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

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

An Eye to India

The Unmasking of a Tyranny

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

Department of Tourism, Government of India, 1975

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

Itśā, 15
Preface

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

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

This is true also of the nature and source of the support, inside and outside India, which was given to the assaults on the people and institutions of India during the emergency, a brutal and ignominious period in the history of the nation. Attempts by some to dignify the emergency, from whatever standpoint and whether in terms of utilitarian necessity or as a form of 'socialist' progress, can now be seen in focus. Others, eyes closed and ears stopped, saw and heard little or no evil. For them, the trains ran on time also. It is for this reason, and because the record of the crimes committed against the Indian people requires to be made safe from cancellation by denial and evasion, that almost every emergency event and statement referred to in the text has been given its attribution. But for
the reader who does not choose to check or follow these authen-
tications, the book may be perfectly well read without them.

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

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

I would like to thank Peter Preston and Malcolm Dean of
the Guardian, Dick Clements of Tribune, Lewis Lapham of
Harper’s, and Paul Sweezy of Monthly Review for having given
me opportunity on different occasions to speak of the circum-
stances of India; Neville Maxwell for encouraging me to write
this book; my wife, whose own work at the Centre for Con-
temporary Cultural Studies in the University of Birmingham on
problems of ideology and historical method led to helpful dis-
cussions at all stages of this text’s writing, but who bears no
blame for any of its errors of judgement; Sybil Brooke for typing
from the manuscript with great skill, care and speed; and the
library staffs of the Indian Institute and the Institute of
Commonwealth Studies in Oxford for their assistance.
Above all, I am indebted to those who – often at risk to themselves – provided me with facts and assistance during a long journey through emergency India. I have chosen not to name them here; but they are the real authors of this work, just as the condition of the Indian people, and not the eye of the beholder, is its subject.

David Selbourne, 19 April 1977
From Crisis to Crisis

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

26 June 1975

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

Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister, 26 June 1975

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

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

India is a rich country, which is poor. It is rich in minerals
On the Condition of the People

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

Raj Bahadur, Minister for Tourism and Civil Aviation, 6 March 1796

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

Indira Gandhi, 20 February 1976

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

Indira Gandhi, 13 April 1976

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

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

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

Indira Gandhi, 26 June 1975

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

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

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

Indira Gandhi, May Day, 1976

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

The latter’s range is wide. It includes the familiar alternations of professed innocence and brutal practice. It includes ‘freedom of action’ unable to extricate itself from the accommodations of economic dependence; building the power of capital for ‘socialism’s’ progress; asserted autonomy of mind and sovereign political language, with the long-echoing accents and
A crocodile in red blazers, pressed grey flannels, and black well-heeled shoes, with blazing eyes and gleaming black hair, treads the pink-to-rust park paths, the soft dust stifling their scuffing footfalls. There is a bliss in this clear blue heaven and fresh day; the crows floating easy in the sky, the people squatting in silence, unmoving.

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

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

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

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

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

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

_Indira Gandhi, to the Rajya Sabha, 22 July 1975_¹

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

_S. Doraiswamy, veteran leader of the Indian Congress Party³_

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

The Need of the Hour is Discipline.
Silence is Golden.
Avoid Rumours and Loose Talk. Do Your Duty.

_(street slogans)_

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

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

*All-India Congress Committee (AICC) resolution, 28 December 1975*

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

*Ayub Syed, AICC member, 16 January 1976*

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

*Indira Gandhi, 30 December 1975*

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

*Hindu, 12 January 1976*

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

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

D. K. Barooah, president of the Congress Party, 12 April 1976

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

K. Brahmananda Reddy, Minister for Home Affairs, 5 April 1976

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

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

Indira Gandhi, 1 April 1976

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

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

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

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

*Indira Gandhi, 1 April 1976*¹

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

*D. K. Barooah, president of the Congress Party, 26 June 1976*²

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

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

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

*D. K. Barooah, Link, 27 June 1976*
9 An Eye to India: Last Sequence

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*From Members of Parliament to the Speaker of the Lok Sabha,*

*21 June 1975*

New Delhi
June 21, 1975

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

Sir,

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

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

The Cabinet also agreed with these recommendations and
Appendix: Statistical Tables

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

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

*Rs. million* refers here, and throughout, to ‘millions of rupees’.
†Economic Times, 27 November 1975


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

The main abbreviations employed in the notes are as follows:

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

CHAPTER ONE: FROM CRISIS TO CRISIS

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acharya</td>
<td>spiritual guide, illustrious man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aditya</td>
<td>the sun, god of the sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adivasi</td>
<td>aboriginal, ‘tribal’ inhabitant of India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agni</td>
<td>fire, the god of fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahimsa</td>
<td>non-violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arjuna</td>
<td>a great warrior, brother-in-law of Krishna (q.v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atharvaveda</td>
<td>the fourth <em>Veda</em> (q.v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atman</td>
<td>the light of self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayurveda</td>
<td>the ‘<em>Veda</em> of life’, a work on medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhagavad-gitā</td>
<td>the ‘song of the adorable’, a poem in the Mahā-bārata (q.v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bidi</td>
<td>cigar, cigarette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahman</td>
<td>soul of the universe, divine or absolute essence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bustee</td>
<td>group of hutments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaprasi</td>
<td>messenger, courier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dacoit, dacoity</td>
<td>armed robber, robbery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deepavali, Divali</td>
<td>autumn festival of lights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devadasi</td>
<td>temple attendant, temple prostitute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharna</td>
<td>sitting outside the door of someone’s house to enforce performance of a duty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durbar</td>
<td>court, levée</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghat</td>
<td>landing place, wharf, place of cremation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghee</td>
<td>clarified butter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gherao</td>
<td>picket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gitā</td>
<td>see Bhagavad-gitā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goonda</td>
<td>gangster, thug, bully</td>
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<td>Harijan</td>
<td>‘child of god’, untouchable</td>
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Indra: ruler over the deities of the firmament
Inquilab: revolution
Isā: one of the Upaniṣads (q.v.)
Jawan: soldier
Jhuggi: slum dwelling
Kalazar: visceral parasitical disease
Karma: act of piety and duty
Khanda: section of a Vedic hymn
Kisan: cultivator, peasant
Kohl: antimony powder, used as eye make-up
Krishna: incarnation of Vishnu, the preserver
Lathi: stick, bludgeon
Lok Sabha: assembly or house of the people, Lower House of Parliament
Mahābhārata: epic poem of the Hindus
Mantra: metrical prayer, invocation
Mundaka: one of the Upaniṣads (q.v.)
Pada-yatra: journey on foot
Padma Vibhushan: honorific title awarded by the Indian state (lit. ‘one whose adornment is a lotus’)
Paise: denomination of currency, worth about one seventeenth of a penny
Pan: areca nut and spices, rolled up in a betel-leaf
Panchayat: council
Pindari: plunderer, marauder
Pūsan: deity of providence, the provider
Rajya Sabha: assembly or house of the states, Upper House of Parliament
Rigveda: one of the four Vedas (q.v.)
Sabha: assembly
Sadhu: sage, mendicant
Sanyasi: religious mendicant
Sarpanch: head of a panchayat (q.v.)
Sarvodaya: communal welfare
Satyagraha: non-violent resistance
Satyagrahi  non-violent demonstrator
Shri, shrimati  prosperity, prefix of honour
Siva  Hindu deity, the destroyer
Suttee  a faithful wife, widow’s suicide

Taitirriya  part of the second – Yajur – Veda (q.v.)
Taluk  subdivision of a district
Titiksā  endurance

Unani  Greek, Graeco-Arabic medicine
Upaniṣad  mystical doctrine of Hinduism
Uṣā  dawn, daughter of heaven

Vanaspati  hydrogenated vegetable oil
Vasus  eight attendants of Indra (q.v.), personifications of nature
Veda, vedas  ‘divine knowledge’, four holy books of Hinduism

Yama  god of the dead
Yamadudargal  messengers of the god of death

Zenana  woman’s part of the house
... Zindabad!  Long live...!
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