CHAPTER 3: INDIA’S MODERNISATION PROCESS

This chapter endeavours to understand the causes, outcome and issues that directly or indirectly influenced the construct of nationalism and nation building in post independent India. It seeks also to delineate an understanding of the modernist agenda of the Indian Nationalists which may have (directly or indirectly) influenced a city building programme engineered towards improving the living conditions of the people. Further to this, the thesis traces the development of an architectural vocabulary to suit new functions and building typologies - industrial buildings, banks, cinemas, corporate offices, apartment housing (influenced by architectural styles such as Art Deco, Revivalist, etc.), that had arisen in the modern lifestyle. The objective is to capture moments of modernity in its making; on how architecture and urbanity are involved, implicitly and explicitly, in the shifting of subjectivity and or in the making of new knowledge. This body of literature is being developed to establish the significance of Chandigarh, as an experiment of special modernist value, within India’s modernisation process, in light of the World Heritage Programme of the UNESCO World Heritage Convention. The focus of this study is to seek answers as to whether Chandigarh as a modern city is important to the India’s modernisation process and what was the backdrop against which such a large urban experiment was carried out, despite the exigencies of finance, technical acumen and social stability prevailing in a newly modernising country at the time of its conception.

The social scenario that laid the foundation of Indian Nationalism and initiated the process of India’s modernisation can be traced back as early as the mid eighteenth century, when a wave of nationalism spread (and later through the Indian national movement), bringing within its fold a message meant to relieve the citizenry of a colonial
domination. The first stage had its beginnings in the urge of individuals to reshape their personal lives, in large measure in accordance with standards adopted from Western thought. Movements such as the Swadeshi Movement gained nationwide momentum and influenced the economy and industry and further encouraged the urge for self-reliance in Indians. The Swadeshi movement emanated from the partition of Bengal in 1905 and continued up to 1908. It was the most successful of the pre-Gandhian movements. Initially the partition plan was opposed through an intensive use of conventional 'moderate' methods of press campaigns, numerous meetings and petitions, and big conferences at the Calcutta Town Hall in March 1904 and January 1905. The evident and total failure of such techniques led to a search for new forms - boycott of British goods, rakhi bandhan and arandhan. Two major trends can be identified in the Swadeshi Movement - 'constructive Swadeshi' and political 'extremism'. 'Boycott' was the weapon to make the Swadeshi movement successful. Constructive Swadeshi was the trend of self-help through Swadeshi industries, national schools and attempts at village improvement and organisation. Swadesh Bandhav Samiti also played a major role in the effort for reconstruction. Rabindranath Tagore called such a perspective of development atmashakti (self-strengthening). This, however, had little appeal to the excited educated youth of Bengal who were drawn much more to the creed of political 'extremism'. Their fundamental difference with the preachers of constructive Swadeshi was over methods, and here the classic statement came from Aurobindo Ghosh in a series of articles in April 1907, later reprinted as 'Doctrine of Passive Resistance'. He visualised a programme of organised and relentless boycott of British goods.

155 This found expression through the business ventures of Prafulla Chandra Roy or Nilratan Sarkar, national education movement laid down by Satishchandra Mukherjee, and constructive work in villages through a revival of the traditional Hindu samaj sketched out by Rabindranath Tagore.
officialised education, justice and executive administration, (backed up by the positive development of Swadeshi industries, schools and arbitration courts), and also looked forward to civil disobedience, 'social boycott' of loyalists, and recourse to armed struggle if British repression went beyond the limits of endurance. Another controversy arose over cultural ideas, between modernist and Hindu revivalist trend. The Swadeshi mood in general was closely linked with attempts to associate politics with religious revivalism. Surendranath Bannerjee claimed to have been the first to use the method of Swadeshi vows in temples. National education plans often had a strong revivalist content and 'boycott' was sought to be enforced through traditional caste sanctions. Such aggressive Hinduism often got inextricably combined in the pages of Bande Mataram, Sandhya or Yugantar while Brahmo journals like Sanjibani or Prabasi were critical of this view. The Hindu revivalist trend, together with the British propaganda that the new province would mean more jobs for Muslims, did achieve considerable success in swaying upper and middle class Muslims against the Swadeshi movement. Despite eloquent pleas for communal unity propagated by an active group of Swadeshi Muslim agitators like Ghaznawi, Rasul, Din Mahomed, Didar, Liakat Hussain etc., there were communal riots in East Bengal. Some Hindu zamindars and mahajans started levying an Ishvar brtti for maintaining Hindu images. So a large section of the Muslim community in Bengal remained aloof from the Swadeshi movement and Hindu bhadralok, whether believing in moderate or extremist politics, took leading part in the movement. Such a limitation of the spontaneity of the movement caught the attention of Rabindranath and other men of letters. Rabindranath, though considerably swayed by revivalism for some years, under the impact of communal strife, pointed out in a series of remarkably perceptive articles in mid 1907 that simply blaming the British for the riots was quite an inadequate response. Together with these cultural
limitations, the history of boycott and Swadeshi movement vividly illustrated the limits of an intelligentsia movement with broadly bourgeois aspirations but without as yet real bourgeois support. Boycott achieved some initial success - thus the Calcutta collector of customs in September 1906 noted a decline in Manchester cloth sales. This decline had a lot to do with a quarrel over trade terms between Calcutta Marwari dealers and British manufacturers. It is significant also that the sharpest decline was in items like shoes and cigarettes where the demand was mainly from middle class Indian gentlemen. In spite of such limitations the Swadeshi mood did bring about a significant revival in handloom, silk weaving, and some other traditional crafts. Also a number of attempts to promote modern industries were taken. A considerable variety was noticed within the national education efforts in Swadeshi Bengal, ranging from plans for vernacular technical teaching to Shantiniketan of Rabindranath and Dawn Society of Satish Mukherjee. These were plans to combine the traditional and the modern in a scheme for 'higher culture' for selected youths. The National Society of Education was set up as a parallel university in March 1906. Though the national education with its negligible job prospects failed to attract the bulk of students, yet, some institutions like the Bengal National College or Bengal Technical Institute survived after a couple of years. The emergence of Samitis (organisations \ groups) was an achievement of the Swadeshi age. By 1908, most of these Samitis were quite open bodies engaged in a variety of activities - physical and moral training of members, social work during religious festivals, preaching the Swadeshi message through multifarious forms, organising crafts, schools, arbitration courts and village societies, and implementing the techniques of

156 Thus the 'Banga Lakshmi Cotton Mills' was launched in August 1906 and there were some fairly successful ventures in porcelain, chrome, soap, matches and cigarettes.
passive resistance. The Swadeshi movement indirectly alienated the general Muslim public from national politics. They followed a separate course that culminated in the formation of the Muslim league (1906) in Dacca. But it also helped to give a new dimension in the Indian nationalist movement by giving the anticipations of Gandhian mass Satyagraha without the dogma of non-violence.

Among the various notions is a predominant one that British colonialism was milder than the others. Given the choice, the enslaved would have chosen British colonialism as it was more benign than others, but this is as true as allowing the chicken to choose the sauce it would be cooked in! Such a colonisation was certainly good for the British. Tax collections rose even as millions died of man-made famines such as the Bengal famine of 1770-72. The East India Company's own report put it simply. The famine in that province "exceeds all description." Close to ten million people had died, as Rajni Palme-Dutt pointed out in his book, *India Today*. The Company noted that more than a third of the populace had perished in the province of native Purnea. "And in other parts the misery is equal." Yet, Warren Hastings wrote to the directors of the East India Company in 1772: "Notwithstanding the loss of at least one-third of the inhabitants of this province, and the consequent decrease in cultivation, the net collections of the year 1771 exceeded even those of [pre-famine] 1768." Hastings was clear on why and how this was achieved. It was "owing to [tax collection] being violently kept up to its former standard." The Company itself, as Rajni Palme Dutt observed, was smug about this. It noted that despite "the severity of the late famine and the great reduction of people thereby, some increase has been made" in the collections. Between 24 million and 29 million Indians, maybe more, died in famines in the era of British good governance. Many of these famines were policy-driven. Millions died of callous and willful neglect being the victims of Malthusian rulers. Over 6 million
humans perished in just 1876 - when Madras was a hell. Many others had their lives shortened by ruthless exploitation and plunder. Well before the Great Bengal Famine, the report of that province's Director for Health for 1927-28 made grisly reading. It noted that "the present peasantry of Bengal is in a very large proportion taking to a dietary on which even rats could not live for more than five weeks." By 1931, life expectancy in India was sharply down. It was now 23.2 and 22.8 years for men and women which was less than half that of those living in England and Wales.

The Communist Party of Great Britain had been playing an important role in the development of the working class movement and the Communist Party in colonial India since the days of its formation in 1920, vehemently supporting the cause of complete independence from British imperialism. It sent many comrades to work in the trade union movement and three of them were also implicated in the Meerut Conspiracy Case, which was aimed at suppressing the communist movement in the country. The role of both Rajni Palme Dutt and Ben Bradley was very significant in this context. In fact, Rajni Palme Dutt who had undertaken a deep study of the economic structure in India, prevailing at that time gave a detailed analysis of the classes that were interested in maintaining British imperialist rule as well as the conditions and role of the overwhelming majority of the Indian population -- working class, peasantry, intelligentsia, other sections of the middle class, which though vacillating played its role at different stages. His book "India Today" has been a classical text not only for the communists but for all progressive forces in India. With regard to India, the Colonial Thesis states\textsuperscript{157}: "In India the policy of British imperialism, which used to retard the development of native industry,

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evoked great dissatisfaction among the Indian bourgeoisie. The class consolidation of the latter which replaced its former division into religious sects and castes, and which was expressed in the fusion of the Indian National Congress (organisation of the bourgeoisie) with the Muslim League effected in 1916, confronted British imperialists with a national united front in the country. Fear of the revolutionary movement during the war compelled British imperialism to make concessions to the native bourgeoisie which found expression in the economic sphere, in insignificant parliamentary reforms introduced in 1919. It points out that the first great anti-imperialist movement in India was the first non-cooperation movement of 1919-22, which it states "ended in the betrayal of the cause of the national revolution by the Indian bourgeoisie".

Further, the Colonial thesis points out that the attitude of the national bourgeoisie towards imperialism was not the same everywhere as there was no uniform attitude in relation to imperialism. While there were comprador bourgeoisie that directly served the interests of imperialist capital, the remaining portions of the native bourgeoisie, especially the portions reflecting the interests of native industry, supported the national movement and represented a special vacillating compromising tendency which may be designated as national reformism. It further states that "In India and Egypt we still observe, for the time being, the typical bourgeois-nationalist movement -- an opportunist movement subject to great vacillations, balancing between imperialism and revolution."

Analysing thus, it concludes that to emancipate the working class and the toiling people from the influence of bourgeois parties, it is essential to reject the formation of any kind of bloc between the Communist Party and the national reformist opposition, though subsequently it

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was realised that this understanding of the 6th Congress of the Committee, as was stated later bore a definite shade of sectarianism. Subsequently, the eleventh plenum of the E.C.C.I, in 1931, nailed down the policy of right reformist leaders of the social democracy during the world economic crisis. It also showed that social democracy did everything in its power to counter the development of the workers revolutionary struggle. It was for this very reason that discontent began growing amongst the rank and file against the line which the leaders pursued, the Left groups alone demanding a more acute struggle against fascism. The eleventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I also stated that the entire development of social democracy "is an uninterrupted process of evolution towards fascism" and that this line was an obstacle in the way of rallying all the anti-fascist forces\textsuperscript{159}. At the same time, the experience of the Communist parties was asserting itself in different forms\textsuperscript{160}.

This was followed by a second stage of nationalism when culturally diverse groups were brought under a common umbrella -- Indian Nationalism, to unite the entire country and secure India her rightful place amongst the comity of world nations as a modern nation. At this juncture, it would be worthwhile to understand what nationalism meant to India and who were the people who spearheaded this movement and what were their shared ideas on the same.

The first definitive expression of Indian nationalism arose with the Indian rebellion of 1857, where Indian soldiers and regional kings fought the forces allied with the British Empire in different parts of India. The war arose from the racist viewpoint of blatant disregard which the British exhibited towards Indian religious traditions, and the desire for Indians to retain religious purity and freedom regardless of war or violence as its expense. The organised nationalist movement

\textsuperscript{159} Ibid

\textsuperscript{160} Ibid.

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was spawned with the Indian National Congress which was founded in 1885. Its early leaders (1885-1918) were Dadabhai Naoroji, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Annie Besant, Bipin Chandra Pal and Motilal Nehru. The Gandhian Generation (1918-1947) comprised Mohandas Gandhi, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sarojini Naidu, Chakravarti Rajgopalachari, Rajendra Prasad, Maulana Azad and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Powerful influences outside the Congress Party included the militarist nationalist Subhas Chandra Bose, the Muslim separatist leaders Mohammed Ali Jinnah and Allama Iqbal, and Hindu nationalist Vinayak Damodar Savarkar. Raja Ram Mohan Roy sought to fight sati and illiteracy. He founded the Presidency College in Bengal, and inspired the foundation of the Brahma Samaj, as a Hindu reform society seeking to remove the ills of untouchability and casteism, as well as brahmin domination and dogmas. Syed Ahmed Khan promoted Western-style education in Muslim society, seeking to uplift Muslims in the economic and political life of British India. He founded the Aligarh Muslim University, (Uttar Pradesh), then called the Anglo-Oriental College. At the same time, Indian religious leaders like Swami Vivekananda and Sri Aurobindo emphasised the spiritual richness of Hinduism and Indian philosophy. Vivekananda asserted that the West could greatly help solve India’s problems of entrenched poverty and encourage economic progress, while India could bring spiritual and cultural wealth to Western societies. Dayanand Saraswati formed the Arya Samaj to combat social evils within Hindu society, and increase the pride and purity of Hindu worship, returning to the Vedas and worship of God, not lesser deities. Indian nationalism refers to the political and cultural expression of patriotism by the people of India, symbolising their pride in the history and heritage of India, and visions for its future. It also refers to the consciousness and expression of religious and ethnic influences (through the establishment of social institutions) that helped mould the
national consciousness. All these leaders were moderate thinkers, pragmatic in their outlook, choosing to develop India in ways, that, it could match the modernising world in diverse fields -- spread of English education, development of science and technology, industrial transformation and progress, political and economic change and a conviction to say goodbye to dogmas and taboos which deterred the fulfilment of these goals.

Nationalism describes the many underlying forces that channelised the Indian independence movement, and strongly continued to influence the politics of India, as well as being the heart of many contrasting ideologies that have caused ethnic and religious conflict in Indian society. It should be noted that, although controversial, Indian nationalism often imbibes the consciousness of Indians that prior to 1947, India embodied the broader Indian subcontinent. The basis of Nationalism needs to be understood in the context of the post colonial city. The term “nationalism” finds its roots in the word nation which further derives from the Latin term, natio, which means, by birth. A nation is made up of a nationality. In ‘Nationalism: A Religion’, Carleton Hayes defined nationality as the word derived from Latin natio, implying a common racial descent. So effectively race is the defining characteristic of a nation according to Hayes. Benedict Anderson’s book; Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, (1983) has explained that in an anthropological spirit, nation is an imagined political community - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign”. The term “nationalism” is generally used to describe two phenomena: (i) the attitude that the members of a nation have when they care about their national identity and (ii) the actions that the members of a nation take when seeking to achieve (or sustain) self-determination. The first raises
questions about the concept of nation (or national identity), which is often referenced in terms of common origin, ethnicity, or cultural ties, and while an individual’s membership in a nation is often regarded as involuntary, it is sometimes regarded as voluntary. The second, raises questions about whether self-determination must be understood as involving full statehood with complete authority over domestic and international affairs, or whether something less is required.

Nationalism may also be understood in another light, as being a product of industrialisation. Nationalism as an ideology served the purposes of capitalism and industrialism by providing homogeneity in culture, training, class mobility, education, language. Thus nationalism and industrialism developed symbiotically, mutually contributing towards sustenance and development. Therefore nationalism is modern. It may be seen as a product of the modern age, of modernity and modernisation. Nationalism, which is a brainchild of the French revolution and surfaced in 1789, is also a political ideology that also has a cultural component based upon economic and social development. It requires homogeneity and standardisation as its prerequisites which it shares with industrialised communities. Hence the modern world that has emerged has evolved its modern religion – nationalism.

Nationalism is a modern creation, its origins tied to industrial capitalism, a late nineteenth century coinage. Accorded by Clifford Geertz ‘the images, metaphors, and rhetorical turns from which national ideologies are built are essentially cultural devices designed to render one or another aspect of a broad process of collective self redefinition explicit, to cast essentialist pride or epochalist hope into specific symbolic forms, where more than dimly felt they can be described, developed celebrated and used.’ Objects, events, monuments, ceremonies all contribute meaningful symbols to the
production and consolidation of the ‘we’. Ernest Gellner\textsuperscript{162}, says, nationalism is not the awakening of an old latent force, dormant force, though that is how it presents itself. It is in reality the consequence of a new form of social organisation based on deeply internalised education-dependent high cultures, each protected by its own state.

It is in this perspective that Indian modernists such as Ram Mohan Roy, Rabindranath Tagore, and later Jawaharlal Nehru among many others worked towards the formation of Indian Nationalism. Through reforms in the education system, socio cultural practices, religious beliefs, scientific enquiry and technological development India’s modernisation process began. These were also the simultaneous strategies to bring together the multiplicity of cultural groups (within the country) and focus their energies towards the formation of Indian Nationalism.

One of the earliest modernist reformers, Raja Rammohun Roy (b. May 22, 1772, d. September 27, 1833), founded the Brahmo Samaj\textsuperscript{163}, the first Indian socio-religious reform movement in the country. He is also known as the father of ‘modern India’ due to his reformist mindset which replaced the taboo thinking with a pragmatic, progressive and scientific temperament. His remarkable influence was apparent in the fields of politics, public administration, education and religion as well. The Indian modernists wanted to eradicate past practices with those of a scientific temper, without prejudices (based on taboos and dogmas), so as to lay the foundations of a strong modern India, capable of governing herself and setting her own standards for development, at par with the developed countries. For example, for Roy, English


\textsuperscript{163} Founded in 1828 in Calcutta, the Brahmo Samaj is a religious movement. At its centre is the belief that there is one God, who is omnipresent and omniscient. It initially evolved in India where it differed from existing practice as it did not believe in idol-worship or the caste system. The Brahmo Samaj has played a significant role in the renaissance of India, and the roots of much of the modern thinking in India can be traced back to the Brahmo movement. Rabindranath Tagore, the Nobel Laureate, was one of the luminaries of the Brahmo Samaj.
education was the portal, opening the way to Indians to advance toward equality with the Westerners, and he provided crucial support for private and governmental efforts to introduce higher education along European lines\textsuperscript{164}. While Roy’s efforts in Calcutta set the Indian National Movement rolling, Bombay was not far behind. Alumni of the Elphinston College\textsuperscript{165}, Bombay, sponsored public lectures to promote the movement, as a social revolt against the religious and social practices prevalent in society. Though the intellectual acceptance of western ideas did not imply ease in adopting them in practice and the reformists faced a lot of public criticism, yet slowly but surely the genesis of a social revolt in Bengal, Maharastra and Panjab\textsuperscript{166} formed the basis of a national political revolt which laid the foundations of modern India. Simultaneously adding fuel to the smouldering fire, a remarkable outburst of intellectual activity in India and a radical transformation in social and religious ideas also took place. The impetus to these changes came from the introduction of English education. Through this channel came the liberal ideas of the West which stirred the people and roused them from the slumber of the ages. A critical outlook of the past and new aspirations for the future marked a new awakening. Reason and judgment took the place of faith and belief; superstition yielded to science; immobility was replaced by progress, and a zeal for reform of proved abuses overpowered age long apathy and inertia, and a complacent

\textsuperscript{164} Hermath, Charles H. 1964. \textit{Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform}. Oxford University Press; Princeton, New Jersey. p. 12

\textsuperscript{165} Founded in 1827 to promote English education on the lines of the Hindu College, Calcutta.

\textsuperscript{166} In Punjab it was Dayanand Saraswati (1824-1883), who founded the Arya Samaj as a vigorous campaign against Brahmin priesthood and the social customs it supported. Founded in 1875 by Swami Dayanand Saraswati, the Arya Sabha played a notable role in the development of a new national consciousness among the Hindus. In fact, it became “the foremost agency for planting a sturdy independent nationalism in the Punjab”. Some of the important national leaders such as Lajpat Rai and Hans Raj were staunch Arya Samajists. It also provided a chain of educational institutions which became the centre of patriotic activities in the national struggle.
acquiescence in whatever was urgent in society. Commencing with a small group of people, this change gradually spread among larger sections of people and ultimately the masses. The new spirits of this age was strikingly reflected in the life of Raja Ram Mohan Roy who began his reformation activity by preaching the oneness of god and assailing the prevalent Hindu belief of many gods and elaborate rituals. A great pioneer of English education, Ram Mohun founded educational institutions and supported the founding of many and contributed significantly to uplift the women in Indian society. (Sati, polygamy, child marriage, widow remarriage and the like). A prophet in Indian politics, he laid down the rules for apolitical agitation in a constitutional manner. His views on political problems are surprisingly modern and in essential features represent the high water mark of the Indian political thought. The basic principles of Ram Mohun’s politics were love of freedom, amounting to the strongest passion of his soul and a sincere belief that the people of India have the same capability for improvement as any other civilised people. Another change which he worked hard for was the freedom of the press. Freedom of the press was not allowed and each newspaper had to have a government license. Ram Mohun took up this cause and in 1835 Sir Thomas Metcalfe removed all restrictions from the press. He championed the cause of peasants, brought about land reforms, including permanent settlement for lands the farmers tilled. He laid the foundation of all principal movements to elevate the positions of the Indians. Raja represented a new spirit, its freedom of enquiry, its thirst for science, its large human sympathy, enquiry, its pure and gifted ethics, along with its reverent but not uncritical regard for the past and prudent disinclination towards revolt. Ram Mohun also took up the cause of establishing several schools of English including the Hindustan.

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college (1817) which afterwards developed into the Presidency College. The government could not ignore the new spirit. English books were printed and circulated among few people but with the hope that that ‘filtration theory’ of the Anglicists would reach the masses. The middle class Hindus benefited the maximum while the Muslim and Hindu aristocracy remained aloof. The British government had a policy of benevolent tolerance towards Indian social customs and practices regardless of these becoming a stigma on society. Ram Mohun was instrumental in getting government orders passed against sati and other social evils. Further, the formation of the Presidency towns of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, was a step towards local self government. Inclusion of a greater number of Indians into the Civil Service of India and state Provincial Service of India is also credited to him. In 1893, a resolution was passed in the House of Commons in favour of Exams which were earlier, held only in England, and were now onwards to be held simultaneously in India. This was in view that travel expenses could not be borne by meritorious but poor Indian students and therefore denied them of this opportunity.

For the modernist, the past is largely irrelevant. As mentioned earlier in this text, the nation is a modern phenomenon, the product of nationalist ideologies, which themselves are the expression of the modern, industrial society. The nationalist is free to use ethnic heritages, but nation-building can proceed without the aid of an ethnic past. Hence, nations are phenomena of a particular stage of history, and embedded in purely modern conditions. Soon, many small groups and organisations began taking formation in India, wherein transformation of the Indian nation based on modern ideals and methods began to surface. Simultaneously, the goal of national political advancement provided a secular basis for social reform that
eliminated the need to relate social to religious reformation. The new desire for a national community which could express the expectations of progress among the scattered and culturally diverse individuals paved the way to India's modernisation process. If the condition that we call modernity is the product of departures from existing modes of thought and a clear departure from the past, then the mid nineteenth century vividly witnessed the birth of Indian Modernity with the realisation of the Indian National Movement. This movement was essentially the search for a 'national' conscience—a nation state that had not existed ever before, as a means to bring the entire country focused towards a single common goal—political independence. If in Europe, World War II signified opportunities to build a better future, then in India, it was political independence that created a desire for a new world. According to Michael Hechter, "If nationalism is collective action designed to render the boundaries of the nation congruent with those of its governance unit, then a simple analytic typology of nationalism flows directly out of this understanding." Further, this typology helps account for the normative differences between the different types of nationalism. State-building nationalism is the nationalism that is embodied in the attempt to assimilate or incorporate culturally distinctive territories in a given state. It is the result of the conscious efforts of central rulers to make a multicultural population culturally homogeneous. This typology follows the Indian nationalism movement very closely since it was the ready acceptance of culturally diverse communities which worked as a unified political group and sought to make an independent India.

169 Lane, Jon. 2002 A Concise History of Modern Architecture in India. Permanent Black, New Delhi, India
171 Ibid

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The early nationalists who formed the Indian National Party included men and women from various walks of life as well as religions that sought to highlight the secular nature of the Indian National movement. The demand for full independence was for the first time understood by the great numbers of Indians, and a sincere pride in Indian heritage made that demand into more than an academic assertion of natural rights. From the outset, the movement emphasised its all Indianness. For example, the Indian National Congress, which was founded in the year 1885, not as a federation of the existing provincial political organisations but as a new nationwide organisation committed to political mobilisation on the basis of an all India demands. Its cadres and appeals, its audience and above all its leadership were drawn from all over India. And from the beginning it emphasised the unity and the integrity of the country. Infact, it was the alliance of the state peoples' movements (the cultural factor attributed to Indian nationalism), as part of the all-India national movement, that enabled easy integration of the princely states with the rest of India after independence. The Indian National movement which grew contemporaneously with the rise of the British rule in India was not a single revolutionary overthrowing of the government but a prolonged 'ideological struggles' that sought to bring about a radical change in peoples' mindset, brought about by its middle class leaders (who were trained in British universities abroad or set up in India). These leaders focused on modern ideals of a democratic, civic, secular India, based on a self reliant social order and foreign policy and advocated the progressive ideals of hatred a British Imperialism and not the British themselves. The democratic nature of Indian nationalism was reflected in the wide publicity given to the Bauhaus
Art Exhibition staged at Calcutta at the behest of Rabindranath Tagore in 1922\textsuperscript{174}. Therefore there were selected borrowings from the western culture.

Crawford Young says that the state, which, before independence has been the very foil against which unity was forged, is after independence itself the main vehicle in the hands of the nationalist elite for the fulfillment of the mission’. It was easier for Brahmins, Gujaratis, Tamils, Sikhs, and Muslims to grasp the idea that they were not Englishmen, than they were Indians, Burmese, Sudanese, and Bangladeshis...etc. After the ‘easy populism’ of the independence movement, the leadership of a new state had to face the difficult challenge of consolidating the identity of the ‘collective subject to whom the actions of the state could be internally connected’\textsuperscript{175}. National identity must be fostered internally—within each individual and among the constituent groups of the state, rather than appositionally. Thus in India too, it was the Indian National Movement which strove for an independent (yet collective) India and was responsible for constructing an Indian nationalism incorporating multicultural and minority groups.

Ernest Gellner in his book, ‘Nations and Nationalism - a theory of Political Legitimacy’\textsuperscript{176}, holds that ‘the political and national unit should be congruent’. First comes the nation-India and then the nationalism—Indian. National identity in this view is not a natural attribute that precedes statehood but a process that must be cultivated for a long time after a regime has gained political power. This may be achieved through a number of ways, such as establishing sociocultural

\textsuperscript{174} The first Bauhaus (founded in 1919) exhibition held outside Germany was in Calcutta in 1922 under the leadership of Rabindranath Tagore. This exhibition was organised by the Indian Society of Oriental Art.

\textsuperscript{175} Geertz, Clifford. 1963 Old Societies and New States: The Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa. University of Chicago Committee for the Comparative Study of New Nations. Free Press of Glencoe; University of Chicago. USA.


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institutions, educational and scientific infrastructure as well as the development of state-national symbols and work places.

The driving force behind the Indian National Movement was to generate a spirit of nationalism and national pride so as to oppose the colonial or foreign domination. It manifested itself through multilingual literature, newspaper dailies\textsuperscript{177}, public speeches, sale of low budgeted Indian goods\textsuperscript{178} as articles of daily use (as opposed to the higher priced foreign imports). A new generation of Western-educated Indians sought to end practices and traditions that were responsible in their view for India's economic backwardness, social deprivation and political disunity. Laying out the first definitive national vision, this generation sought to promote Western-style scientific education and democracy.

There were multiple nationalisms at work in the country, the commonalities being, that for each 'nationalism is first and foremost a state of mind, an act of consciousness...’ as put forth by Hans Kohn in his work, 'The idea of Nationalism'\textsuperscript{179}. Carleton Hayes has noted four different meanings to nationalism\textsuperscript{180}: a) the name of a historic process, b) the ideas embodied in that process, c) the activities of a particular party, and d) a condition of mind among members of a nation. Indian Nationalism meant all these things and it's understanding proposed is broad enough to encompass them, yet more precise than Hayes's catalogue. Recently, there has been a rise of Third World nationalisms. Third world nationalisms, occur in those nations that have been colonised and exploited. The nationalisms of these nations were forged in a furnace that required resistance to colonial domination in order to survive. As such, resistance is part and parcel of such nationalisms and their very existence is a form of resistance to imperialist intrusions.

\textsuperscript{177} The Tribune, Hindu etc
\textsuperscript{178} ‘Swadeshi Movement' emphasised on the use of articles made indigenously in the country.
\textsuperscript{179} Hayes, Carleton. 1926. \textit{Essays on Nationalism}. Macmillan Company; New York, USA
Indian nationalism is also a third world nationalism as it attempts to ensure that the identities of its peoples are authored primarily by themselves, and not colonial powers.\textsuperscript{181}

Nationalism may be understood to be a psychological need to ‘protect ones sense of the self’ or identify oneself as different, from the unknown, enemies or those that do not offer a security. It is essentially a phenomenon of the industrialised society. Nationalism gained widespread momentum in the late nineteenth century when the nation became the ‘sole binding agency of meaning and justification’.\textsuperscript{182} The nation becomes the highest sacred authority and replaces religion in the industrialised society, and the zeal to safeguard the honour of the nation becomes the moral obligation of each man. A national anthem, the tricolour, a national emblem, and other such symbols are all secular instruments towards an evolving nationalism.\textsuperscript{183}

Indian Nationalism was the only and sure means to bring together a culturally diverse population. Infact Indian nationalism may be viewed as a means to modernise India and the tool deployed for this was to set on the path of Industrialisation, which inadvertently would match India to the modern world. Modernisation was seen with industrialisation and large scale rebuilding of Paris, London, Vienna and other cities of Western Europe. Change was the signature of the late nineteenth century. The leaders of the Indian National Movement understood the underlying meanings to engage India and modernity. Exploring the possibilities of modernities outside the Euro –Anglo centre helped in liberating the marginalised from the string held by the Euro Anglo centre. They provided a chance to be modern and not fall

\textsuperscript{180} Ibid.p 10
\textsuperscript{181} Chatterjee, Partha. 1993. Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World- A Derivative Discourse. University of Minnesota Press; USA
\textsuperscript{182} Hermsath, Charles H. 1964. Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform. Oxford University Press; Princeton, New Jersey USA p.133

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prey to the infinite chase of Euro-Anglo modernity. This was the challenge faced by the Indian Nationalists. The legacy of ‘colonial restructuring’ had to be done in independent India so that the conditions for rapid industrialisation could be created. The task of attempting a modern industrial transformation, two hundred years after the first industrial revolution and nearly a hundred years after several other countries had industrialised, was a stupendous one. Besides the handicap of colonialism and the several built in disadvantages faced by a late comer, India had to confront political and economic conditions that had changed radically. New and innovative strategies were mandatory if success had to be achieved. To represent the above changes in the cultural and social setting in terms of urban development, architecture and town planning, it was the 1850s that were a watershed in Indian political, urban and architectural history and the complexity of the situation became more obvious in the ensuing years. The mid eighteenth century also witnessed changes in communications and manufacturing technologies in India although their origins can be traced back to much earlier time. By 1857, the Calcutta Delhi Grand Trunk Road was completed and the railways, as a system that bound India together, (by the Earl of Dalhousie) may be regarded as the first step towards development of India as a nation. In 1854, a telegraph line between Calcutta and Agra and the development of the printing press constituted another form of communication – mass media. Establishing the beginnings of modernism and its impact on the ways of lives of the Indians are fraught with difficulty. Many of the departures from the past norms were social in nature but we tend to think of them solely as the results
of technological change. Rather much of India’s modernisation process is based as much on social change as technological.

The reorganisation of productive activities, as much as political change, signaled the arrival of a new era. The 1850s also witnessed what may be called the value beginnings of professional architecture and town planning education in India with the establishment of educational and higher learning institutions such as the Bengal Engineering College in Howrah\textsuperscript{185}, the Thomson Engineering College at Roorkee\textsuperscript{186} and the Sir Jamsetjee Jeejebhoy School of Art\textsuperscript{187} popularly known as the J J School of Art in Bombay. The architects of British India had a rich heritage from which to draw and this was the entire history of both Indian and European architecture. New ways of thinking became evident in the evolution of European architecture in India as the nineteenth century progressed. One of the designer’s goals was to display their clients’ power and authority. Much of the concern was with the expression of identity and how architectural exploration of buildings as mechanisms for non verbal communication of ideas may best be pursued. The imperial dream was paralleled, with a short time lag, by the growth of

\textsuperscript{185} Established in November 1856 occupying three rooms in Writers’ Building to meet the requirement of trained Engineering personnel for the Public Works Department it served as a Civil Engineering College, and was affiliated to the Calcutta University in May 1857. From 1865 to 1879 the College functioned as Civil Engineering Department of Presidency College. In 1880 the college shifted to its permanent home, the lush campus at Bishop’s College, Howrah. It got its name, Bengal Engineering College in 1921. Presently it enjoys the status of being a deemed university. Source: official website of B E. College and Science University, Shibpur, Howrah http://www.becs.ac.in/history.html, accessed May 28, 2008.

\textsuperscript{186} The Roorkee College was established in 1847 AD as the First Engineering College in the British Empire. The College was renamed as The Thomason College of Civil Engineering in 1854. It was given the status of University by Act No. IX of 1948 of the United Province (Uttar Pradesh) in recognition of its performance and its potential and keeping in view the needs of post-independent India. Pandit Jawaharlal Lal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, presented the Charter in November 1949 elevating the erstwhile college to the First Engineering University of Independent India. On 21st September 2001, the University was declared an institute of national importance, by passing a bill in the parliament, changing its status from University of Roorkee to Indian Institute of Technology Roorkee. Official website of Roorkee University url http://www.iitr.ernet.in/ accessed May 28, 2008.

\textsuperscript{187} The Sir J. J. School of Art was founded in March 1857 with an endowment of Rs. 100,000 made in 1833 by Sir Jamsetjee Jeejebhoy, after whom the school is named. Located in Mumbai, India, it is a sister institution to the Sir J J Institute of Applied Art, which was split off from the original School after India’s Independence in 1947. Lockwood Kipling, father of the author Rudyard Kipling, was a principal of this school, and Rudyard was born on its campus. The first art class was started at the Elphinstone Institution in 1857. In 1878, the school moved to its own building where it is currently situated.

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Indian nationalism and the efforts of Indian architects to establish architectural expressions reflecting their own and their country’s aspirations. Not only were there major political and administrative changes in India after 1858 but also tremendous transformation in the organisation of society was made possible or forced upon the people by the industrial revolution. Changing technological capabilities had, by the second half of the nineteenth century, led to major social upheavals in Europe and North America. India followed. A rail line from Bombay to Thane was laid in 1853, Bombay’s first cotton mill set up in 1854, the Byculla iron works started in 1854. During the latter part of the nineteenth century the modern state of India was set up. Such a development could not have been possible without the presence of the British. Changes were opposed because they were being done under British control. The second half of the century, however saw radical changes in India with the introduction of new technologies, social institutions, and bureaucratic government structures. Many new buildings were required for a variety of new functions. These new functions included a new legal system demanding new courts, new commercial enterprises, such as insurance companies, and trading houses. Housing was required for the expanding population; the education system was considerably enlarged along European lines and there was a demand for the setting up of schools and colleges as centres of middle and high school learning. Museums and public libraries, town halls, conservatories, public gardens, bandstands became a part of the townscape. Some of these institutions existed but were transformed by the introduction of new social customs. The process of construction was greatly altered. The trained artists, masons, and craftsmen were formally trained in the new art schools established by the British. New construction materials such as glass,
concrete, steel opened up new possibilities for construction. The discussion about the appropriate architecture for India gathered ground and journals such as ‘Builder’ were influenced by these debates, more in Europe, but slowly and surely in India.

Post independence development in India was unique as it had to undertake industrial transformation within a democratic framework and these developments would have to take place as achievements measured by other countries. In other words the world image of India was very important. The colonial legacy had made India devoid of participating in the industrial transformation that was occurring the world over. Apart from extreme poverty, illiteracy, a ruined agriculture and industry, the structural distortions created by colonialism in the Indian economy and society made the future transition to self sustained growth much more difficult.

Yet India had a few advantages too. First, a small but self owned industrial base had been developed between 1914-1947 (Indian owned and controlled) among other things by a capitalist class, seizing opportunities created during this period by the weakening of the imperialist stranglehold during the two world wars and the great depression of the 1930s. Indian capitalists had also acquired a dominance over the financial sphere i.e. banking, life insurance, etc.

By independence therefore, India had in spite of and in opposition to colonialism, developed an independent economic base from which an attempt to take off into rapid industrialisation could be made. Unlike her other colonial counterparts India was not gushed into a neocolonial situation where formal political independence was achieved, but the erstwhile colony’s economy continued to be essentially dominated by metropolitan interests.

Of the major Indian cities to have experienced the western imports, was Bombay and it is popularly known that the changes and growth
trends in Bombay signify the arrival of the ‘modern’ in India\textsuperscript{188}. From 1919, the closing year of World War I, radical transformations in terms of its social makeup and physical structure on account of new industries being set up were brought about. The period also saw the rise of a class of educated intellectuals and the emergence of a large middle class (from clerks, secretaries, salesmen, to professional managers, bureaucrats). The 1920s began auspiciously as a building boom came up but ended suddenly with the great economic depression that hit worldwide\textsuperscript{189}. The process of land reclamation in Bombay again picked up in 1930s and a rising population, due to inflow from the hinterland (who came to work in the mills of Bombay), called for speedy development of social housing, transport lines, commerce, healthcare and entertainment besides the growth of industrial estates, banks, stock exchange...Thus Bombay took a national lead in social transformation and events such as the Bombay plan\textsuperscript{190} were proclaimed as the forerunners of modernity in India, reflecting and fine


\textsuperscript{189} The Economic Depression which hit worldwide in 1929 and also known as the ‘Great Slump’, the ‘Economic Slide’, ‘The Downward Spiral’ was a dramatic, worldwide economic downturn beginning in some countries as early as 1928. The beginning of the Great Depression in the United States is associated with the stock market crash on October 29, 1929, known as Black Tuesday and the end is associated with the onset of the war economy of World War II, beginning around 1939. The depression had devastating effects in both the industrialized countries and those which exported raw materials. International trade declined sharply, as did personal incomes, tax revenues, prices, and profits. Cities all around the world were hit hard, especially those dependent on heavy industry. Construction was virtually halted in many countries. Farming and rural areas suffered as crop prices fell by 40 to 60 percent. Facing plummeting demand with few alternate sources of jobs, areas dependent on primary sector industries such as farming, mining and logging suffered the most. At the time, Herbert Hoover was President of the United States. Even shortly after the Wall Street Crash of 1929, optimism persisted. John D. Rockefeller said that “These are days when many are discouraged. In the 93 years of my life, depressions have come and gone. Prosperity has always returned and will again. “The Great Depression ended at different times in different countries; the majority of countries set up relief programs, and most underwent some sort of political upheaval, pushing them to the left or right. In some states, the desperate citizens turned toward nationalist demagogues - the most infamous being Adolf Hitler -, setting the stage for World War II in 1939. Source Wikipedia the Free Encyclopedia url http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_Depression. Accessed May 31, 2008.

\textsuperscript{190} The ‘Bombay Plan’ of January 1944 drawn up by India’s leading businessman (including J.R.D Tata, G.D Birla, P Thakurdas, Shri Ram and Kasturbhai Lalbhai) visualized a doubling of per capita national income in fifteen years through quick development of basic industries. While little more than a statement of objectives and vague on the questions of distribution and state control, the ‘Bombay Plan’ was prepared to accept a ‘temporary eclipse’ in ‘freedom of enterprise’ in the interests of development, and made a number of surprisingly warm references even to the Russian experiment.

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tuning to the affluence of the West, offering new lifestyles (concept of commuting to work, eating out, going to the cinema, clubs) and signifying the dawn of the Modern era in India. Besides its textile industry that provided a world of work and wages to migrants from distant and remote areas of the states of Maharashtra and Gujarat, Bombay also was one of the few early cities in the country to become a commercial stronghold for the development of the Indian economy and therefore found patrons willing to invest in real estate development, corporate architecture, large scale urban housing, healthcare and other such projects of public nature. Such enterprise could not be addressed through the existing design principles or prototypes and demanded a new vocabulary of architecture.

During the 1930’s in India, international modernism, modern Indian architectural movement and the Art Deco were all referred to as being ‘modern’. The first two were most certainly presenting a new face to the architectural vocabulary in the country, while the Art Deco, a revivalist movement, was seeking an updateness in the past.

The rapid rate of social and technological change that continued well into the twentieth century made the assimilation of new ideas, especially those imposed from outside, extremely difficult. While the clash between the indigenous and the modernist prevailed the demands became new and had no Indian precedents. They had to be addressed in new ways, many of which failed to build upon the strengths of the Indian cultural heritage, including its architectural heritage. When the architects and engineers tried to do so, they often drew neither on its spirit nor on the principles that were used to solve specific problems but relied simply on copying of elements (social and architectural).

192 Patel, Sujata & Thomer, Alice 1995 Bombay, Metaphor for Modern India. Oxford University Press; New Delhi, India.

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There have been essentially three streams in India’s modernisation process: The first is eliminating tradition as an obstacle to modernisation. This is based on the worldwide assumption that tradition is outdated and obsolete and that being modern is the only correct course of action. Architecturally ‘modern’ applied to whatever contemporary ideas were regarded as good. The modern movement however represented a specific set of attitudes towards design. Modern architecture responded to the need to provide for new patterns of behaviour that resulted from political and technological change in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It began with the perception that the classical orders and composition do not present a universal basis for the appreciation of beauty in architecture\textsuperscript{194}. To be modern was a means to be at par with the rest of the urbanising world. The second was resistance to modernisation which was seen as a threat to tradition. In this stream the ‘modern ‘ connotes all that which is negative in terms of values, ethics, moral standards and codes of conduct. Accommodating the earlier two is the third stream. It is this last stream which found its way into independent India. Who were the main patrons and partners who were responsible for the development of modern architecture in India? All over the world it is primarily the people who made financial and intellectual progress in society or are attempting to do so (Eaton, 1969). The essence is to seek something completely fresh based upon a perception of brave new worlds. In India, for example it was the mill owning families of Ahmedabad, while elsewhere it was the state sponsored architecture, or the well known business houses. Modernist Architecture aimed at improving the lives of people and this is what Indian modernist thinkers such as Rabindranath Tagore, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, and Jawaharlal Nehru purported their lives for. Architecture and urbanism remain the

\textsuperscript{194} Lang, Jon. 2002. A Concise History of Modern Architecture in India. Permanent Black; New Delhi: p.67
primary cultural expression of the national imagination, and in its forms can be read the complex intersections of politics, society, place, city and nation. For example building facades were a presentation of the British and the Classical styles, while internally the buildings were truly indigenous\(^{195}\). Even the houses of wealthy families represented the British contact externally while the inner family courts retained the traditional forms and motifs.

The modern movement, which arrived in India almost as the same time as the rest of the world helped to rethink the nature and purpose of architecture for a modern, secular and democratic society. It is also to the credit of the tenets of the modern movement and its practitioners in India that it did not become a fossil; but paved the way for the modern yet appropriate architecture for India, its own version of indigenous urbanism and regionalism- and wasn't that the whole objective of the modern movement to begin with\(^{196}\)?

No doubt we were trying to get over the colonial imprint whose architectural and urban arrangements were aimed at demonstrating their visible presence and unquestioned authority. India's embrace to modernity has been a reaction to this. Quoting Aurobindo Ghose '...No one will deny that for us, and even for those who have a strong affection for original oriental things and believe in their great value, and are ambitious to conserve what is sound and beneficial in our indigenous civilisation, we can only do so by assisting very largely the influx of Occidentalism. But at the same time we have the right to insist and every sagacious man will take pains to insist that the process of introduction will not be rash and ignorant, that it shall be judicious and discriminating. We are to have what the West can give us, because the West can give us just what can rescue us from our

\(^{195}\) Tagore's Shantiniketan and Raja Ram Mohan Roy's house in Calcutta depict classical facades while internal courtyards and rooms are planned to fulfil the functional and cultural needs of Indian lifestyles.

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present appalling condition of intellectual decay, but we are not to take it in a haphazard way, rather we should find it expedient to select the very best that is thought or taught and known in Europe and to import that with the changes and reservations which our diverse conditions may be found to dictate. Otherwise instead of a simple ameliorating influence, we shall have chaos annexed to chaos, the vices and calamities of the West superimposed on the vices and calamities of the East\textsuperscript{197}.

Early modernist architecture the world over was politically radical in the manner of American economist Thorstein Veblen. The most dogmatic modernists were deterministic: design was a product of functional requirements and of the most efficient use of modern materials. Like Veblen and the technocrats, dogmatic functionalist architects believed that decisions in a modern society should be made on technical grounds, and that new technology would sweep away traditional forms. Around the time of the French revolution, the philosopher St. Simon wrote that industrialisation would not only eliminate poverty but would also sweep away traditional forms of authority — the monarchy, aristocracy, and church — and bring a society managed by technical experts. Likewise, Karl Marx believed that the communist revolution would sweep away traditional forms of authority and bring a planned industrial economy. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Thorstein Veblen carried the ideal of progress furthest by advocating what he called "technocracy", which he described as a society "managed by competent technicians with an eye to maximum production\textsuperscript{198}".


The discourse on modern Asian architecture has always been marginalised and never really occupied a central position. While Europe has been central to the discourse on modernity having ‘done away with the past’, Peter Collins and William Curtis have attempted to change this predicament. In his book ‘Changing Ideals of Modern Architecture’\textsuperscript{199}, Peter Collins changed the scholarship on modern architecture onto an amazingly new path, in contrast to Hitchcock and Pevsner. He showed how each different epoch in history conceived a ‘modern architecture’ of its own uniqueness. The centre of modern architectural history is still Euro Anglo history, but the supreme position of modern architecture as the climax of western civilisation began to demise, for the centre itself had been pluralised, the concept of modern architecture is now moving beyond the architecture of the modern movement and its pivotal revolution in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The process of Asia’s modernisation has been through an East –West dialogue, promoting exchange, wherein the west brought in modern modes of thought, which the east tempered through indigenous ideas of socialism, secular, and an egalitarian order. At the end of World War II, the process of decolonisation began which coincided with the beginning of the Cold War, gave birth to the ”Third World” consisting of a host of new African and Asian colonies (cities) who gained independence between late 1940s and 1960s. The decolonisation released fresh hopes and energies in new nations such as Asia at a time when boundless faith was being invested in the idea of material progress based on rational, scientific technologies. India as an example of Asian Modernity thus became a new independent nation to serve as a repository of millenarian agendas of change and progress fuelled by domestic aspirations.


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Asian identity and modernity are recognised as having their origins in Asia itself and have been continuously shaped by Asian interaction with the rest of the world through various phenomena: industrialisation, urbanisation, westernisation, colonisation, decolonisation and nation building and the assertion of national and regional identities. The late nineteenth and twentieth century is also the most vibrant era of Asian modernity, where the east – west relationship was being constantly redefined through displays of simultaneous acceptance of and resistance to western ideologies, and of the struggles of placing modernity within the issues of cultural continuity and economic appropriateness.

The practical act of becoming an independent state in whatever form it took; whether a republic, dictatorship, monarchy or socialist regime, it brought with it, a need to express a psychological freedom from a colonial or foreign-dominated past or even a past seen to be wrapped in a mantle of tradition. Besides the manifestation of ‘progress’ reflected in modernity the other major trend was of the social responsibility of the state. Intellectual elite may have spearheaded the independence struggles, but they were supported by grass root movements. States often chose to express their independence by creating new foci for their administrative and symbolic cities, where there was a conscious need to express difference in the new settlements and capitals away from the colonial cities. Although city building was a very expensive process for the state, the post independence phenomenon, the world over saw the emergence of new capitals such as Chandigarh (1950) the provincial capital of Punjab, in India, Islamabad (1961), Brasilia (1957) Abuja, Nigeria (1975) Dodoma (1976) Tanzania. The capitol complex marks the point in


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transition and signals the change to the modern state where power sharing is expressed through a parliamentary building (as in Islamabad, Dhaka, Kuala Lumpur, Colombo and Kuwait city) even in instances where the reality is illusionary. The expression of nationalism, new forms of social organisations and the internal power structure that emerges (usually of the elite) are manifested in the urban form and architecture among other things.

The political role of city planning after 1945 is most apparent in the remodeling of existing and the design of new capital cities. The form of a capital city - indeed, of any city - is a revealing indicator of a society's social and political organisation. As the global community realigned itself in power blocs after 1945, social scientists began to speak in terms of first- (developed capitalists), second- (socialist) and third- (developing) world experiences. Political leaders employed design (as a powerful tool) in their campaigns to distinguish new regimes from the preceding power structures and to suggest the broad outlines of emerging political cultures.

Works of urban design and architecture assume a peculiar place in this assemblage of national symbols. Capital cities (and predominantly their parliament buildings) would seem to be ready purveyors of national identity, since they are ostensibly built to serve and symbolise a nation-state as a whole. For Edward Shils, ‘Modern means being Western without depending on the west’. In many states in the developing world, formal political independence has been accompanied by the sporadic and uneasy development; sporadic because of insufficient funds and factional infighting and uneasy because of

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202 Not long after the Lincoln memorial was built its image displaced the words ONE CENT from the centre of the tail side of the American penny. Likewise on the nickel the head of Jefferson is backed by the image of his home in Monticello. These buildings have come to be infused in the symbolism of American Democratic government and thereby their powerful American nationality.
increasing dislocation from traditional ways of life. Modernisation in its architectural manifestations, has led to the gradual globalisation of cheapened and diluted versions of the so called international style. As the product of multiplicity of choices, cities are intellectual constructs as well as physical artifacts and social networks and all the three are closely related. Most post colonial capital cities frequently attempt to use architecture (not only to house a new form of government—parliamentary democracy, but also to proclaim the worthiness of the new regime, a national identity or national unity. Whether abrupt or gradual (e.g. Rome, London) capital-isation of a city is based upon physical, social, economic and political motives.

What is a capital? It is understood to be a manmade product of human will and historical circumstance. Existence of a certain form of a capital, at a given time, in a given setting is related to the shifting and delicate balance among many contending forces and influences: climate, natural beauty, a geopolitical strategy, a sensitive border or a central location for ease of access. The capital’s placement may even be based upon idiosyncrasy or rational site selection. Its placement may be a memory of a historic glorious event. Or it may be sited to maximize international visibility.

Then there is a difference between the modern and premodern capita. Modern capital is a term used to denote a political enterprise and has been in vogue since the last two hundred years—the nation state capital. It is a seat of the government and its symbolic presence. Programmatically the modern capital must fulfill functional and symbolic roles of national administration, especially in states emerging from control by an external power, to serve as a focus to express national identity.


Not all designed capitals have been constructed in the aftermath of an independence movement, though the symbolics of city building and nation building often do seem to be synchronised. Throughout history and across the globe, architecture and urban design have been manipulated in the service of politics. Government buildings are places of governance and are purported to establish governments and to support specific regimes. More than mere homes for governments, they serve as symbols of state, often stately, grand and monumental evoking a sense of power, and commanding respect from the populace. Much about a political regime can be learnt by studying its buildings. Moreover a close examination of government buildings can reveal a great deal of about what Clifford Geertz has termed ‘the cultural balance of power, within a pluralist society’.

Whether, through the design of a new capital city or modestly, through the design of a capitol complex, government leaders have attempted to define a sense of national identity by careful manipulation of the built environment. Before moving on to discuss in detail specific examples of post colonial capital cities it is important to discuss the concept of national identity. The process of decolonisation involves far more than a political change of government; it entails a far reaching alteration of social and cultural consciousness, one not easily and fully achieved. As Geertz has observed, the battle against colonial rule is not at all equivalent to the ‘definition, creation, and solidification of a viable collective entity’.

So what were our options if there was a need to develop a methodology or search for a new INDIAN IDENTITY? The Gandhian philosophy was available but the idea of a simple village life ill afforded the tall claims for modernity, industrialised economies, utopian plans and ideologies of progress and of course emancipation from the past,

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into a new future. The Nehruvian model looked towards a socialist, industrialised, modern India, free of poverty and unfettered by constraints of the past. While Gandhi’s dream was too far from changed reality, Nehru’s vision was imaginary and lopsidedly utopian. Between the two choices, Nehru can be justifiably said to be the architect of modern India. He was a veritable renaissance man, besides being a product of enlightenment with his commitment to rationality, humanity, respect for individual, independence of spirit and secularism. Wide and generous in his outlook in every facet of life, he tried to inculcate the same among people as also his coworkers. As a child of the Indian National Movement, for Nehru, independence had to go beyond political independence. He was strongly committed to change and development, the building of an independent equitable, egalitarian, just and democratic society—a socialist polity and the consolidation of India as a nation. In a world that was sharply divided between two powers USA and Soviet Union, which were determined to extend their hegemony over the rest of the world, Nehru resisted all pressures and refused to be their pawn. India’s internal policies, right or wrong- developed outside the direct influence of the superpowers, and India remained in full control of her internal as well as external policies. Nehru understood very well that if India were to become a modern world it needed to undergo the process of industrial transformation .If the basis of social production and wealth generation in our society was to expand we needed to create a firmly institutionalised state of the sort that the European world had discovered between the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. It was clear to Nehru, right at the onset of independence, that in a complex cultural civilisation such as India we needed to establish a modern state form.}

206 Chandra, Bipan A History of India Penguin.India p 173
The new social role of science was understood by Nehru and utilised in formulating his vision for the future of India. The setting up of the Planning Commission at the behest of PC Mahalanobis, one of the greatest statisticians of the last century, who remarked that, there is no real hope of material advance in India without science and technology, was a consequence of Nehru coming in direct contact with him. Without industrialisation, modernisation would have been impossible. Industrialisation and its linear development have caused the flaws in cultural transmission. Without the transmission of knowledge from the industrial countries ‘the underdeveloped countries’ would remain forever underdeveloped.

Sris Chandra Chatterjee (1873-1966) was the moving force behind the modern Indian architectural movement207. The ideology behind this movement was an explicit reaction to the prevailing art deco style of architecture in India, the development of international modernism on the European scene, and to what was happening in Japan under the western influence208. The movement had strong antecedents on the Indo-Saracenic work of Colonel Sir Swinton Jacob (1841-1917)209. Sris Chandra Chatterjee was more motivated by the politics of the

209 Sir Samuel Swinton Jacob (1841 to 1917) was an English engineer, architect and writer, active in India and best known for the numerous public buildings he designed in the Indo-Saracenic style. Born in a distinguished military family he trained at the East India Company Military College at Addiscombe where he was one of the last batch of graduates (graduating as an engineer in 1858). He entered the Bombay Artillery in 1858, qualifying five years later as a surveyor and engineer. After initial service in the Public Works Department, he was appointed in 1867 as Chief Engineer of the state of Jaipur in Rajasthan, India. He was to spend the remainder of his working life in this position until he retired at the age of 71. Compared with many British officials in India he was noted for his respect for local building traditions and skills, which lead to his incorporating many Indian architectural features into his building designs. As a result he became together with F. S. Growse, Robert Fellowes Chisholm, Charles Mant, Henry Irwin, William Emerson, George Wittet and Frederick Stevens a pioneer of the Indo-Saracenic style of architecture which incorporated Indian Islamic architecture into European neo-Classical or Gothic Revivalist styles. Among the notable buildings that he designed is the main building for St Stephen’s College at Kashmere Gate in Delhi and Albert Hall Museum, Jaipur. He had no longer retired to England in 1911 that he was recruited by the Secretary of State for India to assist Edwin Lutyens and Herbert Baker in the design of New Delhi. However failing health soon forced him to withdrawn from the assignment. Among his honours

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Swadeshi movement of the first two decades of the twentieth century. (Gupta, 1991; Oza, 1995). The earliest initiatives therefore were taken by the Public Works Department under the influence of Claude Batley. The contribution of Habib Rehman (1916-1996) to the development of modernist architecture in India cannot go unnoticed, the Calcutta Secretariat, is an example reflecting the growth of utilitarian modernism in this period.

During the 1930’s Chatterjee was a member of the National Planning Committee headed by Nehru and earlier he worked for the Public Works Department of Bengal and Bikaner. His works show the clear influence of revivalism, which received support from prominent stalwarts such as Nehru; the latter was to be later influenced by the ideas of Le Corbusier. The modernists were always in opposition to the revivalism of Chatterjee and he was dismissed ‘as a revivalist of the retrogressive kind’. The 1920’s saw the earliest manifestations of modern architecture and modernism into the profession of architecture as we see it today. Architects trained in the West i.e. United Kingdom, Europe and the United States of America brought back home the modern thoughts which initiated the setting up of the IIA (Indian Institute of Architects), as well as established independent practices set up the JJ School of Art and Architecture as modern institutions for a modern country. So the new path for political future and a new line of architectural thought charted the future course of architecture for modernising India. The pull push ‘twin tugs’ of inward and outward looking into the past and future, (within India and towards the modernizing world around us) was to continuously evolve a creative exchange of ideas and thoughts for the future course of Indian architecture.

Modernist architecture was practiced in India was for three reasons: a) the first two decades of Independence saw technological and social change of the prior two decades, so a widespread dissemination of the earlier changes; b) founding of new institutions as a result of political independence and c) mammoth housing programmes. Three sets of architectural schools are visible in this scenario. The architectural firms whose architecture started to evolve from the somewhat conservative 1930s outlook towards a modernist approach. The second were the architects who had grown out of the Art Deco, while the third were the architects trained abroad and who upon their return brought back the outburst of enlightenment thinking after the World War II. This last set of architectural schools influenced post independence construction in the country.

At Chandigarh one finds a noteworthy attempt to use modern architecture and urbanism to create a capital that symbolised progress and conveyed national identity in a post colonial context. Though Chandigarh was only a provincial capital and Brasilia a national one, yet its importance to India as a whole was inevitable from the beginning. If imperial Delhi was to be the capstone of British colonial rule then Chandigarh was to be a symbol of independent India\textsuperscript{210}. In the aftermath of partition that created Pakistan, the state of Punjab was itself divided and Lahore, its government, commercial and spiritual capital, no longer remained within India. Thus Chandigarh was offered to the Indian Punjabis. Temporarily the old colonial summer capital of Shimla served as the provincial capital of the divided state, but it was wholly unsuitable for all year round occupation owing to the harsh winter climate. The Chandigarh site had its own promise and was selected from among fourteen existing towns.

The 1950s was a period when we were looking for a complete Indian Identity. The all pervading myth was that to be Indian was not to be modern. Therefore the question that why is it so? The Capitol buildings were to signify the parliament as a representative of the state, based on democracy and law which would never be traded for dictatorship of an ancient Maharaja. The statement by Nehru “let this be a new town...” is taken rather negatively at most places as though India was shameful of its past, therefore we needed to import something from the west in order to be at par with the rest of the urbanised world. Rather this statement may be interpreted as our deep desire to move into the future, to explore new horizons and move ahead in the modernizing world. The choice of Le Corbusier as Chandigarh’s architect is a testimony of a Nehruvian vision of Non Alignment with the super blocs and an affiliation to the French.

The biggest Indian phenomenon to happen was the partition that brought in a huge influx of refugees and we witnessed an ethnic violence. In the 1950’s, when Le Corbusier had the option of working for super and progressive powers --USA and USSR, he declined both, and chose to come to India. With Nehru, he decided upon the symbol of the Open Hand. The 1950s was also the cold war period and the foundation of NAM. The historic Bandung Conference, during which Nehru chose to align with neither faction and with Tito he founded the NAM (Non Aligned Movement). The Bandung Conference held in 1955, was attended by all the great political stalwarts of newly independent African and Asian countries. For the first time an attempt was made by them to launch co-operation between developing countries on the basis of mutual interest and respect for national sovereignty. These countries sought to establish their own independent identity, as a group, opposed to neo-colonialism by the USSR, the United States or any other imperialistic nations of the world. The Conference was aimed at restoring economic and cultural links within the South, severed due
to colonialism, while strengthening further the links between the North and the South. The 1950s was also the height of the cold war period, nuclear land explosion in 1962 and the Cuban missile crisis. Chandigarh did not signify the past as it was not colonial as in the case of New Delhi. It represented a nationalist spirit as enlightened as Washington DC’s plan and a future like a path breaker, as in the case of Fatehpur Sikri or Jaipur or Canberra or Brasilia. Prior to Chandigarh, even in India all buildings of the State were colonial or had colonial imprints, while Chandigarh represents the modernist values in its state monuments. In the year 1984, the Open Hand was built amidst communal violence. Modernism is important to Indian Nationalism as it is the inspiration of the state architecture. Chandigarh was described by Nehru as a ‘temple of new India’. Chandigarh may be considered the most modern thing to happen to India, for we were left with a cultural void with the loss of Lahore. As a departure from existing modes of thought and a need to express our new found freedom, the new capital was laid out. The new city had a great responsibility. As part of its rationale the city had a socialist manifesto to fulfill. It was to provide the best of amenities to all classes of people (something unheard of in any other city agenda till date). For the first time in world history a city was being planned on the basis of the per capita income of an individual (government officials) in contrast to earlier cities realised on social or religious or other groupings. Perhaps a lesser publicised but equally important role that Chandigarh had to play was to represent India on the world map. It was a brainchild of both - Nehru, the architect of modern India and Le Corbusier whose place in history of the modern movement is ineluctable. It was the first complete realisation of Le Corbusier’s urban precepts and continues to

211 www.unesco.org/g77/history/historical-background.html accessed March 14, 2006
be the single largest realization of the master architect’s principles of urbanism.

Thus began the story of Chandigarh, amidst the disciplines of local climate, a shoestring budget and indigenous materials and methods of construction. Further, as a post colonial capital city, Chandigarh was to serve as a role model for future developments in the country. Besides the historic and prestige aspects of design, Chandigarh also had its rationale as a ‘city of convenience’, planned to provide all basic physical and social infrastructure and a dignified existence even to the ‘poorest of the poor’. With its theme of ‘Sun, Space and Verdure’, it was to be ‘a capital that would serve as a model in city planning for the nation, if not for the world’. How does Chandigarh express Indian Nationalism? The basis of nationalism needs to be understood in the context of the post colonial city. The term "nationalism" is based on the word "nation" which derives from the Latin term, natio, which means, “by birth”. A nation is made up of a nationality. In ‘Nationalism: A Religion’, Carleton Hayes defined nationality as the word derives from the Latin natio, implying a common racial descent.” So race is the defining characteristic of a nation according to Hayes213.

Therefore the expression of this new town was to be understood as to allow for all religions, be secular and to promote the nationality—Indian. The ideological basis of Chandigarh was ‘maison des hommes’ the home of man, which was reemphasised by its socialist manifesto. Symbolic of the largest democracy of the world –India, the matrix of the city is also a reflection of the same. The nature and distribution of the public spaces in the city reflect its modern religion—Nationalism. There is no single religion, racial group dominated space in the city, (not to say it is irreligious), yet it offers space for multiple socio

cultural activities. The modern value of the city lies in the fact that it allows for multiuse of the same public space.

At Chandigarh one finds the attempt to use modern architecture and urbanism to create a capital that symbolised progress and conveyed national identity. Though Chandigarh was only a provincial capital and Brasilia a national one, yet its importance to India, as a whole, was inevitable from the beginning. If imperial Delhi was to be the capstone of British colonial rule then Chandigarh was to be a symbol of independent India\(^{214}\).

Its urban spaces represent a democratic framework both in their form and intended use. The City Centre is the geographic and symbolic heart of the city, offering the pulse and rhythm of the city to the citizenry, while the Valley of Leisure threads lengthwise across the canvas of this city connecting people from various walks of life to the 'Le Parc' -- the People’s park as designated by Le Corbusier at the foothills of the Shivalik Hills the latter forming the backdrop to this modernist city. The sixty-four square kilometres of the city’s spread are distributed through fifty-six self sufficient neighbourhood units\(^{215}\).

The fine grain and even texture of this modernist utopia owes itself to the lowrise cubic forms, in brick and concrete, and the alternating lush green landscapes which makes Chandigarh the most favourite city of India. The Capitol Buildings are representative of a modern idiom, a composition of the three edifices the Secretariat, Assembly and the High Court, as architectural compositions, symbols of a democracy that in no way symbolise a powerbloc vying for attention, rather they generate a stately composition with the majestic backdrop of the hills as to serve as a continuing idiom of the cityscape.

Present day Chandigarh is a living city full of opportunities and challenges. Today, over fifty years since its inception Chandigarh is


\(^{215}\) This also includes the local shopping, educational, health and social infrastructure facilities besides the residential component.

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representative of the ideals of its creation—a socialist, egalitarian basis, while on the other it is facing the challenges of a globalizing economy and changing cultural values of its new generations. It is true that one cannot predict the nature and attitudes of the people who come to live in a city. The present inhabitants of the City are two generations later than the original refugees who made Chandigarh their home after partition. Many new people have moved into Chandigarh as it offers a comfortable life, with less travel distances and a healthful living. The declaration of the Special Economic Zone (SEZ), has increased growth potentials of Chandigarh manifold and enhanced the status of this seat of three governments (Panjab, Haryana, and Chandigarh\textsuperscript{216}). Increasing infrastructure and employment opportunities are making it a much sought after destination for national and international corporate houses. These are the cultural challenges that a city of modernity must face. Though we cannot overlook what the city stands for yet change is inevitable and it is also the greatest signifier of a living city. The city must continue to provide opportunities for growth, while conserving its original ideals which were the very basis for its inception. There is a need for understanding the cultural expression of a national imagination associated with the city and to seek reconciliation between these values and the imperatives of growth. There is need for growth and change no doubt, but a sensitised approach that allows for change while reinforcing the ideals for which the city was built is required. The intervention calls for yet another nationalism wherein the spirit of the city must be conserved—the utopian thought that generated this city, the zeal to look ahead into the future and the think big attitude.

\textsuperscript{216} In 1966, the state of Haryana was carved out of the state of Punjab, while Chandigarh continued to be the capital of both these states. In addition Chandigarh also enjoys the status of a Union Territory under the control of the Central government. Thus it is the seat of three governments presently.
The edict of Chandigarh offers some thoughts for discussion on the way this utopia was proposed to be managed by its creators. “The object of this edict is to enlighten the present and future citizens of Chandigarh about the basic concepts of planning of the city so that they become its guardians and save it from the whims of individuals...”.

Special areas of the city such as the Lake which ‘... is a gift of the creators of Chandigarh to the citizens to be at one with nature away from the hub of the city life. There shall be no commercial exploitation of the lake and its environments ...’ shall be subject to complete control so that the people’s resource is safeguarded. Likewise since the ‘...city is planned to breathe the new sublimated spirit of art, no personal statues shall be erected in the city or parks of Chandigarh. Commemoration of persons shall be confined to suitably placed bronze plaques.’ Such exemplars reflect the modern nature of Chandigarh and its cultural resource value. As an example of modernity where ‘I’ is replaced by the ‘we’ and the collective nature of thought processes leads to city building, Chandigarh attempts to be an example of modern heritage.

Understanding the value and meaning of modern heritage and the dilemmas of conserving modern heritage should provide the necessary breaking ground for carrying on this thesis further beyond this point.

Why is Modern Heritage unique? Modern heritage is characterised by its concerns for the aesthetic, technological and social which had their beginnings in the nineteenth century and were essentially outcomes of industrialisation and the reconstructions following the two world wars and the interwar period. Secondly the twentieth century saw the large scale creation of ordinary or everyday architecture as compared to the earlier iconic examples which were catering to an exclusive clientele. Thirdly, the twentieth century witnessed the growth of modernism outside the eurocentric focus and its spread to other parts of the world, followed by colonisation and exchanges between Europe and the rest...
of the world. Fourthly, twentieth century development included the establishment of new building types and communication systems to suit new functions and led to an enlargement of the prevailing architectural vocabulary. The legacy of modern architectural history and theory is rich and diverse. Mass production and prefabrication were to provide the infrastructure of a new society, to raise levels of hygiene, amenity and standards of living.

In light of the same spirit, the Modern Heritage Programme\(^\text{217}\) of UNESCO focuses its attention towards the conservation and management of modern heritage (within which are included developments from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries) purely for the reason that this heritage is as important as the earlier historic periods, yet it is of greater risk to decay on account of fragility of materials used for its construction as also the lack of awareness of its (modern) heritage value among general public due to a series of social, cultural and technological barriers, the most critical being the values enshrined in these structures, absence of protective mechanisms and, non availability of appropriate resources, including conservation-responsive repair technologies\(^\text{218}\). Other factors that hinder the conservation of modern architecture include the commonly held notion

\(^{217}\) The World Heritage Committee identifies the entries on the World Heritage List as Cultural Properties and Natural properties. Cultural Properties are defined in the Convention as: Monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science; or Groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science; or Sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and of man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological points of view. Natural Properties are defined in the Convention as: Natural features consisting of physical and biological formations or groups of such formations, which are of outstanding universal value from the aesthetic or scientific point of view; or Geological and physiographical formations and precisely delineated areas which constitute the habitat of threatened species of animals and plants of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation; or Natural sites or precisely delineated natural areas of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science, conservation or natural beauty. For inscription of a property on the World heritage List, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) provides the evaluations, for cultural values, and by the World Conservation Union (IUCN) for natural values.


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that modern buildings were intentionally designed for short life spans, (and therefore the very reason for conserving them is negated), their key concept of functionalism which complicates issues of adaptive reuse of the modern building to suit contemporary needs\textsuperscript{219}. Modern buildings are also lacking in detailing, poor workmanship, material qualities and the use of incompatible materials (which weather differently such as concrete and steel in reinforced concrete) which compounds their conservation further. The restoration of Modern Buildings can be stalled by the fact that many new materials and systems have now become obsolete and that no salvage industry exists for these.\textsuperscript{220} Lack of maintenance consequently leads to rapid deterioration of modern built stock which comes from the naïve notion that modern materials are ‘maintenance free’\textsuperscript{221}. Last yet the most complex issue is that of developing standards for the handling of modern materials which include hazardous materials such as asbestos, plywood made with glues containing formaldehyde and thus their removal is necessary to meet the health and safety requirements\textsuperscript{222}.

The Modern Heritage Programme of UNESCO addresses the following issues concerning modern heritage: Presently, there exists a lack of recognition (with the exception of the icons), and the absence of comprehensive research frameworks for identification of twentieth century heritage and correspondingly poor protection, that have resulted in the loss of many places that are irreplaceable. For identifying, protecting, conserving, restoring, and promoting heritage...
from this century, more focused international initiatives are also underway. A central question emerges: whether different criteria than those used for “traditional” heritage are needed for evaluation. While opinions on this issue may vary, it needs to be pointed out that new resource types—urban and rural districts, social housing, transportation systems, modern landscapes, to name a few—currently pose evaluation challenges as countries move away from a purely “architectural” view of cultural heritage, and away from focusing on monuments and masterworks, to recognizing more vernacular buildings and sites. This evolving approach reinforces the continuity of heritage and takes into account social, ecological, economic, and cultural dimensions.

Under the World Heritage programme of UNESCO (which is a follow up of the World Heritage Convention held at Stockholm in 1972\textsuperscript{222}\textsuperscript{223}), a decision was taken by the member countries to protect the natural and cultural heritage as a resource for posterity. A World Heritage Convention was established with a World Heritage Committee comprising twenty-one members and the convention was responsible for a) the inscription of properties on the World Heritage List and the List of World Heritage in Danger; b) the protection and conservation of World Heritage properties, c) granting International Assistance under the World Heritage Fund; and d) the mobilisation of national and international support in favour of the convention.

\textsuperscript{222} Ibid p 15
\textsuperscript{223} To ensure, as far as possible, the proper identification, protection, conservation and presentation of the world's heritage, the Member States of UNESCO adopted the World Heritage Convention in 1972. The Convention foresees the establishment of a "World Heritage Committee" and a "World Heritage Fund". Both the Committee and the Fund have been in operation since 1976. The current Strategic Objectives (also referred to as "the 4 Cs") of the World Heritage Committee are the following: 1. Strengthen the Credibility of the World Heritage List; 2. Ensure the effective Conservation of World Heritage Properties; 3. Promote the development of effective Capacity building in States Parties; 4. Increase public awareness, involvement and support for World Heritage through Communication.
The following chapter elaborates upon the nascent and still emerging concept of twentieth century heritage and what is also referred to as Modern Heritage. UNESCO World Heritage Centre under its special modern heritage programme has listed certain criteria based on which cities can also be designated as world heritage sites. In the following chapter UNESCO World Heritage List is elaborated, following which the three cities Brasilia, Tel Aviv, and Le Havre are discussed for their Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) and inscription criteria. With this background a case for Chandigarh’s OUV is sought to be attempted.