

NOTES

FIRST YEAR B.L.S LL. B

SEMESTER: II

HISTORY

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Module 1: Administration of East Indian Company and the Revolt of 1857

1.1. Charter Acts from 1773 to 1853

The Charter Acts of British India refer to a series of laws passed by the British Parliament that regulated the administration and governance of British India. These Acts were crucial in shaping the political, economic, and social landscape of India during British colonial rule. The first Charter Act was passed in 1793 followed by 1813 then 1833 and lastly 1853.

To understand the importance of these acts, one needs to understand the backdrop of the British Raj. Initially, the British East India Company was established as a trading company in 1600 and transformed into a ruling body in 1765. After the Battle of Buxar (1764), the East India Company got the Diwani (right to collect revenue) of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and gradually, it started interfering in Indian affairs. The period from 1765-72 saw ‘duality in the system of government’ where the Company had the authority but no responsibility and its Indian representatives had all the responsibility but no authority. This resulted in rampant corruption among servants of the Company, excessive revenue collection and oppression of peasantry, and the Company’s bankruptcy, while the servants were flourishing. To bring some order into the business, the British government decided to regulate the Company with a gradual increase in laws and these were as follows:

— The Act of 1773 – The Regulating Act:

- This act permitted the company to:
 - retain its territorial possessions in India but sought to regulate the activities and functioning of the company.
 - to exercise control over Indian affairs (for the first time).
 - establish Supreme Court in Bengal along with appellate jurisdiction
 - to change the post of Governor of Bengal to “Governor-General of Bengal”.
 - The Bengal administration was controlled by the Governor-General along with 4 council members.
 - **Warren Hastings** was made the first Governor-General of Bengal.
 - GGB also controlled The Governor of Bombay and Madras.
- It comprised one chief justice and three other judges.

- Amendment of 1781 to the Act exempted the Governor-General, the Council and the servants of the government from the jurisdiction
- Pitt's India Act, 1784:
 - This act permitted the company to:
 - establish the dual system of control (the British government and the East India Company)
 - become a subordinate department of the State and to term its territories in India as 'British possessions'.
 - form a Board of Control to exercise control over the Company's civil, military and revenue affairs which consisted of the chancellor of exchequer, a secretary of state and four members of the Privy Council (appointed by the Crown)
 - to reduce the council of governor-general to three members including the commander-in-chief.
 - to grant **Lord Cornwallis** the power of both the governor-general and the commander-in-chief in 1786.
- The Charter Act of 1793:
 - This act permitted/mandated the company to:
 - extend the company's monopoly on trade with India for another 20 years
 - extend the overriding power given to Lord Cornwallis over his council, to all future Governor-Generals and Governors of Presidencies.
 - mandate the royal approval for the appointment of the governor-general, governors, and the commander-in-chief.
 - debar the senior officials from leaving India without permission.
 - pay the members of the Board of Control and their staff out of the Indian revenues (until 1919)
 - pay 5 lakh pounds annually to the British government
- The Charter Act of 1813:
 - It extended the company's monopoly on trade with India for another 20 years
 - The English traders demand a share in the Indian trade in view of loss of trade due to the Continental System of Napoleon Bonaparte

- The Company was deprived of its commercial monopoly and ‘the undoubted sovereignty of the Crown’ over the possessions of the East India Company was laid down.
 - It mandated to provide a sum of Rs.1,00,000 annually for the revival of literature, encouragement of learned Indian natives and promotion of scientific knowledge among the Indians.
 - The evangelicals forced the Company to appoint a bishop whose headquarters were to be in Calcutta. This allowed Christian missionaries to enter India and establish schools and colleges.
- The Charter Act of 1833:
- With the coming of the Whigs to power in 1830 the way for the triumph of liberal principles was opened. *Laissez Faire* (leave alone) was accepted as the principle of government’s attitude towards industrial enterprise. The liberal movement resulted in the Reform Act of 1832. In this atmosphere of liberalism and reforms the Parliament was called upon to renew the Charter in 1833.
 - It extended the 20 years lease provided to the Company.
 - Abolished the company's trading activities and made it a purely administrative body.
 - Ended the Company’s monopoly over trade with China and in tea.
 - To compensate for Company's loss of commercial privileges, India was to pay the debts and share-holders were to receive a 10% dividend per year until 1874.
 - Abolished the limitations on European immigration and property purchase in India, paving the stage for massive European colonisation of India.
 - The President of the Board of Control became Minister for Indian affairs with two Assistant Commissioners
 - It changed the post name of Governor-General of Bengal to "Governor-General of India". GGI and the council had:
 - the power to superintend, control and direct all civil and military affairs of the Company.
 - complete control over the collection and expenditure of revenues.
 - power to make provisions for administration of justice, Code of Military conduct and discipline as well as Articles of War
 - **William Bentinck** became the first Governor-General of India.

- established a Law Commission for the consolidation and codification of Indian Laws.
 - a fourth ordinary member to the Governor-General's Council for India was added who was to be a legal expert in the making of laws.
 - **Lord Macaulay** was the first to be appointed as the fourth ordinary member.
 - Removed the distinction between Indian and the natural born subject of the British Crown residing in India
 - Took measures for the abolition of slavery and improvement of the condition of the slaves.
- The Charter Act of 1853:
- There was a call for the arrangements for the administration of the Company through a Board of Control and a Court of Directors to be eliminated because they were both inefficient and wasteful, and they frequently caused unneeded delay.
 - In a petition, the Presidency of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras urged the appointment of a Secretary of State for India with a Council to handle all Indian-related matters.
 - It was also noted that the Governor of Bengal must not serve concurrently as the Governor-General of India since in such case, the Governor-General was probably a bit biased towards Bengal.
 - Sind and the Punjab were annexed to the Company's possessions between the Charters of 1833 and 1853 (in 1843 and 1849, respectively), while Lord Dalhousie also added Burma and Pegu.
 - Taking these things into consideration, this act:
 - granted the Company fresh authority to hold its Indian lands "in trust for Her Majesty (Queen Victoria) and her heirs and successors" until the Parliament could decide differently.
 - gave no set period of time to the Company to maintain its rights and authority unlike in prior Charters.
 - dissolved the Company's patronage over the services; the services were now thrown open to a competitive examination.
 - made the law member, the full member of the governor-general's executive council.

- introduced local representation in the Indian legislature; this was known as the Indian Legislative Council (Governor General had veto over bills of this council)
- provided that the salary of the members of Board of Control, its Secretary and other officers would be fixed by the British Government but the payments would be made out of the Company's funds.
- reduced the number of the Directors of the Court from 24 to 18 of whom 6 were to be nominated by the Crown.
- empowered the British Crown to appoint Law Commission in England to examine the drafts and reports of the Indian Law Commission

1.2. Causes of Revolt of 1857.

The Revolt of 1857, also known as the Sepoy Mutiny (by the British Historians), the Indian Mutiny, the Great Rebellion (by the Indian Historians), the Revolt of 1857, the Indian Insurrection, and the First War of Independence (by Vinayak Damodar Savarkar), was a significant event in the history of India. It was a widespread uprising against British rule that began in Meerut in May 1857 and spread quickly to Delhi, Agra, Kanpur, and Lucknow, among other places. The causes of the revolt were many, ranging from social, economic, religious, and political.

— Economic causes:

- In rural areas, peasants and zamindars were infuriated by the heavy taxes on land and the stringent methods of revenue collection followed by the Company.
- Large numbers of sepoys belonged to the peasantry class and had family ties in villages, so the grievances of the peasants also affected them.
- After the Industrial Revolution in England, there was an influx of British manufactured goods into India, which ruined industries, particularly the textile industry of India.
- Indian handicraft industries had to compete with cheap machine-made goods from Britain.
- The British East India Company's policies had a severe impact on the Indian economy.
- The company's monopoly on trade, the imposition of high taxes, and the introduction of cash crops led to the impoverishment of many Indian peasants and artisans.
- The company's exploitation of the local economy led to widespread poverty and misery, which created unrest among the people.

— Social and religious causes:

- The introduction of Western education and modern ideas threatened the orthodoxy for Hindus as well as Muslims.
- An act in 1850 (The Religious Disabilities Act) changed the Hindu law of inheritance enabling a Hindu who had converted into Christianity to inherit his ancestral properties.

- The abolition of practices like sati and female infanticide, and the legislation legalizing widow remarriage, were believed as threats to the established social structure.
- The British also passed laws that restricted certain religious practices, which angered many Indians.

— Political causes:

- The British East India Company's policy of annexation and expansionism through the Doctrine of Lapse and direct annexation. was another significant cause of the revolt.
 - Rani Lakshmi Bai's adopted son was not permitted to sit on the throne of Jhansi.
 - Satara, Nagpur and Jhansi were annexed under the Doctrine of Lapse.
 - Jaitpur, Sambalpur and Udaipur were also annexed.
 - The annexation of Oudh in 1856, a loyal state, into a hotbed of discontent and intrigue.
 - The introduction of new laws and regulations that were seen as arbitrary and discriminatory also added to the growing discontent.

— Military causes:

- The Indian soldiers in the British army, known as sepoys, were an important factor in the revolt.
- The sepoys resented the low pay and the lack of opportunities for promotion within the army.
- Indian sepoys formed more than 87% of the British troops in India but were considered inferior to British soldiers.
- In 1856 Lord Canning issued the General Services Enlistment Act which required that the sepoys must be ready to serve even in British land across the sea.

— Immediate cause:

- The immediate cause of the revolt was the rumour that the cartridges used by the sepoys were greased with cow and pig fat. Before loading these rifles, the sepoys had to bite off the paper on the cartridges. which was an insult to religious sentients of both Hindus and Muslims.

- In March 1857, Mangal Pandey, a sepoy in Barrackpore, had refused to use the cartridge and attacked his senior officers. He was hanged to death on 8th April.
- On 9th May, 85 soldiers in Meerut refused to use the new rifle and were sentenced to ten years' imprisonment.
- This led to a widespread mutiny among the sepoys, who were joined by civilians, peasants, and ruling elites in various parts of India.

1.3. Consequences of Revolt with special reference to Queen's Proclamation and Act for the better Government of India.

The Revolt of 1857 had exposed the Company's limitations in administering under a complex situation. The revolt offered the opportunity as the demand for divesting the Company of its authority over the Company's territory. One of the most significant consequences of the revolt was the change in the British attitude towards their Indian subjects, which led to the issuance of the Queen's Proclamation and the enactment of the Act for the Better Government of India.

— The Queen's Proclamation:

- It was issued on November 1, 1858
- It was addressed to the princes, chiefs, and people of India
- It began with an expression of sympathy for the suffering and distress caused by the recent events in India.
- It promised to respect the religions, customs, and traditions of the Indian people.
- It announced the end of the British East India Company's rule in India and the transfer of power to the British Crown.
- It stated that no person would be "molested or disturbed" on account of their religion or caste, and that all Indians would be given equal protection under the law.
- It declared that the British government would work towards the welfare of the Indians, and that it would promote education, moral and material progress.
- It assured the Indian princes and chiefs to respect their rights and privileges
- The proclamation was significant because it marked a shift in British policy towards India, from one of economic exploitation to one of political and social reform.

— The Act for the Better Government of India:

- Also known as the Government of India Act of 1858
- It enacted in response to the Revolt of 1857.
- Lord Palmerston introduced the bill in February, 1858
- Before the Bill was passed into an Act, Palmerston Ministry was thrown out and Lord Derby with Disraeli as Chancellor of Exchequer came to power.
- The Act was passed under this ministry and received royal assent on August 2, 1858.

- The act abolished the East India Company's rule in India and transferred the administration of India to the British Crown.
- It established a new system of governance in India, which included the creation of a Secretary of State for India and a council of fifteen members to assist him.
- The title of Governor-general of India was replaced with the Viceroy.
- The Viceroy was appointed directly by the British government.
- The first Viceroy of India was **Lord Canning**.
- It provided for the establishment of provincial councils and the appointment of Indian officials to high government positions.
- It provided for the establishment of a system of courts in India, which were to be administered by Indian judges
- It provided for the establishment of universities in India, which were to be open to all classes and castes of Indian society.

— Other consequences:

- It led to the end of the Mughal rule.
- It was promised and due attention was paid to the customs and traditions of India but it marked the beginning of the British policy of divide and rule.
- The ratio of British officers to Indian soldiers increased but the armoury remained in the hands of the English.
- It was arranged to end the dominance of the Bengal army.
- The revolt also had an impact on the Indian nationalist movement, which emerged in the late nineteenth century.

1.4. Indian Council Act of 1891.

[Note: The module mentions “Indian Council Act of 1891”, but there were no councils act in 1891 perse (these were in 1861, 1892 and 1909), this document addresses the Indian Council act of 1861 (here), 1892 (module 3.2) and 1909 (module 3.4)]

— Background:

- The act was introduced in response to the Indian Rebellion of 1857, also known as the Sepoy Mutiny or the First War of Independence.
- The rebellion exposed several flaws in the existing administration, prompting the British government to reconsider its policies and make necessary reforms.
- The Act aimed to centralize power in the hands of the British government, strengthen its control over India, and prevent future uprisings.
- The Act was passed on 1st August 1861

— Provisions and Impact:

- The Act expanded the composition of the Legislative Council, both at the provincial and central levels.
- It introduced the concept of "non-official" members in the councils, allowing Indians to participate in the legislative process.
- However, the majority of the members continued to be British officials, ensuring that ultimate decision-making power remained in their hands.
- The Act introduced a limited franchise by granting certain property-based qualifications for Indians to become eligible to vote or hold office.
- However, these qualifications were designed to restrict political power to a small section of the Indian elite, ensuring continued British dominance.
- The Act separated legislative and executive functions, establishing a legislative council responsible for lawmaking and an executive council responsible for administration.
- The Act centralized power in the hands of the Viceroy and his executive council.
- It weakened the authority of the local governments and reduced their autonomy.
- By involving Indians in the legislative process, it created the first representative institutions. Viceroy nominated some Indians to be non-official members of his expanded council.
- Raja of Benaras, the Maharaja of Patiala, and Sir Dinkar Rao were nominated by Lord Canning.

- Bombay and Madras' legislative authority has been restored.
- New legislative councils were established for Punjab, North Western Frontier Province, and Bengal.
- Viceroy could establish procedures for easy council business transactions.
- It acknowledged Lord Canning's "portfolio system".

— Drawbacks of the Act:

- The Act's biggest flaw involved the choice and function of the Additional Members.
- These participants were only advisory and did not participate in the discussions.
- The Indian members were not allowed to vote against any bills, and most bills were passed in a single session without debate.

Module 2: Major developments in India and Social Reform

2.1. Education

2.1.1. Charter Act of 1813.

- A British law that renewed the charter of the British East India Company for another 20 years, from 1813 to 1833.
- The Act was primarily aimed at regulating the affairs of the East India Company in India and improving the governance of the country.
- One of the major provisions of the Act was the establishment of a Bishopric in Calcutta, which gave the Church of England greater influence in India.
- The Act provided for the establishment of a fund of one lakh rupees annually for promoting the education of the people of India. This fund was to be used for the establishment of schools and colleges and for the maintenance of existing institutions.
- The Act allowed Christian missionaries to preach and propagate their religion in India, as long as they did not interfere with the customs and beliefs of the Indian people. It also allowed them to own and inherit property in the country.
- The Act also allowed for the appointment of an Indian Education Committee, which was tasked with overseeing the development of education in India and making recommendations to the British government.
- The education provided by the British was aimed at producing a class of Indians who could assist in the administration of the country, but it also had the effect of exposing Indians to Western ideas and values, which led to the growth of nationalism and the Indian independence movement.
- Despite the focus on promoting Western-style education, the Act also recognized the importance of indigenous education in India and allowed for the establishment of schools that would teach Indian languages and literature.
- The Act also made provisions for the appointment of teachers in India, with a preference for English-speaking teachers who would be trained in England.
- The promotion of education through the Charter Act of 1813 was part of the larger effort by the British to "civilize" India, which was seen as a backward and uncivilized country.

- The emphasis on English education was seen as a way to create a class of Indians who would be loyal to the British Empire and able to serve as intermediaries between the British and the Indian population.
- While the promotion of education was a positive step towards modernization, it also had its limitations and drawbacks. For example, the education provided by the British was limited to a small elite class of Indians and did not reach the vast majority of the population. Additionally, the education provided was heavily influenced by Western ideas and did not take into account the rich cultural heritage and traditions of India.
- The Act also allowed Christian missionaries to propagate their religion in India, which had both positive and negative consequences. On the one hand, the Christian missionaries played a significant role in the promotion of education and in the establishment of schools and colleges. On the other hand, the propagation of Christianity led to the destruction of traditional Indian beliefs and practices and contributed to the erosion of Indian culture.
- The Act also reinforced the power imbalance between the British and Indian populations, with the former holding the key to education and other opportunities.
- The legacy of the Charter Act of 1813 can still be seen in India today, with English education remaining a key feature of the country's educational system and a symbol of its colonial past.

2.1.2. Macaulay's Minute of 1835.

- The “Minute on Indian Education” or “Macaulay’s Minute” was a proposal made by Thomas Babington Macaulay on 2nd February 1835.
- Macaulay was a British politician and member of the Governor-General’s Council in India at the time.
- The proposal aimed to reform the Indian education system which was seen as inadequate and outdated by introducing English education.
- Macaulay argued that English education was necessary to create a class of Indians who could serve as intermediaries between the British and the Indian population. He advocated for the introduction of English education in India, which he believed would lead to the spread of western ideas and values among the Indian population.

- He argued that English was the language of commerce, science, and literature, and that by learning English, Indians would be better equipped to navigate the modern world.
- Macaulay's proposal was based on the belief that the British had a civilizing mission in India, and that the spread of English education was a key part of that mission. He believed that the study of English language, literature, and science would lead to the creation of a “class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect.”
- Macaulay's proposal was controversial and met with resistance from some Indian scholars and educators who feared that the spread of English education would lead to the erosion of traditional Indian culture and values.
- Macaulay's proposal was eventually implemented through the Education Dispatch of 1854, which set up a system of English-language schools across India.
- The new system of education was largely modelled on the British system and was intended to create a class of Indians who could serve as bureaucrats, professionals, and clerks.
- The new system of education also had a significant impact on the Indian economy, as English-educated Indians were more likely to be employed in British-owned companies.
- However, the English education system also reinforced existing social hierarchies in India. Only a small proportion of Indians had access to English education, and this was largely restricted to the upper castes and classes.
- English education also reinforced the position of British colonial rulers and perpetuated colonial power structures.
- The emphasis on English education also had the effect of marginalizing other regional languages and cultural traditions in India.
- The introduction of English education also led to the development of a new class of Indian intellectuals and leaders, many of whom played key roles in India's independence movement.
- Some scholars argue that Macaulay's proposal was a form of cultural imperialism, in which the British imposed their language and culture on India for their own benefit.

- Others argue that the introduction of English education was a necessary step in India's modernization and development, and that it helped to bridge the gap between India and the West.

2.1.3. Wood's Dispatch of 1854.

- The Wood's Dispatch was a policy statement issued by Sir Charles Wood, the then Secretary of State for India, in July 1854.
- The main objective was to establish a system of education that would cater to the needs of the people of India and promote the spread of Western education in the country.
- It recognized the importance of education in improving the economic and social conditions of the people of India.
- It emphasized the need for education to be accessible and affordable to all sections of society, irrespective of their caste, religion, or social status.
- It recommended the establishment of a three-tiered system of education in India, comprising primary, secondary, and higher education. It also recommended the establishment of a network of schools and colleges across the country to provide education to the people of India.
- It also emphasized the need to promote the study of English, science, and technology, as they were considered essential for the progress and development of India.
- It suggested the appointment of qualified and trained teachers for the schools and college and the establishment of teacher training institutions to train and develop teachers.
- It stressed the importance of female education and recommended the establishment of schools for girls.
- It recognized the importance of indigenous education and recommended the establishment of vernacular schools to promote local languages and culture.
- It endorsed the establishment of universities in India to promote higher education and research.
- It also suggested the establishment of libraries and museums to promote learning and research.

- It recognized the need for government funding for education and recommended the establishment of a department of education in India.
- The Dispatch recommended the establishment of a system of inspection to monitor the quality of education and ensure compliance with the policy guidelines.
- It was a landmark policy statement that had a significant impact on the education system in India.
- The policy laid the foundation for the development of a modern education system in India.
- However, the policy was criticized for promoting a Western-centric education system that neglected indigenous knowledge and culture. The policy was also criticized for promoting an education system that perpetuated social and economic inequalities in India.

2.1.4. Hunter Education Commission (1882).

- The Hunter Education Commission was appointed by the British government in India in 1882 to review the state of education in the country.
- The commission was led by Sir William Hunter, a Scottish born Indian Civil Service officer and a member of the Executive Council of the Viceroy.
- The commission was composed of British officials, Indian scholars, and educators, reflecting the colonial government's desire to involve Indians in the process of educational reform.
- The commission's main objective was to recommend reforms to the Indian education system that would make it more useful to British colonial interests.
- The commission's report, which was published in 1883, was a comprehensive analysis of the state of education in India and a blueprint for future reforms.
- The report recommended that the medium of primary education should be the mother tongue.
- The report identified several weaknesses in the existing education system, including inadequate funding, lack of qualified teachers, and a focus on rote learning rather than critical thinking.

- The report recommended the establishment of a centralized education system under British control, with a focus on modern, practical subjects like science, technology, and English.
- The commission recommended the establishment of universities that would provide a Western-style education to Indian students.
- The report also called for the establishment of a system of grants-in-aid to support the development of private schools.
- The commission recommended the establishment of a separate department of education within the colonial government, headed by a Director of Public Instruction.
- The report recommended the establishment of a system of teacher training colleges to improve the quality of education in India.
- The commission also made several recommendations to encourage the education of Muslims and provide them with proper facilities
- The report was criticized by some Indian intellectuals for its attempt to undermine Indian culture and promote British colonialism.
- The establishment of universities and teacher training colleges helped to improve the quality of education in India, but also contributed to the Anglicization of Indian society.
- The Hunter Education Commission was part of a broader effort by the British colonial government to shape Indian society according to British values and interests.

2.1.5. Indian Universities Act, 1904.

- Introduction:

In the early 20th century, various commissions, acts, and reforms were introduced to improve the education system and universities. One such reform was the Hunter Commission, which failed to bring the Indian education system on track. When Lord Curzon became the Indian viceroy, he decided to change the recommendations of the Hunter Commission. This led to the creation and adoption of The Indian Universities Act, 1904. This Act aimed to improve university education in India by bringing all universities under the control of the Government of India.

— Background:

- Political unrest characterized the beginning of the twentieth century.
- According to the official line, education had deteriorated under private management, and educational institutions had become factories for producing political revolutionaries.
- A Round Table Conference was held in 1901 at Shimla, Himachal Pradesh.
- The conference was attended by higher education officials and representatives from universities across the country.
- Curzon discussed the state of the Indian education system, highlighting its shortcomings and areas that needed urgent attention.
- The Conference passed 150 resolutions that addressed practically every aspect of education.
- On January 27, 1902, Sir Thomas Raleigh initiated Raleigh commission for all Indian universities. Although the commission's investigations and approaches were useful, they overlooked primary and secondary education.
- Additionally, the commission had other shortcomings, which led to amendments and the introduction of The University Act, 1904.

— Provisions of the Act:

- The first provision of this act required the universities' governing bodies to be reconstituted, and the size of the Senates to be reduced.
- The number in the Senate could now be between 50 and 100. Each of them would be in office for a tenure of six years.
- Senate elections were introduced. The number of elected fellows was 20 for Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta, and 15 for other universities.
- This act empowered the government to appoint a majority of university fellows.
- Each fellow would have a term of six months instead of a lifetime.
- The government had the power to change the rules provided by the senate when the senate failed to frame them.

- The act recognized the role of Syndicates in the Indian education system, and all teachers at a university received representation in the university Senate.
- Every college had to be affiliated with a specific university to strengthen the relationship between colleges and universities. The affiliated university could be within or outside the local area.
- Fellows were granted INR 5 lakhs over five years for further studies and research work.
- The Governor-General Council had the authority to handle jurisdictional matters of any university regarding its territory
- Universities were given the power to conduct their own teaching and activities.
- Universities were responsible for teaching and conducting examinations.
- Universities were encouraged to focus on research and could establish laboratories for different disciplines.
- Universities could hire new staff, recruit professionals, and establish libraries to expand knowledge among students.
- The Act established a central authority known as the University Grants Commission to oversee the functioning of universities in India.
- The Act applied to all universities in British India, which included institutions in present-day India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh.
- It provided for the appointment of a Chancellor for each university who would be the ceremonial head of the institution.
- The Act provided for the appointment of a Vice-Chancellor for each university who would be the chief executive and academic officer of the institution.
- It also provided for the establishment of a Convocation in each university which would be responsible for conferring degrees and diplomas.
- The Act recognized the need for standardization of academic degrees and provided for the establishment of a Board of Examinations in each university.

— Impact of the Indian Universities Act, 1904

- The Sadler Commission of 1917 criticized the Act for giving significant control to the government.

- Nationalists believed the Act strengthened imperialism and suppressed nationalist sentiments. Gopal Krishna Gokhale even referred to it as a “retrograde measure”.
- Lord Curzon used the Act to improve primary education by providing substantial financial aid to schools from 1905 to 1912.

2.2. Press

- The press in British India emerged during the early colonial period in the late 18th century.
- The first newspaper in India, the Bengal Gazette, was established in January 1780 by James Augustus Hickey.
- The press in India initially served the interests of the British colonial government and the European community in India. It was tightly regulated by the colonial authorities through laws such as the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867.
- The British colonial government used the press to disseminate information and propaganda to the Indian public. The press played a critical role in promoting the idea of British civilization and the superiority of British culture over Indian culture. The press also played a role in promoting missionary activities and Christianization in India.
- The Indian press initially consisted of English language newspapers that catered to the European community in India.
- Indian language newspapers emerged during the late 19th century and played a critical role in promoting Indian nationalism and political activism.
- The press played a key role in the Indian freedom struggle, with newspapers such as *The Hindu*, *The Indian Express*, *Samachar Darpan*, *Sambad Kaumudi*, *Mirat-ul-Akhbar* and *Amrita Bazar Patrika* serving as platforms for nationalist leaders and activists.
- The press became an essential tool for the dissemination of news, opinions, and ideas, which helped unite the people and mobilize them against the British Raj.
- The early Indian newspapers were mainly published in English and catered to the needs of the English-educated elite, but the 1857 revolt changed this and brought Indian languages to the forefront.
- Bal Gangadhar Tilak used his newspapers, *Kesari* in Marathi and *Maratha* in English, to propagate his ideas of *Swaraj*, or self-rule, and to mobilize people against the British colonial government.
- Newspapers such as *Samachar Sudha Varshan* and *Sudharak*, published by Jyotirao Phule and his followers, played a key role in promoting social and educational reforms and challenging caste-based discrimination.
- Raja Ram Mohan Roy published the *Sambad Kaumudi* in Bengali, and Gopal Krishna Gokhale edited *The Hitavada* in English.

- The press played a critical role in the Swadeshi Movement, which called for the boycott of British products.
- The colonial government responded to the growth of the nationalist press by introducing stricter laws to regulate the press and suppress dissent.
- The Vernacular Press Act of 1878 was introduced to regulate the Indian language press and restrict freedom of expression.
- The Indian Press Act of 1910 further tightened government control over the press and imposed stricter penalties for sedition and other offenses.
- The press played a key role in the Indian independence movement, with newspapers such as Young India and Harijan serving as platforms for Mahatma Gandhi's ideas and activism.
- The press also played a role in promoting social and economic reforms, with newspapers such as The Statesman and The Hindustan Times advocating for education, health, and labor reforms.
- The press in India was not unbiased or neutral, with many newspapers openly promoting communal and sectarian interests.
- The press also played a role in shaping public opinion on issues such as caste, gender, and religion, often perpetuating stereotypes and biases.
- The press in India faced challenges such as censorship, harassment, and violence, with many journalists and publishers facing arrest and imprisonment for their work.
- The press in India has continued to evolve in the post-independence era, with the emergence of new media such as television, radio, and the internet.
- The press in India remains a critical component of India's democracy and plays a key role in shaping public opinion and political discourse.

2.3. Civil Services

— Introduction:

- Civil Service under British Administration was established for the benefit of its commercial affairs and developed into a well-organized apparatus to handle the administrative affairs of India's acceded territories.
- In fact, the phrase "civil service" was originally used to distinguish between the Company's employees working in the military and naval services from those working in commercial matters.
- Government employees gradually acquired more power and responsibility.

— Evolution:

- Ancient Time:
 - Kautilya's "*Arthashastra*" stipulates seven basic elements - *Swamin* (the ruler), *Amatya* (the bureaucracy), *Janapada* (territory), *Durga* (the fortified capital), *Kosa* (the treasury), *Danda* (the army), and *Mitra* (the ally) - of the administrative apparatus.
 - According to *Arthashastra*, the higher bureaucracy consisted of the *mantrins* and the *amatyas*. While the *mantrins* were the highest advisors to the King, the *amatyas* were the civil servants.
- Medieval Period:
 - During Mughal era, the bureaucracy was based on the *Mansabdari* system.
 - The *Mansabdari* system was essentially a pool of civil servants available for civil or military deployment.
- During British Rule:
 - The earliest origins of civil service in British India for administration purposes can be traced back to the period after 1757 when the East India Company were the de-facto rulers in parts of India. The company started the Covenanted Civil Services (CCS). CCS members had to sign covenants with the company's board.
 - The first civil service examination was held in 1855, and it was open only to European candidates.

- In 1854, the Macaulay Committee (under Charter Act of 1853) recommended that appointment to the service based on the company's patronage be stopped and a merit-based system be established.
- Post-1855, recruitment to the ICS was based on merit only through a competitive examination. It was restricted for Indians.
- After the Revolt of 1857, when the rule of the company ended and power was transferred to the British Crown, i.e., after 1886 the service came to be called the Imperial Civil Service. It later came to be called the Indian Civil Service.
- In 1878–1879, Lytton formed the Statutory Civil Service, with Indians of high families filling one-sixth of covenanted jobs through local government nominations, subject to ratification by the secretary of state and the viceroy. But the program was a failure, and it was abandoned.
- In 1886, the Aitchison Commission chaired by Sir Charles Umpherston Aitchison recommended that Indians also get employed in public service.
- The ICS was divided into three parts: the Imperial Service and the Provincial Service and Subordinate.
 - The Imperial Service was responsible for the central administration, and it was recruited through an open competition based on merit.
 - The Provincial Service was responsible for the administration of the provinces, and it was recruited through a competitive examination but with some reservations for Indians.
- A further prod to the inclusion of Indians in the service happened in 1912 when the Islington Commission suggested that 25 % of the higher posts be filled by Indians.
- It also recommended that recruitment to higher posts should be done partly in India and partly in England.
- From 1922, the ICS exam was held in India.
- The Public Service Commission of India was established on 1st October 1926 under the chairmanship of Sir Ross Barker.

- All India Services were designated as Central Superior Services in 1924. After 1939, the number of Indians in the service increased because of non-availability of Europeans.
- After independence, the ICS became the Indian Administrative Service (IAS).

2.4. Socio-religious reform movements with special reference to-

2.4.1. Emancipation of women.

- The socio-religious reform movements were initiated by a group of educated middle-class Indians who were influenced by Western ideas of democracy, freedom, and equality.
- The movements aimed to challenge traditional Hindu beliefs and practices that were seen as oppressive and discriminatory, particularly towards women.
- The first major socio-religious reform movement was the Brahmo Samaj, founded by Raja Ram Mohan Roy in 1828, which advocated for the abolition of sati, child marriage, and the caste system.
- Another important movement was the Arya Samaj, founded by Swami Dayananda Saraswati in 1875, which promoted education for girls and women and opposed child marriage.
- The Theosophical Society, founded by Helena Blavatsky and Henry Olcott in 1875, aimed to promote universal brotherhood and the study of ancient Indian religions and philosophy.
- The Aligarh Movement, initiated by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in the late 19th century, focused on education and social reform for Muslims in India, including the education of Muslim women.
- The Indian National Congress, founded in 1885, also played a role in promoting women's rights and gender equality in India.
- The reform movements played a significant role in the emancipation of women in India by challenging traditional social norms and promoting education and social reform.
- The movements helped to create a new discourse on women's rights and gender equality in India, and inspired many women to become advocates for their own emancipation.
- The movements also helped to create new opportunities for women in education, social work, and political activism.
- The reform movements led to the establishment of several women's organizations, such as the Women's Indian Association and the All-India Women's Conference, which advocated for women's rights and gender equality.

- Women's education was a central focus of the reform movements, and several schools and colleges were established for girls and women, including the Bethune College in Calcutta and the Women's Christian College in Madras.
- The reform movements also challenged the traditional practices of *purdah* and veiling, which were seen as oppressive to women.
- The movements promoted the idea of women's economic independence, and encouraged women to take up professions such as teaching, nursing, and social work.
- The reform movements also advocated for legal reforms to protect women's rights, such as the Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act of 1856, which legalized widow remarriage.
- However, the socio-religious reform movements were criticized for their elitism, as they were largely led by upper-caste, educated men, and did not adequately address the needs and concerns of lower-caste and working-class women.
- The movements were also criticized for their limited impact on the lives of ordinary women, as many of the reforms remained confined to urban, educated circles.
- The movements were also criticized for their limited focus on political rights and participation for women.
- Critics have also pointed out that the socio-religious reform movements were largely focused on the rights of upper-caste Hindu women, and did not adequately address the needs and concerns of women from other religious and caste backgrounds.
- Additionally, the movements were criticized for their reliance on Western ideas of progress and modernity, which may have contributed to the erasure of indigenous feminist and gender justice movements.
- Despite these criticisms, the socio-religious reform movements played a significant role in promoting the emancipation of women in India and challenging traditional gender roles and social norms.
- The movements helped to create a new generation of educated, independent women who were able to challenge patriarchal norms and take up leadership roles in society.

2.4.2. Upliftment of Depressed Classes.

- The socio-religious reform movements of the 19th and early 20th centuries in India aimed to bring about social, cultural, and religious reforms in Indian society.
- One of the key objectives of these movements was to uplift and empower the marginalized and oppressed communities in Indian society, particularly the Dalits or depressed classes.
- The term “Dalit” is used to refer to individuals who have been traditionally considered to be outside the caste system and have faced discrimination and exclusion on the basis of their birth.
- The Dalit community was subjected to a number of social and cultural restrictions, including restrictions on their access to education, employment, and social spaces.
- Major Movements:
 - Bhakti Movement (14th to 17th century):
 - The Bhakti movement, a spiritual and social reform movement, sought to bridge the gaps created by the caste system.
 - Bhakti saints like Ramananda, Kabir, Namdev and Chaitanya, emphasized devotion to a personal deity and rejected caste-based distinctions.
 - Their teachings resonated with the masses and laid the foundation for future reform movements.
 - Socio-Religious Reforms (19th century):
 - Raja Ram Mohan Roy (Father of Indian Renaissance)
 - Founded *Brahmo Samaj* in 1828
 - Main objective of *Brahmo Samaj* was to reform and modernize Hindu society, promoting monotheism, rationality, and social equality.
 - He actively advocated against practices such as sati (the immolation of widows) and child marriage.
 - After his death, Brahmo Samaj was divided into new group called *Adi-Brahmo Samaj* which was led by Keshav Chandra Sen.

- Mahatma Jyotirao Phule:
 - He founded the *Satyashodhak Samaj* (Society of Truth Seekers) in 1873, which aimed to uplift the oppressed classes and promote social equality.
 - Phule emphasized the importance of education and established schools for girls and lower-caste individuals, providing them with access to modern education.
 - Phule was one of the first to recognize the significance of education as a tool for empowerment and social change.
 - His movement aimed at social service, promoting education among women and lower castes, and providing a sense of identity to the oppressed communities.
 - Phule was a pioneer in women's education and advocated for gender equality. He opened first girls' school (at Bhidewada Poona) and actively supported widow remarriage.
- Swami Dayanand Saraswati:
 - Founder of the *Arya Samaj* in the year 1875.
 - It emphasized the importance of Vedic knowledge, advocated for the abolition of caste-based discrimination, and promoted the education of women and Dalits.
 - The movement also sought to promote the use of Hindi as a national language and rejected British influence on Indian culture.
 - He emphasized the need for social upliftment and equality for all
 - He rejected the caste system and promoted the idea of a society based on merit and character rather than birth.
 - He worked to eradicate social evils such as child marriage, dowry, and female infanticide.
 - He gave the quote “Back to Vedas”
 - Started the controversial “*Shuddhi Movement*”
- Swami Vivekanand:

- Started Ram Krishna Mission named after his teacher Ram Krishna Prahmasama in 1897
- Primary objectives of the Mission were spiritual enlightenment, selfless service, and the promotion of harmony and peace among individuals and communities.
- Ishwar Chandra Vidya Sagar:
 - He played a crucial role in advocating for the rights and upliftment of the depressed classes, especially women and the lower castes.
 - Vidyasagar was instrumental in passing the Widow Remarriage Act in 1856, which allowed Hindu widows to remarry and sought to eradicate the social stigma associated with widowhood.
 - He established schools and educational institutions, including the Bethune School and Sanskrit College, which provided education to people from all castes and backgrounds.
- E. V. Periyar Ramaswami:
 - Periyar vehemently opposed the caste system and worked tirelessly to eradicate caste-based discrimination and inequality.
 - He challenged Brahminical dominance and criticized the privileges enjoyed by upper castes at the expense of the lower castes.
 - He advocated for inter-caste marriages as a means to break down caste barriers and promote equality.
 - He also played a pivotal role in the “Self-Respect Movement”, which aimed to create awareness among the oppressed classes about their rights and dignity.
 - He established institutions like the *Dravidar Kazhagam* (Dravidian Association) and the Periyar Self-Respect Propaganda Institution to further the cause of social justice and upliftment.

- Pandita Ramabai:
 - Wrote ‘High Caste Hindu Woman’
 - Started *Arya Mahila Samaj*
 - Translated Bible into Marathi
- Dr. B.R. Ambedkar:
 - Played a significant role in advocating for the rights of the underprivileged sections and fought against the caste system.
 - Ambedkar founded various organizations and movements, including the ‘*Bahishkrit Hitkarini Sabha*’ in 1924 and the ‘*Samaj Samta Sangh*’, to promote education and cultural upliftment.
 - He fought for the right to access Hindu temples and openly criticized the caste prejudice supported by ancient Hindu texts like *Manusmriti* by burning it.
 - Gave the slogan “Agitate. Educate. Unite!”
 - Started *Mahad Satyagraha* in 1927, where he led a movement demanding access to public water sources for the Dalits, challenging the prevailing practice of untouchability.
 - In 1930, he launched the Temple Entry Movement at Kala Ram Mandir, advocating for the right of Dalits to enter Hindu temples and participate in religious activities, breaking the centuries-old barriers imposed by caste discrimination.
 - He founded the All India Scheduled Castes Federation in 1942, a political party dedicated to advancing the interests and rights of the marginalized communities through political representation and advocacy.
- Other Movement/Reforms:
 - The Temple Entry Movement, advocated by T.K. Madhavan, aimed at ensuring the right of all Hindus to enter temples.

- The *Vaikom Satyagraha*, led by K.P. Kesava, fought for temple entry in Kerala, with support from various regions and Gandhi himself.
- The Nair Movement, launched in 1861, aimed to challenge the socio-political dominance of the *Nambudri* Brahmins over non-Kerala Brahmins.
- The Sree Narayana Guru Dharma Paripalana (SNP) Movement emerged among the *Ezhavas* of Kerala to address the discrimination they faced.
 - The movement led to the formation of the *Aruvippuram Kshetra Yogam*, which aided the Ezhavas in their material and spiritual advancement.
- The Justice Movement, initiated by C.N. Mudaliar, T.M. Nair, and P. Tyagaraja, aimed at securing jobs and representation in the assembly for non-Brahmins in the Madras Presidency.
- Tarabai Shinde wrote “Stree-Purush Tulna”
- The Theosophical Society, founded by Helena Petrovna Blavatsky and Henry Olcott in 1875, was another important socio-religious reform movement in India.

Module 3: Freedom Struggle and Constitutional Developments (1885-1935)

3.1. Establishment of the Indian National Congress and the work of Moderates (1885-1905).

— Establishment of the INC

○ Background:

- The INC was founded with the aim of **promoting Indian interests, voicing grievances** against British colonial rule, and **demanding political reforms**.
 - This period witnessed a growing sense of **nationalism** among Indians, fuelled by factors such as economic exploitation, racial discrimination, and the desire for self-governance.
 - The Indian National Conference, **held in 1883 prior to the formation of the INC, served as a precursor to the Congress.**
 - The ‘safety valve theory’, proposed by some historians, suggests that the **British supported** the formation of the INC as a **safety valve to release growing discontent** and provide a platform for political expression.
 - The establishment of the INC **was also influenced by international movements for self-determination and constitutional reforms such as the American and French Revolutions.**
- The Indian National Congress was founded on December 28, **1885**, in **Bombay** (now Mumbai).
 - It was formed as a platform to bring together **Indian leaders, intellectuals, and activists from different regions and communities** to collectively address India's **grievances and advocate for political reforms**.
 - The initial objectives of the INC included promoting the **interests** of Indians, facilitating their **participation** in governance, and working towards **self-rule**.
 - The early leadership of the INC consisted of prominent figures like **A.O. Hume, Dadabhai Naoroji, Dinshaw Wacha, Pherozeshah Mehta, and Surendranath Banerjee**.
 - **Allan Octavian Hume, a retired British civil servant**, played a crucial role in the formation of the Indian National Congress.
 - Hume acted as the principal architect and served as the organization's first **General Secretary**.

- His British background lent credibility to the INC's intentions of working within the framework of the British colonial administration to achieve its objectives.
- The Congress held its first session in Bombay in December 1885, and was attended by 72 delegates representing various parts of India.
- During the early sessions, resolutions were passed on issues such as economic development, civil liberties, and administrative reforms.
- The INC initially adopted a moderate approach, advocating for gradual reforms and working within the constitutional framework.
- This approach aimed to establish a rapport with the British authorities and gain their support for Indian demands.

— Work of Moderates:

- The Moderates aimed to establish a rapport with the British authorities and work within the existing framework to achieve their goals of self-governance and social reforms.
- The Moderates sought to expand Indian participation in the colonial government through increased representation and greater autonomy.
- The Moderates were also influenced by the ideas of British political thinkers such as John Stuart Mill, and sought to apply these ideas to the Indian context.
- They also advocated for reforms in areas such as education, civil service, and the economy to benefit Indian interests.
- The Moderates also sought to bridge the divide between Hindus and Muslims and promote unity and cooperation between the two communities.
- They believed that a united front would be more effective in achieving their goals and promoting Indian interests.
- The Moderates were initially led by a group of influential leaders known as the “Bombay Triumvirate”, consisting of Dadabhai Naoroji, Dinshaw Wacha, and K.T. Telang, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, and Pherozeshah Mehta.
- Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917):
 - Naoroji, known as the “Grand Old Man of India”, was a prominent Moderate leader and the first Indian to be elected to the British House of Commons.
 - He focused on economic issues and advocated for the ‘Drain Theory’, which highlighted the economic exploitation of India by the British, causing a drain of wealth from the country.

- Naoroji also played a crucial role in exposing the economic disparities between India and Britain through his book, “Poverty and Un-British Rule in India”.
- Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915):
 - Gokhale was a prominent Moderate leader who emphasized political education and social reforms.
 - He established the Servants of India Society in 1905, which aimed to train and educate young Indians for public service.
 - Gokhale tirelessly worked to improve the condition of education in India and pushed for compulsory primary education and reforms in the educational system.
- Pherozeshah Mehta (1845-1915):
 - Mehta was an influential Moderate leader and one of the founding members of the Indian National Congress.
 - He played a significant role in advocating for local self-government, known as the “municipal movement”, in Bombay (now Mumbai).
 - Mehta's efforts resulted in the Bombay Municipal Act of 1872, which granted greater autonomy to local bodies and increased Indian representation in the municipal governance.
- Surendranath Banerjee (1848-1925):
 - Banerjee, also known as “Surrender Not Banerjee” was a leading Moderate who worked towards political reforms and fought against racial discrimination.
 - He organized the Indian National Conference in 1883, which later evolved into the Indian National Congress.
 - Banerjee vehemently opposed the Ilbert Bill in 1883, which aimed to allow Indian judges to preside over cases involving Europeans. His resistance led to the withdrawal of the bill.
- Anand Mohan Bose (1847-1906):
 - Bose was a prominent Moderate leader who focused on the upliftment of the oppressed and marginalized sections of society.
 - He championed the cause of social reforms, such as the abolition of child marriage and promotion of widow remarriage.

- Bose was instrumental in organizing the Indian National Conference in 1883 and played a crucial role in mobilizing public opinion against British policies.
- Dinshaw Wacha (1844-1936):
 - Wacha, a lawyer and Moderate leader, worked extensively for Indian civil liberties and political representation.
 - He advocated for the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act of 1878, which curtailed the freedom of the Indian press.
 - Wacha was also involved in the agitation against the Age of Consent Act of 1891, which sought to raise the age of consent for girls and protect them from child marriage.

They believe in peaceful and constitutional methods.

They used petitions, meetings, resolutions, pamphlets, et cetera, to voice their demands.

Their method has been called 3P, which means prayer petition and protest.

They had complete faith in the British justice system.

They aim to get political rights and self government under British dominion.

Only catered to educated class, not to the masses.

3.2. Indian Councils Act of 1892.

- Introduced by Richard Assheton Cross, 1st Viscount Cross
- Enacted by Parliament of the United Kingdom
- Royal Assent on 20th June 1892
- Commenced on 3rd February 1893
- It was repealed by [Government of India Act 1915](#)
- The act increased the [number of additional or non-official members in the legislative councils](#) as follows:
 - Central Legislative Council: 10 – 16 members
 - Bengal: 20 members
 - Madras: 20 members
 - Bombay: 8 members
 - Oudh: 15 members
 - North Western Province: 15
- In [1892, out of 24 members, only 5 were Indians.](#)
- To elect members of the councils, an [indirect election system](#) was implemented.
- The members were given the [right to ask questions on the budget](#) (which was barred in the Indian Councils Act 1861) [or matters of public interest but had to give notice of 6 days for it.](#)
- [They could not ask supplementary questions.](#)
- The principle of representation was initiated through this act. The district boards, universities, municipalities, chambers of commerce and zamindars were authorised to recommend members to the provincial councils.
- [The legislative councils were empowered to make new laws and repeal old laws with the permission of the Governor-General.](#)
- It was the first step towards a [representative form of government in modern India although there was nothing in it for the common man.](#)
- The [number of Indians was increased and this was a positive step.](#)
- However, since the British conceded only a little, this act led indirectly to the rise of many revolutionary movements in India. Many leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak blamed Congress's moderate policy of petitions and persuasions for a lack of positive developments and called for a more aggressive policy against British rule.

— Drawbacks:

- The annual **budget** was not subject to Indian control.
- It prohibited the INC from having discussions about **financial** issues.
- People were not allowed to ask any **more** questions.

3.3. Rise of Extremists and Partition of Bengal (1905).

— Introduction/Background:

- The rise of Extremists in 1905 marked a significant shift in India's nationalist movement.
- It emerged as a response to the British colonial policies, growing disillusionment with the Moderates' gradual approach, and a desire for more radical means to achieve Indian independence.
- The Extremists sought to mobilize the masses, adopt more militant strategies, and challenge British authority more directly.

— Rise of Extremists:

- Extremists formed new organizations such as the "Anushilan Samiti" by Barindra Kumar Ghosh and the "Abhinav Bharat" by V.D. Savarkar to propagate revolutionary ideas and mobilize people.
- Extremists criticized the moderate approach of the Indian National Congress and its leaders for being too accommodating towards the British.
- Extremists propagated a militant form of nationalism, emphasizing the use of force if necessary to achieve independence.
- Extremists played a significant role in the Swadeshi (indigenous) and Boycott movement, which aimed to boycott British goods and promote Indian industries.
- Extremists engaged in revolutionary activities, including bomb attacks, assassinations, and acts of sabotage, targeting British officials and symbols of colonial authority.
- Examples include the assassination of Kingsford, W.C. Rand, the Muzaffarpur bombing, and the Alipore Bomb Case.
- Leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai, and Aurobindo Ghosh emerged as prominent voices of the Extremist movement.
- Extremists emphasized the need for economic self-reliance and the promotion of indigenous industries.
- Extremists utilized the power of the press to disseminate their revolutionary ideas and mobilize public opinion.
- Newspapers like Tilak's "Kesari" and Pal's "Bande Mataram" became influential platforms for nationalist propaganda.

- The rise of Extremists led to increased British repression and the passage of stringent laws such as the Vernacular Press Act and the Indian Arms Act.
- The rise of Extremists brought a radical shift in the nationalist movement, injecting new energy and fervour.
- Key Extremist Leaders:
 - Swaraj is my birth right, and I shall have it
 - Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920):
 - Tilak, known as the “Lokmanya”, was a prominent Extremist leader and nationalist activist.
 - He advocated for self-rule and was a vocal critic of British colonial policies.
 - Tilak emphasized the concept of “Swaraj” (self-governance) and played a pivotal role in mobilizing the masses through his writings and speeches.
 - He encouraged the use of festivals, such as Ganesh Chaturthi, as a platform to foster nationalist sentiments and raise awareness.
 - Bipin Chandra Pal (1858-1932):
 - Pal, one of the leading Extremist leaders, was known for his fiery speeches and nationalist writings.
 - He strongly condemned British imperialism and emphasized the need for a revolutionary struggle to achieve independence.
 - Pal played a crucial role in the Swadeshi and Boycott movement, mobilizing public support and promoting self-reliance.
 - Lala Lajpat Rai (1865-1928):
 - Lajpat Rai, popularly known as the “Lion of Punjab”, was a prominent Extremist leader and nationalist politician.
 - He actively participated in the Swadeshi and Boycott movement and encouraged mass protests against British rule.
 - Lajpat Rai also championed the cause of Indian farmers and workers, advocating for their rights and welfare.
 - His role in exposing the atrocities committed by the British during the Punjab disturbances of 1919 further fuelled the nationalist sentiment.
 - Aurobindo Ghosh (1872-1950):

- Ghosh, a philosopher, poet, and revolutionary, played a significant role in the Extremist movement.
- He advocated for the use of force if necessary to achieve independence and called for a complete overthrow of British rule.
- Later in his life, Ghosh transitioned to a spiritual path and became one of the leading proponents of the philosophy of integral yoga.
- V.D. Savarkar (1883-1966):
 - Savarkar, a prominent Extremist leader, was known for his revolutionary and militant nationalism.
 - He popularized the concept of “Hindutva”, emphasizing the cultural and national identity of Hindus in India.
 - Savarkar was involved in revolutionary activities and was arrested in 1909 for his alleged involvement in the assassination of a British official.
 - While in prison, he wrote the influential book “The First War of Indian Independence” which reinterpreted the 1857 uprising as a nationalist struggle.

— Partition of Bengal:

- Background:
 - Since 1765 (following the Battle of Buxar) the province of Bengal, which included present-day West Bengal, Bihar, Odisha, Bangladesh and Assam was under the British.
 - It was a very large area and the population rose to almost 80 million by the first few years of the 20th century. Calcutta was the capital of the province and also of British India.
 - There were difficulties in administering such a large area. The eastern part, especially rural areas were neglected.
 - That region was lacking in the fields of industry, education and employment. Much of the industry was centred on Calcutta.
 - For administrative ease, the partition of the province had been proposed even before Curzon had arrived in India.

- In 1874, Assam was sliced away from Bengal and put under a Chief Commissioner.
 - Initially, Lord Curzon proposed the partitioning of the province as an administrative measure solely. In 1904, he undertook a tour of eastern Bengal.
- Partition:
 - It took place on October 16, 1905, and involved the division of the Bengal province into two separate entities, Bengal, consisting of the Hindu-majority areas and East Bengal and Assam, comprising the Muslim-majority areas.
 - The division aimed to create a Muslim-majority province to counterbalance the growing Hindu nationalist movement.
 - Bengal would also lose five Hindi-speaking states to the Central Provinces. It would gain Odia-speaking states from the Central Provinces.
 - Eastern Bengal would consist of Hill Tripura, Chittagong, Rajshahi and Dhaka divisions. Its capital would be Dhaka.
 - The Partition altered Bengal's geographic boundaries, separating regions that had historically been united.
 - It resulted in the creation of two separate administrative units with their own capitals, Calcutta for Bengal and Dhaka for East Bengal and Assam.
- Reception:
 - There was widespread political unrest in the province after Curzon announced the partition.
 - Many people in Bengal regarded this partition as an insult to their motherland. Rabindranath Tagore composed the famous song 'Amar Sonar Bangla' which later became the national anthem of Bangladesh.
 - Most of the Bengalis in the western part protested against this step which would also make them a linguistic minority in their own province. There would be more Odia and Hindi speaking people than Bengalis.
 - Many Muslims welcomed this move since they thought that it would advance their educational, economic and political interests if they became the majority in the new province.

- Lord Curzon also promised to start a university in Dhaka. This was also seen as an opportunity for Muslims to develop in education and improve their standard of living.
- The chief aim of such a partition was only to create a rift between the two communities and hampering the unity and nationalism in the country.
- The agitation had started much before the date of the partition itself. On the date of the partition, people observed a day of mourning. Tagore asked Hindus and Muslims to tie *rakhis* to each other as a mark of protest.
- The Swadeshi and Boycott movements in the national struggle started as a result of this partition.
- People started boycotting British goods which had flooded the Indian market and had dealt a blow to the indigenous industry.
- The partition did succeed in creating a communal rift in the country and even contributed to the birth of the Muslim League in 1906.

- Annulment

- Owing to mass political protests, the partition was annulled in 1911.
- New provinces were created based on linguistic lines rather than religious lines. Bihar and Orissa Province were carved out of Bengal. (Bihar and Orissa became separate provinces in 1936).
- A separate Assam province was created.
- The capital of British India was moved to Delhi from Calcutta in 1911.

3.4. Indian Councils Act of 1909.

— Introduction:

- The Indian Council Act of 1909, also known as the **Morley-Minto Reforms**, was a significant constitutional reform enacted by the British government.
- It was introduced by **Secretary of State for India, John Morley, and the Viceroy of India, Lord Minto**, in response to growing demands for **Indian representation** in the legislative process.
- The Act amended the Indian Councils Acts of 1861 and 1892.

— Background:

- In October 1906, a group of Muslim elites called the **Shimla Deputation**, led by Agha Khan, met Lord Minto and demanded **separate electorates for the Muslims** and representation in excess of their numerical strength in view of ‘the value of the contribution’ Muslims were making ‘to the defence of the empire’.
- The same group quickly took over the Muslim League, initially floated by Nawab Salimullah of Dacca along with Nawabs Mohsin-ul- Mulk and Waqar- ul-Mulk in December 1906.
- The **Muslim League intended to preach loyalty to the empire and to keep the Muslim intelligentsia away from the Congress.**
- John Morley, the Liberal Secretary of State for India, and the Conservative Viceroy of India, Minto, believed that cracking down on uprising in Bengal was necessary but not sufficient for restoring stability to the British Raj after Lord Curzon’s partitioning of Bengal.

— Provisions:

- **It increased the size of the legislative councils, both Central and Provincial.** The number of members in the Central Legislative Council was raised from 16 to 60. The number of members in the Provincial Legislative Councils was not uniform.
- It retained official majority in the Central Legislative Council but allowed the Provincial Legislative Councils to have non-official majority.
- The elected members were to be indirectly elected. The local bodies were to elect an electoral college, which in turn would elect members of provincial legislatures, who in turn would elect members of the central legislature.

- It enlarged the deliberative functions of the legislative councils at both the levels. For example, members were allowed to ask supplementary questions, move resolutions on the budget, and so on.
- It provided (for the first time) for the association of Indians with the executive Councils of the Viceroy and Governors.
- Satyendra Prasad Sinha became the first Indian to join the Viceroy's Executive Council. He was appointed as the law member.
- Two Indians were nominated to the Council of the Secretary of State for Indian Affairs.
- It introduced a system of communal representation for Muslims by accepting the concept of 'separate electorate'. Under this, the Muslim members were to be elected only by Muslim voters. Thus, the Act 'legalised communalism' and Lord Minto came to be known as the Father of Communal Electorate.
- It also provided for the separate representation of presidency corporations, chambers of commerce, universities and zamindars.

— Drawbacks:

- The gap between Muslims and Hindus was widened by the establishment of separate seats.
- An openly communist era in Indian politics began under this regime.
- Even though the Provincial Councils had an unofficial majority, the election of nominated members overruled the unofficial majority, making the outcome irrelevant.

3.5. August Declaration (1917) and Montague-Chelmsford Report (1918).

— August Declaration:

○ Introduction/background:

- During a debate in the House of Commons on July 12th, 1917, Edwin Montagu, Secretary of State for India (1917-22), delivered a scathing indictment of the entire system by which India was governed.
- He also supported India's claim to have a greater say in how their government is run.
- He sympathized with the aspirations of the Indian people and can thus be compared to people such as Lord Pethick Lawrence and Sir Stafford Cripps.
- On 20th August 1917, Edwin Montagu presented the historic Montagu Declaration (August Declaration) in the British House of Commons.
- This declaration proposed the increased participation of Indians in the administration and the development of self-governing institutions in India.
- In 1917, Montagu visited India and held talks with the various representatives of Indian polity including Mahatma Gandhi and Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

○ Provisions:

- Giving more representation to Indian natives in order to meet local demands. To achieve this goal, the country would implement new reforms.
- Control of the Indian government would be gradually transferred to the Indian people. This was the result of the Lucknow Pact's Hindu-Muslim unity.
- Increased Indian participation in administration and the development of self-governing institutions in India.

○ Criticism:

- The declaration was criticized during the December 1917 Calcutta session, which was presided over by Annie Besant, who pleaded for the establishment of self-government in India.

- Tilak called the Montague reforms "unworthy and disappointing - a sunless dawn."
- Annie Besant described it as "unworthy of England to offer and India to accept."
- No time frame was specified.
- The government alone was to decide the nature and timing of the transition to a responsible government, and Indians were resentful that the British would decide what was good and bad for Indians.

— Montague-Chelmsford Report:

- Background:
 - In 1918, Edwin Montagu, the Secretary of State, and Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, produced their scheme of constitutional reforms, known as the Montagu-Chelmsford (or Mont-Ford) Reforms, which led to the enactment of the Government of India Act of 1919.
 - This report was published on 8th July 1918.
 - It was influenced by several factors, including the Indian nationalist movement, the August Declaration of 1917, and the political situation during World War I.
- Submission:
 - Diarchy was suggested in the form of two classes of administrators namely, the Executive Councillors and the Ministers.
 - The governor was the executive head of the provincial government.
 - The subjects were classified into two lists – reserved and transferred.
 - The reserved list was under the governor.
 - The transferred list was under the ministers.
 - The ministers were nominated from the elected members of the Legislative Council. They were responsible to the legislature whereas the councillors were not answerable to the legislature.
 - It suggested for the size of the legislative assemblies to be expanded with about 70% of the members being elected.
 - The governor had the veto authority over the council.
 - At the central government level, the Viceroy was the chief executive authority.

3.6. The Government of India Act 1919 and its consequences.

— Background:

- The Montagu Chelmsford (or Mont-Ford) Reforms led to the enactment of the **Government of India Act of 1919**.
- The sole purpose of this Act was to **ensure Indians of their representation in the Government**.
- The Act introduced reforms at the **Central** as well as **Provincial levels** of Government.

— Provisions:

- Central Level Government
 - Subjects:
 - The matters, which were of **national importance** or related to **more than one province such as foreign affairs, defence, political relations, communication, public debt**, were **governed** at the **central level**.
 - The **Central Legislature** was made **more powerful** and more representative by this Act.
 - Executive:
 - The Act made the **Governor-General** the **chief executive authority**.
 - The **Executive Council of the Viceroy** was of **8** members, out of which **3** were **Indians**.
 - Reforms in Legislature:
 - The Act introduced **bicameral legislature**; the **Lower House** or **Central Legislative Assembly** and the **Upper House** or **Council of State**.
 - The legislators, under the new reforms, could now ask questions and supplementary, pass adjournment motions and vote a part of the budget, but 75% of the budget was still not votable.
 - The **legislature had virtually no control over the Governor-General and his Executive Council**.

- The Lower House would consist of 14 members, who were either nominated or indirectly elected from the provinces. It had a tenure of 3 years.
 - 41 nominated (26 official and 15 non-official members)
 - 104 elected (52 General, 30 Muslims, 2 Sikhs, 20 Special).
- The Upper House would have 60 members. It had a tenure of 5 years and had only male members.
 - 26 nominated.
 - 34 elected (20 General, 10 Muslims, 3 Europeans and 1 Sikh).
- Provincial Level Government:
 - Subjects:
 - It included the matters which were related to a specific Province such as public health, local self-government, education, general administration, medical facilities, land-revenue etc.
 - Introduction to Diarchy:
 - The Act introduced diarchy (rule of two individuals/parties) for the executive at the level of the provincial government.
 - The diarchy was implemented in 8 provinces: Assam, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Central Provinces, United Provinces, Bombay, Madras and Punjab.
 - The provincial governments were given more powers under the system of Dyarchy.
 - The governor was to be the executive head in the province.
 - Division of Subjects:
 - Subjects were divided into two lists: 'reserved' and 'transferred'.
 - The subjects under reserved list were to be administered by the governor through his executive council of bureaucrats. It included subjects such as law and order, finance, land revenue, irrigation etc.
 - The subjects under transferred list were to be administered by ministers nominated from among the elected members of the

legislative council. It included subjects such as education, health, local government, industry, agriculture, excise, etc.

- In case of failure of constitutional machinery in the province the governor could take over the administration of transferred subjects.

- Reforms in Legislature:

- Provincial legislative councils were further expanded and 70% of the members were to be elected.
- The system of communal and class electorates was further consolidated.
- Women were also given the right to vote.
- The legislative councils could reject the budget but the governor could restore it, if necessary.
- The legislators enjoyed freedom of speech.

- Voting Rights:

- The franchise was restricted and there was no universal adult suffrage.
- Voters should have paid land revenue of Rs. 3000 or have a property with rental value or have taxable income.
- They should possess previous experience in the legislative council.
- They should be members of a university senate.
- They should hold certain offices in the local bodies.
- They should hold some specific titles.

- Indian Council:

- There were to be at least 8 and a maximum of 12 members in the council.
- Half of the members should have ten years of experience in public service in India.
- Their tenure was to be 5 years.
- Their salaries were increased from £1000 to £1200.
- There were to be 3 Indian members in the Council.

- Other Provisions:

- The act provided for the establishment of a public service commission for the first time.
- It also introduced an office of the High Commissioner for India in London.

— Consequences:

○ Public Reaction:

- The Congress met in a special session in August 1918 at Bombay under Hasan Imam's presidency and declared the reforms to be “disappointing” and “unsatisfactory” and demanded effective self-government instead.
- The Montford reforms were termed “unworthy and disappointing - a sunless dawn” by Bal Gangadhar Tilak.
- Annie Besant found the reforms “unworthy of England to offer and India to accept”.
- Veteran Congress leaders led by Surendranath Banerjee were in favour of accepting the government proposals

○ Power Struggle:

- A large number of communal riots took place which continued to increase from 1922 to 1927.
- The Swaraj Party was founded in 1923 and won a substantial number of seats in the elections, except Madras.
- Bombay and Central Provinces were successful in blocking the majority of other supplies with the salaries of ministers.
- Thus governors of both the provinces were forced to abolish the diarchy regime and took the transferred subjects under their control.

○ Enactment of the Rowlatt Act:

- Throughout the war, repression of nationalists had continued. The terrorists and revolutionaries had been hunted down, hanged and imprisoned.
- Many other nationalists such as Maulana Abul Kalam Azad had also been kept behind bars.
- The government now decided to arm itself with more far-reaching powers, to be able to suppress those nationalists who would refuse to be satisfied with the official reforms.
- In March 1919 it passed the Rowlatt Act even though every single Indian member of the Central Legislative Council opposed it.
- This Act authorized the government to imprison any person without trial and conviction in a court of law.

- The Act enabled the government to **suspend** the right of **Habeas Corpus** which had been the **foundation of civil liberties in Britain**.
 - Several members of the **council** including **Jinnah** **resigned** in protest.
 - These measures were widely seen throughout India of the **betrayal of strong support given by the population for the British war effort**.
 - **Gandhi** launched a nationwide protest against the Rowlatt Acts with the **strongest level of protest in the Punjab**.
 - An apparently unwitting example of violation of rules against the gathering of people led to the **massacre** at **Jalianwala Bagh in Amritsar** on 13th April 1919.
 - Montagu ordered an inquiry into the events at Amritsar by Lord Hunter.
 - **The Hunter Inquiry recommended that General Dyer, who commanded the troops, be dismissed, leading to Dyer's sacking.**
- The act also provided that after 10 years, a statutory commission would be set up to study the working of the government. This resulted in the **Simon Commission** of 1927.

3.7. Simon Commission (1927), Nehru Report (1928) and Round Table Conferences.

— Simon Commission

○ Background:

- The Government of India Act 1919, also known as the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, introduced limited reforms in British India.
- It provided for the appointment of a commission after ten years to examine the working of the Act and recommend further constitutional reforms.
- The Simon Commission was constituted as per this provision.

○ Introduction

- The Simon Commission, officially known as the Indian Statutory Commission, was a group of seven British members appointed to review the functioning of the Government of India Act 1919.
- They were sent to India in 1928 (February - March and October 1928 - April 1929) to study potential constitutional reform.
- The Commission was named after its chairman, Sir John Allsebrook Simon, a British lawyer and politician.
- In May 1930, the Commission published its two-volume report, also known as the Simon Report.
- Though the review was due in the year 1929, the Conservative government, which was in power back then, decided to form the Commission that would study the constitutional progress of India in the late 1920s.
- The reason behind forming the Commission earlier was the Conservative government's fear of losing to the 'Labour Party' in the upcoming elections.

○ Objectives and Composition:

- The primary objective of the Simon Commission was to assess the progress made in implementing the reforms of 1919 and to propose future constitutional reforms for India.
- The Commission comprised of seven members, all of whom were British, and it did not include any Indian representatives.

- The absence of Indian members caused significant controversy and was seen as an affront to Indian aspirations for self-governance.
- Recommendations:
 - The Governor holds special powers for safeguarding provinces and protecting minorities.
 - The Federal Assembly at the Centre represents provinces and other areas based on population.
 - It was recommended that Burma be granted Dominion Status and provided with its own Constitution.
 - It was also suggested that the Council of State's representation should be determined through indirect elections via the Provincial Council, resembling a modern-day proportional representation electoral procedure.
- Criticism and Opposition:
 - The exclusion of Indian members from the Commission was seen as a deliberate attempt by the British to maintain control over the process of constitutional reform.
 - The Indian National Congress and other political parties argued that Indians should have a say in shaping their own destiny and that the Commission lacked legitimacy without Indian representation.
 - The Commission's recommendations were criticized for being insufficiently radical and failing to address the demands of the Indian nationalist movement.
- Reception:
 - The Simon Commission's arrival in India on 3rd February 1928 was met with widespread protests and demonstrations. Demonstrators held placards and signboards bearing the words “Go Back Simon”.
 - On October 30, 1928, the Commission reached Lahore, where it encountered protesters waving black flags.
 - The protest was led by Indian nationalist Lala Lajpat Rai, who had presented a resolution against the Commission in the Legislative Assembly of Punjab.
 - In an attempt to prevent the commission members from leaving the railway station, protesters blocked the road.

- Superintendent James Scott, leading the local police, resorted to beating the protestors in order to clear a path for the Commission.
- Lala Lajpat Rai sustained critical injuries during the altercation and tragically passed away due to cardiac arrest on November 17, 1928.
- In December 1928, the Indian National Congress in its meeting in Madras resolved to boycott the Commission.
- Some members of the Muslim League, led by Mohammed Ali Jinnah, had also decided to boycott the Commission.
- In London, the Workers' Welfare League of India and the London Branch of the Indian National Congress organized a demonstration against the Commission.
- The boycott was an expression of Indian resentment towards the exclusion of Indian representatives from the Commission and the perceived lack of genuine intent for meaningful reforms.
- The protests and boycotts contributed to the growth of the Indian independence movement and the demand for full self-rule.

○ Aftermaths:

- In its report released in May 1930, the Commission proposed the abolition of the diarchy system and advocated for the establishment of representative government in various provinces.
- Gandhi subsequently started the Civil Disobedience Movement.
- Motilal Nehru presented his 'Nehru Report' in September 1928 as a response to the Commission's accusations, highlighting the lack of constitutional consensus among Indians.
- The Government of India Act 1935 was enacted based on the recommendations put forth by the Simon Commission.

— Nehru Report:

○ Background:

- Despite acknowledging the discontent for the Simon Commission, the British Government did not alter the Commission's composition. Instead, they challenged Indians to demonstrate their ability to draft a constitution themselves.
- A similar challenge had been issued in 1925 by Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State for India, in the House of Lords.

- During its Madras session in December 1927, the Indian National Congress established an All-Parties Conference with the aim of formulating a Constitution for India.
- On May 19th, 1928, during a meeting in Bombay, the All-Parties Conference appointed a committee chaired by Motilal Nehru.
- The Nehru Report, drafted on August 15th, 1928, and approved on August 28th, served as a memorandum that sought a new dominion status and a federal government framework for the constitution of India.

○ Recommendations:

- India should be granted Dominion Status, with a Parliamentary form of Government and a bicameral legislature consisting of the Senate and the House of Representatives.
- It proposed a responsible government both at the Centre and in the provinces.
- The Senate would comprise two hundred members elected for seven years, while the House of Representatives would consist of five hundred members elected for five years.
- Provincial councils would have a five-year tenure, headed by a governor who would act on the advice of the provincial executive council.
- It advocated for a federal form of government in India, with residuary powers vested in the Centre.
- The report opposed separate electorates for minorities, considering them to arouse communal sentiments. It recommended the abolition of separate electorates and the introduction of joint electorates.
- It proposed nineteen fundamental rights, including equal rights for women, the right to form unions, and universal adult suffrage.
- The report emphasized full protection for the cultural and religious interests of Muslims.
- It called for the complete separation of the state from religion.

○ Muslim League reaction to the Nehru Report:

- The leaders of the Muslim League rejected the Nehru proposals.
- In response, Mohammad Ali Jinnah drafted his ‘Fourteen Points’ in 1929, which became the core demands put forward by the Muslim

community as conditions for their participation in an independent united India.

- The Muslim League objected to the Nehru Report as it deviated from the Congress-Muslim League agreement in the Lucknow Pact of 1916, which provided separate electorates and weightage for the Muslim community.

— Round Table Conferences:

○ Introduction:

- The Round Table Conferences (RTCs) were a series of three conferences held in London between 1930 and 1932.
- The conferences aimed to discuss and negotiate constitutional reforms for India in response to the growing demand for self-governance.
- B.R. Ambedkar and Tej Bahadur Sapru attended all the three round table conferences.

○ Background:

- The conferences were a result of the recommendations made by the Simon Commission, which had highlighted the need for further constitutional reforms in India.
- The British government sought to engage with Indian political leaders and representatives to find a consensus on the future of British rule in India.

○ Key Features and Participants:

▪ The First RTC:

- It was held in London between November 1930 and January 1931 and was chaired by Ramsay MacDonald.
- This was the first conference arranged between the British and the Indians as equals.
- The Congress refused to attend it.
- The Princely States, Muslim League, Justice Party, Hindu Mahasabha etc. attended it.
 - Three British political parties sent a total of 16 delegates.
 - There were 74 Indian delegates in total.
 - 58 representatives from political parties in India.

- 16 delegates from princely states.
- Nothing much was achieved at the conference. The British government realized that the participation of the Indian National Congress was necessary in any discussion on the future of constitutional government in India.
- The Second RTC:
 - It was held in London from September 7th, 1931 to December 1st, 1931.
 - The Indian National Congress nominated Gandhi as its sole representative.
 - The session got deadlocked on the question of the minorities. Separate electorates were being demanded by the Muslims, depressed classes, Christians and Anglo-Indians.
 - All these came together in a ‘Minorities’ Pact’. Gandhi fought desperately against this concerted move to make all constitutional progress conditional on the solving of this issue.
 - The lack of agreement among the many delegate groups meant that no substantial results regarding India’s constitutional future would come out of the conference.
 - The government refused to concede the basic Indian demand of freedom. Gandhi returned to India and gave a call to resume the Civil Disobedience Movement.
- The Third RTC:
 - It was held between November 17th, 1932 and December 24th, 1932.
 - It was not attended by the Indian National Congress and Gandhi.
 - Apart from princely states representatives like Aga Khan III, B.R. Ambedkar, Muhammad Iqbal, M.R. Jayakar, N.M. Joshi etc. were present.
 - Again, like in the two previous conferences, little was achieved. The recommendations were published in a White Paper in March 1933 and debated in the British Parliament afterwards based on which Government of India Act 1935 was enacted.

3.8. Civil Disobedience Movement and Government of India Act, 1935.

— Civil

- Introduction:
 - Civil disobedience is the active refusal to obey government laws or commands.
 - The Civil Disobedience Movement in India played a crucial role in the Indian Nationalist movement and contributed to India's eventual independence.
- Background:
 - The withdrawal of the Non-Cooperation Movement after the Chauri Chaura incident led to a decline in the national movement.
 - Efforts to wreck dyarchy from within through the Swarajist program lost momentum.
 - Hindu-Muslim unity during the Non-Cooperation Khilafat movement dissolved into communal riots.
 - Negotiations with Jinnah over the Nehru Report failed, and political tensions increased.
 - Signs of an anti-imperialist movement emerged, including protests against the Simon Commission, workers' movements, peasant movements, and revolutionary groups' revival.
 - Economic tensions between British domination and Indian interests intensified.
- Movement (1930-1931):
 - The Lahore Congress left the methods of nonviolent struggle for Purna Swaraj to Gandhi's discretion.
 - A Manifesto or pledge of Independence was planned for January 26, 1930, declared as Independence Day.
 - Gandhi attempted a compromise with the government by presenting administrative reform demands.
 - The movement commenced with Gandhi's historic Dandi March on March 12, 1930.
 - Violation of salt laws, student strikes, burning of foreign clothes, and non-payment of taxes were part of the program.

(INC) first hoisted the tricolour flag in 1929 during its Lahore Congress session.

Jawaharlal Nehru, who presided over the session, flag on the banks of the Ravi River in Lahore.

- Spread of the Movement:
 - Salt law violations spread across the country.
 - Gandhi was arrested on May 4, 1930, before a raid on the Dharasana Salt Works.
 - Monsoon season shifted the focus to other forms of mass struggle.
 - Non-payment of revenue, no-chowkidara-tax campaigns, and forest law violations were prominent actions.
 - Social boycotts of police and lower-level officials led to resignations.
- Response at Different Places:
 - Tamil Nadu: Salt marches, picketing of foreign cloth shops, and anti-liquor campaigns.
 - Malabar: Salt marches organized by Kelappan.
 - Andhra Region: District salt marches and sibirams (military-style camps).
 - Bengal: Powerful movements around salt satyagraha and chaukidari tax; Chittagong revolt.
 - Bihar: Salt satyagraha followed by a non-chaukidari tax agitation.
 - Peshawar: Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan's Khudai Khidmatgars.
 - Dharasana: Raid on Dharasana Salt Works met with brutal lathi charge.
 - United Provinces: No-revenue and no-rent campaigns.
- Government Attitude:
 - The government responded with repression, arrests, and restrictions.
 - The Bengal ordinance and strict enforcement of the Press Act caused hardships.
 - Destruction of property, violence, and casualties occurred.
- Efforts for Truce:
 - Lord Irwin proposed a round table conference (2nd) and dominion status.
 - Talks initiated to explore peace, but discussions failed.
 - Gandhi and Irwin reached the Gandhi-Irwin Pact in March 1931.

— Government of India Act (1935)

- Background:
 - Growing demands for constitutional reforms in India led to the Government of India Act, 1935.

- India's support to Britain in World War I contributed to British recognition of the need for Indian participation in governance.
 - The Act was the longest legislation passed by the British Parliament during their rule in India.
 - It incorporated recommendations from the Simon Commission, Round Table Conferences, White Paper of 1933, and the Report of the Joint Select Committees.
- Features:
- All India Federation:
 - Establishment of an All-India Federation comprising provinces and princely states as units.
 - Powers divided into Federal List, Provincial List, and Concurrent List.
 - Residuary powers vested in the Viceroy.
 - Provincial Autonomy:
 - Abolished diarchy and introduced provincial autonomy.
 - Provinces allowed to act as autonomous units with responsible governments where governors were required to work with ministers.
 - The Ministers were not absolutely free in decision-making.
 - Bicameralism:
 - Six (Bengal, Bombay, Madras, Bihar, Assam and the United Provinces) out of eleven provinces introduced bicameral legislatures.
 - Central Legislature became bicameral, consisting of Federal Assembly and Council of States.
 - The term of the assembly was five years but it could be dissolved earlier.
 - Diarchy at the Centre:
 - Abolished diarchy at the provincial level but introduced it at the Centre.
 - Federal subjects divided into reserved and transferred subjects.

- The Governor-General remained over all in charge of both the Reserved and Transferred subjects
- Communal/Class Representation:
 - Extended communal representation with separate electorates for depressed classes, women, and laborers.
 - Muslims received 33% of seats (1/3rd) in the Federal Legislature.
- Other features:
 - Abolished the Council of India and established a Reserve Bank of India.
 - Franchise (voting rights) extended to 14% of the total population.
 - Establishment of public service commissions and a Federal Court (1937).
 - This Act gave the authority and command of the railways in India to a newly established authority called “Federal Railway”.
 - Reorganization of certain parts, including the separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency and Bihar from Orissa and severance of Burma from India.
- Significance:
 - Marked the second milestone toward responsible government in India after the Act of 1919.
 - Experimented with provincial autonomy, which shaped the future constitutional development.
 - Curtailed central government powers and promoted decentralization.
 - Advanced women's participation through separate electorates.
 - Set the stage for the Dominion Status and the demand for independence.
- Criticism:
 - Governor-general's extensive powers hindered proper functioning.
 - Extension of communal representation fuelled separatist tendencies.
 - Rigid constitution with limited possibilities for internal growth.
 - British Parliament reserved the right of amendment.
 - Federation establishment postponed indefinitely.

Module 4: Partition and Post-Independence India

4.1. Cripps Mission (1942), Cabinet Mission Plan (1946) and the Indian Independence Act (1947).

— Cripps Mission (1942):

- Introduction/background:
 - The meetings for Cripps Mission took place in Delhi from March 22nd to April 12th, 1942.
 - It was headed by Sir Richard Stafford Cripps.
 - It aimed to rally Indian support against Japanese invasion by seeking consensus between the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League.
 - British concerns grew due to Japan's victories during the 1940s and the proximity of the war to India's borders.
 - The Congress sought to accelerate their independence struggle, while differences with the Muslim League widened.
 - The British Government sent the Cripps Mission in 1942 to achieve Hindu-Muslim consensus and convince Indians to postpone their struggle until the end of World War II.
- Proposals:
 - Retention of British hold on India during the war, followed by granting dominion status and complete autonomy to India after the war.
 - Formation of a Constituent Assembly to frame India's future constitution, with proportional representation based on the provincial assemblies.
 - Representation for the Princely States in the Constituent Assembly.
 - Provinces not agreeing to the new constitution could keep themselves out of the proposed Union and form their separate unions.
 - Creation of an interim government during the war, with defence and external affairs under the sole responsibility of the Viceroy.
- Differences from previous proposals:
 - Complete responsibility for making the constitution handed over to Indians.
 - Concrete plan provided for the constituent assembly.

- Option for provinces to have separate constitutions, a blueprint for India's partition.
 - Free India's ability to withdraw from the Commonwealth.
 - Indians given a larger share in the administration during the interim period.
- Reaction to Cripps Mission:
 - Congress objected to the offer of dominion status instead of complete independence, representation of princely states by nominees, the right to provinces to secede, and absence of immediate power transfer.
 - Muslim League criticized the idea of a single Indian Union, the machinery for the constituent assembly, and the denial of self-determination for Muslims and the creation of Pakistan.
- Causes of failure:
 - Doubts on British intentions due to the precise provisions offered, rather than superseding the August Offer.
 - Cripps' incapacity to go beyond the Draft Declaration and the rigid "take it or leave it" attitude.
 - Lack of clarity on the procedure of accession and secession, leading to complications and weighted decisions.
 - Interference and opposition from British leaders like Churchill, Amery, Linlithgow, and Ward.
- Conclusion:
 - The Cripps Mission ended in frustration and bitterness among the Indian people.
 - Some see the mission as an appeasement strategy toward Chinese and American concerns with British imperialism.
 - Gandhi used the mission's failure to call for voluntary British withdrawal, leading to the 'Quit India Movement'.

— Cabinet Mission Plan (1946):

- Introduction:
 - The Cabinet Mission Plan was proposed by the Cabinet Mission and Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India, on May 16th, 1946.
 - The plan aimed to address the constitutional future of India after political parties failed to reach an agreement.

- The Cabinet Mission members included Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade, and A.V Alexander, First Lord of Admiralty.

- Background:

- In September 1945, the newly elected Labour government in Britain expressed its intention to create a Constituent Assembly for India to frame the country's constitution.
- The Cabinet Mission was sent to India in March 1946 to deal with the obstacle posed by the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, which had fundamental differences over India's future.
- The desire for a united India stemmed from British pride in political unification and doubts about the feasibility of Pakistan.
- The Shimla Conference failed to facilitate an agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League, leading to the Cabinet Mission's own proposals.

- Recommendation:

- The plan recommended the formation of a Union of India, encompassing both British India and the princely states.
- The Union would handle foreign affairs, defence, and communications, with the power to raise finances for these subjects.
- An Executive and a Legislature would be constituted from representatives of British India and the States, with major communal issues requiring the support of representatives from both communities.
- Provinces would have powers over subjects other than those handled by the Union, and residual powers would rest with the Provinces.
- Provinces could form groups with common Executives and Legislatures, determining the subjects to be taken in common.
- After ten years, any Province could call for a reconsideration of the Constitution's terms through a majority vote in its Legislative Assembly.
- The plan rejected the demand for a full-fledged Pakistan and allowed princely states to enter into arrangements with successor governments.
- It recommended grouping existing provincial assemblies into three sections: Section A – Hindu Majority provinces, Section B & C – Muslim majority provinces.

- Reactions:
 - The plan was initially accepted by the Muslim League and the Congress Party.
 - The Congress later rejected the grouping of provinces based on religion, leading to the breakdown of consensus.
 - The Muslim League refused to change any part of the plan, and subsequent attempts at reconciliation failed.
 - The Constituent Assembly proceedings began, and an interim government was established with Jawaharlal Nehru as the Prime Minister.
 - The Muslim League refusing to participate and initiated 'Direct Action Day' triggering large-scale violence across the country

- Significance:

- The Cabinet Mission Plan also called as 'State Paper' had a significant influence on the Constituent Assembly's deliberations and debates, particularly regarding Nehru's Objective Resolution and federalism.
- The Assembly acknowledged its creation based on the plan and aimed to adhere to its proposals for legal legitimacy and to keep the door open for the Muslim League's participation.

— Indian Independence Act (1947):

- Introduction:

- The Indian Independence Act of 1947 was a crucial legislation that facilitated the transfer of power from the British Crown to India.
- The Act was passed in the British Parliament on July 5th, 1947, and received royal assent on July 18th, 1947.
- The Act was based on a plan formulated (Mountbatten Plan or the 3rd June Plan) by Viceroy Lord Mountbatten and Prime Minister Clement Attlee, after consultations with the Indian National Congress, the Muslim League, and representatives of the Sikh community.

- Background:

- Lord Mountbatten was appointed as the last Viceroy of India with the specific task of overseeing the transfer of authority from the British Crown to India.

- Mountbatten initially proposed a plan known as the **Dickie Bird Plan**, which suggested declaring the provinces **independent** and allowing them to **decide** whether to join the Constituent Assembly.
 - However, this plan was **opposed** by **Jawaharlal Nehru**, the leader of the INC, who believed it would lead to the ‘Balkanisation’ of the country.
 - In response to the opposition, Mountbatten presented the 3 June Plan, also known as the **Mountbatten Plan or the Partition Plan**.
 - The 3 June Plan was accepted by all parties involved, including the INC, which reluctantly recognized the inevitability of partition.
 - The plan was announced on June 3, 1947, and paved the way for the Indian Independence Act to be passed in the British Parliament.
 - Under the 3 June Plan, the British government would **transfer power to the newly created dominions of India and Pakistan on August 15, 1947**.
- Salient features:
- Declaration of **India** as an **independent** and **sovereign** state.
 - Partition of British India into **two** new dominions: **India and Pakistan**.
 - **Abolition** of the position of **Secretary of State** for India.
 - **Abolition** of the office of **Viceroy** and the appointment of a **Governor-General** for each dominion.
 - Empowerment of the **constituent assemblies** of the two dominions to **frame** and **adopt** their respective **constitutions**.
 - Granting of freedom to the **princely states** to join either of the dominions **or remain independent**.
 - **Governance** of each dominion to be conducted based on the provisions of the **Government of India Act, 1935**.
 - Restriction on the British monarch's power to ask for or veto bills, with such powers reserved for the Governor-General.
 - Governor-General to act on the aid and advice of the council.
 - The constitution framed by the **Indian Constituent Assembly** would not **be applicable to the areas that would become part of Pakistan**.
 - The Legislative Assemblies of **Punjab** and **Bengal** voted for **partition**, leading to the **division of these provinces between India and Pakistan along religious lines**.

- The province of Sindh chose to join Pakistan, while the North Western Frontier Province (NWFP) and Sylhet were to hold referendums to decide which country they would join.
- The new boundaries between India and Pakistan were to be demarcated by the Boundary Commission.
- British suzerainty over the princely states was to end, and they were given the choice to join either India or Pakistan or remain independent.
- The British monarch would no longer use the title “Emperor of India”.
- Until the new dominions’ constitutions became effective, the heads of state would be the respective Governor-Generals who would continue to assent to laws passed by the Constituent Assemblies on behalf of the King.
- Pakistan became independent on August 14th, 1947, with Muhammad Ali Jinnah appointed as Governor-General.
- India became independent on August 15th, 1947, with Lord Mountbatten as the Governor-General.

4.2. Genesis and Growth of Communalism and Partition of India.

— Introduction and Background:

- Communalism refers to an ideology that arises from religious pluralism and can be seen as a social menace.
- It involves using religious differences to gain political benefits and suppress distinctions within a community, promoting intolerance and division within society.
- During the partition of India in 1947 and in the post-independence era, communalism played a significant role in shaping the socio-political landscape of the country.
- Communal tensions primarily arose between Hindus and Muslims, as these were the two largest religious communities in the region.
- The British policy of divide and rule, along with various socio-economic factors, contributed to the genesis and growth of communalism.

— Genesis of Communalism:

- Colonial Policies:
 - British Imperialism and the “**Divide and Rule**” policy employed by the British authorities.
 - The British introduced policies that favoured certain religious communities, leading to the formation of religious identities.
 - The **partition of Bengal in 1905** further heightened communal tensions between **Hindus** and **Muslims**.
- Hindu Nationalism:
 - **Hindu nationalist movements**, such as the **Hindu Mahasabha** and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), promoted the idea of a Hindu nation, fostering communal divisions.
- Muslim Identity:
 - The All India **Muslim League**, under the leadership of Muhammad Ali **Jinnah**, advocated for the creation of a **separate nation for Muslims**, fueling communal sentiments.
 - Separatism among certain Muslim communities.
- Socio-economic Factors:

- **Unequal distribution** of resources and job opportunities among **religious communities** created economic disparities, leading to communal tensions.
- Disappointment and discontent among the middle-class youth due to stagnant agriculture, lack of industrial development, and inadequate employment opportunities.
- **Hindu** and **Muslim** **revivalist movements** that emphasize religious identities and differences.
- Teaching a **communal** and distorted view of **Indian history** in schools and colleges, **contributing** to the **rise** of **communal feelings** among the **masses**.

— Growth of Communalism:

- Direct Action Day:
 - On August 16th, 1946, the Muslim League called for a day of protest, resulting in violent clashes between Hindus and Muslims in Calcutta (now Kolkata).
- Partition Violence:
 - The partition of India in 1947 resulted in widespread violence and mass **migrations** along **religious** lines, leading to the loss of numerous lives and displacement of millions.
- Rise of Communal Politics:
 - Political parties began to exploit **communal sentiments** for **electoral gains**, polarizing communities for their own interests.
 - The formation of religious-based political parties, like the Hindu nationalist **Bharatiya Jana Sangh** (later transformed into the Bharatiya Janata Party), and Muslim nationalist **AIMIM** further deepened communal divisions.

— Partition of India:

- Introduction and Background:
 - The partition of India refers to the division of British India into two separate nations, **India** and **Pakistan**, based on **religious lines** in 1947.

- The partition was a response to mounting **communal tensions** and **demands** for **separate nations** by religious communities, primarily Hindus and Muslims.
- The decision to partition India was influenced by **political, social, and religious** factors.

- Partition:

- Mountbatten Plan:
 - The Mountbatten Plan, announced on June 3, 1947, proposed the division of British India into **two dominions, India and Pakistan**.
 - The division was based on religious demographics, with areas having a **Muslim majority becoming part of Pakistan**.
- Two-Nation Theory:
 - The Two-Nation Theory, propagated by the All India Muslim League, argued that **Hindus and Muslims** were **separate nations** with distinct religious, cultural, and political identities.
 - The theory laid the foundation for the **demand for a separate Muslim homeland**.
- Indian Independence Act 1947:
 - The **Indian Independence Act**, passed by the British Parliament in July 1947, provided the **legal framework for the partition**.
 - It granted independence to both India and Pakistan and outlined the details of the division, including the **transfer of power and territorial arrangements**.
- Boundary Commission:
 - The Radcliffe Commission, headed by Sir Cyril **Radcliffe**, was appointed to demarcate the **boundaries** between India and Pakistan.
 - The hasty drawing of borders resulted in **arbitrary divisions**, leading to communal violence and **mass migrations**.

- Consequences and Impact:

- Communal Violence:

- The partition led to widespread communal violence between Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs, resulting in the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives.
- There were instances of mass killings, forced conversions, and sexual violence against women.
- Mass Displacement:
 - The partition triggered one of the largest mass migrations in history, with millions of Hindus and Sikhs migrating from Pakistan to India and Muslims moving from India to Pakistan.
 - The mass displacement resulted in the uprooting of families and communities, creating refugee crises and economic challenges.
- Political and Administrative Challenges:
 - The division of administrative machinery, resources, and assets between India and Pakistan posed significant challenges for the newly independent nations.
 - Political instability and governance issues were prevalent in the initial years.

4.3. Integration of Indian States and Kashmir Issue.

— Integration of Indian States:

- Introduction/background:
 - The Indian Independence Act of 1947 allowed princely states to choose between joining India, joining Pakistan, or remaining as independent sovereign states.
 - Princely states covered 48% of the area of pre-Independent India and constituted 28% of its population.
 - The princely states were not legally part of British India but were under the control of the British Crown.
 - Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel (first deputy prime minister and the home minister) and V.P Menon (the secretary of the Ministry of the States) played a crucial role in integrating the princely states into the Indian Union.
 - The Instrument of Accession was the legal framework used to formalize the decision of princely states to accede to India.
 - Privy purses were introduced as financial payments to royal families in exchange for their agreement to merge with India.
 - The integration of princely states was a complex process due to the unique political, cultural, and historical factors of each state.
 - Some princely states willingly joined the Indian Union, while others sought independent statehood or aimed to become part of Pakistan.
 - The integration of princely states shaped the geographical and political landscape of modern India and symbolizes its diverse and inclusive nature.
 - Princely states existed in various regions of India, from Swat in the North-West to Manipur in the North-East, and from Chitral in the Himalayas to Cochin and Travancore in the South.
 - Each princely state had its own unique history and origins, ranging from medieval states like Rajputana and Kathiawar to states that emerged after the decline of the Mughal Empire, such as Hyderabad, Bhopal, Rampur, and Bhagalpur.

- Some states, like those ruled by Sikh princes in Punjab and Marathi-speaking rulers in Kolhapur, Gwalior, and Indore, were remnants of historical empires and confederacies.
- The state of Mysore emerged after the collapse of the Vijayanagar Empire, while Eastern India had states ruled by princes from tribal communities.
- Integration of different states:
 - Travancore:
 - Initially refused to accede to the Indian union and questioned the **Congress' leadership**.
 - Dewan of Travancore declared **intention** of forming an **independent** state but **changed his mind after surviving an assassination attempt**.
 - Joined India on July 30, 1947.
 - Jodhpur:
 - Despite having a Hindu king and a Hindu majority population, had a **tilt towards Pakistan**.
 - Hanwant Singh, the prince of Jodhpur, considered joining **Pakistan** for “**better benefits**”.
 - Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel **contacted the prince and offered sufficient benefits to integrate Jodhpur into the Indian Dominion**.
 - Maharaja Hanwant Singh signed the Instrument of Accession on August 11th, 1947, and Jodhpur became part of India.
 - Bhopal:
 - Ruled by a **Muslim Nawab** with a **majority Hindu population**.
 - Nawab Hamidullah Khan **opposed Congress rule** and **desired independence**.
 - Mountbatten informed him that no ruler could run away from the dominion closest to him.
 - In July 1947, the Nawab decided to join India after observing **other princes** acceding to **India**.
 - Hyderabad:
 - The **largest and richest princely state** in the **Deccan plateau**.

- Nizam Mir Usman Ali, presiding over a largely Hindu population, demanded an independent state.
- Refused to join the Indian dominion despite requests and threats from Patel and mediators.
- Violence by armed fanatics (called Razakars) targeted at Hyderabad's Hindu residents.
- On September 13th, 1948, Indian troops sent under 'Operation Polo' gained control of the state after a four-day armed encounter.
- Hyderabad became an integral part of India, and the Nizam was made the governor of the state.
- Junagadh:
 - Contained a large Hindu population ruled by the Nawab Muhammad Mahabat Khanji III.
 - On September 15th, 1947 Nawab chose to accede to Pakistan, disregarding Mountbatten's views.
 - Mangrol and Babariawad declared their independence and acceded to India.
 - On 26th October, the Nawab and his family fled to Pakistan. Before leaving, the Nawab had emptied the state treasury of its cash and securities.
 - On November 7th, 1947 the Dewan of Junagadh, Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto decided to invite the Government of India to intervene.
 - Plebiscite conducted in February 1948, which favoured accession to India.
 - Junagadh became part of Indian state of Saurashtra until November 1, 1956, when Saurashtra became part of Bombay state. In 1960, it became the part of Gujarat state.

— Kashmir Issue:

- Background:
 - Kashmir was part of different empires, including Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Afghan, and British.
 - Buddhist and Hindu dynasties ruled Kashmir before AD 1000.

- The first Muslim ruler of **Kashmir** was **Shah Mir**, establishing the Shah Mir dynasty.
 - **Akbar** the Great conquered Kashmir in 1587, making it part of the **Mughal Empire**.
 - After Mughal rule, **Kashmir** came under **Afghan**, **Sikh**, and **Dogra** rule.
 - In **1846**, Kashmir became a **princely state** under the **Dogra Dynasty** through the **Treaty of Amritsar**.
- The Ruler's Stand during Partition:
 - Maharaja Hari Singh, a Hindu ruler, governed a **majority-Muslim princely state during the partition of British India in 1947**.
 - Hari Singh wanted an **independent status** for Jammu and Kashmir and tried to negotiate with India and Pakistan.
 - India suggested conducting a **plebiscite** to determine the aspirations of the Kashmiri people, but it was never held due to the Pakistan invasion.
- Pakistan Invasion of Kashmir in 1947:
 - **Pashtun raiders** from **Pakistan** invaded **Kashmir** in October 1947, prompting **Hari Singh** to seek assistance from India.
 - Maharaja Hari Singh signed the **Instrument of Accession** with India on October 26, 1947.
 - Indian and Pakistani forces **engaged in the first war over Kashmir in 1947-48**.
- United Nations Involvement:
 - India referred the Kashmir dispute to the **United Nations Security Council** on January 1st, 1948.
 - The UN passed **Resolution 47**, stating that Pakistan was the aggressor and must **vacate** the occupied territory.
 - The resolution called for a plebiscite to be conducted by India in Jammu and Kashmir.
- Sheikh Abdullah's Movement and Formal Incorporation into India:
 - The Muslim Conference, later renamed National Conference, led a popular movement against Maharaja Hari Singh's rule.
 - Sheikh Abdullah became the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir in 1948.

- After the accession to India, the state government ratified the accession in 1957, formally incorporating Kashmir into the Indian Union.
- External Disputes:
 - Kashmir remained a major conflict issue between India and Pakistan, leading to wars in 1947, 1965, and 1971.
 - China gradually occupied eastern Kashmir (Aksai Chin) and received the Trans-Karakoram Tract from Pakistan.
 - Kashmir is disputed between India, Pakistan, and China.
- Internal Disputes:
 - Kashmir was granted autonomy and **special status under Article 370 of the Indian Constitution**.
 - Some believe Article 370 hinders full integration with India, while others demand greater autonomy.
 - Grievances include unfulfilled promises of a plebiscite, erosion of special status, and perceived lack of democracy.
- Political History since 1948:
 - Sheikh Abdullah's government faced dismissal, and the Congress party gained control in the state.
 - Attempts were made to reach an agreement between Sheikh Abdullah and the Indian government.
 - Farooq Abdullah succeeded his father and became the Chief Minister.
 - Resentment grew with allegations of intervention by the Indian government in state politics.
 - The 1987 Assembly elections were believed to be rigged, leading to popular resentment and insurgency.
- Insurgency and Militancy in Kashmir:
 - In the late 1980s, a significant insurgency and militancy movement emerged in Kashmir.
 - The movement was fuelled by various factors, including political grievances, human rights abuses, and a desire for self-determination.
 - Militant groups, both indigenous and backed by Pakistan, gained prominence in the region.
 - The insurgency led to a prolonged period of violence, including attacks on security forces, civilians, and political leaders.

- Attempts at Conflict Resolution:
 - Several attempts have been made to resolve the Kashmir conflict through dialogue and negotiations.
 - The Shimla Agreement of 1972 between India and Pakistan aimed to settle bilateral disputes, including Kashmir, through peaceful means.
 - The Lahore Declaration of 1999 emphasized bilateral dialogue and confidence-building measures.
 - In 2001, the Agra Summit between the leaders of India and Pakistan failed to reach a resolution.
 - Various other initiatives, such as Track-II diplomacy and backchannel talks, have been undertaken to find a peaceful solution.
- Change in Kashmir's Constitutional Status:
 - On August 5, 2019, the Indian government made significant changes to Kashmir's constitutional status.
 - The special provisions granted to Jammu and Kashmir under Article 370 of the Indian Constitution were revoked.
 - Jammu and Kashmir was bifurcated into two union territories, Jammu and Kashmir, and Ladakh, directly governed by the central government of India.

4.4. Making of the Constitution -CAD: Constituent Assembly Debates

— Making of the Constitution:

○ Introduction/background:

- M.N. Roy first proposed the idea of a Constituent Assembly for India in 1934.
- The Indian National Congress officially demanded a Constituent Assembly to frame the Constitution of India in 1935.
- Jawaharlal Nehru, in 1938, on behalf of the INC, declared that the Constitution of free India must be framed by a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise.
- The British Government accepted the demand for a Constituent Assembly in the 'August Offer' in 1940.
- Sir Stafford Cripps presented a draft proposal for an independent Constitution in 1942, which was rejected by the Muslim League.
- Constituent Assembly constituted under the Cabinet Mission Plan in 1946.
- Constituent Assembly first sat on December 9, 1946, and reassembled on August 14, 1947, as the sovereign Constituent Assembly for the Dominion of India.
- Indirect election by members of the Provincial Legislative Assembly.
- Proportional representation with a single transferable vote for the selection of representatives.

○ Composition of Council:

- The Constituent Assembly was constituted in 1946.
- The total strength of the assembly was 389 members.
- Out of the total seats, 296 seats were allocated to British India and 93 seats to the princely states.
- The 292 seats allocated for British India were divided among eleven governor's provinces and four Chief Commissioner's provinces.
- Seats in each British province were allocated to the three principal communities - Muslims, Sikhs, and general population - in proportion to their respective population.

- Representatives of each community were elected by members of that community in the provincial legislative assembly through the method of proportional representation using the single transferable vote system.
- Representatives of the princely states were nominated by the heads of those states.
- Working of the constituent assembly
 - First meeting was held on December 9th, 1946.
 - Muslim league did not participate in the first meeting.
 - Dr Sachchidanand Sinha was temporary president in the first meeting.
 - After elections were held, Dr Rajendra Prasad and HC Mukherjee were elected as the President and Vice-President of the Assembly respectively.
 - Sir BN Rau was appointed as the constitutional advisor of the assembly.
 - Once the Mountbatten plan was passed even members of Muslim league who were part of Indian territory participated in the proceedings of the council.
 - Constituent assembly held 11 sessions over two years, 11 months and 18 days.
 - Last session of the constituent assembly was held on January 24th, 1950.
- Objective Resolution:
 - On December 13th, 1946, Jawaharlal Nehru moved the historic “Objective Resolution” in the Assembly.
 - It laid down the fundamentals and philosophy of the constitutional structure.
 - The resolution highlighted the following objectives:
 - Free India will be nothing but a republic.
 - The ideal of social, political and economic democracy would be guaranteed to all people.
 - The republic would grant Fundamental rights.
 - The state would safeguard the rights of the minorities and backward classes.

- Constituent assembly acted as the temporary legislature until a new one was to be constituted. Some of the functions it performed at this stage were:
 - Ratification of India's membership of the commonwealth.
 - Adoption of the national flag.
 - Adoption of the national anthem.
 - Adoption of National song.
 - Electing Dr Rajendra Prasad as the first President of India.
 - Committees of the constituent assembly:
 - Major Committees:
 - Union Powers Committee: Presided by J Nehru
 - Union Constitution Committee: President by J Nehru
 - Provincial Constitution Committee: Presided by S Patel
 - Drafting Committee: President by Dr BR Ambedkar
 - Advisory committee on Fundamental Rights, Minorities and Tribal and Excluded areas: Presided by S Patel. It had following sub-committees:
 - FR Sub-Committee: JB Kripalani
 - Minorities Sub-Committee: HC Mukherjee
 - North-East Frontier Tribal Areas And Assam Excluded And Partially Excluded Areas Sub-Committee: Gopinath Bardoloi
 - Excluded And Partially Excluded Areas Sub-Committee: AV Thakkar
 - Rule Procedure Committee: Dr Rajendra Prasad
 - States Committee For Negotiating With States: J Nehru
 - Steering Committee: Dr Rajendra Prasad
 - Minor committees
 - Committee on the Functions of the Constituent Assembly: GV Mavalankar
 - Order of Business Committee: Dr KM Munshi
 - House Committee: B Pattabhi Sitaramayya
 - Ad-hoc Committee on the National flag: Dr Rajendra Prasad

- Special Committee to Examine the Draft Constitution: Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar.
- Drafting Committee:
 - It was considered to be the most important committee of the constituent assembly.
 - It was chaired by Dr BR Ambedkar.
 - He played a pivotal role in drafting the constitution and also in passage of the constitution in the assembly.
 - The committee published the first draft of the constitution in February 1948 and the public had eight months to discuss it and propose amendments. The second draft was published after incorporating changes suggested by the public in October 1948.
- Enactment and enforcement of the constitution:
 - Final draft of the constitution was introduced in the assembly in 1948
 - After subsequent readings, the constituent assembly adopted, enacted and gave to themselves the constitution on November 26th, 1949.
 - It came into force on January 26th, 1950. However, some of its provisions, such as those relating to citizenship, elections, a provisional Parliament, and temporary and transitional provisions, went into effect on November 26th, 1949.
 - This date is referred to in the constitution as the ‘date of its commencement’. This day is celebrated as ‘Republic day’ every year.
 - This day was chosen by the constitution-makers to pay homage to the ‘Purna Swaraj’ which started on January 26th, 1930.

— Constituent Assembly Debates:

- The Constituent Assembly sat for the first time on 9th December 1946. Over the next 2 years and 11 months, the Assembly sat for a total of 167 days. The final session of the Constituent Assembly took place on 24th January 1950.
- The debates commenced in following phases:
 - Vol I:
 - 11 debates from 09th December 1946 to 23rd December 1946.
 - The Assembly elected its permanent Chairman and constituted important Assembly Committees.

- A majority of the debates in this volume revolved around the Objectives resolution moved by Jawaharlal Nehru.
- Vol II:
 - 5 debates from 20th January 1947 to 25th January 1947.
 - Objectives Resolution were adopted during this session, setting down the agenda for the Constituent Assembly.
- Vol III:
 - 5 debated from 28th April 1947 to 2nd May 1947
- Vol IV:
 - 14 debated from 14th July 1947 to 31st July 1947
- Vol V:
 - 11 debates from 14th August 1947 to 30th August 1947
- Vol VI:
 - 1 debate on 27th January 1948
- Vol VII:
 - 36 debates from 04th November 1948 to 08th January 1949.
 - B.R. Ambedkar presented the Draft Constitution of India to the Constituent Assembly and delivered a landmark speech.
- Vol VIII:
 - 23 debates from 16th May 1949 to 16th June 1949.
- Vol IX:
 - 38 debates from 30th July 1949 to 18th September 1949
- Vol X:
 - 10 debates 06th October 1949 to 17th October 1949.
- Vol XI:
 - 12 debates 14th November 1949 to 26th November 1949
- Vol XII:
 - 1 debate 24th January 1950.
- Debate topics:
 - Untouchability:
 - Untouchability was a social ill that perpetuated inequality and injustice in the country.

- Draft Article 11 aimed to outlaw untouchability, leading to lively discussions in the assembly.
 - Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad emphasized that “no one should be considered untouchable based on caste, race, or religion, and its observance should be made illegal”.
 - Shri V. I. Muniswamy Pillai believed that abolishing untouchability would provide solace to oppressed communities and benefit a large portion of the population.
 - Dr. Mono Mohan Das advocated for the removal of untouchability as a fundamental right, highlighting the plight and misery faced by lower castes.
 - Shri Santanu Kumar Das emphasized the need to eliminate social inequity, stigma, and impairments associated with untouchability through enacting laws.
 - Professor K.T. Shah raised concerns about the undefined nature of the term "untouchability" and suggested using alternative phrases in different contexts.
 - Overall, the speakers expressed support for abolishing untouchability.
 - As a result, under Article 17 of the constitution, untouchability was outlawed, and its practice in any form was prohibited.
 - Any disability arising from untouchability was deemed an offense punishable by law.
- Reservation:
- On December 13th, 1946, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru introduced the Objectives Resolution before the Constituent Assembly, which included provisions for safeguarding minorities, backward and tribal areas, and depressed and other backward classes.
 - The aim was to provide equal access to opportunities while recognizing that not everyone is born equal.
 - The Assembly believed that treating the equal and unequal on an equal footing would not achieve true equality, leading to the

concept of reservations to bring the unequal and equal on a level playing field.

- Shri. B. Pocker Sahib Bahadur wished to add a change to the appendix's very first item, ensuring that Muslims had their own electorate. This was rejected.
 - Shri S. Nagappa offered a similar but somewhat different argument, in which he provided a formula for creating a separate electorate for Scheduled Castes. This too was rejected.
 - Balanced representation from all sections of society, regardless of social, political, or economic restrictions, was desired through joint electorates with reserved seats for backward populations.
 - Shri Somnath Lahiri suggested the idea of proportional reservation with adult suffrage.
 - Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel emphasized the importance of merit-based appointments in the services but acknowledged concessions for certain communities.
 - Shri. H. C. Mookherjee opposed the reservation system, considering it against the national interest.
 - Rev. Jerome D'Souza was a vocal opponent of the reserve, claiming that it is a compromise with an element of illogic. Reservation, he claimed, is anti-democratic.
 - Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and Socially Backward Classes were provided reservation in government offices, educational institutions, and legislative bodies when the Constitution was adopted on January 26th, 1950.
- Fundamental Rights:
- The committee referred to the Irish and American constitutions during their deliberations.
 - The division of rights into justiciable and non-justiciable categories was a pressing issue.
 - Justiciable rights are those that can be enforced in a court of law.
 - The Advisory Committee recognized the importance of property, mobility, and profession rights throughout the country.

- The term 'citizen' was changed to 'person' to highlight the significance of each phrase in the constitution.
 - The principle of equality under the law was emphasized, without making distinctions based on country or citizenship.
 - The right to freedom was crucial, and limitations were established to protect society's well-being.
 - The concept of 'illegal imprisonment' was introduced to ensure individuals' right to livelihood.
 - Freedom of expression was a contentious right, with limitations placed on slanderous, seditious, obscene, or defamatory content.
- Preamble:
- The preamble is a declaration released by the legislature, encompassing all aspects of a person's life necessary for functioning in society with dignity and repute.
 - Professor K.T. Shah proposed including the words "Secular, Federal, and Socialist" in the Preamble to administer the Constitution's ideals.
 - Dr B.R. Ambedkar rejected the suggestion, stating that India cannot be made a socialist country and social and economic policies should be determined by the people.
 - Mr H.V. Kamath supported Professor Shah's suggestion to explain the standing of the States in the Preamble.
 - The phrase "In the name of God, We, the people of India..." was also proposed to begin the Preamble, but it sparked debate.
 - Some members argued for including language related to M.K. Gandhi, but others countered that the Constitution is not Gandhian in nature.
 - The Constitution was based on Supreme Court judgments and the Government of India Act, 1935.
 - B.R. Ambedkar presented the phrase "Sovereign Democratic Republic" for inclusion in the Preamble, which was ultimately chosen.

4.5. States Reorganization.

— Introduction and Background:

- The states reorganization in India refers to the process of restructuring state boundaries and the creation of new states within the country to address linguistic, cultural, and administrative considerations.
- It was a significant development in the post-independence era aimed at accommodating the diverse linguistic and cultural identities of India and promoting regional development and governance.

— Pre-independence scenario:

- The formation of provincial Congress Committees by linguistic zones was codified after the INC's Nagpur Session in 1920.
- Lokmanya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi supported the Congress' linguistic restructuring.
- Movements for Ayikya Kerala, Samyukta Maharashtra, and Vishalandhra gained traction.

— Linguistic Province Comission:

- The Linguistic Provinces Commission, led by Justice S.K. Dhar, was established in 1948 to investigate linguistic provinces.
- The Dhar Commission and JVP (Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, and Pattabhi Sitaramayya) Committee advised against the immediate formation of linguistic provinces.

— During adoption of constitution:

- Bihar, Assam, Odisha, West Bengal, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan & Uttar Pradesh gained state recognition in 1950.

— State Reorganization Commission:

- The State Reorganization Commission was appointed in 1953 by Nehru, with Fazal Ali, K.M. Panikkar, and H.N. Kunzru as its members.
- The commission was tasked with examining the demands for linguistic states and making recommendations based on linguistic, cultural, and administrative considerations “objectively and dispassionately”.

— Recommendations of the Commission:

- The State Reorganization Commission submitted its report in 1955, recommending the creation of linguistic states while considering geographical and administrative factors.
 - It proposed the redrawing of state boundaries and the reorganization of states to accommodate linguistic and cultural aspirations.
- Adoption of the States Reorganization Act:
- Based on the recommendations of the State Reorganization Commission, the government introduced the States Reorganization Bill in the Parliament.
 - After extensive debates and deliberations, the bill was passed, and the States Reorganization Act came into effect on November 1st, 1956.
 - The act led to the creation of several new states and the redrawing of state boundaries, based on linguistic and administrative considerations.
 - It provided for fourteen states and six centrally controlled areas.
- Formation of Andhra State:
- Potti Sriramulu and the Justice Party in Madras Presidency were at the forefront of the demand for the creation of Andhra Pradesh, based on the linguistic identity of Telugu speakers.
 - He started a fast on October 19th, 1952, and regrettably, he passed away on December 15th, 1952, as a result of his commitment to the cause of a distinct Andhra.
 - Violent protests upon his death against Andhra secession became known as the '*Vishalandhra Movement*'.
 - On 1st November 1956, a distinct state of Andhra Pradesh was created from Hyderabad state.
 - This laid the foundation of state restructuration in India.
- Subsequent Demands:
- The creation of linguistic states triggered subsequent demands for further divisions and the formation of additional states.
 - These demands were based on regional, tribal, and political aspirations, leading to the formation of states such as Jharkhand, Goa, Chhattisgarh, and Uttarakhand in later years.
- Liberation of Goa:

- In 1947, the British Empire's reign ended, but Portugal resisted leaving Goa, Diu, and Daman, which they had held since the sixteenth century.
- Portuguese misgovernance in Goa repressed the people and denied them basic civil rights, including forced religious conversions.
- The Indian government initially attempted to persuade Portugal to leave these areas and address the local uprisings.
- On December 18th, 1961, Indian forces crossed the border into Goa as part of 'Operation Vijay', and on December 19th, 1961, the Portuguese surrendered.
- In 1987, Goa was officially recognized as a state within the Indian Union.

— Formation of various other states:

Sr. No.	State	Formation Date	Prior
1.	Bihar	22 nd March 1912	Bengal Province
2.	Assam	2 nd December 1928	Assam Province
3.	Odisha	1 st April 1936	Bihar and Orissa Province
4.	West Bengal	20 th June 1947	Bengal Province
5.	Himachal Pradesh	15 th April 1948	Punjab States Agency
6.	Rajasthan	30 th March 1949	Rajputana
7.	Uttar Pradesh	24 th January 1950	United Province
8.	Andhra Pradesh	1 st November 1956	Madras Presidency
9.	Karnataka	1 st November 1956	Mysore State
10.	Kerala	1 st November 1956	Travancore-Cochin
11.	Madhya Pradesh	1 st November 1956	Central Provinces and Berar
12.	Tamil Nadu	1 st November 1956	Madras Presidency
13.	Gujarat	1 st May 1960	Bombay State
14.	Maharashtra	1 st May 1960	Bombay State
15.	Nagaland	1 st December 1963	Assam
16.	Haryana	1 st November 1966	Punjab
17.	Punjab	1 st November 1966	Punjab Province
18.	Manipur	21 st January 1972	Assam
19.	Meghalaya	21 st January 1972	Assam

20.	Tripura	21 st January 1972	Assam
21.	Sikkim	16 th May 1975	Kingdom of Sikkim
22.	Arunachal Pradesh	20 th February 1987	AP Union Territory
23.	Mizoram	20 th February 1987	Mizoram Union Territory
24.	Goa	30 th May 1987	Part of Goa, D&D
25.	Chhattisgarh	1 st November 2000	Madhya Pradesh
26.	Uttarakhand	9 th November 2000	Uttar Pradesh
27.	Jharkhand	15 th November 2000	Bihar
28.	Telangana	2 nd June 2014	Andhra Pradesh
UTs			
1.	Puducherry	1 st November 1954	French India
2.	Andaman and Nicobar Islands	1 st November 1956	Andaman and Nicobar Islands (Part D State)
3.	Delhi	1 st November 1956	Delhi (Part C State)
4.	Lakshadweep	1 st November 1956	Madras
5.	Chandigarh	16 th August 1962	East Punjab
6.	Jammu and Kashmir	31 st October 2019	J&K State
7.	Ladakh	31 st October 2019)	J&K State
8.	Dadra and Nagar Haveli and Daman and Diu	26 th January 2020	Dadra and Nagar Haveli and Daman and Diu

— Consequences and Impact:

- Linguistic Identity and Regional Autonomy:
 - The creation of linguistic states provided linguistic groups with a sense of identity and autonomy, enabling better representation and governance.
 - It allowed for the preservation and promotion of local languages, cultures, and traditions, fostering a sense of pride and belonging among linguistic communities.
- Administrative Efficiency:

- The formation of smaller states aimed to improve administrative efficiency and facilitate regional development.
- It brought governance closer to the people, allowing for better delivery of public services and addressing local issues effectively.

4.6. Economic Planning and Mixed Economy-

a. Five Year Plans during the Nehru Era

— Economic Planning:

○ Introduction and Background:

- Economic planning is a process in which set objectives of economic development are desired to be achieved in a given period of time.
- After gaining independence from British colonial rule in 1947, India faced significant challenges in terms of poverty, unemployment, and inadequate infrastructure.
- The new government, led by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, recognized the need for a comprehensive economic plan to address these challenges and promote the country's development.
- In 1950, the Planning Commission was established as a central authority responsible for formulating and implementing economic plans in India.

○ Debates on Economic Planning:

- P.C. Mahalanobis and K.N. Raj argued for a centrally planned economy, emphasizing state control over key industries and resources.
- Others like B.R. Ambedkar favoured a mixed economy approach, combining elements of socialism and capitalism, with a role for both the state and private sector.
- Nehru's Vision and Mixed Planning:
- Nehru advocated for a mixed economy, inspired by socialist ideals and the need for industrialization, but also recognizing the importance of private enterprise and foreign investment.
- He believed that a planned economy was essential to overcome poverty, achieve self-sufficiency, and promote social welfare.

— Five years plans during Nehruvian Era:

○ Introduction and Background:

- In the early years of independent India, the government under Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru implemented a series of 5-year plans as part of its economic development strategy.

- These plans were based on the principles of socialist economics and aimed to promote industrialization, reduce poverty, and achieve self-sufficiency.
- The Planning Commission played a central role in formulating and implementing these plans, which spanned from 1951 to 1966.
- Key Features of the 5-Year Plans:
 - First Five-Year Plan (1951-1956):
 - It mainly addressed the agrarian sector, including investment in dams and irrigation. Ex- Huge allocations were made for Bhakhra Nangal Dam.
 - Aimed to achieve a 2.1% annual growth rate and increase agricultural output and the achieved growth rate was 3.6%.
 - It was based on the Harrod Domar Model and emphasised increasing savings.
 - Emphasized the establishment of industries that could support agriculture, such as fertilizer and machine manufacturing.
 - Second Five-Year Plan (1956-1961):
 - Gave priority to industrialization and the development of heavy industries.
 - It was drafted and planned under the leadership of P.C Mahalanobis.
 - Encouraged the establishment of steel plants, chemical industries, and machine tool factories.
 - Aimed to achieve a 4.5% annual growth rate but achieved 4.2%.
 - Third Five-Year Plan (1961-1966):
 - The focus was on agriculture and improvement in the production of wheat.
 - States were entrusted with additional development responsibilities. Ex- States were made responsible for secondary and higher education.
 - Focused on consolidating previous industrial gains and achieving self-sufficiency.

- Emphasized technological development and the expansion of basic industries.
- Panchayat elections were introduced to bring democracy to the grassroots level.
- The target growth rate was 5.6% and the actual growth rate only achieved 2.4%.
- This indicated a miserable failure of the Third Plan, and the government had to declare "Plan Holidays" (1966-67, 1967-68, and 1968-69). The Sino-Indian War (1962) and the Indo-Pak War (1963), which caused the Third Five Year Plan to fail, were the primary causes of the plan holidays.

b. Mixed Economy(overview)

— Overview:

- Market system with government intervention and free markets.
- Combines capitalism and socialism, avoiding their negatives.
- In 1929, John Maynard Keynes, an American Economist argued that state should intervene into economic planning. He proposed mixed economy.
- US President Franklin Roosevelt started ‘New Deal’ as a measure to curb Great Depression.
- Includes pricing mechanism, economic planning, and supervision.
- Private corporations and state-owned enterprises own means of production.
- Market forces determine pricing, supply, and demand.
- Government control prevents monopolization and discrimination.
- Values private property and ownership, while addressing unchecked capitalism.
- Advocates for government control to protect the poorest citizens.

— Reasons for India adopting mixed economy:

- Socioeconomic challenges after independence.
- Burden of development too great for public or private sectors alone.
- Issues include low per capita income, high birth rate, unemployment, etc.
- Unequal wealth distribution, illiteracy, lack of technical knowledge.
- Mixed economy seen as promising for growth in prevailing environment.

— Success Stories of Mixed Economy:

- The Indian government adopted the Industrial Policy Resolution in 1948, which aimed to promote a mixed economy by encouraging both private and public sectors. The resolution emphasized the development of key industries, infrastructure, and the public sector.
- India implemented a series of Five-Year Plans to guide economic development. The first plan (1951-1956) focused on agriculture,

industry, and infrastructure development. Subsequent plans continued to prioritize industrialization, self-sufficiency, and social welfare.

- This policy marked a shift towards socialism and introduced the concept of "public sector" in the Indian economy. It outlined the role of the public sector in developing core industries and set the stage for future nationalizations.
- In 1956, the Life Insurance Corporation of India (LIC) was established, nationalizing the life insurance industry. This move aimed to protect policyholders' interests and promote equitable access to insurance services.
- The Banking Companies (Acquisition and Transfer of Undertakings) Act, 1969 empowered the Indian government to nationalize 14 major commercial banks in July 1969. These banks accounted for approximately 85% of the country's banking sector deposits at the time.
- Following the nationalization, the number of public sector banks expanded as more banks were brought under government control. This led to the creation of a robust public banking system in India.
- The government introduced the Lead Bank Scheme in 1969 to ensure banks played an active role in rural development. Each district was assigned a lead bank to coordinate and channelize credit for various developmental programs.
- In the 1990s, India embarked on economic liberalization and introduced reforms to open up the economy. This period witnessed increased participation of private and foreign banks, but the public sector banks retained a dominant position.
- By 1980s, India ranked 4th in World Scientific Human Resource Index.

a.7 Land reforms-

a. Zamindari Abolition and Tenancy Reforms:

— Background:

○ Pre Independence

- Under the British Raj, the farmers did not have the ownership of the lands they cultivated, the landlordship of the land lied with the Zamindars, Jagirdars etc.
- Land was concentrated in the hands of a few and there was a proliferation of intermediaries who had no vested interest in self-cultivation.
- Leasing out land was a common practice.
- The tenancy contracts were expropriative in nature and tenant exploitation was almost everywhere.
- Land records were in extremely bad shape giving rise to a mass of litigation.
- One problem of agriculture was that the land was fragmented into very small parts for commercial farming.
- It resulted in inefficient use of soil, capital, and labour in the form of boundary lands and boundary disputes.

○ Post Independence

- A committee, under the Chairmanship of J. C. Kumarappan was appointed to look into the problem of land holdings.
- The Kumarappa Committee's report recommended comprehensive agrarian reform measures.
- The Land Reforms of the independent India had four components:
 - The Abolition of the Intermediaries
 - Tenancy Reforms
 - Fixing Ceilings on Landholdings
 - Consolidation of Landholdings.

— Abolition of Zamindars:

- It aimed to remove intermediaries between cultivators and the state.

- The reform successfully curtailed the superior rights of zamindars over land, weakening their economic and political power.
- The primary objective was to strengthen the actual landholders, the cultivators.
- Advantages of the abolition of intermediaries:
 - Nearly 2 crore tenants became owners of the land they cultivated.
 - The removal of intermediaries eliminated a parasite class.
 - Government gained possession of more land for distribution to landless farmers.
 - Cultivable waste land and private forests owned by intermediaries were vested in the State.
 - Cultivators established direct contact with the government through legal abolition.
- Disadvantages of the abolition of intermediaries:
 - Landlordism, tenancy, and sharecropping systems persisted in many areas.
 - Only the top layer of landlords in the agrarian structure was removed.
 - Large-scale eviction resulted in various social, economic, administrative, and legal problems.
- Issues related to the abolition of intermediaries:
 - Jammu and Kashmir and West Bengal legalized the abolition, but in other states, intermediaries could retain possession of lands they personally cultivated without limits.
 - Some states limited the law's application to specific tenant interests rather than all agricultural holdings.
 - Consequently, many large intermediaries continued to exist despite the formal abolition of zamindari.
 - Large-scale eviction caused socio-economic and administrative challenges.

— Tenancy Reforms

- These were a significant aspect of land reforms following the Zamindari Abolition Acts.

- The pre-independence period witnessed tenants paying exorbitant rents, ranging from **35% to 75% of the gross produce** across India.
- The purpose of tenancy reforms was to **regulate rent**, ensure security of tenure, and grant ownership to tenants.
- Legislation was enacted in the early **1950s** to establish fair rent, set at **20% to 25% of the gross produce, in most states** except Punjab, Haryana, Jammu and Kashmir, Tamil Nadu, and certain parts of Andhra Pradesh.
- The reforms aimed to either **outlaw tenancy or regulate rents** to provide tenants with security.
- West Bengal and Kerala implemented radical agrarian restructuring, granting land rights to tenants.
- Issues related to tenancy reforms:
 - In many states, the implementation of these laws was not very effective.
 - Despite the emphasis on conferring ownership rights to tenants in plan documents, some states struggled to pass relevant legislation.
 - Some states abolished tenancy entirely, while others granted clear rights to recognized tenants and sharecroppers.
 - Although the reforms reduced the prevalence of tenancy, only a small percentage of tenants obtained ownership rights.

b. Ceiling and the Bhoojan Movement(overview)

— Ceilings on Landholdings:

- Land Ceiling Acts established legal limits on the maximum size of land an individual farmer or farm household could hold.
- The purpose was to prevent concentration of land in the hands of a few.
- The Kumarappan Committee in 1942 recommended the maximum size of land a landlord could retain, based on three times the economic holding.
- By 1961-62, all state governments had passed land ceiling acts, although the limits varied across states.
- A new land ceiling policy was developed in 1971 to achieve uniformity across states.
- In 1972, national guidelines were issued with ceiling limits based on factors such as land type, productivity, and region.
 - 10-18 acres of best/fertile land
 - 18-27 acres of 2nd class land
 - 27-54 acres of hilly/uncultivable/barren land
- Surplus land beyond the ceiling limit was to be identified and taken over by the state for redistribution to landless families and specified categories such as SCs and STs.

— Issues related to land ceilings:

- Acts were often ineffective due to loopholes and strategies used by landowners to evade surrendering surplus land.
- Landowners resorted to dividing land among relatives and others through “benami transfers” to retain control.
- Some rich farmers even divorced their wives to bypass the provisions of the Land Ceiling Act.

— Consolidation of Landholdings:

- Consolidation involved reorganizing and redistributing fragmented land into larger plots.
- Fragmentation of land due to population growth and limited non-agricultural job opportunities led to difficulties in management and supervision.

- **Consolidation** aimed to create larger, more **manageable** land holdings.
- Most states enacted laws for consolidation, except Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Manipur, Nagaland, Tripura, and parts of Andhra Pradesh.
- Punjab and Haryana implemented compulsory consolidation, while other states allowed voluntary consolidation with majority landowner agreement.

— Advantages of landholdings consolidation:

- Prevented endless subdivision and fragmentation of land holdings.
- **Saved farmers' time** and labor in irrigating and cultivating scattered plots.
- Reduced **cultivation costs** and litigation among farmers.

— Results and need for re-consolidation:

- Progress in consolidation was unsatisfactory in many states due to lack of support.
- Punjab, Haryana, and western Uttar Pradesh achieved successful consolidation, but subsequent fragmentation necessitated re-consolidation.
- Average holding sizes decreased over time, leading to a need for re-consolidation.
- States like Nagaland, Punjab, and Haryana had larger average farm sizes, while densely populated states had smaller holdings due to multiple subdivisions across generations.

— The Bhoojan and Gramdan Movements:

- Initiated by **Vinoba Bhave**, a **disciple of Mahatma Gandhi**, after witnessing the struggles of landless harijans in Pochampalli, Telangana.
- Aimed to bring about a **non-violent revolution in India's land reforms program**.
- Urged landed classes to voluntarily **donate a portion** of their land to the **landless**, known as the **Bhoojan Movement**.
- Started in **1951**, with some landowners responding to Vinoba Bhave's appeal.
- Received assistance from the **Central** and **State governments**.
- Evolved into the **Gramdan** movement in 1952.

- Objective was to **persuade landowners and leaseholders in each village to relinquish their land rights.**
- All lands would become the property of a village association for egalitarian redistribution and joint cultivation.
- A village was declared as Gramdan when at least 75% of residents with 51% of the land provided written approval.
- Magroth, Haripur in Uttar Pradesh was the first village to adopt Gramdan.

— Successes of the Movement:

- First post-independence movement seeking social transformation without government legislation.
- Created a moral atmosphere that exerted pressure on large landlords.
- Stimulated political engagement among peasants and landless individuals, facilitating political organization.

— Drawbacks of the Movement:

- Donated land was often infertile or involved in litigation, resulting in limited distribution to the landless.
- Gramdan movement primarily successful in areas with minimal class differentiation and tribal regions.
- Less effective in areas with significant disparities in land ownership.

— Result of the Movements:

- Garnered widespread political patronage.
- Reached its peak influence around 1969.
- Several state governments enacted laws supporting Gramdan and Bhoojan.
- Decline in significance occurred after 1969 due to the shift from voluntary to government-supported programs.
- After Vinoba Bhave's withdrawal in 1967, the movements lost their mass support base.