

#### THE ECONOMY OF MODERN INDIA

Second Edition

Rapid economic growth has put India at the centre of current debates about the future of the global economy. In this fully revised and updated text, B. R. Tomlinson provides a comprehensive and wide-ranging account of the Indian economy over the last 150 years. He sets arguments about growth, development and underdevelopment, and the impact of imperialism, against a detailed history of agriculture, trade and manufacture, and the relations between business, the economy and the state. The new edition extends the coverage right up to the present day, and explains how one of the largest countries in the world has sought to achieve economic progress and lasting development, despite institutional weaknesses, rigid structures of political and social hierarchy, and the legacy of colonialism.

B. R. TOMLINSON is Emeritus Professor of Economic History at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.



### THE NEW CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA

Founding Editors

## GORDON JOHNSON

Professor Emeritus of Wolfson College, and Former Director, Centre of South Asian Studies, University of Cambridge

## C. A. BAYLY

Vere Harmsworth Professor of Imperial and Naval History, Fellow of St Catharine's College and Director, Centre of South Asian Studies, University of Cambridge

## and the late John F. Richards

Professor of History, Duke University

Although the original *Cambridge History of India*, published between 1922 and 1937, did much to formulate a chronology for Indian history and describe the administrative structures of government in India, it has inevitably been overtaken by the mass of new research published over the last seventy-five years.

Designed to take full account of recent scholarship and changing conceptions of South India's historical development, *The New Cambridge History of India* was developed as a series of short, self-contained volumes, each dealing with a separate theme within an overall four-part structure. The first volume was published in 1987 and the publication of updated second editions is in progress.

The four parts are as follows:

I The Mughals and Their Contemporaries
II Indian States and the Transition to Colonialism
III The Indian Empire and the Beginnings of Modern Society
IV The Evolution of Contemporary South Asia

A list of individual titles will be found at the end of the volume.



# THE NEW CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA

III · 3

The Economy of Modern India From 1860 to the Twenty-First Century

Second Edition

B. R. TOMLINSON

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF LONDON





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107605473

© B. R. Tomlinson 2013

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2013 Reprinted 2013

Printed and bound in the United Kingdom by Print on Demand, World Wide

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data
Tomlinson, B. R.
The economy of modern India: from 1860 to the twenty-first century /
B. R. Tomlinson. – Second edition.
pages cm. – (The new Cambridge history of India; III, 3)
Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-107-02118-1 (hardback) – ISBN 978-1-107-60547-3 (paperback)
1. India-Economic conditions. I. Title.

нс435.т63 2013 330.954–dc23 2012047922

ISBN 978-1-107-02118-1 hardback ISBN 978-1-107-60547-3 paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



# CONTENTS

List of figures		page vii	
List of maps		viii	
L	ist of tables	X	
P	reface to the second edition	xiii	
	reface to the first edition	XV	
Ι	Introduction: growth and development in the long run	I	
	Economics and Indian history	I	
	Growth and development under colonialism	3	
	The nationalist critique of colonial rule	IC	
	Development and underdevelopment in modern India	14	
	The colonial economy in comparative perspective	17	
2	Agriculture, 1860–1950: land, labour and capital	24	
	Agricultural output: yields and productivity	24	
	The rural economy before 1860	26	
	Colonial systems of land revenue	30	
	Commercialisation and the impact of foreign trade, 1860–1930	37	
	Market failure and the crisis in the rural economy, 1930–1950	53	
	Land, labour and capital in Indian agriculture	61	
3	Trade and manufacture, 1860–1945: firms, markets		
	and the colonial state	77	
	The impact of the colonial state	77	
	Deindustrialisation and the fate of handicrafts	81	
	From imports to industrialisation: cotton textiles	87	
	Expatriate enterprise in eastern India: jute, tea, coal	97	
	The emergence of Indian enterprise: iron and steel	106	
	Industrial policy: revenue tariffs and 'discriminating protection'	III	
	Industrial diversification in the inter-war years	114	
	Colonial and national firms, and business networks	121	
	The political economy of the Raj	124	
4	The state and the economy, 1939–1980	131	
	The costs of war, partition and reconstruction	131	
	The prehistory of planning, 1945–1956	138	
	Planning, the state and industry, 1956–1965	144	



## CONTENTS

Land reform and co-operatives: agriculture in the 1950s	153
Creating the 'green revolution': agriculture in the 1960s	162
The managed economy under strain, 1965–1969	169
Contesting central control, 1969–1980	175
Maintaining the managed economy, 1939–1980	179
5 Breaking the mould? Economic growth since 1980	182
India's growth transition: when and why?	182
Dualism or divergence? Poverty, welfare and growth	189
Beyond self-reliance: the impact of globalisation	192
Reform and 'modernisation': continuity and change since 1980	201
Economic institutions in contemporary India	222
Bibliographical essay	230
Supplementary bibliography	242
Index	247



# FIGURES

2.1	Gross area under main food and	
	non-food crops, 1907–1925	page 39
2.2	Indices of prices of exported and	
	imported goods, 1860–1940	47
4.I	Growth of foodgrain output and	
	population, 1949–1973	165
5.1	GDP percentage annual growth rate,	
	1970–2010	183
5.2	Gross national income per capita,	
	1970–2010	190
5.3	Value added by sector (percentage	
	of GDP), 1970–2010	202

Figure 2.1 is taken from *Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India* (1928), p. 69; figure 2.2 from Michelle McAlpin, 'Price Movements and Fluctuations in Economic Activity', *Cambridge Economic History of India*, *Volume* 2, graph 11.3; figure 4.1 from Walter C. Neale and John Adams, *India: The Search for Unity*, *Democracy and Progress*, 2nd edn, New York, 1976, figure 10; figures 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3 were calculated from data available from the World Bank, *World Development Indicators* at http://data.worldbank.org/indicator.



## MAPS

I.I	India in 1938–1939	page xvi
1.2(a)	Population, rates of increase by	
	district, 1891–1941	5
1.2(b)	Population densities by province,	
	1941	6
2.I	Average annual rainfall and staple	
	foodgrain production, 1938–1939	28
2.2	Systems of land revenue settlement	t,
	1872	35
2.3	Spatial reorganisation of colonial	
	India	45
2.4	Main-line railways, 1947	46
2.5(a)	Types of irrigation at work in India	a,
	by district, c. 1940	66
2.5(b)	Percentage of agricultural land	
	irrigated, by district, c. 1940	67
3.I	Industrial location, India and	
	Pakistan, 1947	84
4.I	India: political divisions, 1978	133
4.2	Sectoral distribution of labour-forc	e
	and per capita income by states,	
	1961	134
5.1	India: population by states, 2011	194

Maps, 1.1, 1.2(b), 2.1(i) and 2.4 are based on, or taken from, material in C. Collin Davies, An Historical Atlas of the Indian Peninsula, [Bombay], 1949; maps 1.2(a), 2.1(ii)—(iv), 2.5(a), 2.5(b) and 3.1 on O. H. K. Spate, India and Pakistan: A General and Regional Geography, London, 1957; map 2.3 on Davies, Historical Atlas, and David E. Sopher (ed.), An Exploration of India: Geographical

viii



#### LIST OF MAPS

Perspectives on Society and Culture, London, 1980, fig. 9; map 4.1 on Walter Neale and John Adams, India: The Search for Unity, Democracy and Progress, 2nd edn, New York, 1976, figure 2; and maps 2.2 and 4.2 on Dharma Kumar, with Meghnad Desai (ed.), Cambridge Economic History of India, Volume 2, Cambridge, 1983, maps 3 and 12, which are based on Joseph E. Schwartzberg (ed.), A Historical Atlas of South Asia, Chicago, 1978; map 5.1 is taken from Census of India, 2011 at www.imaginmor.com/census-of-india-2011.html.



# TABLES

I.I	Demographic background, India	
	1871–2011	page 2
I.2	Estimates of Indian national product	
	and GDP, 1870–2001	-
1.3	India, annual balance of payments on	
	current account, 1869–1873 to	
	1894–1898	13
2.I	Composition of Indian exports,	
	1860–1861 to 1935–1936	41
2.2	Geographical distribution of India's	
	foreign trade, 1860–1861 to	
	1940–1941	43
2.3	Export and import prices in India,	
	1927–1936	55
3.I	Share of net output of all large-scale	
	manufacturing production by selected	
	industries, 1913–1947	82
3.2	Share of particular industries in total	
	manufacturing employment in large	
	perennial factories in India, 1913–1947	83
3.3	Indian cotton textiles, 1880–1930	90
3.4	Indian textile production, market shares	5,
	1931–1932 to 1937–1938	91
3.5	Indices of domestic economic activity,	
	1920–1921 to 1938–1939	116
3.6	Partial estimate of allocation of internal	
	savings in India, 1930–1939	118
3.7	Index numbers of output by industry,	
	1930–1931 to 1939–1940	119
3.8	Central and provincial tax revenues,	
	selected years 1900–1901 to	
	1946–1947	120



# LIST OF TABLES

3.9	Breakdown of central and provincial	
	government expenditure for selected	
	years, 1900–1901 to 1946–1947	127
3.10	Government of India expenditure and	
	liabilities in London, 1899–1900 to	
	1933–1934	128
4.1	Population, area, agricultural labour,	
	foodgrains output and literacy rates:	
	regional distribution, 1951	132
4.2	1 00 0	
	India, 1950–1951 to 1968–1969	147
4.3	Plan outlay and its finance,	
	1951–1969	148
4.4		
	production, industrial production and	
	national product, India, 1950/1951–	
	1971/1972	149
4.5	Rates of growth of output, India,	
	1950–1965 and 1965–1972	149
4.6	1	
	ownership holdings in India,	
	1961–1962	161
5.1	2	
	(2004/2005) prices, actual and	-0.
	projected, 2005–2012	184
5.2	Average per capita availability of	
	foodgrains and other articles of	
	consumption, 1971–2010 Economic and social indicators by	192
5.3	•	
	major states, 2004–2005 to 2009–2010	105
- 1		195
5.4		202
	1993–1994 to 2004–2005 Indices of agricultural production,	203
5.5	1980–2010	205
5 G	Organised and unorganised labour	205
ا.ن	in manufacturing in India,	
	1999–2000	213
	1777 LUUU	7



## LIST OF TABLES

5.7	Technology intensity of India's	
	commodity exports, 1980–2000	218
5.8	Sectoral shares of service industries	
	(percentage of GDP), 1980–2008	220



## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

In the twenty years since the first edition of this text was completed, many things have happened to the Indian economy, and to the writing of its history. The recent phenomenon of rapid and sustained economic growth has put India at the centre of current debates about the nature of development, and the future of the global economy. This, in turn, has stimulated considerable interest from economists, economic historians and others, who had previously seen India as a special case outside the conventional story of economic progress. The contemporary Indian economy is much discussed and widely taught; these changes have created the opportunity for a second, revised, edition of this economic history to connect recent events to their historical context. This edition contains new material which extends the account of recent history from 1970 to the present day. The sections of the text that deal with history before 1970 have also been reviewed: a small amount of new matter has been added, and the whole has been revised for clarity, and to sharpen the exposition and argument. A new supplementary bibliography highlights recent specialist literature that has opened up new perspectives on our subject.

A number of colleagues have played significant roles in encouraging me to revise and extend this work. Notable among these are Aditya Mukherjee, whose dedicated supervision of the Institute for Advanced Studies at Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi provides an ideal base for research and discussion; Tirthankar Roy, whose own work plays such an important part in opening up new insights into our subject; and a number of Japanese scholars, especially Shigeru Akita, Shoichi Watanabe and Natsuko Kitani, who have helped to advance my interest in the history of modern India in an Asian context. Over the years the circle of connections has also contracted, and a number of the colleagues whose work provided the underpinnings of the original edition are no longer active. In particular we must mourn the loss of two of the founding figures of our subject – Dharma Kumar (1928–2001) and Morris David Morris (1921–2011), who brought wit, precision and imagination to the analysis of the Indian economy and its history. We all stand upon their shoulders, and this edition is dedicated to their memory.

B. R. Tomlinson

xiii





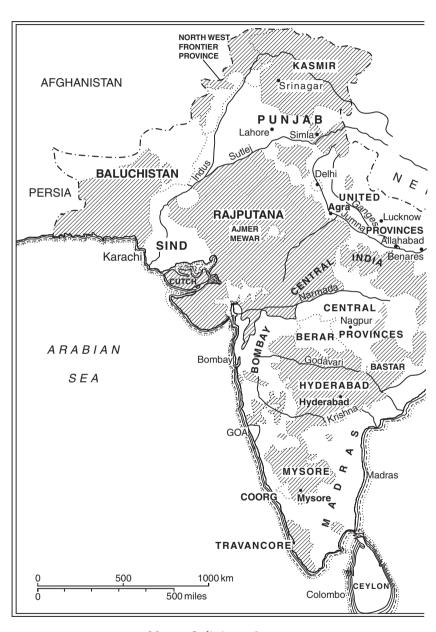
## PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

The writing of this book has benefited enormously from the criticism, advice and companionship over the years of a large number of fellow scholars, many of whom have produced the work that is discussed in its pages – including Amiya Bagchi, Chris Baker, Crispin Bates, Chris Bayly, Sugata Bose, Raj Brown, Raj Chandavarkar, Neil Charlesworth, Robi Chatterji, Kirti Chaudhuri, Pramit Chaudhuri, Clive Dewey, Omkar Goswami, Partha Gupta, John Harriss, Dharma Kumar, Michelle McAlpin, Morris David Morris, Aditya Mukherjee, Terry Neale, Rajat Ray, Tapan Raychaudhuri, Peter Robb, Sunanda Sen, Colin Simmons, Burton Stein, Eric Stokes, Dwijendra Tripathi, Marika Vicziany and David Washbrook. I am also grateful for the tolerance and confidence of Gordon Johnson, who has waited for this part of the *New Cambridge History of India* with grace and patience.

The text was begun while I was a Visiting Senior Research Fellow in the Department of Economic History at the University of Melbourne during the antipodean winter and spring of 1990 – a visit which was made enjoyable, stimulating and productive by the efforts of many people, notably David Merrett, Boris Schedvin and Allan Thompson. My colleagues at Birmingham, especially Peter Cain, Rick Garside, Tony Hopkins, Leonard Schwarz, Henry Scott and Gerald Studdert-Kennedy, have provided constant encouragement and support, while Suzy Kennedy made learning word-processing easy. Above all, my family – Caroline, Sam, Charlie, Martha and Edward – made possible the effort that created this book, which I dedicate to them in return.

B. R. Tomlinson





Map 1.1 India in 1938–1939



