

POST INDEPENDENCE

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POST-INDEPENDENCE CONSOLIDATION AND REORGANIZATION WITHIN THE COUNTRY

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CHAPTER 1: NATION BUILDING AND CONSOLIDATION: PROCESS AND CHALLENGES

In the immediate aftermath of independence India faced challenges at multiple levels. Firstly, it was country vast in geographical expanse and diversity. Secondly, the society was plagued with disparity, inequality and illiteracy. Thirdly, in economic sphere poverty was rampant after the ravages of centuries of colonial rule and industry as well as agriculture was in abysmal shape. These challenges led to many observers predict the disintegration of India, especially as it adopted a democratic system of government despite not possessing the conditions considered to be necessary for democracy to flourish.

However, **strength** of the nascent nation lay in the fact that it was endowed with **natural resources** and **industrious people**. Also, the **national struggle** had provided **leadership, institutions** and experiences that would aid in facing the challenges mentioned earlier. Thus, the challenges over the time shaped the key goals to be achieved in the process of nation building and making India a success story.

In concrete terms the challenges facing India at the time of independence have been variously identified as:

1. The first and immediate challenge was to shape a nation that was united, yet accommodative of the diversity in our society. Due to the large landscape, different cultures with different regions and religions, variety of spoken languages, many people widely believed that a country with such amount of diversity could not remain together for long.
2. The second challenge was to establish democracy. India adopted representative democracy based on the parliamentary form of government. These features strived to ensure that the political competition would take place in a democratic framework. The challenge was to develop democratic practices in accordance with the constitution.
3. The third challenge was to ensure inclusive development and well-being of the entire society. Due to the widespread poverty, the real challenge now was to evolve effective policies for economic development and eradication of poverty.

These can be also seen as the goals to be achieved by independent India:

- Preserving, consolidating and strengthening territorial integrity and fostering national unity
- Developing democratic consciousness and institutionalizing it.
- Ensuring economic development and self-reliance.

The issue of national integration and unity involved both internal and external aspects. The internal elements included the issue of princely states, linguistic regions and inter-communal relations especially in the aftermath of partition. External elements included, situation in the neighborhood and the evolving international environment.

A. Partition and its Aftermath

Independence came with partition resulting in large scale communal violence and displacement. Thus, at the outset unity and social cohesion were challenged by the legacy left by the colonial rule.

Legacy and issues of Partition: Boundaries, Displacement and Rehabilitation

India was accompanied by Pakistan in independence. Thus, two nation states came into existence, because of 'partition' of British India. Pakistan was culmination of the communal politics engendered by the British rule and championed by the Muslim League as "two nation theory" which implied India consisted of two 'People' Hindus and Muslims.

Due to the forceful circumstances and several political developments in 1940's the political competition between the Congress and the Muslim League and the British role led to the **decision for the creation of Pakistan.**

Boundaries:

A very important task at hand was demarcation of boundaries. After 3rd June plan of Mountbatten a British jurist Sir Cyril Radcliff was invited to fix the problem and to form two boundary commissions one for Bengal and one for Punjab. Four other members were also there in commission but there was a deadlock between Congress and Muslim league. On 17th August, 1947 he announced his award.

Implications of the Radcliff Award:

It was decided to follow the **principle of religious majorities** which means that areas where the Muslims were in majority would make up the territory of Pakistan. The remaining was to stay with India.

The principle of **religious majorities** had entailed with it so many difficult positions:

1. There were **two areas of concentration with Muslim majority**, In the **West and East part of India**. Hence, it was decided that the new country, Pakistan will comprise two territories, West and East Pakistan.
2. Not all the Muslims were in favour joining Pakistan. Frontier Gandhi, **Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan**, the undisputed leader of the **North West Frontier Province**, staunchly **opposed the two nation theory**. But as Khudai khidmatgar of Abdul Ghaffar **Khan boycotted the Plebiscite due to provision of limited franchise rights** in that, the lone contender in the fray, the Muslim League, won the vote by default and in the end NWFP was made to merge with Pakistan.
3. Two Muslims majority concentrated provinces of British India, **Punjab and Bengal** had **very large areas with non-Muslims population in the majority**. Eventually it was decided that **these two provinces would be bifurcated according to the religious majority** at the district or even lower level. The partition of these two provinces caused the prolonged trauma of Partition.
4. The last difficult **position was of "minorities"** on both the sides of the border. Minorities then on either side lived in fear and fled from their homes to save their lives from brutal violence unleashed during partition.

Limitation of this award:

- a) Justice Radcliff had no prior knowledge about India.
- b) He had no specialized knowledge needed for the task also.
- c) He had no advisors and experts.
- d) 6 week deadline that Radcliff had was also a limitation of this award.

Consequence of Partition:

The year 1947, saw the one of the most abrupt and haphazard, tragic transfer of people that human history had ever witnessed.

- There were brutal killings, atrocities, rapes, on both sides of the border.
- The cities like Lahore, Amritsar, Kolkata (then Calcutta) got divided into "Communal Zones".
- In many cases women were killed by their own family members to preserve the 'family honor'.
- Everything was divided then from tables, chairs to government officials.
- It is estimated that the Partition forced about 80 lakhs people to migrate across the new border.
- Between five to 10 lakh people were killed in Partition related violence.

Relief and rehabilitation:

The government of India was successful in providing relief and in resettlement and rehabilitation of **nearly six million refugees from Pakistan**.

- A department of rehabilitation was created.
- Various **refugee camps** were set up some notable being camp at **Kurukshetra** and **Kolwada** camp at Bombay.
- Many of the Hindus and Sikhs fleeing West Punjab were directed by the government of India to refugee camp in Kurukshetra. A vast city of tents had grown up on the plain, to house waves of migrants, sometimes up to 20,000 a day.
- **Kurukshetra was the largest of the nearly 200 camps** set up to house refugees from **West Punjab**. While there were five refugee camps in **Mumbai** for refugees from **Sindh** region.

Some refugees had arrived before the date of transfer of power; among them prescient businessmen who had sold their properties in advance and migrated with the proceeds. However, the **vast majority came after 15 August 1947**, and with little more than the clothes on their skin. These were the farmers who had 'stayed behind till the last moment, firmly resolved to remain in Pakistan if they could be assured of an honourable living'. But when, in **September and October, the violence escalated in the Punjab**, they had to abandon that idea. The Hindus and Sikhs who were lucky enough to escape the mobs fled to India by road, rail, sea and on foot.

Camps such as Kurukshetra were but a holding operation. The **refugees had to be found permanent homes and productive work**. Thus refugees required **land for permanent settlement**. As it happened, a massive migration had also taken place the other way, into Pakistan from India. Thus, the first place to resettle the refugees was on **land vacated by Muslims in the eastern part of the Punjab**. If the transfer of populations had been '**the greatest mass migration**' in history now commenced '**the biggest land resettlement operation in the world**'.

- As against **2.7 million hectares abandoned by Hindus and Sikhs in West Punjab**, there were only **1.9 million hectares left behind by Muslims in East Punjab**.
- The shortfall was made more acute by the fact that the **areas in the west of the province had richer soils**, and were more **abundantly irrigated**.

To begin with, each family of **refugee farmers was given an allotment of four hectares**, regardless of its holding in Pakistan. **Loans** were advanced to buy **seed and equipment**. While cultivation commenced on these temporary plots, **applications were invited for permanent allotments**.

Each family was asked to submit evidence of how much land it had left behind. **Applications were received from 10 March 1948**; within a month, **more than half a million claims had been filed**. These **claims were then verified** in open assemblies consisting of other migrants from the same village. As each claim was read out by a government official, the assembly approved, amended, or rejected it.

Expectedly, many refugees were **at first prone to exaggeration**. However, **every false claim was punished**, sometimes by a reduction in the land allotted, in extreme cases by a brief spell of imprisonment. This acted as a deterrent; still, an officer closely associated with the process estimated that there was **an overall inflation of about 25 per cent**. To collect, collate, verify and act upon the claims a **Rehabilitation Secretariat** was set up in **Jullundur**. At its peak there were about 7,000 officials working there; they came to constitute a kind of refugee city of their own.

Leading the operations was the **director general of rehabilitation, Sardar Tarlok Singh of the Indian Civil Service**. A graduate of the London School of Economics, Tarlok Singh used his

academic training to good effect, making two innovations that proved critical in the successful settlement of the refugees.

Thus the task of rehabilitation took time to accomplish and **by 1951, the problem of the rehabilitation of the refugees from West Pakistan had been fully tackled.**

The rehabilitation on East took years and it was **more difficult** because of **constant exodus of Hindus** from East Bengal continued for years.

Beyond Partition: Challenges of internal consolidation

After handling this worst nightmare of Partition, Indian leadership strived to consolidate India from within and **look after its internal affairs.**

Plan of consolidation:

The broad strategy for national consolidation after 1947 involved:

1. Territorial integration,
2. Mobilization of political and institutional resources
3. Economic development, and
4. Adoption of policies which would promote social justice, remove glaring inequalities and provide equal opportunities.

B. Integration of Princely States

Unifying post partition India and the princely states under one administration was perhaps the most important task faced by then political leadership. In colonial India, **nearly 40% of the territory was occupied by five hundred sixty five small and large states ruled by princes** who enjoyed varying degrees of autonomy under the system of British Paramountcy. British power protected them from their own people as also from external aggression so long as they did British bidding.

As the British left, **many of 565 princely states, began to dream of independence.** They had **claimed that the paramountcy could not be transferred** to the new states of India and Pakistan. The ambitions were fuelled by the then British PM **Clement Attlee announcement on Feb 20, 1947** that **"His Majesty's Government does not intend to hand over their powers and obligations under paramountcy to any government of British India".**

With great skill and **masterful diplomacy** and using both **persuasion** and **pressure**, **Sardar Patel** succeeded in integrating the hundreds of princely states. **Few princely states joined Constituent Assembly with wisdom & realism**, but other princely states still stayed away from joining it. Princely states of **Travancore, Bhopal, and Hyderabad** publicly announced their desire to **claim an independent status.**

On **June 27, 1947**, Sardar Patel assumed additional charge of the newly created **states department** with V.P. Menon as its **Secretary.**

The **government's approach** was guided by **three considerations:**

1. The **people** of most of the princely states clearly wanted to become part of the Indian Union.
2. The government was prepared to be flexible in giving **autonomy to some regions.** The idea was to **accommodate plurality & adopt a flexible approach** in dealing with the demands of the regions.
3. In the **back drop of Partition**, the **integration and consolidation** of the territorial boundaries of the nation had **assumed supreme importance.**

Patel threw a **series of lunch parties** where he requested his princely guests to help the Congress in framing the new constitution for India. **Patel's first step 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 also gave an **implied threat** he would not be able to restrain the impatient people post August 15, 1947. States were issued an **appeal with an implied threat of anarchy and chaos**.

Next step of Patel was to **convince Mountbatten** to bat for India. **25th July speech of Mountbatten** to the **Chamber of Princes** finally persuaded the Princes. This speech ranked as the **most significant Act of Mountbatten** in India. After this, **virtually all the states except 3 signed the instrument of accession**.

One was **Travancore** under the Maharaja of Travancore **Chithira Thirunal** but the real ruler was its **Diwan C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyer**. There was an attack on C. P. Aiyer, and after that it was Maharaja of Travancore which wired the government that they are ready for accession.

Jodhpur-, it's accession was a serious issue due to its proximity to border. The young king was also being wooed by but after tremendous pressure from Patel, finally he signed the Instrument of accession to India.

Bhopal- Mainly hindu population and **ruler was Habibullah Khan** supported by Jinnah. There was a **revolt against the Bhopal ruler**, he faced pressure from Patel and common population and finally he signed the Instrument of Accession.

Thus before August 15, 1947 peaceful negotiations has brought almost all states whose territories were contiguous to the new boundaries of India, into the Indian Union. The rulers of most of the states signed a document called the "**Instrument of Accession**" which meant that their state agreed to become a part of the Union of India.

Accession of the princely states of **Junagadh, Hyderabad, Kashmir and Manipur proved more difficult than the rest**.

1. **Junagadh** was a small state on the **coast of Saurashtra** surrounded by Indian Territory without any geographical contiguity with Pakistan. Yet it's **Nawab Mohabbat Khan announced accession of his state to Pakistan on August 15, 1947** even though **majority of the people, overwhelmingly Hindu, desired to join India**.

People of the state organized a popular movement and a group of Junagarhi people forced the Nawab to flee and formed **Aarze Hukumat** (Provisional government) it was **led by Samal Das Gandhi**. The Dewan of Junagadh, **Shah Nawaz Bhutto**, the father of the more famous Zulfikar Ali Bhutto now decided to invite the Government of India to intervene. Indian troops marched into the state. Later, a **plebiscite** was held in state **in 20 February 1948**, which favoured joining India.

2. In the **state of Kashmir**, The Hindu **ruler of the state Hari Singh**, did not wish to merge with India and **tried to negotiate with Indian and Pak to have an independent status** for his state. **Since majority population of the state was Muslim**, the **Pakistani leaders** thought the Kashmir region '**belonged**' to them.

The **popular movement** in the state, led by **Sheikh Abdullah**, wanted to get rid of the Maharaja, but was **against joining Pak**. Sheikh Abdullah formed the National conference which was a **secular organization & had a long association with the Congress**. Abdullah asked Dogra dynasty to quit and hand over the power to people.

On 15th August Hari Singh offered standstill agreement with both countries which would allow the free movement of people and goods. **Pakistan signed the agreement but India**

didn't and followed the policy of wait and watch. **Pakistan became impatient** and started violating standstill agreement. Mehar Chand Mahajan then prime minister of Kashmir complained this to British government for economic blockade and breach of standstill agreement. Reports of atrocities against the Muslim population of Poonch by the Maharajah's forces further stokes a civil unrest against the ruler. On **22nd October** several **pathan tribesmen** unofficially led by Pakistan's army officer **invaded the state from north** and reached **up to Baramullah**, were further **advancing towards Srinagar**.

On **24th October** Hari Singh asked for military assistance from Indian government. **Mountbatten pointed** out that India can send its troops only after the state sign a formal instrument of accession. **V. P. Menon** went to Kashmir and on **26th October** **Maharaja signed instrument of accession** and also agreed upon **Abdullah being appointed as the Head of the state** administration. On the morning of **27 October** nearly 100 Indian planes **airlifted men and weapons to Srinagar**. Pakistan army left the main valley region but continue to occupy a large chunk of territory of gilgit, baltistan region. **National conference volunteers worked with the Indian Army** to drive out the Pakistan infiltrators. Sheikh Abdullah became the Prime Minister. In **November 1947** **Mountbatten flew to Lahore on a peace mission**. There took place a meeting with Jinnah but **no agreement** could be made. Jinnah described that Kashmir accession is based upon fraud and violence. **Nehru wrote to Harisingh that he wants a final solution to Kashmir**.

On **1 January 1948** India decided to take the Kashmir issue to UN:

- It was based on the advice of Lord Mountbatten.
- The underlying logic is explained by Ramchandra Guha: "since Kashmir had acceded to it, India wanted the UN to help clear the northern parts of...illegal occupation by groups loyal to Pakistan."

At the security council the issue was transformed from 'the Kashmir question' to the 'India-Pakistan question. It happened, in part, due to the success of Pakistan's representative, Sir Zafarullah Khan, in painting the issue as a consequence of partition riots in north India. Thus, the issue was recast as an unfinished agenda of the partition.

The debate in UN was marked by partisanship of the British. Philip Noel Baker, as Britain's representative, strongly backed Pakistan's position. The developments at the Security Council made Nehru rue his decision as he saw UN being run by the Americans who like the British were sympathetic to the case of Pakistan case.

Security Council resolution 47 on 21 April 1948 enforced a ceasefire between India and Pakistan. In 1951 constituent assembly met in Srinagar to formulate a constitution for state and it ratified the accession in 1954.

In 1951 the UN passed a resolution for a referendum under UN supervision contingent on Pakistan withdrawing its troops. This resolution remains ineffective because Pakistan never withdrew its force from what is called Azad Kashmir or Pakistan Occupied Kashmir.

1. **Hyderabad:** Surrounded entirely by Indian Territory, **Hyderabad was the largest of the princely states**. Its ruler, the "**Nizam**", had claimed an independent status and in **November 1947** the Government of **India signed a standstill agreement** with him. Sardar Patel patiently waited a negotiated solution as he felt time was on India's side and Lord Mountbatten was interested in acting as an intermediary.

Though encouraged by Pakistan, the Nizam failed to get dominion status from the British. Thus, he engaged in negotiations with the government of India. It was expected by the government that while the negotiations went on the Nizam would introduce representative government in his state helping the way for merger. Nizam hoped to prolong negotiations

and build up his military strength in order to force India to accept his sovereignty, He also kept the option of acceding to Pakistan open in view of the tensions over Kashmir between India and Pakistan.

2. Within the state the **Majlis-e-Ittehad-ul Muslimeen** or **MIM** (Council of the Union of Muslims) and its paramilitary wing the Razakars grew strong with the official help. The MIM advocated the setup of a Muslim dominion rather than integration with India. On the other hand the **Hyderabad state Congress** had in **August 1947** launched a powerful **satyagraha movement** to enforce democratization. The response of Nizam to the popular movement was repression. This accompanied by violence by Razakars forced thousands of people to fled the states and take shelter in Indian territory
3. In the **Telangana region** of the state a **Communist led peasant movement** had already developed since 1946. It received impetus as **peasant dalams** organized against the attacks by Razakars. Big land lords were attacked and the land was distributed among pesasant and landless.

By June 1948 As the negotiaitions dragged on, Sardar Patel grew impatient. He conveyed to Nehru that it was time to convey to the Nizam that nothing short of unqualified acceptance of accession and introduction of responsible government would be acceptable to the government of India.

After holding back for long even in the face of provocations by the Nizam administration, including increasing import of arms, and the atrocities of Razakars, the Indian army moved into Hyderabad on 13 September 1948. The police operation was code named operation Polo

Wihtin three days the Nizam had surrendered and finally acceded to the Indian Union in November 1948. The government treated Nizam with generosity by retaining him as the Rajpramukh and allowing him the privy purse of Rs 5 Million. The accession of Hyderabad completed the process of accession of princely states to India. Its significance also lies in the fact that it marked the triumph of Indian secularism as a large number of Muslims in Hyderabad joined in anti-Nizam struggle along with Muslims throughout the country supporting government and action much to the disappointment of the leaders of Pakistan.

Manipur: Maharaja of **Manipur** Bodhchandra Singh signed the instrument of Accession with the Indian government on the assurance that the internal autonomy of Manipur would be maintained.

Under the pressure of **public view**, the Maharaja held **elections in Manipur in June 1948** & thus the state became a **constitutional monarchy**. **Manipur was the first part of India to hold an election based on universal adult franchise.**

There were some **differences over Manipur's merger with India**. The **state Congress was in favour**, but **other political parties opposed** this view. The government of India succeeded in pressurizing the Maharaja into **signing a Merger Agreement in September 1949, without consulting the popularly elected Legislative Assembly** of Manipur. The caused a lot **anger and resentment** in Manipur, the consequences of which are **still being felt**.

Other States:

Smaller states were **either merged with the neighboring states or merged together** to 'form **centrally administered areas**'. A large number of states 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.

In return of their surrender of all power and authority, the **rulers of major states were given privy purses** 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.

French and Portuguese settlements:

After integration of princely states two trouble spots were French settlement and Portuguese settlements. After prolonged negotiation **Pondicherry and other French possessions were handed over to India in 1954.**

Portuguese were not ready to handover their areas. Its **Nato allies supported Portugal's position** and **India supported peaceful means.** There was a **independence movement in Goa**, India remained patience even in face of Portuguese repression in Goac. Eventually, however, in **1961** when that popular movement asked for support, **Indian troops marched in Goa** in under **Operation Vijay** and Portuguese authorities surrendered without any fight.

C. Tribal Integration

The uphill task of integrating the tribal population into the mainstream was extremely difficult given the diverse conditions under which they dwell in **different parts of the country**, having **different cultures** and speaking **varied languages**.

- Tribal population was spread all over India, their greatest concentration lies in **Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, North-eastern India, West Bengal, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Rajasthan**. Except the North-East, they constitute **minorities in their home states**. Residing mostly in the **hills and forest areas**, in colonial India they lived in **relative isolation** and their tradition, habits, cultures and ways of life were exceptionally different with that of their non-tribal neighbours.
- Penetration of market forces and colonial rule led to radical transformation effectively. A large number of **money lenders, traders, revenue farmers and other middlemen and petty officials** invaded the tribal areas and disrupted the traditional way of life of tribal people. Consequently they were engulfed in debt and lost their lands to outsiders.
- To conserve forests and to facilitate their commercial exploitation, the **colonial authorities brought large tracts of forest lands under forest laws** which **forbade shifting cultivation** and put severe restrictions on the use of forest and access to forest products for the tribals.
- Loss of land, indebtedness, exploitation by middlemen, denial of access to forests and forest products, oppression and extortion by policemen, forest officials and other government officials **was to lead** a series of tribal uprisings in the nineteenth & twentieth centuries, e.g. **Santhal & Munda rebellion**.

Roots of India Tribal Policy:

The government of India led by Jawaharlal Nehru favoured the policy of **integrating the tribal people in Indian society**, of making them an integral **part of the Indian nation**, even while **maintaining their distinct identity and culture**.

Prime Minister Nehru was the main influence in shaping government's attitude towards the tribals. Nehru stood for economic and social development of the tribal people in multifarious ways, especially in the fields of communications, modern medical facilities, agriculture and education.

Nehru thought that **Indian nationalism was capable of accommodating the uniqueness of tribal people**. The **nationalist policy towards tribals since the 1920s was underlined by Gandhiji's efforts** to set up **ashrams** in the tribal areas and **promotion of constructive work**.

There were certain broad guidelines laid down by Nehru, with the help of **Verrier Elwin [British Anthropologist]** which was called as "**Tribal Panchsheel**". They are:

1. Tribal people should be afforded the Opportunity to **develop along the line of their own genius & imposing anything** on them should be avoided. Attempt should be to **encourage** in every way their **own traditional arts and culture**.
2. Tribals **rights to land and forest** should be respected.
3. They should be **trained and build up a team of their own people** to do the work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will no doubt, be needed, especially in the beginning. **Introducing too many outsiders** into tribal territory should be **avoided**.
4. **These areas should not be over administered** or overwhelmed with multiplicity of schemes. Attempt should be to **work through & not in rivalry** to, their own **social & cultural institutions**.
5. Results should be judged not by **statistics** or the amount of money spent, but by the **quality of human character that is involved**.

To give shape to government's policy, provision was made in the **constitution** itself.

- Under **article 46** – the state should promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the tribal people & should protect them from social injustice & all forms of exploitation.

Critical Appraisal of the policy and its impact:

In spite of the constitutional safeguards and the efforts of central & state governments, the tribals progress and welfare has been a slow aprocess. **Except the North East**, the tribals continue to be poor, **indebted, landless** and often **unemployed**. The problem lies in **weak execution** of even well intentioned measures.

1. Quite often the **funds allocated for tribal welfare are not spent** or are spent without corresponding results and sometimes **funds are even misappropriated**. The watch dog of tribal interests, Tribal Advisory Council has not functioned effectively.
2. Administrative **personnel are either ill trained or prejudiced** against tribals.
3. A major handicap from which tribals suffer is **denial of justice**, often because of their **unfamiliarity with the laws & the legal system**.
4. **Violation of strict land transfer laws** for tribals, leading to alienation of land & eviction of tribals.
5. **Rapid extension of mines & industries** has worsened their conditions in many areas.
6. The **progress of education** among the tribal people has been disappointingly **slow**.
7. **Exploitation** from the forest officials and unsympathetic attitude of officials.

Positive Developments due to state's Initiative:

Certain positive developments in the tribal sphere have occurred since 1947. **Legislation** to protect tribal rights & interests, activities of the **tribal welfare departments, Panchayati Raj, Tribal Advisory Councils** in all states containing tribal areas to advise on matters concerning the welfare of tribals. spread of **literacy and education, reservations** in government services and in Parliament, state assemblies, reservation in higher education institutions, repeated elections have led to increasing confidence among the tribal people & greater political participation by them, at least by **growing middle classes & intelligentsia** among them in the **constitutional political** processes.

Even though there are certain regions where reached the benefits of positive discrimination by the states, certain regions are still lagging behind. **Protest movements** have sprung up among tribals out of their frustration with the lack of development & welfare. Some of the protest movements have taken to violence leading to strong state action against them.

D. Issue of Language

Linguistic identity during first 20 years after independence had become a strong force in all societies. Due to **diversity in languages**, this issue became more difficult to tackle.

The challenges posed to national consolidation by linguistic diversity manifested in two ways:

1. The **dispute over official language**.

Demands for **linguistic reorganization of the states** **The Official Language:**

- The issue of the status of Hindi as a national language led to conflict between Hindi speaking and **non-Hindi speaking regions of the country**.
- The issue of a national language **was resolved** when the constitution-makers virtually **accepted all the major languages as "languages of India"**.
- Being a foreign language Gandhi opposed the idea that English would be an **all India medium of communications in free India**.
- **Sharp differences marked the initial debates** as the problem of the official language was highly political from the beginning.
- Hindi was chosen over **Hindustani [written in Devanagari or Urdu script]** to be the **official language of India** The **issue of the time-frame** for a shift from English to Hindi further caused friction Hindi & non Hindi areas. **Proponents of Hindi** wanted **immediate switch over**, while **nonHindi areas** advocated **retention of English for a long if not indefinite period**.
- **Nehru** was in favour of making Hindi the official **language**, but he also favoured English to be **continuing** as an **additional official language**.
- The **constitution** provided that **Hindi in Devanagari script with international numerals** would be India's **official language**. As for **English**, it was to be used for all official purposes **till 1965**, when it would be **replaced by Hindi in phased manner**. However, Parliament would have the power to provide for the use of English for specified purposes even after 1965.
- The **constitution** mandated the government to **promote the spread and development of Hindi** & provides for the appointment of **Commission** & a **Joint Parliamentary Committee** to review the progress in the respect.
- The **state legislatures** were to classify the matter of official language at state level, though the official language of the Union would serve as **the language of communication** between **the states and the centre** & **between one state & another**.
- In **1956**, the **report of the official language commission** set up in 1955 in terms of a **constitutional provision, recommended that Hindi should start progressively replacing English** in various functions of the central government with **effective change taking place in 1965**. Two members of commission, one each from **West Bengal & Tamil Nadu**, **dissented** this while accusing other members for pro-Hindi Bias.
- **JPC [Joint Parliamentary Committee]** reviewed the report to implement the recommendations of JPC, **President issued an order in April 1960** stating that after **1965 Hindi would be the Principal official language**, but **English** would continue without any restriction as the **associate official language**.
- To promote Hindi, according to President's directive, **central government took a series of steps** to promote Hindi. These includes the setting up of **Central Hindi Directorate**, publication of standard works in Hindi or in Hindi translation in various fields, **compulsory training of central government employees in Hindi** and **translation of major text of law** into Hindi & promotion of their use by the courts.
- **To allay the fear of nonHindi speakers** Nehru in the Parliament in **1959**, assured them that English would continue as alternate language as long as the people require it. In

1963, official languages Act was passed. The object of the Act, was **to remove a restriction which had been placed by the constitution on the use of English after a certain dates namely 1965.**

- Due to ambiguity in Official Languages Act caused by the use of "**may**" instead of "**shall**", it attracted criticism.
- In protes **many non-Hindi leaders, who had earlier demanded slowing down of the replacement** of English, **now** shifted their stand and demanded that there **should be no deadline fixed for the transition.**
- There was widespread **protests in Tamil Nadu**, some students burnt themselves, **Two Tamil Ministers in Union Cabinet**, C. Subramaniam & Alagesan **resigned**, 60 people died **due to police firing during agitation.**
- In 1967 the **Indira Gandhi** government amended the **1963 official Languages Act.**

Features of Amended Act:

- The **Act put to rest all the ambiguities regarding Nehru's assurance in 1959.** It **provided the use of English as an associate language in addition to Hindi for the official work at the centre & for communication between the centre and non Hindi states** would continue as long as non-Hindi states wanted it.
- **Indefinite policy of bilingualism** was adopted.
- The **states were to adopt a three language formula** that is study of **one modern Indian language**, preferably one of the Southern languages, apart from **Hindi and English** in the Hindi speaking areas and of Hindi along with the regional languages and English in the non-Hindi speaking areas;
- The Parliament adopted a policy resolution laying down that the **public service exams** were to be conducted in **Hindi & English** as well as in all the **regional languages** with the provision that the **candidates** should have **additional knowledge of Hindi or English.**

The Government of India took **another important step on language** in July 1967. On the basis of the **report of the education commission in 1966** it declared that **Indian languages would ultimately become the medium of education in all subjects at the University level**, though the time from for the changeover would be decided by each university to suit its convenience.

CHAPTER 2: DEMOCRATISATION: PROCESS, CHALLENGES AND ACHIEVEMENTS

One of the most important achievements of India in years since independence is the adoption of democratic polity and adhering to it despite the odds. As political scientist Samuel Huntington observed India in this context is "is the dramatic exception".

A. Emergence of Electoral Politics

India defied many predictions and social-scientific generalization when in the face of all odds it affirmed its faith in opting for democracy at the inception of independence. Provision of a universal adult franchise at the very outset, was all the more remarkable given the prevailing challenges. These challenges, as observed by many, were:

- largely poor and illiterate population
- Immense geographic, social and economic diversity.

Never in history was such an experiment undertaken. The success of India in this context over the years has become an example to be emulated for other countries across the globe.

It is noteworthy that faced with such serious challenges, other leaders from different countries did not prefer democracy as a form of governance. Leadership in many of the newly independent countries argued that when the priority was national unity, democracy was not suitable as it would bring differences and conflicts. Hence, various forms of non-democratic regimes were adopted in many of the newly independent countries. Post-independence the political leadership in India believed that while competition and power are the two most visible **things about politics**, the intention of **political activity** should be deciding and pursuing public interest.

Setting up Institutional aspects of the democratic system

After adoption of constitution on January 26, 1950, It was necessary to install the first democratically elected government of the country. The Election commission of India was set up in January 1950 with a constitutional provision to conduct free and fair elections. Sukumar Sen became the first Chief Election Commissioner, at the time the EC was single member body..

India has adopted **universal adult franchise** model of democracy where any person with prescribed condition of age, could vote without any form of discriminations. Election commission soon realized that it was an uphill task to conduct a free and fair election in a country of India's size. Holding an **election required delimitation** or drawing the boundaries of constituencies and preparation of electoral rolls.. Nearly **40 lakh woman registered** themselves **as wife or daughter of somebody** rather registering themselves by their names. The election commission **refused to accept these entries** and ordered a **revision if possible and deletion if necessary**.

Preparing for the **first general election** was a huge exercise. **No election on this scale had ever been conducted** in the world before. At that time there were **17 crores eligible voters**, who had to elect about **489 MPs of Lok Sabha** and **3200 MLA of state assemblies**. Only **15% of these eligible voters were literate**. Hence Election Commission had sought some **special method of voting**, like the candidates were to be **identified by symbols**, assigned to each major party and independent candidates, painted on the ballot papers in the box assigned to a particular candidate and **ballot was secret**.

Election Commission trained over **3 lakhs officers and polling staff** to conduct the election. Democracy took a giant step forward with the first elections were the biggest experiment in democracy anywhere in the world. Many people were skeptical about the democratic elections being conducted in the caste ridden, multi religious, illiterate and backward society like India.

Over **224000 polling booths**, one for almost every 1000 voters were constructed and equipped with over **2.5 million steel ballot boxes** one box for every candidate. Nearly **620,000,000 ballot papers** were printed. In a **first past the post** contest Whoever got the **plurality or the largest number of votes** would get elected.

In all, candidates of over **14 national** and **63 regional or local parties** and a large number of independents contested the elections. Nearly **17500 candidates** in all stood for the seats to the **Lok Sabha** and the **state legislatures**. The elections were spread out over nearly **four months from Oct 25, 1951 to Feb 21, 1952** Later this period was reduced to **nineteen days in 1957** and **07 to 10 days in subsequent** elections. Suitable conditions were created for free participation of opposition parties in elections including Jan Sangh & communist party of India (CPI). Nehru vigorously campaigned for the Congress. He made communalism the central issue of his campaign, due to the basic struggle at that time between secular and communal forces on the background of partition inflicted communal violence and riots. The elections were conducted in a fair, free, impartial and orderly manner with very little violence.

People's response to the new political order was tremendous. They participated in the polls with enough knowledge that their vote was a prized possession. At certain places, people treated polling as a festival wearing festive clothes, women wearing their jewellery. Despite higher percentage of poverty and illiteracy, the number of invalid votes cast was as low as 0.3% to 0.4%. A remarkable feature was the **widespread participation of women: at least 40% of women eligible to vote did so.** Thus, the faith of the leadership in the people was fully justified. When the elections results were declared, it was realised that **nearly 46% of the eligible voters had cast their vote.**

There were many **political parties** which had participated in country's first general elections and state assemblies elections in free India. Starting from the **Indian National Congress to Socialist Party, Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party, Communist and allies, Jan Singh, Hindu Mahasabha, RRP [Ram Rajya Parishad] other local parties and independents.** The Congress had emerged as the **single largest party** by winning **364 seats with 45% of total polled votes for Lok Sabha.** The Congress formed all the government in all the states and at the centre too. It did not get a majority on its own in four states—Madras, Travancore-Cochin, Orissa, PEPSU but formed governments even there with the help of independents and smaller local parties which then merged with it. **The communist performance was big surprise and it emerged as the second largest group in the Lok Sabha. Princes and big landlords** still wielded a great deal of influence in some parts of the country. Their party **Gantantra Parishad** won **31 seats in Orissa Assembly.**

Despite the numerically dominant position of the Congress, the **opposition was quite effective in parliament.** Other forms of political participation such as **trade unions, Kishan Sabha, strikes, hartals, bands and demonstrations were available to the middle classes, organized working class and sections of the rich and middle class peasantry.** Elections were the main form of direct political participation for the vast mass of rural and urban poor.

After 1952, during the Nehru years, two other general elections were held for the Lok Sabha and state assemblies in 1957 & 1962. **Voter's turnout improved in 1957 to 47% and in 1962 to 54%.** In both the elections, the Congress again emerged as a single largest party and formed government at the centre and at states level. However, in 1957, the communist were able to form a government in Kerala, which was the first democratically elected communist government anywhere in the world.

The fair and peaceful conduct of the polls was an indication that the democratic system and institutions, a legacy of the national movement were beginning to take root. The successful conduct of the polls was one of the reasons why India and Nehru, came to be admired abroad, especially in the ex-colonial countries.

Political leadership used elections both to promote national consolidation and to legitimize its policies of integration. As observed by Ashok Mehta, "The parliament acted as a great unifier of the nation".

B. Dominance of Congress System

The success of Congress as the dominant party in the electoral system has led many to term the initial years of the republic as the Congress System. This, was attributed to the electoral success of the Congress as well as the weakness of the opposition during these years. In the **three general elections following independence**, the **Congress gained overwhelming majority**. It won three out of every four seats even when it did not win half the total votes polled. In 1952, for example the Congress obtained 45% of the total votes, but it managed to win 74% of the seats. In the first general elections, out of 489 seats of Lok Sabha, the Congress had won 364 seats. In the next two general elections of 1957 and 1962 respectively, it had secured 371 and 361 seats out of total 494. It had also formed government at the state level throughout the country except exceptions such as Kerala in 1957.

Nature of Congress Dominance

India is not the only exception to have experienced the dominance of one party. We can see example of 'one party dominance' in other parts of the world as well. The key difference however was that while in many other countries democratic values and norms were compromised, in India these values and norms were upheld. In some countries like China, Cuba and Syria the constitution allows only a single party to rule the country. Some others like Myanmar, Belarus, Egypt and Eritrea were effectively one party state due to legal and military measure. Until a few years ago, **Mexico, South Korea and Taiwan were also effectively one party dominant states.**

The Congress party had inherited the legacy of national movement led by the India National Congress and its stalwarts such as Nehru and Sardar Patel were widely respected figures among the masses. , Due to its **strong organizational network inherited from the days of the freedom movement**, throughout the country, it reached out to the masses instantly and connected well. It was simply **not possible for other political parties to organize themselves in such a short time** and gaining confidence of the masses.

During the freedom struggle movement, INC had **adopted inclusive approach** and accepted membership of all strata of the society. After independence, the Congress maintained the same characteristics. The Congress also remained sensitive to and functioned as the medium for **the reconciliation, accommodation and adjustment of the diverse and divergent class, sectional and regional interests.**

The Congress was **an ideological coalition**. It accommodated the revolutionary and pacifist, conservative and radical, extremist and moderate and the right, left and all shades of the centre. The coalitional nature of the Congress party tolerated and encouraged various factions and instead of being a weakness, internal factionalism became the strength of the Congress. **The system of factions functioned as balancing mechanism within the ruling party.**

In the **first decade of electoral competition**, the **Congress acted both as the ruling party as well as the opposition**. Hence, noted political scientist, **Mr. Rajni Kothari termed this period of Indian Politics as "The Congress system"**.

Due to the great performance of the Congress party, all opposition parties achieved only a token representation in the Lok Sabha and State assemblies during the "Congress system", period. In the beginning, reflecting true sense of democracy in India, there was high degree of mutual respect between the Congress and opposition leaders. **Non-Congress political leaders**

such as Dr. B.R Ambedkar and Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee were part of the first cabinet of Independent India at

However, the positive rapport between the Congress and opposition leaders gradually declined when these parties in intense competition of achieving power. As the ability of Congress to accommodate all interests and all aspirants for political power steadily declined, other political parties started gaining greater significance. **By the mid-1960s there was increasing criticism of party in the country along with some disillusionment.** Within the party **internal divisions** grew overtime. Factors such as the death of two Prime Ministers in quick succession, economic crisis, agricultural failure due to drought like situation caused by weak monsoon etc. created fertile ground for disaffection towards the Congress and space for opposition politics. Thus, the Congress dominance constituted only a phase of country's politics and by the 1967 general elections this phase was in decline.

C. The Opposition Parties

Electoral participation of **oppositions parties played a key role in maintaining the democratic character of the system since its inception.** The opposition parties **offered a sustained and principle criticism** of the practices and policies of the Congress party. By **keeping democratic political alternative alive, the opposition parties prevented the resentment within the system from turning into anti-democratic.**

Right for the first elections, the existence of several political parties- such as the Bhartiya Jan Sangh, the Socialist Party, the communist Party, the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party (KMPP)- was crucial for the development of a parliamentary democracy in India. Thus, it would be pertinent to discuss the major political parties that contributed in the democratic consolidation process in the initial years of the republic.

Socialist party

- The foundation of the socialist party was laid before independence when some leaders within the Congress party sought more radical and egalitarian Congress. So, they formed the Congress Socialist Party (CSP) in 1934.
- Jayprakash Narayan, Rammanohar Lohiya, Achyut Patwardhan, Ashok Mehta, Acharya Narendra Dev, S.M. Joshi were stalwart leaders of the socialist party in its various incarnations.
- **Relation with the Congress was a key issue** that the party faced after independence. Since the Congress party changed the rule regarding dual membership and barred the CSP members from Congress's membership, the CSP leaders were compelled to form separate Socialist Party in 1948. Subsequently, after a **merger with the KMPP**, the party became **Praja Socialist Party in 1952.**
- The socialists believed in the **ideology of democratic socialism** which distinguished them both from the Congress and the communists.
- Socialist party leaders **criticized Congress for favouring capitalists and landlord** and ignoring teaming masses like workers, peasants.
- Socialist party was in big **dilemma when the Congress party in 1955 declared its commitment to the socialist pattern of society.** In such scenario, their leader Asoka Mehta offered limited cooperation with the Congress. However, leaders such as Ram Manohar Lohia took a staunch anti-Congress line.
- In the contemporary times, the Samajwadi party, the Rashtriya Janta Dal (RJD), Janta Dal (United), Janta Dal (Secular) trace their origins to the Socialist Party

Bhartiya Jan Sangh (BJS)

- BJS was **formed in 1951 by Shyama Prasad Mukharjee** and its lineage could be traced back to the R.S.S (Rashtriya Sawyamsevek Singh) and the Hindu Mahasabha before independence.
- The BJS emphasized the idea of **one country, one culture and one nation** and argued that the country could become modern, progressive and strong on the basis of Indian culture and traditions.
- The prominent leaders of BJS were Shyama Prasad Mukharjee, Deen Dayal Upadhyaya and Balraj Madhok.
- Eventhough its performance in consecutive Loksabha elections remained unimpressive, high point of its political journey was its **merger in the Janata Pary** and in the **post 1977 Janata government** prominent figures of BJS such as Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Lal Krishna Advani served in the Cabinet.
- In the contemporary times, the Bhartiya Janta Party (BJP) traces its roots to B.J.S.

The communist party of India

Taking inspiration from the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, there emerged lots of communist group advocating socialism is the solution to the problems affecting the nation in 1920's.

- The communists worked **mainly within the Congress fold**, but they had separated themselves from the Congress when **they supported the British in WW-II**.
- It had well organized dedicated cadre and effecientorganisation to run political party.
- The communist believed in violent uprising, as they thought transfer of power was not genuine. They **later abandoned violent means and participated in general elections** and emerged as second largest opposition party.
- The party's support was more concentrated in Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Bihar, and Kerala.
- Their stalwart leaders included A.K. Gopalan, S.A. Dange, E.M.S. Namboodiripad, P.C. Joshi, Ajay Ghosh and P. Sundarrrya.
- The CPI was **spilt up in 1964** and the pro-china faction formed the CPI (Marxist).
- Now, the base of both has shrunk a lot and their presence concentrates in very few states of the country.

Swatantra Party

- The swatantra party was **formed in August 1959** after Nagpur resolution of the Congress which called for land ceilings, takeover of food grain trade by the state, adoption of cooperative forming. The party believed lesser involvement of the government in economy. It **opposed** the development strategy of **state intervention in economy**, central planning, nationalization, Public sector. They opposed progressive tax regime, demanded dismantling of license Raj. It was **critical of non-alignment** policy and friendly relations of India with the Soviet Union and **advocated closer ties with the U.S.A**.
- The **industrialist and big landlords** had supported this party.
- This party had a very limited influence, lacked dedicated cadres, so it didn't perform well.
- The stalwart of party were C. Rajagopalachari, K.M. Munshi, N.G. Ranga and Minoo Masani.

CHAPTER: 3 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Economic Development and Planning

A. Mixed Economy Model (Socialism)

After independence, apart from extreme poverty, illiteracy, a ruined agriculture and industry, the **structural distortions created by colonialism** in Indian economy and society made the future transition to self-sustained growth much more difficult.

Ensuring wellbeing and economic development were the important challenges for the Indian leadership and to pursue these goals, they had **two models** of economic development, the **liberal – capitalist model followed in U.S.A. and Europe**, another was the **socialist model followed in U.S.S.R.** During the debate of model of economic development, there was abroad **consensus that development of India should involve economic growth and social as well as economic justice**. Hence very few people supported the American style of capitalist development. There were many who got impressed by the Soviet model of development.

India abandoned the colonial economic model that was focused on commercial gains only. In the democratic polity post-independence, poverty alleviation and social-economic redistribution became the primary responsibility of the government. Therefore India adopted the **mixed model of economic development**, which has **features of both the capitalist and socialist models**.

Factors that generated hopes for the revival of Indian economy after centuries of colonial subjugation included:

1. There was a **mature indigenous entrepreneurial class** (Birlas, Tatas, Singhanias, Dalmia-Jains) that developed an independent economic base which was an asset for post independence planned development.
2. **Wider societal consensus on the nature and path of development**. Everyone from the staunch Gandhian to the Socialists, the capitalists as well as the communists were more or less agreed on following agenda:
 - a. Multi pronged strategy of economic development based on **self reliance**.
 - b. **Rapid industrialization** based on import-substitution including capital goods industries.
 - c. **Prevention of imperialist** or foreign capital b.
 - d. **Land reforms** involving tenancy reforms.
 - e. **Abolition of Zamindari system**.
 - f. Introduction of **cooperatives** especially of service cooperatives like marketing, credit, etc.

Why India completely rejected the capitalist style of Modernization?

During that era, it was common for people to refer 'West' as the standard for measuring development. Development meant becoming more and more modern was like industrialised countries of the West. India rejected such model because **majority of the people were illiterate** and the breakdown of **traditional social structures** that modernization required was not feasible in India. Modernisation was also associated with the ideas of growth, material progress and scientific rationality, but due to **lack of resources and education** right away it was not possible in India which was at traditional and caste based stratified society.

Indian **Parliament in December 1954 accepted 'the socialist pattern of society' as the objective of social and economic policy**. In fact the model projected was of a "mixed economy" where the public and the private sectors were not only to co-exist but where 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.

B. Planning and its Impact

There was consensus on one point that the **government should plan for development**, not the private sector. In fact the **idea of planning** as a process of rebuilding economy earned a **good deal of public support in the 1940's and 1950's all over in the world**. The experience of great depression in Europe, the inter-war reconstruction of Japan and Germany, most of all spectacular economic growth against heavy odds in the Soviet Union in the 1930s and 1940s contributed to this consensus.

Generally, it is assumed that the big business entrepreneurs are averse to the idea of planning. Contrary to this, **a section of big industrialists came together in 1944 and drafted a joint proposal for setting up a planned economy in the country**. It was called the **Bombay Plan**.

After the Independence, the **Planning Commission was set up in March 1950** by a simple resolution of the Government of India. It has an advisory role and its recommendation become effective only when the Union cabinet approves these. The scope of the resolution by which Planning Commission was formed:

1. Every individual should have the right to an adequate means of livelihood.
2. Material resources of community their ownership and control should served the common good.
3. Economic system should operate in such a way that use of 'means of production' and 'wealth' should not result in well being of particular community and to the detriment of the society.

As in the then U.S.S.R [United Soviet Socialist Republic], the **Planning Commission of India opted for five year plans**. It was argued that five years plans had the advantage of permitting the government to focus on the larger picture and make long term intervention in the economy. This entailed preparing a detailed plan for all income and expenditure for the next 5 years. Accordingly the budget of the central and all the state governments was divided into two parts:

- **Non 'Planned' Budget** – This is spent on routine items on a yearly basis.
- **Planned Budget** – This is spent on a Five year basis as per the priorities fixed by the plan.

The First Five Year Plan (1951-1956):

The draft of the first five year plan and the actual plan document was released in **December 1951**. People from all walks of life-academics, journalists, government and private sector employees, industrialists, farmers, politicians etc discussed and debated the documents extensively.

Based on the **Harrod-Domar Model**, the first five year plan (1951-56) sought to **get economy out of the vicious cycle of poverty**. The prominent young economist **K.N. Raj** that India should **"hasten slowly"** for the first two decades as a fast rate of development might endanger democracy. The First Five Year Plan **addressed mainly the agrarian sector** including investment in **dams and irrigation**. Due to the bitter Partition, Agricultural sector was hit hardest and needed urgent attention. Huge allocations were made for **"Modern Temples of India"** like the **Bhakhra Nangal Dam**. The First Five Year Plan also **focused on land reform** for the country's development. One of the basic aims of the planners was to **raise the level of national income**. Basic level of spending was very low in the 1950's. Hence planners sought to **push savings up**. Due to the efforts of the planners, **savings did rise up and that rise continued till the Third Five Year Plan, but later it declined sharply**.

Second Five Year Plan (1956-1961)

The second plan **stressed on heavy industries** and it was **drafted by a team of economists and planners** under the strong leadership of **P.C. Mahalanobis**. Contrary to the patience preached in first plan, second plan **aspired to bring about quick structural transformation** by making changes in all possible directions. IN 1955 the Congress party passed a resolution in Avadi near Madras before finalization of the draft of the second plan and declared its **goal of "Socialist pattern of society"**. This was **visible in Second Plan document**. The government imposed **substantial tariffs on imports to protect domestic industries**, which helped them to grow. Savings and investments were growing, bulk of these industries like **electricity, railways, steel, machineries and communication** were to be developed in the **public sectors**. The **push for industrialization** marked a turning point in India development.

Third Five Year Plan (1961-1966):

The underlying assumption for the third plan was that the Indian economy had entered a take-off stage. Thus it aimed at **making India a 'self-reliant' and 'self-generating' economy**. The **chief priority** of this plan was **agriculture** both to enhance food supply and support the exports and industry.

However, the plan was an abject failure in achieving its targets, primarily because of extraneous factors such as wars with China (1962) and Pakistan (1965) as well as severe drought in the year 1965-66. These circumstances led to the declaration of **plan holidays**.

Achievements of Plans From 1947–65

1. Stepping up the rate of growth required a substantial increase in the investment rate. An important achievement in this period was the **rise in the savings and investment rates**.
2. On the agrarian front, the comprehensive **land reforms measures** initiated soon after independence, the setting of a massive **network for agricultural extension and community development** at village level, the large infrastructural investment in irrigation, power, and agricultural research created favorable conditions which led to the **growth of agriculture output during 1949 to 65 at 3% per annum**.
3. **Industry during the first three plans, grew more rapidly than agriculture**. The industrial growth was based on rapid **import substitution** of both consumer goods and capital good and intermediate goods. This helped India in reducing India's total dependence on the advances countries for basic goods and capital equipment's.
4. Apart from industry and agriculture, the early planners gave utmost priority to the **development of social infrastructure** including education and health, areas greatly neglected in the colonial past.
5. Nehru's temples of Modern India' consisted not only of steel and power plants, irrigation dams, etc. but included **institutions of higher learning particularly in the scientific field**. During first Five year Plan, 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 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. India's scientific and technical manpower increased more than 12 times from 190,000 to 2.32 million.

Key controversies regarding 5 year plans: The strategy of development followed in the early years raised several important questions.

1. Agriculture vs. Industry

Many thought that the second Plan lacked an agrarian strategy for development and the stress on industry caused agriculture and rural India to suffer badly. Veteran Gandhian economists like **J.C. Kumarappa** proposed an **alternative blueprint** that put greater **emphasis on rural industrialisation**. The stress on rapid industrialisation required import of technology for which India has to spend precious foreign exchange to buy from global market. It was the industry that attracted more investment than agriculture even as the possibility of food shortage loomed large.

2. Public vs. Private Sector:

The state controlled key heavy industries, provided industrial infrastructure, regulated trade and made some crucial interventions in agriculture. Critics argued that the planners refused to provide the private sector with enough space and the stimulus to grow. The enlarged public sector produced powerful vested interests that created enough hurdles for private capital by installing systems of licenses and permits for investment. With the restriction on imports, of goods, Production of such goods in domestic market with little or no competition in addition to no incentive to improve the quality of products. The state controlled more things than required which led to inefficiency and corruption.

C. Green Revolution

Green Revolution in India is known to reduce the dependence of India on foreign aids for the supply of food grains during the agricultural crises like droughts, floods etc. and envisaged to make India self dependent and self sustained nation in terms of food grains availability.

Prevailing Conditions before the introduction of Green Revolution:

- The focus of Indian agriculture was only on **institutional reforms**, not on the **technological base** for agriculture.
- Despite very **credible growth of agriculture** output during 1949 to 65 of 3% per annum India had been facing **food shortages** since the mid 1950's.
- The massive jump in **population growth rates** after independence, steady rise in per capita income, huge outlays towards planned industrialisation **put long term pressures on Indian agriculture** which resulted in massive demand.
- To meet food shortage, India was forced to **import food** in greater amount.
- **Two wars**, one with China (1962) and another with Pak (1965) and **successive droughts** in years 1965–1966, led to fall in agriculture output massively. Food prices shot up.
- **Arm twisting policies of United States**. due to India's stand on Vietnam and India's denial of accepting an economy policy package. For long India depended on the United States for food import under the PL-480 Scheme.
- Due to the grim Scenario of the mid 1960's economic self reliance and food self sufficiency became top priority objectives of Indian leadership.

Initiatives prior to Green Revolution to boost Agriculture:

- There was wrong perception prevailed during the Nehru's era that he had neglected the agriculture sector and instead focused too much on rapid industrialisation. But contrary to this perception, Nehru had placed great importance to create the physical and scientific infrastructure essential for Indian agriculture. There was massive large scale irrigation and power projects like Bhakra Nangal, various agricultural Universities and research laboratories fertilizer plant were set up.

Introduction of Green Revolution in India:

Green Revolution took place in **three different phases** in the various regions of the country at different point of time.

First phase of the Green Revolution: This happened from **1962–65 to 1970-73** with the sharp increases in yield in **wheat** in the **north-western region** which included Punjab, Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh.

Second phase of the Green Revolution: This happened from **1970-73 to 1980-83** with the extension of HYV High Yielding Variety seed technology **from wheat to rice**, this time the technology spread was in **Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh particularly the coastal areas, parts of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu** and soon regions like Maharashtra, Gujarat, improved their production too.

Third Phase: Third phase was from **1980-83, to 1992-95** showed very significant and encouraging results. This time Green Revolution spread to the **low growth areas** like **Orissa, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, and Rajasthan**. During the last phase, Southern region registered higher rate of growth than Northern region. By the end of this phase, the 'coefficient of variation' of the output growth levels and yield [per hectare] level between the various states dropped down substantially compared to earlier decades. By the end of the last phase, there was **considerable reduction in regional inequality** by increase in the prosperity in rural India.

Significant government initiatives during Green Revolution Period:

- Government **investment in agriculture rose significantly**. Institutional finance in agriculture sector doubled from 1968 to 1973.
- The **agricultural prices commission was set up in 1965** and efforts were made to assure the farmers a **sustained remunerative price**.
- Public investment, institutional Credit remunerative prices and availability of the new technology at low prices raised the profitability of private investment by farmers.
- The result of government's initiative was that the **rate of increase in the gross irrigated area** rose from 1 million hectares per annum in Pre Green Revolution to about 2.5 million hectares per annum during the 1970s.

Positive impact of Green Revolution:

- Throughout the three phases of Green Revolution **food grain production rose significantly**. By the 1980's not only was India **self sufficient** in food with **buffer food stocks** of over 30 million tonnes, but also it was **exporting food** to pay back its earlier loans and to loan to deficit countries.
- The critical impact of the Green Revolution was it maintained the agricultural growth rates plus it generated a rapid increase in the **marketable surplus of food grains**.
- The **liberation from dependence on PL-480 or other imports** was a major step in the direction of self reliant independent development for India.
- The new Green Revolution technology proved not only scale neutral but also evolved an **inverse relationship between scale and productivity**. Small farmers applied more inputs per unit of land compared to large farmers.
- **Small farmers became relatively more viable** and did not sell out their land to large land holding farmers in distress.
- The Green Revolution not only generated **employment in agriculture** but also **non-agricultural rural and semi-urban employment** through the development of **agro industries, transport industry, and other agriculturally allied sectors**.
- **Increase in income of farmers** led to the **demand for factory produced consumer durables** like radios, watches, TVS, Sewing machines etc.

The **surplus stocks of food-grain** helped government to launch **employment generating poverty alleviation programmes** in backward areas. In conclusion, the Green Revolution had a major impact on rural poverty level which declined sharply through food availability, and it resulted in decline in relative prices of food, generating employment in agricultural sector and agriculturally allied areas, rises in wages etc.

Negative impacts of the Green Revolution:

- Huge **disparity and polarization between classes and regions** resulted in favourable conditions for left wing organisations to organise the poor peasants to follow extreme paths (seeds of Left Wing Extremism) for their rights; the green revolution also resulted in the rise of middle peasant sections. These middle peasants with medium size holding hugely benefitted from the changes and later emerged as politically influential in many parts of the country.
- The negative **environmental impact** of excessive use of **chemical fertilizers and pesticides** as well as plateauing of the growth rates in areas like Punjab. The excessive **withdrawal of groundwater** for irrigation in many areas without adequate recharging of the sub soil aquifers is environmentally unsustainable.
- **Tenants and share croppers** who did not have security of tenure were perhaps the only losers.
- To appease the Farming Community in Green Revolution belt, many political parties provided **subsidized or totally free electricity** which led to misuse of it and adversely affected the overall health of the Indian economy.

D. Land Reforms and the Cooperatives

Transforming the agricultural sector and rural economy were seen as important goals and in this context land reforms were considered important.

At the time of independence

- Ownership of land was highly concentrated
- Landlords used to extract maximum rental from tenants
- Tenants were left with no money after paying the rental and thus made no effort to develop agriculture
- They had neither resource nor knowledge
- Land was not organized and thus number of small fragments existed
- Often cultivators were shifted from one farm to another by landlords on their whims and fancies.
- Cultivators often had to supplement their farm income by working as hired laborers like their poorer landless counterparts.

Objectives of Land Reforms

Abolition of Intermediaries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It was to be done so that ownership of land can be clearly identified with management and operation of land. The owner himself should operate and manage the land.
Land ceilings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To meet the land hunger of working cultivators. • To reduce disparity in agricultural incomes in ownership and in the use of land. • To increase employment opportunities in the rural sector.
Consolidation of holdings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For more efficient management.

Encouragement of co-operative joint farming	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To overcome the difficulties presented by tiny holdings. Larger financial resources could be invested and employment opportunities increased.
Settlement and Regulation of tenancy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To confirm the rights of occupancy of tenants, secure their possession of tenanted land and also rents on leased land.

Opposition to the Land Reforms

- Many argued that ceiling and tenancy legislation would, in effect, infringe upon the constitutional guarantees.
- It was said that agricultural output of the nation would be adversely affected because small farming will be inefficient as they would not be able to afford the cost of mechanisation.
- It was argued that land was a property and imposition of capital levy in terms of ceiling on land holding would be an injustice when similar measures were not simultaneously adopted in other sectors.
- Since land reforms was a state subject, Planning Commission fought hard to convince the states about the reforms. In this process the reform strategy was diluted.
- NSS collected data in 1954 which was made available to the planners in 1960. As, planners had already formulated the policy, the magnitude of the problem involved in structural reorganization could not be realized on time.

Implementation of the Reforms:

Abolition of Intermediaries

- While the aim was to abolish intermediaries between the tiller and the state, in actual practice the legislative enactments equated intermediaries with the zamindars and as a result it left a class of rent receivers and absentee landlords under ryotwari untouched.
- Intermediaries were quite successful in getting huge compensation for abolition. It may be mentioned that Communist nations abolished it without any compensation.

Land ceilings

- There are some cases where assignments on benami basis have been made.
- Implementing the reforms at a slow pace, in fact, failed the programme. This is because landlords transferred land to their relatives, friends etc., thereby coming under the ceiling on paper.
- Rise in agricultural productivity, rising land values and higher income from cultivation added to the economic strength of landlords. Substantial landowners who wield great authority in rural India are bitterly opposed to a ceiling on agricultural holdings. They are able to have their way because no serious effort has been made to organise the landless and the landed poor and enlist their support in favour of reforms.
- The Land Ceiling could not yield enough land to fulfil land requirement of vast population of tenants.
- The law provided a number of exemptions, for instance the one for sugarcane farms orchard.
- A large chunk of land which was recovered remains undistributed and uncultivated. In other words, where there is no return from the land and the government has already compensated those from whom it has been acquired, such land can be developed with little investment and effort.
- Litigation slowed the implementation of reforms.

Consolidation of Holdings

- In pursuance of this, many States had enacted legislations but not much progress could be made except in the States of U.P., Haryana and Punjab.
- In other States, work was continued for some years and lost momentum thereafter.
- Farmers are emotionally attached to their ancestral land, and therefore, they are not willing to take advantage of the scheme of consolidation of holding.
- Those farmers who own good quality land do not favour the scheme in fear of getting inferior and poor quality land after the consolidation.
- Consolidation of holdings is a cumbersome process. The government officials who implement the scheme are generally slow and often corrupt.
- In general, the scheme did not receive the desired support and co-operation from the farmers.
- The scheme has paved way for litigation and court cases, many of which are pending in different courts for a long time. This vitiates the serene atmosphere of the rural areas.
- Under the existing law of inheritance, the fields continue to be smaller and fragmented.
- In every consolidation, about 5 to 10 per cent of the village land is taken out for providing house sites to the weaker sections of society, approach roads (chak-roads) and village utility services. Hence, if the process is repeated three or four times, a sizable portion of the agricultural land would go out of agriculture.
- The cost of consolidation is realised from the farmers, which has adverse effect on their resources and economy.
- It has been observed that small farmers are generally allotted inferior quality land, and due to lack of money power, they are neither able to please the officials nor get justice in the court.

The Cooperatives:

Prominent leaders of Indian freedom struggle ranging from Mahatama Gandhi to Nehru as well as the socialists and communists, viewed co-operativization as important element in improving agriculture as well as the benefit the poor. Post-independence also cooperativization was seen as an important part of the agenda for institutional change in agriculture.

The **Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee** also known as **Kumarappa Committee** recommended in 1949 for state to be empowered to enforce varying degrees of cooperation for different types of farming. **The First Plan adopted a judicious approach** in recommending that small and medium farm should be encouraged and assisted to group themselves into cooperative farming societies. It was expected that village panchayats, motivated party workers and trained workers of the Community Development programme, launched in 1952, would be helpful in this context. The **Second plan** sounded optimistic note by emphasizing the need of taking essential steps laying foundation for the development of cooperative farming with the aim of **bringing substantial proportion of agricultural land under cooperative farming over a period of ten years.**

The Congress party in their **1959's Nagpur Session** passed Nagpur Resolution which visualized an **agrarian pattern based on Joint cooperative farming** in the future, it specified that such a pattern was to be achieved within three years. However, **leaders like C. Rajagopalachari, N.G. Ranga and Charan Singh opposed such move.** Thus, Prime Minister Nehru assured the Parliament in February 1959 of not using any coercion to introduce cooperatives. Furthermore, as the idea of co-operative farming was sought to be promoted by citing China's success in improving agricultural output through cooperativisation, Chinese aggression in Tibet in 1959 and later encroachments inside Indian border made the any idea based on the Chinese model suspect.

In light of such factors the idea of cooperative farming received a setback and the Congress put forward the idea of setting up **service co-operatives** all over the country. The **Third Plan** reflected change in position regarding cooperative farming, as it advocated modest a target of setting up ten pilot projects per district. Thus, gradually cooperative farming was sought to be made contingent on general agricultural efforts through the community development movement as well as the progress of cooperation in credit, marketing, distribution and processing.

Success of Cooperatives: The Milk Cooperatives and Operation Flood

The most successful experiment in cooperation in India is found in milk cooperative sector. This experiment that started in Kaira (also called Kheda) District of Gujarat eventually led to the 'White Revolution' that spread all over India. Peasants of Kaira, Gujarat which supplied milk to Bombay felt cheated by the milk traders and then they met Sardar Patel who was from the same region to redress their grievances. At the initiative of Patel & Morarji Desai, the farmers organized themselves into a cooperative union; pressurize the Bombay government with "Milk Strike" to buy milk directly from their Union. These farmers registered themselves in Anand, Gujarat in Dec, 1946.

Gandhian freedom fighter **Tribhuvandas K. Patel**, convinced the farmers to form milk cooperatives, later became its chairman and remained so for 25 years. **Dr. Verghese Kurien** was CEO of this Union from 1950 to 1973. Meanwhile in **1955, the Union chose "Amul"** as the name for its range of products, which competed with MNC companies of dairy products like Glaxo and Nestle.

The "Anand Pattern" of Kaira cooperative union gradually **spread to other districts in Gujarat in 1974**. The **Gujarat cooperative Milk Marketing Federation Ltd. Anand** was formed as an **apex organisation of the unions** in the district to look after marketing, According to one estimate, due to the activities of cooperative, 48% of the income of rural households came from dairying.

The Kaira cooperative success made the movements spread to the rest of the country inevitable. In the 1964, the then Prime Minister Shastri wrote to all the Chief Ministers of the country to set up cooperative dairies on the "Anand Pattern". To perform this **task NDDB (National Dairy Development Board)** was created in **1965**—Mr. Verghese Kurien was at its helm as its honorary chairman.

Beginning of Operation Flood:

Drawing heavily from the Kaira Union for personnel, expertise and much more, the NDDB launched "Operation Flood", a programme to replicate the "Anand Pattern" in other milkshed (region producing milk that may be supplied to the area of demand) of country.

Operation Flood organised cooperatives of milk producers into a nation-wide milk grid with the purpose of increasing milk production, bringing the producers and consumers closer by **eliminating middlemen** and **assuring the producers a regular income** throughout the year. It was not just a dairy programme, but a path to development, generating employment & income of rural households and alleviating poverty. By 1995 there were 69,875 village dairy cooperatives spread over 170 milkshed all over the country with a total membership of 8.9 million farmers.

Impact of operation Flood

- The obvious impact of operation Flood was the **considerable increase in milk supply** and consequent **increase in income of the milk producers**, particularly the poor.
- It was estimated that 60% of the **beneficiaries were marginal or small farmers and landless labourers**. Thus, Milk cooperatives proved to be a significant anti-poverty measure.

- The chief beneficiaries of this scheme were the landless people from SC & ST communities and deprived sections of other communities.

Operation Flood and the accompanying dairy expansion has been instrumental in the establishment of an indigenous dairy equipment manufacturing industry ; an impressive body of indigenous expertise that includes animal nutrition, animal health, artificial insemination management information systems (MIS), dairy engineering, food technology.

- Operation Flood was instrumental in empowerment of women. Operation Flood with the help of NGOs like SEWA helped in establishing about 6,000 Women dairy cooperative societies.
- Operation Flood had spillover effect on other cooperatives too. Cooperatives for fruits and vegetable producers, oilseeds cultivators, small scale salt makers and tree grower were doing excellently well which were initiated by NDDB.

Limitations of Cooperativization

Danial Thorner, the noted economist during his observation of cooperatives between Dec 1958 to May 1959 found many weaknesses in the cooperative movements. He observed two types cooperatives movements. He observed **two types cooperatives in case of joint farming**.

- One was of **rich and landowning farmers**. They formed such cooperatives to evade land reforms and access incentives offered by the state. These were bogus kind of cooperatives where big farmers enrolled their labourers and ex-tenants as members.
- The other, second type of cooperatives was **state sponsored cooperative farms** where uncultivated lands of the government was made available to the landless labourers and underprivileged groups. These cooperatives didn't live up to their expectations in terms of benefits of scale.

Overall **service cooperatives fared better than the farming cooperatives**. Nonetheless, there were many **shortcomings in service cooperatives**.

- Service cooperatives **reinforced the caste based hierarchical structure**.
- **Leaders** of such cooperatives **mostly drawn from traders and money lending communities**.

Furthermore, in the case of **credit cooperatives**, there was a **virtual exclusion of the landless in securing credits, as found by the National Commission on Agriculture in 1971**.

- Credit cooperatives suffered from major drawback of failure of repayment of loans, which led to large percentage of over-dues.
- Contrary to common perception, rich and landowning community were largest defaulters than the poor and small farmers.

Thus, over the years instead of promoting people's participation, the cooperative movement became overstuffed with government officials and became inefficient.

CHAPTER 4: INDIA'S EXTERNAL RELATIONS

A. Introduction to India's Foreign Policy

At the time of India's independence the global situation was in flux. The world had just witnessed the devastations of the World War II, attempts of creating a new international body for peace had resulted in the formation of the United Nations, and a number of countries were undergoing the process of de-colonization to claim their place as sovereign members of international community. In the Indian context the legacy of British rule posed many difficult challenges. Upholding an independent voice befitting India's size and civilization along with ensuring economic welfare guided the conduct of foreign policy in the initial years.

India's efforts to pursue an independent foreign policy were highlight of post 1947 politics. Nehru played a crucial role in setting the national agenda. He was his own foreign minister hence, both as the Prime Minister and the foreign minister; he exercised profound influence in the formulation and implementation of India's foreign policy from 1947 to 1964.

Nehru used foreign policy as an instrument to defend and strengthen India's independence and to safeguard her national interests, to develop the **self-reliance, self-confidence** and pride of the masses while serving the **cause of world peace** and anti-colonialism.

India decided to conduct its foreign relations with an aim to **respect the sovereignty of all other nations** and to achieve security through the maintenance of peace. This aim finds an echo in the Directive Principles of State Policy, in the **Article 51 of constitution**: "Promotion of international peace and security"

The state shall Endeavour to:

- a) Promote international peace and security.
- b) Maintain just and honourable relations between nations.
- c) Foster respect for international law and treaty obligations in the dealings of organised people with one another.
- d) Encourage settlement or international disputes by arbitration.

The three major objectives of Nehru's foreign policy were:

- a) To preserve hard earned sovereignty.
- b) Protect territorial integrity.
- c) Promote rapid economic development.

During Nehru's era, a basic objective of India's foreign policy was extending **support to colonised and newly de-colonised** countries in their **struggle against colonialism**. Another objective was that of promoting peace. Nehru constantly emphasized that **peaceful co-existence of countries** with different ideologies and differing systems, was a necessity and believed that nobody had a monopoly on the truth and pluralism was a fact of life. In this context, he outlined which were called "**Panchsheel**" of India's Foreign Policy; these were

1. mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty,
2. nonaggression, **five principles**
3. non-interference in each other's internal affairs,
4. equality and mutual benefit, and
5. Peaceful co-existence.

Non Alignment Policy

In the spirit of the right of India and other nations to have an independent an equal voice in international affairs, the idea of non-alignment was shaped by Nehru. The division of world into two hostile blocs after World War-II provided the immediate context for the emergence of

the non-aligned movement. It was argued by Nehru that newly independent countries of Asia and Africa had nothing to gain by joining the military blocs of the big powers. This idea eventually culminated in the Non Aligned Movement (NAM)

Salient features of the Idea of Non-alignment:

1. The leaders of NAM were firm in their view to **expand the "area of peace"** instead of hostility. Hence India and other countries like Egypt, Indonesia did not approve joining of Baghdad Pact, the Manila Treaty, SEATO and CENTO, which were military blocs.
2. Non-Alignment came to symbolize the struggle of India and other newly independent nations **to retain and strengthen their independence from colonialism and imperialism.**
3. To pursue the dream of a peaceful world, India advocated non alignment policy by **reducing the cold war tensions** and contributing human resources to the UN peace keeping operations.
4. Due to acceptance of non-alignment policy, many nations of the world got their voice heard at the United Nations. The **one country, one vote system** enabled the non-aligned bloc to check domination by the Western bloc. Thus, Non alignment **advanced the process of democratization of international relations.**

Background to Non Alignment Policy:

1. **Indian National Movement** was a part of the worldwide struggle against colonialism and imperialism. India's struggle influenced the liberation movements of many Asian and African countries. There was communication between the nations who were united in their common struggle against colonialism and imperialism.
2. Due to **vast size, location and power potential**, Nehru envisaged a **major role for India in world affairs**, particularly in Asian Affairs.
3. Throughout the 1940s and 50s, Nehru had been an ardent advocate of **Asian unity**. Hence, under his leadership, India convened the **Asian Relations Conference in March 1947 in New Delhi**. Later India supported the Indonesian struggle for freedom from the Dutch colonial regime by convening an international conference in 1949.
4. India was an ardent supporter of the **decolonization process and in firm opposition to racism**, particularly the apartheid in South Africa. The **Afro Asian Bandung Conference 1955**, marked the Zenith of India's engagement with the newly independent Asian and African Nationals. The **Bandung Conference later led to the establishment of the NAM**. The **first Summit of the NAM was held in Belgrade in September 1961.**

Former U.S.A. secretary of state, **John Foster Dulles** criticised the non-alignment movement with the charge of **"immoral neutrality"**. Nehru refuted this by saying that Non alignment meant having the freedom to decide each issue on its merits, to understand what was right or wrong, and then take a stand in favour of right. By not tying India to anyone bloc, non-alignment enabled India to develop economic ties with countries on both sides of the divide. India could thus acquire, as per the need, capital, technology, machines and food from the Western countries. On the other hand it could rely on Soviet Union, after 1954, for building heavy industries in the public sector when The United States was reluctant to do so.

B. Relations with Neighbors: An Overview

[Note: We will discuss in brief only, the relations of India with Pakistan and China such as wars, some disputes or background to some important events. For detailed information, students must refer their IR notes.]

India's relations with her neighbours were of central concern to her. With **Nepal** India signed, **Treaty of Peace and Friendship in 1950**, which gave Nepal unhindered access for commercial transit through India and secured its total sovereignty and making both the countries

responsible for each other's security. With **Burma** [now Myanmar] there was **problem of India settlers** which was solved peacefully. Even though there was some tension with **Sri Lanka** regarding **Tamil settlers' issue**, but it didn't become obstacle in the relations. However, with Pakistan and in later years China, relations suffered with serious problems.

I. Relations with Pakistan:

Strained relations with Pakistan owing to the bitter experience of partition further spilled into international realm on the issue of Kashmir. The Pakistan supported tribal invasion of Kashmir and resultant conflict drew international attention. India had accepted the UN resolution on ceasefire in spite of its advantageous position and agreed for plebiscite in Kashmir, which laid down two conditions for holding plebiscite:

- a. Pak should withdraw its forces from the state of J&K.
- b. The authority of the Srinagar administration should be restored over the whole state.

Above mentioned first conditions was never fulfilled, so there was no plebiscite there. Meanwhile J&K participated in India's general elections and then the talk of plebiscite remained irrelevant. However, Kashmir remained a contention in the bilateral relationship, especially for Pakistan. The issue was used to needle India in the UN as Pakistan became integral part of US led western alliance as a member of CENTO and SEATO. The Kashmir conflict didn't prevent **cooperation** between the government of India and Pak. Both the government worked together to restore the **abducted women** to their original families, a long term dispute of **river water sharing** was resolved –with **World Bank's** mediation and India-Pakistan **Indus Water Treaty** was signed by Nehru and General Ayub Khan in **1960**.

1965 War:

Pak still desired for the accession of Kashmir, even after its debacle by Indian troops in 1947. In April 1965, Pakistan launched armed incursion in the **Rann of Kutch** area of Gujarat, later it launched bigger offensive, as part of "Operation Gibraltar", in J&K in August and September in 1965. Pakistan thought that this time the local population would support the cause of Pakistan, but the plan failed to convince the local people and Pak couldn't get the local support. Meanwhile, in order to ease the pressure from Kashmir front, the then PM Shastri ordered Indian troops to launch counter offensive on the Punjab border. This war again won by India, and the hostilities came to an end with UN intervention.

after Soviet Union mediated negotiations Prime Minister Shastri and General Ayub Khan of Pakistan, signed the Tashkent Agreement in January 1966. Although India won the war, this war added to India's economic difficulties.

1971 War:

The internal crisis of Pakistan after the **verdict of their general elections in Pakistan** turned violent. The ruling party of Zulfikar Bhutto emerged as winner in West Pakistan while in their Eastern Part Sheikh Mujib-Ur Rahman's Awami League won majority of seats with great margins. However, strong and powerful western establishment ignored the democratic verdict and didn't accept the League's demand for federation. Instead of responding to their demands and verdict positively, Pakistan army arrested Rahman and unleashed brutal terror activities and suppressed their voices. To end this menace permanently, **people of Eastern Pakistan started liberation struggle of Bangladesh from Pakistan**. Due to the **huge influx of refugees from Eastern Pakistan**, India deliberated much and later extended its support to people's cause materially and morally, which was frowned by Western Pakistan as Indian conspiracy to break of Pakistan.

The support to Western Pakistan came from the USA & China to quash the people's movement. To ensure its safety from the attacks of American and Chinese backed Pak, **India signed 20 year Treaty of Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union**. Even after much diplomatic deliberations it could not achieve concrete results, and **full scale war broke out in December 1971** on both the western and Eastern front. With the support of local population in the form of "**Mukti Bahini**" Indian army made rapid progress and compelled the **Pakistani troops to surrender in 10 days only**. With emergence of Bangladesh as an independent country, India declared a unilateral ceasefire. Later **Shimla Agreement of 1972 between Indira Gandhi & Zulfikar Bhutto** brought back the peace between two nations. Since then India has argued for Shimla agreement as the framework within which the disputes between the two countries should be resolved.

Kargil War:

After the debacle of 1971 war, Pakistan adopted the tactics of **proxy war** by sending the terrorists trained by their secret agencies to create havoc and panic in J&K and India.

In 1999, so called Mujahideens occupied several points on the Indian side of LOC in the Mashkoh, Dras, Kaksar, Batalik. Suspecting Pak's hand behind such activities, Indian forces immediately started reaching to such proxy war which is known as "Kargil conflict". The conflict received worldwide attention because of the **nuclear capabilities attained by these countries in 1998**, which could be used by either sides. However, the Indian troops regained territory with the help conventional war tactics, with special role played by the Air Force. There was huge controversy surrounding this Kargil conflict, that, the then PM of Pak was kept in the dark of such move. Later, the then Pak army Chief General Pervez Musharraf took over as President.

II. Relations with China:

India adopted a policy of **friendship towards China since the beginning**. India was the **first to recognize the new People's Republic of China on 1 January, 1950**. Nehru also supported the representation of China in U.N.S.C. When Nehru and Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai **signed "Panchsheel" Treaty**, at the same time **India recognized China's right over disputed territory of Tibet** and approved the Chinese control over it in 1954.

1962 War:

Relations of India with China turned sour in 1962 when Chinese forces attacked the Thagla ridge and dislodged troops, which was initial spark for ensuing massive attack. In **October 1962**, **the Chinese army launched a massive attack** and overran India posts in the **eastern sector in NEFA** (now Arunachal). India army commander in NEFA fled without resistance and left behind open door for Chinese personnel to attack India. In western sector, Chinese captured 13 posts in the Galwan Valley and the Chushul airstrip was threatened. India was apprehensive of such move by China and sought American and British help later, However **Chinese themselves declared a unilateral withdrawal**, nonetheless the relations between the two nations were strained for years to come after the war.

Impact of 1962 War:

- The **resources for the economic development and third five year plan were diverted for defence** and India faced very difficult situation.
- In August 1963, **Nehru faced had to no confidence motion** in Lok Sabha.
- It induced a **sense of national humiliation** and **dented India's image** at home and abroad.
- Nehru was severely criticised for his naive assessment of the Chinese intentions and the lack of military preparedness.

- **Relations between the nations remained cold till 1976.** Normal relations resumed in 1976, and later the then Foreign minister **A.B. Vajpayee was the first top level leader who visited China in 1979.**

C. India's Nuclear Policy

[Note: Here will just discuss the background for India's nuclear policy you will learn about India's nuclear policy in detail in security issues sub part of G.S. paper III].

Nehru had always maintained his strong faith in Science and Technology for rapid building of modern India. A significant component of his industrialisation plans was the **nuclear programme initiated in the late 1940s**, under the guidance of **Homi J. Bhabha**. The Indian Atomic Energy Commission was first setup in August 1948 in the Department of Scientific Research, which was created a few months earlier in June 1948. The Department of Atomic Energy (DAE) was setup on August 3, 1954 under the direct charge of the Prime Minister through a Presidential Order. Subsequently, in accordance with a Government Resolution dated March 1, 1958, the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) was established in the Department of Atomic Energy. India wanted to use atomic energy for peaceful purposes. Nehru was always against the use of nuclear weapons, so he pleaded to all the superpowers for complete nuclear disarmament. However, as a pragmatic approach he never discarded the development of nuclear technology.

In 1974, India under the leadership of Indira Gandhi conducted its first nuclear tests. India termed it as peaceful explosion and argued that it was committed to the policy of using nuclear power only for peaceful purposes. Earlier the five permanent members of UNSC U.S., U.S.S.R., France, U.K. and China, who had acquired nuclear weapons capability tried to impose **Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)** in 1968 on the rest of the world. **India considered such move as discriminatory** and refused to adhere to it. India always maintained that treaties like NPT was selectively applicable to the non-nuclear powers and legitimized the monopoly of the Five Nuclear weapon holding powers.

In 1998, India again conducted a series of nuclear test, displaying its capacity to use nuclear & energy for military purposes. After some time, Pak too conducted such test. Unhappy with moves of both India and Pakistan, International community imposed harsh sanctions, which were later waived when **India assured no first use of nuclear weapon** and maintained its stand of peaceful use nuclear energy and reiterated its commitment to global verifiable and non-discriminatory nuclear disarmament leading to a nuclear weapon free world.

CHAPTER 5: THE CRISIS OF DEMOCRATIC ORDER

A. Emergency

Internal Emergency declared on 26 1975, is widely considered as the greatest political crisis India faced since independence.

Background of Emergency

I. Economic Issues

- A combination of **recession, growing unemployment rampant inflation and scarcity of food grains created a serious economic crisis.**
- India's support to liberation of Bangladesh, materially had serious repercussions for India's foreign as these exchange reserves drained and more resources were diverted to defence.
- Consecutive **monsoon failure in 1972 & 73** affected India food grains availability and fuelled price rise.
- Large scale unemployment and economic recession led to industrial unrest and wave of strikes in different parts of country culminated in **All India railway strike in May 1974.**

II. Tussle with Judiciary

- The union government under the leadership of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, amended the constitution in the to the effect that gave parliament the power to a bridge Fundamental rights in case of legislation giving effect to DPSPs. Later, In Kesavananda Bharti Case(1973), the Supreme Court ruled that there are some basic features of the constitution, which can't be amended.
- Furious with SC judgement in Kesavanda Case, the Union Government changed the long term precedence of appointing senior most judge in S.C. as Chief Justice. **In 1973, the government set aside seniority of three judges** and appointed **Justice A.N. Ray as Chief Justice** of India.
- The **Allahabad High Court**, while hearing the **plea of socialist leader Raj Narain** on the validity of **election of Indira Gandhi** to Lok Sabha ruled in the his favour and **set aside her victory** and ruled her election invalid on the grounds of abuse of power. However, the Supreme Court Later granted partial stay on this order, and allowed Mrs. Gandhi to remain MP but observed that she can't participate in proceedings of the court.

III. Imposition of Emergency

- Due to the Allahabad HC's judgement and later S.C.'s opinion and just partial stay on earlier's order, **all the political parties under leadership of Jayaprakash Narayan, demanded her resignation on moral grounds.** But **Indira Gandhi resisted such demands** and in response government **declared a state of emergency on June 26, 1975 on the grounds of threat of internal disturbances**, invoked **article 352** of constitution. Once an emergency is proclaimed, the federal distribution of powers remains suspended and all the powers gets concentrated in Union government. Even the Fundamental rights get curtailed during such period. The declaration of emergency was followed by censorship of the press and arrest of opposition leaders

IV. Impact of Emergency

- Government curtailed the freedom of press via "**Press censorship**" and made it mandatory to get its approval before publishing it.
- **Protests, strikes and public agitations were not allowed.**

- **Fundamental right of constitutional remedies** to move the court for restoring their fundamental rights to got **suspended**.
- **Religious and cultural organisations like R.S.S., Jamait-E-Islami** were banned on the apprehension of disturbance to social and communal harmony.
- Government **misused the provision of preventive detention**, arrested the political workers of opposition parties. Under preventive detention arrested persons can't challenge such move as right to constitutional remedies gets suspended.
- Due to such harsh conditions during emergency regime, **people who were awarded with honours like Padma shri and other awards returned these honours in the protest against suspension of democracy**.
- **Torture and custodial deaths** occurred during Emergency, arbitrary **relocation of poor people**, imposition of **compulsory sterilisation** to control population.
- People without official position, misused the powers of administration and interfered in the functioning of the government.

V. Lessons from Emergency

In 1975, the then PM Indira Gandhi had declared emergency, on the grounds of threat to internal stability. Due to the abuse of power during the period of emergency, it was realised that such measures subvert the rule of law and democratic institutions. Therefore post emergency, there emerged a political consensus that ensured that such declaration of emergency, did not happen again

The end of emergency was marked by the announcement of Mrs. Gandhi on 18 January 1977 that elections to the Lok Sabha would be held in March. Results of the elections held on 16 March made clear that the electorate had not taken a kind view of the developments during the emergence and as a result Congress party was thoroughly defeated, this also included loss of Mrs Gandhi and Sanjay Gandhi in their respective constituencies. Normalcy soon resumed in India after the end of emergency. Many observers found many weakness and strengths emerged out of this period.

- First lesson is that it is **extremely difficult to do away with democracy in India**.
- The ambiguities regarding the emergency provisions were rectified during the Janata Government as it was made clear in the the constitution that "Internal Emergency" can be proclaimed only on the grounds of "armed rebellion" and it is now necessary for the council of Minister to advice President in writing to proclaim emergency.
- Emergency made everyone aware of the value of civil liberties.

The lifting of emergency and the free elections that followed were a defining moment in India's post-independence history. This chapter in Indian history revealed the underlying attachment of Indian people to democratic values evolved over the years through the experience of freedom struggle as well as conduct of free elections in independent India.

B. J. P. Movement

The movement named after one of the greatest political personalities of moder India, Jayaprakash Narayan, is widely viewed as a response to widespread corruption in public life and politics in India amidst rising unemployment and economic hardships faced by the common people. The **students of Gujarat** protested vigorously in **January 1974** against the rise in prices of food-grains, cooking oil and other essential commodities. As the protests spread it was joined by the political parties too. The police administration replied with excessive force, indiscriminate arrests and used lathi charge. Later union government dissolved the assembly and announced new elections to the assembly.

Inspired by the efforts and success by Gujarat student's movement, **similar agitation was initiated in Bihar** by students in **March 1974**. **Jayaprakash Narayan came out of his political retirement** and provided the perfect leadership to these students. He gave a **call for "Sampooran Kranti"** (Total Revolution) against the immense corruption, to defend democracy from authoritarian conduct of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

During the JP Movement, people set up **parallel governments all over the state**, didn't pay the taxes etc. The J.P. Movement attracted wide support from students, middle classes, traders, and a section of the intelligentsia.

The J.P. Movement also got the backing of nearly all the non-left political parties. However, by the end of 1974, The JP Movements fervor got down because **of absence of organizational structures** of the movement. Most of his student followers resumed their classes. The movement had **failed to attract the rural and urban poor** both in Gujarat and Bihar. However, the leadership of JP gave credence to the agitation against the government of the day and when emergency was imposed and even after that it became a key factor in galvanizing the opposition parties in forming a joint front culminating in the formation of the Janata Party

C. Naxalite Movement and Maoist Insurgency

The first non-Congress United Front (UF) government came to power in West Bengal in March 1967, comprising the CPI, CPM and Bangla Congress (a breakaway faction of the Congress). This new government decided to **expedite the implementation of land reforms**.

The then land revenue minister Hare Krishna Konar announced a programme of quick distribution of surplus land among landless and an end to eviction of share croppers. But this **process was slow and time consuming** because issue of distribution of surplus land went to the court and was under litigation. Therefore, the local leader **Charu Majumdar from Naxalbari area of Darjeeling district argued that this democratic process of distribution of land and democracy in India is Sham** and decided to **adopt a strategy of protracted guerrilla warfare in order to lead a revolution**.

This Naxalite Movement under Majumdar's leadership used force to **snatch land from the rich landowners** and to **distribute it among the poor and the landless**. Its supporters advocated the **use of violent means** to achieve their political goals. Initially the efforts of reconciliation such as sending of a cabinet mission by the UF government failed and negotiated solution was brushed aside by Charu Mazumdar. Eventually the policy of repression by the government had its effect and by July 1967 the peasant movement was over with most of its leaders in jail.

Despite the efforts of subsequent governments to control the naxal menace, similar movements took root in other areas such as **Srikakulam in Andhra Pradesh**. Here 'revolutionaries' inspired by Mao Zedong led group of tribals into a suicidal confrontation with the state. As in Naxalbari here dissident CPM leaders shifted to a line of armed struggle and guerrilla warfare. Beginning in November 1967 the movement reached intense phase between November 1968 to February 1969. With the formation of CP (ML) in April 1969, a new party of extreme left activists, a turn from mass line to guerrilla action and individual annihilation took place. In the face of police action the movement faded.

By 1971 feeble attempts were made by some Maoist factions to revive the movement but by 1975 these attempts fizzled out. Even after this date groups of Maoists existed in remote pockets of the country, often backward and poor regions inhabited by tribals or very poor low caste cultivators and agricultural labourers in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh. Many of the splintered groups joined hands to form the unified CPI (Maoist) in the early 2000s, constituting a serious internal security threat in some regions of India.

D. Communalism

The problem of communalism begins when a religion is seen as the basis of the national unity and identity. The problem becomes sharper when religion is expressed in exclusive and partisan terms, when one followers of a particular religion is pitted against another.

Communal politics is based on the idea that religion is the principal basis of social community. The most common expression of communalism is in everyday beliefs which routinely involve religious prejudices, stereotypes of religious communities and belief in the superiority of one's religion over other religions. **Political mobilization on religious lines is another frequent form of communalism**, this involves the use of sacred symbols, religious leader's emotional appeal and plain fear in order to bring the followers of one religion together against the other religious community. **Sometimes communalism takes its most ugly form of communal violence, riots, and massacre etc.**

Communalism was and continues to be **one of the major challenges to democracy in our country**. The founding fathers of the nations wanted secular India, hence they strictly refrained themselves from declaring India's official religion, and provided equal freedom to all the followers of different religions. In spite of all the equal freedom to everyone in the country and secular character of country India witnessed lots of communal riots which were immensely brutal and horrendous.

Here we will discuss the infamous incident of communal politics.

1. Ayodhya Dispute

A dispute had been going on for many decades over the mosque known as Babri Masjid at Ayodhya, built by Mir Baqi Tashqandi, Mughal Emperor Babur's General. Some Hindus believe that it was built after demolishing a temple of Lord Rama which is believed to be his birthplace. The dispute reached to the court and in **late 1940's** the mosque was locked up as the matter was with court.

In **February 1986**, the Faizabad district court ordered that Babri Masjid premises to be unlocked so that Hindus could offer prayers at the statue which they considered as a temple. Soon with the unlocking of doors, mobilisation on communal lines began on both the sides. Gradually the local issue became national issue and increased the communal tensions.

In **December 1992** many Karsevaks of Hindu Right Wing faction like VHP, Bajrang Dal etc. arrived at Ayodhya in the name Karseva, voluntary service by devotees to build Ram temple. Meanwhile the Apex Court ordered that State government must ensure that disputed site won't be endangered. However thousands of peoples arrived there and demolished the Babri Masjid on 6 December 1992 and vitiated the peaceful atmosphere in the country and it was followed by communal riots in the country at large scale, in which lots of people died. Then Union government dismissed state government and appointed **Librehan Commission** to investigation circumstance leading to demolition of mosque.

2. Anti Sikh Riots

Under the orders of Indira Gandhi government, in **June 1984** the Indian Army launched its offensive against Sikh militants at the Golden Temple in Amritsar under the code name "**Operation Blue Star**". The army was successful in driving out the militants from the Sikh's sacred place, but this event angered the Sikh People and their sentiments got hurt. To avenge this action the **bodyguards of Mrs. Gandhi killed her** at her own house. Later the angry Congress workers and supporters allegedly began their brutal actions of **killing innocent Sikh People in the country**; Delhi was the most affected area during anti Sikh riots. Union Government appointed so many commissions to enquire about the guilty people and to find

out their masterminds, but nothing concrete came out of such commissions. **The kiths and kins of the victims of Anti-Sikh riots are still waiting to get the justice after 30 years of the incident.**

3. Anti-Muslim riots in Gujarat (2002)

In months of February and **March 2002**, Gujarat witnessed one of the ugliest communal riots in its history. The spark of the riots happened at Godhra Station, where a bogey of train that was returning from Ayodhya with Karsevaks was set on fire. Suspecting it to be Muslims conspiracy, large scale violence against Muslims began in many parts of Gujarat. The National Human Right Commission Criticized the Gujarat Govt's role in failing to control violence, in providing relief to the victims and prosecute the perpetrators of this violence. Gujarat riots show that the governmental machinery also becomes susceptible to sectarian passions.

CHAPTER 6: REGIONAL DISCONTENT AND ITS SOLUTION

A. Basis of Regionalism

Local patriotism and loyalty to a locality or region or state and its language and culture don't constitute regionalism nor are they disruptive of the national unity. They are quite consistent with national patriotism and loyalty to the nation. One's pride in his/her region doesn't constitute regionalism. The Indian national movement too functioned on this understanding.

Aspiring to or making special efforts to develop one's state, to remove poverty, implementing social justice is not branded as regionalism. However, if any state asserting its pride & interests above the national interest and against the nation in a hostile manner, then that can be dubbed as regionalism.

American scholar and journalist, **Selig Harrison** in his book **India – The most dangerous decades**, wrote that there would be threat to Indian unity because of conflict between national and state governments. But contrary to this apprehension, India quite well managed to accommodate and even celebrate India's cultural diversity.

The **linguistic reorganization** of India and the **resolution of the official language controversy** have played a very important role by eliminating a patent cause of the feeling of cultural loss or cultural domination. Despite such great amount of amity and peace, **there exist many regional disputes** which create friction between regional states like on **sharing of river waters** between Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, Karnataka & Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh etc.

Economic Imbalances & Regionalism:

Economic inequality among different states and region could be a potential source of trouble. Hence from the beginning, the **national government felt a responsibility to counter the imbalance in regional development**. To influence the rates of growth in poorer states and regions and to reduce economic distance from richer states, the central **government adopted a whole range of policies**.

- A major instrument in government's hand in bringing development to the poor state was **transfer of financial resources**, which was done by **Finance Commission**, a constitutional body.
- **Planning** was also used as a **powerful instrument to remove regional inequality**. Planning Commission allocated greater **plan assistance to the backward states**. The assistance was given in both the forms, grants and loans.
- **Public investment** by the central government in **major industries such as steel, fertilizers, oil refining, petro chemicals, heavy chemicals, and in power and irrigation projects** has been a tool for the reduction of regional inequality.
- **Government incentives** have been **provided to the private sector to invest in backward areas** through **subsidies, tax concessions, concessional banking and institutional loans** at subsidized rates.

In spite of above mentioned initiatives and programmes the backward states have a lower level of infrastructural facilities such as power, irrigation, roads, telephones and modern markets for agricultural produce. Political and administrative failure also bolsters backwardness.

Sons of Soil Doctrine:

This doctrine mentions that **particular state belongs to majority linguistic group inhabiting it or constitutes an exclusive "homeland" for regional language speakers**. The doctrine is majorly popular in cities. In the struggle for the appropriation of economic resources and economic opportunities, recourse was often taken to communalism, casteism and nepotism.

In similar way, **language loyalty and regionalism** was and is still used to systematically **exclude the "outsiders"**. This doctrine was profoundly utilized in big metros like Mumbai (Marathi) [Earlier Bombay], Bangalore (Kannada), Kolkata (Bengali), etc.

"Mulki rule" provided in **article 371(D)** of Indian constitution safeguards the rights of local people in employment and education and was created after agitation in the state of Andhra Pradesh. This is an example of Sons of soil doctrine, but this was provided only in Group C and D services.

Sons of the soil doctrine arise when there is actual or potential competition for industrial and middle class jobs, between the migrants and local educated middle class youth. The worst case of anti-migrant or implementation of Sons of the Soil doctrine **was movement led by Shiv Sena** which appealed regional chauvinism and assumed fascist proportions. However, the courts approved the reservation on the grounds of residence, but maintained people's right to migrate and their allied fundamental right regarding their movements

B. Issue of J & K, Punjab

1. Issue of J & K

Jammu and Kashmir comprises three social and political regions: Jammu, Kashmir & Ladakh. Kashmir Valley is the heart of the region. Jammu region is a mix of foothills and plains areas of Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and speakers of various languages. The Ladakh region is mountainous, has very little population which is equally divided between Buddhists and Muslims.

The Kashmir issue" isn't just a dispute between India & Pakistan It has both external and internal dimensions. It involves the issue of Kashmiri identity "Kashmiriyat" and the aspirations of the people of J& K Political autonomy.

Root – Cause of the problem:

- Before 1947, J&K was a princely state as specified by British that Princes were free to join any either country or to remain independent. The Prince wanted to remain independent, while the popular movement in the state, led by Sheikh Abdullah of the national conference wanted to get rid of Maharaja Hari Singh & at the same time didn't wish to join Pakistan.
- Later after partition, Pakistan still had designs on J&K and to annex it forcefully it sent tribal infiltrators from its side to capture Kashmir. The Maharaja pleaded for help and India helped to drive out infiltrators only when the Maharaja signed "Instrument of Accession" to India. At the same time, it was also agreed that once the situation get normalised, the views of the people of J&K will be ascertained about their future.
- The tribal infiltrators had captured one part of the state which came under Pakistan's control, India maintains this as illegal and since then Kashmir has remained a major issue of conflict between India and Pakistan.
- Internally, there is a dispute which still persist and couldn't be resolved. This was related to J&K's special status because of Article 370 of the constitution, which gives greater autonomy to it as compared to other states in the country. All provisions of Indian constitution are not applicable to the state. Laws passed by the Parliament apply to J&K only if the state agrees. J&K has its own constitution too.
- There is a section of people and parties outside J&K that believes that the special status of the state doesn't allow full integration of the state with India. Hence, it should be revoked. The people residing in Jammu & Kashmir, mostly Kashmiri don't believe that autonomy conferred by Article 370 is enough. A section of Kashmiri have expressed at least three major grievances:
 - The promise of "Plebiscite" hasn't been fulfilled.

- Autonomy given by Article 370, has been eroded in practice and this led to a clamor for "Greater State Autonomy".
- Democracy which is practiced in the rest of India, hasn't been institutionalised in J&K.

By 1989, the J&K state had come in the grip of a militant movement mobilised around the cause of a separate Kashmiri region. The insurgents get moral, material and military support from Pakistan. Separatist Politics has taken different forms and made up of various strands. Successive governments at the centre from time to time have made attempts to engage various separatist groups in negotiations.

2. Punjab Issue

The social composition of the state changed first with the partition and later on with creation of Haryana & Himachal Pradesh in 1966. Much before the independence, in **1920**, the **Akali Dal** was formed as the political wing of Sikhs, which led **movement for the formation of a "Punjabi Suba"**. After partition, the Sikhs were now a majority in the truncated state of Punjab. Hence to fulfill this demand, during the 1970s a section of Akalis began to demand political autonomy for the region. They passed a resolution in this regard in their **Anandpur Sahib Conference in 1973**. This resolution asserted **regional autonomy** and wanted to **redefine centre-state relationship** in the country. They declared their goal of attaining **bolbala** (dominance or hegemony) of the Sikhs. However, this didn't mean separation from India. The **more extreme elements** started advocating secession from India & **demanding "Khalistan"**.

The leadership of Akali's was transformed from moderate to militant elements. Parallel to the Akali militancy, **terrorism made its appearance in Punjab in 1981** as partial culmination of communal politics since 1947. These elements they took the path of armed insurgency to get Khalistan. They made the Golden Temple as their headquarters in Amritsar and turned it into an armed fortress. In **June 1984**, the government of India carried out **"operation Blue star"** an army action to flush out the militants. It was successfully achieved by Indian army personnel. Meanwhile during the action the holy place got damaged and people's sentiments got hurt and this gave impetus to militant and extremist groups. Later, the bodyguards of our PM Indira Gandhi shot her to avenge the feelings of Sikhs, which was followed by brutal anti Sikh riots.

Road to Peace:

In August 1985 the newly elected PM of India, Rajiv Gandhi signed an agreement with Harchand Singh Longowal the then President of Akali Dal which was known as **"Rajiv Gandhi-Longowal Accord or the Punjab Accord"**. This was a positive step towards bringing normalcy to Punjab.

Basic feature of the Accord:

1. Transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab.
2. Sharing of Water through tribunal between Rajasthan, Punjab, Haryana.
3. Compensation for those who suffered from militancy.
4. Revocation of AFSPA from Punjab.

This accord didn't facilitate peace immediately. Militancy and counter insurgency violence continued which led to human rights violation. Fragmentation of Akali Dal also started. Normal political process was suspended and President's rule was imposed. Gradually the military was eradicated by the security forces. Peace returned to Punjab by the middle of 1990's. The alliance of BJP and Shiromani Akali Dal emerged as victorious and brought back democratic process in the state.

C. Problems with North-East Region

The regional aspirations of North-east region became more focal and prominent in the 1980's. The region has seen lots of changes since 1947. The princely states like Manipur, Tripura, Khasi Hills of Meghalaya had merged with India Post Independence. The whole North-East region has witnessed altogether different political reorganization. Earlier **the partition of India turned the North-East region into a land locked region and affected it economically**. Due to this isolation from the mainstream India, **the region remained backward in terms of developmental parameters**.

Nagaland state was created in 1960, Meghalaya, Manipur and Tripura in 1972 and Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram became separate state in 1987. The isolation of the region, its complex social character due to **different ethnic tribes and their culture**, lack of development, **weak communications** between the north-east region and rest of India fuelled the anger and soured the relationship between centre and this region, which led to varied demands of people inhabiting in this region. Due to this delicate relationship, people aspired for their autonomy, secessionist movements and strict opposition to outsider from entering into their region. Meanwhile, following the **large scale reorganization of region in 1972**, a regional body, the **North-Eastern Council (NEC)** was set up to provide a forum for inter-state coordination regional planning and integrated development of the region to avoid intra regional disparities.

However, this NEC couldn't control their feelings for autonomy and violent secessionist movements for that cause. Now we will discuss the different demands emanating from different parts of North-East region:

I. Demands for autonomy:

After the independence, except Manipur and Tripura, entire north-east region comprised the state of Assam. Due to the presence of different cultures and tribes, Non-Assamese felt alienated with the Assamese and Bengali residents of the plain. In addition to this, the Assam Government imposed Assamese language on them. This non-Assamese people protested against this move violently, tribal leaders started demanding separation from Assam. To consolidate their voice for the separation, the tribal leaders formed the **Eastern Indian Tribal Union** which later transformed into a comprehensive all Party Hill leaders Conference in 1960. Their demands were fulfilled later and several states were carved out of one Assam. fulfillment of these demands couldn't stop aspirations of a separate state among some tribes like **Bodos, Karbi and Dimasas**. They drew centre's attention towards their demand of autonomy. They mobilised public opinion through popular movements and insurgency. It was not possible for the centre to fulfill all the regional aspirations, and create smaller and smaller states. So the centre devised some other alternative to fix this demand, such as grant of Autonomous District for such tribes.

II. Secessionist Movements:

The demands of autonomy can be fulfilled with the constitutional provisions, but the demands of separatism are complicated to deal with. This has been true in the case of the North-East region as well, as can be seen from the following cases:

1. Mizoram:

Mizo People never considered themselves as a part of British Union. So they refused to consider themselves as Indian, after India's Independence. Later in **1959**, during the **Famine in Assam**, The Mizos felt neglected by the government in famine relief efforts. Discontent among a section of Mizo people led to the formation of the **Mizo National Front** under the leadership of **Lal denga** in **1961**.

The MNF began an armed campaign against Indian army through guerrilla warfare and they were aided by Pakistan government and received shelter in East Pakistan. Pakistan was aiding all such secessionist movement in India to destabilize India through different means. The Union government used armed and air forces to quell the MNF uprising. After realising the futility of war, Laldenga started negotiations with the Indian Government. In **1986** Rajiv Gandhi, the then PM and Laldenga reached for an agreement known as the **Mizo-Accord**. In accordance with this agreement, **Mizoram was granted a full-fledged statehood** with special powers and MNF gave up its secessionist movement. Now, the state is recognised as having done a commendable job in the implementation of development programmes and making agriculture remunerative.

2. Nagaland

The Nagas residing in the Naga hills on consisted of many separate tribes speaking different languages. The **British** had left the Nagas in **relative isolation** and due to **missionary activity** permitted by them there had emerged an **educated section** which became the flag bearer of **separate Naga identity** and the demand of separation and complete independence from India. Led by **Angami Zaphu Phizo** belonging to the Naga National Council (NNC), the Nagas articulated their demands of freedom and separation from India, immediately after the end of the British Rule. Following a referendum held by the NNC in 1951, Phizo formed the underground **Naga Federal Government (NFG)** and the **Naga Federal Army (NFA)** in **March 1956**, thus beginning an armed insurrection against Indian government. The Government of India sent in the Army to crush the insurgency and, in **1958, enacted the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act**. The Government also tried to quell such movements with limited success by bringing many Naga areas within an autonomous framework in 1957, formation of the **state of Nagaland in 1963**.

A section of NNC leaders to signed the **Shillong Accord** with the government of India on **11 November 1975**, under which this section of NNC and NFG agreed to give up arms. A group of about 140 members led by Thuingaleng Muivah, who were at that time in China, refused to accept the Shillong Accord, and formed the **National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) in 1980**. Muivah also had Isak Chisi Swu and S S Khaplang with him. In **1988, the NSCN split** into NSCN (IM) and NSCN (K) after a violent clash. While the NNC began to fade away, and Phizo died in London in 1991, the NSCN (IM) came to acquire greater significance.

The main aim of the NSCN in its various incarnations has been establish a sovereign state, "**Nagalim**" by unifying all the areas inhabited by the Naga people in Northeast India and Burma. However the cease-fire between the Union Government and the NSCN(IM) and later NSCN (K) reduced violence in Naga areas. Significantly, after rounds of negotiations between the NSCN (IM) leadership and the government of India a "**Framework Agreement**" was signed in **August 2015**. However, as the NSCN (K) breaking the ceasefire and engaging in violence as well as the neighboring states such as Assam, Manipur and Arunachal remaining apprehensive, the Naga issue awaits a final resolution.

3. Movements against outsiders

The migration of people from other part of the country to the North-east region has created lots of problem and increased the tension between 'locals' and 'outsiders'.

The migrant people were seen as encroachers, who would snatch away their scarce resources like land, employment opportunities and political power and render the local population without their legitimate due. To drive away the outsiders from the region was the main aim of the **Assam Movement** from 1975 to 1985. The main targets were Bengali Muslim settlers from Bangladesh. In 1979 the **All Assam student's union (AASU)**, a

student's group not related to any political party, led an **anti-foreigner movement**. Their area of focus was illegal migration, domination of Bengali and other outsiders, against faulty voter's registration of lakhs of immigrants. AASU members used both non-violent and violent methods. Their violent agitation took human lives and damaged lots of properties.

After 6 years of violent turmoil, the then PM, Rajiv Gandhi negotiated with AASU leaders. Both the sides (Union Govt and AASU) signed the **Assam Accord in 1985**. According to this accord, the foreigners who migrated into Assam during and after Bangladesh war, were to be identified and deported. With the success of signing this accord, the **AASU and Assam Gana Sangram Parishad came together, formed their political party, Assam Gana Parishad**, won the Assembly elections in 1985 with the promise of resolving the foreign national problem and making Assam a "Golden Assam". However, the problem of immigration hasn't been resolved yet, but it brought peace to some extent.

4. Accommodation of Regional Aspirations and National Integration:

As observed from the discussion of the movements involving demands of autonomy and secession described above, it is evident that the regional aspirations are part of democratic politics. Expression of such aspirations can be found across the globe. In UK, there are regional aspirations in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Spain faces such an issue in Basques and Sri Lanka in Northern Province of the country.

Significantly, it can be argued that suppression of regional aspirations is not the best way out, rather deliberative consultation and negotiated solution within democratic norms is always possible.

CHAPTER 7: REORGANIZATION OF THE STATES

A. Formation of Linguistic States

India is a land of many languages, each with its distinct script, grammar, vocabulary and literary tradition. In **1917**, the Indian National had initiated creation of an organizational structure based on linguistic provinces. After INC's **Nagpur Session in 1920**, the principle was extended and formalized with the creation of provincial Congress Committee by linguistic zones. The linguistic reorganization of the Congress was encouraged and supported by among others **Lokmanya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi**.

After the bitter partition on the basis of religion the then **PM Nehru was apprehensive of dividing country further on the basis of language**. Nonetheless, demands for separate state based on linguistic identity got momentum as seen in movements for **Ayikya Kerala, Samyukta Maharashtra and Vishalandhra**.

The **Constituent Assembly in 1948** appointed the **Linguistic Provinces Commission**, headed by Justice **S.K. Dhar**, to enquire into the desirability of linguistic provinces especially in case of Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala, and Maharashtra. The **Dhar Commission advised against this at that time** reason being **it might threaten national unity** and would be **administratively inconvenient**. However, to appease the vocal votaries of linguistic states, the Congress appointed a committee, also known as the **JVP committee**, in **December 1948** consisting of Nehru, Sardar Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramayya to examine the question afresh. In its 1949 report the JVP Committee revoked the seal of approval that the Congress had once put on the principle of linguistic provinces; it argued that the time was not suitable for formation of creation of new provinces.

The demands for separate state on the linguistic basis didn't subside. There were renewed movements aimed at linguistic autonomy in 1948-1949. There was the campaign for Samyukta Karnataka, uniting Kannada speaking spread across the states of Madras, Mysore, Bombay, Hyderabad, Samyukta Maharashtra, Maha Gujarat movement. In case of **Punjab, struggle brought together both the factors language and religion (Sikh)**.

The Case of Andhra: the first linguistic state

The **speakers of Telugu** asked the Congress to implement its old resolution in favour of linguistic states. The method they used to advance their causes included: Petitions, representations, street marches, parts. To support their cause, former Madras CM **T. Prakasam resigned** from the **Congress party in 1950**. Another politician **Swami Sitaram** went on **hunger strike** to support Telegu people's cause. Later he called off his hunger strike on the appeal of veteran Gandhian leader Vinobha Bhave.

On **19 October 1952**, a popular freedom fighter, **Potti Sriramulu** undertook a **fast unto death** over the demand for a separate Andhra; unfortunately he passed away on 15 December 1952. After his death people were agitated and it was followed by rioting, demonstrations, hartals and violence all over Andhra. The **Vishalandhra movement** (as the movement for a separate Andhra was called) turned violent. Finally, the then **PM Nehru announced the formation of a separate Andhra State on 19 December 1952**.

The States Reorganization Committee:

The formation of Andhra Pradesh spurred the struggle for making of other states on linguistic lines in other parts of the country. Hence Nehru appointed in **August 1953** the **States Reorganisation 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. The SRC submitted its **report in October 1955**. It

recognized for the most part on the linguistic principle and recommended redrawing of state boundaries on that basis. The then government accepted the SRC's recommendations.

Finally, the **States Reorganization Act was passed by parliament in November 1956.**

- It provided for **fourteen states** and **six centrally administered territories.**
- **SRC opposed the splitting of Bombay & Punjab.**
- Therefore, the strongest reaction against SRC's report came from Maharashtra, where widespread rioting took place.

To fulfill their demand of separate state for Marathi speaking people, there was the broad based **Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti** and on the other hand in Bombay state, there was **Maha Gujarat Janata Parishad** led the **movement for Gujarati speaking people.** Eventually in May 1960, the state of Bombay was bifurcated into Maharashtra, Gujarat with Bombay city being included in Maharashtra and Ahmedabad being made the capital of Gujarat.

The other state where an exception was made to the linguistic principle was **Punjab.** In **1956, the state of PEPSU had been merged with Punjab,** which remained a **trilingual state** having three language speakers-Punjabi, Hindi and Pahari within its border. In the **Punjabi speaking part of the state, there was a strong demand for carving out a separate Punjabi Suba** (Punjabi Speaking State). This demand got communal overtones. The Akali Dal led Sikh Communalists, while the Jan Sangh, led Hindu communalists. **SRC had rejected the demands in Punjab,** as it would not solve either the language or the communal problem of Punjab. Finally in **1966,** Indira Gandhi agreed to the division of Punjab into two Punjabi and Hindi speaking status of Punjab and **Haryana,** with the **Pahari speaking district of Kangra and a part of the Hoshiarpur district being merged with HP.**

Finally, after more than ten years of continuous strife and popular struggles, the linguistic reorganization of India was largely completed.

B. Unique cases of reorganization

I. Sikkim:

At the time of Independence, **Sikkim was a "Protectorate" of India.** It meant that it was neither a part of India like other states nor a complete sovereign country. Sikkim's defence and foreign relation were managed by India while the power of internal administration was with the **Sikkim's Chogyal Monarch.** The **people of the state were unhappy with this arrangement and aspired for democratic set up for governance.** The majority of the people of the state were Nepali and ruler was from minority community Lepcha-Bhutia. The people of the state got support for this cause from the Government of India and from the leaders of both the communities.

In 1974's Assembly Elections, the Sikkim Congress swept the polls and they stood for greater integration with India. The Assembly sought the status of "Associate State" initially then in **1975** passed a full-fledged **resolution of integration with India.** This was **followed by immediate referendum** that sealed the approval on assembly's request of integration. The Indian Parliament accepted this plea and accepted it as a state.

II. Goa's Liberation

The prolonged rule of British Empire came to an end in 1947. However, the Portugal refused to withdraw from the territories of Goa, Diu and Daman, which they ruled since 16th Century. The people of Goa were suppressed by Portuguese misrule and they were denied of basic civil rights to them, Portuguese carried out coerced religious conversions as well.

Initially, the Government of India, tried to convince the Portuguese to vacate these territories and consider the popular movements of local people. The Situation became worse in **1955** when a group Goan and Indian protesters staging a liberation march were shot at and killed by the Portuguese. Nehru government responded by instituting a **blockade** around Goa, however this was bypassed by the Portuguese by adopting the air route to open trade with Pakistan and Srilanka. Eventually on **18 December 1961**, under **operation Vijay**, the Indian troops crossed the border into Goa and after two days of action the Portuguese surrendered on **19 December**

After this liberation, another thorny issue emerged in Goa. The **Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party [MGP]** desired that **Goa should be merged with Maharashtra**.

Another faction of Goans **wanted to retain their separate identity & their culture** essentially their **Konkani language**. The faction got their support from **United Goan Party (UGP)**. In **1967**, Government of India initiated a move to resolve this issue. It undertook an "**Opinion Poll**" in Goa whether it should be merged with Maharashtra or remains separate. This was the **only occasion where this kind of referendum like process** was undertaken to ascertain people's desire on a particular subject. The overwhelming **majority of the people favored Goa to remain, separate from Maharashtra**. For a longer time, **Goa remained a Union Territory**. Finally Goa became a state of the Indian Union in **1987**.

C. Recent Reorganizations of States

I. Chhattisgarh

The present state of Chhattisgarh was carved out of Madhya Pradesh, and become 26th State of India on 1 November 2000.

The demand of a separate state was first pitched in pre independence era in 1920's and later in after independence period when State Reorganization Commission in 1955 submitted its report, but it rejected the demand for separate Chhattisgarh. However after long time, this **demand acquired renewed momentum in 1990's**. The key issues underlying this renewed demand were **a distinct Chhattisgarhi identity, large Tribal population and underdevelopment despite being resource rich**. **Chhattisgarh Rajya Nirman Manch**, led by **Chandulal Chandrakar** conducted several region wide strikes and rallies and got the support of INC and BJP.

Finally, in the year 2000 NDA Government accepted separate Chhattisgarh demand and made it 26th state of India.

II. Uttarakhand

Uttarakhand, earlier known as [Uttaranchal] was carved out of Uttar Pradesh on **9th November 2000**, as 27th state of India. It was the successful culmination of **70 year old struggle** of the people of the **hilly region** for a separate state.

Lack of development in **geographically unique region** (93% of the areas in the hilly region & 64% of the total areas is forest area) and rising unemployment gave impetus to the age old demand for a separate state.

It all started in **1930** when residents of the hill region had moved a resolution by majority vote claiming for a separate of Uttarakhand. Later in **1973**, there was **Uttarakhand Rajya Parishad** formed and became a platform for statehood struggle. This got transformed into **Uttaranchal Kranti Dal** in **1979**. Later in 1994, the then CM Mulayam Singh Yadav set up a committee for evaluating demands of Uttarakhand. The committee favoured the formation of the state. Uttaranchal, later to be renamed Uttarakhand in 2006-7, became the 27th state of the union on 9 November 2000.

III. Jharkhand:

Jharkhand, which constituted the tribal areas of Bihar consisting of **Chhota Nagpur and the Santhal Pargana**, remained subject of the demands for autonomy. The region has a concentration of several major traditional tribes, like **Santhal, HO, Oraon and Munda** etc.

With the spread of education & modern activity in the tribal area a movement for the separate state started in late 1930's & 1940's. **Jharkhand Party was founded in 1950**, under the leadership of **Jaipal Singh**. However, their demand of separate state got rejected by SRC in 1955. Later many tribal parties and movements developed and furthered the demand for separate state, one of them was **Jharkhand Mukti Morcha led by Shibu Soren**. Finally after prolonged struggle for their separate state demand, the central government made **Jharkhand-28th state of India on November 15th 2000**.

IV. Telengana:

On 17 September 17 1948 Hyderabad state, which included Telangana, was merged into the Indian Union. It is well known fact that the **States Reorganization Commission (SRC) did not favour the idea of merging Telangana with Andhra Pradesh** and it provided various **safeguards to protect the interests** of the people of the region for some years to come. Telangana was merged with Andhra to form Andhra Pradesh in 1956. In **1969**, an agitation began in the region under **Marri Channa Reddy** under the banner of **Telangana Praja Samiti**. The struggle continued without any success for a long time.

The **Telangana Rashtra Samiti** then took the **cause of separate Telangana is 2001**. On November 29, 2009, the TRS launched an indefinite hunger strike. On **9 December 2009**, the centre announced that it was "initiating the process for formation of Telangana State". Finally in **2014**, the demand was fulfilled, after much dilly-dallying, Telangana became **29th State of India** on.

V. Other Demands for State Creation:

There are **still long pending demands** for state formation on the **different basis viz. ethnicity**, lack of **development, administrative inconvenience**. Some of the prominent demands for separate statehood are:

- Gorkhaland (WB),
- Kamatpur state for Koch Rajbangsi (Assam), Bodoland (Assam),
- Vidharbha (MH),
- Saurashtra (Gujarat),
- fourfold division of Uttar Pradesh in the form of Harit Pradesh, Awadh Pradesh, Purvanchal and Bundelkhand (some parts of UP and MP).

Demands of separate statehood on various grounds show that **language is not the sole glue that can bind people together**. Now some people are aspiring for preservation of their ethnic culture in the form of separate state and on the other hand some people are aspiring for better development after prolonged apathy and backwardness.

CHAPTER 8: CONTEMPORARY DEVELOPMENTS

A. Politics of Coalition

A large number of political parties always contested elections in our country, as we have seen in the chapter From Colony to Democracy. In the initial years, the Congress party gained overwhelming majority. The Congress party commanded popularity and respect of the people. The party had mass base and grass roots in India. It remained in power both at the centre as well as in the states right from 1947 to 1967 and it had a monolithic character. However, emergence of strong regional parties, politicization of various social groups and their struggle for share in power characterized the political transition and churning in contemporary India and it have made coalition government inevitable at the Federal level.

The beginning of coalition Politics in India

During the **fourth general elections** to the Lok Sabha and the state assemblies, after the demise of Nehru and Shastri, the Congress Party exhausted its mandate and lost its character and motivation as a party of social and institutional change. People were unhappy with corruption and lavish lifestyle of party members. According to **Zareer Masani**, a freelance journalist and broadcaster, due to the continuous power struggle within and rapid erosion of party discipline, confidence was built up in the anti-Congress wave during 1967 elections.

An important feature of the **1967 elections** was the **coming together of the opposition parties**. The 1967 elections also initiated the dual era of short lived coalition governments and politics of defection. Coalition governments were formed in all opposition ruled states except Tamil Nadu. Congress too formed coalition governments in some of the states. 1967 elections also heralded politics of coalition. In Haryana where the defection phenomenon was first initiated, and new term was coined "**Aya Ram Gaya Ram**" for the leaders frequently changing their party. During 1967 to 1970 nearly 800 assembly members crossed the floor, and 155 of them were rewarded with ministerial offices.

The 1967 elections, also dramatically changed the balance of power within the Congress Party. **Syndicate**, the powerful group, of the party received major blow as several stalwarts lost the elections.

1977 Elections

The elections of 1977 was a watershed in the history of independent India as it not only put to test the resolve of people to uphold democracy but also ensured the transfer of power by peaceful means from one party to another through the electoral verdict. The election results ensured a chastising defeat for the Congress led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi and a victory for opposition forces that came together to form the Janata Party.

Morarji Desai, headed four party Janata Government for about two years (1977–79). Technically, it was not a coalition because its four constituents had agreed to merge and fought the elections on a single manifesto and on a share symbol.

Formation of Government in 1977

S.N.	Constituent Group	No. of MPs	No. of Ministers
1	Jana Sangh	94	11
2	Bhartiya Lok Dal	71	12
3	Congress (O)	50	10
4	Socialist Party	28	04
5	CFD Congress for Democracy	28	03
6	Ex-Congressmen [Chandra Shekhar group]	05	02
7	Others [Like Akali Dal etc.]	25	02

Due to the **aspiration of power and position** the Janata Coalition collapsed like a house of cards in July 1979. Others reasons for the collapse were flood gates of **defection** were open and **Akali and other regional groups withdrew their support**. According to L.K. Advani, Janata Party was in the pain of collapse in 1979, partly due to their **divergent concept of a party discipline**. Non governance became the bane of the administration. The struggle for power within the coalition led to the conflicts, confrontation and mudslinging at each other.

After the collapse of Janata Government, India had another coalition government headed by **Charan Singh**. But this government too remained for a very short time. Later for almost a decade India had a stable one party government at the centre under Congress's leadership **Era of constant coalition governments**

After a decade old stable government by the Congress, there was a **return of coalition politics**. Elections in **1989** led to the defeat of the Congress Party but didn't result in majority for any other party. This defeat of 1989 of the Congress Party marked the **end of Congress dominance** over the India Party System. Hence an era of multi-party system began. The **evolution of multiparty system** at the centre meant that no single party secured a clear majority of seats in any Lok Sabha elections held since 1989 until BJP got majority in 2014.

The nineties also saw the emergence of powerful parties and movements that represented the Dalit and backward castes. There have been nine governments at the centre, majority of them either been coalition governments or minority governments. In this phase, any government could be formed only with the participation or support of many regional parties. This can be seen from the National Front in 1989, the United Front in 1996 and 1997, the NDA in 1997, BJP led coalition in 1998, NDA in 1999 and UPA in 2004 and 2009.

Mandal Politics

The **Mandal Commission** was set up in **1978** by Government of India to **investigate the extent of educational and social backwardness among various sections of Indian Society** and recommend ways of identifying these "backward classes". Mandal Commission found that the backward caste had a very low presence in both educations institutions and in employment in public services. Hence it had recommended reservations of seats in educations institutions and government job for these groups. The Mandal Commission also made many other recommendations like land reforms, to improve the conditions of the OBCs. After a decade of the report, in **August 1990**, the **National Front Government** decided to implement one of the recommendations of Mandal Commission pertaining to **reservations for OBCs in job in the central government and its undertakings**. This decision sparked agitations and violent protests in many cities of North India. **Supreme Court in 1992** upheld the decision of the government.

B. New Economic Policy 1991

The evolution of Indian economy from a public sector dominated socialist pattern to a liberalized open market economy was a slow process. The convergence peculiar circumstances such as the Gulf war, collapse of Soviet Union and unstable governments at the center and the economic crisis as seen in the balance of payment issue in the early 1990s made it imperative for India to respond to the changed scenario.

The origin of the economic crisis can be traced from the inefficient management of the Indian economy in the 1980's. In the late 1980's government expenditure began to exceed its revenue by such large margins that it became unsustainable. Inflation was soaring, imports grew in excess to the export to such a level that foreign exchange reserves declined to a level that it was not adequate to finance imports for more than two weeks. Even there was insufficient foreign exchange to pay the interest to international lenders.

To ward off this precarious situation of economy, **India approached the World Bank and IMF** and received \$7 billion as loan to manage the crisis. In return, **these institutions wanted that the Indian should open up the economy by removing restrictions** of the several sectors and **reduce the role of government** in many areas and remove trade restrictions. India had no choice but to accept these conditions and announced the **New Economic Policy**. The Crux of the policy was to remove the barrier to the entry of private firms and to create more competitive environment for the economy. These **reforms can be classified into two types**.

1. The stabilization measures [short term]
2. The structural reform measures [Long term]

The government initiated a variety of policies which fall under three heads viz. Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization, "LPG Policy". The first two are policy strategies & the last one is the outcome of these strategies.

I. Liberalization

1991 reforms were more comprehensive as **compared to the reforms of 1980's**. Industrial licensing was abolished for almost all but product categories – alcohol, cigarettes, hazardous chemicals industries, expensive electronics, aerospace drugs and pharmaceuticals.

The **only industries now reserved for the public sector are defence equipments, atomic energy generation and railway transport**. In many industries, the market has been allowed to determine the prices.

Financial sector reforms

Major aim of financial sector reforms was to **reduce the role of RBI from regulator to facilitator of financial sector**. In a way, financial sector may be allowed to take decision without consulting RBI. These reforms led to the establishment of private sector banks, entry of foreign banks with certain conditions on FII, such as merchant bankers, mutual funds and pension Funds were not allowed to invest in Indian Financial markets.

Tax Reforms

Since 1991, there has been a continuous reduction in the taxes on individual incomes. The rate of corporation tax was reduced; simplification of procedures to pay the income tax was also initiated.

Foreign Exchange Reforms- Initially the rupee was devalued against foreign currencies. This led to the increase in the inflow of foreign exchange. Now usually, markets determine exchange rates based on the demand and supply of foreign exchange.

Trade and Investment Policy Reforms: To promote the efficiency of the local industries and for the adoption of modern technologies competitiveness of industrial production and foreign investment and technology into the economy was promoted. Import licensing was abolished except in case of hazardous and environmentally sensitive industries.

II. Privatisation:

Government had shed off the ownership and management of various government owned enterprises. Government started disinvestment by selling off equity of PSU's. The purpose behind such move was to improve financial discipline and to facilitate modernization.

The government has also made attempts to improve the efficiency of PSUs by giving them autonomy in taking managerial decisions.

III. Globalisation:

Globalisation is the outcome of the policies of liberalisation and privatisation. Globalisation implies greater interdependence and integration. It involves creation of networks and activities transcending economic social and geographical boundaries. The best example is of outsourcing. e.g. BPOs.

Globalization is mix bag of results. On one hand it has provided greater access to global markets, imports of high Technology etc. on the other hand developed countries expands their markets in other countries. It has also been pointed out that markets driven globalization has widened the economic disparities among nations and people.

C. Era of ICT (Information and Communication Technology)

The main objective behind any innovation in technology is to ensure that it provides comfort leisure, productivity and a better quality of life and built environment to its citizen. In India, the path towards technology induced development especially associated with ICT, was given a vent in **1984 by Rajiv Gandhi government**. He adopted an effective route to development with massive programme of computerization, launched in the public sectors as well as in commercial and the public sectors undertakings and in administrative departments. By 1985, large sectors had announced computerization plans, which included railways, banking operations, schools etc.

Information & Communication Technology can be broadly viewed under two sectors,

- Information Technology and
- Communication

In **1998, National Task Force on Information Technology and Software Development** prepared the blue print for making the adoption of IT as a national movement by establishing a wide network of empowered taskforce at all governmental & non-governmental level.

In **1999, the Ministry of Information Technology was established** by bringing together government agencies involved in different aspects of IT for creating job to harness opportunities provided by convergence of communication technologies and to facilitate the use of IT in use of Electronic Governance.

ICT generates **new possibilities to address problems of rural poverty, inequality and environmental degradation**. In India, the growth of information technology and communications is very significant in the past two decades. IT Industry in India comprises of software industry and information technology enabled services [ITES] which also includes BPO industry.

India is considered as a pioneer in software development and a favorite destination for IT-enabled services (ITES). Many other countries look to India as a model for global outsourcing and try to imitate elements of this is their own strategies.

The Government of India and respective state government in India use ICT for delivery of government information and services to citizens [G2C], business [G2B], employees [G2E], and governments [G2G]. The Government of India initiated an e-government programme during the late 1990's by adopting the **Information Technology Act in 2000**. The major aims of this Act were to recognize electronic contracts, prevent computer crimes and make electronic filing possible. Later in **2006**, Government approved the **National e governance Plan [NeGP]** to enhance e government initiatives in India. Almost all state governments and UTs have also implemented their own e government services to serve their citizens and business. Some of the prominent services include "**Bhoomi**" from Karnataka, "**Gyandoot**" from MP, "**Smart government**" from Andhra Pradesh, "**SARI**" from Tamil Nadu.

CHAPTER 9: POPULAR MOVEMENTS

A. Introduction

1. According to **Paul Wilkinson**, Concept of Social Movements means a **deliberate collective endeavour to promote change in any direction** and **by any means** not excluding violence, illegality, revolution or withdrawal into utopian Community.
2. **Ghanshyam Shah** classifies movements as **revolt, rebellion, reforms and revolution** to bring about changes in the political system. According to Parth Mukherji, social movements are accumulative, alternative and transformatory in nature.
3. In the view of **T.K. Oommen**, **movements are charismatic, ideological and organisational**.
4. Some other classify movements **on the basis of the participants** such as Peasants, tribals, dalits, women, backwards, students etc. Many other Movements that are based on issues transcending the barriers of class have been termed as New Social movements.

In the case of India one can find examples belonging to the above mentioned typology. Some of the prominent ones are discussed in the following section.

B. Environment Movement

Ecological and environmental conflicts in India are result of claims over depleting resources of forests, land water, fisheries etc. These conflicts have been a challenge to the development of the country and also give rise to organized movement revolving around them

I. Chipko Movement:

Chipko movement that began in 1973 in central Himalayas is one of the most famous movements in India. This movement began in Uttarakhand when forest department had refused permission to villagers to fell ash trees for making agricultural tools and allotted the same patch of land to sports manufacturer for commercial use.

The villagers demanded that no forest exploiting contracts should be given to outsiders and **local communities should have effective control over natural resources** like land, water and forests. **Women's active participation** in the Chipko agitation was a very novel aspect of the movement. Villagers in general, and women in particular thwarted commercial felling of trees by **hugging the trees** to prohibit their cutting and the **name chipko originates from this very practice only**.

The movement achieved a victory when the then government issued a **ban on felling of trees in the Himalayan regions for fifteen years**, until the green cover was fully restored. **Gaura Devi**, a middle aged widow of the village was prominent figure of this movement. After this movement, the **Chipko movement inspired many environmental movements** and gave rise to series of protests against commercial felling in Himalayan foothills led by Gandhians and leftists.

II. Narmada Bachao Aandolan:

- An ambitious developmental project was launched in the **Narmada valley of central India in early 80's**.
- The project consisted of 30 big dams, 135 medium sized and around 3000 small dams to be constructed on the Narmada and its tributaries that flow across three states, MP, Gujarat and Maharashtra.
- Sardar Sarovar Project in Gujarat and Narmada Sagar Project in MP were two most important biggest, multipurpose dams planned under the project.
- The projects mentioned above were aimed to provide drinking water and water for irrigation, generation of electricity and increase in agricultural production.
- The project required **relocation of about two and half lakh people** and **245 villages were expected to get submerged**.

- Initially **locals demanded proper relocation and proper rehabilitation**. It was during late 80's that the issue crystallised under the banner of Narmada Bachao Aandolan, a loose collective of local voluntary organs.
- NBA demanded a proper cost benefit analysis of the major developmental projects** completed in the country so far.
- It also demanded that **social cost should be calculated** too with respect to such projects. Social cost meant forced settlement of project affected people, serious loss of means of livelihood and culture, depletion of ecological resources.
- Because of constant struggle, Right to rehabilitation has been recognized by the government and judiciary.
- A comprehensive **National Rehabilitation Policy formed by the government in 2003** can be considered as an achievement of the movements like NBA.
- NBA used every available democratic strategy to put forward its demands** like Pradarshan, Dharna, Gherao, Rasta Roko, Jail Bharo Aandolan, Bhook Hartal etc. The prominent face of the movement was Medha Patkar, a social activist.

III. Silent Valley Movement:

- This environmental movement aimed at the protection of **silent valley an evergreen forest** in the **Palakkad district Kerala**.
- After the announcement of imminent dam construction on **Kuntipuzha river**, as an ideal site for electricity construction "**Save silent valley**".
- Movement was **started in 1973** and **Kerala Sasthra Sahitya Parishad (K.S.S.P)** effectively aroused the public opinion to save silent valley.
- The **protesters were successful in 1985**, when the then PM Rajiv Gandhi inaugurated **Silent valley National Park** and the park was designated as the core area of Nilgiri Biosphere Reserve.
- Silent Valley is also famous for the endangered lion-tailed macaque.

IV. Fisheries Movement:

- Both in the eastern and the western coastal area of our country hundreds of thousands of families, belonging indigenous fishermen communities are engaged in fishing occupation.
- The livelihood of these fishermen worker was threatened, when the government permitted entry of mechanized trawlers and technologies like bottom trawling for large scale harvest of fish in the Indian seas.
- To protect their interests and livelihood, the **fishermen came together on a national level platform as a National Fish workers Forum**.
- NFF achieved their first success against Indian government's move to open the entry of commercial vessels including of MNCs in deep sea. In July 2002, NFF called for a nationwide strike to oppose the move of government to issue licenses to foreign trawlers as well.

C. Dalit Movement

After Independence, the Dalit Movement sought social justice and dignity and they attempted to build electoral majorities on a certain type of caste mobilization.

The Term "Dalit" encompasses the communities known as ex-untouchables and tribals who are officially termed as Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes respectively.

Ghanshyam Shah classified Dalit Movement into:

1. Reformative
2. Alternative Movement

Reformative: it tries to **reform the caste system** to solve the problem of untouchability.

Alternative: it attempts to **create an alternative socio-cultural structure** by conversion to some other religion or by acquiring education, economic status and political power.

In almost all Dalit movements, the issue of reservations has been an overriding phenomenon and is seen as the most decisive tool of progress.

The **Bhopal Declaration (2002)** adopted unanimously a new **21 point Action Agenda for Dalits for the 21st century**.

Some of the important points:

1. Recognize SC & ST women as distinct category of women.
2. Make the reservation quota applicable in all public & private educational institutions from primary to technological, professional levels.
3. Implement effectively in letter and spirit the SC & ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act 1989.
4. Implement the policy of reservation to SC & STs at all levels of Judiciary and the Defence forces.

The 1980s saw the rise of political organisation of the Dalits. In **1978, the Backward and Minority Classes Employees Federation BAMCEF was formed**. It took a strong position in favour of political power to the bahun – the SC, ST and OBC, minorities. The prominent face of this movement and its subsequent outfit Shoshit Samaj Sangharsh Samiti, was by Kanshi Ram.

D. OBC Movements

- The Other Backward Classes (OBCs) are those who are as deprived as the S.C.s but without the stigma of untouchability. **Andre Beteille**, says "The **OBC Constitute a congeries of communities of rather uncertain status**".
- The **Kaka Kalelkar Commission** appointed by the Government of India, identified more than 3000 castes or communities as OBC in 1956. The **Mandal Commission** (1980) calculated that 52% of the population including non Hindus constitutes OBCs. Almost all commissions, except the **Rane Commission** in Gujarat (1983), used Social, educational and economic criteria for identifying 'backwardness'.

E. New Farmers Movement

- The farmer's movements burst onto the National political stage in 1980 with the road and rail roko agitation in Nasik, Maharashtra led by the **Shetkari Sangathana of Sharad Joshi**.
- Sharad Joshi articulated the ideology of the movement in terms of **India V/s Bharat, industrial V/s rural**.
- In 1986, in Muzaffarnagar, U.P. **Mahendra Singh Tikait**, presided over a gathering of lakhs of villagers before which the CM of UP had been forced to appear in person to announce his acceptance of their demand for reduction of electricity charges to the old level.
- In the 1980's emerged widespread grassroots mobilization of rural dwellers like in **Tamil Nadu** led by **Viva Sayigal Sangam**, the **Rajya Ryothu Sangha, Karnataka, Bhartiya Kisan Union Punjab** and **Haryana; Khedut Samaj and Kisan Sangh in Gujarat** and the **Shetkari Sangathana in Maharashtra**.
- These above mentioned New Farmers Movement especially in 1980s have attracted much **media and political attention** and
- focused mainly on the **demands of remunerative prices** for agricultural produce and **lowering or elimination of government dues** such as canal water charges, electricity charges, interest rates and principal of loans, etc.

F. Women's Movement

- Immediately after two decades of independence, the overall feelings with respect to women's issues were concerned with required legislative reforms. Many acts were passed to translate namesake equality into true spirits, like **special Marriage Act 1954**, the **Hindu Marriage Act (1956)**, **Inter State Succession Act (1956)** and **Dowry Prohibition Act 1961** were enacted.
- There are three prominent **women organization**, which are still working for the women's cause. **All India women's conference (AIWC)**, **National Federation of Indian women (1954)** and **All India Democratic Women's Association (AIDWA since 1981)**. Neither of them has direct political affiliations, but AIWC is known to have close links with Congress, the NFIW with the CPI and AIDWA with CPM.
- The mid **1970's** were a watershed years in Indian Politics. A series of locally organised and intense popular struggle broke out. Eg, **united women's Anti Price Rise Front**, which turned into a mass movement of women for consumer protection; Chipko Movement for environment protection; Bodhgaya movement for women's land rights.
- Nationwide protest were **organised around specific incident** like the **Mathura Rape Case (1978)**, **Jessica Lal Murder case**, the latest ones were **Nirbhaya Case Delhi (2012)**.

There is growing demand for women's safety, dignity, employment, and reservation in Assemblies and Parliament; Various NGOs have also contributed a lot in women emancipation. But there are many rape cases and violence against women happening in the country despite multiple laws.

G. Civil Democratic Movement

- It originated in the late **1960's**. The 1960's were a **period of political uncertainty** as the conflict with the ruling class got sharpened and there were signs of mass revolt.
- The increasing arbitrariness of state behavior was the main provocation for the democratic rights movement.
- The main propeller of growth of Civil liberties movement was **declaration of Emergency** which suspended the fundamental freedoms guaranteed in the Part III of the constitution.
- Two major Delhi based organizations, namely the **People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL)** & People's **Union for Democratic Rights (PUDR)** started working for people's democratic rights.
- Till today these organizations are working in the **interest of the vulnerable and deprived sections of the society and taking their cause on their behalf in the judiciary**.

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