"The development of marketable crop-growing at the end of the 19th-early 20th centuries brought about an upswing in the towns and their economies. Incidentally, the town began to change its typically Oriental image. Before the expansion of economic requirements and marketable character of crop-growing and agriculture in general, the countryside's labour needs were satisfied mainly within the framework of the countryside itself and its craftsmen. With the change in the scale of production in the "colonies-on-canals", and the setting up afresh or, to be more precise, a reproduction in a new place of old relationships between agriculture and crafts within the framework of the rural community, some traditional functions of the countryside became singled out and attributed to the towns."

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE SOUTH ASIAN TOWN IN THE COLONIAL EPOCH (URBAN SETTLEMENTS OF THE NORTH-WEST REGION)

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In the north-west region of South Asia, which for the most part coincides with the natural boundaries of the Indus basin and the political ones of today's Pakistan, a dense network of urban localities had appeared by the middle of the 19th century, the time of the colonial conquest. Major cities represented the state centres typical for the pre-capitalist society of the Asian type. Its full subordination to the despotic state power was the main peculiarity of the Asian town in general, and the region under consideration in particular. Unlike Western Europe where already in the early epoch or during the first stage of developed feudalism the town as a definite political formation (association, corporation of citizens) dominated the countryside, in the East it was subordinate to the state-despotia. Another characteristic feature of the Oriental town was its economic unity, ties with the countryside. The town was semi-agrarian, its residents were engaged in gardening, market-gardening and grain-growing. Trade and handicrafts, mainly export luxury items, were the specific economic character of the town. In other words, the town was the centre of trade and "higher crafts" connected with it.

The economic unity of the town and countryside was supplemented by their equal political powerlessness before the higher power. The latter taxed the town's trade and crafts, including the trade in agricultural produce (grain).

The power of the sovereign, supreme ruler of the town and its surroundings, geographically manifested itself in the states of the Indus basin. The taxation on Shikarpur, a major trade and transit centre in the Middle East in the middle of the last century, as well as on Rohri and other towns brought a considerable income to the treasury of the Emirs of Sind.[1] The port of Karachi[2] situated at the mouth of the Indus was also of great importance to them.

Trade undoubtedly played a secondary role to the towns' political functions. Crafts played a less important one than that. The time when a number of Sind towns (Thatta and others) specialized in manufacturing fabrics for overseas trade had

already passed by the middle of the 18th century. What was once prospering craft industry working for the foreign market had fallen into decay.

Yet the major towns of Punjab, which had factories manufacturing weapons and uniforms for the large 19th century modernizing army, were a well-known exception. Punjab and Kashmir (which in those days belonged to Punjab's rulers), were also prosperous centres for traditional crafts, the main one of which was the manufacturing of Cashmere shawls. This little industry had its own mills. However, the trade and production development of the towns did not result in establishment of urban corporations, the appearance of middle strata, or of a "third class". Professional shops (castes, communites) and community-caste institutions remained the dominating form of self-organization in trade and craft circles, and they did not unite as much as disunite the citizens as a single social (social-settlement) community.

As is well known, British colonialism in its initial forms, copied almost completely the power of the Asiatic state; acting similarly, it used some methods of exploitation traditional for state power in the East in its own exploitation of conquered nations. This can be seen in the activities of the British colonial administration in Sind, whose first steps were marked by a zealous concern for maintaining its traditional economic system. The British administration, in particular, initially copied the system of a thorough regulation of the towns' trade.[3] It should be noted in general that a particularly pragmatic, conservative line – though not without struggle within the ranks of highly positioned colonial officials – triumphed in the activities of the British administration, which was especially evident in the period after the defeat of the Indian National Uprising in 1857-1859. Of course, this fact could not help but tell on the rate of transformation of the Asian town. Reproduction, in the main, of the former system of management and system of political domination resulted in little other than slow changes in its functions, and in the social structure of the inhabitants. But under the influence of certain measures taken by new authorities and shifts in the general socio-economic situation – primarily as a result of the region's involvement in the "trading world" some new phenomena started taking shape there. The most important of these were the strengthening of the trade and usurious capital.

During the precolonial period, merchants and moneylenders were an alien body in the homogeneous mass of the urban and rural working population, among craftsmen and peasants. Their heterogeneity was emphasized by religious difference, i.e. their practising of Hunduism.

The social status of the Indians was low, especially in the countryside and in small townships. It is noteworthy that they could not, by custom, have any claims on acquiring land although it was often the case that they kept the significant part of the peasantry in debt and dependent on themselves.[4] By introducing laws in Sind and Punjab in the 60s-70s, according to which land might be taken back as a debt payment and appropriated despite his/her religion, caste and occupation, the British authorities considerably expanded the opportunities of the trade-usurious strata. Over the second half of the 19th century, the new landowners – though not according to their caste and hereditary occupation – acquired 20-40 per cent of land there.[5] After acquiring the land, the merchants and moneylenders were usually still faithful to the main traditional occupation of becoming absentee-landowners. Living in towns, they helped pump profits made in the countryside there. Town growth naturally gave way to an increase in the need for foodstuffs and household goods, which led to an increase in the number of urban and suburban gardening, vegetable and cattle-breeding farms, as well as craft houses. Also contributing to this was the presence of the British India contingents of the Anglo-Indian army and representatives of the colonial administration in the cities of the north-west. It was not so much some new moments of the bourgeois character, but a more effective executing by the new political power of the functions of the Eastern despotic state that formed the basis of the economic growth in the first decades of colonial domination over the north-west areas of South Asia. The colonial administration established a tax regime more favourable for the development of trade and crafts.[6] A considerable number of the customs

duties and different local dues were repealed. The "Peshkash", a special tax imposed by Muslim rulers on the Hindus was abolished. It was placed instead on the adherents of other faiths, which included mostly tradesmen, bankers and jewellers.[7] Many direct taxes on trade and crafts were lowered. All this led to a leap in the growth of the population in Karachi, Hyderabad and Sukkur already in the first decade of the colonial domination of Sind.

While the town gained from the measures taken by the new authorities, the countryside lost. The colonial administration managed to reduce the list of major landowners *(jagirdars)*, free from paying the land-tax, as well as the size of plots *(jagirs)* they held.[8] The land-tax began to be collected more and more strictly, which resulted in the landowners-taxpayers becoming in debt up to their ears. At the same time, colonialism eliminated some obstacles in the way of the development of production forces, much as internecine wars between rulers, and bloody clashes between tribes and clans. The amounts of plunder, robbery, and cattle stealing dropped off. The damage formerly caused to crops during hunting expeditions ended. Hunting was one of the favourite pastimes of the Emirs of Sind. Hunting areas which encompassed fertile land not used in agriculture were also sharply reduced. Measures generally traditional for the Oriental state were taken by the colonialists for the development of irrigation canals and their upkeep.

The active role of the colonial state in the development of the system of productive forces displayed itself especially vividly in the north-west of India starting at the end of the 19th century, when it became the site for the construction of major irrigation structures arterial canals originating in the main tributaries of the Indus – the rivers Ravi, Chenab and Jhelum. The irrigation of what were once barely populated meadows in West Punjab gave an impetus to the development of the whole Indus basin. Thousands of peasants began to settle here, on the newly irrigated lands, moving from the eastern Punjab districts. The population of the first settlers' colonies, such as Lyallpur (Faisalabad) and Shahpur, grew rapidly in the 1890s, 10 times over in the course of the decade.[9] The demographic hub of the Anglo-Indian province of Punjab gradually moved west. The cultivation of land took place side by side with the growth of the towns as collection points in the agricultural produce. Crop growing on the new cultivated areas could not help but be marketable. Conditions for assuring the appearance of large amounts of surplus grain were at first created by natural fertility of the irrigated virgin lands. The realization of these conditions was supplemented by the policy pursued by the colonial administration, which gave land to new settlers as state tenants. And the administration then saw to it that the provisions of the agreements thus concluded be observed. Besides, the administration paid attention to the infrastructure – primarily the construction of railways – and helped in clearing fields. Finally, the diligence and zealousness of the Punjab peasants – who were mainly representatives of a big ethnic caste community of Jats, mainly Muslim in faith, along with some Sikhs and Hindus – were important factors in the productiveness and marketability of agriculture in the territories of the so-called "colonies-on-canals."[10]

The development of marketable crop-growing at the end of the 19th-early 20th centuries brought about an upswing in the towns and their economies. Incidentally, the town began to change its typically Oriental image. Before the expansion of economic requirements and marketable character of crop-growing and agriculture in general, the countryside's labour needs were satisfied mainly within the framework of the countryside itself and its craftsmen. With the change in the scale of production in the "colonies-on-canals", and the setting up afresh, or, to be more precise, a reproduction in a new place of old relationships between agriculture and crafts within the framework of the rural community, some traditional functions of the countryside became singled out and attributed to the towns.[11] Yet, the systems in general remained the same since the means of farming contiued to have the same advantages, though definite changes were noted in the set of labour means which influenced the subsidiary or auxiliary operations of farmers. For example, the application of sugar pans and presses

to produce raw sugar or brown sugar *(gur)* became one of the first innovations. The production of sugar refineries became concentrated in the towns. Already in the 1880s their production started in the small Punjab town of Batala.[12] The delivery of goods for production by the town to the countryside was an indication of the establishment of qualitatively new, bilateral commodity-exchange ties, a symptom of the deepening social division of labour and the formation of a home market based on the exchange of goods between the countryside and the town. Prior to this the goods exchange had been mostly unilateral. The countryside delivered produce to the towns, while the town supplied the countryside with a limited assortment of basics (salt, medicinal herbs) or goods which were a luxury for most of the villagers and consumed only by the upper layers of the countryside. Imported fabrics and clothes, weaponry, certain household goods, jewellery, and items made of gold and silver were the basic goods supplied to the countryside. Articles made of precious metals served as a guarantor of well-being and social importance among the peasants. These commodity exchange relations were traditional in their origin and cannot be considered as something violating the system of former relations, the definite "developed naturalness" of the pre-capitalist socio-economic system.

From the end of the 19th century, a gradual curtailment of the industrial enterprise became noticeable. But, as a rule, industrial capital was still closely connected to trade capital, dependent on it. The ginning and pressing of cotton was one of the first industries to develop quickly in the Indus basin. Ginning machines (gins) were very nearly the first machines invented in Europe and brought into that part of Asia. The entire industry of processing raw cotton was under control of trade capital, mainly British capital. Working, in the main, for export, this industry did not violate the former model of ties between town and countryside. The feedback was still limited, the growing and harvesting of cotton was done by hand and involved a large number of workers (mainly women and children) during the short span of the harvesting season.

Transport was yet another and, for a long time, main sphere in the implementation of the new machine production forces. Railways were developed first. Their construction helped retain demand for unskilled labour. The metal needed for the construction was imported from industrialized Europe, while manpower came from agrarian Asia. Railway construction in the north-west region of colonial India was at first dictated not so much by economic requirements, but by those of a military-strategic nature. Only with the start of large-scale irrigation construction, the development of virgin lands and an increase in agricultural productivity, did railways also turn into an economically important industry. Railway branch lines were specially laid to reach the territories of the colonies-on-canals. What this meant for the evolution of the town – and this was of relatively minor importance – was that, from that time on its modern transportation function and its role as a major reception or collection point for grain and agricultural raw materials, increased. The regrouping and assembling of agricultural fairs and trade markets to be near the railway, as well as the forming, to a certain extent all over again, of a system of trade-transport towns and rural trade-transport points, were taking place concurrently.[13]

After the end of World War I there were signs of important industrial functions concentrating in major cities. There was development of the production of certain agricultural labour tools, such as chaff-cutters. Finally, from the town or through it, iron ploughs (heavy and light) began to be delivered to the countryside. Some time later, in the 30s, the first tractors, used for evening the fields and for ploughing (with limitations), and tube-wells, started being supplied to the countryside as well. From the town, which in the 20th century was the site of the first selection centres and labs, began delivering new, better varieties of seeds and the first batches of chemical and mineral fertilizers. This change – the delivery of industrial commodities from the town to the countryside – had undoubtedly the greatest importance in the transformation of the model of contacts between town and countryside.

The industrial function of the towns was further developed as is evident from the example of the town of Vathal which switched over from the

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THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE SOUTH ASIAN TOWN

(Continued from page 12)

production of sugar-presses to the production of chaff-cutters, ploughs, pulleys and pumps. This process led to the singling out of industrial capital proper, which was not large, and which had accumulated during the process itself. Yet, it also came in from the trade sphere and was formed by the capitalization of profits from grain-growing.[14] The production of specialized goods, which experienced stable and expanding sales both in the countryside and out of it in the local economies, was another sphere which changed the city's image. Such goods included fabrics made at factories and textile mills – *karkhana* – (equipped with handlooms), as well as furniture and cutlery items.

The strengthening of industrial and/or cottage specialization became an important fact in forming the town of the new type which produced goods for the countryside, too. That is, in the system "outer world – rural area" it played the role of a re-organizer that added an additional cost to the cost of the commodity, rather than the role of a trade-transport transfer point. It is precisely this circumstance that provides an opportunity to speak about the gradual formation of a new type of town in the north-west region of South Asia, a town which fundamentally differs from the town of the old Asian type. This is the colonial, colonial-capitalist town which basically has the same functions and structure as modern cities.

The deep economic crisis of the early 30s and World War II were the historical circumstances, which served to speed up the modernization of towns and the whole complex of ties between town and countryside. During the crisis years the cost of

agricultural produce sharply decreased, while relative to that the cost of industrial goods grew, a fact which resulted in an increase in agrarian overpopulation, migration from the countryside to the town, and in a relative decrease in the cost of manpower. All this created conditions which accelerated the growth of industry. During World War II, the growth in prices for agricultural produce was accompanied by a shortage of industrial goods and a tendency towards inflation. As a result of the incomplete saturation of the market, conditions favourable to the growth of industrial production appeared.

Thus, by the time of the creation of Pakistan in 1947, major towns had acquired modern, capitalist features. But not all towns were transformed; traditional relationships continued to dominate the majority of them. Among the backward areas were primarily extensive regions in Balochistan, the Khairpur princedom in Sind, and also a large portion of the territory of inland Sind – mainly rural – which had no access to sea, as well as north-west Punjab and NWFP, especially the extreme north-west, the settled strips of highland East Pashtun tribes. The central and eastern, as well as some of the southern areas of Punjab and southern Sind (Karachi district) were more developed. Of particular note was the co-existence of modern and traditional territory systems of management with their structure of urban elements and rural-urban ties.

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PAKISTAN RESOLUTION

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of purpose while the latter had no clear goal before them. The students of pre-partition days were blessed with the dynamic leadership of the Quaid, while the post-partition generation did not have any leader of the Quaid's calibre to look up to. The youth of the Pakistan Movement fought for their genuine rights within the constitutional means while the latter generation was unfortunately dragged towards agitational activities. Prior to the creation of Pakistan, the Students Federation, both of the central or provincial level, maintained their identity keeping themselves aloof from the political parties even the All-India Muslim League, while the Pakistan Students Federation (named in 1948) and other student organisations became subsidiary political wings of the political elite. It may also be considered that the early political leadership discouraged the students from taking active part in practical politics while this tradition was not kept after the creation of Pakistan. To strengthen the above argument, it may also be added that the Muslim leadership of the freedom struggle did not encourage interference in educational institutions while this decorum could not be maintained thereafter. However, the most important argument to the above contention is