

Contemporary History of India from 1947-2010

**By
Dr. Manas Kumar Das**

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UNIT-1
Chapter-I

THE LEGACY OF COLONIALISM AND NATIONAL MOVEMENT
Political Legacy of Colonialism

Structure

1.1.0. Objectives

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1.1.4.15 Creation of a Middle Class:

1.1.5. Conclusion

1.1.6. Summary

1.1.7. Exercise

1.1.8. Further Readings

1.1.0. Objectives

This chapter will discuss the political legacies of colonialism in India. After studying this lesson the students will be able to:

- know the meaning of legacy of Colonialism
- understand the legacy of Colonialism.
- assess the political legacy of Colonialism.
- identify the important legacies in the form of political legacy of British Colonialism in India.

1.1.1. INTRODUCTION

Each nation has its own political system and each political system essentially carries the legacy of its past. Historical legacy always influences its structures, functions and behaviour. It also bears the influence of the values, traditions and institutions of the past. Continuity of tradition, modernisation of tradition, traditionalisation of modernity, and continuity and change are simultaneously present in every political system. The political system of independent India is no exception to this generalization. It stands positively as well as negatively influenced by its past. As we know that the modern India is the product of centuries of evolution and the experiences of many racial groups that have either got amalgamated or coexisted in the sub-continent. Its contemporary form clearly reflects the influence of its historical legacies. In its social, political, cultural, economic and administrative set up and governmental structure, it still maintains several features of the British age.

In its political aspect, Modern India is a product of two important factors. (1) the British impact of rational legal authority wielded by a central power that managed to consolidate the whole sub-continent under it. Although operating mainly in the legal and administrative spheres, the British Raj also affected fundamental life of the Indians, Indian political beliefs and relationships. (2) the reconstructive nationalism of the pre-independence generated in response to the impact of a new world order as transmitted through the colonial power and developed as a means to political independence and social reforms in the context a slowly expanding framework of democratic institutions. As such, legacies can be discussed in two parts (1) Legacy of the Colonialism, (2) Legacy of the Indian National Movement. This chapter will highlight the political legacies of colonialism in India.

1.1.2. Meaning of Legacy

Legacy means those traditions, customs, practices, patterns of beliefs, rules, etc which are inherited by a political system from the past and which make a enduring impact upon the working of the political system for years to come.

1.1.3. The Legacy of Colonialism

The system handed over by the British to the Indians and followed by the Indian system is known as the legacy of colonialism. The history of India's immediate past has been the period of the British rule of near about 200 years (1757- 1947).

The British started coming to India formally after the establishment of the British East India Company, in 1600. They took 157 years to establish their 'rule' in India. Primarily they had came to India as traders, but later got involved in power struggle in the environment created by the downfall of the Mughal empire and the presence of rival French and Dutch trading companies in India. The emergence of the control of the East India Company over India can be traced from (1) the foundation of the British rule in India with the defeat of Nawab Siraj-ud-Daulah in the Battle of Plassey (1757), (2) the victory over the French in 1763, and (3) the Battle of Buxar (1764) and (4) grant of Diwani rights over Bengal, Bihar and Orissa (1765) etc. Thereafter, from 1765 to 1857, the East India Company ruled India. The unsuccessful First War of Independence (1857) waged by the Indians against the British Company's rule paved the way for the imposition of the direct rule of the British Crown over the Indian possessions by the Government of India Act 1858. This phase of the British rule continued up to 1947 when the Indians got independence, which, however, was disfigured by the partition of the country into India and Pakistan. During this period, there developed a massive anti-British and anti-imperialist national liberation movement in India through which India emerged as a sovereign independent state free from British imperialism. Nearly 200 years of the British rule, there took place several changes- social, economic, political and administrative etc. which have contributed to the emergence of contemporary India.

1.1.4. Political legacy of Colonialism

As we know that a new political process of struggle began in 1947 for the newly born country who had just freed itself from the shackles of British rule. To make the process of transition easier, the architect of the nascent country decided to maintain most of the

administrative and political measures of the British Raj. Let us discuss some of the important legacies in the form of political legacy of British Colonialism in India can be discussed as follows :

1.1.4.1. Unnatural partition of the country and the subsequent problems

The introduction of British policy of divide and rule and, on its basis the introduction of communal electorates in 1909 gradually led to a sharp division and conflict between the Congress and the Muslim League. Out of this conflict, there resulted the demand for a separate homeland for the Muslims as advocated by the Muslim League established in 1906 at Dhaka. The attempts to secure it through direct action, the opposition that it invited from the Congress and the non-Muslim sections of the Indian society, the administrative apathy, inefficiency and the biased divisive British policies resulted in the emergence of Muslim-non-Muslim communalism in India, which ultimately led to the partition of the country on communal basis. The independence of India was granted along with the partition of India in the form of the creation of Pakistan. Since 1947, the Indian political system has been living with communalism and the problems created by the partition (the Kashmir Problem, the border Problem, the ever present chances of an Indo- Pak War etc.) as the legacies of the British rule in India.

1.1.4.2. The unwanted Communalism

The communalism in India can be legitimately described as the most harmful legacy of the British rule. The Britishers, through their policy of divide and rule and through such instruments as patronisation of the Muslims and communal electorates, were successful in driving a block between the Muslims and the non-Muslims, particularly between the Hindus and the Muslims. The British Government in order to face the increasing challenges of nationalism followed the policy of divide and rule and actively encouraged communalism and casteism in India. The spread of communalism and the communal riots which accompanied it made the partition of India inevitable. After independence, India decided to liquidate communalism in favour of secularism but the attempts, so far, have not been fully successful. Communalism has reappeared in several forms and continues to characterise the Indian polity. So, it is an unfortunate legacy of the British colonialism.

1.1.4.3. Establishment of Central Authority and a Unified Administrative System:

For the first time the British brought the whole subcontinent under one imperial rule in the name of British Empire in India. Under the British rule, a unified administrative system became possible. The British established a uniform system which reached out even to the remotest areas of the country and created a single administrative system. So, the administrative system of India is a legacy of British Raj.

1.1.4.4. Three pillars of the British rule

India has maintained the bureaucracy, the army and police system as the legacy which were the back bone of the British Raj in India. Provision of law and order was an important contribution of the British rule. The successor of the Indian Civil Service known as the Indian Administrative service still continues to be the “steel frame” upon which the independent nation’s stability and development chiefly depends. India is still ruled by the Police Act of 1860 which is a British legacy.

1.1.4.5. Parliamentary Democracy

The type of governmental system operationalised by the British in India resembled the parliamentary form of government. After the August Declaration of 1917, a partially responsible Government (Dyarchy) was introduced in the Indian provinces under the Government of India Act 1919. After 16 years, by the Government of India Act 1935, fully responsible government (Parliamentary form) was introduced in 1937 in the Indian provinces and a partially responsible government at the Centre. Under the Cabinet Mission Plan, an interim government was organised and it too involved the parliamentary system of Government. After independence, India decided not only to retain the parliamentary form of Government but also to develop it as a part of the full fledged democratic system. As such, the option of parliamentary democracy, the Westminster model, has been a legacy of the British rule.

1.1.4.6. Introduction of Bicameralism

Bicameralism can be described as a legacy of the Colonialism. It was under the Government of India Act 1919 that the Central legislature of India was made a bicameral

legislature with the Council of States as the Upper House and the Legislative Assembly as the Lower House. The Government of India Act 1935 extended bicameralism to the Indian provinces also. Thus, by 1937, bicameralism had come to be established in India at the central as well as the state levels. Independent India decided to retain bicameralism at the central level and gave the option of choosing bicameralism or unicameralism to the states. In most states, bicameral state legislatures were established. Subsequently, however, many states like Punjab, Odisha decided to adopt unicameralism because the Upper Houses and the Legislative Councils were found to be too weak to contribute much to the legislative work. However, the BJD Government of Odisha is in the process to introduce bicameral legislature in 2014.

1.1.4.7. Indian Federalism

The Indian federalism, particularly its nature as a federal structure with a strong central government, can be described as a legacy of the British Colonialism. The devolution of legislative and financial powers to the Indian provinces and the organisation of Provincial Governments along with a strong Central Government of India, since 1861, provided the basic infrastructure for the adoption of Federalism in free India. By the Government of India Act 1919, certain features of federalism (e.g. division of subjects into central and state subjects) were introduced in India. The Government of India Act 1935 formulated a plan for a federal system in India, which, however, failed to get operationalised due to several hindrances, particularly the opposition from the Princely States. However, after independence, India decided to adopt federalism but in combination with Unitarianism. The adoption of the federal structure with a unitary bias (a very powerful centre) reflects the influence of the experience under the British Raj.

1.1.4.8. Administrative System

The present administrative system of India is considered as a legacy of British period. In the contemporary India, 'the district' formed the basic administrative and revenue unit of the Indian administration. The head of the district administration- the Deputy Commissioner or the Collector- is both the District Magistrate with the responsibility to maintain peace and law and order in the district and the Collector of revenue in the district. Each district stands divided into sub-divisions or Tehsils or Talukas, and several districts are pooled to form a division. The basic

structure is village- tehsil-district- division-province. This scheme reflects a strong British legacy. In fact, we can say that modern India has inherited her administrative system from the British rule.

1.1.4.9. Civil Services in India

In several ways, India has inherited the British practice of organizing and using highly professional politically uncommitted and efficient bureaucracy. The British rule kept the political machinery neo-democratic and heavily burdened with restraints and dependent mainly upon bureaucracy for running the administration. While the higher levels in the civil service hierarchy were always occupied by the Englishmen, the middle and lower levels were respectively manned by persons of the Indian Civil Service and subordinate civil services. The ICS officers were recruited through competitive examinations which were initially held in England but were later on shifted to India. In addition to the ICS, other all India civil services were also organised during the British rule. It was through the civil servants that the British used to run the Indian administration and exercise power over all areas and peoples. After Independence, India organised her bureaucracy in the British model. The Union Public Service Commission and the State Public Service Commissions were established for recruiting respectively. All India Services (IAS, IFS, IPS etc.) and other Allied services through UPSC and the State Civil Services in the form of Public Service Commissions like OPSC, BPSC, MPPSC, etc. are conducting civil service examinations and other examinations as well. Moreover, in the initial years of India's independence, the ICS personnel held the key civil jobs and played a key role in running the Indian administration. Indian leaders like Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel always praised the good work done by the Indian Civil Service in the post-independence years. The political leaders of India inherited the tangible equipment and machinery of government having, original structures, and composed of trained personnel. The features of the Indian Civil Services, namely professionalism, training, objectivity, impartiality, non-political character, uncommitted character etc. are indebted a lot to the British legacy.

1.1.4.10. Government Departmentalisation as the basis of colonialism

The British Indian Government carried out its work through several departments. Departments were organised on functional basis and each department carried out administrative

work only in respect of its allotted functions. Some of the departments were: Department of Home, Department of Defence, Department of Foreign Affairs, Department of Political Affairs etc. are important. Under the Parliamentary system, each department as under the headship of an Executive Councillor/ Minister who was responsible for its working. After independence, India continued the British system of classification of departments and allocation of work to various departments. With some changes India continues to maintain the British system of departmentalization as a legacy of administration.

1.1.4.11. Judicial Structure in India

The Judicial system of India has inherited the British legacy in respect of its structural organisation. The Supreme Court of India was established out of its predecessor. The Federal Court, by making it the highest court of India and de-linking it from the British Privy Council. The High Courts established under the Indian Constitution are also similar to the High Courts established under the Government of India Act 1935. At the district level, India has effected a separation of powers between the executive and the judiciary and this is opposed to the traditional British system of keeping the two centralised in the hands of the Deputy Commissioner. However, in some States, the separation has not yet effected and the British legacy still continues in those states of India.

1.1.4.12 Role of Ordinances in the running of the Administration of the nation

Issuing ordinances for meeting emergencies and for running the administration of the state has been the system of Indian political system which is a British legacy. Under the British rule, the Governor General at the national level and the Governors at the state level had the power to promulgate ordinances for preserving 'peace and good governance of British India. After independence, the Constitution of India retained this power of issuing ordinances and vested it in the President at the national level and the Governors at the state level. In the Constituent Assembly, many leaders voiced apprehensions about the possible misuse of this power. But it was defended by Pt. Nehru, Ambedkar and many others. Ambedkar supported it the ground that it was necessary for dealing with sudden situations demanding immediate action. Thus, the ordinance-issuing power of the Government of India is a legacy of the British colonialism

1.1.4.13 Language Legacy

The British had introduced English education in India for the convenience of their administration. The continuance of English as a medium of instruction and the study of English literature in the Indian education system has been British legacy. The continuance of the English language in India and the presence of the issue of English vs Hindi between the Southern and the Northern States of modern India can also be traced back to the British Raj. On the one hand, English as a link language has played a unifying role but on the other hand, it has hindered the growth of an Indian language-Hindi-as the national language.

1.1.4.14. Membership of the Commonwealth of Nations

India's membership of the Commonwealth of Nations, which was initially the British Commonwealth, also reflects the British legacy of the Indian political system.

1.1.4.15 Creation of a Middle Class:

The introduction of Western education through the medium of English language helped to create a new class i.e. English educated middle class of India, who were exposed to the ideas of liberty, democracy and socialism. While some of them became members of the Indian Civil Service, some others took to social reform, law, journalism and other professions like medicine and accounting etc. Through this class, the British ruled the country. At the same time, from this class, political leadership emerged to challenge the British rule in India. This class eventually inherited power from the British rule, playing a dominant role in the future development of the country.

1.1.5. Conclusion

Thus, the British colonialism has left behind several legacies, both negative and positive as well in the Indian political system. India has inherited several legacies from the British colonialism and these continue to influence the nature and functioning of the present Indian political system.

1.1.6. Summary

- India in its social, political, cultural, economic and administrative set up and governmental structure, still maintains several features of the colonial legacy.
- The system handed over by the British to the Indians and followed by the Indian system is known as the legacy of colonialism.
- Since 1947, the Indian political system has been living with communalism and the problems created by the partition (the Kashmir Problem, the border Problem, the ever present chances of an Indo- Pak War etc.) as the legacies of the British rule in India.
- The British established a uniform system which reached out even to the remotest areas of the country and created a single administrative system in India.
- India has maintained the bureaucracy, the army and police system as the legacy which were the back bone of the British Raj in India.
- Provision of law and order was an important contribution of the British rule.
- The successor of the Indian Civil Service known as the Indian Administrative service still continues to be the “steel frame” upon which the independent India’s stability and development chiefly depends.
- Modern India has inherited her administrative system from the British rule.
- The continuance of English as a medium of instruction and the study of English literature in the Indian education system has been British legacy.
- India as a member of the Commonwealth of Nations, which was initially the British Commonwealth, also reflects the British.

1.1.7. Exercise

- ❖ Examine the impact of colonial legacy on the post-independent Indian Political System
- ❖ Discuss the political legacy under colonialism in India.
- ❖ Highlight the different factors of political legacy of colonialism.

- ❖ What is legacy? Write a note on political legacy of colonialism.
- ❖ Critically examine the important legacies in the form of political legacy of British Colonialism in India

1.1.8. Further Readings

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UNIT-I
Chapter-II
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LEGACY OF COLONIALISM

Structure

1.2.0. Objectives

1.2.1. Introduction

1.2.2. Importance of economic legacy

1.2.3. Economic legacy of Colonialism

1.2.3.1. India's third world country status

1.2.3.2. Different fields of British economic exploitation

1.2.3.3. Influence on Agriculture

1.2.3.4. Introduction of Zamindari system

1.2.3.5. Evil result of transfer of land

1.2.3.6. Adverse impact on the rural economic structure

1.2.3.7. Disturbance in the balance of economic system

1.2.3.8. Fatal for the peace and order of the society

1.2.3.9. Impact on the Small-scale Industries

1.2.3.10. The Charter Act of 1813

1.2.3.11. Imposition of heavy duty on the Indian export goods

1.2.3.12. Policy of free trade

1.2.3.13. Influence on Big Industries

1.2.3.14. Introduction of capitalist economy in India

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1.2.3.17. Payment of interest by Indians for huge British public debt

1.2.3.18. The economic exploitation of India

1.2.3.19. Introduction of capitalist economy in India

1.2.3.20. The neo-colonial control of the West on India

1.2.3.21. India as a market

1.2.3.22. Abolishment of Zamindari system

1.2.4.1. Social Legacy of Colonialism

1.2.4.2. Appearance of a new elite class

1.2.4.3. Change in the social structure

1.2.4.4. Change in the Indian social institutions

1.2.4.5. Appointment of British officials

1.2.4.6. Indian civil service

1.2.4.7. Introduction of a modified version of English education

1.2.4.8. Conflict between Orientalists and Anglicists

1.2.4.9. Ambition of Macaulay

1.2.4.10. Establishment of Universities for higher education

1.2.4.11. Primary education

1.2.4.12. Social impact of western education

1.2.5. Conclusions

1.2.6. Summary

1.2.7. Exercise

1.2.8. Further reading

1.2.0. Objectives

In this lesson, students will investigate the Economic and Social Legacy of Colonialism. After studying this lesson you will be able to:

- understand the importance of economic legacy
- discuss the economic legacy of colonialism
- investigate the influence of British economy on agriculture, industries, trade and commerce.
- know about the evils of British economic policies in India.
- judge the social legacy of colonialism in India.

1.2.1. Introduction

The British had come to India with the sole purpose of trade and business in the form of East India Company. The British imperialism was more pragmatic than that of other colonial powers. So, its motivation was more economic than evangelical. British showed different kinds of interests in India. At first the main purpose of the British was to achieve a monopolistic trading position. Later they felt that a regime of free trade would make India a major market for British goods and a source of raw materials, but British capitalists who invested in India, or who sold banking or shipping service there, continued effectively to enjoy monopolistic privileges. India also provided interesting and lucrative employment for a sizeable portion of the British upper middle class, and the remittances they sent home made an appreciable contribution to Britain's balance of payments and capacity to save. Finally, control of India was a key element in the world power structure, in terms of geography, logistics and military manpower. In this chapter, the economic and social legacy of colonialism will be discussed.

1.2.2. Importance of economic legacy

The importance of the British economic legacies lies with the fact that the British had several vested interests in its economic policy towards India. The British were not reluctant to Indian economic development if it increased their markets but refused to help in the areas where they felt there was conflict with their own economic interests or political security. Hence, they denied giving protection to the Indian textile industry until its main competitor became Japan rather than Manchester, and they did almost nothing to further technical education.

1.2.3. Economic legacy of Colonialism

As a result of the economic legacy of colonialism, India inherited poverty and the third world status. Along with it, there were certain fields through which the British had exploited the nation and made India a poor state which can be discussed below:

1.2.3.1 India's third world country status

The poverty after independence is said to be the contribution of British economic legacy. Economically, it can be argued that British colonialism is the direct cause of India's third world country status. Before it was a British colony, India was one of the richest countries in the world with a prosperous cotton industry. Indian textile was exported to many parts of the world and Indian textile had a great demand in European market. However, Britain's emerging textile industry as a result of Industrial Revolution, viewed India as a threat and an obstacle for its growing capitalist ambition. British textile could not compete in quality and cheapness with Indian textile. As a result, Britain attacked the textile industry of India and forced the de-industrialization of India. In due course of time, India grew from a rich manufacturing country to a poor rural country producing cotton, opium, and grains for Britain so that it can use the cheap source of cotton to enhance the British textile industry, the opium to sell to the Chinese and make money, and the grains to feed the British industrial workers at the expense of billions of poor Indian people starving to death during the famine. India never recovered from the exploits of Britain, who sucked India dry of its economic power.

1.2.3.2. Different fields of British economic exploitation

In due course of time, the East India Company besides being a commercial institution also became a political power. Even then there is no denying the fact that the English came over to India as traders and continued to be so till the last. They were interested in administration only because they thought that the economic resources of the country were rich enough for commercial development. They were not at all interested in the development of India; rather they wanted to utilize its resources in their own interest. Thus, the chief characteristic of the British regime was the economic exploitation of India resulting in poverty for the Indians. The British in order to strengthen their economic system spoiled the traditional economic structure of India and did not give an opportunity to the country to develop her own new economic system on the basis of her resources. Thus, the entire economic system of India was exploited during the British regime, and some revolutionary changes took place in the field of agriculture, trade, commerce and handicraft industries.

1.2.3.3. Influence on Agriculture

India is chiefly an agricultural country. From the very beginning agriculture has been considered to be the very base of its economic system. The British Government made some changes in the agricultural setup of the country, as a result of which, India's economic system was affected immensely. The English policy affected Indian agriculture in the following ways:

1.2.3.4. Introduction of Zamindari system

The British Government had introduced Zamindari system in 1893 in order to realize the land revenue in the Indian provinces. With the development of this policy, the land of the real owners began to be divided among the money-lenders, wealthy persons, rich merchants and other influential persons. Taking advantage of the illiteracy and poverty of the village folks, some ambitious and rich persons conspired with the revenue officers and took illegal possession of the land of the poor and ignorant villagers. They took recourse to committing forgery in the revenue records and became the owners of the lands so far possessed by the poor farmers. They did not do this for the development of agriculture but just to establish their control over land and accumulate money.

1.2.3.5. Evil result of transfer of land

The evil result of transfer of lands soon became evident when the landlords started giving their lands on higher revenue and tried to realize the maximum tax from the peasants. If the payment of the revenue was not made in time, the landlord had the right to alienate the peasant from the right to cultivation of that particular piece of land.

1.2.3.6. Adverse impact on the rural economic structure

The Zamindari system adversely affected the rural economic structure of India. The productivity of the cultivable land began to decrease gradually because the landlords did not pay attention towards the fertility of the land. They only wanted to extract more and more money by giving the piece of land to the highest bidder. Hence, the equilibrium of the rural economic system broke down. The landlords went on becoming richer and the farmers had to fight against poverty to keep their body and soul together. As a result, a great gulf was created between the poor and the rich who could not be abridged and gave birth to social tension and class struggle.

1.2.3.7. Disturbance in the balance of economic system

As the balance of economic system was disturbed, the rural people fell victims to heavy debts. The farmers had to take loans on high rates of interest for seeds, manures, irrigation and other agricultural purposes. The autocratic and dictatorial attitude of the moneylenders made the position of the farmers all the worse and they were forced to lead a deplorable life, at the mercy of these local exploiters.

1.2.3.8. Fatal for the peace and order of the society

The transfer of land from the real owners to the money lenders and the merchants proved fatal for the peace and order of the society. Various dissatisfied landowners who were deprived of their ancestral lands, took law and order in their hands and created chaos and confusion in the society. Litigations began between the cultivators and the landlords. All these demerits totally undermined the rural economic structure.

1.2.3.9. Impact on the Small-scale Industries

One of the drawback of the British administrative system was that it destroyed the small-scale industries. At that time the Indian small-scale industry contributed a lot to the economic system of the country. Its following effects need special mention here:

1.2.3.10. Destruction of small scale of industries

The small-scale industry of India was the pillar of its foreign trade and prosperity. As soon as the Company established its political supremacy in Bengal, it began to exploit the artisans of cotton and silk cloth. As a result, the cloth trade did not remain a source of profit for the artisans and the cloth industry of Bengal and other places of India were disintegrated.

1.2.3.11. The Charter Act of 1813

According to the Charter Act of A. D, 1813 the English merchants were permitted to establish their trade relations in India. Hence, the number of exploiters multiplied which ruined the economic structure of the country.

1.2.3.12. Imposition of heavy duty on the Indian export goods

England imposed heavy duty on the goods to be exported from India. It patronized the British industry. On the other hand, the government of India imposed light duty on the goods imported into India so that these could be sold in the Indian market easily. Thus, it affected the Indian trade and industry from both sides and resulted in the ruin of trade and industry.

1.2.3.13. Policy of free trade

In 1833 A. D., the British Government declared the policy of free trade which destroyed the small-scale industry completely. As a result of tax-free trade, the British began to get the raw materials at a very low price and as such, the goods manufactured in the British factories began to be sold cheaply in the Indian market. The Indian goods being costly could not get sold in the market. Hence, the small-scale industry was almost ruined.

1.2.3.14. Influence on Big Industries

Under the British administrative policy affected the big industries of the country in the following ways:

- I. The development of the big industries was quite slow in the country.
- II. The Indian industrialists were not provided with any help by the British government.
- III. The lack of fundamental industries did not permit the industrial development in India. For example, the production of steel began in India in the year A. D. 1913.
- IV. The Indian industries were established in some exclusive parts of the country which contributed to further regional economic inequality.

1.2.3.15. Drain of India's wealth

The drain of India's wealth to England did not prove to be fruitful to the Indians in economic, commercial and material spheres at all because England was always worried of its own commercial interest and it wanted to drain the wealth of India to England as much as possible. This policy of England was named as the 'Drain of Wealth'. The source of this drain of wealth were trade, favourable import and export policy of the English, revenue system, production of raw material, commercialization of agriculture, railway and means of

transportation. It was said that English bleeding, India white. This policy of the English made India financially bankrupt and economically crippled.

1.2.3.16. Drain of wealth from India to England in the form of salary and gifts

The retired English officers normally went back to England but the Indian government had to pay their pensions. The employed Englishmen used to send money to their families who lived in England. The offerings made to the British officers by the Indian kings were also sent to England. It is also evident from the description of the East India Company that from the port of Calcutta an export of diamonds and pearls was made to England in a huge quantity. Besides the profit of the East India Company the Englishmen sent about 60 lakh pounds to Britain between A. D. 1758-65. After the battle of Plassey the situation became all the more critical when the English established their monopoly on the economy of India.

1.2.3.17. Payment of interest by Indians for huge British public debt

The East India Company had taken part in many wars for which she raised public debt from abroad. By the year 1900 the amount of public debt reached up to 22 crore 40 lac pounds. Some English scholars opine that a large part of this public debt was spent for the development (of railway and agriculture etc.) Hence, most of the expenditure was made in the interest of India but actually it was not so. In fact, the development of Railways and irrigation schemes was entirely in the interest of the English because the English had established their control on the trade and commerce of the country. But India had to pay the interest on this huge public debt. Dadabhai Nauroji once commented that it was a great conspiracy. The money of India was being sent abroad in the shape of interest and the same was again lent to India in the form of public debts. Besides, civil and military charge in England, store purchases and interest on foreign capital investment, all were to be met by the government of India because India was entrapped in slavery. Thus, the wealth of India was being sent to England in various forms. It shattered the economy of India very badly. The drain of wealth of India was one of the chief reasons of the poverty of India.

Besides these legacies, the British rule has also been a source of the following big restraints on the modern Indian economic system:

1.2.3.18. The economic exploitation of India

The economic exploitation of India was pursued by the British rulers in all possible ways. The transformation of self-sufficient India into a famine and disease infested country with mass poverty, unemployment and wide spread economic inequalities has been a British legacy which is adversely affecting the capabilities of the Indian political system even after 67 years of Indian independence.

1.2.3.19. Introduction of capitalist economy in India

The British had introduced in India capitalist economy, and perpetuated feudalism in rural India. India is still struggling to achieve socialist goals and rural development. India's continued dependence on the West for the exports and imports also is due to the legacy of colonialism.

1.2.3.20. The neo-colonial control of the West on India

The neo-colonial control of the West over the economy, economic policies and, through these, over the political policies of India also highlight the legacy of British imperialism.

1.2.3.21. India as a market

The British policy of using India as a market for the purchase of raw materials and the sale of finished goods prevented the march of industrialisation and modernisation in India. The Indian economy and social development, trade and industry and even agriculture were fully controlled, used and subordinated by the British for fostering their own interest at the cost of India. The result was the industrial, technological and economic backwardness of India. After her independence, India has taken several big steps in securing industrial, technological and economic development through planning and modernisation, but she still continues to be at best a developing country. The industrial and economic underdevelopment of modern India is a legacy of the British rule.

1.2.3.21. Abolishment of Zamindari system

It is worth noting that when zamindari rights were abolished around 1952 and the old zamindar rental income was converted into state revenue, the amount involved was only about 2

per cent of farm income in the relevant areas of India. This suggests that by the end of the colonial period, the zamindars were not able to squeeze as much surplus out of their chief tenants as is sometimes suggested.

Thus, the British economic policy had ruined the economic system of the nation. The people of India had suffered much economic distress under the British economic administration. However, the British economic legacy is seen in India in the form of introduction of capitalist economy in India, the neo-colonial control of the West on India, the economic exploitation of India, use of India as a large market for the capitalists etc.

1.2.4 Social Legacy of Colonialism

The colonial legacy had not only affected the political and economic life of the Indians but also it had affected the social life of the Indians. Hence, different aspects of social legacy of colonialism are discussed below:

1.2.4.1 Appearance of a new elite class

A new elite class appeared with Western life-style using the English language and English schools. New towns and urban amenities were created with segregated suburbs and housing for them. Their habits were copied by the new professional elite of lawyers, doctors, teachers, journalists and businessmen. Within this group, old caste barriers were eased and social mobility increased. As far as the mass of the population were concerned, colonial rule brought few significant changes. So, the new elite class is a legacy of British colonialism

The British educational effort was very limited. There were no major changes in village society, in the caste system, the position of untouchables, the joint family system, or in production techniques in agriculture. British impact on economic and social development was, therefore, limited. Total output and population increased substantially but the gain in per capita output was small or negligible. It is interesting to speculate about India's potential economic fate if it had not had two centuries of British rule.

1.2.4.2. Change in the social structure

The biggest change the British made in the social structure was to replace the warlord aristocracy by an efficient bureaucracy and army. The traditional system of the East India Company had been to pay its servants fairly modest salaries, and to let them augment their income from private transactions. This arrangement worked reasonably well before the conquest

of Bengal, but was inefficient as a way of remunerating the officials of a substantial territorial Empire because (a) too much of the profit went into private hands rather than the Company's coffers, and (b) an over-rapacious short-term policy was damaging to the productive capacity of the economy and likely to drive the local population to revolt, both of which were against the Company's longer-term interests.

1.2.4.3. Change in the Indian social institutions

From the 1820s to the 1850s the British demonstrated a strong urge to change Indian social institutions, and to Westernize India. They stamped out infanticide and ritual burning of widows (sati). They abolished slavery and eliminated dacoits (religious thugs) from the highways. They legalized the remarriage of widows and allowed Hindu converts to Christianity to lay claim to their share of joint family property. They took steps to introduce a penal code (the code was actually introduced in 1861) based on British law, which helped inculcate some ideas of equality. 'Under the old Hindu law, a Brahmin murderer might not be put to death, while a Sudra who cohabited with a high-caste woman would automatically suffer execution. Under the new law, Brahmin and Sudra were liable to the same punishment for the same offence.

1.2.4.5. Appointment of British officials

Clive had created a 'Dual' system of administration i.e. Company power and a puppet Nawab. Warren Hastings displaced the Nawab and took over direct administration, but retained Indian officials. Finally, in 1785, Cornwallis created a professional cadre of Company servants who had generous salaries, had no private trading or production interests in India, enjoyed the prospect of regular promotion and were entitled to pensions. All high-level posts were reserved for the British, and Indians were excluded. Cornwallis appointed British judges, and established British officials as revenue collectors and magistrates in each district of Bengal. However, the present official system in India is a legacy of British colonialism.

1.2.4.6. Indian civil service

From 1806 the Company trained its young recruits in Haileybury College near London. Appointments were still organized on a system of patronage, but after 1833 the Company selected amongst its nominated candidates by competitive examination. After 1853, selection was entirely on merit and the examination was thrown open to any British candidate. The Indian

civil service was therefore able to secure high quality people because (a) it was very highly paid; (b) it enjoyed political power which no bureaucrat could have had in England.

In 1829 the system was strengthened by establishing districts throughout British India small enough to be effectively controlled by an individual British official who henceforth exercised a completely autocratic power, acting as revenue collector, judge and chief of police etc. This arrangement later became the cornerstone of imperial administration throughout the British Empire. As the civil service was ultimately subject to the control of the British parliament, and the British community in India was subject to close mutual surveillance, the administration was virtually incorruptible. The higher ranks of the administration remained almost entirely British until the 1920s when the Indian civil service examinations began to be held in India as well as the UK. In addition, there was a whole hierarchy of separate bureaucracies in which the higher ranks were British, i.e. the revenue, justice, police, education, medical, public works, engineering, postal and railway services as well as the provincial civil services. India thus offered highly-paid careers to an appreciable portion of the British middle and upper classes.

1.2.4.7. Introduction of a modified version of English education

One of the most significant things the British did to Westernize India was to introduce a modified version of English education. Macaulay's 1835 Minute on Education had a decisive impact on British educational policy and is a classic example of a Western rationalist approach to Indian civilization. Before the British took over, the Court language of the Moghuls was Persian and the Muslim population used Urdu, a mixture of Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit. Higher education was largely religious and stressed knowledge of Arabic and Sanskrit. Hence, English education introduced by Macaulay is a social legacy of colonialism.

1.2.4.8. Conflict between Orientalists and Anglicists

The Company had given some financial support to a Calcutta Madrassa (1781), and a Sanskrit college at Benares (1792). Warren Hastings, as the governor general from 1782 to 1795 had himself learnt Sanskrit and Persian, and several other Company officials were oriental scholars. One of them, Sir William Jones, had translated a great mass of Sanskrit literature and had founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1781. But Macaulay was strongly opposed to this orientalism.

1.2.4.9. Ambition of Macaulay

For these reasons Macaulay had no hesitation in deciding in favour of English education, but it was not to be for the masses: “It is impossible for us, with our limited means to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population”. This policy of British colonialism is called as ‘Downward filtration theory’.

1.2.4.10. Establishment of Universities for higher education

The education system which developed was a very pale reflection of that in the UK. Three universities were set up in 1857 in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, but they were merely examining bodies and did no teaching. Higher education was carried out in affiliated colleges which gave a two-year B.A. course with heavy emphasis on learning and examinations. Drop-out ratios were always very high. They did little to promote analytic capacity or independent thinking and produced a group of graduates with a half-baked knowledge of English, but sufficiently Westernized to be alienated from their own culture. It was not until the 1920s that Indian universities provided teaching facilities and then only for M.A. students. Furthermore, Indian education was of a predominantly literacy character and the provision for technical training was much less than in any European country. Education for girls was almost totally ignored throughout the nineteenth century. Because higher education was in English, there was no official effort to translate Western literature into the vernacular, nor was there any standardization of Indian scripts whose variety is a major barrier to multi-lingualism amongst educated Indians.

1.2.4.11. Primary education

Primary education was not taken very seriously as a government obligation and was financed largely by the weak local authorities. As a result, the great mass of the population had no access to education and, at independence in 1947, 88 per cent were illiterate. Progress was accelerated from the 1930s onwards, but at independence only a fifth of children were receiving any primary schooling. Education could have played a major role in encouraging social

mobility, eliminating religious superstition, increasing productivity, and uplifting the status of women. Instead it was used to turn tiny elite into imitation Englishmen and a somewhat bigger group into government clerks.

1.2.4.12. Social impact of western education

Having failed to Westernize India, the British established themselves as a separate ruling caste. Like other Indian castes, they did not intermarry or eat with the lower (native) castes. Thanks to the British public-school system, their children were shipped off and did not mingle with the natives. At the end of their professional careers they returned home. This small class of Anglo-Indians were outcastes unable to integrate into Indian or local British society. The British kept to their clubs and bungalows in special suburbs known as cantonments and civil lines. They maintained the Moghul tradition of official pomp, sumptuary residences, and retinues of servants. They did not adopt the Moghul custom of polygamy, but remained monogamous and brought in their own women. Society became prime and priggish. The British ruled India in much the same way as the Roman consuls had ruled in Africa 2,000 years earlier, and were very conscious of the Roman paradigm. The elite with its classical education and contempt for business were quite happy establishing law and order, and keeping 'barbarians' at bay on the frontier of the raj. They developed their own brand of self-righteous arrogance, considering themselves purveyors not of popular but of good government. For them the word 'British' lost its geographic connotation and became an epithet signifying moral rectitude.

1.2.5 Conclusion

Thus, the economic and social legacy of colonialism was quite harmful for India particularly in the economic field. Although, some good steps were taken to reform India from the socio-religious superstitions. From the beginning of British conquest in 1757 to independence, it seems unlikely that per capita income could have increased by more than a third and it probably did not increase at all. In the UK it self there was a tenfold increase in per capita income over these two centuries. The most noticeable change in the economy was the rise in population from about 170 million to 420 million from 1757 to 1947. However, there were some significant changes in social structure and in the pattern of output. The social pyramid was truncated because the British lopped off most of the top three layers of the Moghul hierarchy, i.e. the Moghul court, the Moghul aristocracy and quasi-autonomous princes, and the local chieftains. In place of these people the British installed a modern bureaucracy which took a smaller share of

national income. The new comers had a more modest life-style than the Moghuls, but siphoned a large part of their savings out of the country and provided almost no market for India's luxury handicrafts. The modern factory sector which they created produced only 7.5 per cent of national income at the end of British rule and thus did little more than replace the old luxury handicrafts and part of the village textile production. Hence, the attempt to make India poor and interference in the social affairs of India, created subsequent problems and remained as economic and social legacy of colonialism.

1.2.6. Summary

- The importance of the British economic legacies lies with the fact that the British had several vested interests in its economic policy towards India.
- The poverty after independence is said to be the contribution of British economic legacy.
- Economically, it can be argued that British colonialism is the direct cause of India's third world country status.
- Before it was a British colony, India was one of the richest countries in the world with a prosperous cotton industry.
- Indian textile was exported to many parts of the world and Indian textile had a great demand in European market.
- The British Government made some changes in the agricultural setup of the country, as a result of which, India's economic system was affected immensely.
- The Zamindari system adversely affected the rural economic structure of India.
- The small-scale industry of India which was the pillar of its foreign trade and prosperity got destroyed under colonialism.
- In 1833 A. D., the British Government declared the policy of free trade which destroyed the small-scale industry completely.
- The policy of "Drain of wealth" by the English made India financially bankrupt and economically crippled.
- India's continued dependence on the West for the exports and imports also is due to the legacy of colonialism.
- The neo-colonial control of the West over the economy, economic policies and, through these, over the political policies of India also highlight the legacy of British imperialism.
- The industrial and economic underdevelopment of modern India is a legacy of the British rule.
- The colonial legacy had not only affected the political and economic life of the Indians but also it had affected the social life of the Indians.
- The new elite class of India is a legacy of British colonialism.

- The British made in the social structure was to replace the warlord aristocracy by an efficient bureaucracy and army.
- From the 1820s to the 1850s the British demonstrated a strong urge to change Indian social institutions, and to Westernize India.
- Thus, the economic and social legacy of colonialism was quite harmful for India particularly in the economic field

1.2.7. Exercise

- **Discuss the economic legacy of British Colonialism**
- **High the different fields of economic legacy of colonialism in India.**
- **Make an analysis on the social legacy of British colonialism.**
- **Write a note on the different factors of social legacy of colonialism.**
- **Differentiate between economic and social legacy of British colonialism.**
- **How far economic and social legacy of British Raj are responsible for the poverty of India.**

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Unit-1
Chapter-III
NATIONAL MOVEMENTS:
Its Significance, Value and legacy

Structure

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1.3.5.23. Partition and Independence of India

1.3.6. Major legacies of the Indian National Movement

1.3.6.1 Leadership in India

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1.3.6.6 Centralised System of Party Organisations

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1.3.8. Summary

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1.3.10. Further Reading

1.3.0. Objectives

In this lesson, students investigate the national movements; its significance, value and legacy. After completing this chapter, you will be able:

- *to understand the different events of national movements occurred one after another.*
- *to evaluate the significance of national movements*
- *to understand the value of national movements*
- *to review the legacy of national movements.*

1.3.1 Introduction

The growth of Nationalism in India is reflected in the spirit of Renaissance in Europe when freedom from religious restrictions led to the enhancement of national identity. Many revolutions like the French Revolution, the American Revolution, the Russian Revolution, etc. strengthened the idea of Nationalism in India.

The 19th Century witnessed the concept of a national identity and thus, the national consciousness emerged. The social, economic and political factors had inspired the people to define and achieve their national identity. People began discovering their unity in the process of their struggle against colonialism. The sense of being oppressed under colonial rule provided a shared bond that tied different groups together. Each class and group felt the effects of colonialism differently. One type of laws and administration of British Government across several regions led to political and administrative unity. The economic exploitation by the British agitated other people to unite and react against British Government's control over their lives and resources. The social and religious reform movements of the 19th century also contributed to the feeling of Nationalism. The glory of ancient India, created faith among the people in their religion and culture and thus gave the message of love for their motherland. The intellectual and spiritual side of Nationalism was voiced by persons like Bankim Chandra Chatterji, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Aurobindo Ghosh, Mahatma Gandhi etc. Bankim Chandra's hymn to the Motherland, 'Vande Matram' became the rallying cry of patriotic nationalists. Similarly, the message of Swami Vivekananda, "Arise, awake and stop not till the goal is reached", appealed to the Indians and acted as a potent force in creating the sense of Indian Nationalism in India.

1.3.2. National movements: Its significance, Value and Legacy

In this chapter we shall discuss the national movements, its significance, value and legacy of national movements in India, etc.

1.3.3. Significance of National Movements

The significance of the Indian national movement lies with the fact that it created a sense of awareness among the people of India to fight against the British Government and to get independence. The Political System of Independent India owes a great debt of gratitude to the national freedom struggle for several legacies inherited from it. Since the National Liberation Movement was a really national, voluntary, disciplined and determined struggle of the Indians for securing independence from the yoke of British imperialism, it naturally provided a rich legacy to the Indian Political System. It was largely due to this legacy that the country got the required leadership and organisation to take up the reins of power in independent India and initiate the process of nation-building through socio-economic development plans. In fact, the Constitution of India, in respect of its aims and objectives as well as several other features, depends heavily on the legacy of the National Liberation Movement.

1.3.4. Value of Indian National Movement

The Indian National Movement was governed by the objectives of securing different values such as justice, Liberty, Equality, Fraternity and Secularism as a way of life, a Welfare State, Socialism, Peace through peaceful means, self-rule and democracy in India, etc. The Constitution of India also accepts all these values. As such, we can, at the outset, state that the Indian National Movement left a rich legacy in respect of the values that the Indian political system has inherited and is trying to secure through planned and determined efforts of the Indians.

1.3.5. National movements

The Indian national movements were found in different forms of events, incidences, institutions, rebellions, peaceful protests etc. against the British Government to get independence from their clutch. The beginning was in the form of the Great Revolt of 1857, although an unsuccessful one. But it took a definite form with the establishment of Indian National Congress in 1885.

1.3.5.1 Establishment of Indian National Congress

The Indian National Congress was established by Allan Octavian Hume, a retired Civil Servant of British Government, in 1885. He saw a growing political consciousness among the Indians and wanted to give it a safe, constitutional outlet in the form of 'Safety Valve Theory' so

that their resentment would not develop into popular agitation against the British rule in India. He was supported in this scheme by the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, and by a group of eminent Indians. Womesh Chandra Banerjee of Calcutta was elected as the first President. The Indian National Congress represented an urge of the politically conscious Indians to set up a national organization to work for their betterment. Its leaders had complete faith in the British Government and in its sense of justice. They believed that if they would place their grievances before the government reasonably, the British would certainly try to rectify them. Among the moderate leaders, the most prominent were Firoz Shah Mehta, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Dada Bhai Naoroji, Ras Behari Bose, Badruddin Tayabji, etc. From 1885 to 1905, the Indian National Congress witnessed the “Moderate phase” having a very narrow social base. Its influence was confined to the urban educated Indians only. The early aims of this organization were limited only to communicate with British government on behalf of the Indian people and voice their grievances through petition, prayer and protest popularly known as PPP.

1.3.5.2. Initial stages of Indian National Congress (Period of Moderates)

The congress placed its demands before the British government always in the PPP mode. It was for this reason that the early Congress leaders were referred to as ‘Moderates’. During its first twenty years(1885 to 1905) the Congress made moderate demands. The members placed their demands before the Government always in the form of petitions and worked within the framework of law. Their demands were: (a) representative legislatures, (b) Indianization of services, (c) reduction of military expenditure, (d) education, employment and holding of the ICS (Indian Civil Services) examination in India, (e) decrease in the burden of the cultivators, (f) defense of civil rights, (g) separation of the judiciary from the executive, (h) change in the tenancy laws, (i) reduction in land revenue and salt duty, (j) policies to help in the growth of Indian industries and handicrafts, (k) introduction of welfare programmes for the people of India. Unfortunately, their efforts did not bring many changes in the policies and administration of the British in India. In the beginning, the Britishers had a favourable attitude towards the Congress. But, by 1887, this attitude began to change. They did not fulfill the demands of the Moderates.

The British Government which earlier supported the Moderates, soon realized that the movement could turn into a National movement that would drive them out from India. This idea changed their attitude towards the Indians. only minor concessions were given so as to win over some Congress leaders. Lord Curzon, a staunch imperialist and who believed in the superiority

of the English people, passed an Act in 1898, making it an offence to provoke people against the British government. He had also passed the Indian Universities Act in 1904, imposing stiff control over Indian Universities as he wanted to suppress the growth of Indian nationalism .

1.3.5.3. Divide and Rule or Partition of Bengal in 1905

The exposition of the partition of Bengal was shown by the British as to improve administration in India. But the real aim was to 'Divide and Rule'. The partition was done in order to create a separate State for Muslims and so introduce the poison of communalism in the country. However the Indians viewed the partition as an attempt by the British to disrupt the growing national movement in Bengal and divide the Hindus and Muslims of India. There was huge protest among the Indians against the British Government for the partition of Bengal.. This opposition was carried on by organized meetings, processions and demonstrations etc. Hindus and Muslims tied '*rakhi*' on each other's hands to show their unity and protest against the British. Different programmes like the use of Swadeshi goods, own business, opening of national schools and vernacular languages were encouraged. Bal Gangadhar Tilak realized the importance of boycott as a weapon that could be used to paralyze the whole British administrative machinery in India. The boycott and Swadeshi movements were instrumental in the establishment of swadeshi enterprises - textile mills, banks, tanneries, chemical works and insurance companies, etc. The movement spread to all classes and groups of people . people from all walks of life participated in the movement. The most active were school and college students. This made the British reverse the partition of Bengal and unite Bengal again in 1911. This movement united the people of India and the British saw the peoples participation at large.

1.3.5.4. The rise of extremists

The moderate policies of the Congress led to the rise of passionate, radical nationalists, who came to be called Extrimists. Thus the first phase of the nationalist movement came to an end in 1905 and the Congress got divided into two in 1907. The period from 1905 till 1919 can be called as the period of extremists. The important leaders of this extremist group were Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal (Lal-Bal-Pal). Their entry marked the beginning of a new trend and a new face in India's struggle for freedom. However, they failed to get the mass support against the British.

1.3.5.5. Recognition of true nature of British rule

The extremists exposed the true nature of the British before the people of India. The extremists recognized that the British were out to exploit Indians, destroy their self-sufficiency and drain India of its wealth. They felt that Indians should now become free of foreign rule and govern themselves. This group, instead of making petitions to the government, believed in organizing mass protests, criticizing government policies, boycotting foreign goods and use of Swadeshi goods, etc. Bal Gangadhar Tilak used to say '*Freedom is my birth right and I shall have it*'.

1.3.5.6. Reunion of Moderates and Extremists

With the efforts of Mrs. Annie Besant the two groups were again reunited in 1916. Her demand was India should be granted Self-Government. In 1916, Muslim League and Congress also came to an understanding with each other and signed the Lucknow Pact. However, Mahatma Gandhi, Jawahar Lal Nehru, Subhash Chandra Bose became the prominent figures of Indian National Congress, who led the freedom movement of India forward.

1.3.5.7. Indian National Movement under leadership of Gandhiji

During this crucial period, M.K. Gandhi appeared in the political scenario of India. He was convinced that no useful purpose would be served by supporting the government. He was also emboldened by his earlier success in Bihar and South Africa. In the light of the past events and the actions of British government, he decided to launch a nation wide satyagraha against the Rowlatt Act was passed in 1919. Under this Act, anybody could be arrested without any trial.

1.3.5.8. The Non-Cooperation Movement (1920-22)

Mahtama Gandhi started the non-cooperation movement in India after three major incidents like Khilafat Movement, Rowlatt Act of 1919 and the Jaliwanawalabagh Massacre which had stirred the people of India. He started the non-cooperation movement in August 1920, in which he appealed to the people not to cooperate with the British government. At this time, the Khilafat movement started by the Muslims and the Noncooperation movement led by Gandhi merged into one and both Hindus and Muslims fought against the British.

1.3.5.9. Programmes of Non-Cooperation Movement

For this Gandhi laid down an elaborate programme- (1) Surrender of titles and honorary offices as well as resignation from nominated seats in local bodies;(2) refusal to attend official and non-official functions; (3) gradual withdrawal of children from officially controlled schools

and colleges; (4) gradual boycott of British courts by lawyers and litigants; (5) refusal on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia; (6) boycott of elections to the legislative council by candidates and voters; (7) boycott of foreign goods, (8) boycott of schools and colleges by the students and teachers. Later, it was supplemented with a constructive programme which had three principal features: (1) promotion of 'Swadeshi', particularly hand-spinning and weaving; (2) Removal of untouchability among Hindus; (3) promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity; (4) Opening of national schools, etc.

1.3.5.10. Suspension of the Non-Cooperation Movement

At the call of Gandhiji, a large number of people, dropping their differences, took part in this movement. Over two-thirds of the voters abstained from taking part in the elections to the Council, held in November, 1920. Thousands of students and teachers left their schools and colleges and new Indian educational centers were started by them. Lawyers like Moti Lal Nehru, C. R. Das, C. Rajagopalachari and Asif Ali boycotted the courts. Legislative Assemblies were also boycotted. Foreign goods were boycotted and the clothes were put on bonfire. When the movement was in full swing, an unfortunate incident occurred in the form of mob violence took place on February 9, 1922, at Chauri Chaura village, in Gorakhpur district of UP, which disheartened Gandhiji. This was followed by more violence at Bareilly. So, Gandhiji suspended the noncooperation movement on February 14, 1922. He was arrested at Ahmadabad on March 18, 1922, and sentenced to six years simple imprisonment. Although, the non-cooperation movement failed to achieve success, yet it succeeded to prepare a platform for the future movements.

1.3.5.11. Constructive activities after Non-Cooperation Movement

After the Non-Cooperation movement, Gandhiji and his followers were busy in constructive activities in village areas of the country. By this he gave the message to the people to remove the caste based hatred. In 1922, he suspended his non-cooperation movement after Chauri Chaura incident, even when the movement was on its peak. Many people criticized the decision of Gandhiji.

1.3.5.12. Formation of the Swaraj Party

National leaders like C. R. Das, Motilal Nehru and other like minded persons hatched out a novel plan of non-cooperation from within the reformed councils They formed the Swaraj

Party on January 01, 1923. C. R. Das was the president of the party and Motilal Nehru was the Secretary. The party was described as ‘a party within the Congress’ and not a rival organization. But, they could neither end nor amend the Act of 1919. In 1927, British government appointed a commission under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon. The Commission was appointed to study the reforms of 1919 and suggest further measures for Constitutional reforms. The Commission had no Indian member in it. The Indians boycotted this all-White commission. Therefore, when this Commission arrived in India, it faced protests all over the country. Black flags were shown, demonstrations and *Hartals* took place all over the country and the cry of ‘Simon go back’ was heard. These demonstrators were lathi charged at a number of places by the British Police. Lala Lajpat Rai was severely assaulted by the police lathi charge.

1.3.5.13. Nehru Report

In the mean time, Indian political leaders were busy in drafting a Constitution. This is known as Nehru Report which formed the outline of the Constitution. The important recommendations of the report were a declaration of rights, a parliamentary system of government, adult franchise and an independent judiciary with a supreme court at its head. Most of its recommendations formed the basis of the Constitution of independent India which was adopted more than twenty years later. At the historic annual session of Congress in Lahore in 1929, the Congress committed itself to a demand for *Purna- Swaraj* or complete independence and issued a call to the country to celebrate 26th January as *Purna-Swaraj* Day. On January 26, 1930, the Congress celebrated ‘Independence Day’. On the same day in 1950 the Constitution of Independent India was adopted, making India a sovereign, democratic socialist republic. Since that day, January 26th is celebrated as Republic Day of India.

1.3.5.14. Civil Disobedience Movement (Dandi March)

In the meanwhile, the British government made oppressive laws. At this critical juncture, Gandhiji wanted to declare the Civil Disobedience movement in order to violate the salt law as salt was the basic need of both rich and poor. During March-April, 1930, Gandhi marched from his Sabarmati Ashram to Dandi on the Gujarat coast for the purpose of breaking the Salt law. It was a peaceful march in which Gandhi broke the Salt Law on 6th April, 1930, when he picked up a handful of salt. In this Civil Disobedience movement farmers, traders and women took part in large numbers. Gandhiji was arrested in May 1930 and was sent to Yervada jail at Poona.

1.3.5.15. Impact of Civil Disobedience Movement

The campaign had a significant impact on British attitude toward Indian independence. Gandhi-Irwin Pact in 1931 was one of its examples. Gandhiji also went to London in 1931 and participated in the second round table conference as the sole representative of the Congress but no settlement could be arrived at. Although, Gandhi's arrest removed him from the active leadership of the movement, this civil disobedience continued. Special stress was laid on boycott of foreign goods particularly clothes. The Civil Disobedience Movement, though a failure, was a vital phase in the freedom struggle of India. The movement promoted unity among Indians of different regions under the Congress banner. It provided an opportunity to recruit younger people and educate them for positions of trust and responsibility in the organization as also in provincial administration. It gave wide publicity to political ideas and methods throughout the country and generated political awareness even in remote villages of India.

1.3.5.16. Achievement of Independence (1935-47)

The British Government prepared a White Paper in March, 1933. On the basis of this White Paper, a Bill was prepared and introduced in parliament in December, 1934. The Bill was finally passed as the Government of India Act on August 2, 1935. The most conspicuous feature of the Act of 1935 was the concept of an All India Federation comprising the Provinces of British India and the Princely States. It was compulsory for the Provinces to join the proposed federation. For the Princely States it was voluntary. The members from the provinces were to be elected, while the representatives of the States were to be nominated by the rulers. Only 14 percent of the population in British India had the right to vote. The powers of the Legislature were confined and restricted. It had no control over defense and foreign relations. The Act protected British vested interests, discouraging the emergence of national unity, rather encouraging separation and communalism. All national leaders including Nehru and Jinnah, condemned the Act. The Congress session met in Lucknow on 25th April, 1935. Though the Act was condemned, it was decided to contest the elections to resist British imperialism and to end the various regulations, ordinances and Acts, which were initiated against Indian Nationalism. In the 1937 elections the Congress swept the poll. Congress Ministries were formed in seven out of the eleven provinces. On March 18, 1937, the All India Congress Committee adopted a resolution on Congress policies in the legislatures. It claimed that the Congress had contested the elections with its objective of independence and its total rejection of the new constitution, and

the demand for a Constituent Assembly to frame India's constitution. The declared Congress policy was to combat the New Act and end it.

1.3.5.17. National Movement during the Second World War

During the Second World War in 1939, the Congress refused unconditional cooperation. The Congress demanded that India must be declared an independent union. The British did not agree and as a result all the ministries resigned in protest in 1939. A demand for Provisional National Government at the Centre was made at the instance of C. Rajagopalachari in 1940. It was turned down by the Viceroy Lord Linlithgow. In October, 1940 was launched the Individual Civil Disobedience movement. Acharya Vinoba Bhave was the first to offer individual Satyagraha. All India Committee of the Cabinet, with Attlee as Chairperson, was set up and a draft declaration was made. In March, 1942, Sir Stafford Cripps came to India with the draft declaration. It stated the British Government's desire to grant India 'Dominion Status' at the end of the war. Complete Independence was not promised. There was no mention of a national government of the Indian people. The Congress rejected the offer. The Muslim League, opposed to the creation of a single union, found the scheme unacceptable, as it did not unequivocally concede Pakistan. Thus, Cripps Mission became a failure one.

1.3.5.18. Subhash Chandra Bose and INA

At that time Subash Chandra Bose had proved himself as a promising leader of the congress. On the issue of becoming the president of the congress, he left it with a confrontation with Gandhiji. However, he decided and continued the struggle from abroad. He found the outbreak of the Second World War to be a convenient opportunity to strike a blow for the freedom of India. Bose had been put under house arrest in 1940 but he managed to escape to Berlin on March 28, 1941. The Indian community there acclaimed him as the leader (Netaji). He was greeted with 'Jai Hind'. In 1942, the Indian Independence League was formed and a decision was taken to form the Indian National Army (INA) for the liberation of India. On an invitation from Ras Bihari Bose, Subhash came to East Asia on June 13, 1943. He was made president of the Indian Independence League and the leader of the INA (Indian National Army) popularly called 'Azad Hind Fauj'. He gave the clarion call '*Chalo Dilli*' and "Give me blood, I will give you freedom. In March 1944, the Indian flag was hoisted at Kohima by the INA.

1.3.5.19. Last days of Subash Chandra Bose

However, with defeat of Japan in the World War II, this movement collapsed. What happened to Netaji is still remains a mystery. It is said that he lost his life in an air crash in August 1945. After independence, many commissions have been established to find out the truth behind the death story of Netaji.

1.3.5.20. Quit India Movement and After

The failure of the Cripps Mission made the Indians frustrated. Gandhiji thought that time has now come for launching another mass movement against the British Raj. Discontent of Indian people was increasing due to wartime shortages and growing unemployment among the youths. There was a constant danger of Japanese attack. The Indian leaders were convinced that India would be a victim of Japanese aggression only because of British presence in India. Gandhiji said, "the presence of the British in India is an invitation to Japan to invade India". Subhash Chandra Bose, who escaped from India in 1941, repeatedly spoke over radio from Berlin arousing anti-British feeling which gave rise to pro-Japanese sentiments. The Congress under Gandhiji felt that the British must be compelled to accept Indian demands or quit the country. A meeting of the Congress Working Committee in Wardha passed the Quit India Resolution on 14th July, 1942 which was later endorsed and passed on 8th August at the Bombay session of the Congress. The Congress decided to launch a mass struggle on non-violent lines, on the widest, possible level. Addressing the Congress delegates on the night of 8th August, Gandhiji, gave the clarion call of '*Do or Die*'.

1.3.5.21. Course of Quit India Movement

Before the Congress leaders could start the movement formally, all important leaders of Congress were arrested in the morning of 9th August 1942. Congress was banned and declared as an illegal organization. The Press was censored. The news of the arrest of popular leaders shocked the whole nation as it became leaderless. The anger and resentment of the people were expressed through numerous agitations, hartals, processions and demonstrations in all parts of the country. With most of the important leaders in jail, the movement took a different shape at different places. The people gave vent to their anger by burning government buildings, police stations, post offices anything that symbolized British authority. Railways and telegraphs lines were disconnected. At some places, such as in Balia district in U.P., Midnapore district of West Bengal and in Satara in Bombay, the revolt took a serious turn. The British with its army and

police came down heavily on the Indian people. The people were shot indiscriminately. The Quit India Movement became one of the greatest mass movements of historical importance.

1.3.5.22. Transfer of power to Indians

With the end of the World War II in 1945, the British government started to talk about the transfer of power to Indian Hindus and Muslims. The first round of talks could not be successful because Muslim leaders thought that the Muslim League was the only one who could represent Indian Muslims. The Congress did not agree upon it. In 1946, the Cabinet Mission arrived in India to find a mutually agreed solution of the Indian Problem. The Mission held talks with the leaders of all prominent political parties and then proposed its plan of establishing Federal Government in India. Initially the plan was criticized by all political parties, but later all gave their consent to it.

1.3.5.23. Partition and Independence of India

However, differences soon arose between the Congress and the Muslim League concerning the powers of the Constituent Assembly. The League rejected the Cabinet Mission Plan in the middle of 1946. In September 1946, the Congress formed the government at the Centre. The League refused to be a part to it. Muslim League celebrated this day as a 'Direct Action Day' on 16th August 1946 to attain Pakistan. The conflict resulted in widespread communal riots in different parts of India. Thousands were killed in the riots, lacks of people became homeless. In the mean time, Lord Mountbatten was sent as the Viceroy to India. He put up his plan in June 1947 which included partition of India. In spite of strong opposition by Gandhi, all the parties agreed to the partition and the Indian Independence Act, 1947 came into being. It created two independent states in the Indian sub-continent, i.e. Indian Union and Pakistan. India got its independence on 15th August, 1947. At the stroke of midnight (14th -15th August, 1947), transfer of power took place and India was divided into India and Pakistan in August, 1947.

1.3.6. Chief legacies of the Indian National Movement

After a brief analysis of the Indian National Movement, we can discuss the following major legacies of the national movement inherited by Independent India.

1.3.6.1. Leadership in India

One of the major legacy of the Indian National Movement has been the leadership. It acted as a strong educational and training movement in so far as it performed the functions of political socialisation of the masses and leadership recruitment. The Congress, which spearheaded the freedom struggle provided the platform for the emergence of national leadership-Gokhale, Naoroji, S.N. Bannerji, Tilak, Lajpat Rat, C.R. Dass, B.C. Pal and many others. It was through participation in the various movements and programmes launched by the Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi that India could get the services of a galaxy of dedicated, disciplined, groomed and committed national leaders like Motilal ehru, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Subhash Chander Hose, Sardar Ballabh Bhai Patel, Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, G .B .Pant, J.P. Narayan, J .B .Kriplani etc. who came to the forefront, first to lead the people in their struggle against British imperialism for securing independence, and then to guide the destiny of independent India. Independent India inherited a strong leadership committed to and capable of maintaining and strengthening the unity and integrity of the nation and securing national objectives like democracy, socialism, Secularism, Nation building etc. Leaders like Patel alone could secure the integration of the Princely States with the Indian Union and made India strong.

1.3.6.2. Indian Constitution

It can be said that the Constitution of India as a rich and valuable legacy of the national movement. The establishment of the Constituent Assembly in 1946 and the systematic manner and quick pace with which it successfully made the Constitution of India possible were, because of the legacy of the National Movement. Leaders of the National Movement acted as the makers of the Indian Constitution and they played a great role in bringing out one of the best constitution of the world.

1.3.6.3. Party System in India

The party system in India has the following features which reflect the legacy of the National Liberation Movement:

(a) The Multi-party system which till 1989 remained dominated by the Congress Party.

(b) The dominant leadership role played by Indian National Congress during the freedom struggle determined the dominant role that the Congress was in a position to play during 1947 and after.

(c) The existence of socialist and communist parties also owe their origin to the days of National Movement.

(d) The existence of the leftist and rightist groups within the Congress is also due to the historical legacy.

1.3.6.4. Settlement between different ideological groups

As we know that the Indian National Movement flourished in India through promises and settlement between different ideological groups or parties. The Indian National Congress always survived by striking a compromise between conservatism and radicalism, conservatism and leftism, moderatism and extremism and purely constitutional (elections) and the action means (strikes etc.). The legacy of the National Movement which mainly got manifested through the movements and programmes launched by the Congress. Indian National Congress was a compromise between two contradictory characteristics of Indian Nationalism- conservatism and radicalism. When the congress turned away from strictly constitutional lines, it got into a direct tussle with colonial authority. By following both the approaches alternatively, the Congress achieved its aim. In process, it acquired experience in the working of parliamentary institutions and developed powerful organisational structures, codes and a pluralist structure of support and a mass base politics in India.

1.3.6.5. Relationship between the Government and the political Parties

It is known that in a parliamentary democracy the issue of relationship between the party organisation and the governmental structure are of crucial significance as it affects the quality and working of the government in several ways. During freedom struggle, the party organisation always played the superior role and men in power always obeyed party directives. In 1937, the Congress directed its leaders to form ministries and later on in 1939, it asked them to resign. This directive was obeyed by all. The relation of the party headquarters to the party's parliamentary group tended therefore to be that of a most important to an agent. After independence, this legacy

provoked the Congress Party to exercise control over the Congress Prime Ministers and the Council of Ministers. It, however, gave rise to a tussle between Purshotam Dass Tandon vs Nehru. To overcome the possible party dictates, there emerged the practice of either holding a dual charge leadership of the Party and leadership of government or having a hand-picked party president. Nehru depended mainly upon his personal charisma for overcoming the problem while his successors, Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi used, at times, both these alternatives. Even the Janata Party government had this problem. It adopted the principle of one person one office but it could not achieve its successful operationalisation. The persistence of the demand for the superiority of the reorganisational wing of the party over the governmental wing is a legacy of the national ration movement. The system of supporting the party/coalition group in power from the idea by some political parties *e.g.* the Congress I and the CPM support to the UF government ruling India from 1996 to 1999 tended to strengthen the role of the party leaders in policy making exercise. The Congress I President, Mr. Sita Ram Kesri, demonstrated such an ability in April 1997 by withdrawing support to the UF government of PM Deve Gowda and the Deve Gowda Government toppled down.

1.3.6.6. Centralised System of Party Organisations

In India the party organizations particularly the party organisations of the Congress and the BJP, are based upon the principle of central system. The party High Command or the national leadership exercises a high degree of control over the local and provincial level party organisations. This feature of the Indian party system is also a legacy of the National Movement. The National Movement was directed, guided and controlled by the central leadership which in real terms meant the All India Congress Committee or the Congress Working Committee or the Congress High Command.

1.3.6.7. Direct Action Means

As we know that during the freedom struggle, dependence on constitutional means- elections, electoral campaigns, rallies, public meetings, swadeshi, lobbying, reformism, etc., were supplemented by resorting to extra-constitutional direct action means, like, strike, dharna, picketing, boycott, general strike and the like. The above legacy still continues in India. Electoral politics, politics of public protests, strikes, bandhs and dharnas all are being used in independent

India by both the people and political parties of India. The above politics are getting stronger by means of direct action.

1.3.7. Conclusion

Thus, modern Indian nationalism continues to have its roots in the nationalism practised and preached during the national movements of India. Besides the above major legacies of the Indian National Movement, we can also refer to the politics of language, communalism, westernization and extremism as the negative legacies of the freedom struggle against the British. However, the overall legacy of the National Movement has been positive and highly worthwhile. It has contributed considerably to the unity and integrity of new India and imparted to it modernization, stability, flexibility, ability to struggle against all odds. The working of Indian political system since 1947 reflects the impact of its legacies, particularly the legacies of the Indian National Movement. As a result of the above legacies of national movement, India still stands a nation of unity in diversity.

1.3.8. Summary

- The 19th Century witnessed the growth of national movements and the national consciousness in India.
- The Political System of Independent India owes a great debt of gratitude to the national freedom struggle for several legacies inherited from it.
- The Constitution of India, in respect of its aims and objectives as well as several other features, depends heavily on the legacy of the National Liberation Movement.
- The Indian National Movement left a rich legacy in respect of the values that the Indian political system has inherited and is trying to secure through planned and determined efforts of the Indians.
- The Indian national movements were found in different forms of events, incidences, institutions, rebellions, peaceful protests etc. against the British Government to get independence from their clutch.
- The national movement of started with the establishment of Indian National Congress in 1885 by Allan Octavian Hume, a retired Civil Servant of British Government.
- From 1885 to 1905, the Indian National Congress witnessed the “Moderate phase”.

- The moderate congress placed its demands before the British government always in the PPP mode.
- The exposition of the partition of Bengal was shown by the British as to improve administration in India, but the real intention was to rule India through the “Divide and Rule” policy.
- The period from 1905 till 1919 can be called as the period of extremists and the important leaders of this extremist group were Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal (popularly known as Lal-Bal-Pal).
- Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi three important national movements Non-cooperation Movement, Civil Disobedience Movement and Quit India Movement which were mass movement in nature.
- At last India got its independence on 15th August 1947 and India got divided into Pakistan and India.
- One of the major legacy of the Indian National Movement has been the leadership.
- It can be said that the Constitution of India as a rich and valuable legacy of the national movement.
- This feature of the Indian party system is also a legacy of the National Movement

1.3.9. Exercises

- ❖ Make an analysis on the national movements.
- ❖ Discuss different legacies of national movements
- ❖ Describe the different factors of national movements.
- ❖ Describe the significance and legacies of national movements.

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Unit-2
Chapter-I
THE MAKING OF THE CONSTITUTION
AND CONSOLIDATION AS A NEW NATION

**Framing of Indian Constituion-Constituent Assembly-Draft Committee Report-
Declaration of Indian Constitution, Indian Constitution-Basic Features and Institutions**

Structure

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2.1.0. Objectives

In this chapter we intended providing you an insight into the making of the Constitution and consolidation of a new nation. By the end of this chapter the learners would be able to:

- *to know the framing of Indian Constitution*
- *to trace in brief about the Constituent Assembly and the Draft Committee Report*
- *to understand the declaration of Indian Constitution*
- *to study the Indian Constitution, its basic features and institutions*

2.1.1. Introduction

The constitution is a set of basic rules governing the politics of a nation, and reflecting the exercise of political power. It lays down the framework and principal organs of the government together with their functions as well as the modalities of interactions between the state and its citizens. With the exception of Israel, New Zealand and the United Kingdom, most of the democratic countries of the world possess a written constitution. No constitution is entirely a new one. So, the constitution of the Republic of India is not an exception to it. Our constitution is the product of deliberations of a body of eminent people who sought to improve upon the then existing systems, both prevailing in India and in other countries. It was the legacy of the British rule on which the constitution of India was founded by the Indian Constituent Assembly.

2.1.2. Framing of Indian Constitution

The Indian national movement was fully committed to, in free India, a polity based on the ideals of representative democracy and this perspective guided the framers of the Indian Constitution. Our struggle against British colonialism was based on the principles seeking civil liberties for the individual and this became the very philosophy and goal of our polity. From the beginning, the national movement sought democratic values for the individual, and these formed the very foundations of our political system which we established after independence. Throughout the period of our freedom movement, we fought for our rights, and this is what the framers of our constitution assured us through the fundamental rights. Our struggle was represented through people of all faiths and all regions, and this is what is reflected in every article of our constitution. The liberal-democratic tradition nurtured by the Congress was made the goal of our Constitution after independence. Hence, the Constitution of India was framed and adopted by the Constituent Assembly of India.

2.1.3. The Constituent Assembly

The Cabinet Mission Plan in 1946 proposed a Constituent Assembly to frame the Constitution for India. The assembly consisting of 389 members was to be elected to represent the British India (296 members) and the princely states (93 members). Out of 296 members, 292 were to be elected by the provincial legislatures while 4 members were to represent the chief commissioner's provinces. Ninety three members were to be nominated by the rulers of the princely states. Following the partition of the country, the Constituent Assembly was bifurcated.

As a result, the membership of the India's Constituent Assembly was reduced to 299. Out of which 229 represented the British India provinces and 70 represented the princely states.

The state wise membership was:

Table 1 state wise membership of the Constituent Assembly of India as on 31st December, 1947 (British Provinces -229)

SL.No.	States	No. of Members
1	Madras	49
2	Bombay	21
3	West Bengal	19
4	United Provinces	55
5	East Punjab	12
6	Bihar	38
7	Central Provinces	17
8	Assam	8
9	Orissa	9
10	Delhi	1
11	Ajmer-Merwar	1
12	Coorg	1

Table 2 Princely States

SL.No.	States	No. of Members
1	Alwar	1
2	Baroda	3
3	Bhopal	1
4	Bikanir	1

5	Cochin	1
6	Gwalior	4
7	Indore	1
8	Jaipur	3
9	Jodhpur	2
10	Kolhapur	1
11	Kotah	1
12	Mayurbhanj	1
13	Mysore	7
14	Patiala	2
15	Rewa	2
16	Travancore	6
17	Udaipur	2
18	Sikim and Cooch Bihar Group	1
19	Tripura, Manipur and Khasi States Group	1
20	U.P. States Group	1
21	Eastern Rajputana States Group	3
22	Central States Group (Including Bundelkhand and Malwa	3
SL.No.	States	No. of Members
23	Western India States Group	4
24	Gujrat States Group	2
25	Deccan and Madras States Group	2
26	Punjab States Group	3
27	Punjab States Group I	4
28	Eastern States Group II	3

The total membership as recommended by the Cabinet Mission was 389. After partition Indian Constituent Assembly was $229 + 70 = 299$.

2.1.3.1. Participation of almost all sections of the society

Almost all sections of the society were represented in the Constituent Assembly like Hindu, Muslims, Sikhs, Parses, the Scheduled Caste, the Scheduled Tribe, lawyers, doctors, trade union leaders, men of industries and women. Of course, Mahatma Gandhi was not a member of the Constituent Assembly.

2.1.3.2. First meeting of the Constituent Assembly

The Constituent Assembly held its first meeting on 9th December, 1946 under the temporary chairmanship of the oldest member Dr. Sachidanand Sinha. Because of Muslim League's decision to boycott the Constituent Assembly only 211 members attended the first meeting. On 11th December, it elected Dr. Rajendra Prasad as its permanent President. Sh. V.T. Krishnamachari and Sh. H.C. Mookherjee were elected as two Vice-Presidents. The membership of the Constituent Assembly included all eminent Indian leaders. The Constituent Assembly took almost three years two years, eleven months and eighteen days to be precise) to complete its historic task of drafting the Constitution for independent India. During this period, it held eleven sessions covering a total of 165 days. Of these, 114 days were spent on the consideration of the Draft Constitution. Dr. Sachidananda Sinha was the first President of the Constituent Assembly when it met on December 9, 1946 while later Dr. Rajendra Prasad elected as the President of the Assembly.

2.1.3.3. Working of the Constituent Assembly after Indian Independence

On 15th August, 1947, India became independent. A day before, i.e. on 14th August, Pakistan was partitioned out of India. The Constituent Assembly of India then got a sovereign status and started undertaking the task of formulating the Constitution of India with a new zeal and enthusiasm. The accession of Indian Princely States to India made this august body more representative. After independence 28 members belonging to Muslim League (India) also joined it. It started working as a fully representative, all powerful and a truly national and sovereign assembly of all the people of India.

2.1.3.4. Appointment of different committees for conducting its work

For conducting its work in a systematic and efficient manner, the Constituent Assembly constituted several committees which were to report on the subjects assigned to them. The Constituent Assembly worked through 22 committees. Of these, 10 committees were on procedural affairs and 12 on substantive affairs. Some of the principal committees with their chairman are as follows:

2.1.3.5. Principal committees and chairman

- ❖ Committee on the Rules of Procedure: Rajendra Prasad
- ❖ Drafting Committee: B.R. Ambedkar
- ❖ Steering Committee: Rajendra Prasad
- ❖ Finance and Staff Committee: Rajendra Prasad
- ❖ Credential Committee: Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar
- ❖ House Committee: B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya
- ❖ Order of Business Committee: K. M. Munshi
- ❖ Ad Hoc Committee on National Flag: Rajendra Prasad
- ❖ Committee on Functions of Constituent Assembly: G.V. Mavlankar
- ❖ States Committee: Jawaharlal Nehru
- ❖ Advisory Committee on Fundamental Rights, Minorities and Tribal and Excluded Areas: Vallabhbhai Patel
- ❖ Minorities Sub-Committee: H. C. Mookherjee
- ❖ Fundamental Rights Sub-Committee: J. B. Kriplani
- ❖ North-East Frontier Tribal Areas and Assam Excluded & Partially Excluded Areas Sub-Committee: Gopinath Bardoloi
- ❖ Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas (Other than Those in Assam) Sub-Committee: A. V. Thakkar
- ❖ Union Powers Committee: Jawaharlal Nehru
- ❖ Union Constitution Committee: Jawaharlal Nehru
- ❖ Constitution of Various Committees

However, the reports of these committees provided the bricks and mortar for the formulation of the Constitution of India. The Constitution of India is the child of the Constituent Assembly. The perceptions and ideological orientations of the constitution makers, the reports of the committees and of the debates held in the Constituent Assembly provided the basic threads for its formation.

2.1.3.6. Perceptions and ideological orientations of the members of the Constituent Assembly

The perceptions and ideological orientations of the members of the Constituent Assembly, provided the basis for laying down the philosophy and basic structure of the

Constitution. The adoption of Democratic Socialism, provisions for Centralised Planning, the Directive Principles of State Policy, Secularism, Unitarian Federalism, Welfare State etc , all bear the imprint of the values and ideas cherished by the Framers of the Constitution. The Objectives Resolution adopted by the Constituent Assembly on 22nd January, 1947 constituted the sign-post for the Constituent Assembly. This resolution categorically stated the objectives before the Constituent Assembly as well as the features that, it was to provide for in the constitution. It specified the objective of making India a Sovereign Independent Republic based on the principle of Popular Sovereignty and committed to secure social, economic and political justice for all, making India a secular polity, securing the interests of the minorities and working for International Peace and Security. The Constitution of India fully upholds the philosophy and ideals of the Objectives Resolution of the Constituent Assembly.

2.1.4. Draft Committee Report

The Draft Committee report includes the following :

2.1.4.1. Reports of the Constitutional Committee

The Constituent Assembly appointed a number of committees which prepared reports on the matters allocated to them. Their reports formed the basis of debates held in the Constituent Assembly. In particular the reports of the substantive matters committees like the Advisory Committee on Minorities and Fundamental Rights, Committee on Financial Rights between Union and States and others, constituted a rich source of the constitution.

2.1.4.2. Debates of the Constituent Assembly-CAD

Before incorporating a provision in the constituent, the Constituent Assembly debated on all aspects of it. Every member freely expressed his opinion in these debates. It was after these debates that the decision over every provision was reached either through consensus or unanimity or by a vote. In all, the Constituent Assembly held eleven Plenary Sessions and held debates for 114 days. As many as 7635 amendments were moved by the members, out of which 2473 were actually discussed and debated upon. The Constituent Assembly Debates (CAD)

records as such contain a mine house of information which is always used by the Supreme Court in interpreting the various provisions of the constitution.

2.1.4.3. The Draft Constitution

The Drafting Committee, under the Chairmanship of Dr. Ambedkar did a commendable job in preparing the Draft Constitution. On 21st February, 1948, the Constituent Assembly began a debate over the first draft prepared by the Drafting Committee. On 4th November, 1948 the final draft was submitted to the Constituent Assembly. After long discussions and debates, the Assembly finally enacted and adopted the Constitution on 26th November, 1949. The Draft Constitution as such constitutes a source of the Constitution of India.

2.1.4.4. The Drafting Committee

In the making of the constitution, a very valuable role was played by the Drafting Committee. This committee was constituted on 29th August, 1947 with Dr. B.R. Ambedkar as its Chairman. The members of this committee included its versatile Chairman Dr. Ambedkar; and such legal luminaries as B.L. Mitter, Gopaldaswami Ayyangar, Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, K. Munshi, Saiyid Mohd. Saadulla, . Madhav Rao (Nominated by the President on 5 December 1947) and D.P. Khaitan. After the death of Mr. D.P. Khaitan, *T.T. Krishnamachari v* as made its member. Dr. B. Rau worked as the Chief Constitutional Advisor attached to this committee.

2.1.4.5. Adoption of the Constitution

The Drafting Committee submitted its report (draft) to the Constituent Assembly on 21st Feb., 1948 and the Constituent Assembly held debates on it. On the basis of these discussions, a new draft was prepared by the Drafting Committee and submitted to the Assembly on 4th November, 1948. (The Drafting Committee took less than six months to prepare the Draft and it sat for 141 days). The first debate on this draft was held from 4th to 9th November, 1948. Thereafter, from 15th November, 1948 to 17th October, 1949, each clause of the draft was thoroughly debated upon and passed. In all 7635 amendments were proposed, out of which 2473 amendments were discussed. From 14th November, 1949 to 26th November, 1949 the final debate was held on the draft. On 26th November, 1949, the Institution was finally adopted and enacted when the Constitution was signed by the President of the Constituent Assembly.

The adoption of the constitution was indeed an historic event and an occasion of great Constitutional significance. Some of provisions came into operation immediately while as a whole the Constitution inaugurated on 26th January, 1950. Thus was fulfilled the pledge for Puran Swaraj that the people of India had taken on 26th January, 1930. The last meeting or the final session of the Constituent Assembly was held on 24th January, 1950. It unanimously elected Dr. Rajendra Prasad as the first President of the Republic of India, under the Constitution of India which was inaugurated two days after i.e. 26th January, 1950.

2.15. Declaration of Indian Constitution

The Objectives Resolution was designed to declare the resolve to make India a sovereign, Independent, Republic and to secure to all its citizens, fundamental rights, justice, secularism and welfare state as well as to preserve the unity and integrity of the nation. It declared the resolve to make India a democratic union with an equal level of self-government in all the constituent parts. It affirmed that all power and authority of the government is derived from the people.

On 26th November, 1949, it could proudly declare on behalf of the people of India that “we do hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this Constitution. It embodied all the objectives of democracy, secularism, economic and social justice.

The above declaration is found in the **Preamble of the Constitution of India** which we read as follows:

We the People of India having solemnly resolved to constitute **India** into a **Sovereign, Socialist, Secular, Democratic, Republic** and to secure to all its citizens;

Justice, social, economic, political;

Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

Equality of status and opportunity; and to promote among them all;

Fraternity, assuring the **dignity of the individual** and the **unity and integrity** of the nation;

In our **Constituent Assembly**, this **twenty sixth day of November 1949**, do **hereby Adopt, Enact and Give to Ourselves this Constitution**.

However, the words ‘Socialist’, ‘Secular’ and ‘integrity’ were initially not there in the Preamble and were added to it by the 42nd Amendment (1976) of the Constitution.

This is, in brief, an account of the framing of Indian Constitution by the Constituent Assembly. The Constituent Assembly took 2 years, 11 months and 17 days to accomplish the task of making the constitution. In all, it held 11 plenary sessions and discussions were held for 114 days. Rs. 6,396,273 was spent in this exercise. Constitution of India is indeed the highest and most valuable contribution of the Constituent Assembly to the Indian political stem.

2.1.6.Indian Constitution

Among the constitutions of the world, the Constitution of India deserves a unique position because of its voluminous size, the mixture of federalism, Unitarianism and flexibility and rigidity. The attempt of the constitution-makers was to give to the nation a workable constitution capable of securing the unity and stability of the nation and initiating the process of nation-building and socio-economic reconstruction.

2.1.7.Basic features of the Constitution of India

The following are the basic features of the Indian Constitution:

2.1.7.1. Written Constitution

The Constitution of India is a written document like that of United States of America. It incorporates constitutional law of India. It was drafted, debated and enacted by the Constitution Assembly of India. Indian Constitution is a written and detailed constitution. It consists of 395 Articles _ divided into 22 Parts with 12 Schedules and 94 constitutional amendments. This is much bigger than the US Constitution with its 7 Articles and 27 Amendments, the Japanese Constitution 103 Articles, the French Constitution with its 89 Articles and the Swiss Constitution 196 Articles.

2.1.7.2. Self-made and Enacted Constitution

Indian Constitution has been a constitution made by the people of India through their duly elected and representative body-the Constituent Assembly. It was organised in December 1946 under the Cabinet Mission Plan. Its first session was held on 9th December, 1946. It passed the Objectives Resolution on 22uary, 1947. Thereafter, it initiated the process of constitution-making in the right earnest and was in a position to finally pass and adopt the constitution on 26th November, 1949. It is a self-made and duly enacted constitution.

2.1.7.3. Preamble of the Constitution

The Preamble to the Constitution of India is a well drafted document which states the philosophy of the constitution. The Preamble is the key to the Constitution. It states in nutshell the nature of Indian state and the objectives it is committed to secure for the people. Initially, the Preamble was not regarded as a part of the constitution but since the Supreme Court judgment in the Kesvananda Bharati case, it stands accepted as a part of the Constitution. It was amended by the 42nd Amendment (1976) when the words 'Socialist', 'Secular' and 'Integrity' were added to it.

2.1.7.4. India is a Sovereign, Socialist, Secular, Democratic, Republic country

The Preamble declares India to be a Sovereign, Socialist, Secular, Democratic, Republic. All these five terms signify five major features of the Indian polity.

2.1.7.4.1. India as a Sovereign State

The Preamble proclaims that India is a sovereign state. It testifies to the fact that India is no longer the dependency or colony or possession of British Crown. It affirms the end of the dominion status that India technically got after the end of British rule on 15th August, 1947. It confirms that India is free internally and externally to take her own decisions.

2.1.7.4.2. India as a Socialist State

Although, right from the beginning, the Indian Constitution epitomised the spirit of Socialism which stood writ large on its pages, it was only in 1976 that the Preamble was amended to include the term 'Socialism'. It is now regarded as a prime feature of the State in India. It reflects the fact that India is committed to secure justice—social, economic and political, to its entire people by ending all forms of exploitation and by securing equitable distribution of

income, resources and wealth. The term, India is a socialist State, really means that India is a Democratic Socialist State. It signifies the commitment to socio-economic justice which is to be secured by the state through the democratic process and organised planning.

2.1.7.4.3. India as a Secular State.

By the 42nd Amendment, the term 'Secular' was incorporated in the Preamble. As a state, India gives special status to no religion. There is no such thing as a state religion of India which we find in case of Pakistan where the state religion is Islam. India adopts Secularism by guaranteeing equal freedom to all religions. Under Articles 25 to 28, the Constitution grants the Right to Religious Freedom to all the citizens. It provides for equal rights to all the citizens without any discrimination, rule of law and special protection to minorities. The State does not interfere in the religious freedom of the citizens and prohibits the levying of taxes for religious purposes.

2.1.7.4.4. India as a Democratic State

Preamble declares India to be a Democratic State and the Constitution of India provides for a democratic system. The authority of the government rests upon the sovereignty of the people. The people enjoy equal political rights: universal adult franchise, right to contest elections, right to hold public offices, right to form associations and right to criticize and oppose the policies of the government. It is on the basis of these rights that the people participate in the process of politics. They elect their government. Elections are held after regular intervals or as and when these are considered essential (Mid term Polls and By- elections). These are free, fair and impartial, and are based on universal adult franchise, secret ballot, single member constituencies, and simple majority vote victory system. For all its acts, the government is responsible before the people. The people can change their government through elections. No government can remain in power which does not enjoy the confidence of the majority of the representatives of the people.

2.1.7.4.5. India as a Republic

The Preamble declares India to be a Republic. This means that India is not ruled by a monarch or a nominated head of state. Positively, it means that India has an elected head of state

who" exercise power for a fixed term. The Republican status of India is in no way in conflict with the Indian membership of the Commonwealth. President of India is the sovereign head of the state who is directly elected by the people for a fixed term of 5 years. Hence India is a Republic.

2.1.7.5. Union of States

Article I of the Constitution declares, "*India that is Bharat shall be a Union of States.*" It does not describe India either as a federation or a unitary state. This expression indicates two important facts: (a) that Indian union is not the result of voluntary agreement among sovereign states as was the case in USA, (b) that the constituent units of India have no right to secede from the union." India as such is a union of states. India has now 29 States and seven Union - Territories. Telengana has been the newest state of the Indian Union which got separated from Andhra Pradesh.

2.1.7.6. Federal System with Unitary Spirit

The constitution provides for a federal structure with a unitary spirit. Scholars describe India as a 'Quasi Federation' or a federation with a unitary bias or even as a Unitarian federation. Like a federation, the Constitution of India provides for (i) a division of powers between the centre and states, (ii) a written and rigid constitution, (iii) supremacy of the Constitution, (iv) independent judiciary with the power to decide Central-State disputes over division of powers, and (v) bicameralism. However, by providing a very strong centre, common constitution, single citizenship, emergency provisions, common Election Commission, common All India Services etc. the Constitution clearly reflects the unitary spirit. The mixture of federalism-unitarianism has been done keeping in view both the pluralistic nature of Indian society and presence of regional diversities, and the need for securing unity and integrity of the nation. The former feature has compelled a decision in favour of Federalism while the latter has necessitated unitarianism. Hence, the Constitution of India is neither federal nor unitary but a mixture of the two.

2.1.7.7. Both rigid and flexible

The Constitution of India is both rigid and flexible. Some of its provisions can be amended in a difficult way while others can be amended very easily. In some cases, the Union

Parliament can amend some parts of the Constitution by passing a law. For example, the formation of new states, increase or decrease in the territories of the states, rules regarding citizenship, provisions regarding the creation or abolition of (Vidhan Parishad) Legislative Council in a state and some others, can be amended by this simple method. These features reflect the flexibility of the constitution.

2.1.7.8. Fundamental Rights

The constitution guarantees the fundamental rights to all its citizens which are justifiable and inviolable. Under its Part III, Articles 12-35, the Constitution of India grants and guarantees Fundamental Rights to its citizens. Initially 7 Fundamental Rights were granted but by the removal of the Right to Property [Art. 19 (1) (6) and Art. 31] from the category of the Fundamental Rights (44th Amendment Act 1979) their number has come down to six.

(i) **Right to Equality** (Arts. 14-18) It provides for Equality before Law, End of Discrimination, Equal Opportunity, Abolition of Untouchability and Abolition of Titles.

(ii) **Right to Freedom** (Arts. 19-22) It incorporates six fundamental freedoms under Art. 19- freedom of speech and expression, freedom to form associations, freedom to assemble peaceably arms, freedom to move freely in India, freedom of residence in any part, and freedom adopting any profession or trade or occupation. Art. 20 deals with personal freedom and protection in respect of conviction for certain offences. Article 21 lays down that the freedom of life and liberty cannot be deprived except in accordance with procedure established by law. By 86th Amendment, Article 21A was added which provided for Right to Education children of the age group 6-14. Art. 22 guarantees protection against arbitrary arrest and detention. In January 2004, the Supreme Court ruled that under Art 19 [1(a)] the citizens of India have the fundamental right to hoist the national flag. Now Right to Information Act has been passed. It gives to the people the right to get necessary Information in respect of public matters, policies, programmes, decisions and progress in respect of their implementation. It is a legal right which has for its basis the fundamental right to freedom.

(iii) **Right against Exploitation** (Arts. 23-24). The Fundamental Right prohibits traffic in human beings, forced labour (begar) and employment of children in hazardous jobs.

(iv) **Right to Freedom of Religion** (Arts. 25-28). The grant of this right involves the freedom of conscience, religion and worship. It gives to all religious sects freedom to establish and maintain their religious institutions. Under Art. 27, it holds that no person can be compelled to pay any tax for the propagation of any religion. The state cannot levy a tax for any religion and it cannot discriminate on grounds of religion, while giving grants. Article 28 prohibits the imparting of religious instructions in schools and colleges.

(v) **Cultural and Educational Rights** (Arts. 29-30). Under this category the Constitution guarantees the rights of the minorities to maintain and develop their languages and cultures. It also confers upon them the right to establish, maintain and administer their educational institutions.

The Right to Property stands deleted from the list of Fundamental Rights. It is now a legal right under Article 300A (42nd Amendment 1976).

(vi) **Right to Constitutional Remedies** (Art. 32).

This fundamental right is the soul of the entire Bill of Rights. It provides for the enforcement and protection of Fundamental rights by the courts. It empowers the Supreme Court to issue orders, directions and writs (*Habeas Corpus*, *Mandamus*, *Prohibition*, *Quo Warranto* and *Certiorari*) for the enforcement of these rights.

These are the Fundamental Rights of the Indian Citizen. While granting and guaranteeing Fundamental Rights, the constitution also describes several limitations upon these. These limitations have been imposed in the interest of public order, morality, and decency, security of state and sovereignty, and territorial integrity of India. Further these rights can be amended in accordance with the procedure laid down in Article 368.

2.1.7.9. The National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) and State Human Rights Commission

With a view to protect the democratic and human rights of the people of India, the Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993 was passed by the Union Parliament. Under it the National Human Rights Commission, headed by a retired Chief Justice of India was established. It is now acting as an independent commission with a status of a civil court for preventing the violations of human rights of the people, and in cases of proved violations of human rights for

ordering compensation for the victims. Most of the Indian states have established their own Human Rights Commissions for this purpose.

2.1.7.10. Fundamental Duties

The Constitution under its Part IVA·Article 51 •• (Incorporated by 42nd Amendment 1976) enumerates the following Fundamental Duties of the Citizen:

- Respect the Constitution, the national flag and the national anthem
- Cherish the noble ideals of the freedom struggle.
- Uphold and protect the sovereignty, unity and integrity of India.
- Defend the country and render national service when called -.
- Promote the common brotherhood of all the people of India and renounce any practice derogatory to the dignity of women.
- Preserve the rich heritage of the nation's composite culture.
- Protect the natural environment and have compassion for living creatures.
- Develop scientific temper, humanism and spirit of inquiry and reform.
- Safeguard public property and abjure violence.
- Strive for excellence in all individual and collective activity.
- By the 86th Amendment, the fundamental duty of the parents to provide education to their children has been added to this list.

The Fundamental Duties are, however, not enforceable by the Courts. Like Directive Principles these also form a part of constitutional morality.

2.1.7.11. Directive Principles of State Policy

Part IV (Articles 36-51), of the Indian Constitution dealing with the 'Directive Principles of State Policy' provides one of the most striking features of Indian Constitution. In writing this part the constitution makers were influenced most by the Constitution of the Irish Republic and the ideologies of Gandhism and Fabian Socialism. The Directive Principles are instructions to the State for securing socio-economic developmental objectives through its policies. These are both for the Union as well as the States. The Directive Principles, for example, direct the Indian State to ensure for the people adequate means of livelihood, fairer distribution of wealth, equal

pay for equal work, protection of children, women, labour and youth, old age pension, social security, local self government, protection of the interests of the weaker sections of society etc., and work for the promotion of cottage industries, rural development, international peace friendship and cooperation with other states etc.

2.1.7.12 Bi-Cameral Legislature

The Constitution of India provides for a Bicameral Legislature at the Union level and designates it as the Union Parliament. Its two Houses are: the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha.

(i) The Lok Sabha is the lower, popular, directly elected House of the Parliament. It represents the people of India. Its present strength is 545. Out of which 543 are elected by the people of India and 2 nominated members from Anglo-Indian community. The people of each state elect representatives in proportion to their number. Elections to the Lok Sabha are held on the principles of (1) direct election (2) secret ballot (3) one voter one vote (4) simple majority vote victory system (5) universal adult franchise (qualifying voting age for men and women being 18 (Previously it was 21 years). All persons of 25 years of age or above are eligible to contest elections to the Lok Sabha. The President nominates two members of Anglo-Indian Community to the Lok Sabha. The tenure of the Lok Sabha is 5 years. But acting under the advice of Prime Minister, the President can dissolve it earlier also.

(ii) The Rajya Sabha is the upper and indirectly elected House which represents the states. Its present membership is 245. Out of these 233 members are elected by all the State Legislative Assemblies through a system of proportional representation and 12 are nominated by the President from amongst eminent persons from the fields of Arts, Science and Literature. Rajya Sabha is a quasi-permanent house. It is never dissolved as a whole. Its 1/3rd members retire after every two years. Each member has a term of six years. The Union Parliament is not a sovereign legislature. It is constituted under the Constitution and it exercises only those powers which the constitution vests in it.

Of the two Houses Lok Sabha is the more powerful than the Rajya Sabha. It alone has financial powers and it alone can remove the union cabinet from office. The Council of Ministers is collectively responsible before the Lok Sabha. Each state has its own legislature but it can be either Unicameral or Bicameral in its organization. Now six states (Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, J &

K, Karnataka, Maharashtra and UP) have bi-cameral state legislatures while all others to have unicameral legislatures. Each bicameral state legislature consists of Legislative Council as the upper house and Legislative Assembly as the lower house. Each unicameral state legislature has only one house i.e. Legislative Assembly. Two Union territories - Delhi and Puducherry have their own unicameral legislatures. Recently the BJD Government has purposed to establish bicameral legislature in Odisha.

2.1.7.13. Parliamentary System of Government

The Constitution of India provides for a Parliamentary system of government at the centre as well as in every state. It is modeled on British pattern of parliamentary form of government. The President of India is the Constitutional head of state with nominal powers. The Union Council of Ministers headed by Prime Minister constitutes the real executive. Ministers are essentially the members of the union Parliament. The Council of Ministers is collectively responsible, for all its acts before the Lok Sabha. The Lok Sabha can remove the Ministry by passing a vote of no-confidence and the Ministry (PM) has the power to get the Lok Sabha dissolved by the President. Like wise, in every state also a parliamentary government, on similar lines is at work.

2.1.7.14. Universal Adult-Suffrage

Another feature of the constitution is the introduction of universal adult suffrage. Under the Government of India Act 1935, only 14 per cent of the total population secured franchise and women constituted just a negligible proportion of the total franchise. Under the new constitution both men and women enjoy equal right to vote. Now the qualifying voting age stands lowered from 21 to 18 years. All men and women above the age of 18 years are eligible to vote in elections. However it is compulsory that their names must figure in the electoral lists, only then can the voters cast their votes in elections.

2.1.7.15. Single Citizenship

All the Indians irrespective of their domicile enjoy a single citizenship of India. The principle of single citizenship was provided for in the Indian Constitution in order to foster strong bond of social and political unity among the people of India.

2.1.7.16. Single Integrated Judiciary

Though the constitution provides for a federal structure, it establishes a single integrated judicial system common for the Union and the states. Unlike the U.S. Constitution, which provides for Federal Judiciary and leaves the establishment of State Judiciary to the Constitution of each state, the constitution of India provides for a single judicial system with the Supreme Court at the apex, High Courts at the state level and other subordinate courts under the High Courts.

2.1.7.17. Independence of the Judiciary

The Indian Constitution makes judiciary truly independent. It is clear from the following facts: (a) Judges are appointed by the President, (b) Only persons with high legal qualifications and experience are appointed as judges, (c) Judges of the Supreme Court cannot be removed from office except through an extremely difficult process i.e Impeachment procedure, (d) The salaries of the judges and the staff are charged on the Consolidated Fund of India and are not subject to the vote of the legislature, (e) The Supreme Court is authorised to have its own establishment to maintain independence, (f) All appointments of the officers, and servants of the Supreme Court are made by the Chief Justice or by any other judge or officer whom he may direct for the purpose.

2.1.7.18. Judicial Review power of the Supreme Court and High Courts

The Constitution is the supreme law of the land. The Supreme Court acts as the guardian protector and interpreter of the constitution. It is also the guardian of the Fundamental Rights of the people. For this purpose, it exercises the power of judicial review. By it, the Supreme Court determines the constitutional validity of all acts of the legislatures and the executive. It can strike down the laws of the Parliament or the acts of the executive if these are challenged before it, and are found it to be unconstitutional. For the past five decades the Supreme Court has been using this power and it has given several historical decisions in various constitutional cases--Golaknath Case, Kesavnanda Bharati Case, Minerva Mills Case and several others. The High Courts also exercise this power.

2.1.7.19. Judicial Activism

At present the Indian judiciary has been becoming more and more active towards the performance of its social obligations. Through public interest litigation system as well as through a more active and judicious exercise of its powers, the Indian judiciary is now very actively getting involved in securing the public interest vis-a-vis the government. Under the Public Interest Litigation (PIL) system the judges can act *suo moto* to secure general interest. In 1995, it called upon the state to work for securing a uniform civil code for the whole of India and for all the Indians as stands directed under Article 44 of the Constitution. Indian judiciary has been becoming more and more active for safeguarding the rights and freedom of the people and the demands of public interest. Judicial Activism is a new feature of the Indian Judicial system. In 2007, a bench of the Supreme Court ruled that the courts should sparingly use activism. However the Chief Justice of India clarified that it was not a decision of the Supreme Court.

2.1.7.20. Emergency Provisions

Like the Constitution of the Weimer Republic (Germany), the Constitution of India also contains provisions for dealing with emergencies. It vests in the President of India the power to deal with these. That is why these provisions are usually referred to as the Emergency Powers of the President. The Constitution stipulates three types of emergencies:

- (1) **National Emergency (Article 352)** *i.e.* emergency resulting from war or external aggression or threat of external aggressions against India or from armed rebellion within India or in any of its part.
- (2) **Constitutional Emergency** in a State or some states (Article 356) *i.e.* emergency resulting from the failure of constitutional machinery in any state.
- (3) **Financial Emergency Article 360)** *i.e.* emergency resulting from a threat to financial stability of India. The President of India has been empowered to take appropriate steps for dealing with these emergencies. During an emergency, the powers of the President, actually of the PM and the Cabinet, increase tremendously. In case of national emergency, the system becomes virtually unitary and the President can suspend the fundamental freedoms contained in Art. 19 and their enforcement under Articles 32 and 226 of the Constitution. However, there are certain set rules for using this power as well as there are several limitations upon the exercise of the emergency powers. The President can declare an emergency only on the advice of the Prime

Minister and the Council of Ministers. In case of a National Emergency, the President can act only on the written advice of the Union Cabinet (Incorporated by 44th Amendment). Every emergency proclamation has to be got approved from the Parliament within a fixed period. since 1952, the President has exercised the Emergency powers (National Emergency and Constitutional Emergency) on several occasions. The aim of the emergency provisions is to protect the people and the state and hence on account these cannot be opposed. However, these contain the possibility of misuse of powers on the part of the Union executive for political purposes. In particular, the provisions of Art 356 can be misused by the Centre. The declaration of emergency due to 'internal causes' in 1975 involved an authoritarian exercise of power by Mrs. Indira Gandhi and for this act the people punished her and her Congress party by squarely defeating it in March 1977 elections.

2.1.7.21. Special Provisions Relating to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

With a view to protect the interests of people belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, the Constitution in its Part XVI specifies certain special provisions. Art 330 provides for reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Lok Sabha in proportion (as near as possible) to their population. Further, the President can nominate in Lok Sabha not more than two members of the Anglo-Indian Community in case he is of the opinion that this community is not adequately represented in the House (Art. 331). Similar provisions for reservation of the seats for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and Anglo-Indian Community in the State legislatures have also been incorporated under Articles 331 and 332 respectively. The reservation benefits have also been extended to Other Backward Classes (OBCs). The Supreme Court has, however ruled that in no case more than 50 per cent jobs should be reserved for all categories of the people entitled to the benefits under the reservation policy. Not only in respect of legislative seats, in respect of jobs in Government service and admission in various universities and professional institutions, jobs and seats are reserved for the people of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Several commissions like National Commission for SCs, National Commission for STs, National Minorities Commission, National Commission on OBCs and National Commission for Women have been monitoring the conditions of the weaker sections of society. Now the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) can also look into the complaints involving the violation of the rights of the people belonging to Scheduled Castes and

Scheduled Tribes. Some reservation benefits have been also given to people belonging to Other Backward Classes. Now the system of reservations has been extended for 10 more years i.e. till the year 2020.

2.1.7.21. Provisions Regarding Language

The Constitution lays down special provisions for defining the Language of the Union, Regional Languages, and Language of the Supreme Court and High Courts. Art. 343 states that the official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devanagiri script. But along with this, it also provides for the continuance of English Language. A state legislature can adopt the language of the province as its official language. English continues to be the language of the Supreme Court and the High Courts. Under Article 351, the Constitution gives a directive to the Union to develop Hindi and popularize its use. In its Eighth Schedule, the Constitution now recognizes 22 major Indian Languages- Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Malayalam, Marathi, Odia, Punjabi, Nepali, Manipuri, Konkani, Sanskrit, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu Urdu, Bodo, Santali, Mathli and Dogri (Last 4 languages were included in 8th schedule by the 92nd Amendment Act 2003).

2.1.7.22. Constitution Drawn from Several Sources

In formulating the Constitution of India, the founding fathers used several sources. The values and ideals of the National Movement guided their path. The National Movement influenced them to adopt secularism. Some provisions of Government of India Act 1935 were used by them and several features of foreign constitutions influenced them and were adopted by them. In adopting Parliamentary system and Bicameralism, the British Constitution influenced them. The US Constitution influenced them in favour of Republicanism, Independence of Judiciary, Judicial Review and Bill of Rights. The progress of the (former) USSR after the 1917 Socialist Revolution influenced them to adopt Socialism as a goal. Likewise while writing several provisions of the constitution they are all influenced by the constitutions of Canada, Australia, Weimar Republic (German) and Ireland.

2.1.8 Institutions

The scope of political science covers the study of political institutions and constitutions. It studies the nature and functions of various political institutions like parliament, political parties, pressure groups, bureaucracy, supreme court, high court, local self bodies etc. This covers a study of constitutions and comparative government. It deals with the nature of different political institutions including government, explains their merits and demerits, their structure and working and arrives at different conclusions on comparative basis. Besides, the study of public administration and local government may be included in this area. However, the study of public administration has emerged as an independent subject in recent times. In organized way the fundamental problems of political science include, first, an investigation of the origin and the nature of the state, second, an inquiry into nature, history and forms of political institutions and third, deduction there from, so far as possible, of laws of political growth and development. In other words, we study in political science the origin and the development of the state and many other political institutions and associations. There are many types of political institutions in a society and the state- an institution that stands supreme- controls all of them. These institutions are useful to the nation and hence, they are studied along with the state. However, the institutions of the study includes the institutions of Legislative, Executive and Judiciary, bureaucracy, etc.

2.1.9 Conclusion

With all these features the Indian Constitution is a constitution best suited to the Indian environment. Even its large size (Elephantine) has helped India to organise and run her government and administration in an effective way both in times of peace and war or emergencies. It has been continuously developing for meeting new situations, challenges, crises and national necessities.

2.1.10. Summary

- The constitution is a set of basic rules governing the politics of a nation, and reflecting the exercise of political power.
- It lays down the framework and principal organs of the government together with their functions as well as the modalities of interactions between the state and its citizens.
- The Constitution of India was framed and adopted by the Constituent Assembly of India.
- The Cabinet Mission Plan in 1946 proposed a Constituent Assembly to frame the Constitution for India.

- Almost all sections of the society were represented in the Constituent Assembly.
- The Constituent Assembly held its first meeting on 9th December, 1946 under the temporary chairmanship of the oldest member Dr. Sachidanand Sinha.
- The Constituent Assembly worked through 22 committees. Of these, 10 committees were on procedural affairs and 12 on substantive affairs.
- The adoption of Democratic Socialism, provisions for Centralised Planning, the Directive Principles of State Policy, Secularism, Unitarian Federalism, Welfare State etc , all bear the imprint of the values and ideas cherished by the Framers of the Constitution.
- The Constituent Assembly appointed a number of committees which prepared reports on the matters allocated to them. Their reports formed the basis of debates held in the Constituent Assembly.
- The Drafting Committee, under the Chairmanship of Dr. Ambedkar did a commendable job in preparing the Draft Constitution.
- After long discussions and debates, the Assembly finally enacted and adopted the Constitution on 26th ovember, 1949.
- Among the constitutions of the world, the Constitution of India deserves a unique position because of its voluminous size, long written constitution, the mixture of federalism, Unitarianism and flexibility and rigidity, etc.

2.1.11. Exercise

- ❖ Discuss the main features which constitute the basic structure of the Constitution of India
- ❖ Give a brief history on the constitution of India.
- ❖ Write a note on the Constituent Assembly.
- ❖ Give an account on the making of the Constitution of India.
- ❖ Discuss the basic features of Indian Constitution.

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Unit-2
Chapter-II

THE INITIAL YEARS:

Process of National Consolidation and Integration of Indian States- Role of Sardar Patel—Kashmir issue-Indo-Pak war 1948; the Linguistic Reorganization of the states, Regionalism and Regional Inequality

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2.2.0. Objectives

In this chapter we intended providing you an insight into the initial years of Indian independence. By the end of this chapter the learners would be able to:

- *to know the Process of National Consolidation and Integration of Indian States*
- *to trace in brief the role of Sardar Patel in the integration of India*
- *to assess the Kashmir issue and Indo-Pak War of 1948*
- *to study the linguistic reorganization of the states*
- *to evaluate regionalism and regional inequality.*

2.2.1. Introduction

India achieved its independence on 15th August, 1947 and the people of India celebrated the independence with much enthusiasm and jubilation. The sacrifices of generations of patriots and the blood of countless martyrs had brought result in the form of independence. However, this joy was tainted by despair as the country got divided into two new nations India and Pakistan engulfed by communal riots. There was a mass migration of people from both states across the new borders. There was scarcity of food and other consumer goods, and a fear of administrative breakdown.

2.2.2 The Initial Years

In the initial years of independence, there were the immediate problems like the territorial and administrative integration of the princely states, the communal riots that accompanied Partition, the rehabilitation of nearly six million refugees who had migrated from Pakistan, the protection of Muslims threatened by communal gangs, the need to avoid war with Pakistan, and the Communist insurgency, etc. Further, the restoration of law and order and political stability and putting in place an administrative system, threatened with breakdown because of Partition and the illogical division of the army and higher bureaucracy virtually on religious lines, were other immediate problems. In 1947 Nehru declared that the first thing for the nation is the security and stability.

2.2.2.1. problems in the initial years

In adding together there were many other problems like framing a constitution and building a representative democratic and civil libertarian political order, organizing elections to put in place the system of representative and responsible governments at the Centre and in the states, and abolishing the semi-feudal agrarian order through thorough-going land reforms. The newly-formed independent government also had the long-term tasks, of promoting national

integration, pushing forward the process of nation-in-the-making, facilitating rapid economic development, removing endemic poverty, and initiation of the planning process. It also required to bridge as quickly as possible the gap between mass expectations aroused by the freedom struggle and their fulfillment, to get rid of centuries-long social injustice, inequality, and oppression, and to evolve a foreign policy which would defend Indian independence and promote peace in a world increasingly engulfed by the Cold War and getting divided into hostile power blocs. All these problems had to be dealt with within the framework of the basic values to which the national movement had been committed and within the parameters of a broad national consensus. Some of this euphoria disappeared with the India-China war of 1962. The problems in the initial years persisted during the Nehruvian era. We shall discuss the problems of initial years in the following divisions.

2.2.2.2 Important leaders of the newly independent nation

The independent India embarked on its tasks with the benefit of outstanding leaderships, the great Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India and his deputy prime minister, Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel, a leader with strong will and was decisive in action and strong in administration. There were also the leaders like Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Rajendra Prasad, and C. Rajagopalachari, and state level leaders like Govind Ballabh Pant in U.P., B.C. Roy in West Bengal, and B.G. Kher and Morarji Desai in Bombay, who enjoyed unchallenged authority in their states. All these leaders had skills and experience to run a modern and democratic administrative and political system which they had acquired through organizing a mass movement, building up a political party, and participating in colonial legislatures for decades. Outside the Congress, there were the Socialist leaders like Acharya Narendra Dev and Jayaprakash Narayan, the Communists, P.C. Joshi and Ajoy Ghosh, the liberal communalist, Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, and the Dalit leader, Dr B.R. Ambedkar. Besides the above leaders who had a great contribution in the post-independence era were Dr S. Radhakrishnan, the distinguished philosopher, Dr Zakir Hussain, the educationist, V.K. Krishna Menon, who had struggled for India's freedom in Britain, and a number of committed Gandhian leaders. They were committed to the goals of rapid social and economic change and democratization of the society and polity, and the values imparted by the national movement. Nehru's commitment to these values is well known. But, in fact, Sardar Patel, Rajendra Prasad and C. Rajagopalachari were equally committed to the values of democracy, civil liberties, secularism, and independent

economic development, anti-imperialism, social reforms and had a pro-poor orientation.

However, these leaders disagreed with Nehru on the question of socialism. One more feature of the Indian situation was the existence of Congress, a strong, democratically functioning, India-wide national party. In spite of the Socialists and the Communists Opposition, and the Congress was in an overwhelming majority in the Constituent Assembly and enjoyed unchallenged power, the Congress leadership widened the base of the Constituent Assembly and the government by the inclusion of distinguished and representative non-Congressmen. The government virtually became a national government consisting of non-Congress leaders like Dr B.R. Ambedkar, Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, John Mathai, C.H.Bhabha and Shanmukham Chetty, etc in the first cabinet of Nehru.

2.2.3 Process of National Consolidation and Integration of Indian States

The process of national consolidation and integration of Indian states had already started before and just after independence. However, it took a vigorous form in the post-independence era.

2.2.4. Consolidation of India as a Nation

One of the major problems of India since 1947 has been the consolidation or national unity of the nation. The problems are also sometimes referred to as national integration or the integration of Indian people in the initial years of independence.

2.2.4.1. The principle of Unity in Diversity

The national consolidation is the product of a historical process. The roots of India's nationhood lie deep in its history and also in its experience of the struggle for freedom. Despite its enormous cultural diversity, certain strands of a common cultural heritage had developed over the centuries, uniting its people together and giving them a sense of oneness, even while inculcating tolerance of diversity and dissent. As we believe 'the unity of India' lies with the 'unity of spirit.' A feeling of Indianness, however vague, had come into being, as testified by the currency of the concepts of Bharat Varsha and Hindustan. On the other hand, the colonialization of Indian economy, society and polity further strengthened the process of India's unification.

2.2.4.2. A prolonged and continuous process

The leaders of the national movement realized that the making of the nation was a prolonged and continuous process, and which was open to continuous challenges and interruption, disruption and even reversal. As founders of the Republic, these leaders were therefore fully aware that after independence too the process of unifying India and national integration was to be carefully sustained, promoted and nurtured through ideological and political endeavours. In fact, the leaders of India after 1947 saw the preservation and consolidation of India's unity as their biggest challenge.

2.2.4.3. India's complex diversity

India's complex diversity consists of a large number of linguistic, cultural and geographic-economic zones. It has followers of different religions, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Parsis, Buddhists and Jews, apart from the tribals with a myriad belief systems. The emergence of a strong national identity and the preservation of India's rich diversity were seen as simultaneous processes. Consequently, the consolidation of independent India was to occur around the concept of 'unity in diversity'.

2.2.4.4. Broad strategies for national consolidation

The broad strategy for national consolidation after 1947 involved territorial integration, mobilization of political and institutional resources, economic development, adoption of policies which would promote social justice, remove glaring inequalities and provide equal opportunities. The leadership evolved a political institutional structure conducive to national consolidation. At the heart of this structure lay the inauguration of a democratic and civil libertarian polity.

2.2.4.5. Constitutional structure

The constitutional structure established in 1950 encompassed the demands of diversity as well as the requirements of unity. It provided for a federal structure with a strong Centre but also a great deal of autonomy for the states. The makers of the Constitution kept in view the difference between decentralization and disintegration and between unity and integration and centralization. The constitutional structure was not only conducive to national integration but provided the basic framework within which the struggle against divisive forces could be carried on. The political leadership was to use elections both to promote national consolidation and to legitimize its policies of integration. The Parliament acted as the great unifier of the nation.

2.2.4.6. Political parties of India

The political parties acted as a great integrating force. All the major post-1947 political parties—Socialist party, Communist Party of India, the Jan Sangh and later the Swatantra party—were all-India in character and in their organization and ideology; they stood for the unity of the country, they strove for national goals and mobilized people on an all-India basis and on all-India issues even when their capacity to do so was limited to particular regions.

2.2.4.7. Role of leadership

The role of the leadership and its manner of functioning in nation-making and national consolidation is quite important. The leaders of the national movement thought in national terms and were fully committed to national unity and consolidation, and this commitment was widely accepted. Further, the prominent leaders of independent India like Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel, Maulana Azad, Rajendra Prasad etc. were not associated with any one region, language, religion, or caste. This was also true of the prominent opposition leaders such as Jayaprakash Narayan, J.B. Kripalani, Rammanohar Lohia, Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, B.T. Ranadive and Ajoy Ghosh. A major asset of the Congress leadership was that it was well-versed in accommodative politics.

2.2.4.8. The Indian army and administrative services

The Indian army and administrative services were also a force for forging national unity. India after 1947 developed a national administrative service with recruitment to its top echelons, the IAS, the IPS, and other central services, taking place on the basis of individual merit, irrespective of caste or religion, from all regions and linguistic areas. Likewise, the army was a national force whose officers and ranks were recruited from all parts of the country.

2.2.4.9. Economic development essential for national consolidation

The Indian economy, national market, and transport and communication networks were further unified after 1947. Industrial development was promoted on a national scale and dams, steel mills, fertilizer plants, cement factories, and heavy machinery and electric plants soon became symbols of national endeavour as well as national unity. Jawaharlal Nehru and other leaders saw economic development as essential for national consolidation.

2.2.4.10. Greater social and economic equality

National integration also required policies which would promote social justice and greater social and economic equality. Consolidation of the nation after independence had to be judged in terms of how it affected their lives. The Constitution laid the basis for reduction of social disparity by putting an end to any discrimination on grounds of religion, caste or sex. Landlordism was abolished and there was some redistribution of land. A law was passed making untouchability an offence. Removal of social oppression and social discrimination and exploitation, based on caste, religion, language or ethnicity, and of gross economic inequality has remained the weakest part of the agenda for national integration.

2.2.4.11. **India's foreign policy**

Independent India's foreign policy served as another unifying force. The policy of non-alignment and anti-colonialism and Nehru's growing stature as a world figure contributed to a sense of national pride in India among all sections of people all over the country and irrespective of their political alignment.

Thus, the above aspects helped in the process of national unity, integrity and consolidation of the newly independent India.

2.2.5. **Integration of Indian States**

The most herculean and difficult task for the Indian leadership in the post-independence era was the unification of India under one administration i.e. the post-Partition Indian states and the princely states . In other words, the Indian leaders looked forward for the integration of Indian states into the Indian Union in the post-independence era. As we know that in the colonial India, near about 40 per cent of the territory was occupied by fifty-six small and large states ruled by the princes who enjoyed varying degrees of autonomy under the system of British paramountcy. However, in 1947 the future of these princely states once the British left became a matter of concern. Many of the larger princes began to dream of independence and wanted to achieve it. These states claimed that the paramountcy could not be transferred to the new states like India and Pakistan. Their ambitions were fuelled by the then British prime minister, Clement Attlee's announcement on 20 February, 1947 that 'His Majesty's Government does not intend to hand over their powers and obligations under paramountcy to any government of British India.' As a result of which rulers of several states claimed that they would become independent from 15 August 1947 with the end of British rule in India. Further they were ignited by the encouragement from M.A. Jinnah who publicly declared on 18 June 1947 that 'the States would

be independent sovereign States on the termination of paramountcy' and were 'free to remain independent if they so desired.' Again the British also desired that the princely states either join India or Pakistan or else can remain independent of their own.

2.2.5.1. Opposition of Indian nationalist leaders

But this was not digested by the Indian nationalists who could hardly accept a situation where the unity of free India would be endangered by hundreds of large or small independent or autonomous states interspersed within it which were sovereign. Besides, the people of the states had participated in the process of nation-in-the-making from the end of nineteenth century and developed strong feelings of Indian nationalism. Obviously, the nationalist leaders in British India and in the states rejected the claim of any state to remain independent and repeatedly declared that independence for a princely state was not an option and the only option open being whether the state would accede to India or Pakistan on the basis of contiguity of its territory and the wishes of its people. In fact, the national movement had for long held that political power belonged to the people of a state and not to its ruler and that the people of the states were an integral part of the Indian nation. On the other hand the people of the states created movements under the leadership of the States' Peoples' Conference demanding introduction of a democratic system of government and integration of India.

During the time of Indian independence in 1947, India was divided into two sets of territories, (1) the territories under the control of the British Empire, and (2) the territories over which the Crown had suzerainty but which were under the control of their hereditary rulers. In addition to it, there were several colonial enclaves controlled by France and Portugal. The political integration of these states into India was a declared objective of the Indian National Congress, which the Government of India pursued over the next decade. Sardar Patel and V.P. Menon convinced the rulers of the various Princely states to accede to India. Having secured their accession, they proceeded in a step-by-step process, to secure and extend the central government's authority over these states and transform their administrations by 1956. Simultaneously, the Government of India, through a combination of diplomatic and military means, acquired *de facto* and *de jure* control over the remaining colonial enclaves, which too were integrated into Indian Union.

2.2.5.2. Role of Sardar Patel

The role of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in the integration of Indian states was indeed praiseworthy. With his great skill and masterful diplomacy and using both persuasion and pressure, he succeeded in integrating the hundreds of princely states with the Indian union in two stages. Although, some states had shown wisdom and realism and perhaps a degree of patriotism by joining the Constituent Assembly in April 1947. But the majority of princes had stayed away and a few, such as those of Travancore, Bhopal and Hyderabad, etc. publicly announced their desire to remain as an independent nation. However, on 27 June 1947, Sardar Patel assumed additional charge of the newly created States' Department with VP Menon as its Secretary, Patel was fully aware of the danger posed to Indian unity by the possible intransigence of the rulers of the states. He told Menon at the time that the situation held dangerous potentialities and that if we did not handle it promptly and effectively, our hard earned freedom might disappear through the States' door. Therefore, he set out to handle the unruly states expeditiously to make a great Indian Union.

2.2.5.3. Steps taken by Sardar Patel for integration of Indian states

The first step of Sardar Patel was to appeal to the princes whose territories fell inside India to accede to the Indian union in three subjects which affected the common interests of the country, namely, foreign relations, defence and communications. He had also given an implied threat that he would not be able to restrain the impatient people of the states and the government's terms after 15 August would be rigid. Scared of the rising tide of the peoples' movements in their states, and of the more the extreme agenda of the radical wing of the Congress, as also Patel's reputation for determination and even ruthlessness, the princes responded to Patel's appeal. Although many states joined the Indian Union by acceding to India by 15 August 1947. But three of them like Junagadh, Jammu and Kashmir and Hyderabad did not accede. By the 'end of 1948, however, the three recalcitrant states too were forced to fall in line. Those states who did not accede to the Indian states, Patel adopted the policy of pressure and attack.

2.2.5.4. Integration of Junagarh

Although the states were in theory free to choose whether they wished to accede to India or Pakistan, Mountbatten had pointed out that "geographic compulsions" meant that most of them must choose India. In effect, he took the position that only the states that shared a border

with Pakistan could choose to accede to it. The Nawab of Junagarh, a princely state located on the south-western end of Gujrat and having no common border with Pakistan, chose to accede to Pakistan ignoring Mountbatten's views, arguing that it could be reached from Pakistan by sea. The rulers of two states that were subject to the suzerainty of Junagadh like Mangrol and Babariawad reacted to this by declaring their independence from Junagadh and acceding to India. In response, the Nawab of Junagadh militarily occupied the states. The rulers of neighbouring states reacted angrily, sending their troops to the Junagadh frontier and appealed to the Government of India for assistance. A group of Junagadhi people, led by Samaladas Gandhi formed a government-in-exile, the *Aarzi Hukumat* (temporary government).

India believed that if Junagadh was permitted to go to Pakistan, the communal tension already simmering in Gujarat would worsen, and refused to accept the accession. The government pointed out that the state was 80% Hindu, and called for a plebiscite to decide the question of accession. Simultaneously, they cut off supplies of fuel and coal to Junagadh, severed air and postal links, sent troops to the frontier, and reoccupied the principalities of Mangrol and Babariawad that had acceded to India. Pakistan agreed to discuss a plebiscite, subject to the withdrawal of Indian troops, a condition India rejected. On 26 October, the Nawab and his family fled to Pakistan following clashes with Indian troops. On 7 November, Junagadh's court, facing collapse, invited the Government of India to take over the State's administration. The Government of India agreed. A plebiscite was conducted in February 1948, which went almost unanimously in favour of accession to India. Thus, Junagarh joined the Indian Union.

2.2.5.3. Kashmir Issue

The Kashmir issue has become a matter of great concern both for India and Pakistan since independence. The state of Kashmir had strategic importance on account of its international boundaries and it also bordered on both India and Pakistan. Its ruler Hari Singh was a Hindu, while nearly 75 per cent of the population was Muslim. Hari Singh too did not accede either to India or Pakistan. Fearing democracy in India and communalism in Pakistan, he hoped, to stay out of both and to continue to wield power as an independent ruler. The popular political forces led by the National Conference and its leader Sheikh Abdullah, however, wanted to join India. The Indian political leaders took no steps to obtain Kashmir's accession and, in line with their

general approach, wanted the people of Kashmir to decide whether to link their fate with India or Pakistan. Nehru and Patel declared in August 1947 that Kashmir was free to join either India or Pakistan in accordance with the will of the people.

2.2.5.3.1. Hari Singh's accession to India

But Pakistan not only refused to accept the principle of plebiscite for deciding the issue of accession in the case of Junagadh and Hyderabad, in the case of Kashmir it tried to short-circuit the popular decision through a short-sighted action, forcing India to partially change its attitude in regard to Kashmir. On 22 October, with the onset of winter, several Pathan tribesmen, led unofficially by Pakistani army officers, invaded Kashmir and rapidly pushed towards Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir. The illtrained army of the Maharaja proved no match for the invading forces, In panic, on 24 October, the Maharaja appealed to India for military assistance. Nehru, even at this stage, did not favour accession without ascertaining the will of the people. But Mountbatten, the Governor-General, pointed out that under international law India could send its troops to Kashmir only after the state's formal accession to India. Sheikh Abdullah and Sardar Patel too insisted on accession. And so on 26 October, the Maharaja acceded to India and also agreed to install Abdullah as head of the state's administration. Even though both the National conference and the Maharaja wanted firm and permanent accession, India, in conformity with its democratic commitment and Mountbatten's advice, announced that it would hold a referendum on the accession decision once peace and law and order had been restored in the Valley.

2.2.5.3.2. India's help to Kashmir

After accession the Cabinet took the decision to immediately fly troops to Srinagar. This decision was bolstered by its approval by Gandhiji who told Nehru that there should be no submission to evil in Kashmir and that the raiders had to be driven out. On 27 October nearly 100 planes airlifted men and weapons to Srinagar to join the battle against the raiders. Srinagar was first held and then the raiders were gradually driven out of the Valley, though they retained control over parts of the state and the armed conflict continued for months.

2.2.5.3.3. Kashmir Issue in the Security Council of the United Nations

Apprehensive of the dangers of a full-scale war between India and Pakistan, the Government of India agreed, on 30 December 1947, on Mountbatten's suggestion, to refer the Kashmir problem to the Security Council of the United Nations, asking for vacation of

aggression by Pakistan. Nehru was to regret this decision later as, instead of taking note of the aggression by Pakistan, the Security Council, guided by Britain and the United States, tended to side with Pakistan. Ignoring India's complaint, it replaced the 'Kashmir question' before it by the 'India-Pakistan dispute'. It passed many resolutions, but the upshot was that in accordance with one of its resolutions both India and Pakistan accepted a ceasefire on 3 December 1948 which still prevails and the state was effectively divided along the ceasefire line. Nehru, who had expected to get justice from the United Nations, was to express his disillusionment in a letter to Vijaylakshmi Pandit in February 1948: 'I could not imagine that the Security Council could possibly behave in the trivial and partisan manner in which it functioned. These people are supposed to keep the world in order. It is not surprising that the world is going to pieces. The United States and Britain have played a dirty role, Britain probably being the chief actor behind the scenes.'

2.2.5.3.4. UN intervention in Kashmir Issue

In 1951, the UN passed a resolution providing for a referendum under UN supervision after Pakistan had withdrawn its troops from the part of Kashmir under its control. The resolution has remained unproductive since Pakistan has refused to withdraw its forces from what is known as Azad Kashmir. The northern and western portions of Kashmir came under Pakistan's control in 1947, and are today POK or Pakistan occupied Kashmir. Since then Kashmir has been the main obstacle in the path of friendly relations between India and Pakistan. India has regarded Kashmir's accession as final and irrevocable and Kashmir as its integral part. Pakistan continues to deny the claim of the accession of Kashmir to India. Thus, the accession of Kashmir into Indian union is still an apple of discord between India and Pakistan

2.2.5.4. Integration of Hyderabad

Hyderabad was the largest state in India and was completely surrounded by Indian territory. It was a landlocked state that stretched over 82,000 square miles (over 212,000 square kilometres) in southeastern India. While 87% of its 17 million people were Hindu, its ruler Nizam Osman Ali Khan was a Muslim, and its politics were dominated by a Muslim elite. The Nizam of Hyderabad was the third Indian ruler who did not accede to India before 15 August.

2.2.5.4.1. The *firman* of Nizam

The Muslim nobility and the Ittehad-ul-muslimeen, a powerful pro-Nizam Muslim party, insisted Hyderabad should remain independent and stand on an equal footing to India and

Pakistan. Accordingly, the Nizam in June 1947 issued a *firman* announcing that on the transfer of power, his state would be resuming independence. The Government of India rejected the *firman*, terming it a "legalistic claim of doubtful validity". It argued that the strategic location of Hyderabad, which lay astride the main lines of communication between northern and southern India, meant it could easily be used by "foreign interests" to threaten India, and that in consequence, the issue involved national-security concerns. It also pointed out that the state's people, history and location made it unquestionably Indian, and that its own "common interests" therefore mandated its integration into India.

2.2.5.4.2. Proposal of Nizam

The Nizam was prepared to enter into a limited treaty with India, which gave Hyderabad safeguards not provided for in the standard Instrument of Accession, such as a provision guaranteeing Hyderabad's neutrality in the event of a conflict between India and Pakistan. India rejected this proposal, arguing that other states would demand similar concessions. A temporary Standstill Agreement was signed as a stop gap measure, even though Hyderabad had not yet agreed to accede to India. By December 1947, however, India was accusing Hyderabad of repeatedly violating the Agreement, while the Nizam alleged that India was blockading his state, a charge India denied.

2.2.5.4.3 Peoples movement against the Nizam of Hyderabad

The Nizam was also beset by the an uprising in Telengana led by communists, which started in 1946 as a peasant revolt against feudal elements; and one which the Nizam was not able to subjugate. The situation deteriorated further in 1948. The Razakars ("volunteers"), a militia affiliated to the Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen and set up under the influence of Muslim radical Qasim Razvi, assumed the role of supporting the Muslim ruling class against upsurges by the Hindu populace, and began intensifying its activities and was accused of attempting to intimidate villages. The Hyderabad State Congress Party, affiliated to the Indian National Congress, launched a political agitation. Matters were made worse by communist groups, which had originally supported the Congress but now switched sides and began attacking Congress groups. Attempts by Mountbatten to find a negotiated solution failed and, in August, the Nizam, claiming that he feared an imminent invasion, attempted to approach the UN Security Council

and the International Court of Justice. Patel now insisted that if Hyderabad was allowed to continue its independence, the prestige of the Government would be tarnished and then neither Hindus nor Muslims would feel secure in its realm.

2.2.5.4.4. Operation Polo and accession of Hyderabad into Indian Union

On 13 September, 1948 the Indian Army was sent into Hyderabad under Operation Polo on the grounds that the law and order situation there threatened the peace of South India. The troops met little resistance by the Razakars and between 13 and 18 September, 1948 took complete control of the state on 18 September, 1948. The operation led to massive communal violence with estimates ranging from the official one of 27,000-40,000 to scholarly ones of 200,000 or more. The Nizam was retained as the head of the State in the same manner as the other princes who acceded to India and permitted to keep most of his immense wealth. He thereupon disavowed the complaints that had been made to the UN and, despite vehement protests from Pakistan and strong criticism from other countries, the Security Council did not deal further with the question, and Hyderabad was acceded into India.

With the accession of Hyderabad, the merger of princely states with the Indian Union was completed, and the Government of India's writ ran all over the land. The Hyderabad episode marked another triumph of Indian secularism.

2.2.5.4.5. The second stage of integration of Indian states

The second and the more difficult stage of the full integration of the princely states into the new Indian nation began in December 1947. Once again Sardar Patel moved with speed, completing the process within one year. Smaller states were either merged with the neighbouring states or merged together to 'form centrally administered areas.' A large number were consolidated into five new unions, forming Madhya Bharat, Rajasthan, Patiala and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU), Saurashtra and Travancore-Cochin; Mysore, Hyderabad and Jammu and Kashmir retained their original form as separate states of the Union. The state of Mayurbhanj in Orissa was integrated with India on 16th October, 1948.

2.2.5.4.6. Facilities provided to the newly merger states

In return for their surrender of all power and authority, the rulers of major states were given privy purses in perpetuity, free of all taxes. The privy purses amounted to Rs 4.66 crores in 1949 and were later guaranteed by the Constitution. The rulers were allowed succession to the

gaddi and retained certain privileges such as keeping their titles, flying their personal flags and gun salutes on ceremonial occasions. There was some criticism of these concessions to the princes at the time as well as later. But keeping in view the difficult times just after independence and the Partition, they were perhaps a small price to pay for the extinction of the princes' power and the early and easy territorial and political integration of the states with the rest of the country. Undoubtedly, the integration of the states compensated for the loss of the territories constituting Pakistan in terms of area as well as population. It certainly partially healed 'the wounds of partition'.

2.2.5.4.7. Integration of other Colonial territory

The integration of the princely states raised the question of the future of the remaining colonial enclaves in India. At independence, the regions of Pondichery, Karikal, Yanam, Mahe and Chandernagor were still colonies of France, and Daman and Diu, Dadra and Nagar Haveli and Goa remained colonies of Portugal. These were the French and Portuguese-owned settlements dotting India's East and West coasts, with Pondicherry and Goa forming their hub. The people of these settlements were eager to join their newly liberated mother-country. The French authorities were more reasonable and after prolonged negotiations handed over Pondicherry and other French possessions to India in 1954, But the Portuguese were determined to stay on, especially as Portugal's NATO allies. Britain and the USA, were willing to support this defiant attitude. The Government of India, being committed to a policy of settling disputes between nations by peaceful means, was not willing to take military steps to liberate Goa and other Portuguese colonies. The people of Goa took matters in their hands and started a movement seeking freedom from the Portuguese, but it was brutally suppressed as were the efforts of non-violent satyagrahis from India to march into Goa. In the end, after waiting patiently for international opinion to put pressure on Portugal .Nehru ordered Indian troops to march into Goa on the night of 17 December 1961.The Governor-General of Goa immediately surrendered without a fight and the territorial and political integration of India was completed, even though it had taken over fourteen years to do so. Thus, the integration of Indian states was successfully completed under the skilled leadership of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the deputy prime minister of India assisted by his secretary V.P. Menon.

2.2.6. Indo-Pak War 1948

The Indo-Pak War of 1948 also known as the First Kashmir War, was fought between Indian Union and Dominion of Pakistan over the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir from 1947 to 1948. It was the first Indo-Pak war fought between the two newly independent nations. Pakistan initiated the war just few weeks after independence by launching tribal militia from Waziristan, in an effort to secure Kashmir. The inconclusive consequence of the war still affects the geopolitics of both India and Pakistan.

On 22 October 1947, Muslim tribal militias crossed the border of the state, claiming that they were needed to suppress a rebellion in the southeast of the kingdom. These local tribal militias and irregular Pakistani forces moved to take Srinagar, but on reaching Uri they encountered resistance. Hari Singh made a plea to India for assistance, and help was offered, but it was subject to his signing an Instrument of Accession to India. British officers in the sub-continent also took part in stopping the Pakistani Army from advancing. The war was initially fought by the forces of the princely state and by tribal militias from the North-West Frontier Province (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas. Facing the assault and a Muslim revolution in the Poonch and Mirpur area of Kashmir, the ruler of the princely state of Kashmir and Jammu, who was a Hindu, signed an Instrument of Accession to the Union of India. The Indian and Pakistani armies entered the war after this. The fronts solidified gradually along what came to be known as the Line of Control. A formal cease-fire was declared at 23:59 on the night of 1/2 January 1949.

2.2.6. 1. Historical background of Jammu and Kashmir

Before 1815, the present "Jammu and Kashmir" comprised of 22 small independent states (16 Hindu and 6 Muslim) carved out of territories controlled by the Amir (King) of Afghanistan. These were collectively referred to as the "Punjab Hill States". These small states, ruled by Rajput kings, were variously independent, vassals of the Mughal Empire since the time of Akbar or sometimes controlled from Kangra state in the Himachal area. Following the decline of the Mughals, turbulence in Kangra and Gorkha invasions, the hill states fell successively under the control of the Sikhs under Ranjit Singh. The First Anglo-Sikh war (1845–46) which was fought

between the Sikh Empire, asserted sovereignty over Kashmir, and the East India Company. In the Treaty of Lahore of 1846, the Sikhs were made to surrender the valuable region (the Jullundur Doab) between the Beas River and the Sutlej River and required to pay an indemnity of 1.2 million rupees. Because they could not readily raise this sum, the East India Company allowed the Dogra ruler Gulab Singh to acquire Kashmir from the Sikh kingdom in exchange for making a payment of 750,000 rupees to the Company. Gulab Singh became the first Maharaja of the newly formed Jammu and Kashmir state, founding a dynasty during the British Raj, till 1947.

2.2.6.2. Partition of India and the subsequent Pakistani infiltrated war

The partition of British India and the independence of the new dominions of India and Pakistan was the result of the Indian Independence Act of 1947. Article 2 (4) of the Act provided for the termination of British suzerainty over the princely state with effect from 15 August 1947, and recognised the right of the states to choose whether to accede to India or to Pakistan or to remain independent. After independence, the ruler of the princely state of Kashmir and Jammu came under pressure from both India and Pakistan to agree to accede to one of the newly independent countries. Faced with painful choices, Hari Singh, the Maharaja of Kashmir, decided to avoid the accession to either country. Following a Muslim revolution in the Poonch and Mirpur area and an allegedly Pakistani backed Pashtun tribal intervention from the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa aimed at supporting the revolution, the Maharaja asked for Indian military assistance. India set a condition that Kashmir must accede to India for it to receive assistance. The Maharaja complied, and the Government of India recognized the accession of the princely state to India. Indian troops were sent to the state to defend it. The J&K National Conference volunteers led by Abdullah aided the Indian Army in its campaign to drive out the Pathan invaders.

Pakistan was of the view that the Maharaja of Kashmir had no right to call in the Indian Army, because it held that the Maharaja of Kashmir was not a hereditary ruler and was merely a British appointee, after the British defeated Ranjit Singh who ruled the area before the British conquest. There had been no such position as the "Maharaja of Kashmir" before that. However, Pakistan finally did manage to send troops to Kashmir, but by then the Indian forces had taken

control of approximately two thirds of the former principality. The Gilgit and Balistan territories were secured for Pakistan by the Gilgit Scouts and the Chitral Scouts of the state of Chitral, one of the princely state of Pakistan, which had acceded to Pakistan on 6 October 1947.

2.2.6.3. Different stages of the Indo-Pak war

There were different stages of Indo-Pak war of 1948 which can be discussed as following.

2.2.6.4. Preliminary incursion

In the initial stage the state forces stationed in the border regions around Muzafarbad and Domel were quickly defeated by tribal forces (some Muslim state forces mutinied and joined them) and the way to the capital was open. Among the raiders, there were many active Pakistani Army soldiers disguised as tribals. They were also provided logistic aid by the Pakistan Army. The invading forces remained in the captured cities in the border region engaging in looting and other crimes against their inhabitants, rather than advancing toward Srinagar before state forces could regroup or be reinforced. The state forces retreated into towns where they were besieged in the Poonch valley.

2.2.6.5. Attack of Indian troops

With the accession of Hari Singh to India, India airlifted troops and equipment to Srinagar, where they reinforced the princely state forces, established a defence perimeter and defeated the tribal forces on the outskirts of the city. Initial defense operations included the notable defense battle of Badgam holding both the Capital and Airfield overnight against extreme odds. The successful defence included an outflanking manoeuvre by Indian war cars during the Battle of Shalateng. The defeated tribal forces were pursued as far as Baramulla and Uri and these towns were recaptured.

2.2.6.6. Invasion of tribal forces and Pakistani troops

In the Poonch valley, tribal forces continued to besiege state forces. In Gilgit, the state paramilitary forces, called the Gilgit Scouts, joined the invading tribal forces, who thereby obtained control of this northern region of the state. The tribal forces were also joined by Pakistani troops from Chitral, whose ruler, the Mehtar of Chitral, had acceded to Pakistan.

2.2.6.7. Attempted link-up at Poonch and fall of Mirpur

Indian forces ceased pursuit of tribal forces after recapturing Uri and Baramula, and sent a relief column southwards, in an attempt to relieve Poonch. Although the relief column eventually reached Poonch, the siege could not be lifted. A second relief column reached Kotli, and evacuated the garrisons of that town and others but were forced to abandon it being too weak to defend it. Meanwhile, Mirpur was captured by the tribal forces on 25 November 1947.

2.2.6.8. Fall of Jhanger and attacks on Naoshera and Uri

The tribal forces attacked and captured Jhanger. Fall of Jhanger and attacks on Naoshera and Uri 25 November 1947 – 6 February 1948. They then attacked Naoshera unsuccessfully, and made a series of unsuccessful attacks on Uri. In the south a minor Indian attack secured Chamb. By this stage of the war the front line began to stabilise as more Indian troops became available.

2.2.6.9. Counterattack on Jhanger: The Operation Vijay

The Indian forces launched a counterattack in the south recapturing Jhanger and Rajauri on 7 February 1948. In the Kashmir Valley the tribal forces continued attacking the Uri garrison. In the north Skardu was brought under siege by the Gilgit scouts.

2.2.6.10. Indian Spring Offensive

The Indians held on to Jhanger against numerous counterattacks, which were increasingly supported by regular Pakistani Forces. In the Kashmir Valley the Indians attacked, recapturing Tithwail. The Gilgit scouts made good progress in the High Himalayas sector, infiltrating troops to bring Leh under siege, capturing Kargil and defeating a relief column heading for Skardu. The Indian Spring Offensive was in between 1 May 1948 to 19 May 1948.

2.2.6.11. Operations at Gulab and Eraze

The Indians continued to attack in the Kashmir Valley sector driving north to capture Keran and Gurais (Operation Eraz). They also repelled a counterattack aimed at Tithwal. In the Jammu region, the forces besieged in Poonch broke out and temporarily linked up with the outside world again. The Kashmir State army was able to defend Skardu from the Gilgit Scouts impeding their advance down the Indus valley towards Leh. In August the Chitral Forces under Mata-ul-Mulk besieged Skardu and with the help of artillery were able to take Skardu. This freed the Gilgit Scouts to push further into Ladakh.

2.2.6.12. Military operations in Ladakh : Operation Bison (1948)

During this time the front began to settle down. The siege of Poonch continued. An unsuccessful attack was launched by 77 Parachute Brigade (Brig Atal) to capture Zoji La pass. Operation Duck, the earlier epithet for this assault, was renamed as Operation Bison by K.M. Kariappa. M5 Stuart tanks of 7th light cavalry were moved in dismantled conditions through Srinagar and winched across bridges while two field companies of the Madras Sappers converted the mule track across Zoji La into a jeep track. The surprise attack on 1 November by the brigade with armour supported by two regiments of 25 pounders and a regiment of 3.7 M.H. guns, forced the pass and pushed the tribal/Pakistani forces back to Matayan and later Dras. The brigade linked up on 24 November at Kargil with Indian troops advancing from Leh while their opponents eventually withdrew northwards toward Skardu.

2.2.6.13. Military operations in Poonch : Operation Easy (1948)

The Indians now started to get the upper hand in all sectors. Poonch was finally relieved after a siege of over a year. The Gilgit forces in the High Himalayas, who had previously made good progress, were finally defeated. The Indians pursued as far as Kargil before being forced to halt due to supply problems. The Zoji La pass was forced by using tanks (which had not been thought possible at that altitude) and Dras was recaptured too.

2.2.6.14. Cease-fire under UN Resolution of 1948

After protracted negotiations a cease-fire was agreed to by both countries, which came into effect. The terms of the cease-fire as laid out in a United Nations resolution of 13 August 1948, were adopted by the UN on 5 January 1949.

2.2.6.15. Outcome of the Indo-Pak war of 1948

The cease-fire required Pakistan to withdraw its forces, both regular and irregular, while allowing India to maintain minimum strength of its forces in the state to preserve law and order. On compliance of these conditions a plebiscite was to be held to determine the future of the territory. In all, 1,500 soldiers died on each side during the war and Pakistan was able to acquire roughly two-fifths of Kashmir, including five of the fourteen eight thousanders peaks of the world, while India maintained the remaining three fifths of Kashmir, including the most populous and fertile regions. Thus, the Indo-Pak war of 1948 came to an end, but the Kashmir crisis is still persisting.

2.2.7. TheLinguistic Reorganization of the States

Immediately after independence the reorganization of the states on the basis of language, a major aspect of national consolidation and integration, came to the fore front. The boundaries of provinces in pre-1947 India had been drawn in a haphazard manner as the British conquest of India had proceeded for nearly a hundred years. No heed was paid to linguistic or cultural cohesion so that most of the provinces were multi lingual and multi-cultural. The interspersed princely states had added a further element of heterogeneity.

2.2.7.1. The movement for linguistic states

Demand of states on linguistic basis was developed even before independence of India under British rule. Though that time Indian administrative regions were identified as different provinces. Odisha was the first Indian state formed on linguistic basis on 1st April, 1936 due to the efforts of Madhusudan Das, Gajapati Krushna Chandra Dev, etc and became Orissa Province. In Odisha linguistic movement started in the year 1895 and intensified later years with the demand of separate province first from Bengal and then from Bihar.

2.2.7.2. Need for Linguistic Reorganization of the States

The need for linguistic states as administrative units was very strong. Language is closely related to culture and customs of people of India. Besides this the massive spread of education and growth of mass literacy can only happen through the medium of the mother

tongue. Democracy can become real to the common people only when politics and administration are conducted through the language they can understand. But this language, the mother tongue cannot be the medium of education or administration or judicial activity unless a state is formed on the basis of such a predominant language.

2.2.7.3. Urge for redistribution of provinces on linguistic basis by congress

With the involvement of the masses in the national movement after 1919, Congress undertook political mobilization in the mother tongue and in 1921 amended its constitution and reorganized its regional branches on a linguistic basis. Since then, the Congress repeatedly committed itself to the redrawing of the provincial boundaries on linguistic lines. Gandhiji argued that 'the redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis was necessary if provincial languages were to grow to their full height.' It was therefore more or less universally assumed that free India would base its administrative boundaries on the linguistic principle.

2.2.7.4. Hindrances for the national leadership

On the other hand, the national leadership had second thoughts on the subject immediately after independence. There were various hindrances for this. The Partition had created serious administrative, economic and political dislocation; and independence, coming immediately after the War, was accompanied by serious economic and law and order problems, Also there was the vexed Kashmir problem and a war-like situation vis-a-vis Pakistan. The leadership felt that the most important task for the present was to consolidate national unity; and any effort undertaken immediately to redraw the internal boundaries might dislocate administration and economic development, intensify regional and linguistic rivalries, unleash destructive forces, and damage the unity of the country. On the linguistic question, Nehru first emphasized on security and stability of India.

2.2.7.5. Dhar Committee

In 1948, the government appointed a commission under S.K.Dhar, a judge of the Allahabad High Court, to examine the case for the reorganization of states on the linguistic basis. Admitting the importance of the reorganization of states on a linguistic basis, the commission, however, attached more importance to historical, geographical and economic considerations. It favoured reorganization on the basis of administrative convenience rather than linguistic considerations.

2.2.7.6. JVP Committee

However, the public opinion was not satisfied, especially in the South, and the problem remained politically alive. To appease the vocal votaries of linguistic states, the Congress appointed a committee (JVP) in December 1948 consisting of Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramayya, President of the Congress, to examine the question afresh. This committee advised against the creation of linguistic states for the time being, emphasizing on unity, national security, and economic development as the needs of the hour.

2.2.7.7. Creation of Andhra Pradesh

On 19 October 1952, a popular freedom fighter, Patti Sriramalu, undertook a fast unto death over the demand for a separate Andhra and expired after fifty-eight days. His death was followed by three days of rioting, demonstrations, hartals and violence all over Andhra. The government immediately gave in and conceded the demand for a separate state of Andhra, which finally came into existence in October 1953. Simultaneously, Tamil Nadu was created as a Tamil-speaking state.

2.2.7.8. States Reorganization Commission or Fazal Ali Commission

The success of the Andhra struggle encouraged other linguistic groups to agitate for their own state or for rectification of their boundaries on a linguistic basis. To meet the demand half way and to delay matters, Nehru appointed in August 1953 the States Reorganization Commission (SRC), with Justice Fazl Ali, K.M. Panikkar and Hridaynath Kunzru as members, to examine 'objectively and dispassionately' the entire question of the reorganization of the states of the union. Throughout the two years of its work, the Commission was faced with meetings, demonstrations, agitations and hunger strikes. Different linguistic groups clashed with each other, verbally as well as sometimes physically. The SRC submitted its report in October 1955. While laying down that due consideration should be given to administrative and economic factors, it recognized for the most part the linguistic principle and recommended redrawing of state boundaries on that basis. The States Reorganization Act was passed by parliament in November 1956. It provided the following fourteen states and six centrally administered territories.

They were: The states were Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Bombay, Jammu and Kashmir, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Mysore, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh

and West Bengal. The six union territories were Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Lacadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands, Manipur and Tripura.

2.2.7.9. Diversion of the state of Bombay

In 1960 as result of agitation and violence, the states of Maharashtra and Gujrat were created by bifurcating the state of Bombay. With this the strength of the Indian states rose to 15.

2.2.7.10. Formation of Nagaland

In 1963, the state of Nagaland was formed to placate the Nagas. However, before providing it the status of a full-fledged state, it was placed under the control of the Governor of Assam in 1961. With it the strength of the Indian states rose to 16.

2.2.7.11. Territories from France and Portuguese

After the acquisition of Chandernagore, Mahe, Yaman and Karkal from France, and the territories of Goa, Daman and Diu from the Portuguese, these were either merged with the neighbouring states or given the status of union territories.

2.2.7.12. Shah Commission

In 1966, the parliament passed the Punjab Reorganization Act after an agitation for the formation of Punjabi Subha. This step was taken on the recommendation of the Shah Commission appointed in April, 1966. As a result of this act, the Punjabi-speaking areas were constituted into the state of Haryana and the hilly areas were merged with the adjoining Union Territory of Himachal Pradesh. Chandigarh was made a union Territory and was to serve as a common capital of Punjab and Haryana. With Punjab the strength of India rose to 17.

2.2.7.13. State of Meghalay

In 1969, the state of Meghalaya was created out of the state of Assam. Initially the state was given autonomous status within Assam, but subsequently it was made a full-fledged state. This raised the strength of Indian states to 18.

2.2.7.14. Further division of states

In 1971, with the elevation of the Union territory of Himachal Pradesh to the status of a state, the strength of Indian states rose to 19 and then to 21 with the conversion of the Union Territories of Tripura and Manipur into states.

In 1975, Sikkim was admitted as a state of the Indian Union. Initially, Sikkim was given the status of an associate state but was subsequently made a full-fledged state. In 1986, Mizoram was given the status of a state. However, it actually acquired the status of a state in February

1987 and became the 23rd state of the Indian Union. In February 1987, Arunachal Pradesh, another Union Territory of India, became the 24th state of Indian Union. In May 1987, the state of Goa was created as 25th state by separating the territory from the Union territory of Goa, Daman and Diu, while Daman and Diu remained as Union territories. Three new states of Chhatisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttaranchal were created in November 2000. The recent state in the form of Telengana has been created from Andhra Pradesh in 2014. At present the Indian Union consists of 29 states and 7 union territories while Delhi has remained as the Capital territory of India.

To conclude, States' reorganization did not, of course, resolve all the problems relating to linguistic conflicts. Disputes over boundaries between different states, linguistic minorities and economic issues such as sharing of waters, and power and surplus food still persist. Linguistic chauvinism also finds occasional expression. But the reorganization has removed a major factor affecting cohesion of the country.

2.2.8. Regionalism and Regional Inequality

In the fifties, many saw regionalism and regional inequalities as major threats to Indian unity and integrity. Regionalism is the extreme loyalty and love shown to a particular region. It expresses itself in such a distorted notions like development of one's own region even at the cost of interests of other regions and people, and unwillingness to allow people from other regions to work and settle in region.

2.2.8.1. Different forms of regionalism in India

Regionalism has been a big hindrance in the process of integration and consolidation of the nation. It continues to plague Indian political system in several forms.

- ❖ Demands for separate provinces/states within India.
- ❖ Demand for Autonomy.
- ❖ Demand for regional autonomy within a state.
- ❖ Inter-state disputes.
- ❖ Aggressive regionalism.
- ❖ Linguistic regionalism.

2.2.8.2. Demands for Separate Statehood within the Indian Union

A popular brand of regionalism in India has been in the form of a demand for separate statehood in the Indian Union. After the 1956 reorganisation of states of India, there still continues to be demands for separate statehood in various parts of the country. The rise in the number of states of the Indian Union from 16 in 1956 to 25 in 1989 to 29 in 2014 tends to validate this statement.

2.2.8.3. Demand for Regional Autonomy

In some of the states of the Indian Union, people belonging to various regions have been demanding recognition of their regional identities. In Jammu & Kashmir, the Ladakhis demand a regional status. In West Bengal, the Gorkhaland demand was based on this principle. Even demands for Bodoland, and Konkan states etc. can be also placed under this head.

2.2.8.4. Inter-State Disputes as a manifestation of Regionalism

The forces of regionalism in India are also visible in the inter-state disputes. For instance, the states of Punjab and Haryana remain involved in dispute over the issue of transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab and certain areas of Abohar and Fazilka to Haryana. The boundary disputes between Maharashtra and Karnataka on Belgaum, between Karnataka and Kerala on Kasargod, between Assam and Nagaland on Rangma reserved forests in Rangapani area, dispute among Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu over the distribution of Cauvery waters, again reflect regionalism. Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Karnataka have been involved in disputes over Godavari waters. The states which are parties to these disputes act under the influence of regionalism and each wants to gain over and above the other.

2.2.8.5. Sons of Soil Principle as a manifestation of Regionalism

Another form of regionalism in India has been the popularity of the principle of the Sons of the Soil. Several regional political parties strongly support sons of the soil principle. Acting under it, the states impose residential and domicile conditions for appointments in the state administration. This principle has given strength to regionalism as stands reflected in the cries for Maharashtra for the Maharashtrians, Odisha for Oriyas and Assam for the Assamese. Several regional political parties like ML F in Mizoram, NINF in Manipur, Gana Sangram Parishad in Assam, Rai Thakre's MNS and the like always demand that 'outsiders' and 'foreigners' should quit their states. The people of India enjoy a uniform and equal citizenship. The sons of the soil principle reflects regionalism and narrow nationalism.

2.2.8.6. Aggressive Regionalism

Another dimension of regionalism in India has been the presence of militant, violent and aggressive regionalism, which has made its appearance in the form of various Senas like Shi Senas in Maharashtra, Tamil Senas in Tamil Nadu, Hindu Senas in some North Indian State Anti-Hindi Sena in West Bengal, Sardar Sena in Gujarat, Jagannath Sena in Odisha and Lochit Sena in Assam and the like. These senas have come up largely due to the emergence of regional imbalances which have encouraged people with greater entrepreneurial skills to move to other regions.

2.2.8.7 Linguistic Regionalism

Another form of regionalism has been linguistic regionalism. Language has remained a formidable basis of regionalism. The policy of linguistic reorganisation of states has been the main responsible for this development. This policy has been instrumental in setting the stage for the emergence of small states in the Indian Union.

2.2.8.8. Economic inequality and Regionalism

Economic inequality among different states and regions could be a potential source of trouble. However, despite breeding discontent and putting pressure on the political system, this problem has not so far given rise to regionalism or feeling of a region being discriminated against. At independence, the leadership recognized that some regions were more backward than others. Only a few enclaves or areas around Calcutta, Bombay and Madras had undergone modern industrial development. For example, in 1948, Bombay and West Bengal accounted for more than 59 per cent of the total industrial capital of the country and more than 64 per cent of the national industrial output. Under colonialism, agriculture had also stagnated, but more in eastern India than in northern or southern India. Regional economic disparity was also reflected in per capita income. In 1949, while West Bengal, Punjab and Bombay had per capita incomes of Rs 353, 331 and 272 respectively, the per capita incomes of Bihar, Orissa and Rajasthan were Rs 200, 188 and 173 respectively. From the beginning, the national government felt a responsibility to counter this imbalance in regional development.

In this way, regionalism and regional inequality has become a great threat to Indian unity and integrity.

2.2.9. Conclusion

Thus, the initial years of India after independence had gone through many obstacles like the post-partition scenario, communal riots, national consolidation and integration of Indian

states, Kashmir issue, the Indo-Pak war of 1948, the linguistic reorganization of the Indian states, eruption of regionalism and regional inequality, etc. However, the capable leaders of India like Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel etc. could handle the then troubling situation with strong hand. In spite of their best efforts, India is still suffering from the enmity of Pakistan, regionalism, regional inequality, linguistic problems etc.

2.2.10. Summary

- In the initial years of independence, there were the immediate problems like the territorial and administrative integration of the princely states, the communal riots that accompanied Partition, the rehabilitation of nearly six million refugees who had migrated from Pakistan, the protection of Muslims threatened by communal gangs, the need to avoid war with Pakistan, and the Communist insurgency, etc.
- The independent India embarked on its tasks with the benefit of outstanding leaderships, the great Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India and his deputy prime minister, Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel, a leader with strong will and was decisive in action and strong in administration.
- The role of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in the integration of Indian states was indeed praiseworthy. With his great skill and masterful diplomacy and using both persuasion and pressure, he succeeded in integrating the hundreds of princely states with the Indian union in two stages.
- The Kashmir issue has become a matter of great concern both for India and Pakistan since independence.
- With the accession of Hyderabad, the merger of princely states with the Indian Union was completed, and the Government of India's writ ran all over the land.
- The Indo-Pak War of 1948 also known as the First Kashmir War, was fought between Indian Union and Dominion of Pakistan over the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir from 1947 to 1948.
- Immediately after independence the reorganization of the states on the basis of language, a major aspect of national consolidation and integration, came to the fore front.
- In the fifties, many saw regionalism and regional inequalities as major threats to Indian unity and integrity.

- Thus, the initial years of India after independence had gone through many obstacles like the post-partition scenario, communal riots, national consolidation and integration of Indian states, Kashmir issue, the Indo-Pak war of 1948, the linguistic reorganization of the Indian states, eruption of regionalism and regional inequality, etc.
- However, the capable leaders of India like Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel etc. could handle the then troubling situation with strong hand.
- In spite of their best efforts, India is still suffering from the enmity of Pakistan, regionalism, regional inequality, linguistic problems etc.

2.2.11. Exercise

- ❖ Write an note on the initial years of post- independence period.
- ❖ Discuss the process of national consolidation and integration of Indian states.
- ❖ High light the role of Sardar Patel in the integration of Indian states.
- ❖ Make a critical analysis on the Kashmir issue.
- ❖ Give an account on the Indo-Pak war of 1948.
- ❖ Write a note on the Linguistic Reorganisation of the states of India.
- ❖ Describe the different forms of regionalism and regional inequality in India.

2.2.12. Further Reading

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Unit-3
Chapter-I
POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN INDIA SINCE INDEPENDENCE
Political developments in India since independence

Structure

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3.1.0. Objectives

In this lesson, students investigate Political developments in India since independence. After studying this lesson you will be able to:

- *to learn the political developments in India since freedom*
- *to analyze the achievements of various national political parties of India during this period*
- *to investigate development of political activities of India.*
- *to trace the involvement of Indians in the development Indians.*
- *to study the impact of political developments of India on its people.*

3.1.1 Introduction

India started its experiment on democracy against all odds from the beginning of getting independence on 15th August, 1947 when India and Pakistan got separated from each other. From the first generation statesmen to the next group of leaders, all have allowed democracy to filter through into the Indian system right from the national level to the local panchayats.

3.1.2. Political development in India since Independence

From day one of Indian independence to till date, it is necessary to think about the Indian political scenario from the Nehruvian era up to 2010. The first great political development of in India after independence was Indo-Pak conflict, migration, communal riots, Kashmir issue, the death of the ‘Father of the Nation’ Mahatma Gandhi who got assassinated on January 30, 1948 etc..

3.1.2.1. Important events of India after independence

India after independence remained with the British Commonwealth from 15 August 1947. On the other hand, the history of the Republic of India started on 26 January 1950. The partition led to population transfer of more than 10 million people between India and Pakistan and the death of about one million people out of Muslim and non-Muslim (mostly Hindus) riots in both the countries. Nationalist leader Jawaharlal Nehru became the first Prime Minister of India and Sardar Patel became the Deputy Prime Minister of India and the minister of Home Affairs. The new constitution of 1950 made India a secular and a democratic state. The nation faced religious violence, casteism, naxalism, terrorism and regional separatist insurgencies, especially in Jammu and Kashmir and northeastern India. India has unresolved territorial disputes with China, which, in 1962, escalated into the Sino-Indian war, and with Pakistan, which resulted in wars in 1947, 1965, 1971 and 1999. India was neutral in the Cold War, but purchased its military weapons from the Soviet Union, while its arch-foe Pakistan was closely

tied to the United States. India is a nuclear weapon state; having conducted its first nuclear test in 1974, followed by another five tests in 1998. From the 1950s to the 1980s, India followed socialist policies. The economy was shackled by extensive regulation, protectionism and public ownership, leading to enveloping corruption and slow economic growth. Beginning in 1991, significant economic reforms in the form of LPG, have transformed India into the third largest and one of the fastest growing economy in the world. Today, India is a major world power with a prominent voice in global affairs.

3.1.2.2. Dominion of India: 1947–1950

Independent India's first years were marked with turbulent events like a massive exchange of population with Pakistan, the Indo-Pak war of 1948 and the integration of over 562 princely states to form Indian Union.

3.1.2.3. Kashmir issue- the center of all discord

India and Pakistan who got separated at the birth of their independence soon were embroiled in battle over the claim of Kashmir when Pakistan sent tribes, the king of Jammu and Kashmir, Hari Singh quickly accede to India. The Indian forces could have brought the entire territory under its control but then Nehru made one of the most disputed decisions and halted the Indian Army in its track and seeds of discord were sown and the case rests there. Soon afterwards the Karachi Agreement was signed in 1949. Under this agreement a ceasefire line famous as LoC was established that had to be supervised by UN observers and Kashmir issue would be solved through arbitration.

3.1.2.4. Partition of India and subsequent violence

During partition an estimated 3.5 million Hindus and Sikhs living in West Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan, East Bengal and Sind migrated to India in fear of domination and suppression in Muslim Pakistan. Communal violence killed an estimated one million Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, and gravely destabilised both Dominions along their Punjab and Bengal boundaries, and the cities of Calcutta, Delhi and Lahore, etc. The violence was stopped by early September owing to the co-operative efforts of both Indian and Pakistani

leaders, and especially due to the efforts of M.K. Gandhi, the leader of the Indian freedom struggle, who undertook a *fast-unto-death* in Calcutta and later in Delhi to calm people and emphasize peace despite the threat to his life. Both Governments constructed large relief camps for incoming and leaving refugees, and the Indian Army was mobilised to provide humanitarian assistance on a massive scale. The assassination of Mohandas Gandhi on 30 January 1948 was carried out by Nathuram Vinayak Godse, who held Gandhiji responsible for partition and charged that Mohandas Gandhi was appeasing Muslims.

3.1.2.5. Migration of Hindu refugees from East Pakistan (present Bangladesh)

In 1949, India recorded close to 1 million Hindu refugees flooded into West Bengal and other states from East Pakistan, owing to communal violence, intimidation and repression from Muslim authorities. The plight of the refugees outraged Hindus and Indian nationalists, and the refugee population drained the resources of Indian states, who were unable to absorb them. However, a talk between Nehru and Liyakat Ali Khan made some thousands of migrants to return to East Pakistan, but got disrupted due to Kashmir issue.

3.1.2.6. Integration of Indian Union

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel as Minister for Home and States Affairs had the responsibility of welding the British Indian provinces and the princely states into a united India. British India consisted of 17 provinces and 562 princely states. The provinces joined either India or Pakistan. The princes of the princely states, however, won the right to either remain independent or join either nation. Under the leadership of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the new Government of India employed political negotiations backed with the option (and, on several occasions, the use) of military action to ensure the primacy of the Central government and of the Constitution then being drafted.

There were three States (Junagadh, Hyderabad and Kashmir) that proved more difficult to integrate than others:

- A. Junagadh (Hindu majority state with a Muslim nawab) – a December 1947 plebiscite resulted in a 99% vote to merge with India, annulling the controversial accession to Pakistan, which was made despite the people of the state being overwhelmingly Hindu.
- B. Hyderabad (Hindu majority state with a Muslim Nizam)– Patel ordered the Indian army to depose the government of the Nizam after the failure of negotiations, which was done between 13–17 September 1948. It was incorporated as a state of India the next year.

3.1.2.7. Indo-Pak war- 1947-48

The area of Kashmir (Muslim majority state with a Hindu king) in the far north of the subcontinent quickly became a source of controversy that erupted into the First Indo-Pakistani War which lasted from 1947 to 1949. Eventually a United Nations-overseen ceasefire was agreed that left India in control of two-thirds of the contested region. Jawaharlal Nehru initially agreed to Mountbatten's proposal that a plebiscite be held in the entire state as soon as hostilities ceased, and a UN-sponsored cease-fire was agreed to by both parties on 1 Jan. 1949. No statewide plebiscite was held, however, for in 1954, after Pakistan began to receive arms from the United States, Nehru withdrew his support. The Indian Constitution came into force in Kashmir on 26 January 1950 with special clauses of Article 370 for the state.

3.1.2.8. Constitution

The Constituent Assembly adopted the Constitution of India, drafted by a committee headed by B. R. Ambedkar, on 26 November 1949. India became a sovereign, democratic, republic after its constitution came into effect on 26 January 1950. Rajendra Prasad became the first President of India. The words 'socialist' and 'secular' were added later with the 42nd Constitution Amendment 1976.

3.1.2.9. Political Development between 1950s and 1960s

India held its first national elections under the Constitution in 1952, where a turnout of over 60% was recorded. The National Congress Party won an overwhelming majority, and Jawaharlal Nehru began a second term as Prime Minister.

3.1.2.10. Nehru administration (1952–1964)

Prime Minister Nehru, with his charismatic leadership, led the Congress to major election victories in 1957 and 1962. The Parliament passed extensive reforms that increased the legal rights of women in Hindu society, and further legislated against caste discrimination and untouchability. Nehru advocated a strong initiative to enroll India's children to complete primary education, and thousands of schools, colleges and institutions of advanced learning, such as the Indian Institutes of Technology were founded across the nation. Nehru advocated a socialist model for the economy of India — no taxation for Indian farmers, minimum wage and benefits for blue-collar workers, and the nationalisation of heavy industries such as steel, aviation, shipping, electricity and mining. An extensive public works and industrialisation campaign resulted in the construction of major dams, irrigation canals, roads, thermal and hydroelectric power stations.

3.1.2.11. States reorganization Act 1956

Potti Sreeramulu's *fast-unto-death*, and consequent death for the demand of an Andhra State in 1953 sparked a major re-shaping of the Indian Union. Nehru appointed the *States Reorganisation Commission*, upon whose recommendations, the States Reorganization Act was passed in 1956. Old states were dissolved and new states created on the lines of shared linguistic and ethnic demographics. On 1 May 1960, the states of Maharashtra and Gujarat were created out of the Bombay state.

3.1.2.12. Foreign policy and military conflicts

Nehru's foreign policy was the inspiration of the Non-Aligned Movement, of which India was a co-founder. Nehru maintained friendly relations with both the United States and the Soviet Union, and encouraged the People's Republic of China to join the global community of nations. India had opposed the partition of Palestine and the 1956 invasion of the Sinai by Israel, Britain and France, but did not oppose the Chinese direct control over Tibet and the suppression of a pro-democracy movement in Hungary by the Soviet Union. India also negotiated an agreement in 1960 with Pakistan on the just use of the waters of seven rivers shared by the countries. Nehru had visited Pakistan in 1953, but owing to political turmoil in Pakistan, no headway was made on the Kashmir dispute.

3.1.2.13. Sino-Indian War

In 1962 China and India engaged in the brief Sino-Indian War over the border in the Himalayas. The war was a complete rout for the Indians and led to a refocusing on arms build-up and an improvement in relations with the United States. China withdrew from disputed territory in, what is to China South Tibet, and to India part of the North-East Frontier Agency that it crossed during the war. Unrelated to that war, India disputes China's sovereignty over the smaller Aksai Chin territory that it controls on the western part of the Sino-Indian border.

3.1.2.14. Post-Nehru India

Jawaharlal Nehru died on 27 May 1964. Lal Bahadur Shastri succeeded him as Prime Minister. In 1965 in the Second Kashmir War India and Pakistan again went to war over Kashmir, but without any definitive outcome or alteration of the Kashmir boundary. The Tashkent Agreement was signed under the mediation of the Soviet government, but Shastri died on the night after the signing ceremony. A leadership election resulted in the elevation of Indira Gandhi, Nehru's daughter who had been serving as Minister for Information and Broadcasting, as the third Prime Minister. She defeated right-wing leader Morarji Desai. The Congress Party won a reduced majority in the 1967 elections owing to widespread disenchantment over rising prices of commodities, unemployment, economic stagnation and a food crisis. When Congress politicians attempted to oust Gandhi by suspending her Congress membership, Gandhi was empowered with a large exodus of Members of Parliament to her own Congress (R).

3.1.2.15. Political developments of India during 1970s

In 1971, Indira Gandhi and her Congress (R) were returned to power with a massively increased majority. The nationalisation of banks was carried out, and many other socialist economic and industrial policies enacted. Relations with the United States grew strained, and India signed a 20-year treaty of friendship with the Soviet Union. In 1974, India tested its first nuclear weapon in the desert of Rajasthan.

3.1.2.16. Green revolution and Operation Flood

India's population passed the 500 million mark in the early 1970s, but its long-standing food crisis was resolved with greatly improved agricultural productivity due to the Green revolution. Increased agricultural productivity expanded across the states of the Indo-Gangetic plains and the Punjab. Under Operation Flood, the Government encouraged the production of milk, which increased greatly, and improved rearing of livestock across India. This enabled India to become self-sufficient in feeding its own population, ending two decades of food imports.

3.1.2.17. Indo-Pakistan War of 1971

The Indo-Pakistan War of 1971 was the third in four wars fought between the two nations. In this war, fought over the issue of self rule in East Pakistan, India decisively defeated Pakistan resulting in the creation of Bangladesh.

3.1.2.18. Emergency period

Economic and social problems, as well as allegations of corruption caused increasing political unrest across India, culminating in the Bihar Movement. In 1974, the Allahabad High Court found Indira Gandhi guilty of misusing government machinery for election purposes. Opposition parties conducted nationwide strikes and protests demanding her immediate resignation. Various political parties united under Jaya Prakash Narayan to resist what he termed Mrs. Gandhi's dictatorship. Leading strikes across India that paralysed its economy and administration, Narayan even called for the Army to oust Mrs. Gandhi. In 1975, Mrs. Gandhi advised President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed to declare a state of emergency under the Constitution. Mrs. Gandhi suspended many civil liberties and postponed elections at national and state levels. Non-Congress governments in Indian states were dismissed, and nearly 1,000 opposition political leaders and activists were imprisoned and programme of compulsory birth control introduced. Strikes and public protests were outlawed in all forms.

3.1.2.19. Janata Government under Morarji Desai

Indira Gandhi's Congress Party called for general elections in 1977, only to suffer a humiliating electoral defeat at the hands of the Janata Party, an amalgamation of opposition parties. Morarji Desai, the first non-Congress Prime Minister of India, signed the "New Delhi"

declaration during a visit by US President Jimmy Carter. The Desai administration established tribunals to investigate Emergency-era abuses, and Indira and Sanjay Gandhi were arrested after a report from the Shah Commission. But in 1979, the coalition collapsed and Charan Singh formed an interim government. The Janata party had become intensely unpopular as it could not solve India's serious economic and social problems.

3.1.2.20. Political developments during 1980s

Indira Gandhi and her Congress party splinter group, Congress (Indira) party were swept back into power with a large majority in January 1980. But the rise of an insurgency in Punjab would jeopardize India's security. In Assam, there were many incidents of communal violence between native villagers and refugees from Bangladesh, as well as settlers from other parts of India. When Indian forces, undertaking Operation Blue Star, raided the hideout of self-rule pressing Khalistan militants in the Golden Temple- Sikhs' most holy shrine in Amritsar, the accidental deaths of civilians and damage to the temple building inflamed tensions in the Sikh community across India. The Government used intensive police operations to crush militant operations, but it resulted in many claims of abuse of civil liberties. Northeast India was paralyzed owing to the ULFA's clash with Government forces. On 31 October 1984, the Prime Minister's own Sikh bodyguards assassinated her, and 1984 Anti-Sikh Riots erupted in Delhi and parts of Punjab, causing the deaths of thousands of Sikhs along with terrible pillage, arson and rape. Senior Members of the Congress Party have been implicated in stirring the violence against Sikhs.

3.1.2.21. Administration of Rajiv Gandhi

The Congress party chose Rajiv Gandhi, Indira's older son as the next Prime Minister. Rajiv at the age of 40, was the youngest Prime Minister ever. The Parliament was dissolved, and Rajiv led the Congress party to its largest majority in history (over 415 seats out of 545 possible), reaping a sympathy vote over his mother's assassination.

3.1.2.22. Reforms of Rajiv Gandhi

Rajiv Gandhi initiated a series of reforms - the license raj was loosened, and government restrictions on foreign currency, travel, foreign investment and imports decreased considerably. This allowed private businesses to use resources and produce commercial goods without government bureaucracy interfering, and the influx of foreign investment increased India's national reserves. As Prime Minister, Rajiv broke from his mother's precedent to improve relations with the United States, which increased economic aid and scientific co-operation. Rajiv's encouragement of science and technology resulted in a major expansion of the telecommunications industry, India's space programme and gave birth to the software industry and information technology sector. However, in December 1984, gas leak out occurred at Union Carbide pesticides plant in the central Indian city of Bhopal. Rajiv Gandhi's image as an honest politician (he was nicknamed *Mr. Clean* by the press) was shattered when the Bofors scandal broke, revealing that senior government officials had taken bribes over defence contracts by a Swedish guns producer.

3.1.2.23. Rule of Janata Dal

General elections in 1989, power came instead to his former finance and defence minister, VP Singh of Janata Dal. Singh had been moved from the Finance ministry to the Defence ministry after he unearthed some scandals which made the Congress leadership uncomfortable. Singh then unearthed the Bofors scandal, and was sacked from the party and office. Becoming a popular crusader for reform and clean government, Singh led the Janata Dal coalition to a majority. He was supported by BJP and the leftist parties from outside. He started to implement the controversial **Mandal commission** report, to increase the quota in reservation for low caste Hindus. The BJP protested these implementations, and took its support back, following which he resigned. Chandra Shekhar split to form the Janata Dal (Socialist) Government, supported by Rajiv's Congress. This new government also collapsed in a matter of months, when congress withdrew its support.

3.1.2.24. Political development in 1990s

On 21 May 1991, while former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi campaigned at Thiruperumbudur in Tamil Nadu on behalf of Congress (Indira), a Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)

female suicide bomber assassinated him. In the elections, Congress (Indira) won 244 parliamentary seats and put together a coalition, returning to power under the leadership of P.V. Narasimha Rao. This Congress-led government initiated a gradual process of economic liberalisation and reform, which has opened the Indian economy to global trade and investment. But India was rocked by communal violence (Bombay Riots) between Hindus and Muslims that killed over 10,000 people, following the Babri Mosque demolition by Hindu extremists in the course of the Ram Janmabhoomi dispute in Ayodhya in 1992. The final months of the Rao-led government in the spring of 1996 suffered the effects of several major political corruption scandals, which contributed to the worst electoral performance by the Congress Party in its history as Bharatiya Janata Party emerged as largest single party.

3.1.2.25. Era of coalition politics in India

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) emerged from the May 1996 national elections as the single-largest party in the Lok Sabha but without enough strength. Under Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the BJP coalition lasted in power 13 days. With all political parties wishing to avoid another round of elections, a 14-party coalition led by the Janata Dal emerged to form a government known as the United Front. A United Front government under former Chief Minister of Karnataka H.D. Deve Gowda lasted less than a year. The leader of the Congress Party withdrew his support in March 1997. Inder Kumar Gujral replaced Deve Gowda as the consensus choice for Prime Minister of a 16-party United Front coalition. In November 1997, the Congress Party again withdrew support for the United Front. New elections in February 1998 brought the BJP the largest number of seats in Parliament (182), but this fell far short of a majority. On 20 March 1998, the President inaugurated a BJP-led coalition government with Vajpayee as Prime Minister. On 11 and 13 May 1998, this government conducted a series of underground nuclear weapons tests which caused Pakistan to conduct its own tests that same year. India's nuclear tests prompted President of the United States Bill Clinton and Japan to impose economic sanctions on India pursuant to the 1994 Nuclear Proliferation Prevention Act and led to widespread international condemnation.

In the early months of 1999, Prime Minister Vajpayee made a historic bus trip to Pakistan and met with Pakistan's Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, and signed the bilateral Lahore peace

declaration. In May and June 1999, India discovered an elaborate campaign of terrorist infiltration that resulted in the Kargil War in Kashmir. Indian forces killed Pakistan-backed infiltrators and reclaimed important border posts in high-altitude warfare. End of the millennium was devastating to India, as a Super Cyclone hit Orissa, killing at least 10,000.

3.1.2.26. Political development between 2000 and 2010

The political development of India during the period of 2000 to 2010 is quite interesting which can be discussed as follows.

3.1.2.27. Under Bharatiya Janata Party

In 2000 May, India's population exceeded 1 billion. President of the United States Bill Clinton made a groundbreaking visit to India to improve ties between the two nations. In January, massive earthquakes hit Gujarat state, killing at least 30,000. Prime Minister Vajpayee met with Pakistan's President Pervez Musharraf in the first summit between Pakistan and India in more than two years in middle of 2001. But, the meeting failed without a breakthrough or even a joint statement because of differences over Kashmir region. The National Democratic Alliance government's credibility was adversely affected by a number of political scandals (such as allegations that the Defence Minister George Fernandes took bribes) as well as reports of intelligence failures that led to the Kargil incursions going undetected, and the apparent failure of his talks with Pakistani President. Following the 11 September attacks, the United States lifted sanctions which it imposed against India and Pakistan in 1998. In 2002, 59 Hindu pilgrims returning from Ayodhya were killed in a train fire, in Godhra, Gujarat. This sparked off the 2002 Gujarat violence, leading to the deaths of 790 Muslims and 254 Hindus and 223 more people were reported missing. Throughout 2003, India's speedy economic progress, political stability and a rejuvenated peace initiative with Pakistan increased the government's popularity.

3.1.2.28. Congress rule under Manmohan Singh

In January 2004 Prime Minister Vajpayee recommended early dissolution of the Lok Sabha and general elections. The Congress Party-led alliance won a surprise victory in elections held in May 2004. Manmohan Singh became the Prime Minister, after the Congress President

Sonia Gandhi (born in Italy as Antonia Edvige Albina Maino), the widow of former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi declined to take the office, in order to defuse the controversy about her foreign origin. The Congress formed a coalition called the United Progressive Alliance with Socialist and regional parties, and enjoyed the outside support of India's Communist parties. Manmohan Singh became the first Sikh and non-Hindu to date to hold India's most powerful office. Dr. Singh continued economic liberalization and privatization. By the end of the year 2004, India began to withdraw some of its troops from Kashmir. And by middle next year the Srinagar-Muzaffarabad Bus Service was inaugurated. The Boxing Day Tsunami in 2004 devastated Indian coastlines and islands, killing an estimated 18,000 and displacing around 650,000. The Tsunami was caused by a powerful undersea earthquake off the Indonesian coast. Natural disasters such as the Mumbai Floods (killing more than 1,000) and Kashmir earthquake (killing 79,000) hit the subcontinent in the next year. In 2006 February, the United Progressive Alliance government launched India's largest-ever rural jobs scheme, aimed at lifting around 60 million families out of poverty. United States and India signed a major nuclear co-operation agreement during a visit by United States President George W. Bush in 2006 March. In 2008 July, the United Progressive Alliance survived a vote of confidence brought after left-wing parties withdraw their support over the nuclear deal.

3.1.2.29. Other developments during this period

In 2007 India got its first female President as Pratibha Patil sworn in. Long associated with Nehru–Gandhi family, Pratibha Patil was a low-profile governor of the state of Rajasthan before emerging as the favoured presidential candidate of Sonia Gandhi. In February, the infamous Samjhauta Express bombings took place, killing Pakistani civilians, in Panipat, Haryana. There have been a number of breaks in the investigation of the bombings. In 2008 October, India successfully launched its first mission to the moon, the unmanned lunar probe called *Chandrayaan-1*. In the previous year, India had launched its first commercial space rocket, carrying an Italian satellite. In November 2008, Mumbai attacks took place and India blamed militants from Pakistan for the attacks and announced "pause" in the ongoing peace process. In the Indian General Election in 2009, the United Progressive Alliance won a convincing and resounding 262 seats, with Congress alone winning 206 seats. Inflation rose to an all-time high and the ever-increasing prices of food commodities caused wide spread agitation.

The concerns and controversies over the 2010 Commonwealth Games rocked the country in 2010, raising questions about the credibility of the government followed by 2G spectrum scam and Adarsh Housing Society Scam. In mid-2011, Anna Hazare, a prominent social activist, staged a 12-day hunger strike in Delhi in protest at state corruption, after government proposals to tighten up the an anti-graft legislation fall short of his demands. In 2004, India had launched an application for a permanent seat on the UN Security Council along with Brazil, Germany and Japan. However, India is facing the Naxalite-Maoist rebels which is the greatest internal security challenge and other terrorist tensions at Jammu & Kashmir and in Northeast region

3.1.2.30. Economic transformation of India

Manmohan Singh widely credited for initiating economic reforms in India. Under the policies initiated by Late Prime Minister Narasimha Rao and his Finance minister Manmohan Singh, India's economy expanded rapidly. The Rao administration initiated the LPG. The Vajpayee administration continued with privatization, reduction of taxes, a sound fiscal policy aimed at reducing deficits and debts, and increased initiatives for public works. Cities like Bangalore, Hyderabad, Pune and Ahmedabad have risen in prominence and economic importance, becoming centres of rising industries and destination for foreign investment and firms. Strategies like forming *Special Economic Zones* - tax amenities, good communications infrastructure, low regulation - to encourage industries has paid off in many parts of the country. A rising generation of well-educated and skilled professionals in scientific sectors of industry began propelling the Indian economy, as the information technology industry took hold across India with the proliferation of computers. The new technologies increased the efficiency of activity in almost every type of industry, which also benefitted from the availability of skilled labor. Foreign investment and outsourcing of jobs to India's labor markets further enhanced India's economic growth.

3.1.2. Conclusion

Thus, the political development in India since independence has gone through many ups and downs. The first great political development of in India after independence was Indo-Pak conflict, migration, communal riots, Kashmir issue, the death of the 'Father of the Nation'

Mahatma Gandhi who got assassinated on January 30, 1948 etc. Through out the congress rule India has witnessed, religious violence, casteism, naxalism, terrorism and regional separatist insurgencies, especially in Jammu and Kashmir and northeastern India. India has unresolved territorial disputes with China, which, in 1962, escalated into the Sino-Indian war, and with Pakistan, which resulted in wars in 1947, 1965, 1971. Since 1991, significant economic reforms in the form of LPG, have transformed India into the third largest and one of the fastest growing economy in the world. Today, India is a major world power with a prominent voice in global affairs and it is in the process of becoming a super power in future.

3.1.3. Summary

- India after independence remained with the British Commonwealth from 15 August 1947. On the other hand, the history of the Republic of India started on 26 January 1950.
- The first great political development of in India after independence was Indo-Pak conflict, migration, communal riots, Kashmir issue, the death of the ‘Father of the Nation’ Mahatma Gandhi who got assassinated on January 30, 1948 etc..
- The partition led to population transfer of more than 10 million people between India and Pakistan and the death of about one million people out of Muslim and non-Muslim (mostly Hindus) riots in both the countries.
- The nation faced religious violence, casteism, naxalism, terrorism and regional separatist insurgencies, especially in Jammu and Kashmir and northeastern India.
- India has unresolved territorial disputes with China, which, in 1962, escalated into the Sino-Indian war, and with Pakistan, which resulted in wars in 1947, 1965, 1971 and 1999.
- India was neutral in the Cold War, but purchased its military weapons from the Soviet Union.
- From the 1950s to the 1980s, India followed socialist policies.
- The economy was shackled by extensive regulation, protectionism and public ownership, leading to enveloping corruption and slow economic growth.
- Beginning in 1991, significant economic reforms in the form of LPG, have transformed India into the third largest and one of the fastest growing economy in the world.
- Today, India is a major world power with a prominent voice in global affairs.

3.1.4. Exercise

- ❖ Write a note on the political development in India since independence.
- ❖ Give an account on the achievements of the Congress Party from 1947 to 2010.
- ❖ High light the political activity of the non-congress government.
- ❖ Discuss the political development of India during BJP rule.

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Unit-3
Chapter-II
POLITICS IN THE STATES:

Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Assam, West Bengal, Jammu and Kashmir, the Punjab Crisis

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3.2.0. Objectives

In this lesson, students explore the politics in the states of India. After completing this chapter, you will be able to:

- *trace the politics of Tamil Nadu since independence up to 2010.*
- *identify the political activities of Andhra Pradesh*
- *study the political developments in Assam*
- *know the politics in West Bengal*
- *go through the political development in Jammu and Kashmir*
- *judge the Punjab crisis*

3.2.1. Introduction

Performing within the political and economic framework of the Indian Union, politics in different states have a great deal in common, but their pattern and accomplishments vary considerably. Each state has a different group of class, caste, social and cultural forces and levels of social and economic development, and which in turn influence the politics of India.

3.2.2. Political development in Tamilnadu

The trauma of the partition did not impact Tamil Nadu when India was granted Independence in 1947. Congress formed the first ministry in the Madras Presidency. C. Rajagopalachari (Rajaji) was the first Chief Minister. Following agitations for a separate Andhra state comprising the Telugu speaking regions of the Madras state by Potti Sriramalu, the Indian Government decided to partition the Madras state. In 1953 Rayalaseema and the coastal Andhra regions became the new state of Andhra Pradesh and the Bellary district became part of the Mysore state. In 1956 south Kanara district was transferred to Mysore, the Malabar coastal districts became part of the new state of Kerala, and the Madras state assumed its present shape. The Madras state was named Tamil Nadu (the land of the Tamils) in 1968. The Sri Lankan Civil War during the 1970s and the 80s saw large numbers of Sri Lankan Tamils fleeing to Tamil Nadu. The plight of Tamil refugees caused a surge of support from most of the Tamil political parties. They exerted pressure on the Indian government to intervene with the Sri Lankan government on behalf of the Sri Lankan Tamilians. However, LTTE lost much of its support from Tamil Nadu following the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi on 21 May 1991 by an operative from Sri Lanka for the former prime minister's role in sending Indian peacekeepers to Sri Lanka to disarm the LTTE. The east coast of Tamil Nadu was one of the areas affected by the Indian Ocean earthquake of 2004, during which almost 8000 people died in the disaster. The sixth most

populous state in the Indian Union, Tamil Nadu was the seventh largest economy in 2005 among the states of India.

3.2.2.1. Evolution of regional politics

The politics of Tamil Nadu have gone through three distinct phases since independence. The domination of the Congress Party after 1947 gave way to the Dravidian populist mobilisation in the 1960s. This phase lasted until towards the end of the 1990s. The most recent phase saw the fragmentation of the Dravidian political parties and led to the advent of political alliances and coalition governments. Annadurai formed the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) in 1949 after splitting from Dravidar Kazhagam. DMK also decided to oppose the 'expansion of the Hindi culture' in Tamil. The demand was for an Independent state called *Dravida Nadu* (country of Dravidians) comprising Tamil Nadu and parts of Andhra, Karnataka and Kerala. The increased involvement of the Indian National Congress party in Madras during the late 1950s and the strong pan-Indian emotions whipped up by the Chinese invasion of India in 1962 led to the demand for *Dravida Nadu* losing some of its immediacy.

The Congress party, riding on the wave of public support stemming from the independence struggle, formed the first post-independence government in Tamil Nadu and continued to govern until 1967. In 1965 and 1968, DMK led widespread anti-Hindi agitations in the state against the plans of the Union Government to introduce Hindi in the state schools. MG Ramachandran (MGR) who later became the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, was a stage and movie actor. In 1967 DMK won the state election. DMK split into two in 1971, with MGR forming the splinter All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK). Since then these two parties have dominated the politics of Tamil Nadu. AIADMK, under MGR retained control of the State Government over three consecutive assembly elections in 1977, 1980 and 1984. After MGR's death AIADMK was split over the succession between various contenders. Eventually J. Jayalalithaa took over the leadership of AIADMK. Several changes to the political balance in Tamil Nadu took place during the later half of the 1990s, eventually leading to the end of the duopoly of DMK and AIADMK in the politics of Tamil Nadu. In 1996, a split in the Congress party in Tamil Nadu eventuated in the formation of Tamil Maanila Congress (TMC). TMC aligned with the DMK, while another party Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam

(MDMK), which split from DMK aligned with the AIADMK. These and several smaller political parties began to gain popular support. The first instance of a 'grand alliance' was during the 1996 elections for the National parliament. This paved the way for the Dravidian parties to be part of the Central Government.

3.2.3. Andhra Pradesh

The linguistic reorganization of India was quite early in the Constituent Assembly. The JVP Commission in 1948 advised that steps might threaten national unity and also be administratively inconvenient. But public opinion was not satisfied, especially in the South, and the problem remained politically alive. To appease the vocal votaries of linguistic states, the Congress appointed a committee (JVP) in December 1948 consisting of Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramayya, to examine the question afresh. This committee advised against the creation of linguistic states for the time being, emphasizing on unity, national security, and economic development as the needs of the hour.

The JVP accepted that a strong case for the formation of Andhra out of the Madras Presidency. But it did not concede the demand immediately. On 19 October 1952, a popular freedom fighter, Patti Sriramalu, undertook a fast unto death over the demand for a separate Andhra and expired after fifty-eight days. His death was followed by three days of rioting, demonstrations, hartals and violence all over Andhra. The government immediately gave in and conceded the demand for a separate state of Andhra, which finally came into existence in October 1953. The States Reorganization Act was passed by parliament in November 1956. It provided for fourteen states and six centrally administered territories. The Telengana area of Hyderabad state was transferred to Andhra Pradesh.

3.2.3.1. Conflict between Andhra Pradesh and Telengana

Due to political-economic imbalances between coastal Andhra Pradesh and Telengana, Telengana wanted to get separate from Andhrapradesh. So, A powerful movement for a separate state of Telengana developed in 1969. At the time of the merger of Telengana with Andhra in 1956 the leaders of the two regions had evolved a 'gentlemen's agreement' providing for the retention of the Mulki Rules in a modified form, a fixed share of places in the ministry for Telengana leaders, and preference for students from Telengana in admission to educational

institutions including to Osmania University in Hyderabad. The discontented in Telengana accused the government of deliberately violating the agreement while the government asserted that it was trying its best to implement it.

3.2.3.2. Movements for Telengana state

Towards the end of 1968, the students of Osmania University went on a strike on the question of discrimination in employment and education. A massive, often violent, agitation demanding separation of Telengana from Andhra Pradesh now spread all over Telengana where schools and colleges remained closed for nearly nine months. The agitation was soon joined by organizations of non-gazetted government employees, who went on an indefinite strike, and a large number of teachers, lawyers, businessmen and other sections of the middle classes. To lead the movement for a separate Telengana state in an organized manner, the Telengana Praja Samiti (TPS) was soon formed. A large number of disgruntled and dissident Congress leaders joined the TPS and occupied a dominant position in it. A large number of local leaders of Swatantra, Samyukta Socialist Party and Jan Sangh, however, supported the demand. Indira Gandhi and the central Congress leadership strongly resisted the demand though; trying to play a mediatory role, they urged the Andhra government to adopt a sympathetic attitude towards Telengana's economic demands and to redress its grievances. The movement for separate Telengana began to lose steam and to peter out after the summer of 1969. The TPS succeeded in winning 10 out of 14 Telengana seats in the 1971 elections to the Lok Sabha. The TPS merged with Congress in September 1971 after Brahmanand Reddy, the chief minister, resigned and was replaced by P.V. Narasimha Rao from Telengana. The political storm broke when the Supreme Court gave a judgement in October 1972 sanctioning the continuance of Mulki Rules. And, as in the case of Telengana, students and non-gazetted employees unions took the initiative in organizing meetings, strikes and demonstrations, which sometimes turned violent, and demanded the repeal of the Mulki Rules.

An important difference from Telengana agitation was that the big landowners and rich peasants, too, took an active part in the agitation because they were opposed to the land ceiling legislation passed by the state legislature in September 1972. The prime minister announced a compromise formula on 27 November, according to which the Mulki Rules would be further modified and would continue in Hyderabad city till the end of 1977 and the rest of Telengana till the end of 1980. The formula was seen as favourable to Telengana and the Andhran agitation

now turned against both the central government and the concept of united Andhra Pradesh. On 7 December, the Andhra non gazetted employees went on an indefinite strike. Encouraged by Swatantra, Jan Sangh and some independents, the agitators now demanded the creation of a separate state for Andhra region. Many Congressmen, however, supported it. Nine members of the Narasimha Rao Cabinet resigned from it, though others remained integrationists. The movement turned violent in many places with attacks on the railways and other central government property and clashes with the police. The Central Reserve Police and the army had to be brought in at many places. Once again Indira Gandhi took a firm stand in favour of a united Andhra Pradesh. On 21 December the Lok Sabha passed the Mulki Rules Bill. On 17 January 1973, she asked Narasimha Rao to resign and then imposed President's Rule in the state. However, Telengana got the separate state status in 2014. Thus, the conflict between Andhra Pradesh and Telengana came to end when Telengana became the 29th state of Indian Union.

3.2.4. Assam

Political turmoil racked the state for years because its people feared the weakening or loss of their identity as Assamese. Throughout the colonial period and for several years after independence, Bengalis settled in Assam occupied a dominant position in government services, in teaching and other modern professions and in higher posts in public and private sectors. The lack of job opportunities, the 'outsiders' significant role in Assam's industry and trade, and the fear of being culturally dominated produced a sense of deprivation in the minds of middle class Assamese. They started a movement in the fifties demanding preference for Assamese speakers in recruitment to state government services and making Assamese the sole official language and medium of instruction in schools and colleges. In July 1960, it erupted in tragic language riots. Bengalis were attacked in mass in both urban and rural areas, their houses were looted and set on fire. In 1972, Assamese was made the sole medium of instruction also in colleges affiliated to Guwahati University. However, the main grievance that developed into a massive anti-foreigners movement in 1979, was the large scale illegal migration in a relatively short span of time from Bangladesh and from Nepal. The British administration had also encouraged migration of thousands of Biharis to work on the tea-plantations and of hundreds of thousands of Bengali peasants to settle on the vast uncultivated tracts of Assam. Between 1939 and 1947. Partition led

to a large-scale refugee influx from Pakistani Bengal into Assam besides West Bengal and Tripura. In 1971, after the Pakistani crackdown in East Bengal, more than one million refugees sought shelter in Assam. Most of them went back after the creation of Bangladesh, but nearly 100,000 remained.

3.2.4.1. Movement against illegal migration

After 1971, there occurred a fresh, continuous and large-scale influx of land-hungry Bangladeshi peasants into Assam. But land in Assam had by now become scarce, and Assamese peasants and tribals feared loss of their holdings also in the eighties. After independence, apprehension created among the Assamese of being reduced to a minority in their own land and consequently to the subordination of their language and culture, loss of control over their economy and politics, and, in the end, the loss of their very identity and individuality as a people. Though illegal migration had surfaced as a political matter several times since 1950, it burst as a major issue in 1979 when it became clear that a large number of illegal immigrants from Bangladesh had become voters in the state. Afraid of their acquiring a dominant role in Assam's politics through the coming election at the end of 1979, the All Assam Students Union (AASU) and the Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (Assam People's Struggle Council), a coalition of regional political, literary and cultural associations, started a massive, anti-illegal migration movement. This campaign won the support of virtually all sections of Assamese speakers, Hindu or Muslim, and many Bengalis. The leaders of the movement claimed that the number of illegal aliens was as high as 31 to 34 per cent of the state's total population. They, therefore, asked the central government to seal Assam's borders to prevent further inflow of migrants, to identify all illegal aliens and delete their names from the voters list and to postpone elections till this was done, and to deport or disperse to other parts of India all those who had entered the state after 1961. So strong was the popular support to the movement that elections could not be held in fourteen out of sixteen parliamentary constituencies.

The years from 1979 to 1985 witnessed political instability in the state, collapse of state governments, imposition of President's Rule, sustained, often violent, agitation, frequent general strikes, civil disobedience campaigns which paralyzed all normal life for prolonged periods, and unprecedented ethnic violence. For several years there were repeated rounds of negotiations between the leaders of the movement and the central government, but no agreement could be reached. It was not easy to determine who were the illegal aliens or 'foreigners' or how to go

about detecting or deporting them. There was also lack of goodwill and trust between the two sides.

The central government's effort to hold a constitutionally mandated election to the state assembly in 1983 led to its near total boycott. Nearly 3,000 people died in statewide violence. The election proved to be a complete failure with less than 2 per cent of the voters casting their votes in the constituencies with Assamese majority. The Congress party did form the government, but it had no legitimacy at all. Finally, the Rajiv Gandhi government was able to sign an accord with the leaders of the movement on 15 August 1985. All those foreigners who had entered Assam between 1951 and 1961 were to be given full citizenship, including the right to vote; those who had done so after 1971 were to be deported; the entrants between 1961 and 1971 were to be denied voting rights for ten years but would enjoy all other rights of citizenship. A parallel package for the economic development of Assam, including a second oil refinery, a paper mill and an institute of technology, was also worked out.

3.2.4.2. Intervention of Central Government

The central government also promised to provide 'legislative and administrative safeguards to protect the cultural, social, and linguistic identity and heritage' of the Assamese people. The task of revising the electoral rolls on the basis of the agreement was now taken up in earnest. The existing assembly was dissolved and fresh elections held in December 1985. A new party, Assam Gana Parishad (AGP), formed by the leaders of the anti-foreigners movement, was elected to power, winning 64 of the 126 assembly seats. Prafulla Mohanta, an AASU leader, became at the age of thirty-two the youngest chief minister of independent India. Extreme and prolonged political turbulence in Assam ended, though fresh insurgencies were to come up later on, for example that of the Bodo tribes for a separate state and of the secessionist United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA). Experience in Assam since 1985 has shown that while it was and is necessary to stop the entry of foreigners, massive detection and deportation of the existing illegal entrants has not been easy and perhaps was not possible. Expulsion of old or recent minorities of all types was not the answer. Rather their gradual integration and assimilation into the Assamese identity was the only long-term and realistic solution. Chauvinism, whether in the form of their exclusion or their forceful elimination would only disturb and weaken the historical process of Assamese identity in- the-making.

It is noteworthy that the Assam anti-foreigners movement was not communal or secessionist or disruptive of the nation in any other form. It was therefore possible for the central government and the all-India political parties to negotiate and accommodate its demands of the Assamese.

3.2.5. Political Development in West Bengal

The history of West Bengal began in 1947, when the Hindu dominated western part of British Bengal Province became the Indian state of West Bengal. When India got independence in 1947, Bengal was partitioned on religious lines. The western part went to India (and was named West Bengal) while the eastern part joined Pakistan as a province called East Bengal (later renamed East Pakistan, giving rise to independent Bangladesh in 1971). These conditions as they have remained unresolved in some twisted forms have given birth to local socio-economic, political and ethnic movements.

3.2.5.1. Bidhan Chandra Roy Era (1947-1962)

In 1950, the Princely state of Koch Bihar merged with West Bengal after king Jagaddipendra Narayan had signed the Instrument of Accession with India. In 1955, the former French enclave of Chandernagore, which had passed into Indian control after 1950, was integrated into West Bengal. Portions of Bihar were subsequently merged with West Bengal. During Roy's Chief Ministership very few manufacturing industries were set up in the state. In 1954, when B.C. Roy was the Congress chief minister, a massive food crisis overtook the state. There was near famine condition in Bengal.

3.2.5.2. United Front Government (1967) After the state legislative elections held in 1967, the CPI(M) was the main force behind the United Front government formed. The chief minister was given to Ajoy Mukherjee of Bangla Congress.

3.2.5.3. Naxalbari uprising

In 1967 a peasant uprising broke out in Naxalbari, in northern West Bengal. The insurgency was led by hardline district-level CPI(M) leaders Charu Majumdar and Kanu Sanyal. The Naxalbari movement was violently repressed by the West Bengal government. During the 1970s and 1980s, severe power shortages, strikes and a violent Marxist- Naxalist movement damaged much of the state's infrastructure, leading to a period of economic stagnation.

3.2.5.4. Dismissal of United Front government

In November 1967, the West Bengal United Front government was dismissed by the central government. Initially the Indian National Congress formed a minority government led by Prafulla Chandra Ghosh but that cabinet did not last long. Following the proclamation that the United Front government had been dislodged, a 48-hour hartal was effective throughout the state. After the fall of the Ghosh cabinet, the state was put under President's Rule.

3.2.5.5. Assembly election of 1969

Fresh elections were held in West Bengal in 1969. CPI(M) emerged as the largest party in the West Bengal legislative assembly. But with the active support of CPI and the Bangla Congress, Ajoy Mukherjee was returned as Chief Minister of the state. Mukherjee resigned on March 16, 1970 and the state was put under President's Rule. The Bangladesh war of 1971 resulted in the influx of millions of refugees to West Bengal, causing significant strains on its infrastructure.

3.2.5.6. Shiddharthrasankar Roys Era (1972-1977)

The 1974 small pox epidemic killed thousands. During this period, the then Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi proclaimed nationwide Emergency in 1975. This period was marked by large scale violence as the police force battled with the naxalites and ultimately crushed the movement in the state.

3.2.5.7. Jyoti Basu era (1977-2000)

West Bengal politics underwent a major change when the left front won the 1977 assembly election, defeating the incumbent Indian National Congress. The Left Front, led by Communist Party of India (Marxist) has governed for the state for the subsequent three decades. In the 1977 election of the state legislature, the Left Front won 243 seats thereby gaining a majority. The first Left Front government was established with Jyoti Basu as the Chief Minister.

3.2.5.8. Marichjhanpi Massacre of 1979

The massacre in Marichihanpi, which took place under CPI(M) rule in Bengal between January 26 and May 16, 1979, relates to the forcible eviction of refugees who had fled from East Pakistan thereby leading to the death of a sizable population among them. Out of the 14,388 families who deserted (for West Bengal), 10,260 families returned to their previous places ... and the remaining 4,128 families perished in transit, died of starvation, exhaustion, and many were killed in Kashipur, Kumirmari, and Marichjhanpi by police firings. After leading the Left Front government for consecutive five terms, Jyoti Basu retired from active politics and Buddhadev Bhattacharya was appointed as his successor. Five years later, the Left Front came back to the power with Bhattacharjee again assuming the office of the Chief Minister.

3.2.5.9. Budhdhadev Bhattacharya Era (2000-2011)

The state's economic recovery gathered momentum after economic reforms of India were introduced in the early 1990s by the central government aided by election of a new reformist Chief minister Buddhadev Bhattacharya in 2000. As of 2007, armed activists have been organizing terrorist attacks in some parts of the state, while clashes with the administration have taken place at several sensitive places on the issue of industrial land acquisition.

3.2.5.10. Nandigram violence

The Nandigram violence was an incident in Nandigram of West Bengal where, on the orders of the Left Front government, more than 4,000 heavily armed police stormed the

Nandigram area with the aim of stamping out protests against the West Bengal government's plans to expropriate 10,000 acres (40 km²) of land for a Special Economic Zone (SEZ) to be developed by the Indonesian-based Salim Group. The police shot dead at least 14 villagers and wounded 70 more .

3.2.6. Jammu and Kashmir

The state of Jammu and Kashmir has been an unresolved problem so far as Indo-Pak relations are concerned. It has also posed a constant internal threat for India with forces of integration with India and secession from it being in continuous struggle. An overriding factor in the situation is that Kashmir has become over the years a symbol as well as a test of India's secularism. If in 1947 Kashmir had acceded to Pakistan, Indians would have accepted the fact without being upset. But once, as a result of the invasion of Kashmir by Pathan tribesmen and Pakistani troops and the persuasion of its popular leader, Sheikh Abdullah and Raja Hari Singh, the king of the state of Jammu and Kashmir acceded to India, the situation became different. Pakistan claimed Kashmir on the ground that it was a Muslim-majority state. This was unacceptable to secular India, which did not accept the two-nation theory. The Indo-Pak war of 1947-48 could not solve the problem rather, the Kashmir issue became unresolved due to the intervention of UN. On the other hand, India has considered Jammu and Kashmir as an integral part of Indian Union.

Till the end of 1953, the Government of India was willing to abide by the results of a plebiscite if proper conditions were created for it. But a plebiscite could not be held, partially because Pakistan would not withdraw its forces from Pakistan-held Kashmir, and partially because Indo-Pak relations got entangled in the Cold War. During 1953-54, the United States entered into a virtual military alliance with Pakistan. This also encouraged Pakistan to take a non-conciliatory and aggressive approach based on a 'policy of hatred' and animosity. By the end of 1956, the Indian government made it clear to Pakistan and the international community that the situation in Kashmir and Indo-Pak relationship had changed so completely that its earlier offer had become absolute and Kashmir's accession to India had become a settled fact. Since then, so far as India is concerned, Kashmir has been an irrevocable part of the nation. However, without openly saying so, Nehru and his successors have been willing to accept the status quo, that is, accept the ceasefire line or line of control (LoC) as the permanent international border.

3.2.6.1. Special Status of Jammu and Kashmir

Under the Instrument of Accession signed in October 1947, the state of Jammu and Kashmir was granted a temporary special status in the Indian union under Article 370 of the Indian Constitution. The state ceded to the Indian union only in defence, foreign affairs and communications, retaining autonomy in all other matters. The state was permitted to have a Constituent Assembly and a Constitution of its own, to elect its own head of the state called Sadr-e-Riyasat, and to retain its own flag. Its chief minister was to be designated as prime minister. This also meant that the Indian Constitution's section on fundamental rights did not cover the state, nor did institutions such as the Supreme Court, the Election Commission, and the Auditor-General have any jurisdiction there. However, Article 370 dealt with the relations of the state with the Centre and not with its accession to the union, which was complete. In 1956, the Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir ratified the accession of the state to India. Over the years, the state's special status was considerably modified—one might even say liquidated. The jurisdiction of union institutions such as the Supreme Court, the Auditor-General and the Election Commission and the constitutional provisions regarding fundamental rights had extended to the state. The parliament's authority to make laws for the state and the President's authority over the state government, including the power to impose President's Rule, had also been extended. The state's services were integrated with the central and all-India services. Symbolic of the changes were that in the nomenclature of the Sadr-e-Riyasat to Governor and of the state prime minister to chief minister.

A sizeable section of Kashmiris resented this erosion of the provisions relating to the state's autonomy. On the other hand, Article 370 gave birth to a powerful movement in Jammu region of the state for full accession to India, a greater share for Jammu in government services and even for separation of Jammu from Kashmir. The movement soon acquired communal colours with the danger of the state being divided on religious lines—Kashmir being Muslim majority and Jammu being Hindu majority. The agitation in Jammu was led by Jammu Praja Parishad which later merged with Jan Sangh, which raised the agitation to all-India level. An unfortunate event was the death of Jan Sangh President Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, due to heart attack in a Srinagar jail, on 23 June 1951. He had gone to the state in violation of a government order. The Praja Parishad agitation played into the hands of communal pro-Pakistan elements in

Kashmir. It tarnished India's secular image and weakened India's case on Kashmir. It also unsettled Sheikh Abdullah, and made him doubt the strength of Indian secularism.

3.2.6.2. The Politics of Abdullah

India's internal problems in regard to Kashmir began with Sheikh Abdullah, a man of remarkable courage and integrity, having a mass appeal, but who was also autocratic, wayward and arbitrary. Pressed by communal elements in Kashmir Valley demanding merger with Pakistan and harassed by communalists in Jammu demanding full integration with India, Abdullah began to veer towards separation. Exaggerating the strength of communal forces and the weakness of secularism in India, he increasingly talked of the limited character of the accession of the state to India and of 'full' autonomy for the state. He even hinted at Kashmir's independence to be achieved with the help of the US and other foreign powers. He also began to appeal to communal sentiments among Kashmiri Muslims. Nehru pleaded with him for sanity and restraint but with little effect. By the middle of July 1953, Abdullah publicly demanded that Kashmir should become independent.

The majority of his colleagues in the cabinet and his party opposed his new political position and asked the Sadr-e-Riyasat to dismiss him on charges of 'corruption, malpractices, disruptionism and dangerous foreign contacts.' Abdullah was consequently dismissed and Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed installed as prime minister. The new government immediately put Abdullah under arrest. He, however, remained a martyr and a hero for many Kashmiris. Nehru was unhappy with the turn of events but would not interfere with the state government. Abdullah's political career, closely interwoven with that of Kashmir's, had a chequered history from 1953 till his death in 1982. Under Nehru's pressure, he was released on 8 January 1958 but was rearrested three months later as he continued with his separtatist campaign and appeals to communal sentiments. Nehru got Abdullah released again in April 1964. Abdullah, however, continued to claim that Kashmir's accession to India was not final and that he would fight to secure for the state the right of self-determination. But since he was also against the state's merger with Paskitan, he was frontally opposed by pro-Pakistani political groups led by Moulavi Farooq and the Awami Action Committee. Abdullah was put under house arrest and again deprived of his liberty in May 1965. The restrictions on him were removed only in 1968. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed ruled Jammu and Kashmir with a heavy hand and with large-scale corruption and misuse of patronage and government machinery. He was succeeded by G.M.

Sadiq and then by Mir Qasim, who were men of integrity but not effective administrators or skilful politicians. The state government under these leaders never acquired wide popularity, though the pro-Pakistan forces remained weak.

3.2.6.3. Impact of Bangladesh war of 1971

The Bangladesh war and the break-up of Pakistan in 1971 had a significant impact on Kashmir; the Pro-Pakistani Awami Action Committee and the secessionist Plebiscite Front suffered a severe political jolt. Abdullah now got into a better frame of mind, did some rethinking and adopted a more conciliatory approach towards the central government. Indira Gandhi, in turn, extended a hand of friendship, lifted all restrictions and opened a dialogue with him. He informally agreed not to raise the question of self-determination or plebiscite and to limit his demands to that of greater autonomy within the Indian union. Finally, in February 1975, he once again became chief minister and the leader of the National Conference. In the July 1977 mid-term poll in the state he won hands down. His son, Farooq Abdullah, succeeded him as chief minister, on his death in 1982.

3.2.6.4. Farooq Abdullah, Insurgency and Terrorism

Since 1982 the state has either been ruled mostly by Farooq Abdullah or been under President's Rule. Farooq won a comfortable majority in the mid-term elections in June 1983; but acrimony soon developed between him and the central government. In July 1984, in a coup against Farooq, his brother-in-law, G.M. Shah, split the National Conference. Acting at the behest of the central government, the Governor, Jagmohan, dismissed Farooq as chief minister and installed G.M. Shah in his place. G.M. Shah was both corrupt and inept and, as he failed to control communal attacks on Kashmiri pundits, his government was dismissed in March 1986 and President's Rule imposed in the state. Subsequently, Rajiv Gandhi entered into an alliance with Farooq Abdullah for the assembly elections in early 1987. But Farooq, who won the election, was unable to manage the state politically or administratively. Thereafter, the movement for secession stepped up in the Valley. Both Hizbul Mujahideen and other fundamentalist, pro-Pakistan groups and those for independence led by Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) took to violent agitations and armed insurgency.

All these groups were actively financed, trained and armed by Pakistan, and carried on a campaign of murders, kidnappings and torture of political opponents and of attacks on police stations, government offices and other public buildings. They also attacked Kashmiri pundits,

most of whom were forced to leave their homes and move to refugee camps in Jammu and Delhi. To contain terrorism and insurgency, V.P. Singh at the Centre dismissed Farooq Abdullah's government, which had lost control over the Valley to the terrorist groups, and imposed President's Rule in the state. Farooq, however, made another political comeback by winning the long-delayed elections in 1996. The all-party Hurriyat (Liberation) Conference and JKLF which stands for Kashmir's independence and the pro-Pakistan Mujahideen have lost steam in recent years, mainly because of the Mujahideen and JKLF's terrorist depredations against the people of the state, but Pakistani-supported and organized terrorism continues to be a menace affecting normal politics in Jammu and Kashmir till today.

3.2.7. Punjab Crisis

The crisis in the form of insurgency in the Indian state of Punjab originated in the late 1970s, as Sikh revolutionaries alongside Khalistan proponents turned to militancy.

3.2.7.1. Roots of Insurgency

The roots of the insurgency were very complex with the main factors being inadequate recognition of Sikhism and the Punjabi language and alleged mistreatment from the Indian Congress Government since its formation 1947. With all schools in Punjab teaching Punjabi children in Hindi, made the parents and community leaders concerned. The Punjabi Suba civil movement was started to address the language issue and restore Punjabi as the official language of Punjab. The Punjabi Suba movement was banned by the government on April 14, 1955. During this time the Sikhs were faced with much humiliation and difficulties including peaceful protesters and innocent pilgrims being beaten, hit with bricks, arrested, and temple raids. Following the Indo-Pak war of 1965 Punjabi was finally recognized as the official language of Punjab in 1966 when the Punjab land was further split into the states of Himachal Pradesh, the new state Haryana and Current Day Punjab.

3.2.7.2. The Anandpur Resolution

The Sikh community felt alienated within India and put forward a resolution to address all grievances they had with the nation state of India. In 1973, the Sikhs put forward the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. Within this resolution were issues included both religious and political concerns like recognizing Sikhism as a religion, to allow to set local state level policies and not be forced to get permission from the central government, etc. The Anandpur Resolution was rejected by the government but the religious leader Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale joined the Akali Dal to launch the Dharam Yudh Morcha in 1982, a peaceful march, in order to implement Anandpur Sahib resolution. Thousands of people joined the movement, feeling that it represented a real solution to demands such as a larger share of water for irrigation and the return of Chandigarh to Punjab. The Congress government decided to repress the mass agitation with a heavy hand; over a hundred people were killed in the police firings. The security forces arrested over 30,000 Sikhs in two-and-a-half months. After this Bhindranwale suggested it was time for a militant approach with the help of arms and weapons to solve the problems of majority Punjab population leading to the beginning of the insurgency. On June 6, 1984 Bhindranwale was shot dead in Operation Blue Star and on October 31, 1984 Indira Gandhi was murdered by her Sikh bodyguards Satwant Singh and Beant Singh. These two events played a major role to the Sikh and Anti-Sikh violence that would consume Punjab till the early 1990s.

3.2.7.3. Movement for Punjabi Suba

In the 1950s and 1960s, linguistic issues in India caused civil disorder when the central government declared Hindi as the national language of India. For demanding Punjabi to be the official language of the Punjab a total of 12000 Sikhs were arrested for their peaceful demonstrations in 1955 including several Akali leaders including Tara Singh, Gurcharan Singh Tohra, and Jathedar of Akal Takht Achchhar Singh. The nationwide movement of linguistic groups seeking statehood resulted in a massive reorganisation of states according to linguistic boundaries in 1956. At that time, Indian Punjab had its capital in Shimla, and though the vast majority of the Sikhs lived in Punjab, they still did not form a majority. But if Haryana and Himachal could be separated Sikhs could have a Punjab in which they could form a majority of 60 per cent against the Hindus being 40 per cent. The Akali Dal, a Sikh dominated political party active mainly in Punjab, sought to create a Punjabi Suba. This case was presented to the States

Reorganisation Commission established in 1953 and accordingly Punjab was divided into Punjab and Haryana.

3.2.7.4. Economic impacts of the Green Revolution

While the Green Revolution in Punjab had several positive impacts, the introduction of the mechanized agricultural techniques led to unemployment. The unemployed youth could have been absorbed by industrial development, but the Indian government had been reluctant to set up heavy industries in Punjab due to its status as a high-risk border state with Pakistan. The resulting unemployed rural Sikh youth were drawn to the militant groups, and formed the backbone of the militancy.

3.2.7.5. Jarnail Bhindranwale and the Akali Dal

The second reason was attempts made by the then Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi to use Bhindranwale to undermine the Akali Dal (Eternal Party), a political party. The strategy backfired when 13 Sikhs in Amritsars were killed in Nirankari - Sikh clash. The anti-Sikh policy of Indira Gandhi created hostility between Bhindranwale and Central Government. In 1984, Indira Gandhi had to order the Indian Army to flush out Bhindranwale and his followers in Operation Blue Star.

3.2.7.6. Sikh Militancy

A section of Sikhs turned to militancy in Punjab; some Sikh militant groups aimed to create an independent state called Khalistan through acts of violence directed at members of the Indian government, army or forces. Others demanded an autonomous state within India, based on the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. A large numbers of Sikhs condemned the actions of the militants. By 1983, the situation in Punjab had become highly volatile. In October 1983, some Sikh militants stopped a bus and shot six Hindu bus passengers. On the same day, another group of extremists killed two officials on a train. The Congress(I)-led Central Government dismissed its own Punjab's government, declaring a state of emergency, and imposed the President's Rule in the state. During the five months preceding Operation Blue Star, from 1 January 1984 to 3 June 1984, 298 people had been killed in various violent incidents across Punjab. In five days preceding the Operation, 48 people had been killed in the violence.

3.2.7.7. Operation Blue star

Operation Bluestar which occurred between 3rd–8 June 1984 was an Indian military operation, ordered by Indira Gandhi, then Prime Minister of India, to eliminate Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale from the Golden Temple in Amritsar. Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale was accused of amassing weapons in the Sikh temple and starting a major armed uprising. Indira Gandhi ordered the army to storm the temple complex in Punjab through Operation Blue Star. A variety of army units along with paramilitary forces surrounded the temple complex on 3 June 1984. The army kept asking the militants to surrender, using the public address system, but according to civilians inside the complex no announcements were made and the Army termed everyone inside the complex as enemies. The militants were asked to send the pilgrims out of the temple premises to safety, before they start fighting the army. However, nothing happened till 7 PM. General Brar then asked the police if they could send emissaries inside to help get the civilians out, but the police said that anyone sent inside would be killed by the militants. They believed that the militants were keeping the pilgrims inside to stop the army from entering the temple. Finally, around a hundred sick and old people were let out. These people informed the army that the others were not being allowed to come out. The army had grossly underestimated the firepower possessed by the militants. Thus, tanks and heavy artillery were used to forcefully suppress the anti-tank and machine-gun fire. After a 24 hour firefight, the army finally wrested control of the temple complex. According to the Indian Army, 136 army personnel were killed and 249 injured. while insurgent casualties were 493 killed and 86 injured. Unofficial figures go well into the thousands.

3.2.7.8. Anti-Sikh massacre

The Operation Blue star inflamed the Sikh community. Many saw it as an attack on their religion and beliefs. As a result of which there occurred the “Operation Wood rose” out of which there was assassination of Indira Gandhi and it followed the 1984 anti-Sikh riots. On 31 October 1984, the Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi was gunned down by her two Sikh bodyguards. In the wake of Indira Gandhi's assassination, rioting mobs allegedly led by Congress leaders, who are still facing the court cases, rampaged through the streets of Delhi and other parts of India over the next few days, killing several thousand Sikhs. The police "worked to destroy a lot

of the evidence about who was involved with the killings by refusing to record First Information Reports" Hundreds more were refused because the victims wanted to name Congress leaders like Sajjan Kumar, HKL Bhagat and Jagdish Tytler. Human Rights Watch reports "In the months following the killings, the government sought no prosecutions or indictments of any persons, including officials, accused in any case of murder, rape or arson." Hundreds of murders are yet to be even registered by police. The New Delhi Police was reported to be doing nothing to stop the rioting, as was the state and central government. It was only after three days of rioting in the capital of the country that army was called in to restore order. As violence rose, Punjabi Hindus were killed in just retaliation and fled their home state Punjab.

3.2.7.9. After the riots

The Anti-Sikh riots across Northern India had repercussions in Punjab. A small number of Hindus were killed by ragtag gangs of Sikh militants. Trains were attacked and people were shot after being pulled from buses. In 1987, 32 Hindus were pulled out of a bus and shot near Lalru in Punjab by Sikh and Muslim militants.

3.2.7.10. K.P.S. Gill and the suppression of Punjab Insurgency

Between 1987 and 1991, Punjab was placed under an ineffective President's rule and was governed from Delhi. Elections were eventually held in 1992 but the voter turnout was poor. A new Congress(I) government was formed and it gave the police chief of the state K.P.S. Gill a free hand. Gill was ruthless against civilians and insurgents alike, and his methods severely weakened the insurgency movement. However, Gill's reign is regarded as one of the bloodiest in the history of the country, thousands of innocent Sikhs were killed in fake encounters and countless disappeared from their homes in the dark. His police force was also accused of crimes such as rape and torture of women and children according to several reports by Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch.

3.2.8. Conclusion

Thus, the politics in the states of Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Assam, West Bengal, Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab in the post independence era has gone through many interesting aspects of political

developments in India. The political developments of these states has affected the politics of central government of India since independence. Be it the politics of Tamil Nadu, reorgansation of Andhra Pradesh on linguistic basis, the repeated migration into Assam creating violence, the problem of migration, communist movement and Naxal problem in West Bengal, the unresolved Kashmir issue in Jammu and Kashmir and the Punjab crisis have stirred the central politics in India. Some of the problems have been solved and some of them are yet to solve.

3.2.9 Summary

- Each state has a different group of class, caste, social and cultural forces and levels of social and economic development, and which in turn influence the politics of India.
- The Madras state was named Tamil Nadu (the land of the Tamils) in 1968.
- The Sri Lankan Civil War during the 1970s and the 80s saw large numbers of Sri Lankan Tamils fleeing to Tamil Nadu.
- The plight of Tamil refugees caused a surge of support from most of the Tamil political parties.
- Due to the strike of Patti Siramalu, the government of India immediately gave in and conceded the demand for a separate state of Andhra, which finally came into existence in October 1953.
- The lack of job opportunities, the 'outsiders' significant role in Assam's industry and trade, and the fear of being culturally dominated produced a sense of deprivation in the minds of middle class Assamese.
- The history of West Bengal began in 1947, when the Hindu-dominated western part of British Bengal Province became the Indian state of West Bengal.
- In 1967 a peasant uprising broke out in Naxalbari, in northern West Bengal. The insurgency was led by hardline district-level CPI(M) leaders Charu Majumdar and Kanu Sanyal.
- The state of Jammu and Kashmir has been an unresolved problem so far as Indo-Pak relations are concerned.
- Article 370 gave birth to a powerful movement in Jammu region of the state for full accession to India, a greater share for Jammu in government services and even for separation of Jammu from Kashmir.

- The crisis in the form of insurgency in the Indian state of Punjab originated in the late 1970s, as Sikh revolutionaries alongside Khalistan proponents turned to militancy.

3.2.10. Exercise

- ❖ Discuss the politics in the state of Tamil Nadu after independence.
- ❖ High light the political development of Andhra Pradesh in the post independence era.
- ❖ Describe the political development of Assam since independence.
- ❖ Write a note on the politics of the state of Jammu and Kashmir
- ❖ Give an account on the Punjab crisis.

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Unit-3
Chapter-III
THE POST-COLONIAL INDIAN STATE AND THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF
DEVELOPMENT: AN OVERVIEW

Structure

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3.3.0. Objectives

In this chapter, students explore the Post-Colonial Indian state and the Political economy of development: an overview. After completing this chapter, you will be able:

- *discuss the post-colonial economy of Indian state*
- *analyse the political economy of development*
- *give an account of the economic development in India since independence*
- *understand the economic condition of India after independence.*

3.3.1. Introduction

The Post-colonialism particularly the post-colonial Indian state and the political economy of development has increasingly become an object of scientific examination since 1950 when intellectuals of west began to get interested in the “Third World countries”. Today, apart from the significant economic progress, India is still facing its old problems: Poverty, overpopulation, environmental pollution as well as ethnic and religious conflicts between Hindus and Muslims. Additionally, the Kashmir conflict has not come to an end yet, while both Pakistan and Indian are threatening each other with their arsenals of atomic weapons.

3.3.2. The Post-Colonial Indian states and the Political Economy of Development: An overview

The post-colonial Indian states and the political economy of development can be discussed as follows:

3.3.2.1. The Political Economy of Development

The political economy of development in India can be divided in to the following periods.

- The first section describes India’s economic development between 1947 and 1974. It details the process by which the government came to control substantial parts of Indian industry and neglect of Indian agriculture.
- The second section analyzes the period from 1975 till 1990. This was a period when India promoted its private enterprises in the context of a closed economy. India’s economic growth accelerated, its agricultural sector grew rapidly, and greater attention was paid to the concerns of human development
- The final section from 1991 till the present, describes the paradox of the shift to rapid economic growth due to LPG.

3.3.2.2. India's economic development between 1947 and 1974

India's "mixed economy" was born in the immediate aftermath of an anti-colonial struggle. It was believed that infant industries, especially in high technology areas required substantial state supported finance and protection from international trade till they matured into competitive industries. This section provides the context within which the liberalization measures after 1975 needed to be understood.

3.3.2.3. The Indian Development and Regulation Act (1951)

The Indian Development and Regulation Act (1951) was the genesis of a system of industrial licensing, which involved seeking the government's permission for initiating commercial activities in a few select areas. Nehru was impressed with Soviet economic planning and rapid capital intensive industrialization. He promoted a powerful and technocratic Planning Commission and a greater involvement of the state in economic activity.

3.3.2.4. Five Year Plans

Rapid capital intensive industrialization posed a constraint on resources available for agricultural development during the Second Five Year Plan. The total plan outlay on agriculture and irrigation, which was 34.6% in the First Five Year Plan (1951-56), was reduced to 17.5% in the Second Five Year Plan. The planners assumed that land reforms and cooperative farming premised upon small land owners voluntarily participating in the collective management of farms would generate ample food for the population. The policy of supporting industrialization at the cost of agricultural development was unsuccessfully opposed by state level Congress Party leaders and the Ministry of Agriculture. India was faced with political and economic uncertainties after Prime Minister Nehru's death in 1964. India had become heavily dependent on foreign funds for financing its industrialization after the financial crisis of 1957 and war with China in 1962. Lal Bahadur Shastri in 1964 had to confront another war with Pakistan in 1965, declining food grain production, and rising inflation in 1964 and 1965.

3.3.2.5. Economic development (1964-66)

Prime Minister Shastri (1964-66) initiated changes to the Nehruvian approach to economic development. First, priority was accorded to agriculture. It was decided to devalue the Rupee, liberalize imports, free some sectors such as fertilizer production from government control, reduce the size of the public sector, and, increase foreign investment.

3.3.2.6. Economic development during Indira Gandhi

Indira Gandhi was appointed as the Prime Minister in 1966 after the sudden and unexpected death of Prime Minister Shastri. Her decision to devalue the Rupee was met with widespread opposition in the Indian Parliament in June 1966. The majority of the economists at that time opined that devaluation and trade promotion would not serve India well. The Government pursued a policy of promoting agriculture in the aftermath of the devaluation episode, which was consistent with World Bank advice. The technological and financial assistance from the US, which led to the doubling of India's wheat output between 1965 and 1970, had produced India's green revolution. Even though the green revolution favored the richer and middle farmers, it made a significant impact on India's food security and poverty alleviation. Two significant reasons explain the arrival of the most intensely state driven and autocratic phase of India's industrialization between 1969 and 1974. First, there was a mismatch between Indian and American expectations. The Indian establishment was of the view that it had done its best. The US establishment, on the other hand, considered the Indian policy response to be rather inadequate. Second, Indira Gandhi turned to the left for political reasons. She felt insecure in the company of the senior political leadership within the Congress Party.

Domestic political opposition to devaluation and liberalization, and Mrs. Gandhi's alliance with the left, ensured that the state would curb private sector activities to the greatest extent between 1969 and 1974. The Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act (1969) placed stringent regulations for any private company worth greater than Rupees 200 million. The Foreign Exchange Regulation Act (1974) restricted the maximum possible equity participation in an Indian firm to 40%. This meant that it would be difficult for foreign companies to secure 50% of the vote of shareholders necessary for substantial corporate governance powers in India. Sectors such as steel, copper, banking, insurance and wheat trade were all nationalized. State control and autarkic industrialization were supposed to contribute to poverty alleviation and human development. The Indian economy grew at a dismal average annual rate of 3.4% between 1956 and 1974.

3.3.2.7. The Gradual Evolution of the Liberal Momentum: 1975-1990

The Indian economy began to rely on private initiative to a greater extent than was the case in previous times after 1975 to 1990. Years of sluggish economic growth accompanied with a poor record in human development had given rise to critical thinking within policy circles. The Government of India produced a number of important reports that were critical about industrial regulations of the Government, and suggested the need to promote exports.

3.3.2.8. Development in Industry and Agriculture

Among the Prime Ministers from 1966 to 1991, Rajiv Gandhi was the most proactive in promoting the private sector. Trade promotion was less successful than industrial deregulation during this period, and the ratio of trade to gross domestic product (GDP) did not witness an appreciable rise between 1980 and 1990. The liberalization initiatives were politically contested by factions within the Congress Party and Indian industry. Powerful interest groups created over years of regulation had developed a stake in maintaining a highly protected economy ridden with government controls. Industrialists became past masters in “briefcase politics”. A senior minister in Indira Gandhi’s cabinet, Lalit Narayan Misra, had become famous for collecting money in briefcases in return for providing commercial privileges to industrialists. The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI’s) was the most powerful industry organization in the early 1980s. FICCI advised the government to reduce import duty on intermediate goods and sought concessions for 100% export oriented units. route to its engagement with the global economy. The need for industrial reforms was understood by the technocracy and promoted by the Prime Minister’s Office (PMO). The Industrial Policy Statement of 1980 under the premiership of Indira Gandhi showed a new direction, and was more gradual than the reforms initiated by Rajiv Gandhi.

A significant liberalization measure included gradual deregulation of production decisions made by Indian industry. The annual growth of Indian industry, which was 4.5% during the period 1961 and 1974, accelerated to 5.9% between 1975 and 1990. Rajiv Gandhi was an airline pilot and had a deep interest in electronics and radios before he decided to enter politics. He dedicated his tenure as Prime Minister to technological development and to reducing the government’s control over industrial activity. Thirty industries and 82 pharmaceutical products were de-licensed by Rajiv Gandhi. By the end of the decade, under the premiership of V P Singh, there was no need for a government license for investments up to Rupees 250 million in developed regions, and for up to Rupees

750 million in backward underdeveloped areas. The Government engaged in a successful joint venture with the Suzuki Corporation of Japan, despite opposition from India's leading car makers. This decision was accompanied by an allowance of automatic expansion of capacity in the automobile sector. The successful production of the Maruti Suzuki car was a landmark achievement in improving the efficiency and reliability of Indian cars. The Fiat car under the brand name Premier Padmini was a version of the Fiat 1100, and was very popular in India from the 1950s till 1985. The Hindustan Ambassador was a version of the Morris Oxford III model produced by the Morris Motor Company in 1956. Deregulation in the automobile sector in the 1980s also became the basis for realizing comparative advantage in the auto components area in the years to come.

Telecommunications services and the manufacture of telephone switches were deregulated for the first time in the 1980s. A Department of Telecommunications (DOT) was created within the Ministry of Communications to focus attention on enhancing the quality telecommunications services. A government owned corporate entity called Mahanagar Telecom Nigam Limited (MTNL) was created to serve the metropolises of Delhi and Mumbai. Political opposition from the DOT ensured that MTNL was not allowed to operate in any other Indian city. The Centre for the Development of Telematics (CDOT) was born as an autonomous agency within the Government. The 1980s also witnessed the birth of comparative advantage in India's Information Technology (IT) sector. India's agriculture boomed during the 1980s. The annual growth rate of 3.4% in the 1980s has been higher than in any other decade after India's independence. Farmers had successfully pressured the Ministry of Agriculture to take a generous view of agricultural pricing after the Janata government came to power in 1977. Even though the Janata government was short lived, pro farmer procurement of prices and subsidies initiated during this period held their sway during the decade.

3.3.2.9. Human Development

Industrial and agricultural development during the 1980s made some impact on the well being of people. First, India's success in the area of higher education was accompanied with unacceptable levels of illiteracy and poverty. The National Policy on Education and the National Literacy Mission initiated by Rajiv Gandhi were significant attempts to make an impact on eradicating illiteracy. Second, education attracted more policy attention and resources compared

with public health. Third, while there had been no significant decline in the proportion of Indians living below the poverty line till 1973, a steady decline had begun to occur after 1973.

3.3.2.10. The causes of Financial Crisis

The Indian economy underwent domestic deregulation but did not engage significantly with the global economy after 1975. First, India had failed to discipline capital and change the orientation of the economy away from import substitution and towards export led growth. Second, India had decided not to take advantage of debt free foreign direct investment by multinational companies that could have freed resources for economic growth. A financial crisis was looming large over India by 1990. Given the growth of spending in the Government, the fiscal deficit, which measures the difference between expenditures and revenues of the Government increased as a proportion of GDP from 8.1% between 1980/81 and 1984/5, to 10.1% between 1985/86 and 1989/90. The growth areas of government expenditure were interest payments on commercial borrowings, subsidies for targeted beneficiaries in agriculture and industry, and defense expenditure. This pattern of expenditure reflected a political economy where the farmer, the industrialist and the urban middle class, all exerted pressures for concessions within a democratic polity. The issue of implementing the recommendations of the Mandal Commission (1980), which had recommended reserving 27% of the seats in institutions of higher learning and in government jobs for other backward classes, in addition to the 22% reserved for the scheduled castes and tribes, was raised for the first time during the premiership of Vishwanath Pratap Singh.

The Gulf War occurred at the time when the politics of populism had generated an expanding fiscal deficit. The Gulf War (August 1990) and the consequent rise in the price of oil hurt the Indian exchequer to the tune of 1% of India's GDP. India was two weeks to a default in June 1991. The agenda for economic reform had arrived, even though the political conditions for change would need to wait till the balance of payments crisis of 1991.

3.3.2.11. The Indian Economy after 1991

The political economy of growth and development after 1975 had produced a fiscal situation and consequent dependence on foreign commercial banks that was financially unsustainable after May 1991. It was this economic condition that empowered liberal statesman

and technocrats to move the Indian economy substantially in the direction private entrepreneurship and economic globalization after 1991. The 1980s had prepared the ground for this . It is in this sense that 1991 marks a watershed in India's economic history.

3.3.2.12. The Consolidation and Sustenance of the Liberal Economy

In this section we will discuss why substantial economic reforms occurred after 1991. Second, what were the significant changes in trade and industrial policies, and what was their impact on domestic and foreign firms? Third, why did infrastructure provision in areas like telecommunications, stock markets, the Indian Railways, and airlines become efficient? Fourth, what are the significant challenges to development that need to be addressed? We will also discuss the problems facing the power sector and the serious nature of agrarian distress in India. India has made some progress in employment generation, literacy promotion, and poverty alleviation, even though it continues to house the largest number of absolutely poor people in the world.

3.3.2.13. Causes of Substantial Economic Reforms Occur after 1991

The foreign exchange crisis forced India to approach the IMF for conditional lending in June 1991. The Government had tried all sources of funding for meeting its import obligations. It had even shipped gold to the Union Bank of Switzerland and the Bank of England to obtain foreign exchange. The option for India was either to default on its import payments or to seek conditional resources from the IMF. A default would have affected India's substantial oil and intermediate goods imports. It would have been difficult to manage the economy without essential imports. The dire crisis situation created a firm resolve within a technocracy to promote India's competitiveness and its private sector. There was greater support for economic deregulation and trade promotion among economists and technocrats in 1991, than was the case in 1966.

Prime Minister P V Narasimha Rao understood that he was faced with a unique situation in India's economic history. Dr. Manmohan Singh as the Finance Minister had understood the importance of global economic interdependence. Technocrats favoring greater private sector and trade orientation such as Montek Singh Ahluwalia, C Rangarajan, Rakesh Mohan, and Raja Chelliah, who had gained enormous policy experience in the 1980s, enjoyed the support of the

Prime Minister. They made virtue of necessity by taking the economy in the direction of embracing global economic interdependence to an extent that would not have been possible in the absence of a crisis. This process was aided by support within parts of Indian industry, which were more professionally inclined. In this connection, IMF also gave a helping hand to India.

3.3.2.14. Economic Reforms and Industrialization in India

The results of the economic reform program are worthy of note. Substantial tariff liberalization, especially in intermediate goods, was accompanied with a significant devaluation of the Indian Rupee. Tariff liberalization reduced the cost of inputs and pressured Indian industry to become more competitive. The devaluation of the Rupee increased the cost of imports and reduced the price of Indian exports. The net effective protection enjoyed by Indian industry was thus reduced to a much lesser extent than what the magnitude of tariff reduction would suggest. Indian products immediately became more competitive due to the currency devaluation. This was a major boon for export oriented sectors like IT. India's merchandise exports doubled once between 1991 and 1999, and again between 2002/03 and 2005/06. India's IT and service exports most recently doubled between 2004/05 and 2005/06.

The Foreign Exchange Regulation Act (FERA), which had restricted foreign equity to a maximum limit of 40%, was replaced with a regime that allowed 51% foreign equity most sectors of the economy. India consequently attracted much greater foreign investment than in the past, but much less than was the case in China. It received \$24 billion worth foreign investment via the foreign direct investment route between 1992 and 2002 – a figure that China could surpass in a single year. Some Indian industrialists have welcomed foreign investment. The IT sector, which is highly competitive, has accepted the presence of foreign capital. Second, smaller Indian companies that needed foreign capital, technology and managerial expertise to compete with the larger Indian companies, have welcomed foreign capital as joint venture partners. The availability of abundant entrepreneurial resources aided the process of promoting India's competitiveness in many areas after 1991. India's largest business group, the Tatas valued at \$63 billion in 2008, has transformed itself into an Indian multinational company. Global sales for the year ending March 2008 represented 61% of total sales. 30% of Tata's 350,000 employees resided outside India. Another example of a successful globalizer in the area of manufacturing is Bharat Forge. It produces machine components

used by the world's top auto makers, and is the second largest forging company in the world behind ThyssenKrupp of Germany and ahead of Sumitomo Metal of Japan.

Middle class Indian entrepreneurs like Narayan Murthy and Nandan Nilekani of Infosys took advantage of deregulation and India's emerging natural comparative advantage in the software and services sector in the 1980s. The devaluation of the Rupee and substantial reduction in import controls after 1991 allowed companies like Infosys to become global brands. Infosys adopted the strategy of adopting sound corporate governance by submitting itself to the standards set by NASDAQ, and by accepting the US's Generally Accepted Accounting Principles (GAAP).

3.3.2.15. Challenges for Development

India's economic reforms have not had the desired impact on substantial parts of the economy. Electricity generation, which is critical for industry, agriculture, and the general well being of the citizenry, is in a dismal shape. The agriculture sector, which feeds the majority of the people, has been growing slowly. Even though there has been some success in the area of literacy and poverty alleviation, India lags behind China to a considerable extent in these areas. India's record in the area of nutrition is cause for even greater concern. The disparity in economic growth and development between the states in India has grown after 1991. The poorest parts of India with low levels of human development are also the regions where the majority of Indians reside.

3.3.2.16. Economic Change in India

This story of the Indian economy casts light on the gradual process of economic change in a democratic polity. The Indian experience did not resemble stories of rapid economic transformation in more authoritarian Asian political settings. How did politics in a democracy produce a shift from a high degree of state control directed towards self reliant industrial development, to a policy paradigm that emphasized the private sector and trade promotion? It is this shift that has accelerated economic growth in India.

3.3.3. Conclusion

Thus, the gradual nature of economic change propelled by financial crises backed with political and technocratic will favoring reforms, pointed to the political power of vested interests in India. The post independence India had witnessed low production both in agriculture and industry, import of food grains and the serious economic crisis from 1970s to 1990 which had led India to be default country in 1991. However, the economic reforms by Rao's government, created conducive atmosphere for economic development. Today, India is the third largest economy of the world. From a developing state, India is in the process of a developed nation.

3.3.3. Summary

- The Post-colonialism particularly the post-colonial Indian state and the political economy of development has increasingly become an object of scientific examination since 1950 when intellectuals of west began to get interested in the "Third World countries".
- The first section describes India's economic development between 1947 and 1974.
- It details the process by which the government came to control substantial parts of Indian industry and neglect of Indian agriculture.
- The second section analyzes the period from 1975 till 1990. This was a period when India promoted its private enterprises in the context of a closed economy.
- India's economic growth accelerated, its agricultural sector grew rapidly, and greater attention was paid to the concerns of human development
- The final section from 1991 till the present, describes the paradox of the shift to rapid economic growth due to LPG.
- India's "mixed economy" was born in the immediate aftermath of an anti-colonial struggle.
- The Indian Development and Regulation Act (1951) was the genesis of a system of industrial licensing, which involved seeking the government's permission for initiating commercial activities in a few select areas.
- Rapid capital intensive industrialization posed a constraint on resources available for agricultural development during the Second Five Year Plan.
- The Indian economy began to rely on private initiative to a greater extent than was the case in previous times after 1975 to 1990.

- Among the Prime Ministers from 1966 to 1991 , Rajiv Gandhi was the most proactive in promoting the private sector.
- The political economy of growth and development after 1975 had produced a fiscal situation and consequent dependence on foreign commercial banks that was financially unsustainable after May 1991.
- It is in this sense that 1991 marks a watershed in India’s economic history.
- The results of the economic reform program are worthy of note in recent years.

3.3.4. Exercise

- ❖ Write a note on the Post-Colonial Indian states.
- ❖ Give an account on the political economy of development in India.
- ❖ Make an analysis on the economic development of India since independence.
- ❖ High light the economic achievements of India after independence.
- ❖ Discuss the economic development of India after 1990.

3.3.6. Further Reading

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Unit-3
Chapter-IV
FOREIGN POLICY OF INDIA SINCE INDEPENDENCE

Structure

3.4.0.Objectives

3.4.1.Introduction

3.4.2.Foreign Policy of India since independence

3.4.2.1.Foreign Policy(1947-1960)

3.4.2.2.Foreign Policy(1960-90)

3.4.2.3.Foreign Policy(1990-2010)

3.4.2.4.Foreign Policy 11 September attack

3.4.2.5.Strategic partners

3.4.3.Conclusion

3.4.4.Summary

3.4.5.Exercise

3.4.6.Further Reading

3.4.0. Objectives

In this chapter, students explore the foreign policy of India since independence. After completing this chapter, you will be able:

- *discuss the foreign policy of India after independence*
- *analyse the different aspects of Indian foreign policy*
- *give an account on the position of India in the world foreign policy*
- *understand the strategic partners of India in her foreign policy*

3.4.1.Introduction

India's foreign policy has always regarded the concept of neighbourhood as one of widening concentric circles, around a central axis of historical and cultural commonalities. As many as 21 million people of Indian origin live and work abroad and constitute an important link with the mother country. An important role of India's foreign policy has been to ensure their welfare and well being within the framework of the laws of the country where they live.

3.4.2.Foreign Policy of India since independence

India's relations with the world have evolved since the British Raj (1857–1947), when the British Empire monopolised external and defence relations.

3.4.2.1.Foreign Policy(1947-1960)

When India gained independence in 1947, few Indians had experience in making or conducting foreign policy. However, the country's oldest political party, the Indian National Congress, had established a small foreign department in 1925 to make overseas contacts and to publicise its freedom struggle. From the late 1920s on, Jawaharlal Nehru, who had a long-standing interest in world affairs among independence leaders, formulated the Congress stance on international issues. As a member of the interim government in 1946, Nehru articulated India's approach to the world through NAM(Non-Aligned-Movement) and continued it after independence.

3.4.2.2.Foreign Policy(1960-90)

In the 1960s and 1970s India's international position among developed and developing countries faded in the course of wars with China and Pakistan, disputes with other countries in South Asia, and India's attempt to balance Pakistan's support from the United States and China

by signing the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in August 1971. Although India obtained substantial Soviet military and economic aid, which helped to strengthen the nation, India's influence was undercut regionally and internationally by the perception that its friendship with the Soviet Union prevented a more forthright condemnation of the Soviet presence in Afghanistan. In the late 1980s, India improved relations with the United States, other developed countries, and China while continuing close ties with the Soviet Union. Relations with its South Asian neighbours, especially Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Nepal, occupied much of the energies of the Ministry of External Affairs.

3.4.2.3. Foreign Policy(1990-2010)

In the 1990s, India's economic problems and the demise of the bipolar world political system forced India to reassess its foreign policy and adjust its foreign relations. Previous policies proved inadequate to cope with the serious domestic and international problems facing India. The end of the Cold War gutted the core meaning of nonalignment and left Indian foreign policy without significant direction. The hard, pragmatic considerations of the early 1990s were still viewed within the nonaligned framework of the past, but the disintegration of the Soviet Union removed much of India's international leverage, for which relations with Russia and the other post-Soviet states could not compensate. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, India improved its relations with the United States, Canada, France, Japan and Germany. In 1992, India established formal diplomatic relations with Israel and this relationship grew during the tenures of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) government and the subsequent UPA (United Progressive Alliance) governments.

In the mid-1990s, India attracted the world attention towards the Pakistan-backed terrorism in Kashmir. The Kargil War resulted in a major diplomatic victory for India. The United States and European Union recognised the fact that Pakistani military had illegally infiltrated into Indian territory and pressured Pakistan to withdraw from Kargil. Several anti-India militant groups based in Pakistan were labeled as terrorist groups by the United States and European Union. In 1998, India tested nuclear weapons for the second time which resulted in several US, Japanese and European sanctions on India due to Pokhran nuclear test. India's then-defence minister, George Fernandes, said that India's nuclear programme was necessary as it

provided a deterrence to potential Chinese nuclear threat. Most of the sanctions imposed on India were removed by 2001.

3.4.2.4.Foreign Policy 11 September attack

After 11 September attacks, Indian intelligence agencies provided the U.S. with significant information on Al-Qaeda and related groups' activities in Pakistan and Afghanistan. India's extensive contribution to the War on Terror, coupled with a surge in its economy, has helped India's diplomatic relations with several countries. Over the past three years, India has held numerous joint military exercises with U.S. and European nations that have resulted in a strengthened U.S.-India and E.U.-India bilateral relationship. India's bilateral trade with Europe and United States has more than doubled in the last five years. India has been pushing for reforms in the UN and WTO with mixed results. India's candidature for a permanent seat at the UN Security Council is currently backed by several countries including France, Russia, the United Kingdom, Germany, Japan, Brazil, Australia and UAE. In 2004, the United States signed a nuclear co-operation agreement with India even though the latter is not a part of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. The US argued that India's strong nuclear non-proliferation record made it an exception, however, this has not persuaded other Nuclear Suppliers Group members to sign similar deals with India. During a state visit to India in November 2010, US president Barack Obama announced US support for India's bid for permanent membership to UN Security Council as well as India's entry to Nuclear Suppliers Group, Wassenaar Arrangement, Australia Group and Missile Technology Control Regime.

3.4.2.5.Strategic partners

India's growing economy, strategic location, friendly foreign policy and large and vibrant diaspora has won it more allies than enemies. India has friendly relations with several countries in the developing world. Though India is not a part of any major military alliance, it has close strategic and military relationship with most of the fellow major powers. Countries considered India's closest include the Russian Federation, Israel, Afghanistan, France, Bhutan and Bangladesh. Russia is the largest supplier of military equipment to India, followed by Israel and France. According to some analysts, Israel is set to overtake Russia as India's largest military and

strategic partner. The two countries also collaborate extensively in the sphere of counter-terrorism and space technology. India also enjoys strong military relations with several other countries, including the United Kingdom, the United States, Japan, Singapore, Brazil, South Africa and Italy. In addition, India operates an airbase in Tajikistan and signed a landmark defence accord with Qatar in 2008. India has also forged relationships with developing countries, especially South Africa, Brazil, and Mexico. These countries often represent the interests of the developing countries through economic forums such as the G8+5, IBSA and WTO. India was seen as one of the standard bearers of the developing world and claimed to speak for a collection of more than 30 other developing nations at the Doha Development Round. India's "Look East" Policy has helped it develop greater economic and strategic partnership with Southeast Asian countries, South Korea, Japan, and Taiwan. India also enjoys friendly relations with the Persian Gulf countries and most members of the African Union

3.4.3. Conclusion

Thus, the foreign policy of India has gone through many ups and downs since independence. India after its independence has tried to keep cordial relationship with her neighbour as well as the western and Asian countries. In the beginning, it had its good relationship with USSR while it had some bitter relationship with USA due to the latter's support to Pakistan. After 1990s the foreign policy of India has been changed. Today, India is considered as a great power in the world political scenario. The foreign policy of India is changing day by day looking to her necessities. Now, it is held that India will be a super power in future world political scenario.

3.4.4. Summary

- India's foreign policy has always regarded the concept of neighbourhood as one of widening concentric circles, around a central axis of historical and cultural commonalities.
- India's relations with the world have evolved since the British Raj (1857–1947), when the British Empire monopolised external and defence relations.
- From the late 1920s on, Jawaharlal Nehru, who had a long-standing interest in world affairs among independence leaders, formulated the Congress stance on international issues.

- As a member of the interim government in 1946, Nehru articulated India's approach to the world through NAM(Non-Aligned-Movement) and continued it after independence.
- In the 1960s and 1970s India's international position among developed and developing countries faded in the course of wars with China and Pakistan and disputes with other countries in South Asia.
- India's attempted to balance Pakistan's support from the United States and China by signing the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in August 1971.
- In the mid-1990s, India attracted the world attention towards the Pakistan-backed terrorism in Kashmir.
- India's extensive contribution to the War on Terror, coupled with a surge in its economy, has helped India's diplomatic relations with several countries.
- During a state visit to India in November 2010, US president Barack Obama announced US support for India's bid for permanent membership to UN Security Council

3.4.5.Exercise

- ❖ Give a brief note on the foreign policy of India
- ❖ High light the foreign policy of India till 1990s.
- ❖ Discuss the foreign policy of India since independence.
- ❖ Write a note on the foreign policy of India from 1990 to 2010.
- ❖ Make an analysis on the achievements of India in its foreign policy after independence.

3.4.6.Further Reading

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Unit-4
Chapter-I

INDIAN ECONOMY- 1947 – 1965: THE NEHRUVIAN LEGACY

Structure

4.1.0. Objectives

4.1.1. Introduction

4.1.2. Indian Economy, 1947-1965: The Nehruvian Legacy

4.1.2.1. Planning and Public Sector

4.1.2.2. Achievements

4.1.3. Indian Economy, 1965-1991

4.1.3.1. The Mid-Sixties: Crisis and Response

4.1.3.2. The Achievements

4.1.4. Economic Reforms Since 1991 and LPG

4.1.4.1. The process of economic reforms

4.1.4.2. Industrial production

4.1.4.3. Central government's fiscal deficit

4.1.4.4. Common Minimum Programme (CMP)

4.1.4.5. Improvement in the poverty situation

4.1.4.6. Liberalization, privatization and Globalization (LPG)

4.1.5. Conclusion

4.1.6. Summary

4.1.7. Exercise

4.1.8. Further Reading

4.1.0. Objectives

In this lesson, students will explore the socio-economic development since independence. After completing this chapter, you will be able to:

- *trace the Indian economy during 1947 to 1965*
- *identify the Nehruvian legacy of Indian economy*
- *understand the Indian economy during the period from 1965 to 1991.*
- *assess the economic reforms since 1991 and LPG*

4.1.1. Introduction

The wretched economic condition of India that we inherited at the time of independence as the colonialism had devastated the economy of India after independence also. It had also deprived it of the opportunity for participating in the process of modern industrial transformation occurring in different parts of the world. Besides 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 in the post independence period.

4.1.2. Indian Economy, 1947-1965: The Nehruvian Legacy

It is this legacy of colonial structuring which independent India had to undo so that conditions could be created for rapid industrial development. By the time India gained political independence in 1947 Indian entrepreneurs had successfully competed with European enterprise in India and with foreign imports, in the process capturing about 75 per cent of the market for industrial produce in India. Indian capitalists had also acquired dominance over the financial sphere i.e., banking, life insurance, etc'

By independence, therefore, India had developed an independent economic base from which to attempt a take off into rapid independent industrialisation. A mature indigenous entrepreneurial class appeared like the Birlas, Tatas, Singhanias, Dalmia-Jains, etc., with interests in different areas like trade, banking, transport, industry etc.

Second, India was fortunate to have a broad societal consensus on the nature and path of development to be followed after independence, For example, the Gandhians, the Socialists, the capitalists as well as the communists agreed on the following agenda: a multi-pronged strategy of economic development based on self reliance; rapid industrialisation based on import-substitution including of capital goods industries; prevention of imperialist or foreign capital domination; land reforms involving abolition of zamindari, tenancy reforms, introduction of

cooperatives, etc. Most important, there was agreement that India was to make this unique attempt at planned rapid industrialization within a democratic and civil libertarian framework. Nehru and others including the capitalists were highly aware that they had chosen an uncharted path.

4.1.2.1. Planning and Public Sector

In 1938, under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru, the greatest champion of planned economic development for India, the National planning committee (NPC) was set up which through its deliberations over the next decade, drew up a comprehensive plan of development, its various sub-committees producing twenty-nine volumes of recommendations. Indian business leaders were also, along with Nehru and the NPC, among the early proponents of the public sector and partial nationalization.

The critical reason for business support to the public sector was elaborated in the Plan of Economic Development for India- popularly called the Bombay Plan, authored by business leaders in 1945. The Bombay Plan saw the key cause of India's dependence on the advanced countries to be the absence of an indigenous capital goods industry. In 1947, the Economic Programme Committee was appointed by the AICC and headed by Jawaharlal Nehru. Signs of accommodation were seen in the 1948 Industrial Policy Resolution (IPR) which, while delineating specific areas for the public and the private sector, added that the question of nationalizing any existing industry.

Even after the Indian parliament in December 1954 accepted 'the socialist pattern of society as the objective of social and economic policy' and Congress in its Avadi session (1955) elaborated the sharp leftward swing on these lines, the 1956 IPR and the Second Plan, while considerably expanding the scope of the public sector, made no mention of nationalizing existing industries. In fact, the model projected was of a 'mixed economy' where the public and the private sectors were not only to co-exist but were to be complementary to each other and the private sector was to be encouraged to grow with as much freedom as possible within the broad objectives of the national plan. Planning for Nehru had to be consensual, and not a command performance, even if it meant toning down many of his objectives.

This was the perspective with which the Planning Commission (established on 15 March 1950) functioned, despite the enormous de facto power it exercised with Nehru himself as its chairperson. The First Plan (1951-56) essentially tried to complete projects at hand and to meet

the immediate crisis situation following the end of the War. It is with the Second Plan (1956-61) that the celebrated Nehru-Mahalanobis (Prof. P.C. Mahalanobis played, a leading role in drafting the Second Plan) strategy of development was put into practice and it was continued in the Third Plan (1961-66). A basic element of this strategy was the rapid development of heavy and capital goods industries in India, mainly in the public sector. (Three steel plants were set up in the public sector within the Second Plan period.) The shift in favour of heavy industry was to be combined with promoting labour-intensive small and cottage industries for the production of consumer goods. This, as well as labour-absorbing and capital-creating community projects in agriculture, prompted by community development programmes and agricultural cooperatives were seen as the immediate solutions to the escalating problem of unemployment, without the state having to make large investments in these areas. Another critical element of the Nehru-Mahalanobis strategy was the emphasis on growth with equity. Further the balance of payments' "crisis and acute shortage of foreign exchange that occurred in 1956-57, at the very start of the Second Plan, led to the imposition of stringent import and foreign exchange.

4.1.2.2. Achievements

We shall now make a brief review of some of the bold beginnings made in the Nehru years during which the first three Plans were conceived, though the full impact of many of the initiatives was to be felt in the years following his death. Considerable progress on several fronts was made during the first phase of the development effort. India's national income or Gross National Product (GNP) grew at an average rate of about 4 per cent per annum, between 1951 and 1964-65 (omitting the last year of the Third Plan, i.e., 1965-66, which saw an unprecedented drought and a war). An important achievement in this period was the rise in the savings and investment rates. On the basis of rather rudimentary data, the Draft Outline of the Fourth Plan estimated that domestic savings and total investment in the Indian economy were both 5.5 per cent of national income in 1950-51 rising to savings of 10.5 percent and investment of 14 per cent in 1965-66. It has been estimated that the total investment in 1965-66 was nearly five times the 1951-52 level in nominal terms and more than three times in real terms. On the agrarian front, the comprehensive reform measures initiated soon after independence, the setting up of a massive network for agricultural extension and community development work at the village level, the large infrastructural investment in irrigation, power, agricultural research, and so on. Since 1956, India had to rely heavily on food imports from the US under the controversial PL-

480 scheme. It was only after the process of the Green Revolution took off, since the late sixties, that this dependence on imports ceased. Industry, during the first three Plans, grew even more rapidly than agriculture, at a compound growth rate of 7.1 per cent per annum between 1951 and 1965.

This growth pattern went a long way in reducing India's near total dependence on the advanced countries for basic goods and capital equipment, which was necessary for investment or creation of new capacity. At independence, to make any capital investment, virtually the entire equipment had to be imported. For example, in 1950, India met 89.8 per cent of its needs for even machine tools through imports. This was a major achievement, and it considerably increased India's autonomy from the advanced countries in determining her own rate of capital accumulation or growth. Plan expenditure during each of the first three Plans on transport and communication was about Rs 13 billion, accounting for an average of about 26 per cent of the total Plan expenditure in each plan. The corresponding figures for social/community services and power were Rs 9.4 billion and 19.9 per cent and Rs 6.16 billion and 10.6 per cent respectively.

Jawaharlal Nehru and the early Indian planners were highly aware of India's backwardness in science and technology and therefore made massive efforts to overcome this shortcoming. Nehru's 'temples of modern (secular) India' consisted not only of steel and power plants, irrigation dams, etc., but included institutions of higher learning, particularly in the scientific field. During the First Plan itself, high-powered national laboratories and institutes were set up by the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research for conducting fundamental and applied research in each of the following areas: physics, chemistry, fuel, glass and ceramics, food technology, drugs, electro-chemistry, roads, leather and building. In 1948 the Atomic Energy Commission was set up, laying the foundations of the creditable advances India was to make in the sphere of nuclear science and related areas. This was in addition to the unprecedented increase in the educational opportunities in science and technology in the universities and institutes. National expenditure on scientist research and development kept growing rapidly with each Plan. For example it increased from Rs. 10 million in 1949 to Rs 4.5 billion in 1977. Over roughly the same period India's scientific and technical manpower increased more than 12 times from 190 thousand to 2.32 million.

Thus, it is the Nehruvian era that created the basic physical and human infrastructure, which was a precondition for independent modern development. That is why the Nehruvian phase has to be seen in the global historical context of that period.

4.1.3. Indian Economy: 1965-1991

The Indian economy during 1965 to 1991 can be discussed as follows:

4.1.3.1. The Mid-Sixties: Crisis and Response

The significant achievements during the first three Plans notwithstanding, the Indian economy was in the grip of a massive crisis in many respects by the mid-sixties, which rapidly changed India's image from a model developing country to a 'basket case'. Two successive monsoon failures of 1965 and 1966, added to the burden on an agriculture which was beginning to show signs of stagnation, and led to a fall in agricultural output by 17 per cent and food grain output by 20 per cent. The rate of inflation which was hitherto kept very low (till 1963 it did not exceed 2 per cent per annum) rose sharply to 12 per cent per annum between 1965 and 1968 and food prices rose nearly at the rate of 20 per cent per annum. The inflation was partly due to the droughts and partly due to the two wars of 1962 (with China) and 1965 (with Pakistan) which had led to a massive increase in defence expenditure. The government consolidated (state and centre fiscal deficit peaked in 1966-67 at 7.3 per cent of GDP). There were three annual Plans between 1966 to 1969 before the Fourth Five-Year Plan could commence in April 1969. It was at this most vulnerable time for the Indian economy with high inflation, a very low foreign exchange balance, food stocks so low as to threaten famine conditions in some areas, etc.

The US, the World Bank and the IMF wanted India to (a) liberalize its trade and industrial control (b) devalue the rupee and (c) adopt a new agricultural strategy. As it happened, the devaluation of the rupee (nominally by 36.5 per cent though effectively much less) and the trade liberalization that was initiated by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in the mid-sixties got associated with the continuing recession in industry, inflation, and the failure of exports to pick up, all of which was at least partly caused by 'exogenous' circumstances like the second major drought of 1966-67 and partly by the inadequate manner in which these policies were initiated. In any case, these policies were condemned before their long-term effect could be realized.

The perceived failure of the devaluation and liberalization of controls on trade and industry combined with the resentment at the 'arm-twisting' resorted to by external agencies in favour of these policies, using India's economic vulnerability, led to an 'economic nationalist'

response based on drastic cuts in government expenditure rather than increases in tax levels. The cut fell mainly on government capital expenditure, which in real terms decreased by about fifty per cent between 1966-67 and 1970-71. This was an important factor in the continued industrial recession in this period. The industrial slowing down continued till the mid-seventies, the industrial growth rate coming down from an average of 7.8 per cent per year between 1951 and 1966 to 4.99 percent per year-between 1966 and 1974.

In December 1970, Mrs Gandhi called for a general election and, campaigning on the slogan of 'garibi hatao' and promising radical socialist policies, she romped home with a landslide victory in March 1971. The post-1967 period therefore saw the launching of a series of radical economic policies which were to have long-term effects on India's developmental effort. Some of these policies accentuated the shortcomings that had begun to emerge during the first phase of planning itself, i.e., in the fifties and early sixties, others created new distortions.

The major private commercial banks in India were nationalized in 1969. The same year the Monopoly and Restrictive Trade Practices (MRTP) Act, severely restricting the activities of large business houses, was passed. After the 1971 election victory, a series of further such measures increasing government control and intervention were introduced with the active support of left radical intellectual like P.N.Haksar Dhar and Mohan Kumararnangalam. Thus, insurance was nationalized in 1972 and the coal industry was nationalized 1973. The foreign Exchange Regulation Act (FERA) was passed in 1973, putting numerous restrictions on foreign investment and the functioning of foreign companies in India, making India one of the most difficult destinations for foreign capital in the world.

4.1.3.2. The Achievements

In the considerable economic achievements between the mid-sixties and the end-eighties, Indira Gandhi, played a major role. All these are to be viewed in light of the series of formidable internal and external shocks witnessed during this period. For example, following the crisis of the mid-sixties, there was the genocide in East Pakistan (Bangladesh) resulting in the huge burden of over-ten million refugees from that region (nearly half the population of a country like Australia) taking shelter in India, the 1971 war with Pakistan, two droughts of 1972 and 1974, the major oil-shock of 1973 leading to a quadrupling of international oil prices and hence of cost of oil imports, the oil-shock of 1979 when oil prices doubled, the disastrous harvest of 1979-80

caused by the worst drought since independence, and the widespread successive droughts of 1987 and 1988.

On the food front the situation improved rapidly. The adoption of the Green revolution strategy of introducing a package of high yield variety (HYV) seeds, fertilisers and other inputs in a concentrated manner to some suitable select areas paid immediate dividends in creating food security and poverty reduction. Between 1967-68 and 1970-71 food grain production rose by 35 percent. Net food imports fell from 10.3 million tonnes in 1966 to 3.6 million in 1970, while food availability increased from 73.5 million tonnes to 89.5 million tonnes over the same period. Food availability continued to increase sharply to 110.25 million tonnes in 1978 and 128.8 million tonnes in 1984 and food stocks had crossed the 30 million tonnes mark by the mid-eighties, putting an end to India's 'begging bowl' image and creating considerable food security even to meet extreme crisis situations.

Apart from food self-sufficiency, certain other features emerged that pointed towards a greater autonomy of the Indian economy and increased self-reliance. The fiscal deficit was brought down sharply from 7.3 per cent of GDP in 1966-67 to 3.8 per cent in 1969-70. By 1978-79, the foreign exchange reserves had risen to a peak of about \$7.3 billion (including gold and SDRs), more than nine months of imports cover compared to less than two months cover in 1965-66.

A new feature of the eighties was the phenomenal increase in new stock market issues, the stock market thus emerging-as an important source-of funds for industry. The new stock issue in 1989 was Rs. 6,500 crores, which was about 7.25 per cent of Gross Domestic Savings of 1989-90. By the mid-seventies, the industrial growth rate also started picking up from a low of about 3.4 per cent between 1965-75 to about 5.1 per cent between 1975-85. If the crisis year of 1979-80 was omitted, then the industrial growth rate during 1974-75 to 1978-79 and 1980-81 to 1984-85 was about 7.7 per cent per annum. In the eighties as a whole the industrial growth rate maintained a healthy average of about eight per cent per year.

Again it was in the eighties that the barrier of the low, so-called 'Hindu rate of growth' of 3 to 3.5 per cent that India had maintained over the previous two decades was broken and the economy grew at over 5.5 per cent. By one estimate the average real GDP growth rate between 1980 to 1989 was an impressive 6 per cent.

4.1.4. Economic Reforms Since 1991 and LPG

The long-term constraints that were building up over a few decades and debilitating the Indian economy combined with certain more recent and immediate factors led to massive fiscal and balance of payments crisis that climaxed in 1991. The crisis pushed India into initiating a process of economic reform and structural adjustment. The reforms, which in the Indian context were almost revolutionary in nature, were ironically started by a minority government led by Narasimha Rao, and guided by one of the most distinguished economists of post-independence India, Manmohan Singh, as finance minister. The crisis in 1991, with the country at the edge of default, forced the Narasimha Rao government to break through a programme of economic reforms in 1991 and India accepted Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization popularly known as LPG.

4.1.4.1. The process of economic reforms

The process of economic reforms started in 1991, involved, inter alia, an immediate fiscal correction: making the exchange rate more realistically linked to the market (the rupee underwent about a 20 per cent devaluation at the very outset); liberalization of trade and industrial controls like freer access to imports; considerable dismantling of the industrial licensing system and the abolition of MRTP; reform of the public sector including gradual privatization; reform of the capital markets and the financial sector; removing a large number of the restrictions on multinational corporations and foreign investment and welcoming them, particularly foreign direct investment, and so on. In short, it was an attempt to free the economy from stifling internal controls as well as equip it to participate in the worldwide globalization process to its advantage. More important, over the next three years, the Indian economy averaged an unprecedented growth rate of over 7.5 per cent, a rate closer to the high performers of East Asia than it had ever been before. Despite the crisis and the necessary structural adjustment, the Eighth Plan (1992-1997) averaged a growth rate of nearly 7 per cent (6.94), higher, and on a more sustainable basis, than the Seventh Plan (1985-1990) average of 6 per cent. Gross Domestic Savings averaged over 23 per cent between 1991 and 1997, higher than the Seventh Plan average

of 20.6 per cent. Gross Domestic Capital Formation (Investment) and Gross Domestic Fixed Capital Formation between 1992 to 1997 also maintained a respectable average of 25.2 per cent and 22.3 per cent of GDP respectively.

4.1.4.2 Industrial production

Industrial production, which showed a dismal, less than one per cent, growth rate in 1992 (it was negative in manufacturing), picked up to 2.3 per cent in 1992-93 6 percent in 1993-94, peaking at an unprecedented 12.8 per cent during 1995-96.

4.1.4.3. Central government's fiscal deficit

The central government's fiscal deficit, which had reached 8.3 per cent of GDP in 1990--91, was reduced and averaged roughly 6 per cent between 1992-97. The important thing was that out the total fiscal deficit of 5.2 per cent in 1996-97, 4.7 per cent was accounted for by interest payments which was a liability emanating from part fiscal laxity. The primary deficit, i.e., fiscal deficit net of interest payments, which represents current fiscal pressures or overspending was only 0.6 per cent in 1996-97, was systematically brought down from 4.3 per cent of GDP in 1990-91 and 2.9 per cent in 1993-94. The external sector also showed considerable improvement. Exports, which registered a decline of 1.5 per cent in dollar terms during 1991-92, recovered quickly and maintained an average growth rate of nearly 20 per cent between 1993-96. Very significantly, India's self-reliance was increasing to the extent that a considerably larger proportion of imports were now paid for by exports, with the ratio of export earnings to import payments rising from an average of 60 per cent in the eighties to nearly 90 per cent by the mid-nineties. The current account deficit in balance of payments, which had reached an unsustainable 3.2 per cent of GDP in 1990-91, was brought down to 0.4 per cent in 1993-94 and rose since then to 1.6 per cent in 1995-96. Yet the average deficit between 1991-92 and 1997-98 was about 1.1 per cent, significantly lower than the Seventh Plan (1985-90) average of about 2.3 per cent. The foreign exchange reserves (including gold and SDRS) had grown to a respectable \$30.4 billion at the end of January 1999, providing cover for about seven months of imports as compared to a mere two weeks in July 1991.

The debt situation had also started moving away from a crisis point. The overall external debt/GDP ratio for India fell from a peak of 41 per cent in 1991-92 to 28.7 per cent in 1995-96. The debt service ratio also fell from the peak of 35.3 per cent in 1990-91 to 19.5 per cent in

1997-98. By 1995, the Indian stock market was the largest in the world in terms of the number of listed companies larger even than the US. The amount of capital of Indian companies could raise in the primary market in India increased from Rs 929 million in 1980 to Rs 2.5 billion in 1985 and Rs 123 billion in 1990. By 1993-4" the figure had reached Rs 225 billion— a nearly 250 times increase since 1980.

4.1.4.4. Common Minimum Programme (CMP)

One positive sign, however, was that one of the most stubborn mindsets—the racial intolerance about foreign capital seems to have been eroded, with the Common Minimum Programme (CMP) of the coalition government (following the defeat of the Congress in 1996), to which even the Communists were a party, desiring that the foreign direct investment (FDI) in India should rise to \$10 billion per year. All the poverty indicators showed that by 1993-94 there was much improvement in the poverty situation. The poverty levels, both rural and urban, were significantly lower in 1993-94 than in 1992, by nearly six percentage points, and were lower than the pre-reform average of the five years 1986-87 to 1990-91.

4.1.4.5. Improvement in the poverty situation

The improvement in the poverty situation was helped by the fact that the government increased the, overall expenditure, on Social Services and Rural Development since 1993-94 from 7.8 percent of total government Central) expenditure in 1992-93 to an average of nearly 10 per cent between 1993 and 1998. Real agricultural wages, which had decreased by 6.2 per cent in 1991- 92. grew in the next two years at over 5 per cent per year and by and by 1993-4 surpassed the pre-reform level. After the low of 1991-2, additional employment generated in the total economy rose to 7.2 million in 1994-95 averaging about 6.3 million jobs every year between 1992-3 and 1994-95, considerably higher than the average annual increase of 4.8 million in the eighties. Moreover, inflation, which hurts the poor the most, was kept under control. The annual rate of inflation, which touched a high of 17 per cent in August 1991, was brought down to below 5 per cent in February 1996. The oil-pool deficit (dues owed to oil companies by government which partly enabled the huge subsidy) in 1996-97 was Rs.98 billion making the cumulative deficit in that year about Rs. 155 billion.

4.1.4.6. Liberalization, privatization and Globalization (LPG)

Liberalization, privatization and participation in the globalization process was not the 'final surrender' to international capital or imperialism or the IMF- World Bank combine as has

been argued. On the basis of the experience with various controls and state intervention at home, of changes occurring in the world such as the collapse of the Socialist bloc, the new globalization process after World War II and the experience of various fast-growing economies in the recent past, the aspiration towards the same goals-set out at independence required an altering of strategy.

4.1.5. Conclusion

Thus, it would not be wise to say that the earlier 'Nehruvian' strategy was wrong. That strategy had its historical significance. It gave the Indian economy a certain depth. The Indian economy since the Nehruvian era has witnessed many critical period because of war, migration, problems of reorganization of states, riots, emergency, insurgency, droughts and other socio-economic problems in India. However, the situation changed only after 1991 when India under the then Finance minister Manmohan Singh accepted Liberalisation, privatization and Globalisation i.e. inviting free trade in India. Since then India the economic condition of India is increasing. At present, India has established itself as a great economic power by introducing various economic measures.

4.1.6. Summary

- The wretched economic condition of India that we inherited at the time of independence as the colonialism had devastated the economy after independence also.
- Besides 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 in the post independence period.
- The First Plan (1951-56) essentially tried to complete projects at hand and to meet the immediate crisis situation following the end of the War.
- It is with the Second Plan (1956-61) that the celebrated Nehru-Mahalanobis (Prof. P.C, Mahalanobis played, a leading role in drafting the Second Plan) strategy of development was put into practice and it was continued in the Third Plan (1961-66).
- There were three annual Plans between 1966 to 1969 before the Fourth Five-Year Plan could commence in April 1969.
- The US, the World Bank and the IMF wanted India to (a)liberalize its trade and industrial control (b) devalue the rupee and (c) adopt a new agricultural strategy.

- In December 1970, Mrs Gandhi called for a general election and, campaigning on the slogan of ‘garibi hatao’ and promising radical socialist policies
- In the considerable economic achievements between the mid-sixties and the end-eighties, Indira Gandhi, played a major role.
- A new feature of the eighties was the phenomenal increase in new stock market issues.
- The crisis in 1991, with the country at the edge of default, forced the Narasimha Rao government to break through a programme of economic reforms in 1991 and India accepted Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization popularly known as LPG.
- The improvement in the poverty situation was helped by the fact that the government increased the, overall expenditure, on Social Services and Rural Development since 1993-94 from 7.8 percent of total government Central) expenditure in 1992-93 to an average of nearly 10 per cent between 1993 and 1998.

4.1.7. Exercise

- ❖ Make an analysis on the Indian economy from 1947 to 1965.
- ❖ Write a note on the Nehruvian legacy of Indian economy.
- ❖ Write an essay on the Indian economy during the period from 1965 to 1991.
- ❖ Give an account on the economic reforms of India since 1991 and LPG.

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Unit-4
Chapter-II
LAND REFORMS:
Zamindari Abolition and Tenancy Reforms, Ceiling and the Bhoodan Movement, Cooperatives
and An Overview, Agricultural Growth and the Green Revolution and
Agrarian Struggles since independence

Structure

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4.2.0.Objectives

In this lesson, students explore Land Reforms. After completing this chapter, you will be able to:

- *trace the zamindari abolition and tenancy reforms*
- *identify the ceiling and the Bhoodan movement*
- *study the Cooperatives: an overview*
- *know the Agricultural growth and the Green Revolution*
- *go through the Agrarian struggles since independence*

4.2.1.Introduction

The British government had introduced zamindari system in order to realize the land revenue in the Indian provinces. But the zamindari system adversely affected the rural economic structure of India. The peasants of India exploited and tortured in the hands of the zamindars. After independence, the Government of India brought land reforms in which provision was made for the land reforms and abolition of zamindari system in India.

4.2.2.Land Reforms: Zamindari Abolition and Tenancy Reforms

The process of land reform after independence basically occurred in two broad phases. (I)The first phase which started soon after independence and arguably continued till the early sixties focussed on the following features: abolition of zamindars, jagirdars, etc., tenancy reforms involving providing security of tenure to the tenants, decrease in rents and conferment of ownership rights to tenants, ceilings on size of landholdings, cooperative programme and community development programmes. This phase has also been called the phase of institutional reforms. (II) The second phase beginning around the mid- or late sixties saw the gradual ushering in of the so-called Green Revolution and has been seen as the phase of technological reforms.

4.2.2.1.Abolition of Zamindari system

Within a year or two of independence, i.e. by 1949, zamindari abolition bills or land tenure legislation were introduced in a number of provinces such as U.P., Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Madras, Assam and Bombay with the report of the U.P. Zamindari Abolition Committee (chaired by G.B. Pant) acting as the initial model for many others. In the meantime, the Constituent Assembly was in the process of framing India's Constitution. There was, however, widespread apprehension, including among Congress leaders deeply committed to zamindari abolition like Jawaharlal Nehru, G.B. Pant and Sardar Patel, that the zamindars could try to confuse the acquisition of their estates by moving the courts, raising issues like the violation of right to property or 'unjustness' of the compensation. After prolonged discussion the relevant

provisions of the Constitution were framed in a manner that the leaders felt assured that the zamindari abolition bills pending in the state assemblies would go through on the basis of compensation recommended by the state legislatures as these recommendations were made non-justiciable, requiring only presidential assent which meant ultimately the support of the Union Cabinet. The compensation recommended by the legislatures was of course expected to be small and reasonable from the tenants' point of view.

4.2.2.2.Challenge of zamindars against the abolition of zamindari in the courts

It is significant that there was a wide consensus on giving the legislatures the authority to prescribe principles of compensation on expropriation of the zamindars. However, belying the expectation of the framers of the Constitution, the zamindars in various parts of the country challenged the constitutionality of the law permitting zamindari abolition and the courts, as for example, the Patna High Court upheld the landlords' suit. The Congress government responded by getting constitutional amendments passed. The 1st Amendment in 1951 and the 4th Amendment in 1955, were aimed at further strengthening the hands of the state legislatures for implementing zamindari abolition, making the question of violation of any fundamental right or insufficiency of compensation not permissible in the courts. Though the zamindars continued to make numerous appeals to the High Court and Supreme Court, if for no other purpose but to delay the acquisition of their estates, yet, the back of their resistance was broken by the mid-fifties.

4.2.2.3.Merger of zamindari land in India

A major difficulty in implementing the zamindari abolition acts, passed in most provinces by 1956, was the absence of adequate land records. Nevertheless, certainly by the end of the fifties (though essentially by 1956) the process of land reform involving abolition of intermediaries (the zamindars of British India, and jagirdars of the princely states now merged with independent India) can be said to have been completed. Considering that the entire process occurred in a democratic framework, with virtually no coercion or violence being used, it was completed in a remarkably short period. However, scholars agree that there was some decline in tenancy after the reforms started, one rough estimate being that area under tenancy decreased from about 42 per cent in 1950-51 to between 20 to 25 per cent by the early sixties. However, the decline in tenancy and the considerable increase in self cultivation was not a result only of tenants becoming landowners but also of eviction of existing tenants by landowners.

4.2.2.4. Compensation paid to the zamindars

The compensation actually paid to the zamindars once their estates were acquired was generally small and varied from state to state depending upon the strength of the peasant movement and consequent class balance between the landlords and the tenants and the ideological composition of the Congress leadership and of the legislature as a whole. In Kashmir, for example, no compensation was paid. In Punjab, the occupancy tenants of Patiala were paid nothing and even the inferior tenants given a negligible amount, often just the first installment of the total compensation to be paid over a number of years. Most states followed a variation of the model worked out in U.P., where, very significantly, the compensation paid was inversely related to the size of the land which came under a zamindar. The small zamindars who used to pay land revenue of up to Rs 25 were to receive about twenty times their net annual income as compensation whereas the big zamindars who paid land revenue ranging between Rs 2,000 to Rs 10,000 were to receive merely two to four times their net annual income. Moreover the payment of compensation, was to stretch over a long period, in some cases forty years. Out of a total due of Rs 6,700 million, the compensation actually paid till 1961 was Rs 1,642 million.

4.2.2.5. Weaknesses in Zamindari Abolition

There were however certain important weaknesses in the manner in which some of the clauses relating to zamindari abolition were implemented in various parts of the country. For example, in U.P., the zamindars were permitted to retain lands that were declared to be under their 'personal cultivation'. What constituted 'personal cultivation' was very loosely defined '(making) it possible for not only those who tilled the soil, but also those who supervised the land personally or did so through a relative, or provided capital and credit to the land, to call themselves a cultivator." Moreover, in states like U.P., Bihar and Madras, to begin with (i.e., till land ceiling laws were introduced) there was no limit on the size of the lands that could be declared to be under the 'personal cultivation' of the zamindar. This, despite the fact that the Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee (Kumarappa Committee) in its report of 1949 had clearly stipulated that 'only those who put in a minimum amount of physical labour and participate in actual agricultural operations' could be said to be performing 'personal cultivation'. Also, the committee had envisaged a limit or ceiling on how much land could be 'resumed' for "personal cultivation', under no circumstances leading to the tenant's holding being reduced to

below the 'economic' level. The result in actual practice, however, was that even zamindars who were absentee landowners could now end up retaining large tracts of land.

4.2.2.6. Tenancy Reforms

The issue of continuing tenancy in zamindari areas, oral and unrecorded, therefore remained even after abolition of zamindari was implemented. Such tenancy existed in the lands of the former zamindars now said to be under their 'personal cultivation' as well as in the lands subleased by the former occupancy tenant who now became the landowner. Moreover, at independence only about half the area was under zamindari tenure. The other half was under ryotwari where the problems of landlordism and an insecure, rack-rented tenantry too were rampant.

4.2.2.7. Tenancy legislation

The second major plank of the land reforms envisaged was, therefore, concerned with tenancy legislation. The political and economic conditions in different parts of India were so varied that the nature of tenancy legislation passed by the different states and the manner of their implementation also varied a great deal. Yet, there were certain commonly shared objectives of the various legislations and over time some common broad features emerged in the manner of their implementation in most parts of the country. It is an examination of only these common aspects rather than of the countless differences that is possible within the scope of this study.

4.2.2.8. Three objectives of Tenancy reforms

Tenancy reforms had three basic objectives. (1) to guarantee security of tenure to tenants who had cultivated a piece of land continuously for a fixed number of years, say six years (the exact number of years varied from region to region). (2) to seek the reduction of rents paid by tenants to a 'fair' level which was generally considered to range between one-fourth to one-sixth of the value of the gross produce of the leased land. (3) the tenant gain the right to acquire ownership of the lands he cultivated, subject to certain restrictions. The tenant was expected to pay a price much below the market price, generally a multiple of the annual rent, say eight or ten years' rent. For example, in parts of Andhra Pradesh the price he had to pay was eight years' rent, which was roughly 40 per cent of the market price, of the land. It needs to be added here that while attempting to improve the condition of the tenants, tenancy legislation in India by and large sought to maintain a balance between the interest of the landowner, particularly the small landowner and the tenant. The absentee landowners' right of resumption of land for 'personal

cultivation', which was granted in most parts of India, as well as the tenants' right to acquire the lands they cultivated, was operated through a complex and variable system of 'floors' and 'ceilings' keeping this balance in view. The landowners' right of resumption was limited (this was aimed at the large landowners) to his total holding after resumption not exceeding a certain limit or ceiling prescribed by each state.

4.2.2.9. Three plans of land reforms

The First Plan suggested a limit of three times the 'family holding'. In some states like Kerala, Orissa, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Maharashtra, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu, the tenant had to be left with at least half his holding. It was recognized, as the Second Plan noted that, "The economic circumstances of small owners are not so different from those of tenants that tenancy legislation should operate to their disadvantage." The Plan therefore envisaged that very small landowners could resume their entire holding for self-cultivation. The Third Plan also pointed out the abuse of such provisions by large landowners transferring their lands in names of a number of relatives and others so as to enter the category of 'small landowner' and then evicting tenants from such lands by exercising the right of resumption given to small owners.

4.2.2.10. Planning Commission's Panel on Land Reforms

The process of eviction had actually begun in anticipation of the imminent tenancy legislations. The inordinate delays in enacting and implementing the legislations were engineered by vested interests enabling them to evict potential beneficiaries before the law came into force. Even after the tenants got legal protection against eviction, large-scale evictions occurred. For example, the Planning Commission's Panel on Land Reforms noted in 1956 that between 1948 and 1951 the number of protected tenants in the State of Bombay declined from 1.7 million to 1.3 million, i.e., by more than 23 per cent; in the State of Hyderabad between 1951 and 1955 the number declined by about 57 per cent. Another detailed study of Hyderabad showed that out of every 100 protected tenants created in 1951, after four years, i.e., by 1954, only 45.4 per cent maintained that status; 12.4 per cent became landowners by exercising their right to acquire land; 2.6 per cent were legally evicted; 22.1 per cent were illegally evicted and 17.5 per cent 'voluntarily' surrendered their claims to the land. Voluntary surrenders by tenants was really an euphemism for illegal eviction as most often the tenant was 'persuaded' under threat to give up his tenancy rights 'voluntarily'

4.2.2.11. Security of tenure to tenants

Before proceeding further on the failures of tenancy legislation in providing security of tenure to a large section of tenants, it is extremely important to also recognize that a substantial proportion of tenants did acquire security and permanent occupancy rights. In many cases tenancy legislations led to tenancy being pushed underground, i.e., it continued in a concealed form. The tenants were now called 'farm servants' though they continued in exactly the same status. In the early years of land reform, tenants were often converted to sharecroppers, as surprisingly the latter were not treated as tenants and therefore were not protected under the existing tenancy legislation in some states such as in U.P. However, going only by the recorded tenancies the 1971 Census reached absurd conclusions such as that 91.1 per cent of cultivated area in India was owner operated and that Bihar had the largest percentage of area under owner cultivation for any state, i.e., 99.6 per cent and that in Bihar tenancies constituted only 0.22 per cent of operational holdings and 0.17 per cent of total cultivated area. The 1961 Census estimated that 82 per cent of the tenancies in the country were insecure.

4.2.2.12. Absence of proper records

The absence of proper records was seen as a major impediment in the implementation of the Zamindari Abolition and Land Reform Act in U.P. in the initial years after independence. Though Operation Barga in west Bengal did lead to recording of a large number of sharecroppers and consequently providing them with security of tenure, the process could not be completed and it reached more or less a stalemate after a little more than half the sharecroppers had been covered. The other problem was that such was the land-man ratio in Bengal that the landlord was often able to rotate a piece of leased land among two or more sharecroppers or bargadars, i.e., for each piece of land there could be more than one bargadar claiming tenancy rights. Registering any one would permanently oust the other.

4.2.3. Land Ceilings

A major plank of the land reform effort in India was the imposition of ceilings on the size of landholdings, with the objective of making land distribution more equitable. The All India Kisan Sabha had supported the demand for a maximum limit of landownership of 25 acres per landholder in 1946. The Congress, perhaps for the first time, officially introduced the notion of land ceiling soon after independence. In November 1947, the AICC appointed a committee, which drew up the economic programme of the Congress. The committee headed by Jawaharlal

Nehru had recommended, 'The maximum size of holdings should be fixed. The surplus land over such a maximum should be acquired and placed at the disposal of the village cooperatives.' Similarly, the Congress Agrarian Reform Committee, chaired by J.C. Kumarappa, which submitted its report in July 1949, also recommended a ceiling on landholding which was to be three times the size of an economic holding. The First Plan (1951-1956) too expressed itself 'in favour of the principle that there should be an upper limit to the amount of land that an individual may hold.' The census of land holding and cultivation, which it is proposed to hold during 1953, will give the data relevant to this decision.' Clearly, there was no immediate programme of implementing ceilings and the First Plan anticipated that 'two to three years would be necessary' to even undertake the necessary survey and set up a machinery which would enforce ceiling legislation effectively.

4.2.3.1. Issue of Land ceiling in AICC sessions

Despite the recommendations, not much progress on the question of ceilings occurred in the initial years after independence. This was recognized by the Congress, and the AICC in its session in Agra in 1953 urged, 'The State Governments should take immediate steps in regard to collection of requisite land data and the fixation of ceilings on land holdings, with a view to redistribute the land, as far as possible, among landless workers.' This position was reiterated repeatedly by the Congress Working Committee and the AICC over the next few years. In 1957 the Standing Committee of National Development Council (NDC) adopted a decision to complete the imposition of ceilings in the few states where such legislation had been passed by the end of 1960 and decided that other states should pass such legislation by 1958-59.

In the meantime, opposition to ceilings was building up in large parts of the country, in the Press, in parliament, in the state legislatures and even within the Congress party. A threat to the right to private property was perceived by the rural landowners as well as urban interests. Matters came to a head at the Nagpur session of the Indian National Congress in January 1959. Despite opposition from prominent Congressmen at the AICC and the Subjects Committee meeting preceding the open session, the Nagpur Congress (January 1959) passed a resolution stating that 'in order to remove uncertainty regarding land reforms and give stability to the farmer, ceilings should be fixed on existing and future holdings and legislation to this effect . . . should be completed in all States by the end of 1959.' Further, the land declared surplus, i.e.,

above ceiling limits, was to 'vest in the panchayats . . . and (be) managed through cooperatives consisting of landless labourers.'

N.G. Ranga and C. Rajagopalachari, alarmed at the moves towards land ceilings and threats of compulsory cooperativization now joined hands with Minoos Masani, an important leader of the Forum for Free Enterprise which campaigned against the threat of nationalization and the public sector swamping the private sector, to form the Swatantra party in June 1959, with Ranga as a president. The campaigners and beneficiaries of zamindari abolition, the tenants who had now become landowners, also ranged themselves against the next step in land reform, an attempt at redistribution of land ownership through imposition of land ceilings. The opponents of the ceilings legislation were, however, to have their real victory at the state level, as it was the states which had to formulate and implement the legislation. The state legislatures, which met shortly after the Nagpur session, showed no haste in implementing the Nagpur Resolution. The ceilings issue thus dragged on and most states passed the enabling legislation only by the end of 1961, i.e., nearly fourteen years after the idea was officially mooted.

4.2.3.2.Shortcomings of Land Ceiling Legislation

The ceiling laws in most states had the following major shortcomings.

First, in a situation where more than 70 per cent of land holdings in India were under five acres, the ceiling fixed on existing holdings by the states were very high

Second, a large number of exemptions to the ceiling limits were permitted by most states following the Second Plan recommendations that certain categories of land could be exempted from ceilings.

Third, the large landowners had enough time to either sell their excess lands, or make malafide transfers in the names of relatives and even make benami transfers. Further, the landowners also resorted to mass eviction of tenants, resuming their lands at least upto the ceiling limit, and claiming, often falsely, to have shifted to progressive farming under their direct supervision. Thus, by the time the ceiling legislations were in place, there were barely any holdings left above the ceiling and consequently little surplus land became available for redistribution.

4.2.3.3.Central Land Reforms Committee

The Land Reform Implementation Committee of the National Development Council met in June 1964 and made sustained efforts to put pressure on the chief ministers to plug the

loopholes in the land reform legislations and implement them effectively. With the political shift of Indira Gandhi to the left in the late sixties, particularly after 1969, these efforts received a further momentum. At a land reform conference of the chief ministers called by her shortcomings reduction of ceiling limits was one of the main issues. The matter was referred to the Central Land Reforms Committee, which was to look into this and other contentious issues that emerged in the Conference. In August 1971, the Committee made a series of recommendations including a substantial reduction in the ceiling limits, withdrawal of exemptions such as those in favour of 'efficient' or mechanized farms and making ceilings applicable to the family as a unit and not to individuals as was the case in most states. The new guidelines were based essentially on the August 1971 recommendations of the Central Land Reforms Committee. Some of the important features of the July 1972 guidelines, which marked a break in the history of ceiling legislation in India, were:

- The ceiling for double-cropped perennially irrigated land was to be within the range of ten to
- eighteen acres, it was twenty-seven acres for single-cropped land and fifty-four acres for inferior dry lands.
- A ceiling was to be applicable to a family as a unit of five members, (husband, wife and three minor children). Additional land per additional member could be permitted for families which exceeded this number but up to a maximum limit of double the ceiling for the five member unit. In the distribution of surplus land, priority was to be given to landless agricultural workers, particularly those belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.
- Compensation payable for surplus land was to be fixed well below market price so as to be within the capacity of the new allottees.

An important impact of the ceiling laws, and perhaps in the long run the most critical one, was that it killed the land market and prevented an increasing concentration in landholdings through de-peasantisation. The problem of the landless or the near landless, who it is estimated constituted nearly half the agricultural population still required urgent attention. However, any

further attempt at land redistribution through lowering of ceilings does not appear to be politically feasible or even economically viable.

4.2.4.The Bhoodan Movement

Bhoodan was an effort on land reform, in bringing about institutional changes in agriculture, like land redistribution through a movement by Eminent Gandhian constructive worker, Acharya Vinoba Bhave. He drew upon Gandhian techniques and ideas such as constructive work and trusteeship to launch this movement in the early fifties. Vinoba organized an all-India federation of constructive workers, the Sarvodaya Samaj, which was to take up the task of a non-violent social transformation in the country. He and his followers were to do padayatra, walk on foot from village to village to persuade the larger landowners to donate at least one-sixth of their lands as bhoodan or 'land-gift' for distribution among the landless and the land poor. The target was to get as donation 50 million acres, which was one-sixth of the 300 million acres of cultivable land in India. The idea was that each average family of five should give up one-sixth of their land accepting the poor landless man as a member of the family.

4.2.4.1.Progress of the Boodan Movement

The movement, though independent of the government, had the support of the Congress, with the AICC urging Congressmen to participate in it actively. Eminent former Congressman and the then prominent leader of the PSP (Praja Socialist Party), Jayaprakash Narayan, withdrew from active politics to join the Bhoodan Movement in 1953. Vinoba received the first donation of land on 18 April 1951 in the village of Pochampalli in the Telengana region of Andhra Pradesh, where the reverberations of the Communist Party-led armed peasant revolt were still being felt. In less than three months he had covered about 200 villages in this region and received 12,200 acres as donation. The movement then spread to the North, particularly Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. In the initial years the movement achieved a considerable degree of success, receiving over four million acres of land as donation by March 1956. After this the movement lost momentum and very little new land was received as donations. Also, a substantial part of the land donated was unfit for cultivation or under litigation. Perhaps this was one reason why out of the nearly four and half million acres of Bhoodan land available only about 654 thousand acres were actually distributed among 200 thousand families by the end of 1957. By early 1961, about 872 thousand acres of land had been distributed.

4.2.4.2. Gramdan or 'donation of village'

Meanwhile, towards the end of 1955, the movement took a new form, that of Gramdan or 'donation of village'. Again taking off from the Gandhian notion that all land belonged to 'Gopal' or God, in Gramdan villages the movement declared that all land was owned collectively or equally, as it did not belong to any one individual. The movement started in Orissa and was most successful there. By the end of 1960 there were more than four and a half thousand Gramdan villages out of which 1,946 were in Orissa, 603 in Maharashtra, 543 in Kerala, 483 in Andhra Pradesh and about 250 in Madras. It has been argued that this movement was successful mainly in villages where class differentiation had not yet emerged and there was little if any disparity in ownership of land or other property, such as those inhabited by certain tribal communities. Vinoba is said to have picked such villages for this movement. By the sixties the Bhoodan/Gramdan Movement had lost its plan despite its considerable initial promise. Its creative potential essentially remained unutilized. The programme, however, appeared to drag on indefinitely, essentially forgotten but for rude reminders such as the Bihar government decision of June 1999 to dissolve the State Bhoodan Committee for its inability to distribute even half the Bhoodan land available over the past 38 years.

4.2.4.3. Significance of Bhoodan Movement

There were some significant aspects of the Bhoodan Movement that need to be mentioned. (1) the very fact that it was one of the very few attempts after independence to bring about land reform through a movement and not through government legislation from the top is in itself very significant.

(2) the potential of the movement was enormous, based as it was on the idea of trusteeship or that all land belonged to God. If the landlords failed to behave as trustees or as 'equal' sharers of property, then a satyagraha, in the Gandhian mould, could be launched against them.

(3) the movement made a significant contribution by creating a moral ambience, an atmosphere, which, while putting pressure on the landlords, created conditions favourable to the landless.

(4) This movement stimulated political and other activity by the peasant masses and has created a favourable atmosphere for political propaganda and agitation for redistribution of the

land, for abolition of private ownership of land and for the development of agricultural producers' cooperatives.

4.2.5.Cooperatives and an Overview

Many nationalist, socialists and Communists leaders agreed that cooperativization would lead to major improvement in Indian agriculture and would particularly benefit the poor. Cooperativization was therefore seen as an important element in the agenda for institutional changes sought to be achieved through land reform. However, as in the case of the land ceiling issue, there was no general consensus, particularly among the peasantry, on the question of cooperatives. Correctly reflecting this situation, the Congress at independence made very tentative proposals-like the state making efforts to organize 'pilot schemes for experimenting with cooperative farming among small holders-on government unoccupied but cultivable lands.'" Further, it was clarified that any move towards cooperativization was to be through persuasion, by getting goodwill and agreement of the peasantry.

4.2.5.1.Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee

In July 1949 of the Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee, also called as the Kumarappa Committee, recommended that 'the State should be empowered to enforce the application of varying degrees of cooperation for different types of farming. Thus, while the family farmer will have to make use of the multipurpose co-operative society for marketing, credit, and other matters, the below-basic holder will have to cultivate his farm jointly with such other holders. For the first time there was a suggestion of compulsion being used to promote cooperatives and the committee assumed the 'gradualness of the programme, intelligent propaganda, liberal state-aid and its judicious implementation by a specially trained cadre would to a great extent reduce the psychological hesitation of the farmer to take to the co-operative patterns recommended by the committee.'

4.2.5.2.Cooperativization in the First Five Year Plan

The First Plan approached the issue more judiciously and recommended that small and medium farms in particular should be encouraged and assisted to group themselves into cooperative farming societies. The Plan did not talk of any enforcing powers to the state though it did envisage some amount of compulsion when it suggested that if a majority of the owners and occupancy tenants in a village, owning at least half the land of the village, wished to enter upon cooperative management of the land of the village, then their decision should be binding on

the village as a whole. The early planners had hoped that the village panchayat activated by motivated party workers and aided by the trained workers of the newly-launched Community Development programme (in October 1952) would not only help implement rural development projects but would help bring about critical institutional changes in Indian agriculture, for example by assisting in the implementation of land reforms, by organizing voluntary labour for community work and by setting up of cooperatives. Further, there was a high and growing level of expectation, in the initial years, regarding how much such institutional changes, particularly cooperativization, would substitute for investment outlay in agriculture, in achieving the planned targets of rapid increases in agricultural production.

4.2.5.3.Cooperativization in Second Five-Year Plan

The Second Plan reflected this expectation by declaring that 'the main task during the Second Five-Year Plan is to take such essential steps as will provide sound foundations for the development of cooperative farming so that over a period of ten years or so a substantial proportion of agricultural lands are cultivated on cooperative lines. However, even the ambitious plan (considering that no coercion was envisaged) of having a 'substantial' proportion of agricultural lands under cooperatives within ten years soon appeared to be too modest once exaggerated reports started pouring in of the dramatic increases in agricultural output achieved by China through measures such as cooperativization.

4.2.5.4.Delegations to China to study their cooperatives

In the middle of 1956 two Indian delegations, (one of the Planning Commission, the other of the Union Ministry of Food and Agriculture), consisting of leaders of the cooperative movement in India, members of parliament, bureaucrats involved with cooperatives, technical experts and planners, were sent to China to study how they organized their cooperatives and achieved such rapid increases in agricultural output. Underlying these visits was the feeling that the targets of agricultural growth envisaged by the Second Plan were inadequate and required an upward revision and the Chinese experience could show how these targets could be achieved without significant increases in outlay.

4.2.5.5.Recommendations of the two delegations

The two delegations arrived at quite similar conclusions. It was reported that China had achieved remarkable increases in foodgrains production and extension of the agricultural infrastructure through cooperativization. They both recommended (barring the minute of dissent

by two members of one committee) a bold programme of extending cooperative farming in India. Jawaharlal Nehru, who was deeply committed to the idea of cooperativization, started putting pressure on the states to emulate the Chinese example and commit to higher food production on the basis of institutional changes in agriculture, i.e., without demanding additional funds for investment in agriculture. The National Development Council and the AICC now set targets even higher than the one envisaged by the Second Plan, proposing that in the next five years agricultural production be increased by 25 to 35 per cent if not more, mainly by bringing about major institutional changes in agriculture such as cooperativization. The states, however, resisted any large-scale plan for cooperativization, agreeing only to experiments in cooperative farming and that too if they remained strictly voluntary. The Congress under Nehru's persuasion continued to mount pressure in favour of an agricultural strategy based critically on institutional change.

4.2.5.6. Nagpur Resolution of 1959

The Congress pressure culminated in the famous Nagpur Resolution passed at the party's Nagpur session in January 1959. It stated that 'the organization of the village should be based on village panchayats and village cooperatives, both of which should have adequate powers and resources to discharge the functions allotted to them.' Further, the Resolution stated: The future agrarian pattern should be that of cooperative joint farming, in which the land would be pooled for joint cultivation, the farmers continuing to retain their property rights, and getting a share of the net produce in proportion to their land. Further, those who actually work on the land, whether they own the land or not, will get a share in proportion to the work put in by them on the joint farm.

As a first step, prior to the institution of joint farming, service cooperatives should be organized throughout the country. This stage should be completed within a period of three years. However, the Chinese repression in Tibet in March 1959, and more so the Chinese encroachments inside the Indian border a few months later, were not only a personal loss of face and prestige for Nehru but also made any plan which smacked of the China model automatically suspect and very difficult to push publicly.

4.2.5.7. Cooperativization in Third Five-Year Plan

The Third Plan, in sharp contrast to the Second, reflected the mellowed position regarding cooperativization and took a very pragmatic and cautious approach. As regards

cooperative farming, it accepted a modest target of setting up ten pilot projects per district. At the same time it put in die caveat that cooperative farming has to grow out of the success of the general agricultural effort through die community development movement, die progress of cooperation in credit, marketing, distribution and processing, the growth of rural industry, and the fulfillment of the objectives of land reform.

4.2.5.8.Limitations of Cooperativization

There were some limitations of cooperativization. (1) there were those that were formed essentially to evade land reforms and access incentives offered by the state. Typically, these cooperatives were formed by well-to-do, influential families who took on a number of agricultural labourers or ex-tenants as bogus members. Forming a cooperative helped evade the ceiling laws or tenancy laws. (2)The influential members got the lands tilled by the bogus members who were essentially engaged as wage labour or tenants. (3) forming these bogus cooperatives enabled the influential families to take advantage of the substantial financial assistance offered by the state in the form of a subsidy, as well as get priority for acquiring scarce agricultural inputs like fertilizers, improved seeds and even tractors, etc. (4) there were the state-sponsored cooperative farms in the form of pilot projects, where generally poor, previously uncultivated land was made available to the landless, Harijans, displaced persons and such underprivileged groups. The poor quality of land, lack of proper irrigation facility, etc., and the fact that these farms were run like government-sponsored projects rather than genuine, motivated, joint efforts of the cultivators led them to be generally expensive and unsuccessful experiments. (5) The cooperative credit societies, however, suffered from a major drawback, that of failure to repay loans and, consequently, a very large percentage of overdues. Between 1960 and 1970, overdues of the primary societies rose from 20 to 38 per cent of the credit disbursed. The situation continued to deteriorate with the all-India average of over dues rising to 45 per cent in the mid-seventies and many provinces reaching totally unviable figures, like 77 per cent in Bihar.

Thus, it is evident that service cooperatives had started to play a very important role in rural India. Their role in making available a much increased amount of cheap credit to a wider section of the peasantry was critical. They not only helped in bringing improved seeds, modern implements, cheap fertilizers, etc., to the peasants, they also provided them with the where to access them. And, in many areas they also helped market their produce. In fact, in many ways

they provided a necessary condition for the success of the Green Revolution strategy launched in the late sixties, which was based on intensive use of modern inputs in agriculture.

4.2.6. Agriculture Growth and the Green Revolution

Green Revolution is associated with India's chronic food shortage having a begging-bowl image of India, to one which was self-sufficient and which became over time even surplus in food. In other words, the change follows the major technological reforms that occurred in Indian agriculture, particularly since the mid-sixties. M.S. Swaminathan, an agricultural scientist is said to be the 'Father of Green Revolution of India'.

4.2.6.1. Agriculture Growth during Nehruvian era

The plan outlays on agriculture since the First Plan itself were substantial by any standards. Apart from the First Plan, where the outlay on agriculture and irrigation was 31 per cent of the total, in all the Plans that followed, the outlay was between 20 to 24 per cent, irrespective of the changes in regimes. It is true, that in the initial years, during the first two Plans, the expectations of output increases on the basis of institutional reforms, particularly when accompanied by cooperative farming, were quite high and proved to be misjudgments. However, simultaneously, with the efforts at institutional reforms, Nehru from the very beginning placed great emphasis on creating the physical and scientific infrastructure necessary for modern agriculture. Massive irrigation and power projects like the Bhakra-Nangal, numerous agricultural universities and research laboratories, fertilizer plants, etc., took their due place along with steel plants as the 'temples of modern India' in the Nehruvian vision. Over time, by the late fifties and early sixties, as the benefits from the land reforms that could be carried out in Indian conditions had begun to peak and the possibilities of agricultural growth based on extension of agriculture, i.e., bringing more area into cultivation, were also reaching their limit, Nehru's focus inevitably shifted further towards technological solutions

4.2.6.2. New Agricultural Strategy

Even the New Agricultural Strategy of picking out select areas with certain natural advantages for intensive development with a package programme (the IADP or the Intensive Agricultural Districts Programme) was launched in fifteen districts, one for each state, on an experimental basis during the Third Plan in Nehru's lifetime—a practice which was to be generalized on a large scale a few years later. Despite the very creditable growth of agricultural output between 1949 and 1965 of about 3 per cent per annum, India was facing food shortages

since the mid-fifties and in the mid-sixties she was in the throes of a crisis. Agricultural growth had begun to stagnate in the early sixties. The massive jump in population growth rates after independence, to about 2.2 per cent per annum from about 1 per cent in the previous half century, the slow but steady rise in per capita income, and the huge outlay towards planned industrialization, put long-term pressures on Indian agriculture, creating, for example, a demand for food which Indian markets were not able to meet fully. From the mid-fifties, food prices experienced an upward push.

4.2.6.3. Food shortage and war scenario

To meet the food shortage and to stabilize prices India was forced to import increasing amounts of food. The controversial agreements made by India to import food from the US under the PL-480 scheme started in 1956. Nearly three million tonnes of foodgrains were imported under this scheme in the very first year and the volume of imports kept rising thereafter, reaching more than four and a half million tonnes in 1963. In this situation came the two wars with China (1962) and Pakistan (1965) and two successive drought years in 1965-66 leading to fall in agricultural output by 17 per cent and food output by 20 per cent. Food prices shot up, rising at the rate of nearly 20 per cent per annum between 1965 and 1968. India was forced to import more than ten million tonnes of foodgrains in 1966. It is in this moment of crisis, with famine conditions emerging in various parts of the country, especially in Bihar and U.P., that the US threatened to renege on commitments of food exports to India.

4.2.6.4. Efforts by Indian leaders for the growth of agriculture through Green Revolution

Given the war scenario of the mid-sixties, economic self-reliance and particularly food self sufficiency became the top priority objectives of Indian economic policy and for that matter of foreign policy. The New Agricultural Strategy began to be implemented in right earnest. The then prime minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Food Minister, C. Subramaniam, and Indira Gandhi, who followed Shastri in 1966 after his brief tenure, all gave full support to and crafted this basic transition in the strategy for developing Indian agriculture. The World Bank-appointed Bell Mission recommended such a transition and the US pressed in its favour, but they appear to have been 'leaning on open doors', as a considerable consensus in favour of such a change had emerged within India. Critical inputs like High-Yield Variety (HYV) seeds (the suitability to Indian conditions of the high-yielding Mexican dwarf wheat proved to be an extremely timely and pesticides, agricultural machinery including tractors, pump sets, etc., soil-testing facilities,

agricultural education programmes and institutional credit were concentrated on areas which had assured irrigation and other natural and institutional advantages. Some 32 million acres of land, about 10 per cent of the total cultivated area, was, thus, initially chosen for receiving the package programme benefits on top priority. Government investment in agriculture rose significantly.

4.2.6.5 Institutional finance to agriculture

Institutional finance made available to agriculture doubled between 1968 to 1973. The Agricultural Prices Commission was set up in 1965 and efforts were made to see that the farmer was assured a market at sustained remunerative prices. Public investment, institutional credit, remunerative prices and the availability of the new technology at low prices raised the profitability of private investment by farmers and as a result the total gross capital formation in agriculture began to grow faster. This was reflected in, for example, the rate of increase in the gross irrigated area rising from about million hectares per annum in the pre-Green Revolution period to about 2.5 million hectares per annum during the seventies. Also, between 1960-61 and 1970-71 the number of electric and diesel pumpsets increased from 421,000 to 2.4 million, tube wells increased from 90,000 to 460,000 and tractors from 31,000 to 140,000. Also, consumption of chemical fertilizers, nitrogen, phosphorus and potassium, increased from 306,000 metric tonnes in 1960-61 to 2,350,000 in 1970-71. Most of this increase occurred in the second half of the period. The results of this new strategy began to be witnessed within a short period.

4.2.6.6. Increase of food grain

Between 1967-68 and 1970-71 food grain production rose by 35 per cent. Again, between 1964-65 and 1971-72 aggregate food production increased from 89 to 112 million tonnes, calculated to be a 10 per cent per capita increase. Net food imports fell from 10.3 million tonnes 1966 to 3.6 million in 1970, while food availability increased from 73.5 million tonnes to 99.5 million tonnes over the same period. It has been estimated that 'but for the new agricultural strategy India would have to import a minimum of about 8 to 10 million tons of wheat yearly at a cost of \$600 to 800 million.'² Food availability continued to increase sharply to 110.25 million tonnes in 1978 and 128.8 million tonnes in 1984, putting an end to India's 'begging bowl' image. By the eighties, not only was India self-sufficient in food with buffer food stocks of over 30 million tonnes, but it was even exporting food to pay back earlier loans or as loans to food-deficit countries. It was this comfortable situation which enabled India to successfully deal with the severe and widespread droughts of 1987 and 1988 without large-scale foreign help as was

needed in the mid-sixties. By the end of nineties, foodgrain production in India is nearly 200 million tonnes, up from 51 million tonnes in 1950-51, a growth rate of about 3 per cent, ahead of the high population growth rate of 2.1 per cent.

4.2.6.7. Impact of the Green Revolution strategy

A major impact of the Green Revolution strategy was that through increases in agricultural yields it enabled India to maintain, once again, the high rate of agricultural growth achieved since independence. It was the marketed surpluses as a result of the Green Revolution which enabled internal procurement of food by the government and the building up of large food stocks. The liberation from dependence on PL-480 or other imports for the above was a major step in the direction of self-reliant independent development for India.

4.2.6.8. Three phases of Green Revolution

In the first phase of the Green Revolution, 1962-65 to 1970-73, an all-India compound growth rate of 2.08 per cent per year was achieved but it was mainly the result of sharp increases in yield in wheat in the northwestern region of Punjab, Haryana and western U.P., which grew at a much faster rate than the average, Punjab registering a stupendous rate of 6.63 per cent. In the second phase, 1970-73 to 1980-83, with the extension of HYV seed technology from wheat to rice, the Green Revolution spread to other parts of the country, notably eastern U.P., Andhra Pradesh, particularly the coastal areas, parts of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu and so on. Regions like Maharashtra, Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh now grew much faster than the all-India growth rate of 2.38 per cent per year. The third, and the most recent phase of the Green Revolution, 1980-83 to 1992-95, shows very significant and encouraging results.

4.2.6.9. Green Revolution in other parts of India

The Green Revolution now spread to the erstwhile low growth areas of the eastern region of West Bengal, Bihar, Assam and Orissa, with West Bengal achieving an unprecedented growth rate of 5.39 per cent per annum. Other regions, particularly the southern region and Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan of the central region grew rapidly as well. In fact, for the first time, the southern region registered a higher rate of growth than the north-western region. By the end of the third phase, the coefficient of variation of the output growth levels and yield (per hectare) levels between the various states had fallen substantially compared to earlier decades. This period, therefore, saw not only a marked overall (all India) acceleration of the growth of

agricultural output touching an unprecedented growth rate of 3.4 per cent per year, but also witnessed a much more diversified growth pattern, considerably reducing regional inequality by increasing the spread of rural prosperity.

4.2.6.10. Programmes for agricultural growth

A series of programmes such as the Rural Works Programme (RWP), Small Farmers Development Agency (SFDA), Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers Scheme (MFAL), Crash Scheme for Rural Employment (CSRE), The Employment Guarantee Scheme (EGS) in Maharashtra, were launched. The SFDA and the MFAL, for example, identified more than a million small farmers and over half a million marginal farmers who were given short, medium and long-term loans. Small and marginal farmers were also assisted by government subsidies of 25 per cent and 33.3 per cent of the investments for which they borrowed, respectively. Millions of poor farmers also benefited from the massive increase in institutional credit made available to agriculture, through cooperative societies, land development banks, nationalized commercial banks, Agricultural Refinance Corporation, etc., with a special effort, which was considerably successful, to see that the credit reached the poorer sections as well. With all their weaknesses and loopholes these programmes had a considerable cumulative effect.

To conclude, the Green Revolution had a major impact on rural poverty levels through its impact on food availability, decline in relative prices of food (the most important item of expenditure for the poor), generating of agricultural and non-agricultural employment, rise in wages and so on. The link between the spread of agricultural growth or the Green Revolution in an area and the fall in the numbers of the rural population living below the poverty line in that area is now widely accepted and can be seen to be operating in a large and growing part of the country. It is felt that top priority needs to be given to research in agriculture, if India is to achieve sustainable growth with self-reliance in the emerging world context today, as she has been able to do in the past with the Green Revolution technology.

4.2.7. Agrarian Struggles Since Independence

Since independence India has seen agrarian struggles of enormous variety, ranging from the legendary Telangana peasant movement and the PEPSU tenants' movement which continued from the pre-independence years, to the Naxalite or Maoist movement in the late sixties and the 'new' farmers' movements of the eighties. Interspersed in between are many lesser-known struggles, such as the Kharwar tribals' movement in Madhya Pradesh and Bihar in 1957-58, the

Bhils' movement in Dhulia in Maharashtra from 1967-75, or the Warlis' struggle led by the Kashtakad Sanghatna headed by the Marxist Jesuit Pradeep Prabhu since 1978. SSP and PSP launched a land grab movement in 1970, as did CPI. In Punjab and Andhra Pradesh, peasants protested against betterment levies imposed for covering costs of irrigation schemes, for better prices for crops, and other similar issues. CPI set up the first nation-wide agricultural labour organization, Bharatiya Khet Mazdoor Union, in Moga in 1968. In Tanjore and Kerala, movements of agricultural labour and tenants took place, as did numerous others all over the country.

4.2.7.1. Telangana Peasant Struggle

From the early forties, the Communists emerged as a major force and when the ban on CPI was lifted by the British in 1942 due to their pro-war line, they quickly expanded their influence and established their control on the Andhra Mahasabha. The peasants in Telangana suffered extreme feudal-type oppression at the hands of jagirdars and deshmukhs, some of whom owned thousands of acres of land. The Communists began to organize the peasants against the hated forced grain levy imposed by the government. From 1945, helped along by a few incidents in which the Communists heroically defended the poor peasants, the peasant movement began to spread rapidly.

The Nizam of Hyderabad was among the very few rulers who refused to join the Indian union at independence. The Communists participated actively in the anti-Nizam, pro-integration movement and established a firm base in the Nalgonda, Warangal and Khammam districts. Landlords and officials mostly ran away to the towns, leaving the field free for the Communists in the villages. The Communists organized the peasants into sabhas and formed guerilla bands or dalams, for attacking Razakar camps and protecting villages. Armed mostly with slings, sticks and stones and later crude country guns they established control over a large number of villages, and used the opportunity to reorder land relations. Lands that had been taken over by landlords in lieu of debt claims in large numbers during the Great Depression of the thirties were returned to the original owners, government-owned uncultivated waste and forest land was distributed to the landless, wages of agricultural labour were sought to be increased, and women's issues such as wife-beating were also taken up.

However, the Communists in the meantime had decided that they were not going to give up their arms and disband their guerilla bands but were going to fight a liberation war with the

pro-imperialist, bourgeois-landlord Nehru government. As a result, the dalam or gurerilla squad members were told to hide in the forests and attack the Indian Army just as they had the Razakars. The Jagirdari Abolition Regulation was laid down in 1949 itself, and the Hyderabad Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act was passed in 1950. Over 6,00,000 tenants covering over one-quarter of the cultivated area were declared 'protected' tenants with a right to purchase the land on easy terms. Land ceilings were also introduced in the mid-fifties. It was also found that land reforms were much better implemented due to the high level of political consciousness of the peasants.

4.2.7.2.Patiala Muzara Movement

The Muzara or tenants' movement that was going on in Patiala at independence had its origins in the late nineteenth century. Biswedars (the local term for landlords), who earlier had only some mafia claims or revenue collecting rights, due to their growing influence in the administration, succeeded in claiming proprietary status (imitating the pattern in British India where zamindars or revenue collectors with customary rights only to retain a share of the revenue had been made into landowners) and relegated the entire body of cultivating proprietors of roughly 800 villages, comprising one-sixth the area of the state, to the position of occupancy tenants and tenants-at-will.

From 1939, a powerful movement emerged and from 1945 it escalated into an open confrontation between muzaras and biswedars, with the state intervening mainly to institute cases of non-payment of batai (rent-in-kind) and criminal assault. Numerous armed clashes took place at different places, some over forcible possession of land, others over forcible realization of batai. The Praja Mandal, which spearheaded the anti-Maharaja democratic movement, under the influence of Brish Bhan, who was sympathetic to the Communists and the tenants' cause, extended support. This gave strength to the tenants as the Praja Mandal had the weight of the Congress behind it. With the coming of independence, Patiala joined the Indian union, but made no moves to grant responsible government. The Maharaja, in fact, isolated by the opposition of all political groups, launched severe repression on the muzaras, leading to appeals to the Ministry of States in Delhi by the Praja Mandal on behalf of the tenants. The repression decreased after the formation of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union(PEPSU) in July 1948, a new province comprising the erstwhile princely states of Punjab. However, with the state unable to assert its authority, the situation was increasingly beginning to resemble that of a civil war in which the

contending classes or political groups were left, by and large, to settle the issue between themselves as best as they could. Increasingly, as some landlords began to use armed gangs, the necessity arose for the movement to resist this armed onslaught by organizing its own armed wing. The decision to organize an armed volunteer corps was given a concrete form by the formation in 1948 of the Lai Communist Party, by Teja Singh Swatantar and a breakaway group of Punjab Communists, mostly belonging to the 'Kirti' group which originated in the Ghadr Movement and had always had an uneasy relationship with the CPI.

Thus, by the end of 1948, this small band of armed men was in place, whose duty was to rush to the aid of muzaras who were threatened with physical, especially armed, assault by the biswedars and their organized gangs. The fear of the 'armed force' helped to keep biswedars in check. However, quite contrary to popular notions, and Communist mythology, the size of this 'armed force' was never more than 30 or 40 people, the largest estimate being 100. This armed force was also not meant to take on the forces of the state, as was clearly shown by the Kishangarh incident in January 1949, in which four members of the armed force lost their lives. Anticipating an assault by the government forces, since a policeman had died in an earlier clash, the Communist leaders had wisely decided to send away the main body of the force, maintaining only a token presence so that the people did not feel abandoned. Dharam Singh Fakkar and others who were arrested in this incident were acquitted after a defence was organized by the left-wing Congressmen led by Brish Bhan. The Communists continued, however, to condemn the new agrarian legislation as inadequate because the biswedars' lands were not being confiscated without compensation. This resulted in their growing isolation from the peasants, a process that was also furthered by their desertion of their erstwhile comrades-in-arms in the muzara movement and the Praja Mandal, the left-wing Congress group led by Brish Bhan.

4.2.7.3. Naxalite Peasant Movement: Naxalbari of West Bengal

In Naxalbari area of Darjeeling district in North Bengal, Communists had been organizing sharecroppers and tea estate labour, mostly belonging to the Santhal, Oraon and Rajbanshi tribal communities, since the early fifties. The sharecroppers worked for jotedars or landlords under the 'adhiar' system, in which the jotedars provided the ploughs, bullocks and seeds and got a share of the crop. Disputes over shares followed by evictions were commonplace and increased with the coming of the United Front government because of the fear that sharecroppers would be given the land. Tea garden labour also often worked as sharecroppers on

tea garden owners' paddy lands, which were shown as tea gardens to escape the ceiling laws on paddy lands. Charu Mazumdar was a major leader of this area and it was clear for some time, at least since 1965, that his ideas about agrarian revolution and armed struggle, apparently based on Mao Ze-Dong's thoughts, were different from the official CPM position. He not only did not believe that land reform was possible through legal methods, but argued this path only deadened the revolutionary urges of the peasants. To be politically meaningful, land had to be seized and defended through violent means. To concretize their ideas, he and his associates, Kami Sanyal and the tribal leader Jangal Santhal, organized a peasants' conference under the auspices of the Siliguri sub-division of the CPM in Darjeeling district only sixteen days after the UF government had come to power.

They gave a call for ending of landlords' monopoly on land, land distribution through peasant committees and armed resistance to landlords, the UF government and central government. According to some claims, all the villages were organized between April and May 1967. Around 15,000 to 20,000 peasants became full-time activists, it is said, and peasants' committees formed in villages became the nuclei of armed guards, who occupied land, burnt land records, declared debts cancelled, delivered death sentences on hated landowners, and set up a parallel administration. Bows, arrows and spears were supplemented by whatever guns could be seized from landlords. Hatigisha, Buraganj, and Chowpukhuria under Naxalbari, Kharibari and Phansidewa police stations respectively were the reported rebel strongholds. CPM leaders could easily see that the Naxalbari peasants were being led into a suicidal confrontation with the state, of which Communists were now a part. CPM could not remain in the government and sanction the action of the Naxalbari comrades. Persuasion was tried first, and Harekrishna Konar went to Siliguri and, according to his version, got the leaders to agree to surrender all persons wanted by the police and to stop all unlawful activities and to cooperate in the legal distribution of land in consultation with local peasant organizations. The local leaders denied any agreement and, anticipating repression, began to incite the peasants against the police. After this, things took their predictable and inexorable course, with a vicious circle of attacks on police, police reprisals, further clashes, and so on. CPM was in an unenviable position, trying for some time to steer a middle course between support for rebels and police repression, and making further attempts at conciliation by sending a cabinet mission of the UF government. It appears from some sources that the peasants did want to negotiate, but were brushed aside by Charu

Mazumdar. CPM had to ultimately condemn and expel the dissident leaders or resign from the government. It chose the former and this triggered off the process of the coming together of the extreme left forces, first into a Committee to help the Naxalbari peasants, and later in the CP(ML). Meanwhile, repression had its effect, and by July the peasant movement was over. The Naxalite movement then remained only in the towns with students as its main force

4.2.7.4.Srikakulam movement in Andhra Pradesh

Srikakulam was the northern-most district in Andhra Pradesh, bordering on Orissa, and among the least developed. The local tribal population, comprised of the Jatapu and Savara tribes, had been organized by Communists working in the Parvatipuram, Palakonda, Patapatnam and Kottur areas since the early fifties. From 1957-8 to 1967, a movement that organized tribals into Girijan Sanghams and Mahila Sanghams had secured many gains, including restoration of land illegally taken produce, reduction of debts, and free access to forests for timber for construction of houses and other daily needs, Tribals had gained in self-confidence and participated in rallies in nearby towns with enthusiasm. By mid-June 1970, a massive police operation was launched in which 1400 were arrested. On 10 July 1970, V. Satyanarayana and Adibhatla Kailasam, the two major leaders were killed, and that brought the movement to an end.

4.2.7.5.'New Farmers' Movements

The farmers' movements burst on to the national political stage in 1980 with the road and rail roko agitation in Nasik in Maharashtra led by the Shetkari Sangathana of Sharad Joshi. Two lakh farmers blockaded road and rail traffic on the Bombay-Calcutta and Bombay-Delhi route on November 10 demanding higher prices for onions and sugar cane. Thousands were arrested, two killed in police firing, and prices of onions and cane enhanced. The leader was an ex-UN official, Sharad Joshi, who articulated the ideology of the movement in terms of India versus Bharat or urban, industrial India versus rural, agricultural Bharat. In 1986, in Sisauli village in Muzaffarnagar district of U.P., Mahinder Singh Tikait, a middle-school-educated, medium-size peasant, Jat by caste, and head of the Jat caste panchayat or Khap, presided over a gathering of lakhs of villagers before which the chief minister of U.P. had been forced to appear in person to announce his acceptance of their demand for reduction of electricity charges to the old level. These were only the more dramatic moments in what had emerged in the eighties as a widespread grassroots mobilization of rural dwellers. Led by the Vivasayigal Sangam in Tamil

Nadu, the Rajya Ryothu Sangha in Karnataka, Bharatiya Kisan Union in Punjab and U.P., Khedut Samaj and Kisan Sangh in Gujarat and the Shetkari Sangathana in Maharashtra, farmers in their thousands and lakhs, at different times for different demands, stopped traffic on highways and train routes, withheld supplies from cities, sat on indefinite dharnas at government offices in local and regional centres, gheraoed officials, prevented political leaders and officials from entering villages, especially at election time, till they agreed to support their demands, refused to pay enhanced electricity charges, and interest on loans, and cost of irrigation schemes, resisted confiscation proceedings in lieu of debt, and even de-grabbed confiscated goods and land.

The basic understanding on which the movements rested is that the government maintains agricultural prices at an artificially low level in order to provide cheap food and raw materials to urban areas, and the consequent disparity in prices results in farmers paying high prices for industrial goods needed as inputs into agriculture and receiving low returns for their produce. As a result, farmers are exploited by urban interests, and are victims of internal colonialism. They need not pay back loans or charges for infrastructure costs as they have already paid too much and are in fact net creditors. This basic philosophy is articulated in different forms by all the leaders and organizations; it provides the legitimacy for the movement in the farmers' consciousness, along with the traditional propensity of the Indian peasant to resist what they perceive as 'unjust' government demands

4.2.8. Conclusion

Thus, the fight for the land and agriculture is a continuous process. The peasants had to struggle hard to get their land from the zamindars. Although the zamindari system was abolished in the post independence era, but India witnessed many peasant revolutions in India in the form 'Praja Mandala' movement and many others. However, the abolition of zamindari system along with the land reforms and land ceiling of the government of India, the Bhoodan movement, establishment of cooperatives, agricultural growth, increase of production due to Green Revolution, etc. has enhanced the economic prosperity of India. In spite of the above development, India has witnessed many agrarian revolutions since independence. In recent days also the agrarian revolutions are still going on.

4.2.9. Summary

- The British government had introduced zamindari system in order to realize the land revenue in the Indian provinces.
- After independence, the Government of India brought land reforms in which provision was made for the land reforms and abolition of zamindari system in India.
- The first phase which started soon after independence and arguably continued till the early sixties focussed on the following features: abolition of zamindars, jagirdars, etc. This phase has also been called the phase of institutional reforms.
- The second phase beginning around the mid- or late sixties saw the gradual ushering in of the so-called Green Revolution and has been seen as the phase of technological reforms.
- A major plank of the land reform effort in India was the imposition of ceilings on the size of landholdings, with the objective of making land distribution more equitable.
- Bhoodan was an effort on land reform, in bringing about institutional changes in agriculture, like land redistribution through a movement by Eminent Gandhian constructive worker, Acharya Vinoba Bhave.
- Many nationalist, socialists and Communists leaders agreed that cooperativization would lead to major improvement in Indian agriculture and would particularly benefit the poor.
- Green Revolution is associated with India's chronic food shortage having a begging-bowl image of India, to one which was self-sufficient and which became over time even surplus in food.
- Since independence India has seen agrarian struggles of enormous variety, ranging from the legendary Telangana peasant movement and the PEPSU tenants' movement which continued from the pre-independence years, to the Naxalite or Maoist movement in the late sixties and the 'new' farmers' movements of the eighties.

4.2.10. Exercise

- ❖ Write a note on the abolition of zamindari system.
- ❖ Discuss various aspects of Tenancy Reforms.
- ❖ Make an analysis on the ceiling and Bhoodan movement.
- ❖ Make a critical analysis on the cooperatives.
- ❖ High light the different aspects of agricultural growth and the Green Revolution.
- ❖ Give an account on various agrarian struggles since independence.

4.2.11. Further Reading

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Unit-4
Chapter-III
REVIVAL AND GROWTH OF COMMUNALISM

Structure

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4.3.0 Objectives

In this chapter, students explore the revival and growth of communalism in India. After completing this chapter, you will be able:

- *discuss different aspects of communalism*
- *know about the revival of communalism in India*
- *give an account on the communal violence in India*
- *understand the revival and growth of communalism in India*

4.3.1. Introduction

Communalism is detrimental to national unity and integrity. Communalism and communal parties and organizations are a part of today's political system. The communal appeal is used on a large scale for electoral mobilization. For the last two decades the country has been regularly racked by a spate of communal riots. Communalism is today the most serious danger facing Indian society and polity. It is undermining secularism, which has become a menace to the hard-won unity of the Indian people and threatens to unleash the forces of barbarism.

4.3.2. Revival and Growth of Communalism

Communalism is an ideology based on the belief that the Indian society is divided into religious communities, whose economic, political, social and cultural interests diverge and are even hostile to each other because of their religious differences. Communalism is, above all, a belief system through which a society, economy and polity are viewed and explained and around which effort is made to organize politics. As an ideology it is akin to racialism, anti-Semitism and fascism. In fact, it can be considered the Indian form of fascism. Further, the relationship between communal ideology and communal violence needs to be clarified.

The basic thrust of communalism as an ideology is the spread of communal ideas and modes of thought. Though communal violence draws our attention to the communal situation in a dramatic manner, it is not the crux of the problem. The underlying and long-term cause of communal violence is the spread of the communal ideology or belief-system. Communal violence usually occurs when communal thinking that precedes it reaches a certain level of intensity and the atmosphere is vitiated by the building up of communal fear, suspicion and hatred. Communal ideology can thus prevail without violence but communal violence cannot

exist without communal ideology. In other words, communal ideology and politics are the disease, communal violence only its external symptom.

4.3.2.1. Secularism and its Roots

It was one of the great triumphs of the Indian national movement that despite the Partition of India and the barbaric riots that accompanied it, the Indian people accepted secularism as a basic value, enshrined it in the Constitution, and set out to build a secular state and society. The legacy of the freedom struggle, Gandhiji's martyrdom, Nehru's total commitment to secularism and the active support extended to Nehru by Sardar Patel, Maulana Azad, C. Rajagopalachari and other leaders in the struggle against communalism, led to its becoming dominant in the fifties. Communal parties made a poor showing in the elections of 1952, 1957 and 1962 and for years remained a marginal force in Indian politics.

4.3.2.2. Communal politics in India and communal riots

It was not realized by the people or their leaders that communalism can have passive and active phases, depending on circumstances, but that it would not disappear without an active struggle. Moreover, even while communal politics lay dormant, communal ideologues continued their work and communal organizations such as RSS, Jan Sangh, Jamaat-e-Islami, Muslim League, Akali Dal and various Christian communal groups in Kerala continued to function. Communalism became active in the sixties, gaining in strength as seen in the rising communalization of Indian society. In the late fifties itself, there was a series of communal riots. The number of persons killed in riots increased from 7 in 1958 to 41 in 1959 and 108 in 1961. In particular, the riot in Jabalpur in 1961 shook the whole nation. Nehru reacted by immediately forming the National Integration Council. Once again, in the mid-sixties, the disruptive forces of communalism were on the upswing in Indian politics and large sections of the common people became susceptible to communalism and casteism. The Jan Sangh increased its strength in parliament from 14 in 1962 to 35 in the general elections of 1967. It participated in coalition ministries in several North Indian states and began to attract considerable support in the rural areas of U.P., Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. The incidence and severity of communal riots also increased, the number of riots being 1,070 in 1964, 520 in 1969 and 521 in 1970; the number of those killed being 1919, 673 and 298 respectively. There was some respite from communalism and communal riots from 1971 to 1977. The number of communal riots did not exceed 250 in any of those years and the number of killed did not exceed 1,000, as Indira Gandhi

consolidated her power in the parliamentary election of 1971. In elections, Jan Sangh's strength in the parliament was reduced from 35 in 1967 to 22. The Bangladesh war at the end of 1971 also gave a major blow to both Hindu and Muslim communalisms. However, communalism and communal violence began to once again increase from 1978 and have become endemic since then, assuming alarming proportions.

4.3.2.3. Characteristics of Communalism

Like all ideologies and politics, communalism has a concrete social base or roots; it is the product of and reflects the overall socio-economic and political conditions. But this happens in a distorted manner, defeating any accurate diagnosis of the situation, its causes and remedies. Thus, communalism does not reflect any social truth: what it declares to be the social reality is not the social reality; what it declares to be the causes of social discontent are not the causes; and what it declares to be the solutions of the social malady are not the solutions—in fact it is itself a social malady. Communalism is, thus, no answer to any of the problems leading to its generation and growth. Instead, it undermines the real struggle for changing social conditions.

4.3.2.4. Communal politics through fear and hate

The result has been a moral and cultural vacuum which is highly conducive to ideologies based on fear and hate. Individuals, groups and parties are taking the quick and easy route to political power by arousing communal sentiments and passions. Another aspect of the communal problem has been the inevitable exhaustion of the political idealism generated by the national movement which inspired the people, particularly the youth, and gave impetus to secular ideas. After 1947, people needed a new unifying, anti-divisive goal or vision which could generate hope for the future, kindle healthy national feelings, inspire and unite them in a common nationwide endeavour, and strengthen the secular content of society. Unfortunately, such a vision has been lacking, especially after the seventies. There is, thus, every danger that without radical social change and the sway of an inspiring developmental and egalitarian ideal, communalism and communal-type movements may succeed in destroying India's unity and hampering all efforts at social and economic development. It is, therefore, necessary to eliminate the social conditions which favour the growth of communalism.

4.3.2.5. Long-Term and Short-Term Causes

There are the long-term causes of communalism and the immediate and short-term causes of communal riots and other forms of communal violence. The causes of communal violence

have often been conjunctural; they have been local, specific and accidental, such as some minor religious issue or dispute, or teasing of a girl, or even a violent quarrel between two persons belonging to different religious groups. In more recent years, criminal gangs engaged in lucrative illegal activities, such as smuggling, illicit distillation and sale of liquor, gambling, drug pushing and kidnapping have used communal riots to settle scores with their rivals. An important feature of Indian politics and administration in the last few decades has been the growing laxity of the state apparatuses, especially the police, in their treatment of communal violence. After all the state alone possesses the instruments to successfully counter communal violence, and immediate and effective state action is the only viable way of dealing with it. Yet, seldom has action been taken even under the existing laws against the instigators of communal hatred and organizers of communal violence. Another major factor in the growth of communalism since the sixties has been the political opportunism towards communalism practised by secular parties, groups and individuals.

The Communist parties sanctioned both steps, though indirectly. The soft approach towards communal parties and groups has had the extremely negative consequence of making them respectable and legitimizing communalism. This policy has tended to whittle down one of the major contributions of the national movement and the Nehru era, of making communalism a dirty word even when failing to root it out. The secularists have also in recent years tended to pander to communal sentiments through all types of concessions. For example, Rajiv Gaiidhi did so by reversing the Supreme Court judgement in the Shah Bano case, through a constitutional amendment, and by opening the gates of the disputed Ayodhya mosque temple in 1986. V.P. Singh did so by declaring the Prophet's birthday a holiday in his Red Fort speech on Independence Day in 1990. These concessions to Muslim and Hindu communalisms did not lessen communal tensions but only aggravated them.

A communal party is one which is structured around communal ideology. Such parties have since their inception promoted communal thinking and often whipped up communal passions. Though the secular-opportunist parties have tended to vacillate and retreat in the face of the communal onslaught, it is still very important that they have themselves not been communal. This fact has been a major obstacle in the burgeoning forth of communalism. Second, it is to be noted that there is no difference between majority (Hindu) communalism and minority

(Muslim, Sikh, Christian, etc.) communalisms. They are merely variants of the same communal ideology and are equally dangerous.

4.3.2.6. Hindu and Muslim Communalism

Since the early sixties, the communalists in India have been taking recourse to religious issues to impart passion and intensity to their politics. Muslim communalism flourished in the forties in colonial India on the basis of the cry of Islam in danger, but Hindu communalism remained weak in India and a marginal force in Indian politics as it had not been able to appeal to religion or arouse religious passion. Hindu communalists raised the cries of Hindus or their culture being in danger but were not able to arouse Hindus emotionally as effectively as Muslim communalists. This was because of several reasons: Hinduism is not an organized religion—it is not based on the sanctity and authority of a single sacred book or a hierarchical priestly class. Hindus do not have one God or one set of beliefs—consequently there is immense religious diversity among them—in fact, there are no strict rules determining who is a Hindu. Hindus also have a long tradition of religious tolerance and broad-mindedness.

4.3.2.7. Ram Janambhoomi and Babri Masjid issue

It was also not easy to convince Hindus, who constituted the large religious majority in India, that their religion was in any danger. Hindu communalists found that without the strong emotional appeal to religion or a religious issue the progress of communal politics was tardy. Taking a leaf out of the pre-1947 Muslim League politics, they began from the late seventies to grope for a religious issue around which to develop their politics. Such an opportunity was presented to them in the early eighties in the Babri Masjid (mosque)-Ram Janambhoomi (birth place of Ram) issue, which could inflame Hindus, for Ram occupies a unique place in India. Over the years, the BJP and its sister organizations, Vishwa Hindu Parishad and Bajrang Dal, all carefully nursed by RSS, succeeded in using this issue and its religious appeal to gain influence with a large number of Hindus all over the country and to weaken their resistance to communalism. A brief history of the controversy follows. A mosque was built by a governor of Babur at Ayodhya (in U.P.) in the early sixteenth century. Some Hindus claimed in the nineteenth century that it was built over a site which was the place where Ram was born and where a Ram temple had existed. But the issue did not take a serious turn till December 1949 when a communal-minded district magistrate permitted a few Hindus to enter the mosque and install idols of Sita and Ram there. Sardar Patel, as the home minister, and Jawaharlal Nehru

condemned the district magistrate's action, but the U.P. government felt that it could not reverse the decision. However, it locked the mosque and barred it to both Hindus and Muslims. The situation was more or less accepted by all as a temporary solution for the period of the dispute in the court. The resulting quiet lasted till 1983 when the Vishwa Hindu Parishad started a whirlwind campaign demanding the 'liberation' of the Ram Janambhoomi, which would entail the demolition of the mosque and the erection of a Ram temple in its place.

The so called secular parties and groups did not do anything to counter the campaign; they just ignored it. Suddenly, on 1 February 1986, the district judge, probably at the prompting of the Congress chief minister of U.P., reopened the mosque, gave Hindu priests its possession, and permitted Hindus to worship there. As a result, religious and communal passions were aroused leading to communal riots all over the country; sixty-five persons were killed in U.P. towns alone. Soon, powerful Hindu and Muslim communal groups led by the VHP and the Babri Masjid Action Committee were ranged against each other. The Hindu communalists demanded the demolition of the mosque and the construction of a Ram temple on its site; the Muslim communalists demanded the restoration of the mosque to Muslims.

The initiative soon passed into the hands of the Hindu communalists. In 1989, VHP, keeping in view the impending Lok Sabha elections, organized a massive movement to start the construction of a Ram temple at the site where the Babri mosque stood. As a part of that objective, it gave a call for the collection of bricks, sanctified by water from the river Ganges, from all over the country—villages, towns and cities—to be taken to Ayodhya. The Lok Sabha elections took place in a heightened communal atmosphere. There was also an indirect alliance of Janata Dal and its left allies with BJP, which increased its strength from two in 1984 to eighty-six. Moreover, the new government at the Centre formed by V.P. Singh relied on the outside support, of the CPI and CPM as well as the BJP. To consolidate its increased popular support, BJP now officially adopted as its objective the construction of the Ram Temple at Ayodhya. To popularize the objective, it organized in 1990 an all-India rath yatra headed by its president, L.K. Advani. The yatra aroused fierce communal passions and was followed by communal riots in large numbers of places. Thousands of BJPVHP volunteers gathered at Ayodhya at the end of October 1990, despite the U.P. government, headed by Mulayam Singh Yadav, banning the rally. To disperse the volunteers and to prevent them from harming the mosque, the police opened fire on them, killing and injuring over a hundred persons. The BJP thereafter withdrew its support to

the V.P. Singh government, resulting in its fall. Elections to a new Lok Sabha were held in 1991. BJP with 119 MPs emerged as the main opposition to Congress. It also formed governments in four states—U.P., Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh.

To consolidate and further enhance-its political gains, BJPVHP organized a huge rally of over 200,000 volunteers at the site of the mosque on 6 December 1992, with the major leaders of the two organizations being present. To allay the fears of injury to the mosque, the BJP chief minister of U.P., Kalyan Singh, had given an assurance to the Supreme Court that the mosque would be protected. The assurances had been repeated by the BJP leaders in the parliament. In spite of these assurances, the BJP-VHP volunteers set out to demolish the mosque with hammer blows, while BJP leaders looked on. The central government also lay paralyzed. The entire country was shocked by this event which had other disastrous consequences. Communal riots, the worst and the most widespread since 1947, broke out in many parts of the country, the worst hit being Bombay, Calcutta and Bhopal. The riots in Bombay lasted for nearly a month. In all more than three thousand people were killed in the riots all over India. In the 1996 elections to the Lok Sabha, BJP won seats, while, in 1998, it succeeded in winning seats and forming a government with the help of its allies. This section may be concluded by pointing out that though on the surface the Babri Masjid-Ram Janambhoomi issue appears to be a religious one, in reality this is not so. In fact, the communalists are not interested in religion; they are interested only in the manipulation and exploitation of religion and religious identity for the communalization of the people for political ends.

4.3.3. Conclusion

Thus, Religion is just a personal matter and it has nothing to do with politics. Despite the growth of communalism and communal parties and groups in recent years, India still has a basically healthy secular society. Even though communalism is perhaps the most serious challenge facing Indian society and polity, it is not yet the dominant mode of thought of the Indian people. Even when the communalists have succeeded in utilizing communalism as the quick and easy route to political power and have won elections, the people who have voted for them have done so to express their discontent with the existing state of political and economic affairs. They have not yet imbibed communal ideology significantly. The Indian people are still basically secular, and the believers in communal ideology constitute a fringe. Even in areas where communal riots have occurred, there does not exist a permanent divide between Hindus and Muslims or Hindus

and other minorities. In fact, the politicians of this country have been playing with the religious sentiment of the people of India. Only the conscious citizens of India can give a befitting reply to communalism in India.

4.3.4 .Summary

- Communalism is detrimental to national unity and integrity.
- Communalism and communal parties and organizations are a part of today's political system.
- Communalism is an ideology based on the belief that the Indian society is divided into religious communities, whose economic, political, social and cultural interests diverge and are even hostile to each other because of their religious differences.
- The basic thrust of communalism as an ideology is the spread of communal ideas and modes of thought.
- Like all ideologies and politics, communalism has a concrete social base or roots; it is the product of and reflects the overall socio-economic and political conditions.
- The causes of communal violence have often been conjunctural; they have been local, specific and accidental, such as some minor religious issue or dispute, or teasing of a girl, or even a violent quarrel between two persons belonging to different religious groups.
- It is to be noted that there is no difference between majority (Hindu) communalism and minority (Muslim, Sikh, Christian, etc.) communalisms—they are merely variants of the same communal ideology and are equally dangerous.
- Since the early sixties, the communalists in India have been taking recourse to religious issues to impart passion and intensity to their politics.
- In fact, the communalists are not interested in religion; they are interested only in the manipulation and exploitation of religion and religious identity for the communalization of the people for political ends.

4.3.5. Exercise

- ❖ Discuss the communal politics in India since independence.
- ❖ Make a critical analysis on the Hindu and Muslim communal politics in India.
- ❖ Write a note on the revival and growth of communalism in India.

- ❖ Give an account on the communal incidents occurred in India after independence.

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Unit-4
Chapter-IV

CASTE, UNTOUCHABILITY, ANTI-CASTE POLITICS AND STRATEGIES

Structure

4.4.0.Objectives

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4.4.2.Caste, Untouchability, Anti-caste Politics and Strategies

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4.4.2.12.Backward caste politics

4.4.3.Conclusion

4.4.4.Summary

4.4.5.Exercise

4.4.6.Further Reading

4.4.0.Objectives

In this chapter, students explore the caste system and untouchability in India. After completing this chapter, you will be able:

- *discuss the caste system in India*
- *know about the untouchability*
- *give an account on the anti-caste politics in India*
- *understand the anti-caste politics and its strategies*

4.4.1.Introduction

Since ancient times caste continues to be a determinant of social, economic, and political life of India. It has much impact on the contemporary social, economic and political life of the Indians. Caste determines the nature, organization and working of political parties and different interest groups, legislatures, bureaucracies, and in fact almost all political structures and functions. Although, many rules and regulations have been made in the constitution of India, but till date the heinous caste system and untouchability is still persist.

4.4.2.Caste, Untouchability, Anti-caste Politics and Strategies

The caste system in India is said to be originated about two thousand and five hundred years ago. It is prevalent not only among Hindus but also among Sikhs, Christians and Muslims. While it has many aspects, here we are concerned with the aspect of hierarchy, of high and low, of touchable and untouchable, which has provided legitimation for the unequal access to resources, and to the exploitation and oppression of lower castes, besides the discrimination against lower castes by higher castes.

4.4.2.1.Hazards of caste system and untouchability

The most obnoxious part of the caste system was that it designated certain groups as untouchables and outcastes, and then used this to deny them access to ownership of land, entry into temples, and access to common resources such as water from the village tank or well. Non untouchable castes, including the lowest among them, were not to have any physical contact with untouchables. They could not accept water or food from their hands. In the villages, the untouchable castes performed all the menial jobs such as those of scavengers, water-carriers, skimmers of hides of dead animals, leather-workers, as well as, of course, agricultural labour. Under the jajmani system, they received a fixed share of the produce from the landowning families as payment for their services.

4.4.2.2.Social reformers of nineteenth century

From the middle and late nineteenth century onwards, breaches began to appear in the system described above. Economic changes, especially the commercialization of agricultural production and agrarian relations, emergence of contractual relations, new employment opportunities outside the village in factories, mandis, government service, the army (aided by education), all contributed to a shift in the position of the untouchables. Social reform movements, such as those of Jyotiba Phule in Maharashtra and Sri Narayana Guru in Kerala, also began to question the caste system and caste inequality. From 1920 onwards, Gandhiji integrated the issue of abolition of untouchability into the national movement and major campaigns and struggles, such as the Vaikom (1924-25) and Guruvayur satyagrahas (1931-32) were organized. Gandhiji's effort was to make the upper castes realize the enormity of the injustice done via the practice of untouchability and to persuade them to atone for this wrong. He opposed the British attempt to treat the Depressed Classes, as untouchables were then called in official parlance, as separate from Hindus, and grant them reserved seats in legislatures, based on separate electorates in the Communal Award of 1932, because once they were separated from the Hindus, there would be no ground for making Hindu society change its attitude towards them.

4.4.2.3.Efforts of B. R. Ambedkar

Dr B. R. Ambedkar, a brilliant lawyer, educated in the United States with the help of a scholarship given by the Maharaja of Baroda, emerged as a major leader of the Depressed Classes by the late twenties. He was a Mahar, a major untouchable caste of Maharashtra. In 1932, after Gandhiji went on a fast against the Communal Award, he agreed to the Poona Pact by which the Depressed Classes (later Scheduled Castes) were given reserved seats from within the general Hindu category. But by 1936, he argued that conversion to another religion was necessary and even chose Sikhism. But the conversion was deferred since the British government would not promise that the benefits of reservation would be continued in the case of conversion. In 1936, he formed the Independent Labour Party which sought to combine with peasants and workers and contested and won a few seats in the 1937 elections to the Bombay Legislative Assembly.

By the early forties, Ambedkar realized that his effort to build an alliance against the Congress was not making much headway, and he decided to focus on the Scheduled Castes

(SCs) alone and formed the Scheduled Castes Federation in 1942. He also cooperated, politically, with the colonial government on the understanding that he could get more benefits for the SCs. His loyalty won him a seat on the Viceroy's Executive Council (the equivalent of the Cabinet) in the forties. Other strands also emerged in different regions; in Punjab, the Adi-Dharm, in U.P. the Adi-Hindu and in Bengal the Nama shudras. Interestingly, in both Punjab and Bengal, they allied with the pro-British Unionist and Krishak Praja parties respectively. In Bihar, Jagjivan Ram, who emerged as the most important Harijan Congress leader, formed the Khetmajoor Sabha and the Depressed Classes League. The main demands of Harijan organizations before independence were freedom from the beggar or caste-specific imposed labour, grant of forest or waste lands for cultivation, and removal of legal disabilities from owning land, such as those imposed by the Punjab Land Alienation Act 1900, which did not include SCs among agriculturist castes.

4.4.2.4. Acts made in the constitution of India

With independence, major initiatives in the area of removing caste injustice and inequality were to be attempted. The Constitution extended political rights to all citizens irrespective of religion, caste, sex, language, race and this included the Scheduled Castes. But it also specifically in Article 17 declared that: 'untouchability' is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of 'untouchability shall be an offence punishable with law. In 1955, parliament passed the Untouchability (Offences) Act which further specified that any offences were punishable with a fine, cancellation of licences and public grants.

4.4.2.5. Protection of Civil Rights (Amendment) Act

In 1976, the protection of Civil Rights (Amendment) Act was passed which provided for enhanced and stringent punishment, appointment of officers and special courts to deal with offenders, legal aid for victims, etc. The Constitution also made provisions for reservation of seats in legislatures and educational institutions and of government jobs for Scheduled Castes. The reservations were initially made for a period of ten years but have been extended continuously since then. Dr Ambedkar was a party to the constitutional and legal initiatives as, despite their differences in the pre-independence days, he was chosen by the Congress as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution and was the law minister in Nehru's Cabinet. However, differences emerged, and he left the government to form the All India

Scheduled Castes Federation, which contested elections but its candidates mostly lost to Congress candidates in reserved seats. In 1956, he reverted to his position of conversion being necessary and, with himself at the head, led half a million people (some say 6 million), mainly Mahars, his own community, to become Buddhists. He could probably do this because reservations were not denied to Buddhist converts as they were to SCs who converted to Christianity and Islam. Some other untouchable groups, such as the Jatavs of Agra, also followed him, but many others did not. Ambedkar died soon after, in 1956, leaving no second line of leadership. However, on the basis of a letter by him, published posthumously, the Republican Party was founded in 1957 and it fought the elections to the Bombay Legislative Assembly in the same year and won a few seats. Clashes over personality and other issues soon led to splits and in a few years time most factions joined or allied with the Congress, which under Y.B. Chavan made special efforts to accommodate them.

4.4.2.6. Political organization of Dalit Panthers

In the early seventies, a new trend identified as the Dalit Panthers (Dalit, meaning downtrodden, being the name by which the Scheduled Castes now prefer to call themselves in various parts), emerged in Maharashtra as part of the country-wide wave of radical politics. It was first reflected in creative literature and then in politics. Established as a political organization in 1972, the Dalit Panthers leaned ideologically on Ambedkar's thought, and had their base mainly among youth and students in urban centers.

4.4.2.7. Activities of Dalit Panthers

They talked about revolution, but there is little evidence of any concrete strategy being evolved. The agitation for renaming Marathwada University as Ambedkar University resulted in the anti-Dalit riots in 1978 in the rural areas of Maharashtra in which the main aggressors were the middle class Maratha Kunbi non-Brahmin peasants. By the eighties, the Dalit Panthers had developed serious differences over issues such as whether or not to include, non-Dalit poor, non-Buddhist Dalits, primacy of cultural versus economic struggle, as well as over personalities, for example, Raja Dhale versus Namdeo Dhasal. Splits began to occur and most factions, as in the case of the Republican Party twenty years earlier, joined or allied with Congress over time. Prakash Ambedkar, grandson of B.R. Ambedkar, in 1990 made an effort to unite all Dalit organizations for contesting the Maharashtra State Assembly elections and a huge morcha of 500,000 people was organized in Bombay but later differences cropped up again.

4.4.2.8. Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP)

In North India, a new party, the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) emerged in the eighties under the leadership of Kanshi Ram (and later Mayawati, who became chief minister of U.P.) which declared electoral power as its basic aim and strategy. Though initially there was talk of Dalit and Backward Castes and minorities coming together as a bahujan samaj, in practice the BSP has become a Dalit-based party willing to ally with any political force, BJP, Congress, Janata, Samajwadi Party, as long as it advances its vote share and gets political power. Such a deal with the BJP got Mayawati her chief ministership in U.P. in 1995 and, much to the annoyance of those who regarded V.P. Singh as the messiah of social justice, the BSP happily dropped him to support Devi Lal and Chandra Shekhar in 1990. The BSP has succeeded in securing a sufficient base among the SCs in U.P., Punjab, and Madhya Pradesh for it to become a significant factor in electoral calculations of other parties and the lack of dominance of any one party has given it an importance it might not have had otherwise. A marked feature of its ideology has been a strident and often abusive stance towards upper castes in general, though proximity to power appears to be already exercising its mellowing effect.

4.4.2.9. Works of Dalit organizations

The agricultural labour unions set up by different parties and NGOs that have taken up agricultural labour issues such as wage demands, demands for employment guarantee schemes, right to work, house-sites, abolition of child labour, right to education, etc., have all contributed to a new Dalit self-confidence. Exclusively Dalit organizations have also mushroomed. Dalit youth in rural areas have organized Ambedkar Sanghams. In urban areas, students, teachers, youth, and office workers have been organized into associations, but these are more concerned with advancing the interests of their members and have little link with rural areas or the urban poor. It must, however, be recognized that despite all the efforts of Dalit parties and other political groups, the majority of Dalits still vote for the Congress. It is this simple but overwhelming ground reality that has propelled Dalit leaders over the years towards the Congress and not simplistic explanations based on theories of co-option or betrayal. If their aim is to change this, Dalit ideologues will have to understand the underlying causes.

4.4.2.10. Strategies of caste politics

A more recent problem is the competition between different SC castes, such as Mahars and Mangs in Maharashtra, MaJas and Madigas in Andhra Pradesh, Chamars and Chuhras in north India. As the benefits of reservation are inevitably availed of by the better-off castes among the, SCs, the disadvantaged ones begin to demand quotas within quotas, and intra-SC hostility is becoming increasingly politically visible. This is the logic of reservation—once reservation is secured, the only way of further improving your prospects is by trying to secure a larger slice of the apportioned cake for your group. The overall position of Scheduled Castes has improved considerably, nevertheless. But the causes are not to be found mainly in either conversion or reservation, the two highly visible strategies.

4.4.2.11.Strategies through anti-poverty programmes

The more invisible processes of social and economic change, of industrialization, of agricultural growth leading to growth of rural employment, of urbanization, have all helped. The extension of primary education and health facilities, the anti-poverty programme, the rural employment guarantee schemes, rural income-generating schemes such as subsidies and loans for dairying and goat-rearing, the literacy campaign, the campaign for abolition of child labour, have all been crucial. The provision of house sites in villages, begun by Indira Gandhi, has been particularly important since it has removed a major instrument of coercion from the hands of the upper castes who could earlier threaten to throw out the recalcitrant members from the village land. Adult franchise, which makes the vote of even the poorest and the lowest caste valuable, has had its own consequences. Distribution of land, where it has occurred, has also helped in improving status, by removing the stigma of landlessness, and raising living standards. An innovative new scheme started in Andhra Pradesh enables Scheduled Castes to purchase land on the market with the help of grants and loans provided by the government.

4.4.2.12.Backward caste politics

The issue of the Backward Classes or Castes, which came to a head with the Mandal report in the anti-Mandal agitation in 1990, is quite different from that of the SCs, though efforts are made at the political level to equate or collapse the two. The so-called Backward Castes are really the intermediate castes whose position in the ritual hierarchy was below that of the Brahmins and the kshatriyas and above that of the untouchables. They did suffer from certain ritual disabilities as compared to the upper castes, but they were in no way comparable to the SCs since they often had access to land and other economic resources. Nor did they suffer from

untouchability. Besides, the category includes great disparities, with some castes or sections of castes being very powerful economically and socially and others being quite disadvantaged with a ritual position just above that of the SCs.

Sociologists have shown that the Backward Castes such as Ahirs, Yadavas, Kurmis, Vokkaligas, Lingayats, Lodhas, etc. have gained considerable economic advantage via post-independence land reform which gave land rights to ex-tenants of zamindars. This new-found strength increased their political clout and representation and they are now seeking to use this clout to secure greater advantages for themselves in jobs, education, etc. In rural areas, they are the biggest exploiters of the SCs who are agricultural labourers and there is little in common between them. The Mandal report has been shown by scholars to be based on faulty methodology and a weak data base. The Mandal judgements have also been subjected to severe criticism by sociologists who have argued that caste has undergone such drastic changes since independence but the judiciary is still working on the basis of out-dated and ill-informed western notions of caste. In fact, the politics of reservations for Backward Castes has more to do with sharing the loaves and fishes of office and power than with a struggle for social justice.

4.4.3. Conclusion

In spite of all the policies and strategies of the government of India, the caste system and untouchability still exists in many parts of India like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Orissa, etc. The political parties like BSP, SP, Congress and many others are making strategies to get vote bank through caste based politics. Till today caste based incidents and subsequent violence are occurring in different parts of India. However, the breakdown of the jajmani system, the increasing delinking of caste from traditional occupation, and due to education and opportunity, caste system is disappearing. Untouchability in urban areas has virtually disappeared and in rural areas has declined drastically. The caste system and untouchability will be abolished from India when there will be 100% literacy in the true sense of the term and when the mindset of the people of India will be changed.

4.4.4. Summary

- Since ancient times caste continues to be a determinant of social, economic, and political life of India.
- It has much impact on the contemporary social, economic and political life of the Indians.

- Caste determines the nature, organization and working of political parties and different interest groups, legislatures, bureaucracies, and in fact almost all political structures and functions.
- The caste system in India is said to be originated about two thousand and five hundred years ago.
- The most obnoxious part of the caste system was that it designated certain groups as untouchables and outcastes, and then used this to deny them access to ownership of land, entry into temples, and access to common resources such as water from the village tank or well.
- Non untouchable castes, including the lowest among them, were not to have any physical contact with untouchables.
- Social reform movements, such as those of Jyotiba Phule in Maharashtra and Sri Narayana Guru in Kerala, also began to question the caste system and caste inequality.
- From 1920 onwards, Gandhiji integrated the issue of abolition of untouchability into the national movement and major campaigns and struggles, such as the Vaikom (1924-25) and Guruvayur satyagrahas (1931-32) were organized.
- He dedicated his life for the development of the Scheduled Castes (SCs) alone and formed the Scheduled Castes Federation in 1942.
- Article 17 of Indian constitution declares abolition of 'untouchability'.
- The BSP has become a Dalit-based party.
- In spite of all the policies and strategies of the government of India, the caste system and untouchability still exists in many parts of India like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Orissa, etc.

4.4.5.Exercise

- ❖ Write a note on the caste system and untouchability in India.
- ❖ Make an analysis on the evil practices of caste system and untouchability.
- ❖ Give an account on the anti-caste politics in India.
- ❖ Discuss the political strategies for caste based politics of political parties in India.

4.4.6.Further Reading

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