorial specification and identity and that makes it, rather, a geopolitical necessity to effect territorial re-alignment and re-adjustment, therefore, the process of the (re)-organization of the territories cannot be put to an end. Sub-state regionalism is the key, at the moment, to call for realignment of territories for smaller to groups of cultural entities irrespective of their demographic size. Moreover, tribal nationalism, particularly, in central and northeastern parts of the Republic, is a dominant 'emerging' phenomenon that requires conscious effort on the part of the government to give territorial identity by organizing spatial dynamics i.e., to respect

the sense of attachment that the tribal nationalities have developed with this land once generation.

Linguistic reorganization and territorial organization, particularly, since 1953 have not weakened the Indian State, rather, they have strengthened the federal fabric of the Union to the extent on to have sustained the forces of disintegration. The earlier fear that the linguistic (re)-organization of territories would lead to the collapse of the Indian State system has provide wrong, rather in a participatory democracy such re-alignment of territories with cultural identities is a necessity.

Suggested Readings :

1. Menon, U. P. (1956). The story of the Integration of the Indian States, New York
2. Menon, U. P. (1957). The Transfer of passer in India. Rinston, New Jersey
3. Palmer, N. D. (1961). The Indian Political System, Baston
4. Sukhwai, B. L. (1985). Modern Political Geography of India, New Delhi

3.4 Political Geography of Foreign Trade

“Every state carries on trade, however, limited in scope this may be in some instances. Trade may be a source of strength, or excessive dependence upon certain goods and markets may spell weakness. Trade can be, and sometimes has been, used as an instrument of policy, and an evaluation of the significance of trade in the power potential of the state is necessary..... The control of foreign trade became an instrument of policy during the middle Ages in Europe, and during the earlier centuries of modern times it was developed, in effect, into a powerful weapon” (Pounds, 1963 : 27 & 279).

Informal Imperialism and Trade

Keith Buchanan (1972) in his ‘The Geography of Empire’ has mainly concentrated on the contemporary dominance of the united states in the world-economy. He points out that whereas this decolonization process has provided formal independence from a single impartial state, it has not provided independence from the imperial systems as a whole. In world-system, there is a change of



মানুষের জ্ঞান ও ভাবকে বইয়ের মধ্যে সঞ্চিত করিবার যে একটা প্রচুর সুবিধা আছে, সে কথা কেহই অস্বীকার করিতে পারে না। কিন্তু সেই সুবিধার দ্বারা মনের স্বাভাবিক শক্তিকে একেবারে আচ্ছন্ন করিয়া ফেলিলে বুদ্ধিকে বাবু করিয়া তোলা হয়।

— রবীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর

ভারতের একটা mission আছে, একটা গৌরবময় ভবিষ্যৎ আছে, সেই ভবিষ্যৎ ভারতের উত্তরাধিকারী আমরাই। নূতন ভারতের মুক্তির ইতিহাস আমরাই রচনা করছি এবং করব। এই বিশ্বাস আছে বলেই আমরা সব দুঃখ কষ্ট সহ্য করতে পারি, অন্ধকারময় বর্তমানকে অগ্রাহ্য করতে পারি, বাস্তবের নিষ্ঠুর সত্যগুলি আদর্শের কঠিন আঘাতে ধূলিসাৎ করতে পারি।

— সুভাষচন্দ্র বসু

Any system of education which ignores Indian conditions, requirements, history and sociology is too unscientific to commend itself to any rational support.

— Subhas Chandra Bose

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NETAJI SUBHAS OPEN UNIVERSITY

STUDY MATERIAL

**POST GRADUATE
GEOGRAPHY**

Paper : 6

Group : B (II)

POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY

PREFACE

In the curricular structure introduced by this University for students of Post-Graduate degree programme, the opportunity to pursue Post-Graduate course in a subject is introduced by this University is equally available to all learners. Instead of being guided by any presumption about ability level, it would perhaps stand to reason if receptivity of a learner is judged in the course of the learning process. That would be entirely in keeping with the objectives of open education which does not believe in artificial differentiation.

Keeping this in view, study materials of the Post-Graduate level in different subjects are being prepared on the basis of a well laid-out syllabus. The course structure combines the best elements in the approved syllabi of Central and State Universities in respective subjects. It has been so designed as to be upgradable with the addition of new information as well as results of fresh thinking and analysis.

The accepted methodology of distance education has been followed in the preparation of these study materials. Co-operation in every form of experienced scholars is indispensable for a work of this kind. We, therefore, owe an enormous debt of gratitude to everyone whose tireless efforts went into the writing, editing, and devising of a proper lay-out of the materials. Practically speaking, their role amounts to an involvement in 'invisible teaching'. For, whoever makes use of these study materials would virtually derive the benefit of learning under their collective care without each being seen by the other.

The more a learner would seriously pursue these study materials the easier it will be for him or her to reach out to larger horizons of a subject. Care has also been taken to make the language lucid and presentation attractive so that they may be rated as quality self-learning materials. If anything remains still obscure or difficult to follow, arrangements are there to come to terms with them through the counselling sessions regularly available at the network of study centres set up by the University.

Needless to add, a great deal of these efforts are still experimental—in fact, pioneering in certain areas. Naturally, there is every possibility of some lapse or deficiency here and there. However, these do admit of rectification and further improvement in due course. On the whole, therefore, these study materials are expected to evoke wider appreciation the more they receive serious attention of all concerned.

Prof. (Dr.) Subha Sankar Sarkar
Vice-Chancellor

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Registrar



Group B (2)

Unit 1	<input type="checkbox"/> Geographical Perspectives of Formation of State; Nation and Nation-State: Core and Peripheral Areas, Capitals, Frontiers and Boundaries, Buffer Zones, Buffer States and Land-locked Areas	7-38
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Unit 1 □ Geographical Perspectives of Formation of State; Nation and Nation-State; Core and Peripheral areas, Capitals, Frontiers and Boundaries, Buffer Zones, Buffer States and Land locked Areas

Structure

- 1.1 State and Nation**
- 1.2 Core-Periphery**
- 1.3 Capital Cities**
- 1.4 Buffer Zones, Buffer States and Land-locked Studies**

1.1 State and Nation

State :

States are part of our taken-for-granted world and we hardly even query their existence. States can even appear to be natural phenomena. However, for being natural entities, modern sovereign states are entirely historical artifacts the oldest of which have in existence in their present shape and alignment only for the past three or four centuries. In 1500 Europe was a complex mixture of hierarchies and territories through which power was organized. Europe was politically highly decentralized. It was estimated that there were 1,500 independent political units in Europe at this time. One of the features of the complexity of European politics in 1500 was that territories having allegiance to the same sovereigns were usually spatially separated. Territories were accumulated by families through a combination of war, marriage and inheritance. The process could lead to successful claims on territory by a family across all parts of Europe, e.g. the most successful family of the period, the Hapsburgs, accumulated territories in Spain, Austria, Italy and Burgundy to produce a 'realm' that is the geographical synthesis of the modern European state. It is only at the end of this period that territorial claims begin to become focussed on accumulating land to produce compact and contiguous states.

Such spatial compactness and contiguity of political territory, produced a typology where each 'state' was defined in terms of an 'inside' and an 'outside'. Hence the fundamental nature of compact and contiguous states consist of the

relation, which we may term 'looking inwards' and 'looking outwards'. The former necessarily concerned with the states, relation with their civil societies, the social and economic activities that existed within their territories. The later case had to do with the states relations with the rest of the index state system of which they were parts. There were the same states that operated in both spheres, looking inwards (domestic policy) and outwards (foreign policy) simultaneously. For, political geography this topological model of the study is the key starting point for understanding the formation of states.

State apparatus for dealing with domestic and external relations did not evolve at the same time, but the domestic political institutions preceded external ones by about 300 years. The medieval victory of the papacy over the Holy Roman Empire produced a power vacuum that the papacy failed to fill. Hence, across Europe in the thirteenth century political power accrued to middle-range kingdoms to fill the gap. These kingdoms, some of which have survived (Portugal, France, England) and some which have not (Navarre, Naples, Burgandy), created only institutions to deal with internal affairs. They were really concerned with large scale estate management, and the first permanent institutions were high court and the treasury. There kingdoms were known as 'law states'. This form of political organization was to survive the crisis of feudalism after 1350, and was available, alongside other political entities as Europe began to construct the modern world after 1500.

However, the concept of foreign affairs had no meaning in the chaotic period of the times. War and dynastic marriages were family matter requiring the creation of no specialist arm of the state. The situation was slow to change, even during the sixteenth century with emergence of more compact state territories, e.g. the state with the most advanced apparatus at this time was France, but even here creation of separate institutions for foreign affair was slow. During the sixteenth century, the need for dealing with foreign matters was recognized, but this was an added responsibility of existing state apparatus. By the seventeenth century, France and other countries had evolved a state apparatus that included institutions to deal with external and internal relation. Unlike in the medieval period, there now existed an inter-state system, and all states had to compete as territorial entities to survive by looking both inwards and outwards. This was a new fashion of world politics premised on territory and sovereignty—a state further towards state formation.

Territory and Sovereignty

'Territory' implies a division of political power. In modern usage, the application to city-states in the antiquity, now has become obsolete. It is now applied to modern

state. A territory is the land belonging to a ruler of state. The meaning has been traced back to 1494, approximately the birth of the world economy. The modern meaning of territory is closely tied up with the legal concept of sovereignty. In fact, this is a way in which it can be distinguished from the original city-scale definition. Sovereignty implies that there is one final and absolute authority in a political community. The concept was not evolved in the classical Greek World—city territories were not sovereign. However, the concept can be traced back to the Roman Empire and the emperor's imperium over the empire. It is this concept that passed on to medieval Europe in Roman Law. But medieval Europe under feudalism was hierarchical system of power and authority, not territorial one. It was the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648 that territory and sovereignty was brought together to define the modern inter state system. It recognized each state was sovereign in its own territory, i.e. interference in the internal affairs of a country was the first offence of international law. The result was formal recognition of a Europe parcelled up into 300 sovereign units. This was the original territorial basis of the modern inter-state system—the first 'world political map'.

Territory is the platform for engaging in international relations; sovereignty provides the legitimation. 'Sovereignty is the ground rule of inter-state relation in that i.e. identifies the territorial entities who are eligible to participate in the game'. Hence not all territories are sovereign states.

The first mosaic of sovereign territories was a direct result of the strife resulting from the religious wars in Europe in the wake of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. The crucial political issue of the day was order and stability, a rather the lack of it, and the territorial state emerged as the solution to the problem of security. Security provides a stability in which a territory's resources can be mobilised more completely. Security and opportunity were the two basic functions of the territorial state. The former relates to the origin of the inter-state system, the latter to the emerging world market.

In a competitive state-system, security requires more than recognition of sovereignty. It requires keeping up with the neighbouring states in economic terms. The rise of mercantilism was very much tied up with the rise of the territorial state in the seventeenth century. The Dutch state was a best example of a territorial state, being based on mercantilism. It offered an alternative *raison d'etat* focusing on economics rather their traditional *raison d'etat* emphasizing politics, war and the glory of the king. The power of the state ultimately depended on the success of the mercantilism. The exact nature of different states, policies in the world market reflected

the balance of power between landed and merchant interests. The former succeeded once overwhelmingly in Eastern Europe to produce its peripheralization, and the later in Western Europe, particularly, most successful in England, although France developed very strong mercantilist policies for a short period.

Today, it is not possible to become sovereign just by declaring yourself thus i.e. sovereign. It is never a matter for a single state, it is an inter-state arrangement because sovereignty can exist only for 'states who reciprocally recognise each other's legitimate existence within the framework and norms of the inter-state system. Since 1945, recognition of sovereignty has usually been confirmed by acceptance into membership of the United Nation. Hence the very first task of the new post colonial states of Africa and Asia was to apply to join the UN to prove their entry on to the world stage. This process of recognition has been repeated by the new states from the break up of the USSR and Yugoslavia. In short, sovereignty gives territories an international recognition and capacity in the world system. The territorial sovereignty is a feature of the modern state system that distinguishes from previous political system.

The operation of the twin principles of territory and sovereignty as the basis of international law has an important corollary : states have become the 'collective individuals' around which laws are framed. Hence, the 'rights of states' have priority over the interests of other institution. The Article 2 of the United Nation Charter upholds the territorial integrity of member states and outlaws intervention in their domestic affair.

In the make-up of the world political map, three types of political claims seemed to have played the most crucial role, and ranked in order they are effective control territorial integrity, and historical and cultural claims.

Effective control as a criterion for accepting a state's right to a territory is used to legitimate armed conquest. Sovereignty is normally accepted once effective control of a territory is demonstrated. India's incorporation of Goa into its territory after successful invasion of the Portuguese colony in 1961, is an example.

Territorial integrity can be used to challenge the right of a state that has effective control over a territory. Geographical claims can be at any scale. The most well known example is the Spanish claim to Gibraltar. Despite the wishes of the inhabitants, the United Nations voted in 1968 for the transfer of Gibraltar to Spain, because it was a part of the Iberian peninsular and that provided the basis for the territorial integrity claim.

Historical and cultural claims are much more varied in nature. Historical claims relate to priority or past possession of the land, while cultural claims have usually been associated with national claims to territory under the heading of 'national self-determination'. With few exceptions, today's independent African states have the same boundaries on the colonial territories they superseded, which took little or no account of indigenous African cultural pattern. Despite, this, boundaries of Africa drawn by European power after 1884 have largely survived intact. This is a very good illustration of the conservatism inherent in the inter-state system succeeding in blocking change in the pattern of the world political map. Generally, the new states do not support the division of another state, because it would be likely to lead to questioning the integrity of their own inherited territory. Today, most African boundaries are older than European boundaries. It is, indeed, a reality that the world political map is the ultimate result of power politics and conflict. It is a map of changing pattern of winners and losers. Territory provides a platform, sovereignty a justification, but neither is an adequate defence for a state against a successful action of power politics and conflict by a rival bent on its elimination from the world stage.

All states are autonomous entities that proceed along parallel paths but from different starting times and at different speeds.

Hartshorne (1950), Gottmann (1952) and Jones (1954) had developed theories of the modern states, particularly with regard to their geographical formation. For Hartshorne, the fundamental purpose of the state is to bind together its various social and territorial segments into an effective whole. The integration function can be carried out 'vertically' for social groups, and 'horizontally' for territorial groups. Gottmann, on the other hand, analysed the world political map, as consisting of a Mosaic of 'states' and concluded that it was based on two main factors : Movement (all kinds of movements) that causes instability, and 'iconography', (a system of symbol in which people belief), which causes stability. These two forces oppose one another, and the world map at any one time is the balance achieved between stability and instability. Break up and formation of states, according to him, may be the result of these two opposite set of forces.

Hartshorne who developed the theory of territorial integration, in his functional approach in political geography had identified two set of forces : centrifugal forces pulling the state apart are centripetal forces binding it together. Gottmann's movement and iconography are important examples of centrifugal and centripetal forces respectively.

Hartshorne identified one basic centripetal force of overwhelming importance—the state-idea. Every state has a *raison detre*, a reason for existence, and it is the

strength of this 'idea' that counteracts the centrifugal forces. In modern world, this state-idea, like Gottmann's iconography, is closely associated with nationalism.

Hartshorne's theory of territorial integration vis-a-vis the making of state provided a model for analysing particular cases. It was further developed by Jones in his 'unified field theory'. Hartshorne's concept of 'state-idea' was extended to form a chain of five related concepts : political-idea, decision, movement, field and political area. In the case of the modern states, the political idea is the *raison detre*, while decision is the specific treaty recognizing the validity of the idea. Movement is Gottmann's concept as required in operationalizing the decision to produce a field as the arena in which the movement occurs. Finally, a political area is defined as the territory of the state. Jones put forward the example of the establishment of Israel as follows : Zionesiss was the idea, the Balfocer Declaration of 1917 was the decision permitting movement (migration) which produced a field (the immigrant settlement pattern) generating war, that defined a state of Israel out of Palestine. When the chain was completed, the centripetal forces triumphed, when the chain was broken, centrifugal forces were deemed to be strong.

Creating New States by Partition

These are examples of states getting collapsed and partitioned. In political geography terms, there was no state-idea to build upon, so centrifugal forces overwhelmed the new creations and formations. The West Indies, Central African and East African federation collapsed, and Singapore seceded from Malaysia. This process of partition was to be seen in its most spectacular form in British India, where the partition produced Pakistan and India in 1947, after the loss of one million lives and the transfer of twelve million people. The partitions of the recent past have taken advantage of the political fluidity that is a feature of any geopolitical transition. In more stable periods represented by geopolitical world order, partitions are generally a much rare phenomenon. This is because every state partition represents a severe threat to the 'status quo'. It is for this reason that separatist movements usually command very little support in the international community, as in the case of Biafra that attempted to secede from Nigeria in the civil war of 1969-1971. It obtained little or no political support from other African states. In contrast, the separation of Bangladesh from Pakistan in 1971 was quickly accepted by the international community after its creation. The state promoted centrifugal forces when it required to develop very strong centripetal forces to survive as two separated territorial units. When partition came it was not interpreted as the result of a typical separatist movement but as a particular and necessary correction of post-colonial boundaries.

Bangladesh was an exception that would not affect the status quo. Within three years, the new Pakistan (formerly West Pakistan) recognized the new state of Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan).

Since 1989, with the collapse of communist rule in Europe, new partitions have taken place. Beginning with Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, the old federation of the USSR has been dismantled into constituent parts : the world political map lost one state, and fourteen new states have been added. This is not the only revision that cartographer are having to implement. Yugoslavia collapsed to make for four sovereign states, and Czechoslovakia is now two states : the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Fortunately or unfortunately not much Asian states in the recent past, suffered or split partitioned, since the creation of Bangladesh.

Partitioned states are usually considered to be permanently separated. Here partition is the result of internal pressure. It is a way of solving a destructive diversity within a state. The classic examples are India-Pakistan partition from the last geopolitical transition and Palestine-Israel partition. The post-1989 partitions in East Europe are clearly of this type.

“A modern state is an area organized (geo)-politically in an effective manner by an indigenous, a resident people with a government in effective control of the area (territory). However, it is the notion of sovereignty that assumes the existence of the state, or the state is defined by its possession of sovereignty which is the supreme coercive power within the territory—the state gives orders to all and receives no order from none inside its recognized boundaries. Invasion by a foreign power or internal insurgency aiming at creating a new state is a violation of state’s sovereignty’. If it is not defeated the state no longer has a monopoly of coercion in the territory and faces extinction.”

Nation :

A state is made up of area (with its resources) of people, and of an effective mechanism of government. But in most states of the modern world the people themselves have some bond of union, holding them together and distinguishing them from the people of other share, over and above the land, the land area and the governmental mechanism which they state. We may think of the people of Bangladesh as being Bengalee. Their ‘Bengaleeness’ is demonstrated primarily by their common use of Bengalee language, though this is spoken also by a significant part of the population on either side of the international boundary i.e. in West Bengal, a constituent unit of India. But within the defined boundaries of Bangladesh, the Bengalees are themselves distinguished by a complex of social ideas and attitudes.

These in turn for decades and centuries, have been shaped and are known to us as 'Bengalee tradition or Bengali culture'. Their is the cement that binds the people together and makes them cohere into a Bengali nation. A nation is therefore, a cultural entity with a territorial specification and identification. As Bertrand Russell (1938) had expressed it : "A creed a sentiment of some kind is essential to social cohesion, but it is to be source of strength, and it must be genuinely and deeply felt by the great majority of the population". A sense of 'belonging together' also makes a people to cohere into a nation in due course of time.

A common nationality generally has several attributes, but very few have all of them. The most usual of them are common descent, language, territory, political entity, customs and traditions and religion : "...common language and a same of ethnic kinship, geographic unity and contiguity, a common historical experience and frame of political thought, a common area of economic mutuality, and sometimes, the fear of a common foe tend to synthesize and cohere a group of people into a nation.... A common religion was usually regarded as an equally important prerequisite until modern religiously pluralistic nations....refuted the theory" (Niebuhr. 1959).

As Hartshorne (1950) put it : "...a nation....as a group of people occupying a particular area who feel themselves held together in terms of common acceptance of particular values that they demand that their area and people should be organized in a distinct state, as the political agency by which those values may be preserved and furthered".

Each nation has a view of itself and, at the same time, a concept of other nation. It knows what it perceives to be its national space, and this space it is probably prepared to defend. It may, on the other hand, embrace territory to which it has little emotional attachment and which it may be prepared to abandon, without too much soul searching in an emergency. The nation's concept of itself, like its attitudes to other peoples, is a product of its history and tradition. It is not always a national attitude and a really devoid of a kind of self congratulatory egotism. The folklore which helps to give a nation a a sense of unity also tends to represent it as more noble, more just, more democratic than others.

Nationalism and Nation-State

Nationalism is generally considered to be the most geographical of all political movements. Traditional political geography was largely organized around the trilogy of territory—state-nation, so that behind every successful territorial state there was a vibrant nation. Hence to territory becomes national 'homeland', sometimes even

'fatherland' a 'motherland', imbued with symbolic significance of nationalism and the state becomes the 'nation-state' as the ideal expression of the political will of the nationalism. Or, in other-words, nationalism is the political expression of nationhood, the nation-state is the politico geographical expression of nationalism.

Nation and nationalism continue to be important to our understanding in political geography for one basic reason that they are both explicitly territorial in nature. Nations do not simply occupy space like other social institutions or organizations, they claim association with particular geographical location. They share this property with modern sovereign state and this shared territoriality is expressed in the concept of nation-state. Nationalism is not an eternal expression of nation through the ages but consists of a family of political practices that are barely 200 years old.

There are two interpretation of nation and nationalism 'primordial' and 'modernist'. According to the primordial interpretation, nations are historical communities with a common ancestry. Therefore, the origins of today's nations are to be found in yesterday's tribes. This produces an evolutionary view that culminates in a world of nation, each with its own particular and unique genealogy. The essentiality of this view or interpretation lies in the primordial ties of ethnicity and language. For primordialists, ethnic communities emerged out of the prehistoric times and entered history as the basic units of human experience. In this view, nations are natural and perennial. The human species is genetically divided into a limited member of kin-related groups of individuals. These groups have always existed, although they may not have always expressed themselves as forcibly as in the very recent past. Hence all periods of history will contain nations, and some of these will have survived migrations, assimilations and conquests to form the origins of modern nations : the Chinese, the Germans and Indians have survived while the Babylonians and Assyrians have not survived.

The modernist views nationalism as a historically recent phenomenon that has provided a unique and powerful link between politics and culture. Nationalism as a term engaged only in the late nineteenth century and as an idea, it can be traced back to the earlier concept as the 'principle of nationality'. This principle was very simple and powerful one-every nation has the right to its own state. This idea seems to have emerged in the eighteenth century, became a major force in world politics in the nineteenth century and has come to dominate the politics of the twentieth century. 'The basic characteristics of modern nation and everything connected with it is its modernism'.

Nationalism as a force for challenging existing states derives from another important change in the nature of this politics that happened in the late nineteenth

century. At the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, a Europe of twenty-seven 'nation-states' was constructed. Today, the number is even higher, but the implication of opening the possibility of statehood to all ethnic groupings that may be 'nation' has global implications for the stability of the world political maps.

Is there any authentic example of a nation state in the sense of one people, one state? Most of the states have a degree of mixed population that makes their credentials as nation-states doubtful. Nevertheless, lack of 'cultural purity' has not prevented most states in the world claiming to be 'nation-states'. However, those states could be put into the category of nation-states where over 60 percent of the population are from one ethnic group. But this is not fair, given the 'ideal' of the nation-state. Of course Iceland, Japan and Somalia are best example of ideal nation-states where the dominant ethnic group constitutes more than 95 percent of state's population.

Divided Nation

As there are examples of 'partitioned' states, so there are examples of 'divided' nation. Germany (1949-1990), Korea, Mongolia, China and Vietnam (1955-1974) are examples of divided nation. These states had cultural and linguistic unity before partition or division. These partitions or divisions were the result of outside forces and were not considered permanent by their population. Vietnam and Germany have been reunified, and in the other cases there remains the concept of one nation despite the two states.

Nation-building

Nation-building (or political integration in the context of such nation-states that consist of a mosaic of different ethnic communities, aspiring for the status of nations) refers essentially to the process of bring together culturally and socially discrete groups into an organic (i.e. fully functioning) spatial system and establishment of a strong national identify inseparably bound with the territory of this system. The process attempts to create a sense of territorial nationality that eliminates subordinate parochial loyalties. Successive territorial re-alignments and reorganizations of the Indian states since 1953 were aimed at eliminating 'loyalties' towards the erstwhile princely states. In a federal system, it is the 'state-idea' that brings together the diverse regions of the states into a common political system. Nation-building is essentially a geographical phenomenon as it involves innovation diffusion of the political idea through the length and breadth of the state, justifying *raison d'être* of the state.

Distinction between the State and the Nation

Although the relations between the State and the Nation are mutual and manifold, but there are differences between the two. Firstly, the nation is a cultural entity, while

the state is a legal entity. The nation is tradition-bound, and historical, but the state is politics-bound, i.e. it is created by the political will. Secondly, the nation is a natural unit of the society, while the state is an artificial unit of the World's political space. Thirdly, the nation is permanent, but the state is a temporary phenomenon. The Bengalees remain but East Pakistan disappeared. The nation cannot be eliminated, but the state can be destroyed. Fourthly, the nation is mobile that it can abandon its place of habitation and moves to newer place when threat loom large over it, but the state is immobile, and it perishes if it loses its 'raison detre', or if it loses the war. Fifthly, the state can have more nations within its bounds, which the nation cannot do. Finally, both can pre-date each other, e.g. the state of England created the English nation while the Norwegian and the Polish nation antedated Norway and Poland. However to some political geographer, there are no differences between the state and the nation, rather they are synonymous, and inseparable.

1.2 Core-Periphery

The principle of centrality has been a feature of geopolitical world-views. It is founded on the proposition that, however complex the pattern of international relationships may become, there is always a 'central place' which enjoys a position of particular significance. Such pre-eminence need not necessarily be exclusively political, it may include political, commercial, technological, cultural, demographic or military elements in various combination. A place endowed with such qualities can be a city, a nation or a region, and in geopolitical terminology it can be variously described as a core region, a zone, a belt, a centre of gravity or a heartland. While the actual location which have been deemed as fulfilling this role have changed considerably over time, the basic idea of there being a 'centre', within a particular state, region or the world as a whole has remained. The corollary of the existence of a world centre is bound to be that of the existence of a world periphery, an edge, which is in all ways its opposite. While the centre is that place where power in many different forms is concentrated, the periphery is the area which is, by definition powerless. Between these two extremes there is a gradation from absolute centrality to absolute peripherality.

It is in this grey area between the middle and the edge that the complex relationships and rivalries of the geopolitical world have been played out and where those aspiring to future power have lain in wait.

During the 1970s, as the bipolar world which had existed for a quarter of a century began to unravel, its geopolitical justification came to be challenged. Other

world-view, until then frozen out by the cold war, began to reappear, and the most influential of these was the core-periphery view. The most significant new contribution to the centrist condensation was the world systems analysis. From the 1980s this came to be particularly associated with the work of George Modelski and Immanuel Wallerstein. Viewing the world as a 'system' with a basically core-periphery structure, they proposed a totally different global scenario from that of the cold war. This new centrism was part of what can best be described as 'planet earth' thinking which arose from an increasing realisation that the most important contemporary issues were those which confronted humanity as a whole and were too large for any one country and too complex for any one ideology to tackle successfully. Important among the issues which now came up for examination was the rapid depletion of the world's finite reserves/resources and the very real possibility of the exhaustion of many of them within the foreseeable future. This led to the question of the inordinately large share of these resources being used up by the countries of the developed world, which in turn pointed to the extreme of global wealth and poverty that continued to exist a generation after the European empires had been replaced by the independent states in Africa and Asia.

It has been observed that during this period global economic inequality had increased rather than diminished. With the increased integration of the planet, "the most advanced are dependent on the most backward and vice-versa" development is the reverse side of the underdevelopment. Consequently a large section of the globe, containing majority of its people, was relegated to the periphery of the system which was designed to channel the greater part of the world's wealth towards the centre. By the 1970s this was seen to be hardening into a pattern of development and underdevelopment which split mankind into 'haves' and 'have-nots' on a global scale. The realisation of this imbalance was one of the prime causes of the beginnings of the 'geopolitical paradigm-shift' from the perception of a world divided by ideological confrontation to that of a world divided by differences of wealth. Taylor (1981) saw the effects of Wallerstein's approach as putting the North vs South conflict 'at the centre of the stage' in place of the East vs West conflict.

In the light of the dawning realisation that one of the most fundamental problems was global inequality, the cold war confrontation came increasingly to be seen not only all irrelevance but, as a result of the armsrace which it had encouraged, a profligate waster of valuable resources. With the questioning of assumptions underlying the cold war came also a questioning of the assumptions underlying the nature of that

geopolitical world produced by it. These were based on the belief that these existed an irrevocable and permanent split between two great centres of power each holding to an ideology which was mutually exclusive and incompatible with the other. The difference between the two in a great variety of way was observed to be great that the term 'worlds' had been invoked to describe them. The term 'world', much used in the past to describe those geographical areas remote from the Western ecumene, had been transferred to the great ideologies, which were seen as being virtually geographical phenomena possessing the kind of permanence associated with the physical features of the world surface. In order to be effective in addressing the new set of issues, peri- and post-cold war thinking required to be freed itself from the two worlds' ideological baggage. This came about through the interdependence within a finite space implied in the earth bound ideas and the scotching of the cold war myth of the 'mighty opposites' in a divided world. As the balance of terror stained to abate, the superiority of the west became more evident, and this pointed increasingly towards the existence less of a 'mighty opposites' than of a single world centre. The rationalisation of this took the form of world-systems analysis.

A system can be defined as being a grouping of related elements organised for a purpose. The systems approach consists in the analysis of physical and social systems with a view to understanding the functioning of complex and dynamic situation in brood outline. By the 1970s the systems approach in social sciences was being applied to the first of international relation and politics. While systems analysis has a wide application in geopolitics and political geography, the main objective of the present account is to assess its importances in the development of the contemporary core-periphery world view. The basic proposition of the world systems analysis is that these is indeed a world system that operates as a functioning whole.

The world systems dates from the opening up of the world by the Europeans in the sixteenth century i.e. by 1557 the European world-economy had arrived and was surviving early vulnerability on its way to becoming the only historical example of fully developed world-economy. As it expanded, it eliminated all remaining mini-systems and world-empires to become truly global by 1900. The most fundamental spatial characteristics was that it was based on a core-periphery structure. Within the framework of this systems there were four fundamental types of change :

1. **Transition** : It was an internal process, where one system evolves into another, e.g. mini-systems have begotten world-empires in certain advantageous circumstances in both the old and New Worlds. Similarly one world-empire, that of feudal Europe, was the predecessor of the capitalist world economy.

2. **Transformation** : It occurred as external process as incorporation. As world-empires expanded they conquered and incorporated former mini-systems. These defeated population were reorganized to become part of a new mode of production providing tribute to the conqueror. All peoples of the continents beyond Europe have experienced this transformation over the last 500 years.
3. **Discontinuity** : Discontinuity seemed to have occurred between different entities at approximately the same location where both entities shared the same mode of production. The system was broken down, and was replaced by a new one. For example, the sequence of Chinese states could be a classic example. The periods between these separates world empires were anarchic, with some reversal to mini-system, and were commonly referred to as Dark ages.
4. **Continuity** : It occurred within systems. Despite popular image of 'timeless' traditional cultures, all entities were found to be dynamic and continually changing. There were two types of changes : linear and cyclic. All world-empires have displayed a large cyclical pattern of 'rise and fall' as they expanded into mini-systems until bureaucratic-military costs led to diminishing returns in contraction. In the world-economy, linear trends and cycles of growth and stagnation form an integral part of the analysis.

Modern social sciences have devised many 'stage models' of development, all of which involve a linear sequence of stages through which societies i.e. countries are expected to travel. The basic method is to use an historical interpretation of how rich countries became rich as futuristic speculation of how poor countries can become rich in their turn. Advanced countries are on the top and the states of the Third World are on the lower rungs. The way of conceptualising the world has been very popular in geography, where stage models are applied to a wide range of phenomena such as demographic change and transport network. All assume that poor states can follow a path of development essentially the same as that pursued by the current 'advanced' states. These development models of social change expose the weakness of the multiple society assumption. If social change can be adequately understood on a country-by-country basis then the location of the ladder (five stages of economic growth) does not matter; each society is an autonomous object of change moving along the same trajectory but starting at a different dates and moving at different speeds. However, the world-system analysis totally refutes this model of the contemporary world. The fact that some countries are rich and other one poor is not merely a matter of timing along some universal pathways to affluence, rather, rich and poor are part of one system and they are experiencing different processes within

that system. The world-system analysis is a challenge to developmentalism : the simplistic world of an international 'ladder' is superseded by the sophisticated concept of the capitalistic world-economy.

Wallerstein (1974, 1979) has identified three basic elements of the world-economy. **First**, the world-economy consists of a single world market, which is capitalist, whose logic permeates economic decision throughout the system. This means that production is for exchange rather than use, i.e. producers do not consume what they produce but exchange it on the market for the best price they can get. These products are known as commodities, whose value is determined by the market. Since the price of any commodity is not fixed there is economic competition between the producers. The concrete result of the single world market has been uneven economic development across the world.

Second, in contrast to a single world market, there have always been a number of political states in the world-economy, so that no one state is able to dominate finally. Hence the inter-state system is a necessary element of the world-economy. However, single states are able to distort the market in the interests of their national capitalist classes within their boundaries, and powerful states can distort the market well beyond their boundaries for a short time. There is a competitive state system in which a variety of 'balance of power' situations may prevail. For nearly all of the period since the Second World War, the balance of power was bipolar, organized around the USA and the former USSR', under conditions of globalization a very different bi-polar contest may be emerging between the United States and the European Union.

Finally, there is a three-tier structure which is 'political' in nature but is more subtle than previous one. According to Wallerstein, the exploitative processes that work through the world-economy always operate in a three-tier format. This is because in any situation of inequality three-tiers of interaction are more stable than two tiers of confrontation. Those at the top will always manoeuvre for the 'creation' of a three-tier structure, and whereas those at the bottom will emphasize the two-tier of 'them' and 'us' the continuing existence of the world-economy is therefore one in part to the success of the ruling groups in sustaining three-tier patterns throughout various fields of conflict : core, periphery and semi-periphery.

The semi-periphery is political in nature as a stabilizing force between the economic-geographical extremes. It plays a key role in the dynamics of the world-economy, since it is the semi-periphery where the most acute class struggle occurs when it becomes the focus of periodic restructuring.

The Concept of Core and Periphery

It is now commonplace to define the modern world in term of core, meaning the rich countries (North America, Western Europe and Japan) and periphery meaning the poor countries of the Third World. The core-periphery pattern is often treated as a static, almost natural, and phenomenon. The world-economy use of the terms 'core' and 'periphery' is entirely different. Both refer to complex processes and not directly to areas, regions or states. The latter only become core-like because of dominance of core processes operating in that particular area, region a state. Similarly, peripheral areas, regions or states are defined as those where peripheral processes dominate. Core and periphery processes are opposite types of complex production relation. In simple term, core processes consist of relations that incorporate high wages, advanced technology and a diversified production mix, whereas periphery processes involve low wages, more rudimentary technology and a simple production mix. These are general characteristics, the exact nature of which changes constantly with the evolution of the world-economy.

However, space itself can neither be core nor periphery in nature, rather the core and periphery processes structure space so that at any point in time one or other of the two process predominates. Since these processes do not act randomly but generate uneven economic development, broad zones of 'core' and 'periphery' are found. There is a general assumption that 'the core exploits and the periphery is exploited'. But this cannot occur as zones exploiting one another, it occurs through the different processes operating in different zones. Or, in other words, the core dominates (although it in turn may be dominated from outside) while the periphery is dependent. The dependence is structured through the relations of exchange between the core and the periphery.

World Systems : Core-periphery Dichotomy : Geopolitics

As mentioned earlier, both Modelski (1978) and Wallerstein (1974) have engaged in world-systems analysis, however, with a different prospective. Modelski approached the whole question from an international prospective and in doing so, he discovered 'a symmetry to international politics that is the very anti-thesis of anarchy'. He observed that there is a global political system which is autonomous of other systems. It is a subject of constant change, and this manifests itself as 'a recurrent pattern'. Since the global system came into being in the sixteenth century it has taken the form of succession 'long cycles' (period associated with the dominant position one particular power, each normally lasting for around a century, after which control is increasingly lost and a new cycle will begin. A century is the life of about three

generations : one generation builds, the next generation consolidates and the third loses control), and from then on it has become possible to talk of world power as opposed the more geographically limited power of earlier times.

The cycles have centred on a succession of states which have functioned as the vehicles for change within it. These were the 'world power'. As the global connection were brought into being by the use of the sea and by the deployment of sea power, world powers are essentially sea powers. Modelski distinguished between global power, which had a wide maritime reach beyond Europe, and the true world powers that attained at a given time a commanding position within the system. According to Modelski, there have been four such powers : Portugal (1494-1517), the Netherlands (1579-1609), Great Britain (1688-1713 & 1792-1815) and the United States (1914-1945). The emergence of these world powers manifested five long cycles and there constituted the 'core' maritime power, commanding the world system during their respective periods of hegemony. The rise and fall of the world power can be attributed to intra-septemic changes in patterns of trade, industrial development, and technological advance. According to Modelski, the structure run down and have to be reconstructed and this reconstruction takes form of cyclic change. The essence of global power is functional network control.

While Modelski emphasizes political factor, and in particular the state as the essential driving force within world-system, Wallerstein places the emphasis on economic factors, in particular on the 'capitalist world economy'. The state was conceived of as being a result rather than a cause, and it is 'the world-economy' which is responsible for the nature of the world geopolitical order, and for the cycles to which it is subject at any given time. A world-economy can be defined as being an economically autonomous area of the world which is able to provide for the greater part of its need. Composed of a hierarchy of zones each with its own particular economy, it possess is a unity that extends across political frontier. It has a core-periphery structure, and one overreaching economy dominates the whole. Core-periphery analysis seeks to explain the inequality within it. (see above).

European world-economy, according to Wallerstein was the matrix of capitalism. Using the term 'hegemony' to describe that power which was at the centre at any particular time, he sees this position as being firmly based on economic supremacy. According to him the first world power was the Netherland rather than Portugal, and a true world-economy did not really come into being until the twentieth century. He referred to the 'hegemonic cycles' of the Dutch, British and Americans, which related to "three logistic waves (upto 300 years of the world economy)". Wallerstein's 'world systems project' is conceived of as being an alternative to the Marxist world new.

Using Wallerstein's model as a basis, Taylor (1985) asserted that : 'In world-systems analysis geopolitics is about rivalry (East versus West) in the core for the domination of the periphery by imperialism (currently North over South). However, Wallerstein's world-economy approach presents an opportunity for political geographers to return to the global scale of analysis without paying any homage & Mackinder which was probably the fact most well-known geographical model throughout the world, known for its remarkable achievement of longevity. While Mackinder points towards East-West conflict, Wallerstein places the North versus South conflict at the centre-stage. Wallerstein's approach is deeply embedded in the economic base of the global situation whereas Mackinder-type approaches only consider the workings of the political superstructure.

The world-economy approach appears to have facilitated a kind of post-Marxist radical progressive world-view sustained by a post-Mackinder geopolitical world view. In this way geopolitics was firmly tied to the world-economy approach and world order can be regarded as being 'relatively stable structures that define distinct periods of world politics'.

Although having its origins in systems analysis which can be traced back to ideas current in the 1950s and 1960s, the idea of the world-economy and all that it entails for geopolitical thinking is very much a product of the peri-and post-cold war years. The immense potential ascribed to the heartland had not materialised and the spectre of Soviet power was increasingly perceived to be illusory. The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990 appeared to be conclusive proof of this and consequently demonstrated that the associated continentalist idea had also been a false one. The cold war image of the maritime world as a weak and scattered periphery around a powerful Soviet world centre, its strength founded on the enormous potential of the heartland, gave place to that of a West as the centre of the capitalist world-economy and with the United States as its contemporary hegemonic power. The world had been turned inside out and the core-periphery view now appeared more appropriate than the binary or pluralist one to describe and explain the 'new world order'.

The world-system that exists today is a coherent and susceptible to rational analysis and interpretation. It has a distinct spatial structure which comprises a core, a middle and a periphery. The core cannot be explained in terms of one set of characteristics, such as political or military ones, but has many attributes which together form a multi-faceted and complex whole. In this conjuncture 'world-civilization and world-economics join hands and help each other'. The North Atlantic has been the centre of gravity of the whole system, and place from which it has been

controlled. There is a cycle of growth, ascendancy and decline which has produced a succession of hegemonial power within it. The conflicts associated with cyclic changes are what may be called 'the contest for centreship'.

The Semi-periphery Category

Discussion on the core-periphery dichotomy remains inconclusive without a brief account on the semi-periphery colasp concept. Core and periphery do not exhaust, Wallerstein's concepts for structuring space. Although these processes occur in distinct zones to produce relatively clear-cut contrasts across the world-economy, not all zones are easily designated as primarily core or periphery in nature. One of the most original elements in Wallerstein's approach in his concept of semi-periphery. This is neither core nor periphery but combines particular mixture of both processes. There are no semi-periphery processes, rather, the term 'semi-periphery' can be applied directly to zones a areas when they do not exhibit a predominance of either core or peripheral processes. This means that the overall social relations operating in such zones involve exploiting peripheral areas, while the semi-periphery itself suffers exploitation by the core. India and China in the contemporary world-system may be put in this category because of being the victims of exploitation by the United States of America, European Union and Japan and exploitor of the African countries, while the Russian federation has been relegated to the peripheral category because of its fluctuating economic growth.

The semi-periphery is interesting because it is the dynamic category within the world-economy. Much restructuring of space during periods of 'crisis and economic stagnation' in the system involves zones rising and sinking through the semi-periphery. Opportunities for change occur recessions, but there are only limited opportunities—not all the semi-periphery can evolve to become core. Political processes are very important here in the selection of success and failure in the world economy. Wallerstein actually considers the semi-periphery's role to be more political than economic.

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1.3 Capital Cities

A capital city is destined to become an epitome of the national life, in which their history and tradition are enshrined....its....authority is buttressed by increasing size and wealth which accompany multiplication of administrative business and concentration of trade and industry at the political centre. "(Whittlesey 1939). A capital embodies and exemplifies the nature of the core areas of the state and is the reflection of the wealth, organization and power of the political entity. Spale (1942) defines a capital city as the place, wherein the political authority of a territorial unit is concentrated, it is the seat of the legislature, the head-quarter of the executive, exercising a higher or lower degree of supervision over local administration according as the structure of the government is highly centralized or federal. It is often, although not invariably, the cultural focus of the country...."

Functions of the Capital

A capital city is the place for parliamentary and legislative gatherings and is the residence of the chief of the state. Here is a prime place for the state's reception of external influences, for other states which have relation with the state build and locate their embassies here, international organizations of trade have representation here. In most states, the capital city is also the most 'cosmopolitan' city of the country. It is on the capital city depends the geographical pattern of the forces of integration and disintegration. If it acts as the binding agent, then the forces of integration are arranged in a more expressive way across the entire state. The capital city is the 'creator' of the 'state-idea' that justifies the 'raison detre' of the state. The integrating of role of the capital city is to be found in a federal polity, where it carries forward the nation-building process in a much greater way than in a unitary state system.

Capital cities must also be a source of power and authority, either to ensure control over outlying and loosely tied regions of the state or to defend the state against undesirable external influences. In the changing strategic situation of the world, this function is diminishing, reminiscent as it is of city-state times. But the

capital is most frequently located in the economic heart of the country, from which much of the image of strength of the state emanates.

“The capital is often the link through which the state in process of formation receives the vital external influences that impregnate its internal potentialities, for as Vidal de la Blache remarks, ‘no civilized state is the sole architect of its own civilization’. Examples of the importance of this organizing ‘head-link’ function are numerous. Calcutta’s existence as a capital was due to its position at the entrance of the English sea-ways into India, especially before the Suez Canal gave Bombay an advantage in distance to England. These were gates by which Western concepts entered to destroy and to build; the return to Delhi—New Delhi—pertains curiously both of “historical imitation, and of the creation of a new federal capital” (Spale 1942).

Location of the Capital

The normal and logical location for the capital is in the core area, where it can most easily embody and represent the tradition and historical values of the state. In such a location the present government may derive a kind of sanction from the presence there of the evidences of centuries of continuous rule. Paris, London, Rome, Delhi, Cairo, Athens, Stockholm, Moscow and many others are themselves monuments to the past of their respective nations.

More complex are instances where the capital has been shifted from its ancient or original site to one better adjusted to later needs. In some cases, these changes reflect rapidly changing geo-political requirements and environments. A simple example is the shift of the capitals of Burma (present Myanmar) and Thailand from the original inland location at Mandalay and Ayutthaya to coastal locations, at Rangoon and Bangkok respectively. In India the traditional site had lain between Patna and Delhi. Patna i.e. Pataliputra on the bank of the Ganga was the original capital of ancient India, particularly, during the period of the Mauryan rules, but it shifted to a site near Delhi, during the medieval Muslim period. During the entire Mughal period, the site of the royal seat rotated in and around Delhi and Agra, because the threat to the empire lay to the west. Under the British influence, however, the capital was moved to the port of Calcutta and then again moved to Delhi in 1910. The ‘locational’ shift from the coastal to the interior was necessitated because it was the natural site for the capital of a continental empire including the basins of both the Ganga and the Indus. One of the prime reasons for the shift from Calcutta to Delhi was conditioned by the presence of a vast stretch of frontier, inhabited by people with hostile and aggressive attitudes that posed consistent threat to the British empire.

In some cases, however, locational shifts of the capital cities, reflected conflicts between the desire for the capitals to remain rooted in their original and ancestral soils, and the urge to move towards frontiers, i.e. in the direction of influences, commercial and cultural, and strategical which the states desired to benefit and profits. Locational shifts of capitals, from one site to another site, may be viewed in terms of 'historical imitation'. "The process of historical imitation may not be primarily geographical, but its origins and its effects are so. The shift of the Russian capital from St. Petersburg back to Moscow may have been a more measure of military precaution, but it symbolised a Russia turning back to its vital springs in the indeterminate marches of Europe and Asia. Because Muscovy proper was geographically and historically the true heartland of Russia, the return, conditioned in part by the loss of the western fringes of the empire, has a geographical as well as political significance".

Pakistan has moved its capital from the cosmopolitan part of Karachi to an interior site, Islamabad, close to India vis-a-vis Jammu & Kashmir. This shift was conditioned by the defence strategy, and other military factors. But the shift of the Brazilian capital to a site in the virgin bush of the interior : Brasilia, manifested the desire to colonise the vast western marches of the country that lay 'untapped' (resources) for decades. In most of the cases the 'shift', a frontier location was chosen : Delhi, Islamabad and Brasilia, all how frontier location, in true sense of the term.

Canada, Ceylon, China, Italy, Japan, Philippines, Turkey, United States all these countries have witnessed or experienced changes in the locational site 'of their' national capitals, since 1700 A.D.

Types of Capitals

Study of capital cities quickly leads to the conclusion that there are several distinct types of capitals, so that a classification may be possible. According to some geographers these are 'natural' and 'artificial' capitals. This classification suggests that certain capitals have emerged and developed as the state system grew increasingly complex, while other have been simply the result of arbitrary decision. However, Spate (1942) attacked this classification, arguing that any decision leading to the establishment of an 'artificial' capital is itself the result of pressures created within and by the system—To him, Brasilia is no less 'natural' a capital than Rome, since the need for Brazil to penetrate its Western interior generated the creation of Brasilia just as the complexity of the Roman Empire generated multifunctional Rome.

As early as in 1939, Jefferson, in a paper, entitled : 'The Law of the Primate City', published in *Geographical Review*, concluded that London, Copenhagen and Mexico

City were several times as large as the second city of their respective countries— Britain, Denmark and Mexico. These capital cities, according to him became the 'primate city' of their respective countries, because they expressed the national disposition more completely than any other city in their countries. "Primacy of a leading city is thus an earmark of indense nationalism. Here are the nation's mind and soul..... A country's leading city is always disproportionately large and exceptionally expressive of national capacity and feeling" (Jefferson 1939). However, these are exception to this concept. This 'law' holds no relevance in those states where new sites have been selected for capital cities, and the capitals were shifted. Pakistan, Brazil, Canada, Australia and Nigeria have several cities relatively larger than their capitals and these cities are culturally and economically more expressive of their 'Nation'. In the Republic of South Africa, Johannesburg is the largest city, but not the capital.

Blij (1972) proposed a morphological classification of capital cities. Capital cities were viewed in relation to their positions with reference to the state territory and the core area of the state. He identified there classes of capital cities :

1. Permanent Capitals

These capital may also be called historic capitals. They have functioned as the leading economic and cultural centre for their state over a period of several centuries. Rome, London, Paris and Athens are examples of permanent capitals, as they have remained the capitals for their respective countries for many centuries and through numerous stages of history. These capital cities are situated in the political 'core area' of their respective countries. In fact, London, Rome, Paris, and Athens seemed to have guided the spatial arrangement and growth of the political core-area of the countries. It is difficult to say which predated whom : the capital cities or the core-areas?

2. Introduced Capitals :

Introduced capitals are those capitals which are established or localized on newer sites, abandoning the older sites. This may be called the shift or movement of capitals from older to newer sites. This movement and/or shift normally occurs when the core areas of states shift over a long period of time, e.g. such shift of site has occurred in Switzerland where decision was taken to move the functions of government to a more appropriate site.

Tokyo and Brasilia are 'introduced' capitals. The selection of Tokyo as the national capital manifested the desire of the Japanese government to be out-ward

looking i.e. the leadership wanted a capital that looked out over the sea for sea was to become Japan's lifeline of survival and prosperity. Kyoto was an interior city with no future of expansion. Brasilia's selection as the probable site reflected the desire of the Brazilian government to build a new capital deep in the interior was the realization that the nation's eyes could be diverted in that direction—a direction the nation had long and excessively ignored. With the establishment of Brasilia as the new capital began a new era for an inward-looking Brazil. Rio de Janeiro as a capital was abandoned. 'Introduced' capitals are more in nature of 'artificial' capitals. It is quite natural for a state to periodically reassess its capital City's functions, effectiveness and service, and in that case an escape to a new site often appears desirable.

3. Divided Capitals :

In the Netherlands, Republic of South Africa and Bolivia, the functions of governments are not concentrated in one city, but divided among two or even more. Such a situation reveals—and even reflects—compromise rather than convenience. In the Netherlands, Amsterdam is the titular capital and the official residence of the Monarch. It is the 'official' capital but the Parliament site in the Hague, the legislative capital. In the Republic of Africa, Pretoria is the 'administrative' capital, Capetown is the 'legislative' capital, while Bloemfontein is the judicial headquarter. The arrangement appears to satisfy the desires of the Africans and English-speaking South African. In Bolivia, the small town of Sucre is the legal capital, but La Paz is the larger town, housing legislature and other government offices. There is intense rivalry between these two cities, still there is no uncertainty in the polity in Bolivia.

Apart from these three types of capitals, Pounds (1972) has added one more type : the 'federal capitals'. Federation as a mode of government is generally a concession to the size or to the cultural variety of a state. However, weak the central government may be in a federal state, a capital is nevertheless necessary. The location of a capital in a federation requires more consensus and compromise between the federating units because it is the location of site for the capital city that often leads to vigorous dispute and conflict, particularly at the time of the formulation of the constitution. The choice of a location for the federal capital has been difficult in Canada and Australia.

Due to bitter rivalry and hostility between the English speaking and French-speaking Canadian, a neutral site at the cross-roads of language—a small village on the Ottawa river was selected. However, it was not until the adoption of the federal constitution, in 1867, that this same site on the Ottawa River became the city of

Ottawa, the capital of Canada. In Australia, the rivalry was between the coastal cities of Sydney and Melbourne. However, the constitution of Australia provided for the establishment of a capital on a territory to be acquired by the federal government. In 1911 a site was chosen amid Blue Mountain, and the city of Canberra was founded. Brazil also faced the same problem while moving the capital from Rio de-Janeiro to Brasilia in 1960. But not all federation have faced the problem of rivalry in the choosing the site for the capital cities, e.g. India and Argentina.

The capital in most state is thought of an something more than the seat of the legislature and of administration. It has also the role of focusing sentiment and strengthening the bonds which hold the nation together. If one of the roles of the capital is to unify, a central location might be thought the best. Centrality of Ankara, Delhi, Paris and even Madrid are examples, as they have provided greater desirability in organizing unity out of diversity, but there are many successful capitals like Washington and Canberra and even Peking and Tokyo, which are eccentric in location.

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1.4 Buffer Zones, Buffer States and Land-locked States

The 'buffer zone' idea was developed by Lord Curzon after the First World War when, as Great Britain's foreign secretary, he was involved in the drafting of the peace treaties. He firmly believed that such a zone was necessary to separate the German and Russian spheres and the mosaic of small states between the two was intended to be a buffer of this sort. The shape of Europe as it finally emerged from the council rooms of versailles, **Trianon** and **St. German's**, wrote Strausz-Hupe (1942), 'unmistakably bears the stamp of the Curzonian school of thought. Curzon believed that 'scientific knowledge had precedence once ignorance', and this now made frontiers 'capable of being connected into the instruments and evidence of peace. Curzon's prime concern during the concluding year of the nineteenth century,

and also during the beginning of the twentieth century was with the Anglo-Russian confrontation in Central Asia, and particularly with the vulnerability of the Indian Empire to invasion from the north. His solution to this problem was the advocacy of 'buffer zones' separating the spheres of influence of the great powers and so preventing 'irreconcilable collision' from taking place. He saw these buffer zones as being 'on the outskirts of empire' ruled by 'twentieth century marcher lords' (Curzon 1908).

Despite his advocacy, in practice no such zone even came into existence between the British and Russian Empires although there were places, such as Afghanistan, the small Himalayan kingdoms and Tibet that managed to sustain a fragile independence between the spheres of the two great protagonists. However, Woodman (1969) said that to create buffer areas across the Himalayan and Trans-Himalayan region were designed to prevent Russian and Chinese invasion of the British Empire in South Asia, and the very 'buffer concept' was a part of the British frontier philosophy.

The concept of the buffer zone is also to be found in Fairgrieve's work (1932) but to him it was 'crush zone of small states', which although separating land and sea power, was itself in a precarious position. In the opinion of Stausz-Hupe, the concept of the buffer zone was never a really satisfactory answer to the problem of frontier, and the Curzonian type of buffer zone although dressed up as an area of peace, is in reality still a zone of confrontation.

Cohen's (1973) 'shatter belt' concept consisting of small states lying at the crossroads of the two mutually exclusive great global strategic regions. Trade-Defendent Maritime world and Eurasian continental power, in West Asia and South Asia, also gives credence to the buffer concept, however, in a different fashion and pattern. The word 'shatter' refers to the break-up of the force of impact in the cushion of separation provided by the intervening state. The word, 'Buffer' has a similar meaning: the reduction of impact as a result of physical separation of the competing powers. Thus, the buffer zone is in fact a higher order frontier, and states within it may well face absorption by rival forces.

In pre-and-post war II periods, the buffer zones played the most crucial role in the global geopolitics, separating warring nations or powerful states, and maintaining stability. Buffer zones used to be high-order frontiers, most of which once a period of time disappeared as the powerful states absorbed these geographical entities and incorporated or integrated them. A buffer zone, however in some cases may not be a high-order frontier, rather it may consist of few small nations e.g. Czechoslovakia, Poland and Bulgaria, together used to form a buffer between the Soviet Union and Germany. Their absorption by the power core of the Soviet Union, and the partition

of Germany, eliminated the possibility of the development of an effective buffer zone in one of the theatres of Communist-Capitalist competition.

In Southeast Asia, also, the attempt at absorption can be observed. The state of Laos, which was created artificially out of the former Indo-Chinese realm, was to serve the purpose of acting as a buffer between Communist and Non-communist sphere of influence. Internal opposition to the status quo existed, and **enemities** were fanned by outside support given to pro-western elements as well as pre-communist elements. Infiltration from the north and arm shipments from Western power led to the crisis in the late 1950s, but although actual warfare did not occur its scope remained limited. Laos functioned well as a buffer state. While supporting infiltration China did not openly invade the country, Western powers supported anti-communist activities but did not strike China.

Ideological differences between the former Soviet Union and China in the 1960s had brought into focus another potential buffer zone that extended along the Sino-former) Soviet boundary in Mongolia and, possibly Manchuria. It was the desire of the erstwhile Soviet Union to seek for a population movement/migration east ward, into Siberia. The desire on the part of the former Soviet Union had objectives other than just the economic, for the Soviet Union (former) had long desired to render the occupation of its eastern 'frontier' more effective. China's claims to ethnic and historical affinities with the people of this border region of the former USSR, and its aid and propaganda programs in Mongolia, all were designed as a prelude to competition for a buffer zone. The boundaries of the political entities were defined and delimited, but the goal was not penetration and partition, but the control and allegiance of the Central authority. Further more, China's overthrow and absorption of authority in Tibet, and its boundary disputes with India was designed to absorb Tibetan entity and integrating it. It also served to focus attention upon expansionist tendencies that might not remain confined to non-Communist sphere (de Blij 1972).

'Dependencies' in Africa, south of the Sahara used to form a broad buffer zone between the Black nationalist spheres and the white dominated spheres in South Africa. As the areal coverage of the Black nationalist spheres increased through the absorption of the intervening entities in the 1960s, so decreased the areal coverage of the dependencies, and the distance between the Black nationalist Africa and the White dominated Africa in South Africa. By 1972, the territorial coverage of the Black nationalist African sphere zone increased manifold and the intervening buffer zones decreased. Rhodesia and the Portuguese dependencies of Angola and Mozambique may be historically regarded as forming a buffer zone between 'Black' Africa and the Republic of South Africa.

Some buffer zones have slowly emerged through a process a 'spontaneity' i.e. desire among the states in the zone, seeking for peace and stability in the entire region or keeping the entire region from being developed into a zone of potential conflict. However, the buffer zone that developed in Africa during the 1960s, can also be put in this category because the emergence of the buffer zone between the Black Africa and the White Africa also manifested a desire, a kind of spontaneity on the part of the Black people to have a separating zone or a zone of penetration vis-a-vis the White Africa in the South.

Some buffer zones, on the other hand have been created artificially. During the nineteenth century, the British in South Asia feared most the growing of Russia to the north. For this reason, they created a buffer zone consisting of Persia and Afghanistan between British territory and Russia. A long, narrow extension of Afghan territory, the Wakhan Province, stretches eastward to join up with Chinese Sinkiang. Though British-occupied territory lay within 25 kms of the Russian border, the two were never contiguous. The Himalayan kingdom of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan were regarded as an eastward continuation of this protecting belt of the buffer zone.

It was during the era of colonialism that the relevance of buffer zone was realised in a greater way. It was a kind of geopolitical compulsion and a necessity also, given the way, the expansion and penetration of the sphere of influence of the European colonial powers in Africa and Asia had been taking place. The buffer zone there in Africa emerged of their own because the encroaching European colonial power were not sure of their territorial limits in the interior parts of the continent therefore, substantial parts remained unexplored, and gradually developed into buffer zones separating the British, the French, the Belgian and Dutch areas in the continent.

Buffer State

A buffer state is a small political unit, created artificially, between large nation. It is a state sandwiched between more powerful and usually rival neighbours, and by its existence helping to allay potential friction between them and contain their expansionist policies. The position of these states is very tenuous and their histories tend to be brief and somewhat temptuous, with one or the other of the powerful neighbours unable to resist the temptation to expand and annex the land on its border. The annexation of Tibet by China in 1950, and the merger of Sikkim with India in 1975 are examples of the buffer state being absorbed and merged. The buffer states survive "because they separate states that otherwise be powerful neighbours and because the attempt to conquer them would be met, not by the relatively weak resistance of the buffer, but by the much stronger opposition of the other neighbour".

Buffer states are purely a mechanical device of international politics, they are not merely transitive but also transformative because they adjust tensions of the two political "voltages to permit at least some flow of current without danger that flying sparks will fire the whole house". Today, the buffer countries are neither subordinate nor really neutral. They are now 'powers' actively engaged in international politics, and though 'uncommitted' in the East-West and North-South conflicts, they have not withdrawn from—to the contrary, are active in—politics that affect conflict.

With regard to the relationship between the buffer zone and the buffer state, it is said that the former is a naturally evolved political phenomenon and the latter is an artificially created political phenomenon. A buffer zone usually consisted of buffer states. Most of the buffer zones have disappeared on account of penetration, annexation and absorption by the powerful states. Similarly the buffer states have lost their geopolitical relevance because of (i) satellite geopolitics, and (ii) globalization process that tends to make political boundaries redundant.

Land-locked States

Some three dozen states (not including a number of micro-states) possess no sea coasts, and are therefore 'landlocked'. The number of landlocked states have increased following the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia. Almost all of these states possess more than one neighbour, and it is upon these neighbour that they depend for the transit of their overseas trade-vis-a-vis-their external commercial functions. All these states require the oceans to carry a part of their external commerce, and the jealousy with which coastal states guard their rights on the high seas as well as in territorial water indicates the importance they attach to these events. The landlocked states, thus, is in a strategic and economic disadvantageous position, unless it is guaranteed the right to use the high seas as do coastal states, the right of innocent passage in others territorial water, a share of port facilities along suitable coasts, and means of transit from that part to the state territory. Normally, the landlocked states face the crisis of 'isolation' in the global politics, a number of land boundary disputes have arisen directly out of landlocked states efforts to secure a permanent and free access to the open ocean.

Bolivia, Paraguay, Republic of Czech, Austria, Hungary, Switzerland, Tadjikistan, Afghanistan, Mongolia, Nepal, Laos, Zambia, Malawi, Niger, Chad are some of the prominent land-locked states. These states tend to be politically and economically weak, and to an extent owe their survival to their buffer position between the more powerful maritime neighbours. However, not all land-locked states are buffer states, for example. Afghanistan no longer functions as a buffer between Iran and Pakistan, but it is a landlocked state.

Access to the coast and the high seas is an essential part of the state system. The question is how such access could be best provided, with a minimum loss of sovereignty on the part of the coastal states providing transit, and with a minimum degree of dependence of the landlocked state upon the whims of the coastal state. However, there are three possibilities for a landlocked state to gain access to the sea : first, any river that is navigable and traverses both the landlocked state and the coastal state may be declared by international agreement to be an international river, similar to the high seas in the freedom, second, the landlocked state may be provided with an actual corridor or strip of land leading either to the open ocean or to an international river, and the third, the landlocked state may be guaranteed the use of adequate facilities at a specified port, and freedom of transit along a connecting railroad and/or road.

1. International Rivers

There is considerable difference in the practice of nation with regard to rivers which they share with one another. In some instances the right of navigation is reserved only to the vessels of those states which border the river; in other there is complete freedom to navigate the rivers except in time of war. During the last century and a half, by a series of international agreements the following rivers have been opened to international commerce : in North America, the St. Lawrence, the lower Colorado and Gila and the Rio Grande; in South America, the Amazon and most of its tributaries, and the River Plate, and its navigable tributaries; the Scheldt, and a member of canals which give access from Belgium to the Netherlands and the sea; the Danube, Elbe and Oder. Other European rivers including Niemer, the Vistula and certain of its tributaries and the Dniester were also at one time regarded as international rivers, though recent boundary changes have had the effect of turning them into national rivers.

In Africa, the Niger, Congo, Zambezi and Shire are open to the ships of all nations, and in Asia, the Shatt-at-Arab, the Ameer and the rivers of China, although on the east Asiatic rivers this freedom is now somewhat theocratic.

In certain instances the rivers enumerated here serve an outlet for inland states, and give them access to the sea. In a few instances—Bolivia, Paraguay, Switzerland, Luxembourg, Austria, the Republic of Czech and Slovakia, Hungary—these countries have no natural outlet to the sea other than down these rivers. It has come to be widely accepted that an upstream state has the right to navigate the lower reaches of a river if this is necessary in order to further its commerce or to reach the sea. The absence of alternative outlet to the sea strengthen this right.

2. Corridors :

A corridor reaching to the sea coast implies a transfer of sovereignty over an area of land in order to give to the inland state an assured outlet to the Ocean. It is implied that this consideration is alone responsible for determining the boundaries of the territory in question and that historical and ethnic factors are not of importance. It is inevitable that a state would prefer to control a corridor rather than to have transit rights or the freedom to use a river. Any attempt to close a corridor would be a violation of national sovereignty, while interfering with the right of passage might be more condoned or excused. Exclusive control over a corridor and over the commerce that would use it was in line with mercantilist economic thought in the eighteenth century.

The most famous example of the type was the Polish corridor, established after the end of the First World War, however, at the initiative of the US President Woodrow Wilson. The creation of the corridor gave Poland the right to use the Port of Gdynia, but in turn the Germans were permitted free transit on railroads crossing Poland between Germany and East Prussia.

Another example of a corridor was that of Finland and its Arctic corridor established in 1920. Though Finland has an extensive coastline on the Baltic sea, most of it is ice-bound for a long period in winter, whereas the newly acquired strip of Arctic coast is ice-free through the year. It was the intention of Finland to establish a port at the end of the corridor, and the site selected for the purpose was **Petsamo**. The port of Petsamo was occupied by the Soviet army in 1940 but this possession was resumed in 1944 when the USSR (former) abandoned its claim.

Three other regions of the world have been particularly productive of corridor which include : the Danubian and the Balkan lands, the Middle East and the Central **Asiatic** states. In each, the geopolitical fragmentation of the region, accompanied the geographical barriers to the movement, has made access to the sea unusually difficult.

3. Right of Transit

The third and last solution to the problem of the landlocked state is that of free transit. This is the means of access upon which most of the landlocked states of the world depend. In 1921, a Freedom of Transit Conference was held at Barcelona, and some forty coastal states signed a convention which was later ratified by more than three quarters of them. This convention held that : 'such states as are signatories shall assist the movement of goods across their territory from landlocked states to the nearest seaport, levying no discriminatory toll, tax, or freight charges'. Although several

conventions to this effect was held under the aegis of the United Nations in 1957 and 1958 at Geneva, but nothing substantive was achieved. However, several draft proposals were prepared and the rights of the landlocked states were recognized.

The question of the rights of the landlocked states was again taken up in 1964 and 1965 by a committee of 24 delegates representing landlocked, transit and other interested states. The draft of the convention was prepared by the Afro-Asian landlocked states, but the convention of mid 1965 could not guarantee the freedom of access that the landlocked states desired. Nepal and Bhutan are yet to gain the right to transit of the nature that they desire across India and Bangladesh.

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Unit 2 □ Heartland and Rimland Geostatic ideas of Mackinder and Spykeman

Structure

2.1 Geostrategic Models of Mackinder and Spykman

2.2 Frontiers and Boundaries

2.3 Boundary

2.1 Geostrategic Models of Mackinder and Spykman

There have been two major traditions in the study of international relations—realism and idealism. The former has been the dominant tradition and has built upon a series of classical works on statecraft and interstate rivalry, for example, the sixteenth century writings of Machiavelli and the nineteenth century writings of Clausewitz, belong to the category of the realist approach to international relation. All such studies emphasize the compelling insecurity of the state and hence advocate policies of high military expenditure. This reduces to crude power politics : the stronger imposing its will on the weaker. War, or at least the threat of war, is therefore central to realist prescriptions for, and interpretations of, international relation. It is for this reason that idealist have condemned realists as a moral. Realism was interpreted as representing the Old world's way of conducting international relation. "Whereas realism left the strong states to take responsibility for world affair, the new idealism required the control of such power by means of the collective action of all states". Hence, whereas realisms sees only international anarchy, idealism is a liberal doctrine that attempts to place international relations on a firm 'constitutional basis'. The First World War was interpreted as the inevitable culmination of realist thinking in international relation while the formation of the League of Nations marked the beginning of the idealist approach to international relation.

Mackinder's Geopolitical model (1904 & 1919) may be interpreted as one of classics of realism, while that of Spykman's model (1944), represented idealism in international relation. However, both 'realist' Mackinder and 'idealist' Spykman shared what was basically a state centred view of the world, and made all such models liable to biases in favour of authors and/or strategists own countries. Both, realist and idealist approaches to international relation, particularly, those concurred with the entire globe, appeared to how emphasised the geographic relationships of

politics, in a 'deterministic' way—a heritage a tradition that Friedrich Ratzel set forth in his 'Anthropogeographic in 1882', that spoke of 'environmental determinism' in shaping the politics. This heritage was further carried forward by Rudolf Kjellar (1864-1922) on a 'national' reconstruction basis. It was Mackinder who said that no politics could not sustain itself unless it was built upon the formation of physical geography. 'Deterministic' reflections can also be found in Spykman's model but not in a 'crude' way as being found in Mackinder's model. The Darwinian heritage of 'natural selection and struggle' also, got manifested in the strategic thinkings of Mackinder and Spykman in a more 'explanatory way'.

Contemporary politics, historical continuity and experience, spatially shifting balance of power, emergence of non-conventional power and relative decline in the power-potentials of the traditional power in global prospects, even-changing diplomatic relations and pattern in Eurasian realm, following the rise of Germany and the consolidation of the Russian empire and technological revolution in communications and warfare, appeared to have motivated strategic thinkings of Mackinder and Spykman in a more 'explanatory way'.

Contemporary politics, historical continuity and experience, spatially shifting balance of power, emergence of non-conventional power and relative decline in the power-potentials of the traditional power in global prospects, even-changing diplomatic relations and pattern in Eurasian realm, following the rise of Germany and the consolidation of the Russian empire, and technological revolution in communications and warfare, appeared to have motivated strategic thinking of Mackinder, particularly, towards the end of the nineteenth century. Mackinder put all these changing and emerging political scenario and trends in Eurasia, following the shifting of balance of power from the 'Occamic' realm to the 'continental' realm, in a geographical framework, and put forward his famous strategic model which was probably, aimed at warning Great Britain, the lone 'sea power' of the contemporary world, for the possible dominance and emergence of the land power.

Mackinder's Model of global strategy is 'realist' in nature, in the sense that its attempted to represent a project the Old World's way of conducting international politics i.e., the stronger unit attempting to impose its 'will' on the weaker units, with the shifting balance of power. This exactly what Mackinder had to say in his strategic model.

Despite its neglect in geography, Mackinder's model remained probably the most well known geopolitical model throughout the world. This world model was presented on three occasion covering nearly forty years. The original model was

presented in 1904 as 'The geographical pivot of history'. The ideas were refined and presented after the First World War (1919) in *Democratic Ideals and Reality*, where 'pivot area' becomes 'heartland'. Then in 1943 Mackinder at the age of eighty-two provided final version of his ideas : 'The round the world and winning of the peace', (*Foreign Affairs*, 1943). Despite this long period covering two world wars, the idea of an Asiatic 'fortress' remained the centerpiece of his Model, and was largely responsible for its popularity since 1945.

1. The geographical pivot of history

The geographical pivot of history was identified to be "characterized by a very remarkable distribution of the centre and north, the river have been practically useless for purposes of human communication with the enter world. The Volga, the Oxus, and the Jaxardes chain into salt lakes, the Obi, the Yenisei, and the Lena into the frozen ocean of the north...Thus the core area of Eurasia...is wholly unpenetrated by waterways from the ocean". The geographical pivot of history was that vast area of Eurasia drained either inland lakes or to frozen northern ocean and inaccessible to ships and to sea power.

The pivot area was enclosed on heart, south, east by the 'inner' or 'marginal crescent', consisting of those areas of Eurasia from Scandinavia to Manchuria which are drained to the ocean and are, presumably, accessible to sea power. Outside this again, and separated from it by seas of varying width, and the lands of the 'outer' or 'insular', crescent.

The geographical pivot area was more or less a steppe land supplying a widespread if often scanty pasture. Mackinder said that : "European civilization war....the outcome of the secular struggle against Asiatic invasion". This generalization he attempted to appeal to historical detail : "Through the steppes....three came from the unknown recesses of Asia by the gateway between the Ural mountains and the Caspian Sea, in all the centuries from the fifth to the sixteenth, a remarkable succession of Turinian nomadic peoples :—Hun, Avars, Bulgarian, Magyars, Khazars....A large part of modern history might be written as a commentary upon the changes directly or indirectly ensuing from these raids. The Angles are Saxous....were driven to cross the seas to found England in Britain. The Franks, the Goths and the Romans....were compelled....to stand shoulder to shoulder on the battlefield of chalons making common cause against the Asiatic....Such war the harvert of results produced by a cloud of ruthless and idealess horsemen sweeping over the unpeded plain—a blow....from the great Asiatic hammer striking freely through the vacant space" (Mackinder 1904).

Mobility i.e. 'horse and camel mobility' was relatively easier across the steppe, and 'ruthless and idleless' horsemen could turn in any direction they wished from their homeareas i.e., the pivot area. Thus, Mackinder conceived of the pressure of these Asiatic nomadic peoples as exercising as profound an influence on the course of history in the middle east, and south and southeast Asia as he supposed that it had in Europe.

With regard to the relationship between the pivot area and the inner crescent, Mackinder found a certain persistence of geographical relationship. This relationship—one of continuing outward pressure from the pivot area that seemed to continue and to be intensified. "Is not the pivot region of the world's politics that vast area of Euro-Asia which is inaccessible to ships, but in antiquity lay open to the horse-riding nomades and 'Is not today about to be covered with a network of railways?" (Mackinder 1904).

Mackinder had predicted that if Turkic and Tatar nomades, equipped only with the horse and camel, could so shape the course of history in the peripheral land of the inner crescent what might not a Modern power, its mobility enhanced by the railroad, achieve in this respect? This might happen if Germany were to ally herself with Russia it could also happen were the Chinese.....organized by the Japanese, to overthrow the Russian Empire and conquer its territory". He further contended that "in such an event, France, Italy, Egypt, India and Korea would become so many bridgeheads where the outside navies would support armies, 'in order to prevent the power of the pivot area from expanding down to the sea'.

Mackinder presented his model of the geographical pivot of history at a time when the railroad had for some sixty years dominated the transportation. Therefore he wrote at the end of the railway age, not at its beginning. The pivot area had dominated the course of human history in the age of horse and camel mobility, how much more would it dominate if the pivot area were to become crisscrossed by railroad lines. This railroad network had still, after the lapse of half a century, not been built, after the lapse of instead, the aircraft, whose existence in 1904 Mackinder had barely acknowledged, has come in many respects to replace the railroad. He in fact failed to take account of this new form of mobility.

Mackinder belonged to the nation which was the leading sea power of his time, dominating the prominent sea lanes, connecting the great ocean he visualized the naval powers of the inner and outer crescents : France, Italy, Japan and Great Britain itself, as patrolling the sea-ways and influencing, if not controlling, the power that encircled the first area. He believed that the large power of the maritime powers

as extending over the basins of all river draining into the ocean, except, of course, those which flamed to the Frozen Arctic and were thus inaccessible. But to assume that because a river flows to the ocean its basin can therefore be dominated by a maritime power is naive in the extreme. Even if the rivers will be navigable to their sources—which of course, none of them are—the experience of maritime powers in sending warships up the Chinese river would demonstrate the contrary (Pound 1972). The map, on which Mackinder showed his World Island together with the pivot area was in fact a Mercator projection of the world enclosed within an ellipse, was misleading.

2. The Heartland : Democratic Ideals and Reality

Fifteen years after the publication of the 'pivot' model Mackinder in 1919 presented a somewhat laboured and extended version of his 1904 thesis in a small book, entitled *The Democratic Ideals and Reality*. Here, in this new book, he incorporated certain new ideas, and certain modifications, based on the changing global Eurasian political patterns, during this one and half decade, following the 'eastern question', and the outbreak of the First World War, and the resultant political consequences that Europe and Asia witnessed.

Mackinder in his 1919 publication, emphasized the relative ease of movement through the south Russian steppe from the pivot area, here for the first time called 'the heartland', into Eastern Europe. This he contrasted with greater difficulty of movement from the heartland into the peripheral region of south and east Asia.

To quote Mackinder (1919) : 'There was no impediment to prevent the hordes from riding westward into region drained by European rivers and the Dnieper and Danube. In contrast to this open passage from the Heartland into Europe is the system of mighty barrier i.e., the Himalayan which separate Heartland along its eastern and southeastern border from the Indies the connection between the Heartland, and especially its more open western region of Iran, Turkestan, and Siberia is much more intimate with Europe and Arabia than is with China and India'.

The pivot had a relatively small spatial extent, but the 'heartland' was designed to have an extended spatial extent. 'The Heartland, for the purposes of strategic thinking, includes the Baltic Sea, the navigable middle and lower Danube, the Black Sea, Caspian Sea, Armenia, Persia, Tibet and Mongolia The Heartland is the region to which modern, under modern conditions, sea power can be refused access, though the western part of it lies without the region of Arctic and Continental drainage'.

Failure of the allied navies, during the First World War, to force entry through the Turkish straits into the Black sea and into the Baltic sea which the German had mined, made it clear to Mackinder that the capability of the sea power, controlling the a vast extensive area of the World Island standed falling or weakening, rather, he war continued that the dominance of the sea power war on the verge of being wanned in the face of the emerging land power in the World Island.

However, Mackinder no longer regarded the heartland as completely invaluable to power of the inner marginal cnescent. Indeed the heartland had its 'Achille's heel, that region of the south Russian steppe through which the German armies had advanced in 1917. He was longer contemplated the possibility of the Japanese controlling the heartland and using it as a spring board for control of the Old World vis-a-vis World Island. Instead, if any power outside heartland itself could do this, it would he from west, by way of the steppe corridor that join the heartland with Eastern Europe. At no point does he appear to have evisaged the possibility that the Russians themselves might organize and develop their own vast spaces and resources. The heartland had lost none of its focal importance but this importance would be realised most probably by any power that succeeded in approaching it by way of Eastern Europe and the steppe. The events of the first World war, Mackinder (1919) said "were the result of a fundamental antagonism between the German who wished to be Master in East Europe, and the Slavs who refused to submit to them".

Addressing himself to the statesmen of Great Britanis and her allies, Mackinder wrote, "Unless you would lay up trouble for the future, you cannot leave such a condition of affairs in East Europe and Heartland, an would offer scope for ambition in the future, for you have escaped too narrowly from the recent danger some airy cherub should whisper to them from time to time this saying.

Who ruler East Europe commands the Heartland :

Who ruler the Heartland commands the World Island :

Who ruler the World Island Commands the World". (Mackinder, 1919)

The events of two world war in the last century had given some slight measure of support to this 'conclusion' of Mackinder. Twice the German armies, from their basis in Eastern Europe, invaded Russia and these invasions were made possible only by the open nature of the terrain in European Russia. However, it is more than possible that the determining factor was not the physical geography of the area but contrasting technical levels of the opposing forces. Yet on both occasions, the German armies failed to penetrate deeply—if at all into the pivot area which he originally conceived it. The same could be said of Napoleon's invasion of Russia in

1811-1812. Should we believe an Mackinder had said, that the heartland is immune to attack from the maritime states?

On several occasions in the past two or three centuries, armies from states of the Marginal crescent had invaded Russia, but failed either to reach or to establish themselves in the heartland. However, it would be wrong to assume that the headland must, of geographical necessity, always remain inviolate. These invasion took place in the source of wars between states of the Marginal crescent.

3. Heartland vs Midland Basin (1943)

In 1943, Mackinder presented yet another modification of his own heartland model of 1919, which was two strongly influenced by contemporary events, following the defect of Germany and the victory of the Soviet army. Nevertheless, the heartland according to him was slice the greatest natural fortunes on the earth. For the first time, it was manned by garrison sufficient both in number and quantity.

He separated off from the heartland that part of the Soviet Union lying east of the Yeniesi River, which he called the 'Lenaland'. In opposition to 'heartland Russia', he established the 'Midland Basin', consisting of the North Atlantic Ocean, the Eastern United States and Western Europe. East Central Europe, the former German realm, thus separated the Midland Basin from the Heartland. These two areas are Mackinder described as enveloped and insulated by a griddle of desert. Saharan, Arabian, Iranian, Tibetan and Mongolian—extending through the rugged and desolate Lenaland to Alaska, the Canadian Arctic, and the deserts of Western America. Within this griddle of desert and tundra, Mackinder pressured that the Midland Basin and the Heartland would be acting together in amity to eliminate the danger that sprang from the militant Germany. But, it did not happen, rather, these two ocean in the post-war world became mutually exclusive to each other China entered the communist sphere and emerged powerful and the deserts between the Midland Basin and the Heartland could not prevent the spread of cold-war rivalries to central Africa. The fundamental error in this as in Mackinder's earlier two model war his inability to make allowances for technological advance. Nevertheless, R. E. Walters in 1974 commented that the heartland theory stands as the first pressure of Western military thought. Ronald Peagon, the US president was quoted as saying in 1988 that his administration explicitly cited Mackinder's theory on the basis of its geopolitical strategy. Mackinder initiated the geopolitician's craft of claiming a dispassionate but complete view of the world, which translated into belief that the Western power could control global politics. The war much more than the geostrategist portrayed in political geography.

Mackinder's thesis immediately became one of the most intensively debated geographical ideas of all time. Arguing as late as 1943, Mackinder said that : 'it is more valid and useful today than it was twenty or forty years ago". It became impossible to reject his original thesis out of hand and equally impossible to accept all its implications. However, numerous attempts were made to reshape the heart-land thesis and to bring it into close accord either with historical and geographical fact or with existing political realities. One of the earlier attempts to reshape the heartland thesis was that of N. J. Spykman. He disagreed with Mackinder's heartland thesis, as he felt Mackinder had overemphasised the potentialities of the heartland, but in many respects, according to spykman, the real power potentials of Eurasia lay in what Mackinder called the 'Inner or Marginal crescent' to which he used the term 'Rimland'.

RIMLAND : THE GEOGRAPHY OF PEACE : 1944

Spykman accepted the 'opposition between Russian land power and British seapower' but he emphasized the role of the tier of states which encircled the heartland i.e., the rimland. With somewhat greater insight, Spykman demonstrated, and pointed out relevantly that history involving the heartland never really was a single landpower-seapower opposition. The historical alignment has always been in terms of some member of the rimland with Russia or Great Britain and Russia together against a dominant landpower. Mackinder's dictum about global strategy, therefore, appeared to be false to him. Spykman said that if at all there need be a slogan for power politics of the world, and he countered with his own model :

"Who controls the rimland rules Eurasia",

"Who rules Eurasia controls the destinies of the world".

To Spykman, the heartland lacked that geostrategic significance which the rimland possessed, and he thought that it was a combination of land and sea power controlling the rimland that would in all probability control 'the essential power relation of the world', because this combination would emerge on the owner of far greater resources, man power, and mobility, than the heartland or any other combination. Spykman urged that American policy should be directed to the control of the rimland states or, at least, to the prevention of their control by the Soviet Union. Truman's policy of aid to Greece and Turkey in 1947 was in line with this strategic thinking, so also the policy of 'containment' advocated by George F. Kennan. However, it cannot be said with certainty that the policy advocated by Truman and Kennan, and later by Acheson and Dulles, derived directly from the ideas of Spykman or of any other political geographical thinker. Nevertheless, a ring of postwar anti-Soviet Military alliances in the rimland

such as, NATO in Europe, CENTO in West Asia and SEATO in South East Asia, were formed under the American leadership and their military alliances were aimed at preventing the control of the rimland by the heartland Soviet Union i.e., 'containing the fortress'.

The heartland-rimland dichotomy in the postwar world in the last century provided sustenance to the cold-war, leading to what was to become the nuclear arms race vis-a-vis nuclear deterrence. Even with the demise of the cold war, the 'lesson of Mackinder and Spykman' are still used to argue for continued vigilance by neo-conservatives resisting military cut backs despite the demise of the USSR. Some ideas, it seems, hence disappear—as long as they continue to have an ideological utility.

2.2 Frontiers and Boundaries

The usual starting point in this subject area is to distinguish frontier from boundaries. This is necessary since the terms are commonly used interchangeably. Kristof (1950) uses the etymology of each term to derive their essential difference. Historically, the word 'frontier' implied what it suggests, that is, that which is 'in front'. The frontier was not an abstract term in line, on the contrary, it designated an area which was part of a whole, specifically that part which was ahead of the hinterland. Hence it is often called the forehead a borderland or march. The frontier is neither a legal concept nor a political or intellectual concept. It was rather a phenomenon of 'the facts of life'—a manifestation of the spontaneous tendency for the growth of ecumene. In antiquity, and later too, the frontier was on the margin of the inhabited world, but each particular ecumene also had frontier. It is not the end (tail) but rather the beginning (forehead) of the state. The frontiers between ecumenes became meeting places not merely of different ways of physical survival, but also of different concepts of good life, and hence increasingly political in character.

The boundary, however, indicates well established limits (bounds) of the given political units, and all that which is within the boundary is bound together, i.e., it is fastened by an internal bond, i.e., 'Boundary' is a term appropriate to the present day concept of the state as a sovereign (or autonomous) spatial unit, one among many. Sovereignty is territorial, hence it must have a certain known extent, a territory under exclusive jurisdiction limited by state boundaries. The modern sovereign state is bound within and confined to its legal limits. The boundaries bind together an area and a people which live under one sovereign government and law and are presumably

integrated not only administratively and economically, but also by means of a state-idea a 'crede'.

Kristof (1950) identified the following differences between frontiers and boundaries :

1. The frontier is outer-oriented. Its main attention is directed toward the outlying areas which are both a source of danger and a coveted prize. The frontier often develop their own interests quite different from those of the central government they feel neither bound by the centre nor binding its realm. The boundary, on the other hand, is inner oriented. It is created and maintained by the will of the central government. It has no life of its own, not even a material existence. Boundary is, in fact, the outer line of effective central exercised by the central government.

2. The frontier is a manifestation of centrifugal forces. On the other hand, the range of vigor of centripetal forces is indicated by the boundary. The frontiersmen are always hostile, and their interests are quite different or diametrically opposite to the that of the interests of the state, they sustain secessionist forces, very much against the state, but the boundary is the 'carrier' or 'bearer' of the state-idea i.e., the *raison detre* of the state, hence it manifests and strengthens the forces of integration.

3. The frontier is an integrating factor. Being a zone of transition from the sphere (*ecumene*) of one way of life to another, and representing forces which are neither fully assimilated to nor satisfied with either, it provides an excellent opportunity for mutual interpenetration and sway. The boundary on the otherhand, is a separating factor. The boundary separates the sovereign political units from one another. The boundary remain always a fixed obstacle, and impedes integration across borderline.

4. The frontier is a phenomenon of history, like history it may repeat itself, but again like history, it is always unique. The boundary is defined and regulated by law, national and international and as such its status and characteristics are more uniform and can be defined with some precision.

5. Frontier are characteristics of rudimentary socio-political relation—relation marked by rebelliousness, lawlessness and/or absence of laws. The presence of boundary is a sign that the political community has reached a relative degree of maturity and orderliness, the slage of law-abidance.

6. Both frontier and boundaries are manifestations of socio-political forces, and as such are subjective, not objective. But while the formers are the result of rather spontaneous, or at least ad-hoc solutions and movements; the latter are fixed and enforced through a more rational and centrally co-ordinated effort after a conscious choice is made among the several preferences and opportunities at hand.

However, the concept of frontier now seems to have been abandoned as the frontier has ended with the closing of the world system in the last century. Now, there is a world with one system, so there are no longer any frontier—they are now phenomena of history.

Frontier everywhere have been replaced by boundaries, which are a necessary component of the sovereignty of territories. Sovereignty must be bounded : a world of sovereign states is a world divided by boundaries. Boundaries are therefore an essential element of the modern world economy. But the process of boundary making is very different in the various sections of the world-economy.

Boundary concept

Boundary concepts have varied with time and space and one generation Jones (1959) has identified five types of boundary concept—‘**natural**’, ‘**national**’, ‘**contractual**’, ‘**geometrical**’ and ‘**power-political**’. The categories are not exclusive to one another, and boundaries can be identified as reflecting the power politics of their respective producers. These concepts of the boundary, reflect the different ideas of the state in the evolving world-system vis-a-vis world economy.

The idea of ‘natural’ boundaries is a product of the strength of the French state in the eighteenth century Europe and its use of the new rationalist philosophy to claim larger ‘natural’ territory.

In contrast, the idea of ‘national’ boundaries is the Germanic reaction to French expansionist ideas. These two concepts are rationalization of particular power-political positions in the core and semi-periphery of the world-economy. In the periphery, also, two types of boundary emerged. In non-competitive areas in the nineteenth century, such as India and Indo-China, the boundaries reflect the expansion of one core state at the expense of weak pre-capitalist social formation. This is where frontier were extended and then converted to boundaries. The formation of buffer states in the periphery, such as Afghanistan between Russia and British India, and Thailand between French Indo-China and British India in the nineteenth century revealed the resultant pattern of the evolution of the boundary.

In competitive arenas, the boundaries are usually far more arbitrary as they reflect contractual arrangements between competition. It is in these areas that ‘clear’ international boundaries are necessary to prevent disputes. Hence such boundaries commonly follow physical features such as rivers or else are simply geometric lines, usually of longitude or latitude. Examples of such ‘contractual’ boundaries are the USA’s western boundaries to north and south along the 49th parallel and the Rio Grande,

respectively. The most competitive arena of all, Africa in the late nineteenth century, has the most 'contractual international boundaries'. Here the concepts of 'natural' or 'national' boundaries had no relevance or ethnic groups and river basins are divided up in complete contrast to the boundary processes then evolving in the core.

Geometrical boundaries in Africa reflect geopolitical rivalry among the European core countries particularly, during the nineteenth century, when these countries sought to perpetuate their territorial claims in the dark continent. But for the lack of knowledge of the geography of the continent, these core countries preferred geometrical boundaries to physical or ethnic boundaries. These are all contractual boundaries in the real sense.

With regard to the power-political concept of the boundary is concerned, Jones cited the example of Spykman who in his *America's Strategy in World Politics* (1942), stated that a boundary was not only a like demarcating legal system but also a line of contact of territorial power structure. "Specific boundaries at any given historical period become then merely the political geographic expression of the existing balances of forces at that period" (Spykman 1942). The power of a state is like the dynamic force of every organic entity, and other things being equal, all states have a tendency to expand. Spykman's boundary concept closely resembles the boundary concept of Karl Hanshofer, the exponent of German 'geopolitik'. The boundary was defined as being the 'biological battlefield in the life of peoples'.

2.3 Boundary

Boundaries appear on maps as thin lines marking the limit of state sovereignty. In fact a boundary is not a line, but a plane—a vertical plane that cuts through the airspace, the soil and the sub soil of adjacent states. This plane appears on the surface of the earth as a line, because it intersects the surface as is marked it does so. Boundaries can be effective underground, as they are effective above the ground, for most countries jealously guard this airspace.

Before proceeding to a discussion of the functions and the classification of the boundary, it is necessary to define the ideal sequence of events in the boundary-making. The first stage is called the 'negotiation', which is carried forward by the contending parties. The process of negotiation may continue for long, and unless a consensus is reached between the involved parties, the process continues, provided the contending

parties seek to perpetuate this territorial alignment. It is during the process of negotiation, the geographical coordinates are identified on the map and this process of identification of geographical features is called the 'definition' of the boundary.

When the treaty maker have completed this definition of the boundary in question, their work is placed before the cartographers who locate the boundary as exactly as possible on the large map. This is called the process of the 'determination' i.e., the boundary has been exactly located on the map joining the geographical co-ordinates.

Finally, then remains the task of marking the boundary on the ground. For this purpose, both the actual treaty and the cartographic materials are employed. Boundary 'demarcation', as this process is called, has by means taking place along every boundary defined and delimited : only a minority of many miles/kilometer of the world's boundaries are actually marked on the surface.

FUNCTION

The function of boundaries have changed over time. The most important role of boundary was the defines i.e., to defend the territorial sovereignty of the state. Until quite recently, it was conceivable for a state to attempt to fortify its boundary to such an extent that it would be invincible. But advancing technology has diminished the importance of the defensive function of boundaries, and states no longer rely upon fortified border for their security. The French built then 'Maginat Line' along its northeastern bound but it soon collapsed before the advancing German army in 1940. Although the 'defence' function of the boundary has diminished, but its commercial function has remained intact. The boundary function as a tariff wall against outside competition for its market and thus ascites internal products. The local industries, and products may prosper, owe their prosperity to the protection thus afforded.

The boundary, of course, also has a legal function. State law prevails to this line. Taxes must be paid to the government by anyone legally subject to taxation, whether he resides one or one hundred kilometres from the border. All states have laws. All boundaries mark the limits of territory where such laws apply. All states have economic polices. All boundaries in some degree have economic importance.

All states are theoretically sovereign. Thus all boundaries mark the limits of sovereignty.

There is a set of functions that derives from the particular state system of which the boundary is a part, and from the conditions prevailing in the adjacent state. Some boundaries, however, do not separate strongly contrasted states. The function of dividing boundaries all very different from those that separate states possessing vastly contesting internal conclusion.

A well-defined boundary restricts the dynamics of centrifugal forces, operating from either side of the boundary, and at the same time, tends to strengthen the dynamism of centripetal tendencies, spreading from the political core of the state-system. It is the boundary on which depends the 'raison de etre' of the state.

However, the relevance of the international boundaries is diminishing gradually because of the increasing trend of the globalization that transcend the national boundaries. Boundaries have become almost redundant in the European Union.

CLASSIFICATION OF BOUNDARIES

The classification of boundaries can be done on the basis of two different types of criteria. They can be grouped from the point of view of their static characteristics, e.g., their correspondence to physiographic features, their separation of ethnic regions, and their straightness etc. This is, basically, a descriptive classification. The classification is called the 'morphological' classification of boundaries.

Boundaries can also be classified according to their relationship with the cultural landscape. Some boundaries were established prior to the permanent occupation of areas by the present inhabitants. Some boundaries, however, were established after the permanent occupation of areans by the present inhabitants. A classification based on such considerations is called the 'genetic' classification of boundaries.

A MORPHOLOGICAL CLASSIFICATION OF BOUNDARIES

Morphological boundaries can be further subdivided into (a) physical boundaries and (b) anthropogeographic boundaries. Physical boundaries are there which follow the conspicuous physical feature which are static in their natural occurrences, while the anthropogeographic boundaries are there which follow the cultural features, particularly, the pattern of their distribution.

A. PHYSICAL BOUNDARIES ARE FURTHER SUBDIVIDED INTO THOSE WHICH HAVE BEEN MADE :

(1) to follow the course of or a mountain hill ranges; (2) to follow the time of river, canals and lakes; (3) to run through a desert, a forest, or a swamp; (4) to conform

with some other physical feature that may once have been conspicuous in the landscape.

MOUNTAIN AND HILLS

“A definite line of watershed carried by a conspicuous mountain ridge or range, is undoubtedly the most lasting, the most unmistakable and the most efficient as a barriers”. Generally, through not always, mountain ranges separate cultural groups by virtue of the relative difficulty in crossing them. For the same reason, they have always been thought of as good strategic or military boundaries. The Andean boundary between Chile and Argentina are the Himalayan boundary between China and India are example of the mountain. The 1881 boundary treaty between Chile and Argentina, and the 1914 boundary agreement between Tibet and India established the respective boundaris. However, these treaties/agreements generated lot of confucious, boding to serious boundary disputes between the involved countries. The Chile-Argentina boundary does not follow the crest line, as there is no crest line in the Andes, but the marking of the boundary has been done by erecting a huge statue of the Christ at a place where the boundary crosses the summit of the Upallata Pass. The disputed Himalayan boundary between China and India, on the other hand, follow the watershed-cum-high crest of the eastern Himalayan. The Sino-Indian boundary is still called the McMahon Line.

It is easier to define and delimit a mountain boundary, but is equally difficult to demarcate it on the ground. It is difficult to mark the ‘delimited’ boundary on the ground became of the lack coincidence between delimitation and actual demarcation, and this leads to serious problem between the involved states.

RIVERS AND LAKES

Rivers and Lakes have the advantage of being more clearly marked on map and more narrowly defined on the land than mountains and hills. For this reason they have often been adopted in boundary delimitation. River boundaries may follow the median line, the windings of the navigable channel, or one or other of the banks, or they may link up running points in the stream. It was decided in 1920 that in navigable rivers the boundary should follow ‘principal channel’ (thalweg) and in other cases the median line. The water lend of rivers varies, rivers themselves change their courses and islands sometimes make it difficult to establish a median line.

The boundary in lakes commonly follows the median line, but this, as the example of the Great Lakes shows can be extremely difficult to define. Nevertheless, the

International Waterways Commission has traced an acceptable line and principles which it used to have been adopted in many parts of the world. It has, for example, been adopted in Lake Victoria and in the new Lake Kariba.

Most rivers are subject to slow changes in their courses, with erosion on one hand and deposition of the other. They are also liable to sudden changes when they abandon their old beds and assume a new. Much of the border disputes between Murshidabad (District of West Bengal) and Rajshahi (District of Bangladesh) result from the shifting courses of the Ganga-Padma river. Sometimes the appearance of an island in the midst of the river, such as in the Usuri river between Russia and China, has caused the boundary dispute between Russia and China. A similar nature of dispute very often emerges between Bangladesh and the Indian province of Tripura because of frequent emergence of an island in the Kushiya river that defines the international boundary. Such problem are not common with regard to the lake boundaries.

Forests, Swamps and Deserts

These physical features are more known for their role as cultural barriers rather than as political boundaries. They act as divides between cultural regions. The northeastern part of Europe still provides salient example of role of forests as cultural divides. They used to separate the Finns from the Russian, the Russian from the Lithunian, and the Lithunian from the Poles. Though much less effective as cultural barrier, marshes once served on a basis for boundaries between states. Marshes along the lower Rhine and Meuse, through their influence on military campaign, influenced the location of the boundary between Belgium and Netherlands. Similarly Pripat marshes in White Russia were, between the First and the Second World War, traversed by the boundary between Poland and the tames Soviet Union. The boundary between the Indian Province of Gujrat and the Pakistani Province of Sind passes through the Rana of Kutch which is a broad belt of marsh, once stood as a cultural divide between the Hindus and the Muslim. However, it is rare for one of these barrier areas to be deliberately chosen for alignment of an international boundary. Deserts have been great cultural barrier, for example the Sahara used to separate European dominated Meditarrean region of Africa from the block dominated African culture lying to the south, with many international boundaries now passing through the deserts in Africa.

B. ANTHOPOGEOGRAPHIC BOUNDARIES

Boundaries which follow cultural features, such language, religion nationalities etc. are put under this classification of the boundary. These boundaries are the politics-geographical expression of the nationalist movements. They are a feature of the post-First World War period when boundaries in Central and Eastern Europe were readjusted with a view to separate nationalities on the principle of each nationality the right of sovereign political status. They are both the 'outcomes of both suppression and expression of nationalism', being the major causes of the outbreak of the First and the Second World War that finally culminated in the emergenes of the nation-states. India-Pakistan boundary belongs to this category as the boundary follow the religions pattern. Nevertheless a sizeable body of Muslim population continues to line in India. Similarly ethnic differences exist across the boundaries between Israel and Palestine (though a lizeable Palestine people continue to reside in Israel).

Anthropogeographic boundaries sometimes coincide with physical boundaries, such as one lying along the pyrenees between Spain and France, separating the French nationality from the Spanish nation. This boundary along the Pyrenees may be reflection of the historical role played by the physiographic feature in functioning as a barrier.

C. GEOMETRIC BOUNDARIES

These are straight line boundaries following lines of latitude or longitude or in some cases drawn from fixed points. The example of the first (straight) type boundary can be found in North America where the boundary between Canada and the United States west of the Great Lakes is mainly of the geometric variety, many of the boundaries of Africa, especially those traversing the desent region, are straight lines also. The state of Gambia in West Africa has its boundaries fired by arcs dawn from the centre of the River Gambia.

Geometric boundaries were drain either because the areas through which they lie were considered to be useless at the time of boundary definition or because rapid boundary delimitation war necessary for certain reason. Many of the straight-line boundaries of Africa, were defined at the 1884/1885 Berlin Conference, where the various colonial power met to decide the limit of their hitherto ill-defined spheres of influence.

A. GENETIC CLASSIFICATION OF BOUNDARIES

The genetic classification of boundary is based on the relationship between the boundary and the cultural landscape at the time of the boundary was established. The original idea behind this approach was Hartshorne's and it was formulated in a paper, published in 1936 in the *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* the identified three major groups of genetic boundaries :

(1) **Antecedent boundaries** : Boundaries which were defined and delimited before the development of most features of the cultural landscape. Some of the geometrical boundaries in Africa, Australia and in North America belong to this category. The US-Canada boundary west of Great Lakes in North America is a good example. A 'pioneer' boundary is one that runs through absolutely, unoccupied and underdeveloped country which Hartshorne called as virgin.

(2) **Subsequent boundaries** : Boundaries which are defined, delimited and demarcated after the cultural landscape had been almost fully evolved. Most of the anthropogeographic boundaries that developed as a result of suppression and expression of nationalism belong to this group. India-Pakistan boundary may be cited as an example.

(3) **Superimposed boundaries** : Truce lines are defined, delimited and demarcated after the pattern of settlement have fully developed. Such boundaries, without any confirmity. Colonial boundaries in the older settled regions of Africa offer examples of this type. At the moment the boundary between North Korea and South Korea is a good example of superimposed boundaries. If the line of control (LOC) in Jammu & Kashmir is accepted as the international boundary between India and Pakistan, it will be good example of this type of boundary. The LOC is a long-existing truce line for more than half-a-century old, and if its recognised, it will be an 'entrenched' boundary in the Hartshonian terminology, and may affect the cultural landscape in the long run.

(4) **Relic boundaries** : Boundaries that have currently lost their political function, but which nevertheless are discernible in the cultural landscape. Abandoned boundaries when redrawn to conform to the cultural division of the landscape, then relic boundaries get political expression.

Unit 3 □ Partition of India and Its Geopolitical Implications

Structure

- 3.1 Concept of Nationalism**
- 3.2 The Bengal Division and Muslim League**
- 3.3 Organization of Indian States Since Independence**
- 3.4 Political Geography of Foreign Trade**

3.1 Concept of Nationalism

To know the geography of partition of the Indian sub-continent, it is necessary to know the history of the Nationalist Movement that changed the political landscape of the land, called : India. The Nationalist Movement in India was a political movement with strong economic, social and religions aspects. It was essentially a creation of and a reaction against foreign rule. It started as a movement of protest which eventually became a movement of revolt.

Nationalism is generally considered to be the most geographical of all political movements because of its space-centric characteristics. Nationalism is a doctrine or an ideology of a nation that every nation requires its own sovereign state for the true expression of culture. The true expression of cultural distinctiveness involves movement across the space, particularly the extent of the spare where the cultural traits are crystallized, and deeply rooted in. Nationalism emphasizes the common and ubiquitous ideology, particularly. The uniqueness of each nation, the qualities that make one confident in identifying with a particular set of symbol, and histories. The Nationalist Movement in the subcontinent started with an ideology that Indian Nation, being a natural unit in the community of the societies with a common history, must have its own sovereign state for the true manifestation and expression of its cultural heritage and distinctiveness.

Nationalism is a complex phenomenon wherever it is encountered but in India it was particularly complex because of the environment in which it arose and became of the many forces, internal and external that affected. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries India experienced a great re-awakening, produced nodoubt by

the western impact upon it, and by the search to find its own identity in a changing situation.

Nationalism was powerfully stimulated by the work of many persons and organizations where efforts were directed to the re-discovery and revitalization of the past and to the preservation of ideals and faiths. Even movement which were essentially non-political ne even reactionary in their fundamental outlook contributed to the development of a nationalist upsurge.

The nationalist movement in India, however, was always dominated by Hindus. This is certainly not surprising, for the great majority of Indians were Hindus. Moreover, reader the British the Muslim lost much of their former position and influence, and the Hindus benefited more from the opportunities opened up by the British to enter the trades, professions, and governmental and education service Muslims were further alienated by the many evidences that in the minds of some of the Nationalist leaders the struggle for 'swaraj' in its various forms was linked with a revival or reaffirmation of Hinduism. However, it was during the formative stage of the nationalist movement, particularly, during the closing period of the nineteenth century that the "seeds of Hindu-Muslim cleavage vis-a-vis partition of the subcontinent were sown to extent an to have caused the great Indian nation divided and split almost after sixty two years".

The Indian nationalist movement that began with the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885, can be called 'liberation nationalism', because it sought for independence from the British rule. Both Hindus and Muslims unitedly initiated the national liberation movement against the British government. Hindus and Muslims were the pacts of the single dominant 'Indian nation', in spite of religions difference. The 'feeling of belonging together' brought the two longest communities to share and experience of some common characteritics of genre devie expressive of what may be called 'unity in diversity'. Both Hindus and Muslims felt the Britishers, being the common enemy of both, and a joint fight against them would yield a positive results. Nevertheless, the Hindu-Muslim mutual inclusiveness with a common characteristics of a shared lifestyle (genredevic) and an ideology against the British rule, started weakening. Hindu-Muslim bond was gradually converted into a cleanage, and the inclusiveness replaced by exclusiveness. The nationalist movement against the British rule got split along the communal pattern—the movement which was earlier designed and intended for complete freedom of the land from the foreign rule but, how it turned to be designed for the division of the nation and the land. Out of

the nationalism movement developed the Muslims nationalist movement in the early years of the beginning of the movement against the British rule. The rise of the Muslim nationalisms ultimately culminated in the partition of the Indian subcontinent along the communal religious line/pattern.

The beginnings of Muslim nationalism can also be traced back to the years prior to 1885. The rise of Muslims nationalism may be attributed to a reaction against the difficulties which the Muslims experienced after the consolidation of British rule and particularly after they failed to hold their own with Hindus in the economic and political field. The British held them in large measure responsible for the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857. Yet in the years following the 'Mutiny', when Muslim fortunes and spirits seemed to be at a low ebb, a change in their political, if not economic, status set in.

The moving spirit in the rise of Muslim nationalism was Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) who urged the Muslims to cooperate with the British and to preserve their identity against the Hindus. He advised the Muslims to remain aloof from the Indian National Congress, on the ground that it would inevitably come under Hindu domination. In the circumstances, he said that the Muslims could not identify themselves with the Hindus, rather the Muslim must seek their own salvation along different lines. In 1877 Sir Syed Ahmad Khan founded the Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, that later developed into the Aligarh Muslim University. The Aligarh movement, of which he was the leading spirit, continued regeneration of the Muslim in India and laid the basis for a more active Muslim political movement at a later.

3.2 The Bengal Division and Muslim League

There was an extremist group in the Indian National Congress that sought for extreme steps to oust the British from India. Those who believed in extremism were called militant nationalist. This group was active in Bengal, Punjab and Maharashtra. The extremists emphasized the political struggle rather than social and economic reforms. The extremist group preached a kind of Hindu revivalism which gave new life to the nationalist movement, but which at the same time further alienated many Muslims from the nationalist movement. However the British move to partition Bengal in 1905, along the commercial line, was excessively designed to cause further alienation of the Muslim from Hindus. It was aimed at weakening the process of the Bengali nation-in-making. The Bengal partition in 1905 was conditioned to give precedence of religion over the language so that the linguistic homogeneity irrespective of religion affinities could not hold together the two communities Hindus and Muslim.

The Bengal partition was strongly resented and renounced by the Bengalis. The opposition to the Bengal partition was so strong that the British had to withdraw it in 1909. Nevertheless, the partition of Bengal in 1905 had already created a perpetual crack in the minds of both the communities : Hindus and Muslims, particularly, in the minds of those who believed in what may be religion fundamentalism. A new type of dynamism thus appeared to have been set in, despite the withdrawal of the Bengal partition, that in the decades to come fueled communalism in Bengal.

A new dynamism, in the form of the foundation of the Muslim League in 1906 by Aga Khan was set forth that aimed at organizing the Muslims of the subcontinent in a way as to differentiate them from the Hindus. Bulk of the Muslim population moved towards the Muslim League, however, a small part of the population continued to be close to the Indian National Congress, although it was branded as a Hindu Organization, looking after the interests and aspiration of the Hindus only. The foundation of the Muslim League undoubtedly weakened the Indian Nationalist Movement, because bulk of a dominant human group, or a dominant principal community of the subcontinent with numerical superiority in certain areas and regions left itself aloof from the main struggle for freedom.

The British, to cause further Hindu-Muslim split with the object of weakening the nationalist movement made a provision of separate electorate for the Muslims in elections in the Indian Council Act 1909, popularly called the Morley-Minto Reform. Although, the provision for separate electorate was strongly resisted and resisted, but it necessarily provided strength to the 'emerging Muslim nationalism' in India. Because of the divergent view between the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League with regard to the Nationalist movement that mutual exclusiveness between the two communities widened to a greater extent. However, in order to bridge the gap and to replace the 'cleavage' into 'linkage', both the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League decided on a joint Movement against the British rule. It was at the Lucknow session of the congress in 1916 that an endorsement was made, called the 'Lucknow Pact' for cooperation between the two. But, the pact was short-lived because of inherent inner contradictions on the one hand and hardening Muslim nationalism on the other hand that followed changes and counter-changes against each other, by the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League. It was during the period of the non-violent non-cooperation movement since 1919, that the 'Lucknow pact' lost its significance, rather the period saw "the end of the alliance between the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, specially after the Khilafat issue had ceased to have much relevance and significance". End of the

Congress-League pact had disastrous effect on the rapidly changing political landscape of the subcontinent, while the bulk of the Indian population sought for complete liberation and freedom, the Muslim population, except a small part of it, wanted its accession of numerical superiority be organized territorially to give expression to its religious distinctiveness, so the dichotomy that emerged was 'Indianness vs Muslimness'.

Demand for a separate Muslim homeland : PARTITION

Since the early 1920s, Muslim nationalism had been developing apart from the main nationalist movement. Most politically conscious Muslims of contemporary India had tended to accept the view of Sri Syed Ahmed Khan, that Muslims should remain aloof from the Congress and should look to their own interests. The foundation of the Muslim League in 1906 and the granting of separate electorates in the Morley-Minto reforms of 1909 tended to emphasize the political as well as social and religious distinctiveness.

Gradually, the idea that a separate Muslim homeland became a geopolitical necessity, and the Muslims should have a separate political status, within or without the British Empire. The process of the Muslim nation-in-the-making started. In 1930 the great Muslim poet-philosopher of the subcontinent, Muhammad Iqbal said in his presidential address to the Muslim League that : "I would like to see the Punjab, North West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan, amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim state appear to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims at least of North-West India". However Iqbal made no suggestions for the parts of Bengal, particularly, East Bengal which contained a Muslim majority.

In 1933 Rahmat Ali Choudhury prepared a nomenclature for a politico-geographical organization of the Muslim areas and territories of North-West India, and its adjoining areas : PAKISTAN (Punjab, Afghanistan, Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan). Although proposal of Rahmat Ali Choudhury was ridiculed by the Muslim League and Md. Ali Jinnah. A group of Muslim students in London started what may be called the Pakistan Movement, and within seven years, since the word : PAKISTAN was made to announce, prominent Muslim leader found something concrete in it, and the Muslim League which had earlier rejected the nomenclature, demanded a separate Muslim League.

It was at the Lahore Congress of the Muslim League in 1940 that a resolution was passed which stated that the Muslim majority areas in the north-western and eastern zones be grouped as sovereign states in the sub-continent. The prominent Muslim leader of the League came out with a 'two-nation theory' as a basis for the partition of the subcontinent. They said the Muslims of India were not just a minority group but were in fact a separate 'nation' with territorial identification and a strong system of belief (iconography). In his presidential address at the Lahore session of the Muslim League in 1940 that adopted the Pakistan resolution Md. Ali Jinnah asserted'. "Muslims are a nation according to any definition of a nation, and they must have their homeland, their territory and their State".

By the time the Muslim League had come out flatly for Pakistan the Congress was locked in a basic struggle with the British Government over the issue over the issue of India's involvement in the Second World War. When, upon the outbreak of the war in Europe in September, 1939, the British Government declared that India too was at war with the Axis power, the Congress strongly protested, but the Muslim League supported it. In 1942 the Congress took the 'Quit India' resolution while the Muslim League's approach to the resolution was, rather, ambiguous. While most of the Congress leaders spent the rest of the months of the war in prison, but the Muslim League leaders spent their time hobnobbing with the British, supporting each and every decision of the British Government with regard to India's involvement in the Second World War. After the cessation of the Second World War, communal rights in Muslim Punjab and Muslim Bengal, besides the Central Provinces and Madhya Desha of the Northern India where the Hindus held demographic superiority. Mutual hostility between the Hindus and Muslims reached such a point after the Second World War that an urgent decision was required so as to avert communal holocaust of a wider spatial dimension, throughout the subcontinent. Partition along Hindu-Muslim territorial pattern was found to be the only paragon/remedy to the emerging problem of communalism or violent ethnocentrism. Thus, partition along the communal-religious lines was inevitable, however, taking into consideration the spatial pattern of distribution of Hindu and Muslim population.

It was through the enactment of Indian Independence Act 1947, passed in the House of Commons, that two independent nations : India and Pakistan (West Pakistan and East Pakistan) came into existence in the Indian sub-continent. Partition forever divided the Indian nation which had always remained as a 'united nation', now stands

'divided nation' and 'divided state'. The Indian Independence Act 1947 provided specific provision for the Indian states, particularly for their future political destiny, that they had option either to India or to Pakistan, but under no circumstances should they remain independent. It was through the Instrument of Accession that the Indian States could decide their future political destiny and there was a provision of 'standstill agreement' in the Independence Act that stated : "so long the decision to accession to either of the Nation is not finally takes, the states will enjoy the right to transit across the territories of both the Dominion And it will be the duty of the Dominion to provide safe passage for the movements and flows of people and goods of the states".

In stead of transferring the Paramountcy to the Congress and to the Muslim League, the British Government allowed it to be lapsed, and as a result, all the Indian States thereupon became 'independent' but thanks to the Indian statesman that a peaceful accession of nearly 556 Indian states was achieved except for the states of Jammu and Kashmir, Hyderabad and Junagadh. Jammu and Kashmir acceded to India after being attacked by the tribal Muslim infiltration, locked by the Pakistani army, while a minimum force was applied to secure the accession of Hyderabad where the majority Hindu population sought for their merger with India, but the Nizam wanted his state to be merged with Pakistan in total disregard of his subjects aspiration. The accession of Junagadh was achieved through a plebiscite.

Commending on the major consideration that led most of the Congress leaders to acquiesce in partition, V.P. Menon (1957 : 440) said, "The Congress had accepted the division of the country on two major consideration. In the first place, it was clear from the unyielding altitude of the Muslim League that a United India would either be delayed or could only be won at the cost of a civil war. Secondly, it was hoped that the establishment of a separate Muslim State would finally settle the communal problem which had for so long bedevilled Indian politics and thwarted all progressive aspirations, that India and Pakistan would thereafter live in peaceful relations with each other, and that all men of goodwill on either side would be free to concentrate on improving the economic condition of the common people". Partition could not provide the required panacea to the Hindu-Muslim dichotomy in the subcontinent, instead of living in peaceful coexistence, both India and Pakistan has gone on war in 1948, 1965, 1971 and in 2001. Pakistan could not hold on its eastern wing i.e., East Pakistan. It emerged as an independent sovereign state in December 1971, with a nomenclature of Bangladesh.

GEPOLITICAL IMPLICATION OF PARTITION

Partition, as a political decision vis-a-vis a political process greatly affected the (political) geography of the Indian sub-continent-space, land, territory, resources and population, all stood divided and partition. Partition left significant imprints on the landscape that the political space of the subcontinent redefined and repartition. The great Indian Nation became a divided nation and the erstwhile Indian State stood divided also, and a new rivalry relations, thereupon, got crystallized. It changed the emotional territorial bond that the people who once generations had developed a deep sense of attachment with the land.

Following specific geopolitical implication of partition could be identified which still remain fresh in the minds of the people who now belong to the second and third generations since partition in 1947. Some of the implication and/or problems still remain to be resolved even after more than 60 years of partition.

(1) The Refugee Problem

The aftermath of partition was necessarily bitter and violent. Instead of averting a communal holocaust, the division of the subcontinent was occasioned one of the major internal human disaster of modern times. Hundreds of thousands of people on both sides of new political boundaries, especially in the divided Punjab and Bengal, were massacred. The rejoining once independence soon gave way to worst crisis to humanity through murder, writings, and innumerable lesser acts of violence, accompanying by a mass reporting of people, who, abandoning most of this worldly possessions, moved from one side of the frontier/political boundary to the other, under hazardous and trying condition, often involving loss of life and harassments of all units. By June 1948, some five and a half million Hindus and Sikhs had crossed West Pakistan had crossed from West Pakistan into India, and about an equal number of Muslim had moved the other way. Similarly some one and a half million Bengali Hindu crossed once to India from East Pakistan, and some one million Bengali Muslim together with some 40,000 Bihari Muslim crossed over to East Pakistan from West Bengal and Bihar. This mass movement of people created a major demographic problem-refugee problem of unspecified discussion that put strain and stress on the economy of both the countries. The flow of people from either sides never fully ceased, rather it continued in both direction ever since, although on a lesser scale.

After a few weeks the worst human sufferings were over, and the New Government of India began to bring the situation under control. Thus at the very outset it faced and overcame a major crisis. As V.P. Menon (1957, 432). The communal holocaust, the two-way exodus of refugees, their protection and the rehabilitation of those who had

come to India—all these provided the Government of India, at a time when the administrative machinery was already out of joint as a result of partition, with a task which was as stupendous as any nation ever had to face. If in its initial stages the situation had not been controlled with vigour, the consequences would have brought down the Government itself”.

At a press conference in February 1959, Nehru said : ‘When we decided on partition I do not think any of us even thought that they would be this terror of mutual killing after partition. So we paid a double price for it, first, you might say politically, ideologically; second, the actual thing happened that we lived to avoid”.

It can be said that political upheavals following the Indian Independence Act 1947 and redrawing of political frontiers/boundaries along religious pattern, transfer and division of sovereignty and changes of regimes from the British to the natives have found million of people into exile and caused mass movements far in excess of those normally resulting from supply and demand on the world employment market. This mass movement of million of people across the new political boundary and their subsequent settlement in new levels, undoubtedly, provided the required sustenance to the growth of communalism, to which both India and Pakistan have suffered most. In India, particularly, Muslim constituted a significant minority and they have not integrated with the dominant Hindu nation, rather they preserve all aspects of their own culture and religion, but the massive influx of Hindu and Sikh population, from across the boundaries following partition, necessarily sustained an anti-Muslim feeling that in turn gave input to communal tension—one of the most important and biggest challenge to the secular fabric of Indian tradition of tolerance and synthesis.

Communalism is one of the major consequences of partition that still causes ‘some amount’ of instability in the geography of Indian federation. Pakistan and for that rattle Bangladesh do not have significant minority population, rather, whatever Hindu and Sikh populations dared to stay even after partition, and mass movement/migration, latter they were forced to flee usually by government action in the 50s. A majority of them fled to India, and other moved to Europe and America. Today, there is no problem of communalism in Pakistan and in Bangladesh because Hindus and Sikhs are almost non-existent rather they preferred to merge with the dominant Muslim nation.

Those who fled Pakistan and India soon after partition of their own are called ‘Flüchtlinge’, and those who left their homelands, usually by government action, may be called ‘Vertriebenen’ or ‘Heimatvertriebenen’. Bulk of the refugees whether

Muslims or Hindus or Sikhs were 'fluchtlinge', because they were forced to leave their homelands and belonging by the locals. Had they remained they might have been subject to political, social, economic and other disabilities. Even today, there is refugee problem particularly with regard to granting citizenship to the refugees and providing rehabilitation to them. These people, called refugees, do not have voting rights.

(2) The Kashmir Question

Perhaps the biggest challenge that emerged as a result of partition has been the Kashmir question and that has left a diabolic imprint on the political space of the subcontinent. It is one of the major geopolitical implications that has caused the nuclearization of the subcontinent's geopolitics. The genesis of the Kashmir question lies in the two-nation theory on the one hand and the loopholes in the Indian Independence Act 1947 which was rather ambiguous with regard to the political destiny of the Indian States. The Indian Independence Act 1947, had made a provision that 'the Indian states would have to accede to either of the Dominions' : India and Pakistan, through signing the 'Instrument of Accession', and there was no other alternative for them. The British Government, however, terminated the paramountcy or suzerainty of the crown once these Indian states. "Legally the Indian states there upon became independent. But it was absolutely absurd to think of the subcontinent divided into two large new independent nations carved out of British India with one of these nations divided by some thousand miles of the territory, and peppered with scores of other 'independent states' ranging in size from Hyderabad and Jammu and Kashmir to a few small areas." (Palmer, 1961, 88)

However, the accession of the Indian States to India was secured by peaceful negotiations before August 15, 1947, and in a little over two years after independence the political geography of India was rationalised by the merger or the consolidation and integration of the Indian states. India was unified as never before in the history. All but three of the Indian states whose territories were geographically contiguous to the new State of India had acceded to the Indian Union. The three exceptions were significant, particularly since they imposed further strains on the already unhappy relation with Pakistan : Junagadh, Hyderabad and Jammu & Kashmir.

Junagadh became a part of the Indian State after a plebiscite in February, 1948. Hyderabad acceded to India in November 1948. These two Indian states had Muslim rulers with Hindu majority, so not much problem was involved with regard to their accession because the people wanted merger. But the case of Jammu & Kashmir was different.

The state of Jammu & Kashmir was consisted of four different political/cultural landscapes. Muslim northern Kashmir (Gilgit & Baltistan tyear); Buddhist Ladakh, Hindu Jammu Area, and the vale of Kashmir with mixed population, but the Muslim constituted the bulk of the population. Nevertheless, Jammu and Kashmir had a Muslim majority population, but with a Hindu ruler.

The Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir refused to accede either to Pakistan or to India prior to August 15, 1947, contrary to the advice of the Governor-General Lord Mountbatten. Rather he wanted both India and Pakistan to sign the 'Standstill Agreement' with him. The Indian Independence Act 1947, had a specific provision of the 'standstill agreement', according to which, pending the decision of the Indian States with regard to their political status vis-a-vis their accession to either of the states, both India and Pakistan were required to provide transit right to the Indian States, across their territories so that their commercial function with the outside world could be maintained, and this could be done through signing the 'standstill agreement'.

Pakistan was quick enough to sign the standstill agreement with the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir with the objective perception that it implicitly amounted to accession of the State with Pakistan. India, however, refused to sign the standstill agreement and declared that it would sign it only when the Maharaja agreed to accede with India. But, it needs to be mentioned here that even during the British period, Jammu and Kashmir's enjoyed transit right across the territories of the Punjab and Sind, and used the port of Karachi. The city of Jammu was linked with Sialkat by a single track broadgange railway that used to carry the bulk of people and trade of Jammu and Kashmir to the outside world. Hardly, there was say such link with the mainland of India rather there was a narrow link rood with no practical relevance, it resembled with a 'widened cart track'.

Pakistan, however, consistently exerted pressure on the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir to replace the standstills agreement by accession, on in other words, Pakistan wanted the Maharaja to sign the Instrument of Accession in its (Pakistan) favour. But, the Maharaja resisted the pressure. He was apprehensive that such a more might cause its embarrassment to the Hindu population of Jammu region which in turn could anger the Government of India, similarly, if he had decided to accede to India, there would have been Muslim uprising in Northern Kashmir and in the vale and that would have been beyond his capabilities to suppress. The Maharaja was in dilemma what to do and what not to do? This was perhaps the

reason that he preferred to distance from both India and Pakistan, and maintained an independent stand. However, Pakistan believed in the fact that being a Muslim majority state Jammu and Kashmir should accede to Pakistan as had been the case with the British provinces where the 'principle of cultural-religious contiguity' was followed to bring about the division of territories between that nation. Pakistan wanted the same principle be followed in the case of Jammu and Kashmir.

Delay on the part of the Maharaja to take a final decision with regard to accession to Pakistan raised doubts to his motives that Pakistan could not sustain any longer. Pakistan, however, faced a problem of tribal uprising in its North-Western Frontier Province where the tribals wanted merger with Afghanistan. Similarly, the tribals of Baltistan and Gilgit of Kashmir, also revolted that worried the Maharaja. In order to calm down the uprising in the NWFP, Pakistan motivated them to invade Jammu and Kashmir to help the tribals of Baltistan and Gilgit. A massive infiltration was planned with the object of 'forced' accession of Jammu and Kashmir with Pakistan. The security system of the Maharaja was too weak to resist the infiltration, this was what was perceived in Pakistan. It was felt that the collapse of the security system of Jammu and Kashmir would be inevitable once infiltration on a large scale, beyond the boundary was undertaken. It actually happened. Tribals, backed and encouraged by Pakistan had pushed to within a few kilometers of Srinagar, the capital of Jammu and Kashmir. The Maharaja appealed for help, that India refused, however, on Lord Mountbatten's advice, to send unless the Maharaja acceded to India. On October 26, 1948, Jammu and Kashmir acceded to India. However, Lord Mountbatten announced on October 27, 1948 that 'as soon as law and order have been restored in Kashmir, and the territory cleared of the invader, the question of the accession should be settled by a reference of the people'. But, Pakistan could not wait further when it saw the success of the Indian army in pushing back the invader. The Pakistan army, then, openly involved, and crossed over the boundary. India and Pakistan nearly became involved in a war over Kashmir in 1948. However, because of the intervention of the United Nations that the war could be ceased.

Since January, 1949, a cease-fire line (that later i.e., in 1972 came to be known as line of control) has prevailed, and the State has been in fact divided along the cease-fire line (line of control). Repeated efforts by the United Nations and by the

U. N. society Council to workout a plan for steps leading to a resolution to the Kashmir conflict acceptable to both India and Pakistan have failed.

Kashmir accession to India was final and irrevocable. The State Legislative Assembly endorsed the accession, and the State became one of the countituent units of the Indian Union. Pakistan refused to accept the accession and renowned it an saying illogical, unpractical, and without any legal sanction. Instead, it insisted that the destiny of the State should be determined by a vote of the people. India's contention was that the accession was legally denable, given the provision if the accession of India States in the Indian Independence Act 1947 wherein the Rules had the right to take decision of their kingdom because the sovereignty lay on them not on then subject. The Maharaja was alone competent modern the rule, to take decision on the accession. Pakistan contention was more motional and religion-inspired rather, than legal. It wanted to apply the principle of the 'two-nation' theory, so as to claim their accession of the state. Pakistan had attempted military solution to resolve the Kashmir conflict, and for that it invaded Jammu and Kashmir in 1948, 1965, 1971 and in 2001. In 1965 and 2001 it engineered massive infiltration, although the attempt to push the line of contend (LOC) to further east, and to redraw it, were foiled by the Indian security tones.

The Kashmir conflict is a politics-territorial consequence of partition. It is a conflict, emanating from the faulty provision of the Indian Independence Act 1947. The nuclearisation of South Asian geopolitics may be said to an implicit geopolitical implication of partition of the subcontinent along the religions pattern. The split of the 'Indian nation' as an result of the partition into the Muslim nation and Hindu nation, has made both of their 'enenia' to each of them with political dynamium of mutual exclusiveness, confined to their respective political bounds.

(3) The Canal Water Question

One of the major implications of partition was the disruption of the Punjab canal system. Most of the canals went to West Pakistan while most of the river with their sources went to India vis-a-vis China, besides, most of their courses travel long across the Indian territories. However, the Indian part of the Punjab became a 'day zone' with no canals. "As consequence of partition the question of the use of the water of these rivers, whose annual flow in twice that of the Nile, became crucial for Pakistan, but for some years no progress war mode in resolving this life-or death issue'.

Large part of former West Pakistan had too little water and was dependent on rather uncertain supplies which had to be made available through some half dozen of the rivers which make up the Indus River system—the vital artery of former West Pakistan. Three of these rivers—the Jhelum, the Chenab and the Indus itself rise in Tibet or in remote parts of Kashmir, but three other—the Beas, the Ravi and Sutlej—flow through North-West India into West Pakistan, and can therefore, be directed for India's uses. 'Rainfall is scanty in the plain area and without the river and the irrigation system, the plain of the Indus basin would be desert'. But with the system of irrigation developed over the last hundred years, the river supported a population of about 50 million in the drive northwest of the subcontinent mostly the Punjab, which was approximately one-tenth of the total population of the subcontinent. However, partition put roughly 40 million people to West Pakistan side and the remaining 10 million people to Indian side.

Here, it needs to be mentioned that the boundary line of the new states was delimited by a boundary commission, whose term of reference delegated to it the obligation "to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab, on the basis of uncertainty the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslim. In doing so, it will take into account other factor (Spate 1947)." The other factor were primarily economic in nature. When the boundary commission made its inquiry, passions were high and it is understandable that the religion differences necessarily influenced the course of the boundary. 'meanwhile the most serious 'other factor'—the desirability a necessity of avoiding so far as possible any disruption of the canal systems on which the prosperity of all communities depended—was largely lost sight of or at most received formal lip service (Spate 1947)".

The irrigated area chiefly affected by partition was that lying between the Ravi and the Sutlej river. Here canals, originating in territory that was to become Indian, delivered water to fields that were to become Pakistan. As mentioned above that partition or division of the irrigated area was the fact that all rivers of the Punjab had their sources in the Indian held part of Kashmir. Since partition of the Punjab in 1947, there was a prolonged dispute between India and Pakistan regarding the division of the Water. Pakistan's need was, however, greater, but India was in a position to control the large part of the water. Whatever solution might be adopted, a heavy capital investment would certainly be required both for extension to the canal system and for building of dams and other works. The International Bank, for Reconstruction and Development—the World Bank became interested in adapting

the irrigation system to the new structure of political boundaries. In collaboration with the United States, United Kingdom and a number of the commonwealth countries, a plan was worked out to provide the capital, while India and Pakistan, worked out the technical details. In 1960 two treaties were signed, one between the World Bank and all the countries providing the capitals, and the other between India and Pakistan.

The treaty allocated the water of the eastern rivers—the Ravi, the Beas and the Sutlej—for the use of India, and of the three Western river—the Indus, the Jhelum and the Chenab—for the use of Pakistan. The agreement created the Indus Basin Development Fund of about \$900 million to finance the construction of irrigation and other works in Pakistan provided for in the Indus Water Treaty. Approximately \$640 million is to be supplied by the participating Governments, \$174 million by India under the Indus Waters treaty, and \$80 million by a World Bank loan to Pakistan.

To quote Pounds (1963 : 326) : “Very little water, if it might be expected would be allowed to flow by way of the Eastern River into Pakistan, and the more easterly parts of the later could be obliged to obtain their irrigation water from the Western Rivers. This would clearly require elaborate hydraulic engineering works and much of the vast capital investment has been used for this purpose. The effect of the new irrigation canals has been to slow the flow from mainly northeast to southwest direction to one more nearly from north to south. This complex and costly arrangement may be said to be due to the simple fact that the Punjab was partitioned more regard to communal feelings than the hydraulic engineering.”

The refugee problem, the Kashmir conflict and the Water disputes were the major geopolitical consequences and implication of partition of the subcontinent in 1947. Although, the refugee problem have, to a greater extent, been resolved, but the communal passions so created as a result of partition along the communal religious patterns, are causing havoc in some of the sensitive region of the Republic that have raised question to India's 'secular raison detre'. Similarly, the Kashmir conflict between India and Pakistan has given rise to, what may be called 'nuclear geopolitics' in the sub-continent with an ever-increasing nuclear arm race and armageddon scenario. The Kashmir conflict has also sustained cross-border terrorism to cause collapse of the system in Jammu and Kashmir. The water-disputes have by and large, resolved exception few minute areas of disputes and conflicts.

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3.3 Organization of Indian States Since Independence

Immediately after the plan to partition the subcontinent and to grant independence on August 15, 1947, was announced by the British Government, the Indian Government decided to set up a states ministry to handle the problem of the integration of the Indian states. The Indian Independence Act of 1947 did not propose a solution for the problem of the Indian states, but it terminated the paramountcy or suzerainty of the crown over these political units. Legally the Indian states, numbering more than 500, thereupon became independent. It was a gigantic problem to secure the accession of these 'quasi-independent' Indian states, particularly after the lapse of the paramountcy.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was placed in charge of the states ministry, and in the next two years or so this determined and influential man, who also served as Deputy Prime Minister until his death in 1951, "by a combination of cajolery and firmness not only secured the accession of most of the Indian States to the Indian Union but also merged and integrated many of them and laid the foundation for their full integration into the new Indian nation". The accession of the states to the Indian Dominion was by and large secured by peaceful negotiation before August 15, 1947, except for Junagadh, Hyderabad and Jammu and Kashmir, whose accession to the new Indian nation took some time. In a little over two years after independence the political geography of India was rationalized by the merger or the consolidation and integration of the Indian states. Patel's first act as states Minister was to appeal to all the Princely rulers of Indian states in territories contiguous to the Indian-Dominion-to-be to accede to the Union in three subjects, foreign relations, defense and communication. A similar appeal was made by the Governor General Lord Mountbatten, in an address to the Chamber of Princes on July 25, 1947. In a remarkable display of cooperation, the Indian Princes responded to the appeal, and all but three of the Indian states whose

territories were contiguous to the new Indian nation had acceded to the Indian Dominion.

Junagadh, a Hindu small state with a Muslim ruler in Kathiawar, became a part of the Indian Dominion after a plebiscite in February 1948. Hyderabad, the largest of the Indian states, with a Muslim ruler and a Hindu Majority, agreed to accede to the Dominion in November 1948, after the police of the Nizam surrendered before the Indian army which 'invaded' the state in September 1948. On being invaded by the Muslim tribal infiltration, the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, unable to sustain the pressure of invasion and infiltration appeared to the Government of India for help. The Government of India refused to send help unless the Maharaja acceded to India. On October 26, 1947, he acceded to India. Jammu and Kashmir was a Muslim majority Indian state with a Hindu ruler. In 1948 both India and Pakistan nearly became involved in a war over Kashmir. However, since January 1, 1949, a cease-fire line has prevailed, and the state has been divided along the cease-fire, that, later in 1972, came to be known as the 'line of control'. Roughly 1/3rd part of the state is under the occupation of Pakistan, while a substantial part of Ladakh, a constituent unit of Jammu and Kashmir is under China's occupation since 1957.

With the integration and accession of Indian states, which were geographically contiguous to the Indian Union, the number of 'constituent' political units went to 27. The newly created system of 27 political units or for that matter states was expensive, inequitable, and asymmetrical. The boundaries framed after the integration of Indian states, followed by their merger with the British Provinces, were economically, linguistically, culturally and administratively as proved to be illogical and impractical.

Indian Constitution and Organization of States :

The Republican Constitution of India was proclaimed on January 26, 1950, and it made provisions for the organization of Indian states, consisting of both the territories of the former Indian states and the British Provinces that had created an asymmetrical politics-administrative system of 27 political units. These political units, numbering 27, were divided into four parts A, B, C and D, similar in their constitutional make-up based on the principle of federalism.

1. The constitution of India provided for nine Part 'A' states : Assam, Bihar, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, the Punjab, United Provinces and West Bengal—Corresponding to British Provinces.

2. Eight Part 'B' states were created that included Madhya Bharata, Patiala and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU), Rajasthan, Samashtie, Travancore-Cochin, Hyderabad, Mysore and Jammu and Kashmir. Except the last three Part B States, the former five states were formed by joining together other former Princely States, large and small. These were the earstwhile Indian States.
3. The Constitution also provided for ten Part 'C' States—Ajmer, Bhopal, Bilaspur, Cooch-Bihar, Coorg, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Kutch, Manipur and Tripura. The list was amended almost immediately to change the name of the United Province to Uttar Pradesh, to omit Cooch Behar from the list of Part 'C' States and to add Vindhya Pradesh to the list.
4. The Andaman and Nicobar Islands were listed in a Part 'D' category. Part 'A' and Part 'B' States were regarded roughly as of equal status (Jammu and Kashmir was in a rather different state, because of the disagreement with Pakistan over this territory), but Part 'C' States were definitely of lesser status, and was in fact administered by the President of India, through a Chief Commissioner or Lieutenant Governor. Executive power in Part 'A' States was exercised by a Governor, appointed by President of India, in Part 'B' States the executive head—except in Jammu and Kashmir—was known as a Rajpramukh, while in Jammu and Kashmir, the same was called Sadar-i-Riyasat.

However, in 1953 the number of States was increased to 28, when a separate State of Andhra was created out of the upper part of Modern State. It was the first linguistic State to be created in the Union.

Linguistic Movement and (Re)-Organization of the States

The unequal states of Part A, B, C and D states necessarily made the Indian federation highly asymmetrical, geographically inexpensiveness and administratively inefficient. It lacked the true character of a federation, the feudal boundaries were drawn without any regard to either the physical or the cultural features. Even the boundaries of the British Provinces were illogical in the sense that they were drawn only for administrative purposes, ignoring the regional interests and aspirations of the local and/or regional cultural entities. Independent India inherited and most unrealistic internal administrative boundaries which were further complicated by the merger of the territories of the Indian States with those of the territories of the British

Provinces, followed by the grouping and categorization of Part A, B, C States. The cultural loyalty that remained subdued and, rather, hidden during the British period, started expressing its territorial identity. The first of its kind of cultural-loyalty, expressing through linguistic regionalism occurred in the upper part of the Modern State where the Telegu-speaking people declined to stay further with the Tamil-speaking people. In December, 1952, Potti Sriramalu, in a gesture of self-sacrifice that aroused the Telegu-speaking people of north Modern State, fasted ante death is Modern on the issue of a separate state for his people, and shortly afterwards the Government of India, against its own deceives, province the create a separate State of Andhra. The new state came into existence in the fall of 1953.

The Indian National Congress had always supported, of course, implicitly, the organization of the subcontinent along linguistic, and a decision to this effect was taken, dating back of 1921. But, soon after independence it took a return and opposed its own decision. Nevertheless, a three-man commission, known as the Das commission was set up in 1948, to investigate the question of linguistic territorialization of the republic. But, the commission strongly disapproved the formation of linguistic federation on the ground that it might loosen the federal structure to the extent as to have weakened the unity and antiquity of the newly born Republic. However, not satisfied by the observation of the Das commission, the congress appointed another commission, known as the JVP committee in 1949. The JVP committee gave an ambiguous recommendations, because it expressed its concern not in such a strong way as did the Das commission with regard to the formation of linguistic states.

Growing agitation for the creation of linguistic spread to different region after the formation of the state of Andhra in 1953. The Ministry of Home Affair, Government of India, then, appointed a three-man states Reorganization Commission on December 29, 1953, to inquire into the demands of the linguistic entities that sought to create this own territories in a way an to give (geo)-political expression to their identity.

After careful consideration, the commission recommended that the number of states of Union be reduced from 28 to 16 with three union territories. The Commission was conscious of the unity and indegriety of the newly-born Indian Republic. It emphatically declared that none of the federating units would be

sovereign and independent. However, the recommendation of the commission were partially modified in the Lok Sabha (Lower House of the Parliament). The arrangement was changed, however, in the State Reorganization Act of 1956 and in the Constitution (Seventh Amendment) Act of 1956, both of which went into effect on November 1, 1956. The new map of India was organized mainly on a linguistic basis. The only major exception to the linguistic basis of (re)-organization, after November 1, 1956, were the state of Bombay, which was enlarged on divided and the Punjab, where the linguistic situation was complicated by other factor. After the re-organization the Indian Republic consisted of fourteen states of equal legal status—the distinction between part A, Part B, and Part C states disappeared—and six Union Territories—Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Manipur, Tripura, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands—which were centrally administered.

Bearing in mind that its first task was the 'presentation and strengthening of the unity and security of India' the commission warned against excessive deference to linguistic feelings, for 'further emphasis on narrow loyalties by equating linguistic region with political and administrative frontier must diminish the broader sense of the unity of the country. Nevertheless, the commissioned recommended new linguistic states for the south and it warned that "further deferment of a general reorganization will cause dissatisfaction and disappointment".

Listed in order of number of person speaking each language as a Mother tongue, the coincidence of language and state was as follows : Telegu-Andhra Pradesh; Tamil-Madras; Bengali-West Bengal; Kannada-Mysore; Malayalam-Kerala; Oriya-Orissa; Assamese-Assam.

Having in effect conceded the essentially linguistic basis of states (re)-organization, the Indian Government found that its decision were generally welcomed in most of the country, but definitely unpopular in linguistically frustated Bombay State and the Punjab. The Commission, also, disapproved the formation of tribal state, in spite of 'increasing' tribal nationalism in central India and in northeastern region.

On May 1, 1960, yielding at long last to the continuing agitation among both the Marathi—and the Gujrati-speaking peoples of Bombay State, the Government of India divided Bombay State into the two States of Gujrat, with a temporary capital

at Ahmedabad, and Maharashtra, with its capital in the city of Bombay. This brought the number of Indian States to fifteen.

The Naga, a district tribemen of the northeast under the political control of the Assam Government, had been claiming for complete independence since 1928. Since, they lacked any well-organized political organizations and parties, they could not succeed in their claims, rather, they were made to be part of Assam. When the member of the States Reorganization Committee visited them, they demanded for a separate Naga State. Since, the commission was against the creation of tribal state, the demand for a Naga State was rejected. However, in 1960, it was announced that the Indian Government had accepted in principle the demand for a separate Naga State, to be carved out of Assam, as one of the constituent unit of the Indian Republic. Finally, a separate Nagaland State was created in 1963, raising the number of States to sixteen. It was the first tribal state to be created in the Union. The creation of Naga State was designed to contain the growing discontent and hostile activities of Nagas against the Indian State.

The Akali Dal, the militant Sikh organization had long been demanding a separate Sikh State within the Union along the linguistic line, but the linguistic issue in the Punjab was complicated by the fact that the two main languages, Hindi and Punjabi, were linguistically similar, therefore, the bifurcation of the Punjabi Subha along linguistic line was not possible. However, locational vulnerability of the Punjabi Subha, being a frontier political unit, and the growing religious dicotomy between the Sikhs and the Hindus that made the Government of India to concede the demand leading to the bifurcation of the punjab in 1966. The Hindi-Hindu area of the Punjab were territorially grouped and then, taken out of the Punjab as a New State Haryana. Although, a simple study of the split of the Punjab may appear to be an outcome of linguistic chauvinism, but a deeper study would reveal that it was more a result of intolerance religiosity of the Sikh people. With the creation of Haryana the number of State in the Union rose to seventeen.

On account of being sandwiched between China in the north, Myanmar (Burma) in the east, and Bangladesh (eastwhite East Pakistan) in the southwest, the north-eastern region of the Indian Republic is linked to the mainland by a

narrow strip of land, called the chicken neck. Its location has always remained vital and vulnerable too. Here, the forces of disintegration were territorialized in such a way that the entire integration with the mainland always remained threatened. Moreover, the various tribal people had long been seeking to be recognized as Nation and sub-nation. It was a region of instability, in spite of several political changes. The process of political integration and organization of the north-eastern region, therefore, started with the enactment of the North-East Areas Recognition Act of 1972, and, as a result, there emerged the states of Meghalaya, Manipur, Tripura, Nagaland and the Union Territory of Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh which were latter given statehoodness. In fact, all these politics-territorial units were parts of Assam, and the tribal entities that belonged to there units had long expressed their discontent against the Assamese, and they strove for their recognition or nations and subnation. The organization of the northeastern areas was a geopolitical necessity. The reorganization of the northeastern regions pacified the feelings because of the attainment of the state-hood.

Creation of New states and bifurcation of States continued as a political process so as to strengthen the participatory-democracy on the one hand and to give territorial recognition of cultural entities on the other hand. Towards the end of the last century three States : Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh underwent bifurcation and/or split : Jharkhand (Bihar); Chhattisgarh (Madhya Pradesh) and Uttarakhand (Uttar Pradesh) were created. The territorial organization of these new states was necessitated to contain growing problem of tribalism and economic deprivation that the regions which were taken out and made states, underwent for years together. States like Assam, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh are likely to bifurcated in the coming future. The Government of India is seriously thinking to set up a second states Reorganization Commission to look into problems of Bodoland, Karbianglong, Cachar in Assam; Gorkhaland in West Bengal, Vidarbha in Maharashtra and Telangana in Andhra Pradesh. These are the sub-state units are some of them all district councils with some administrative power to deal with local affairs, therefore, the territorial organization of these sub-state territorial units either into Union Territories or into states, cannot be ruled out if the Indian state is to sustain the pressure of movement.

Incorporation of Foreign Possessions and their Organization

Portugal and France had some territorial possessions in the subcontinent and most of them occurred in the Peninsular Region of the Indian Republic. These were fine French possession : Chandernagor, Pondicherry, Karikal, Mahe and Yanaor. The first one integrated to India in 1949 without any referendum. While the remaining four were transferred to India by France on November 1, 1954 again without any referendum. Similarly the Portuguese possession like Dadra and Nagar Haveli merged with the Union on July 21, and August 2, 1954, but the Merger of Goa, Daman and Diu was not smooth, rather, these Portuguse territories were forced-acceded through the military actions. They became parts of the Indian territory on December 19, 1961.

People of these Portuguse and French possession had long desired to be assimilated in the Indian cultural system and they had supported all kinds of such movements that sought for their liberation from the foreign rule. Later, these territories were made either Union territories or merged with the neighbouring states of the Union Goa which was a Union Territory, later became a state of the Union.

In 1975, Sikkim became a part of the Indian Union through a referendrum. It was the 22nd state of the Union when it acceded to the Indian Republic. The accession was conditioned by an amendment to the constitution, passed in the parliament on April 26, 1975. The accession of Sikkim and the merger of the Portuguse and French territories, infact enlarged the spatial extent of the Republic, and the political geography of it, also, underwent some fundamental changes.

The Republic of India consists of a Mosaic of different nationalities and communities with territorial specification and identity and that makes it, rather, a geopolitical necessity to effect territorial re-alignment and re-adjustment, therefore, the process of the (re)-organization of the territories cannot be put to an end. Sub-state regionalism is the bey, at the moment, to call for realignment of territories for smaller to groups of cultural entities irrespective of their demographic size. Moreover, tribal nationalism, particularly, in central and northeastern parts of the Republic, is a dominant 'emerging' phenomenon that requires conscious effort on the part of the government to give territorial identity by organizing spatial dynamics i.e., to respect

the sense of attachment that the tribal nationalities have developed with this land once generation.

Linguistic reorganization and territorial organization, particularly, since 1953 have not weakened the Indian State, rather, they have strengthened the federal fabric of the Union to the extent as to have sustained the forces of disintegration. The earlier fear that the linguistic (re)-organization of territories would lead to the collapse of the Indian State system has proved wrong, rather in a participatory democracy such re-alignment of territories with cultural identities is a necessity.

Suggested Readings :

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3.4 Political Geography of Foreign Trade

“Every state carries on trade, however, limited in scope this may be in some instances. Trade may be a source of strength, or excessive dependence upon certain goods and markets may spell weakness. Trade can be, and sometimes has been, used as an instrument of policy, and an evaluation of the significance of trade in the power potential of the state is necessary..... The control of foreign trade became an instrument of policy during the middle Ages in Europe, and during the earlier centuries of modern times it was developed, in effect, into a powerful weapon” (Pounds, 1963 : 27 & 279).

Informal Imperialism and Trade

Keith Buchanan (1972) in his ‘The Geography of Empire’ has mainly concentrated on the contemporary dominance of the United States in the world-economy. He points out that whereas this decolonization process has provided formal independence from a single imperial state, it has not provided independence from the imperial systems as a whole. In world-system, there is a change of

strategy by core states from formal to informal imperialism, and it is through the control of trade that informal imperialism is sustained by the powerful core states. It is not a new phenomenon. The size of each hegemonic power has led to a period of informal imperialism through the control of the trade. There have been only three hegemonic powers in the history of world economy, and each is associated with one of the three classic examples of informal imperialism that revealed how the control of the world trade has helped developed the informal imperialism.

First, in the mid-seventeenth century Dutch hegemony was based, in large part, on the Baltic trade, where by Eastern Europe remained politically independent while becoming peripheralized. Dutch merchants dominated the trade, but there was no Dutch political control. Second, in the mid-nineteenth century Britain employed the 'imperialism of free trade', when Latin America became known as Britain's 'informal empire'.

Finally, in the mid-twentieth century American Hegemony was associated with decolonization, to be replaced by neo-colonialism—political independence of the periphery tempered by economic dependence.

In the above three cases of informal imperialism, the peripheral states did not gain from the openness of their national economies—Eastern Europe still lags behind Western Europe, Latin America is still a collection of peripheral and semi-peripheral states, and Africa and Asia are part of a 'South' periphery in which mass poverty has shown little sign of abating in recent decades. States that have 'caught up' have employed very different policies. This leads to the second paradox concerning free trade, which is that most politicians in most countries at most times have realized that it does not work. Most politicians have found that the interests of the groups they represent are best served by some political influence on trade rather than simply leaving it all to the 'hidden hand' of the market. This raises the question who is right—'economic theorists' or 'practical politician'? The answer is that they both are right sometimes. It all depends on the world economy location of the state in question. The table below shows how different trade policies are related to different zones of the world-economy through the three hegemonic cycles.

Table : Trade policies through hegemonic cycles

Cycle	Core	Semi-periphery	Periphery
	Universal theory	Political strategy	Dilemma are conflict
Dutch	Grotius's 'Mare liberum'	England Mun's Mercantilism France : Colbertism	Eastern Europe : Landowner vs burghers
British	Smith's 'laissez fair' Ricardo's comparative advantage	Germany : List's protectionism USA : Republican tariff policy	Latin America 'European party vs American Party'
American	Modern Economics orthodox's free enterprise	USSR Stalin's socialism in one country; Japan : hidden protectionism	Africa and Asia 'Capitalism vs Socialism'.

Source : P. J. Taylor & Colin Flinl (1985) : Political Geography. World Economy, nation-state & locality

The orthodox economic advocacy of free trade on a reflection of structural advantage of core powers, in particular hegemonic core power, in the world-economy. Such ideas can be traced back beyond Adam Smith to the original Dutch hegemony. Not surprisingly, the first great, trading state of the modern world-system was concerned for freedom of the seas, and this was expressed in the work of the Dutch political writer Hugo Grotius. His 'Mare Liberum' became the classic statement in international law justifying Dutch claims to soil wherever, there was trade to be carried on, in 1609. As the most efficient producers of commodities, hegemonic core states promote 'economic freedom' in the knowledge of that their producer can beat other producer in any competition : the Market favours efficient producers, and the efficient produces are concentrated in the hegemonic state by definition. In such a situation, it is in the interests of the rising hegemonic power to present freetrade as 'natural' and political control as 'interference'. Hence, from Grotius through Adam Smith to Modern economics, economic freedoms are presented as universally valid theory marking the self-interest of the economically strong. The orthodox economics, normally, represents a classic case of attempting to organize non-

hegemonic interests off the political agenda. There is nothing natural about free trade, the World Market or any other socially constructed institution.

All organization is a bias. However, in case of the World Market, it is clear that the bias is in favour of core states, and hegemonic core states in particular. The whole history of the world economy is testimony to this fact. The purpose of inter-state politics or rivalry is either to maintain this bias or to attempt to change it. The former political strategy is the free trade one, which is associated with informal imperialisms. This is neither more nor less 'political' than protectionism, mercantilism or formal imperialism, which attempt to change the 'status quo'. The former is political non-decision making, the latter is political decision making.

The most famous mid-nineteenth century German economist Friedrich List had attempted to nationalize his unorthodox position by arguing that there are three stages of development, each of which requires different policies. For the least advanced countries, free trade was sensible to promote agriculture. At certain stage, however, such policy must give way to protectionism to promote industry. Finally, when the latter policy has succeeded in advancing the country to 'wealth and power', then free trade is necessary to maintain supremacy. Both Modern champions of free trade—Britain and United States—were major advocates of mercantilist policies before their hegemonic period : England against Dutch and the United States against Britain. Since Germany in the mid-nineteenth century was a 'semi-peripheral' state in the world-economy it practical protectionism. Free trade was not good for Germany, particularly, for her infant industries which were yet to grow-up and develop. The USSR autarily—'socialism in one country'—'socialism in one country' and subsequent controlled trade can be best interpreted an anti-core development strategy of the USA, Britain, France etc. And the 'hidden protectionism' if past—Second War Japan is still an issue of convention with USA today.

There used to be disputes within the peripheral counties of the world-economy on the best trade policy in the mid-nineteenth century. In the mid-nineteenth century, Latin America was subject to intense revalry between the American interests and the European interest. The American interests concentrated on protection of local production and upnessented the local industrialist while the latter, i.e., European interests favoured free trade, supported by larded interests, who wished to export their products to the core and receive back better and cheaper

industrial goods than could be produced locally. European interests, however won the political contest and fair-trade triumphed. Free trade in the periphery of the world-economy was termed as 'peripheral strategy'. In Eastern Europe, the counter-Reformation represents the triumph of catholic landed interests over local bugher interests, because the landed interests there had adopted a peripheral strategy and opened up their economy to the Dutch. But, for long China practiced a protectionist trade policy. In any particular state the periphery, which strategy is adopted will vary with the interval balance of political forces and their relation to the core-interests. Asian and African have revealed both semi-peripheral and peripheral strategies—a combination of 'populist socialism' and 'capitalism' in their trading policies. However, in world-system, both semiperipheral and peripheral strategies failed politically and economically in most of the countries of Asia and Africa. Nevertheless, free trade on the tariff policy was advocated by the periphery because much of their external political space-relationship depended on it.

Mechanism of trade

Complete freedom of trade remain an idea whose realization must be judged highly improbable if not impossible. Nevertheless, some easing of restrains on trade in both possible and desirable.

During the latter nineteenth century and early twentieth, many states gradually raised the level of their tariffs, they began to grant preferential rater to those which they particularly desired to favour. Sometimes a state confined various degrees of preference, corresponding in some way with the political valuation set upon the friendship of each state. The most for reaching preferential trade agreements ever mode were those negotiated at Ottawa in 1933 by the member of the British commonwealth that a reversion to the earlier function of the British empire. The most important art of the empire was now mode up of self-governing Dominions, induct themselves on building up manufacturing industries. The commence of the British Empire was based on the export by Great Britain of finished and manufactured goods to her coloris in return for the import of raw materials and food stuffs. The Ottawa negotiation in 1933 was designed to straighten the political unity of the Empire.

The mechanism of preferential tariffs and the system of quotas being manipulated in order to weld political partners move closely together, to establish a political

dependence or conversely terminate the dependence of one state on another that might become hostile. Trade, in each such case, is being used as a weapon in a conflict. If peace is to be assumed, it is surely as necessary to remove the causes of economic warfare, as is to eliminate those of military conflict. A number of examples can be cited in this case of preferential tariffs, for example New Zealand, in order to secure a share in the British market for her better, cheese and frozen meat, entered into an agreement for preferential tariffs with Britain. The USA had once granted preferential tariff to Philippine sugar. India is contemplating to grant preference to Pakistani raw material, in a gesture to strengthen on-going confidence-building measures.

An alternative to preferential tariffs was the open door policy, that made trade more liberal. The new regulated commercial policy that emerged in the border areas was that all corners could be and, indeed had to be served, provided that there were good left for sale, and all corners were free to sell to the territories involved. There were to be no discriminatory or preferential tariffs. Tariffs were not forbidden, but they had to be the same for all. To secure open door for trade and commerce the hegemonic core power had often forced the Latin American, African and Asian countries. There are historical evidences to reveal that war was thrust upon the Spanish-American colonies by the British in the eighteenth century to secure entry in Latin America. In fact war resulted when the trading restriction exceeded. The war an extreme example of the exercise of a trade monopoly over a major part of the earth's surface.

It would have been desirable to extend the open door system more widely, but clearly no state would have readily opened its commercial door in this way and thus deny itself the use of the commercial weapon in the pursuit of its policies unless it had been certain that other states would follow its example.

In 1919 the opportunity arose of offering the 'open door' to the colonial territories taken from Germany during the First World War. There were in Africa and the Southwest Pacific, in all about ten separate territories. They were entrusted, as mandates, to other powers: France, Great Britain, Belgium, Japan, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. The door was 'open', though not wide open. The freedom to trade without payment of duties with the mandated territories was limited to the members of the League of Nations. However, some League member did not fully honour the obligation.

One of the mechanisms used in the nineteenth century towards liberalizing of trade was to write into commercial agreements a 'most-favoured-nation' (MFN) clause. By this clause in a treaty all favour which either contracting party has granted in the past, or will grant in the future, to any third state must be granted to the other party. In general effect of this clause was gradually to reduce the tariffs tends of all countries to the level enjoyed by the most-favoured trading partner of each. It was designed to make general the lowest tariff value with the object of securing more outlets for goods as old markets started showing declining trends not only in the global scale but also in the regional and local scales. The new countries were engaged in building up industries, some of them uneconomic and justified only by the strategic advantages to be gained from them. Such industries had, of necessity, to be highly protected. Nevertheless, tariffs were tending to increase irregularly in the 1920s.

Conferences designed to bring about a general lowering of tariffs met with little success, and the tension that resulted from this commercial conflict played a part, though certainly not an essential part, in generating the frictions that culminated in the Second World War. The root to every war has been paved with good intention. From the First World War, came proposals for liberalizing trade and for preventing control over trade and resources from being used as an instrument of political policy. Out of the Second World War came the Havana Conference of 1946, the Havana Charter, and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which was later replaced by the World Trade Organization (WTO).

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)

The Havana Charter was designed to secure a far-reaching liberalization of trade, and to create an atmosphere of peace in the international trade pattern. A compromise agreement was reached at Geneva in 1947 and was embodied in the agreement commonly known as GATT. More than half of the new countries that appeared on the ruins of the European colonial in Africa and Asia ratified this agreement, and these new states together with old serving states of Europe and North America became involved in 80 percent of the world's trade. The agreement laid down rules for the conduct of international trade and provided a reversionism for a wider extension of the most-favoured nation clause and for lowering of tariffs, easing of quota restrictions and prevention of the practice of dumping. The agreement also sought to regulate and simplify the rules governing goods in transit and the mechanics of

custom examination and valuation. Its operation nevertheless remained sufficiently elastic to give some protection to the under-developed. Newly emerged countries, which were trying to protect their young economics, and to some other countries caught in balance of payments difficulties and therefore obliged to limit imports. GATT had been trying to improve the need of developing countries to increase the exports and thus to earn the foreign exchange necessary for their own interval development.

As a result of the negotiation initiated by GATT ones the years, since its inception, states became able to buy and sell more widely than before, and given the fact that they normally bought and purchased in the cheapest market and that had encouraged the production of goods in areas best suited to produce than. GATT was confined to the non-Communist Block. The Communist Block had given shape to a trading block based on broad economic cooperation, however, with the Soviet Union, Monopolysing the trade block in a way as to ensure its political hegemony. This trading block was established in 1949, and was known as Council of Economic Mutual Assistance (CEMA) or COMECON.

The post-world war, then, had two main international trading system : (i) free-economic capitalist block, necessarily controlled by GATT, and (ii) controlled-socialist block, necessarily looked after by the USSR. These two international trading systems were mutually exclusive, and politically surcharged. Some newly independent countries, like India, that adopted a neutral geopolitical code in their foreign policies, preferred to maintain 'equi-distant' trading ties with the GATT and the COMECON, but most of the countries which got aligned with the US-sponsored political and military blocks, continued to be guided by the principles of GATT, so far as their international trade was concerned. However, GATT created economic differential between the rich and poor nations, between the developed and developing and under-developed countries. GATT become more political with the rich powerful core countries, welding considerable power and influence in deciding the destiny of the developing and under-developed poor countries of Asia-Pacific Ocean and African realm.

There are evidences to show the rich and hegemonic core power of the world-system had attempted to exploit the developing and under-developed countries for political ends by purchasing primary products from there countries, and selling them at higher rates elsewhere. This practice of buying a large part of either agricultural surplus or resources was not new, rather in the 1930s the German

government negotiated a series of agreements with the countries of southeastern Europe by which it undertook to buy a large part of the agricultural surplus of these countries. The inefficient agriculture of southeastern Europe could not find market and was in the dilemma outlined above. Germany rescued these countries, paying them relatively good. The whole exercise was politically motivated. It is practiced even today by the United States and Great Britain. Pre-emptive buying is buying up all a most of an available product in order to prevent anyone else from doing so. Pre-emptive buying, though a trade policy during the year, preceding the outbreak of the Second World, however, continued during the entire cold war period. The practice of the pre-emptive buying was necessitated by the political nature of the international trade pattern. This was usually practiced by the United States during the cold war period, that in order to prevent a strategic mineral of any African countries, falling into the hands of the USSR, it used to purchase the entire workable resource of the mineral. Even, today, when the world is threatened by the emerging Islamic terrorism, the United States is trying to go for pre-emptive buying of strategic minerals from such countries of Asia and Africa which have rich resources base of strategic minerals, so that those minerals could not fall in the hand of the terrorist. Russia is also trying to go for pre-emptive buying of such strategic mineral from the Central Asiatic Republics which have large resource of known strategic minerals, with the object of preventing them falling into the hands of the Muslim terrorist.

Nevertheless, the objective of pre-emptive buying is to place the seller in a dependent position politically. There used to be numerous examples of the use of the pre-emptive buying commercial policy for political ends as each block attempted to bring an uncommitted state into some kind of dependence upon itself during the cold war period.

The World Trade Organization : WTO

The World Trade Organization i.e., WTO was established on January 01, 1995, replacing GATT which became a centre of trade rivalry between the core and peripheral countries. The WTO was established with the object of regulating the international trade through a more conscious and conscious approach, however, without any pre-conceived notion of core-periphery conflict. It was aimed to be more effective and stronger than GATT in enforcing trade obligation over the member states of the WTO. The headquarter of the WTO is in Geneva. The blue print of it

was finalized during the Uruguay talks, held successing for several year, between the developed and developing and underdeveloped countries. One of the basic purposes of the WTO was to give effect to 28 multipurpose agreements which were finalized during the Uruguay talks.

The World Trade Organization was founded with the following basic principles :

1. To excute multi-purpose trade agreements which were included in the agenda;
2. To make available a common space and for a dias for all its member states for negotiations;
3. To help solve trading conflicts between the member states;
4. To monitor national trade policy of the member states;
5. To provide organizational and legal base for multi-purpose agreements, and
6. To maintain a coordination with other international agencies, related with the decision-making process of the international economic policy.

One of the distinguishing features of the WTO is the member of the member-states in the organization. It includes countries like that which used to be members of the former CEMA or COMECON. The fall of the Socialist Regime in the lobe 80s and the early 90s in Eastern Europe with the collapse of the Soviet Union had opened up a new vista in the international order and that had its impact the international trade pattern. Former socialist countries of East Europe, such as Romania, Bulgaria, Poland etc. and most of the C'S (Commonwealth of Independent States that emerged after the collapse of the USSR) also became member of the WTO. Even China switched over to the Market economy along with Russia, which had earlier opposed the formation of the WTO. Then, the areal extent of the WTO, across the surface of the planet expanded and widened to incorporate all the independent and dependent political regions. The area of operation of GATT was limited, but that of WTO, it has been consistently increasing its area of operation over the years. A fundamental difference between GATT and WTO is that while the former was mainly concerned with the trade of the commodities while the latter is necessarily concerned with the services and intellectual property rights, besides trader in the various commodities. Some of the fundamental principles besides the aforesaid basic principles of the World Trade Organization are :

- (i) To reduce discriminatory behaviour among the member-states, with regard to trading partnership. The most favoured nation states be given to all trading partners, if and there should be no discrimination in giving MFN states—the principle is that if any state desires trading to reduce tariffs and concession on particular commodities it must be given to all member-states of the organization. Apart from it, there cannot be any discrimination between the imported goods and home products, rather the two should be treated equally.
- (ii) Through agreements, member-states should strike to reduce obstacles, coming in the way of trading relation between them, with the object of establishing open trading system; border taxes and tariffs be reduced to such level as to widen the openness of the system;
- (iii) To reduce subsidies on the export, and
- (iv) Need to introduce maximum uniform rates for border tariffs by the member-states.

Member-states of the World Trade Organization arrived at on the following three major agreements; which include :

- (1) General agreement on coast taxes and trade which included all industrial products and other consumable items.
- (2) General agreement on services which have impacts on trades on banking insurance advice and other;
- (3) Agreements on intellectual property rights which have impacts on patent, copyright and trade marks etc.

Liberalization, privatization and globalization have widened the geography of the World Trade Organization to the extent as to have spread across the length and breadth of the world-system, however, with a new world-order/world-economy. But, the political geography of the World Trade Organization is now, involved in a conflictual spatial global pattern of trading relation between the developed and the developing and under-developed nation with former attempting to imposing their trading hegemony over the latter, i.e., this developing and poor nation and they have been resisting hegemonistic attempts at each and every global meet of the World Trade Organization since its inception in 1995, both this 'developed' and 'developing' countries had clashed with each other over the

questions of subsidy to agricultural products patent and right intellectual property rights, and doping etc.

Free Zones and Free Ports

World Trade Organization has emphasized the creation of more free zones and free ports, in an attempt to boost liberalization and privalization in the foreign trade potentials.

A free zone is just a convenience, designed to allow goods from several countries to be gathered together at major shipping, or entrepots, from which they can be more conveniently shipped to distant parts of the world. Some parts of the world have so little trade of this own—i.e., trade in goods which are produced or consumed in the state in question—that they are overwhelmingly entrepots. Hongkong is a good example. A free zone such as on Stalen Island, in the port of NewYork, is quite indegnate to meet the demands/needs of Hongkong, which is entirely a free port to which commence of Formes (Taiwan) and the Chinese mainland, of the Philippines, Vietnam, and Campuchia and of the other ASEAN countries is brought for transshipment and export to Europe, America, or other distant parts of the World. Singapore and Tangier fulfill a similar function. Gibraltar is also a free port, thought its importance, compared with that of the other named, is quite small.

Free ports generally occur in countries which have rather, very small territorial extent, and have in any case very low tariffs. It is technically difficult to develop a free port in a country which maintain a high tariffs to the case with which smuggling could be carried on. Aden, the Canary Islands, Colon, on the Panama Canal, and Port Said, on the Suez Canal are examples of traditional free ports.

However, only a section of a port, the free zone, is thus free of customs. Free zones occur in many parts of the World but are most common in Europe. Free zones in the United States were established without any intention of providing a convenience for one country in particular. However, free zones in the Scandinavian countries serve the needs of all countries. These were much political conflicts with regard to the formation of freezones vis-a-vis free ports for land-locked countries of Southeast Europe like former Czchoslovakia which got a ninetynine year lease of free zones in the German ports of Hambing and Stettin, as per the Treaty of Vevsailler, but it created lots of geographical problem for Czechoslovakia. And, in

order to get rid of politics-strategical problem, Czechoslovakia entered into an agreement with Italy in 1921, for the use of a free zone in the Italian port of Trieste.

Hungary, another landlocked state in Southeastern Europe also negotiated for the use of free zones in Trieste and Fiume (Rijeka). France similarly used Belgium ports, similarly arrangements were there for the handling of Polish commerce in the port of Danzig (Gdansk) up to 1939. The Palestine state before the formation of Israel offered to Iraq the use of a free zone in the port of Haifa which the latter declined to accept. Until 1939, USSR had such sights in the Latvian port of Riga. There are three free-zones in the ports of Beirut and Tripoli (Lebanon), designed to serve the needs of the Middle Eastern States in their hinterlands, and the port of Arica, in northern Chile, which, in a similar fashion used to serve the needs of Peru and Bolivia. Similar arrangements still exist for the handling of the Nepalese and the Bhutanese commerce in the Indian port of Calcutta. The arrangements were finalised during the British period, but have been given a new orientation through fresh agreements between India and Nepal and India and Bhutan.

The free city is an extension of the meaning and purpose of the freezone and free port. Danzig (Gdansk) was a best example of free city. The reasons for its creation/ establishment as a free city were manifold, but the most important were : its population was overwhelmingly German, yet as a port, its main function was to serve the commerce of Poland. There was reason to believe that Polish interests would not be well served if the port were a port of Germany, yet to allow it to be incorporated in Poland would be violate the political aspirations of most of its citizens. So the city of Danzig (Gdansk) was a made a free city, responsible to the League of Nation. Danzig was in a custom union with Poland, though politically separated, but it lost its free city status during the Nazi regime. Similar situation arose in case of Fiume (Rijeka) which was mainly Italian in population, but had to serve as outlet for hinterland that had become mainly Yugoslav. Allotted first to Yugoslavia, then siezed by D'Annunzio, Fiume was established as a free city in 1920 and ultimately incorporated it into Italy. Since 1945, Fiume (Rijeka) has again become a port of Yugoslavia.

Right to Transit

It, in fact, came to be accepted that an inland and land locked state has the right, "to have the same facilities for access to the sea.....as if the journey had taken place

on the territory of single state". The issues involved were classified at the Barcelona Conference on Freedom of Transit. About forty nation signed the convention on Freedom of Transit that was adopted in 1921, and thirty-two them immediately ratified the convention. The signatories undertook to assist the movement of goods across their territories, to levy no discriminatory tolls or taxes, and to fix freight charges which, 'having regard to the conditions of the traffic and to consideration of commercial competition between routes, an reasonable as regards both their rates and the method of their application.

Legally, then, such island and landlocked states got the right to export and import goods through any convenient ports across the territory of their neighbours, on there had all acceded to the Barcelona conference. British India permitted Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim to use the port of Calcutta vis-a-vis the transit right. Nepal and Bhutan still enjoy the privileges of the right transit right for their foreign trade.

Some countries which did not sign the international convention nevertheless entered into bilateral agreements with their neighbours, permitting them the right of access to the sea. The movement of Canadian goods across northern Maine to the Mailtime Province and the port of Halifax was governed by an Anglo-American Convention of 1871, and that treaty is still valid to be carried forward.

While there has no change in the legal status of transit rights during part couple of decades, the actual practice of nations has probably deteriorated on the whole. States have used as an instrument of national policy their ability to interfere with the right of transit of goods across their territory. The Middle Eastern Islami countries have consistently interfered with the rights of Israel that included obstruction and destruction of pipelines.

The threat or even the fear that transit rights would be denied has prevented some countries from making use of rights which were legally theirs. Though there has been no overt interference with the movement of goods, the fear of such interference has not always been absent from India and Pakistan and from Turkey and Syria. The freedom of movement established between the two world wars was prejudiced by the division of the greater part of the world into two hostile camps. The East-West divide by the Iron Curtain and Bamboo Curtain during the hey-days of the cold war, greatly obstructed and restricted the transit rights to countries falling within there restrictive geo-political bindings. The fall of the Socialist

Regime with the cessation of the cold war vis-a-vis superpower confrontation has greatly reduced the restrictive approaches that the countries experienced with regard to this Trade and Commerce across their neighbours territories.

The right to sail the high seas is an absolute right guaranteed in international law. The territorial water over which a state claims sovereignty are also regarded as "open to merchantman of all nation for inoffensive navigation....and it is the common conviction that every state has by customary international law the right to demand that in time of peace its merchantman may inoffensively pass through the territorial maritime belt of every often state".

Bulk of the international trade is Maritime trade and is conducted by nearer of ships, which are loaded and unloaded in ports. The right of access to ports is clearly fundamental importance, and was assured in a convention, held in Geneva in 1921, under the auspices of the League of Nation. The international trades through the straits are still governed by the guidelines laid down at that convention. The straits of Gibraltes, the Turkish straits, the Danish straits and the straits of Magellan, and the straits of Malacia are the only straits that have been subject to international regulation, and in each instance it has been agreed that they should be open to all peaceful marigation. The rule thus established and applied may be said to apply to all other states.

Canals which have been cut from sea to sea and all large enough to be used sea-going ships are analogous to straits. They can be regarded as artificial straits of extreme nonowner. The movements across the canal, like the Suez Canal, the Panama Canal, the Kiel Canal and Cornith Canal and still guided by the resolution of the Geneva Convention of 1921 that read! "Canals shall be free and open to all vessel of commerce of all nations on team of entire equality, so that there shall be no discrimination any such nation, or its citizen, or subjects, in respect of the conditions or changes of traffic or otherwise".

The Maritime traffic/trade across the Suez Canal had to be governed by the 1888 Suez Canal Convention, which was held in Constantinople, that said : "The Suez Maintain Canal shall always be free and open, in time of won as in time of peace, to every usual of commerce or of war, without distinction of flag. Consequently, the High contacting Parties agree not in any way to interfere with the free use of the canal, in time of war as in time of peace".

But the nationalization of the Suez Canal by Egypt in 1956 and its closure in 1956 and 1967, and in 1973 had serious economic repercussions in the rest of the

world. Egypt was attacked by Britain, France, and Israel for the opening of the canal. Egypt had often closed the trade movement across the Suez Canal, particularly when the wars broke out in the Middle East, between Israel and Arab Nation. The Suez Canal was long closed during the 1973 Israel-Arab war when the Arab Nation put all embargo against the West, and that continued for ten year. The closure of the Suez Canal in 1973, forced the cargo vessels of the western and eastern nation to take long route round the cape of Good Hope. The trade was badly hit and became time-concerning. The closure of the Suez Canal, in fact, made the Panama Canal more involved so far as the west-bound and the east-bound trades were concerned. Egypt was found to withdraw the ban it imposed on the movement of goods across the Suez Canal. It found the UN economic sanction that had bad effect on its economy and international understanding.

Similarly, the Kiel Canal was entirely at the disposal of Germany until 1919. Its purpose was as much strategic as commercial. However, the Treaty of Versailles declared the canal to be open to the peaceful trade and commerce of all nation, and as subsequent decision of the Permanent Court of International Justice : “..... It has become an international waterway intended to provide easier access to the Baltic for the benefit of all the nation of the world the Kiel Canal must be open without any distinction between war vessels and vessel of commerce. In 1936, the German government denounced the clause of the Treaty of Versailles, and allowed passage only to vessels of states, which it regarded as friendly to itself. With the end of the second World War, the canal has again been open as condition of equality, though this new freedom is yet to be guaranteed by any international treaty.

Then, all canals which are suitable for oceangoing vessels and whose function is to join sea to sea are open as freely to the shipping of the world as straits, but the examples renew that this freedom was not achieved without great difficulty, and in face of the vested interest and exclusive privileges of many states.

Role of Pipeline in Petroleum trade

The role of pipeline has assumed a special geopolitical significance following the importance of petroleum in international trade. It is usually transported in specially built and equipped vessels, but the cost of transportation of petroleum by specially built vessels is relatively high, but the cheapest cost is by pipeline. Transcontinental pipeline and/or intra-continental pipeline across the territory of

one or two or more countries necessarily reveals the transit right that an island or landlocked country enjoys for trade and commerce. The first international agreement to construct a pipeline was made between Great Britain and France and related to the Middle Eastern lands for which they had mandate. It was not until 1932-1934 that pipelines were completed from the Iraqi oil fields to the Syrian port of Tripoli and the Palestine port of Haifa. During the cold war period, the COMECON countries of the Socialist East Europe were linked with the USSR through pipelines for the flow of petroleum from the USSR to these countries. India and Iran are trying hard to come to an understanding for the flow of petroleum from Iranian oil fields to India through Pakistan's territory. The negotiation is going on between India, Iran and Pakistan.

The construction of an international pipeline for the inland flow of petroleum raises a problem of transit more complex than those considered so far. An international pipeline requires the construction of new transportation facilities, and one, furthermore, may be of no direct value to the state whose territory is nearly crossed by it. Pakistan has raised this issue to both India and Iran as to what benefit would it get if it allows its territory to be crossed by the India-Iran petroleum and gas pipeline? In spite of being the cheapest means of conveying oil overland it is also one that is most vulnerable. A number of interstate oil pipelines have found closure because of conflictual patterns of relationship between the states at the regional and continental levels.

For a state to draw a considerable part of its oil supply by pipeline across the territory of a neighbour implies a considerable degree of trust. Pipelines can be built only as a result of international agreement by the countries directly concerned. Although the tripartite agreement between India, Iran and Pakistan is in the process with regard to the construction of an Iran-India pipeline through Pakistan, but the possibility of interruption of the transit traffic in oil and natural gas in the Pakistani territory cannot be ruled out.

International air transportation

Not much trade is done by air transportation because (i) very high cost of transportation is involved; (ii) Not all kinds of goods can be transported through air navigation; (iii) there are specific corridors which require to be maintained for air transportation; and (iv) there is a specific fly limit for the air-back traffic.

However, it is a principle of international law that a state theoretically possesses sovereignty over its own air space as fully as it does over what lies in the rocks

beneath its surface. There has been some question whether this sovereignty extends indefinitely outward into space and the most widely held opinions are that it does, at least, as far out as powered aircraft can fly.

The convention for Regulation of Aerial Navigation was drawn up at the Paris Conference in 1919 that said : "...every state has complete and exclusive sovereignty in the airspace above its territory and territorial water". The participating countries, however, undertook to accord to all other signatories the 'right of innocent passage' while reserving the right to restrict and to limit this right for reasons of safety and/as strategy.

After the end of the Second World War, there was another convention on International Civil Aviation in 1947 and it followed the likes of the Paris convention of 1919. The new convention asserted the 'right of innocent passage and also the 'right to make emergency landing in the territory of other state. This new convention was ratified by all such states which became dependent upon the USA, but the COMECON states with dependence on the USSR remained outside the purview of the convention. International trade through air transportation, then was necessarily confined between the US allies of northwestern and western Europe, and the items mostly consisted of light goods and pharmaceutical products, including light motor vehicles. Gradually, air trade expanded between the USA and Japan.

The cessation of the cold war and the end of the superpower rivalry in the 90s of the last century widened the scope of the international air trade, on the former COMECON countries joined the international network for trade and commerce in light goods and pharmaceutical products.

However, every country today still restricts flights across its territory by the airplanes of other countries, usually allowing them to use certain specific corridors. Corridors created as a result of the East-West conflict after the Second World War ceased to be operated following the end of the superpower rivalry and the cold-war as well in the early to 90s of the last century. Long-distance flights have made the air transportation of goods and other manufactured products quite easier, but the availability of air-fields of that level is yet more serious difficulties owing to the length of runway required by the long-distance jet planes.

The air trade is mostly confined to the North Atlantic region particularly, between the developed countries on the either sides of the North Atlantic Ocean, between the countries of the European Union, and between USA-Canada and Japan, and between the European Union and Japan. The former Socialist and Communist States together with the developing countries still lag behind in all-bourne trade.

However the technical requirements of air-craft and the restriction of states over which the aircrafts fly combine to hamper a mode of transportation that should be freest of all.

The above discussion reveals that there is much politics in international trade. Even after the end of the cold and super power rivalh, the politics stile continues to effect the pattern of foreign trade. The developed countries carry on more trade in the aggregate but they carry it on principally with each other. The developed and the most industrialized states are the most important trading partners of one another, while the developing and less developed countries carry on very limited trade between themselves. Most of their relatively small volume of trade is with the developed countries. A large part of world's trade consists of the exchange of the manufactured product of the developed countries for the raw materials and food-stuffs of the developing and less-developed countries. There is a direct association between the volume of trade per head and the level of economic development. This can be tested by running a correlation between GNP per capita and forign trade per capita. Nevertheless, the North-South geopolitical differentials, each and conflictual pattern greatly control the pattern of international trade with contemporary world.

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Unit 4 □ Politics of World Resources; Political and Economic Blocks, Political Geography of Foreign Trade

Structure

4.1 Politics of World Resources

4.2 Political and Economic Blocks

4.1 Politics of World Resources

Resources in the context of Political geography can be defined as 'anything a nation has, can obtain, or can conjure in support to its strategy'. Such a definition is certainly wide, as it should be for resources are as tangible as soil, an intangible as leadership, as measurable as population, as difficult to measure as patriotism. There is no common unit and no statistical summation is possible. Power is defined as the 'capacity to participate in the decision making process, may be at the regional or global level, whichever is geopolitically suitable or required'. There is a positive relationship between resource and national power, but it does not mean that the resources-rich nation are powerful nation in the world deciding the global politics. If we look at the various global cycles of world economy, put forward by Modelski and Kondratieff, we find that the earlier nation that initiate world-empires in different centuries were not resource-rich nation in true sense of the term. Or, we can say that the earlier core countries such as Portugal, the Netherlands and Great Britain that dominated the world politics since the fifteenth century to the early part of the twentieth century were not resource-rich countries, yet they decided the destiny of the world. Even today, Japan can be cited as an example of a resource-deficient country, but it plays a decisive role in the world-system being one of the core countries.

Nevertheless, resources constitute an element of national power, because the economic strength that a nation owns, is all due to the resources available within its territory. Economic strength is, therefore, an instrument of political power that given the nation the capacity to participate in the decision-making process. It is impossible to consider the population of a nation, its efficiency and effectiveness, without at the sometime discussing the natural resources which available to its use. Soil, minerals,

and metals may be regarded as primary resources in the estimate of national power. Scanty of natural resources puts strain on the national power vis-a-vis the national policy, and the nation loses its relevance in the regional politics.

Few resources can be used in the forms in which nature has given them to us. They need to be smelted, refined and fabricated. Potential resources, that might be made available only after the difficult and costly laying down of a railroad and construction of mines and smelters, all of which might take five or more year, do not greatly help. If the decision-making authority initiates a policy now, it needs the support of resources at once, not at some hypothetical date in the future. Of course, it might take plans for futures action and delay the implementation of there plants until specific resources are available for immediate use. Such integration of resource planning with the states external policy has been known. On several occasion in the past centuries the responsible power in a state were forced to admit that : 'we shall be in a position to risk was only if certain resources are available' and thus to delay political action until a safety margin in resources has been achieved. So in order to be considered in the military power potential of the state, the resources must be developed and available or available after only a very short delay. The stage of industrial development of a state is of prime importance in the power potential. Not all industries, of course, add to a state's power or contribute to its ability to enforce its policy as to resist demands that might be made to it.

S. B. Jones (1954) proposed a fivefold classification of the degree of availability of resources :

1. Power resources available immediately. These include active mines and factories which are already producing objects with immediate power potential such as the steel sheet, and chemical fertilizer.
2. Resources available only after activation. Among such resources would be standly equipment and any plant not currently in production. In a sense, then resources also include the mothball fleet. The time required for activation varies from few hours to several week according to the need for 'warming up'. An integrated steel works might require two to three weeks before full production would be reached.
3. Resources available only after conversion. An automobile factor could turn from the production of cars to that of light trucks only after retooling, that might take many months unless jigs and other equipment has been prepared in advance. Similarly most factors producing consumer goods could convert

to the manufacture of goods having power potential only after a considerable time lag.

4. Resources available only after development, such on fuel resources or ore deposits known to exist but awaiting the opening up of a mine or the construction of a processing plant. Such resources had given much comfort to American in the past but which are less comforting now. The decision to resort to war is likely to be made only in the light of resources that are already in some phase of development. On the other hand, if a war should last longer than expected, it is likely that resources, undeveloped at the start, would be exploited before the conclusion. The construction of such highways on the Burma Road or the Alaskan Highway are in effect, wartime resource development which were not wholly anticipated when the war began and also the development of the atomic bomb.
5. Hypothetical resources, coal, petroleum, ore bodies and other resources where existence is only presumed but not proved cannot be said to have any power value. To this category must also belong the future development of cheap nuclear power, the harnessing of the tide and the air, and the use of other such potential resources. The atomic bomb was hypothetical until 1945.

The degree of the availability of resources are of course not rigidly separated pigeonholes, but they do differ in kind as well as in degree. A given power resource is not confined to one category. Many exist in all time-fold classification of degree of the availability. Oil, for example, may be immediately available in storage tanks. Idle wells and refineries can be activated. Non-essential use can be curtailed—this would be conservation. New wells may be drilled in proven fields—this is development and favourable structures may be wildcatted on the hypothesis that oil exists in them. Intangibles like leadership can exist in all fine degree of availability of resources. How power resources are distributed through the availability series reflect the national strategy vis-a-vis the global politics. The United States for example, traditionally has left as much of its power as possible in the convertible and development states (levels). This is the reason that it tends to determine the destiny of the world politics, particularly, since the cessation of the cold war and the super-power confrontation. The USA would spring to arms overnight if they were attacked as it was noticed during the terrorist attack on September 11, 2001. It has a maximum sustainable rate to play a very decide dominant and deciding role in regional and global politics.

The degree of availability of resources, mentioned above are closely related to three aspects of the national economy : fat, slack and flexibility.

A state sometimes possesses, in addition to the types of a resources already mentioned. External assets, such as overseas investment, or currency holdings. It is usually desirable to hold to these, but they could be sacrificed, i.e., they could be used to purchase other resources needed more immediately. Great Britain sold foreign investments in order to be able to purchase resources during both the world war and also traded certain Caribbean bases for a number of old destroyers, which in 1940 constituted a much more valuable resources than a few square miles of soil in the West Indies. Such expendable resources are sometimes called 'fat'.

'Slack' is another surplus aspect of resources : the failure to make the fullest use of existing resources. This is particularly noticeable in reference to labour. A forty-hour week could be increased to forty-five or forty-eight hours, at the sametime, a plant that operates on a one—or two shift basis could be used all the time. In wartime such slack is always taken up quickly and is used to replace the services of labor that is taken into the armed forces.

The term 'flexibility' is the ability of an economy to permit rapid shifts from those kinds of production which are not essential in wartime to there which are essential is a sign of its flexibility such as "the ability of technicians to make typewriter factories over into machine gun factories".

'Fat' and 'slack' correspond to resources available after activation, and 'flexibility' covers the two concepts of 'convession' and 'development'. The United States of America is perhaps, the only country in the contemporary world-systems which has the requisite potential with regard to the degree of availability of resources, including 'fat', 'slack' and 'flexibility'. The United States, known for its relatively high wages, advanced technology and a diversified production mix, for the past half-a-century, or more domina, has been dominating the global geopolitics, dictating the destiny of the peripheral countries of the world-system. The other core countries of the world-system are no where close to the USA in term of the power potentials with regard to the leguce of availability of resources, including 'fat', 'slack' and 'flexibility'.

"Possession of large reserves of essential minerals and mineral fuels is an asserit of great importance, and possession of a 'corner' on a rare but essential mineral—petroleum or the terro-alloy metals—could be the pretext for a species of political blackmail".

Food Resources :

“An adequate supply of foodstuffs is a condition of human welfare, and its assurance is necessarily a primary preoccupation of government. If a food supply is not assured in time of peace, it certainly would be precarious in wartime, when movement and transportation are usually more restricted and the labor force available to produce it is reduced. A state usually needs to be able to call upon a reserve food supply in emergencies of this kind”.

No power in the contemporary world can claim to be completely self-sufficient in respect to foodstuffs, because in instance in the area large enough to embrace the variety of environment necessary to produce the range of food that is now thought desirable. Among the core countries the United States and France come closest to being self-sufficient, while China and India are to an extent, lying close to being self-sufficient that is exemplified by their agricultural growth during the past few years. The USA, China and India are large state with variety of environment, enabling the countries to produce the range of food, from tropical to temperate qualities. It is true that these three countries including France also, could survive without importing foodstuff for a considerable time, if necessary, though diets may become somewhat monotonous and some form of rationing would be unquestionably necessary. Brazil is also emerging as a self-sufficient state. It also produces variety of foodstuffs. Australia is a surplus state in terms of wheat production like that of Argentina. Their wheat production much exceeds that of their requirement, so the surplus they export to European and Asian countries. Argentina used to export wheat to Great Britain, but during the First World War, it stopped exporting wheat to Great Britain, forcing it to import wheat from its old European rival : France.

Russia, though largest country in the world, very often depends on the import of foodstuffs, particularly, wheat from the western country. Even during the cold war period, the United States of America used to export wheat to the former USSR, despite the fact that the two were mutually exclusive and engaged in war politics of what was called the ‘superpower rivalry’. Russia is often faced with the problem of ‘crop-failure’, and that could be the reason of the being dependent on the import of the foodstuffs. Russia could not make substantial increase in the field of agriculture. It is more concerned with the development of its military potential rather than agricultural potential.

However, the United States, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium and host of other countries are dependent on imported foodstuffs and that must be counted as a

negative element in its power inventory. A successful land or water blockade can cut off the supply of imported food, and during the past, a significant object of strategy had been to do just this. In the World War I the German submarine warfare so reduced the movement of foodstuffs into Great Britain that the possibility of starvation became very real. During the World War II, the same strategy was less successful than during the first, largely because convoys could be protected more effectively by means of aircraft. It was a policy of the Allied power in both the wars to cut off the supply of goods to Germany.

The United Kingdom and Japan are very much vulnerable to a blockade, partly because of their heavy dependence on imported food, partly also because, surrounded as they are by the sea, the danger of a blockade is all the greater. Same is the condition with the Persian Gulf countries, particularly, Iraq and Iran that their import of food-stuff supply can be cut off by the US fleet, guarding the straits of Hormuz. The United States of America has already threatened Iran of grave consequence including blockades if it proceeds with its nuclear programmes. Taiwan is vulnerable to a blockade by China. Conflicts in Africa, between the countries, may be said to emerge from food shortage and starvation. Food has always been a strategic issue in international politics and is often used to gain access to the foreign policy affairs of the needy countries. During the 1960s of the last century when India faced a worst famine, the American help was conditional, and quite for sometimes India had to carry on the US obligation in her external space-relationships, or in other words, quite for sometimes, the U.S. influence was very much reflective in India's foreign policy, but the crisis in that Pakistan in 1971 and America's consistent military support to Pakistan compelled India more into Russian fold for survival.

Mineral Resources

Distinguishing between the strategic relevance of food resources and mineral resources in the political geography of the state, Pounds (1972) made the following observation that. "The situation concerning mineral resources differ, however, in two major respects from that of food resources. In the first place, the soil, given careful management, will go on producing without significant variation. Mineral resources, however, are exhaustible and every known deposit if worked continuously, will run out. Mineral resources are consequently, an unstable factor in national power. Second, food resources are, by and large, peristable. It is true that 'wheat and other grains can be stored for many years, but this usually necessitates a careful control of humidity and temperature as well as protection from insects and rodents. Most

minerals, on the other hand, can be stocked-piled, and the majority do not deteriorate if left exposed to the weather. These two greatly modify the intrinsic power implication of mineral resources”:

The extraction of mineral resources is more narrowly localized than the production of crops. There are few inhospitable parts of the earth's surface that one not capable of yielding some foods, but mineral resources are distributed much less regularly than cultivable soils. Not a single developed state is self-sufficient. Therefore, there is large trade in minerals—both fuels and minerals from which metals are obtained. Trade in minerals, some the beginning of the world-economy, has been a potential strategic weapon in the regional and global politics. Even within, a nation, the movement of minerals from the producing area to the consuming areas after creates much heat when the question of the payment of royalty arises.

Fuel resources : Coal of all kinds as well as petroleum and natural gas are more widely distributed than most metallic minerals. If chronology is to be developed then it can be said that coal in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century was an index of power potential. Those countries in Europe that wielded power such as Great Britain, France and Germany, and the Czarist Russia, were the major coal producing countries, and their industrial complexes were situated in the vicinity of coal fields that provided the essential fuel. It was indeed a reality that the balance of power in the continent during the late nineteenth century was always in favour of these countries which used to produce bulk of Europe coal, and where core processes were dominant to control the world politics. The rise of the United States in the early twentieth century can also be attributed to the coal 'factor' that its industrial hub—the source of its military potential also lay in the vicinity of the Appalachian coal areas. The occurrence of coal in Great Britain, Germany, France, Russia, and the USA in the earlier part of the twentieth century largely destined the military potentials of these countries on the eve of the out-break of the World War I. Except Russia, all these North Atlantic littoral countries emerged as the most industrialized nation of the contemporary world to determine the world politics.

Modern China is a 'coal-based' power in the contemporary world, so is India, emerging on the pattern as a regional power. However there was little politics involved with regard to the movement of coal from the surplus producing countries to the coal deficient countries. Much of the African and Latin American countries do not have substantial coal reserves and these countries have attempted to alternative source of fuel. Earlier, these used to be trade in coal but the fuel was never used as a weapon in the diplomatic circle.

In some areas hydroelectric power has been developed as an alternative to solid fuel. Naturally the trend is most marked in countries short of a lacking in coal. Switzerland, Australia, Italy, France, Norway, Sweden in Europe, Japan in Asia, Canada to an extent) in North America. These countries have developed bulk of their water power potentials. The development of waterpower or hydroelectric power requires huge capital investment which the countries in the periphery of the world system cannot sustain. Coal is certainly the cheap source of fuel power, and developed countries harnessed this cheap source of power to satisfy their economic and political developments.

Petroleum soon replaced coal as the alternative source of fuel necessary for industry and transport. It was found to be more 'desirable' and 'flexible' than coal in term of potentialities. International trade in petroleum and petroleum products is far more important than that in coal. There is much politics involved in the movement of petroleum. Much of the crisis arising out of the super power rivalry during the cold war period was centred on the Middle East oil.

West European nation, particularly Great Britain, France, Germany (West) and Italy soon switched over to petroleum on the chief source of fuel for in their industries and transportation. Declining coal production, however, compelled them & depend heavily on the supply of the Middle East oil. Most of the oil fields in the Middle East were in the hands of the foreign companies of there West European countries. These foreign companies used & take the bulk of the royalties earned from the oil sale. It was during the Suez crisis in 1956 that the geopolitics of petroleum was realised when the Arab nations of the Middle East stopped the oil flow to European countries which well involved in the Suez crisis. By the time of the Suez crisis, the USA had already started importing oil from the Arab nation. After the European industries were badly hit when the flow of oil was stopped. The Middle East oil-producing Arab nation formed an organization called OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries), to Monitor the oil price at the international market. In the meantime, the Arab nation started nationalising the oil wells which the western countries resisted, but failed. Again in 1967 and in 1973 during the Arab-Israel war, the Arab nation stopped the oil flow to the Western Countries that sided with Israel. This step created acute energy crisis in the west, worst hits were Great Britain, France, West Germany, Italy and Japan. For long the embargo continued crisis in the Middle East has always been petroleum-oriented. The discovery of oil in the North Sea, and in some non-conventional areas has to an extent, lessened the

Western dependence on the Middle East oil. Russian oil is getting an access to West European countries.

There is non much politics with regard to the flow of natural gas from Iran to India across Pakistan, and from Myanmar to India across Bangladesh. India and Iran have long agreed for this movement of natural gas but some have international politics has put some hurdles so that it cannot initiated, and in case of Myanmar which had earlier agreed to the pipeline proposal, ultimately concluded a treaty with China. Bilateral relation have worseweb. The intervening countries : Pakistan and Bangladesh have also played wrong politics, sabotaging the proposed deals.

Nuclear and atomic power have now emerged as the industrial power and some countries, such as the USA, Russia, France, Great Britain, Germany, Japan and even India and China have made technological advance in this power sector. The atomic power is being used for industrial purpose. However, it is too early to say that the use of atomic power has done more than underline the existing power ratios among the states of the world.

Second in importance only to strategic fuels are the strategic metals. The significance of steel and of a number of non-ferrous metals, especially copper, aluminium, lead, zinc, in, manganese, nickel and a number of other necessary metals, needs no emphasis. They are even more necessary in time of war for the manfactor of large quantities of military equipment. It has been commonly held that the loss of control over any such materials in war-time is a matter of very grave concern. The loss of the tin mines of Malaya to the Japanese, the cutting off of the Swedish iron-ore supply by the German, even the possession by the enemy of the mercury mines of Italy and Yugoslavia well thought to hold serious consequences to the Allied powers during the Second World War. Strategic minerals are defined "as those minerals required for essential uses in a war emergency, the procurement of which in adequate quantities, qualities and time is sufficiently uncertain for any reason to require prior provision for the supply thereof. No country can possibly be self-sufficient in this range of minerals through the United States and Russia more nearly approach self-sufficiency than any others.

It is difficult to estimate the importance of the possession of metallic ores in assessing national power, but it is easy to overestimate the importance of minerals in the power equation, and it is almost incorrect to claim that wars have been taught merely to gain possession of ore deposits. However, if wars are not fought for control of economic resources, this control is nevertheless an important weapon in war. The

restriction, by whatever means, of the enemy's access to scarce materials is a legitimate policy of war. This may be affected by direct blockage, in which the actual flow of materials is cut off. It may also be accomplished by diplomatic or commercial means if an actual blockage is geographically impossible. The struggle to prevent Germany and her allies from receiving an adequate supply of wolfram, the ore tungsten, is one of many examples.

Manufacturing Industries

A highly developed manufacturing industry is one of the most conspicuous determinants of power. Every great power of modern times has been an industrial power. No policy, however, blustering and aggressive, is likely to be effective unless supported by the ability to manufacture the machines of war. The less developed countries realize that a key to political power is industrialization. Industrial capacity is an important measure of political power. Industrialization in Great Britain in the nineteenth century gave her the necessary power to build the world-empire. In this contemporary World, Japan is fast expanding, taking over the US economic hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region. It is possible because of her even expanding industrial power. India's industrial growth has increased to double digits, obviously, it has grown into a power in the Indian Ocean region. Similar is the case with China, its power equation now transcend the oceanic barriers, and spare-barrier as well.

Suggested Reading :

1. Adhikari, S. (1996) Political Geography, Jaipur. Rawat Publication.

4.2 Political and Economic Blocks

States and Nations over many countries have attempted associations of various kinds, and about an often as these effort succeeded they failed. Although conflict between the states is inevitable, but survival depends not on a conflict between the states is inevitable, but survival depends not on a conflict but on cooperation and collaboration between states and between nations. Regional conflicts and regional cooperation, are in fact, so mixed that it is sometime difficult to tell which of the predominates in particular decision. The relevance of regional groupings in the field of regional politics and economy has increased manifold since the cessation of the World War II in 1945. The post-World War II era has been one of unprecedented activity in the field of supranationalism and regional groupings. In virtually all parts of the world and in practically every conceivable sphere states are seeking alliances,

treaties and other form of association. The determination of states, seeking for association, was reflective of something distinct which they had not thought of earlier. The states agreed to give up some their sovereignty in return for the security, economic advantage, political identification, cultural strength or whatever benefit they perceived to accrue from their involvement.

These association or groupings are the voluntary one because the involved states with the ultimate purpose of forming a unified entity, decide on such cooperation and collaboration. These grouping are functional in nature. These groupings necessarily manifest 'requirement', a kind of loyalty that the involved states express, being focused upon a region which distinct in terms of its geography and people. Geographical contiguity, however, is a prerequisite condition for the amendment of regional association.

Several distinct types of regional association a blocks can be distinguished, but many, however though begun, in order to foster collaborations in one specific sphere, have produced cooperation in other spheres also, e.g. an economic block may develop into a political block or the vice-versa, depending upon the regional requirement of the involved states.

1. Political Blocks or Groupings

Comparatively few timely political groups are in existence. In fact, the borderline between political blocks with those of cultural organizations is often very difficult to define. Perhaps the most significant development in this field in "the council of Europe" which was formed in 1949. By 1948 the cold war had become a reality, and many of the states of Western Europe began to group themselves as if in self-defense. In 1948 the representatives of five of them met at Brussel's and signed a treaty by which they all decided to collaborate in 'economic', social and cultural matter for collective self-defence". Later, the German Federal Republic and Italy joined the organization. The seven-member states, however, agreed in 1955 to establish the Western European Union.

The Brussels powers also agreed in 1949 to establish a council of Europe with the objective of achieving a greater political unity between its members for safeguarding and realising the ideals and principles which are their common heritage, and facilitating their economic and social progress. The council of Europe has no political power today, rather its geopolitical validity has disappeared with establishment and enlargement of the European Union.

In 1963, thirty African States formed 'the Organization of African Unity (OAU) with headquarter at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Its purpose was to coordinate the policies of these states on certain vital political and economic issues. Foremost among these were the elimination of the last traces of colonialism in Africa, safeguarding of independence of member states, and opposition to the white-dominated policies of South Africa and Rhodesia. The OAU had achieved some successes, as it had contributed to the solution of many tribal and other problems, notably the Nigerian civil war, which were parts of the legacy of colonialism. Although the numbers of the membership of the OAU have increased, but its effectiveness is yet to achieve a decisive level.

'The former Central African Federation' was a political block, although the economic argument was stressed by those who favoured the union between Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia and Nysaland, the main object quite obviously was political. Another African union, the Mali Federation, was based largely upon political consideration, and it, too, failed. The ex-Federation of the West Indies and the ex-Federation of Malaysia both represented efforts to establish political units first, with integration in other spheres to follow.

'The Organization of American States' is but a recent expression of the mutual interests of the American and moves in this direction have been going on for more than a century. American unity has strong foundations, for many of the Latin American republics fought themselves free of Spanish domination, except Brazil and Haiti, share the heritage of the Spanish language and culture, and the United States is the strongest trading and investment partner to most.

The Pan-American Union emerged out of the 1890 Washington Conference aimed at greater political unity, and the next important steps were taken at the 1933 Montevideo Conference. Subsequent events in Europe led to a general concern over the possibility of German-Italian war efforts in American, and conferences held in 1939 and 1940 called for joint action to present that danger. It was at the Bogota Conference in 1948 that the formation of the Organization of American States was solemnized. At present only Canada is not a number of the OAS because of being a member of Commonwealth. Similarly Cuba does not participate in it. Political action on the part of the members of the organization was taken in the form of sanctions against Cuba. The Island countries of the Caribbean region and however, scared by the intention of the USA as the later had made sexual attempts to interfere in their domestic and foreign affair. Brazil, inspite of being a member of the organization, has always been an opponent of the USA.

'The Arab League' was formed in 1945 as a result of the Alexandria protocol signed by Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Yeman in 1945 itself. Later Libya, Sudan, Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria and Kuwait joined the organization. The Arab League was formed at a time when Syria and Lebanon were still under the French mandate, Transjordan under a British mandate while Iraq and Egypt well bound by 'still' valid treaties with Great Britain. The establishment of the Arab League was an event of great importance in the modern history of the Arabs as it reflected their collective will to project greater political unity. The non-Arab Muslim like Turkey, Iran and Pakistan are not its members. The Alexandric Protocol that laid down this political framework for the Arab League did not stress on union or federation, leaving it to individual members of the organization to evolve stronger forms of association if they wished in the future. The Arab League, at present, has 22 members with the Palestine State becoming a fulfilled member of it.

The formation of the Arab League may be said to have stemmed from the : (a) growing Arab solidarity with Palestinian problem; (b) linguistic homogeneity of the Arab language, being spoken in Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, and Arab States; (c) common economic requirements; (d) growing liberal secularism; (e) growing threats of Israel, and (f) growing urge for an Arab confederation. The Association of the South-East Asian nation (ASEAN) was formed in 1967 as a political grouping, designed to achieve greater geopolitical unity, and to maintain independence from the Communist and non-Communist pressures. The organization consists of east while British, Dutch and French and the US colonies in the South-East Asia. The members are Malayasia, Singapore, Indonesia, Thailand, the Philippines, Brunei, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. Myanmar is all set to enter the ASEAN by the end of the year. The ASEAN has become one of the political realities of the region. Its members have gained sufficient confidence to feel that they could work cooperatively with the local communist states and also with local non-communist states. The ASEAN is now a stable political organization with the economic mutuality. Some of the member of the ASEAN have achieved relatively higher economic growth that appear to have provided more strength to the political set up of the organization. The European Union, and the United States have sought for greater cooperation with the ASEAN. China has recognized its political and economic viability in the region, and is likely to enter into an agreement with the organization.

'The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC)' was formed in 1985, with Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Pakistan, Nepal, Sri Lanka and the

Maldives having signed the historic pact at Dacca. Afghanistanis all set to become of it. The members of the SAARC have common political history and historical experience and habitation on account of being a British colony. South Asia is an independent cultural realm with geographical unity. Even since the partition and independence to the countries, attempts were made to forge a political alliance in the region so that the regional interests/aspiration could be projected. The purpose of the SAARC was to seek maintain the political identity and distinctiveness of the South Asiatic region, besides, it sought for cooperation in the field of telecommunication, meteorology, shipping, infrastructure, agricultural rural sector, joint ventures, and in the scientific and technical fields. It was also designed to seek greater cooperation in the fields of some selected commodities, education, science and technology, commercial movement and culture.

The SAARC is yet to emerge as an alternative viable to the ASEAN because of inherent inter contradiction between the numbers. With regard to the scope of cooperation there is considerable confusion, e.g., Sri Lanka, the Maldives and Pakistan wanted the organization to be more comprehensive are emphasised more or political cooperation, while India and Bangladesh emphasized on economic cooperation. On the issue of institutionalization, Bhutan, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh well in favour of institutionalized cooperation but India, Pakistan and the Maldives, however, favoured the development of it to be preceded by a greater regional cooperation. Political happenings in Nepal, Pakistan and in Sri Lanka on the one hand and bilateral rivalries between India and Pakistan necessarily stand in the way of the smooth functioning of the SAARC. These factor often delay the annual SAARC meet. In spite of all these problem, the SAARC has continued to exist with a 'raison detre'.

Economic Blocks or Groupings

In many ways the most significant phenomenon to be discussed in relation to regional association and blocks among states is that of economic grouping or blocks. No state is self-sufficient in term of resources, rather states have to depend on one another for resources and finished products. This dependence and interdependence lead to a kind of economic mutuality in a particular region consisting of several states with a range of economic requirements. An association necessarily satisfies the regional economic aspiration and requirements of the 'involved' states. A host of continental-centric economic groupings and association have come into being following the end of the World War II, and in some of them there is evidence of growing political solidarity.

It was as early as in 1922, a custom unions was established between Belgium and Luxembourg. Custom barrier and even boundary checks were abolished along the boundary separating the two states. Their currencies became freely exchangeable, and a common market was established between the two states. This union was extended by the incorporation of the Netherlands. This formed the BENELUX, the agreements for the establishment of this union was signed even before the end of the war, in London in 1944. This union i.e., Benelux was to become the forenames of economic cooperation in Western Europe. It did not formally begin to function until 1948, but this union was soon to be superseded by other and longer association.

In 1948, the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC), was established, with the specific object of coordinating the Murshall plan funds contributed by the United States to spird the recovery of Europe from the ravages of the second world war. This organization i.e., OEEC in which most non-Communist European States. France, West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg participated administered the evil given to Europe and scrutinized European needs. Thus the representatives of the various member states became aware of the needs of their neighbouring and fellow states.

In 1950, Robert Schumar, the French Minister for foreign affairs, proposed a common market for Western Europe in coal, iron and steel and raw materials from which the later was made. Schuman's plan found its recognition by the six OEEC members, and in 1952, was established the European coal and Steel Community (ECSC). Great Britain which had shown interest earlier, later declined to join it probably because of the hegemony of its arch rival French in the organization. The object of the ECSC was to reduce the cost of production, and to remove barriers to the flow of labor and capital, so that maximum integration could be achieved. The ECSC, however, continued until 1959. The six ECSC member-states sought for more economic cooperation, and a treaty to this effect was signed in Rome in 1958, that led to the formation of the European Economic Community (EEC), otherwise known as the Common Market. The main economic objects of the EEC were (i) Creation of a custom union with free movements of goods, labor and capital, and (ii) Coordination of agricultural policies and integration of national transport system. The Rome Treaty came into effect in January 1959 that superseded the ECSC. The

first reductions on tariff were made in 1959 itself, the process so initiated was completed in 1968.

However, in 1960, there European States that stayed away from the EEC, decided to form another economic association to balance the growing threat of the EEC to their foreign trade. Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland (with associated Liechtenstein), and the United Kingdom formed the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), which was later joined by Finland and Iceland. These states sought for free trade among themselves in industrial goods, a goal they achieved by the end of 1966. The EFTA neither sought for a common external tariff nor abolities of barriers to trade to agriculture products.

Though the EEC and EFTA were mutually exclusive to each other, yet they decided on merger because of contemporary geopolitical compulsion. On July 22, 1972, both the economic blocks sought to create one free trade zone of the seventeen European States (the original EEC six, the EFTA den, plus Ireland). Tariffs on industrial goods were to be abolished over the five year period April 1973 & July 1977. The merger of the EEC and EFTA together, finally led to the formation of the European community—a more ambitions multinational undertaking that sought for greater European unity.

'The European Community'—was truly expressive of a multinational regional economic spelter on a continental scale. It brought about drastic change in the landscape and economic geography of the European continent except that portion where the socialist system prevailed. Landuse definition and regional specialization occurred not within the limited area of national boundaries but within far wider scope of spatial organization of the entire community area. The European Community created a common custom union that removed all kinds of tariffs and other restrictions for more economic consolidation and integration. It adopted a common agricultural policy, aiming at stable and improved economic conditions for multinational farmer. It initiated a plan to improve working condition in industry, in level up wages, and to increase the mobility of labour within and between its member states. Associated with this war the verification of the transportation system, the adoption of common standard, sizes and rates, and the construction facilities where needed. The member of the European community, particularly those which once had their colonies in Africa, had granted their former colonies

products a privileged access to the EC market. It was through the treaty of Yaounde, some nineteen states of Africa were allowed to be associated with European community, while Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania got themselves associate with the EC by the treaty of Arusha.

In addition to its economic goals, the eventual political union was a stated goal of the European community. A more 'politically flexible and economically viable union', in place of the existing structure was felt by the member of the community because of : (1) the growing political and economic hegemony of Germany that might districts the balance within the EC, and (2) the growing US and Japanese economic hegemony which had already influenced the economic growth of the EC to the extent that the EC was compelled to put more tariffs and trade restriction over the entry of certain kind of American and Japanese products into Europe.

It is in this background, the member of the European Community signed the famous Maaschtrist Treaty and then came into being the European Union : Fifteen European nation, most of them were the former members of the EC acknowledged their participation in the European Union. The National legislatures of these countries also ratified the Maaschtrist Treaty, though a few nation ratified the treaty quite late, probably because of some opposition from within their citizenries. Some former member of the former Socialist Block and the former Soviet Union and Turkey have applied for membership of the European Union. Even Russia was offered this membership of the Union, but it declined.

Apart from being a custom union, the European Union attempted to initiate a common currency, the Euro dollar, for its member-states. It has sought for greater economic cooperation among the member state, so that it could emerge as an alternative viable to the United States and Japan.

Economic cooperation or block was not confined to the capitalist part of Western Europe, an economic block also came into being in the Central and Eastern Europe of the socialist realm. In 1949 was established the 'Council of Economic Mutual Assistance' (CEMA), at the initiative of the former Soviet Union. The Soviet Union had issued an invitation to all countries of Europe irrespective of their affiliation, for participation in broad economic cooperation. Countries like Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary,

Poland and Romania accepted the invitation and joined the CEMA but Yugoslavia declined the membership. Detailed of the progress of economic collaboration between these states were not fully made public, but it was known, then, that some agreements were reached between Poland and Czechoslovakia for the use of one another ports and for the coordination. It was widely held that considerable progress was made in fitting the economic plans of these countries together so they could complement one another, and also in adjusting them to the plans of other countries within the block. Established in 1949, CEMA or COMECON was centralize and administer trade agreements and credit as well as technical assistance within the block. COMECON was an agreement between government which themselves controlled all industrial undertakings and all trade within their respective states. However, trade in the block continued to be based mainly on bilateral agreement negotiated between them. CEMA or COMECON fundamentally differed from that created in the European Common Market and the European Free Trade Association. The later was based on private enterprise and guaranteed to the producer freedom to sell his products within the area when he could find a market, with certain limitation, freedom to establish his works, whenever he found it profitable. However, with the derive of the Socialist regime and the disintegration of the Soviet Union in the 90s collapsed the Council of Economic Mutual Assistance.

In term of economic association, the Latin American countries well not behind the European countries. The first of this kind was that of the 'Central American common Market (ODECA)', formed in 1960. It was consisted of EL Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica that joined later. The ODECA sought for closer economies between the member-states which could facilitate economic development in the region as a whole. A General American Bank was set up to facilitate movement of investment capital. However the ODECA could not last long, and finally, it was abandoned by the members.

The 'Latin American Free Trade Association' (LAFTA) was formed in 1961 by an association of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Latin the association widened with incorporation of Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela. The objects were to : (1) create a custom free Union of Latin American republics; (2) remove trade and tariffs restrictions on the movement of commodities

within the union, and (3) increase production with a higher level of welfare, not withstanding the small volume of mutual trade between the member-states. Land reforms, Tax reform, improvement in agricultural infrastructure and increase in industrial growth, check on inflation and population control, were part of the duties of the recipient states of the Union. Despite the massive US said the LAFTA is yet to achieve a substantial economic growth compared to European economic requivalisation.

Recently, the 'North American Free Trade Association' (NAFTA) was formed with the USA, Canada and Mexico as its members. It was formed with the objects of creating a custom union, and putting tariffs and trade restriction on the entry of the Japanese and European products in North America. Entry of the Japanese and European products in North America. Entry of the Japanese and European products for the couple of years has substantially affected the economy of all the three countries, particularly, the USA whose economic was badly hit. Nevertheless, the NAFTA maintain sustained economic ties with Japan and the European Union.

The 'Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperations (APEC)' was formed in 1989. It is out of the trans continental economic groupings consisting of the countries of Asia, North America, South America, beside Australia—or in other words, the APEC is consisted of the USA, Canada, Mexico, Japan, China, South Korea, Taiwan, Hongkong, New Guinea, Chile, New Zealand, Russia, Eucador, besides the member countries of the ASEAN. The APEC aim at free flow of goods, services, and capital in a manner consistant with the WTO terms, and expects coordination with the non-APEC members of the WTO towards further multilateral trade liberalization with full investment. It seeks to create a free market zone in the pacific oceanic region.

The concept of 'South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA)' is gaining momentum in South Asia, despite the inherent inner contradiction between the South Asian Nation. There is a proposal to develop a custom union a common market as well, corresponding to the entire South Asiatic region, with the object of protecting regional products. The nation have agreed in principle that this 'most favoured nation' states be granted on bilateral basis within the Union. The proposed SAFTA will have power to control and regulate trade, transportation and communication

between the states of the union. However, it is not clear how long it will take to become a reality.

Regional groupings, thus, have virtue to virtually all parts of the world. The time of the blocks, groupings, the alliances and the union has arrived. Inevitably, the progress of politics-territorial organization always having an oscillating one, these will be breakups and setbacks, but the trend appears to have all the earmarks of permanency, and a new politics-geographical map is being forged.

Suggested Readings :

1. Adhikari, S. (1996) Political Geography. Jaipur-Rawat Publication
2. De Bw. J. Harm (1972) A Systematic Political Geography. NewYork. Witey
3. Pouds, J. G. (1972) Political Geography. NewYork. McGraw title Book Co.

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মানুষের জ্ঞান ও ভাবকে বইয়ের মধ্যে সঞ্চিত করিবার যে একটা প্রচুর সুবিধা আছে, সে কথা কেহই অস্বীকার করিতে পারে না। কিন্তু সেই সুবিধার দ্বারা মনের স্বাভাবিক শক্তিকে একেবারে আচ্ছন্ন করিয়া ফেলিলে বুদ্ধিকে বাবু করিয়া তোলা হয়।

— রবীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর

ভারতের একটা mission আছে, একটা গৌরবময় ভবিষ্যৎ আছে, সেই ভবিষ্যৎ ভারতের উত্তরাধিকারী আমরাই। নূতন ভারতের মুক্তির ইতিহাস আমরাই রচনা করছি এবং করব। এই বিশ্বাস আছে বলেই আমরা সব দুঃখ কষ্ট সহ্য করতে পারি, অন্ধকারময় বর্তমানকে অগ্রাহ্য করতে পারি, বাস্তবের নিষ্ঠুর সত্যগুলি আদর্শের কঠিন আঘাতে ধূলিসাৎ করতে পারি।

— সুভাষচন্দ্র বসু

Any system of education which ignores Indian conditions, requirements, history and sociology is too unscientific to commend itself to any rational support.

— *Subhas Chandra Bose*

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