

# **MODERN INDIAN HISTORY**

(Notes for FYBALLB)

# STUDY COMPANION

(To be used side-by-side and not  
as a substitute)

Links to the podcast (~90 mins):

[History notes - Podcast.wav](#)

[Podcast version \(other topics\).wav](#)

Link to summaries:

[Summaries](#)

Link to the mindmap:

[Mindmap.pdf](#)

(These are created using Notebook LM AI)

# STUDY COMPANION

(References)

Link to the excerpts and research papers used (module wise):

[Excerpts used](#)

Link to the Books referred:

[Excerpts sources](#)

# STUDY COMPANION

(Chronology of events)

Link to the chronology:

[Chronology of events.pdf](#)

Link to the flow chart:

[Flow Chart.pdf](#)

# **Modern Indian History**

East India Company, Constitutional  
reforms (1773 - 1853), The Revolt  
of 1857 and After

## **Module 1**

# Case study

IPL  
Lalit Modi  
BCCI

IPL- Indian  
sub-continent

Lalit Modi -  
East India  
Company



BCCI -  
British  
Parliament

“History rhymes but only  
for the ones who know  
the music.”

Listen carefully.

# 1.1

## **Constitutional Development in India (1773-1853) – Key Acts & Reforms**

### **1. Regulating Act (1773)**

- First major step in constitutional development under British rule.
- Key Provisions:
  - Created the Governor-General of Bengal (Warren Hastings as first) with a 4-member Council.
  - Established the Supreme Court in Calcutta (jurisdiction over British subjects).
  - Aimed to curb Company corruption (e.g., banned private gifts to officials).
- Criticisms:
  - Unclear jurisdiction between Governor-General, Council, and Supreme Court.
  - Governor-General weakened by majority rule in the Council.
  - Conflict between Supreme Court and local administrations (e.g., Patna Case).

# 1.1

## **2. Judicature Act (1781)**

- Purpose: Correct flaws in the Regulating Act.
- Key Changes:
  - Exempted Company officials from Supreme Court jurisdiction for official acts.
  - Required courts to respect Indian religious and social customs.
  - Simplified legislative processes (no registration of regulations with the Supreme Court).

## **3. Pitt's India Act (1784)**

- Introduced dual control system:
  - Board of Control (British government) supervised political affairs.
  - Court of Directors (Company) managed commercial activities.
- Strengthened Governor-General's authority over Madras and Bombay.
- Prohibited wars of expansion without parliamentary approval.

## **4. Charter Acts**

### **1.1 Charter Act of 1793**

- Renewed Company's charter; emphasized Governor-General's supremacy.
- Extended Supreme Court's admiralty jurisdiction.

### **Charter Act of 1813**

- Ended Company's trade monopoly (except tea and China trade).
- Allowed Christian missionaries and allocated ₹1 lakh/year for Indian education.

### **Charter Act of 1833**

- Centralized governance: Governor-General of India (with legislative authority).
- Law Commission established for codification of laws.
- Declared no discrimination in employment based on religion, race, or birth.

### **Charter Act of 1853**

- Ended Company's patronage; introduced competitive exams for civil services.
- Expanded Legislative Council with provincial representation.
- Marked the beginning of parliamentary-style debates in India.

# 1.1

## Criticisms & Legacy

- Centralization: Reduced autonomy of provincial presidencies.
- Lack of Indian Representation: Laws made without Indian input until 1853.
- Dual Control System (Pitt's Act): Created bureaucratic delays and conflicts.
- Foundation for Modern Administration: Introduced codified laws, civil services, and centralized governance.

Conclusion: These Acts progressively transferred power from the Company to the British Crown, laying the groundwork for India's colonial administrative structure.

# 1.2 - 1.3

## **The Revolt of 1857**

### 1. Historiographical Debate: Mutiny vs. National Uprising

#### British Perspective:

- Labeled as a "Sepoy Mutiny", emphasizing military grievances (e.g., greased cartridges).
- Historians: Charles Ball, J.W. Kaye, Sir John Lawrence (blamed army discontent; no conspiracy).
- Sir John Seeley: Dismissed it as a "selfish mutiny" lacking leadership or popular support.
- British Trials: Accused Bahadur Shah II of conspiring with Muslim rulers (e.g., Shah of Iran).

#### Indian Perspective:

- V.D. Savarkar and Asoka Mehta: Framed it as a "War of Independence", citing civilian participation, mass support, and anti-colonial unity.
- Dr. Tara Chand: Rejected "Mutiny" but argued it was not nationalist (pre-national India); called it a "war for liberation" driven by feudal elites and grievances against British policies.
- R.C. Majumdar: Viewed it as a feudal reaction, not a unified national movement.
- Neutral Scholarly Views:
  - Lord Canning: Described it as akin to a "national war" due to its scale and civilian involvement.
  - Thompson and Garratt: Acknowledged its potential to become a War of Independence but criticized disorganization.

# 1.2 - 1.3

## 2. Causes of the Revolt

### Political:

- Doctrine of Lapse: Annexation of states (e.g., Jhansi, Satara) angered ruling elites.
- Dispossession of rulers: Nana Sahib (denied pension), Avadh annexed (1856) (disbanded soldiers and landlords).
- Loss of privileges for aristocracy, scholars, and soldiers under British rule.

### Religious:

- Fear of forced Christian conversion - Converts' Inheritance Act (1850): Allowed converts to inherit property.
- Missionary aggression: British officials like Lt.-Col. Wheeler openly proselytized; missionaries ridiculed Hindu/Muslim practices.

### Military:

- Racial discrimination: Sepoys called "niggers," denied promotions, abused by officers - General Service Enlistment Act (1856): Forced overseas service, violating caste norms.
- Low pay: Sepoy salaries dwarfed by European recruits.
- British to Indian ratio (1:8)
- Land revenue policies: Heavy taxation, confiscation of rent-free lands (e.g., Inam Commission seized 20,000 estates in Bombay) - Decline of artisans due to British industrialization.
- Greased Cartridges: Rumors of cow/pig fat in Enfield rifle cartridges united Hindu and Muslim sepoy against caste/religious defilement.



# 1.2 - 1.3

## 3. Key Events

### - Triggers:

- Mangal Pandey's Rebellion (March 1857): Attacked British officers in Barrackpore; became a martyr.
- Meerut Mutiny (May 1857): 85 sepoy court-martialed for refusing cartridges; rebels freed prisoners, marched to Delhi.
- Revolt spreads
- Delhi: Proclaimed Bahadur Shah II as Emperor; became symbolic center.
- Leaders of the revolt: Nana Sahib (Kanpur), Rani Lakshmibai (Jhansi), Kunwar Singh (Bihar), Maulvi Ahmadullah (Awadh).
- Peasant Uprisings: Burned revenue records, attacked moneylenders, law courts, and British infrastructure.
- British suppression, brutal retaliation: Mass executions, villages destroyed.

# 1.2 - 1.3

## 4. Causes for Failure

Lack of Unity:

- No centralized leadership: Infighting among rebels (e.g., Begum of Awadh vs. Maulvi Ahmedullah).
- Feudal motives: Princes/zamindars prioritized restoring privileges, not national liberation.

Strategic Weaknesses:

- Outdated tactics: Rebels relied on guerrilla warfare; no modern weapons or disciplined army.
- No progressive vision: Failed to address peasant needs or propose post-British governance.

Limited Support:

- Educated Indians: Opposed the revolt, viewing British rule as modernizing.
- Merchants/Zamindars: Sided with the British for economic stability.
- Many princely states supported the British in crushing the revolt

Superior resources: Reinforcements from Crimea/China; Enfield rifles vs. rebels' outdated weapons.

# 1.2 - 1.3

## 5. Consequences of the revolt

### Political Changes:

- End of East India Company (1858): Direct Crown rule via Secretary of State for India.

### Policy Shifts:

- Indian States: Guaranteed rights (adoption, no annexation) to secure princely loyalty.
- Land Reforms: Favored zamindars to curb agrarian discontent.

### Military Reorganization:

- Reduced Brahmin recruitment: Focus on "martial races" (Sikhs, Gurkhas, Punjabis).
- Artillery reserved for Europeans; European-to-Indian troop ratio increased (1:2).

### Communal Divide:

- Targeted repression of Muslims: Confiscated properties, executions (e.g., Delhi's Muslim elite).
- Sowed seeds of Hindu-Muslim discord, contributing to 1947 Partition.

### Cultural Impact:

- Decline of Delhi's Muslim renaissance; Hindu cultural revival thrived in Calcutta.

# 1.2 - 1.3

## **Legacy of the 1857 revolt:**

- Inspiration for Nationalism: Later freedom fighters (e.g., Tilak, Gandhi) invoked 1857 as anti-colonial resistance.
- Historiographical Significance: Debate continues over its nature—mutiny, feudal revolt, or proto-national uprising.

Other:

- Dr. A.R. Desai: "Capitalist Britain's victory over feudal India was inevitable."
- R.P. Dutt: Criticized the revolt as "reactionary" with no vision for a new India.

# 1.4

## **Government of India Act 1858**

- Context: Enacted after the Revolt of 1857 to transfer power from the East India Company to the British Crown.
- Key Provisions:
  - Abolition of Company Rule: The East India Company was dissolved, and India came under direct Crown control.
  - Governor-General to Viceroy: The title of the Governor-General of India was changed to Viceroy, representing the British monarch.
  - Secretary of State for India: A new office was created in the British Cabinet to oversee Indian affairs, assisted by the India Council.
  - Centralized Administration: The Viceroy was given extensive powers, and the British Parliament assumed ultimate authority over India.

## **Queen's Proclamation (1858)**

- Issued by: Queen Victoria on November 1, 1858, following the Government of India Act.
- Policy of Non-Interference: Promised to respect Indian customs, religions, and traditions, and to avoid interference in religious matters.
- Equal Treatment: Assured Indians of equality under the law, regardless of race or religion.
- Pardons and Amnesty: Offered pardons to rebels of the 1857 Revolt who had not been involved in violence against British civilians.
- End of Annexations: Declared that future territorial expansion would cease, and princely states would retain their autonomy under British suzerainty.
- Impact: The Proclamation aimed to win back Indian loyalty and legitimize British rule as benevolent and just.

# 1.4

## India Councils Act 1861

- Purpose: To introduce limited reforms in the governance of India and involve Indians in the legislative process.

Key Provisions:

- Expansion of Legislative Councils: Established legislative councils at the central (Viceroy's Council) and provincial levels, with non-official Indian members.

- Decentralization: Allowed the creation of legislative councils in Madras and Bombay, restoring some legislative powers to these presidencies.

- Portfolio System: Introduced a system where each member of the Viceroy's Executive Council was assigned specific departments (e.g., finance, home, law).

- Limited Indian Participation: Indians were included as non-official members, but their role was advisory, with no real legislative power.

Significance: Marked the beginning of constitutional reforms in India, though it fell short of granting meaningful representation or autonomy to Indians.

# 1.4

- The Government of India Act 1858 marked the formal end of Company rule and the beginning of direct Crown control.
- The Queen's Proclamation aimed to pacify Indians by promising religious tolerance, equality, and an end to annexations.
- The India Councils Act 1861 introduced limited legislative reforms, including Indian participation in councils, but maintained British dominance in governance.

These measures reflected Britain's attempt to consolidate its rule after the 1857 Revolt while addressing some Indian grievances, albeit in a controlled and limited manner.

# **Modern Indian History**

Education, Press, Civil Services,  
Socio-Religious Development

## **Module 2**



Broadcasting Bill 2024, Hindi  
language  
imposition/Kannada-Tamil  
resistance on NEP 2020

# Relevant parallels

## 2.1

- **Early Indigenous Systems:** Before the British, both Hindus and Muslims had their own educational institutions linked to their religions. Pandits taught Sanskrit to Hindus in Pathshalas, and Maulvis taught Muslims in mosques. The Company initially respected these systems and their endowments.
- **Early British Initiatives:** Warren Hastings established the Calcutta Madrassah to train sons of Mohammedan gentlemen for state offices. Later, an institution was set up in Banaras for Hindus.
- **Charter Act of 1813:** This act allocated a minimum of one lakh rupees annually to revive literature and promote science among the inhabitants of British territories in India.
- **Two Approaches:** Two groups emerged: Orientalists, who favored teaching through oriental languages, and Anglicists, who advocated for English education.

## 2.1

- **Macaulay's Minute (1835):** Lord Macaulay's Minute influenced the decision to prioritize English education. A resolution in 1835 declared that government efforts should focus on promoting literature and science through English education.
- **Development of Institutions:** The Hindu College was founded in 1817. Elphinstone advocated for schools teaching English and European sciences, leading to the establishment of schools in Bombay and Poona, and later Elphinstone College at Bombay. A medical college was opened in Calcutta in 1835.

## 2.1

- **Wood's Despatch (1854):** This dispatch aimed to diffuse European arts, science, philosophy, and literature. It encouraged the study of Indian languages and supported the teaching of English where there was demand. Universities were to be established based on the model of London University.
- **Hunter Commission (1882):** Appointed by Lord Ripon, this commission reviewed the implementation of Wood's Despatch. It advocated for the gradual withdrawal of the State from directly managing higher education institutions. It also emphasized primary education and encouraged education among Muslims.
- **Universities Act of 1904:** Lord Curzon's government passed this act to reform the education system. It aimed to raise education standards, improve teaching, and reconstitute senates. However, it also led to increased government control over universities.

## 2.2

Main ideas:

1. Struggle for Press Freedom: The history of the Indian press is marked by a continuous struggle between colonial authorities and journalists advocating for freedom of expression.
2. Colonial Control: The British government frequently imposed censorship and restrictive laws to suppress dissent and maintain control.
3. Role in Independence Movement: The press played a crucial role in mobilizing public opinion and supporting the independence movement.
4. Post-Independence Reforms: After independence, efforts were made to balance press freedom with the need to prevent incitement to violence and maintain public order.

## 2.2

### 1. Early Beginnings (18th Century)

- Introduction of the Press: The history of the press in India begins with the arrival of Englishmen during the East India Company's rule. The first newspapers were started by Anglo-Indians and Europeans in the second half of the 18th century.
- Bengal Gazette (1780): The first notable newspaper, the Bengal Gazette, was started by James Augustus Hicky in 1780. Hicky is considered a pioneer of Indian journalism and a strong advocate for press freedom. His newspaper often criticized the colonial government, particularly Warren Hastings, the Governor-General of Bengal.
- Conflict with Authorities: Hicky's bold criticism of the government led to his arrest and imprisonment, and his newspaper was shut down in 1782. This set the tone for the struggle between the press and colonial authorities.

### 2. Censorship and Control (Late 18th - Early 19th Century)

- Lord Wellesley's Censorship (1799): Fearing a French invasion and internal unrest, Lord Wellesley introduced strict censorship in 1799. Newspapers were required to publish the names of their editors and proprietors, and the government could take action against any publication deemed seditious.
- Lord Hastings' Reforms (1813-1818): Lord Hastings relaxed some censorship rules in 1813 and abolished the post of censor in 1818. However, new regulations were introduced to restrict the press from criticizing the government or inciting rebellion among the native population.
- Deportation of Editors: Editors like J.S. Buckingham of the Calcutta Journal were deported for their bold criticism of colonial authorities, highlighting the government's intolerance of dissent.

## 2.2

### 3. Press Regulations and Reforms (1823-1835)

- Regulations of 1823: The government introduced new regulations requiring licenses for printing presses and allowing the government to inspect and stop publications. These regulations were protested by Indian leaders like Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Dwarka Nath Tagore.
- Sir Charles Metcalfe's Reforms (1835): Sir Charles Metcalfe, acting as Governor-General, abolished the restrictive regulations of 1823, granting the Indian press freedom similar to that in England. This period is often referred to as the "liberation of the Indian press."

### 4. Press During the 1857 Mutiny and After

- Licensing Act of 1857: During the 1857 Mutiny, the government imposed temporary restrictions on the press to prevent the spread of rebellion. The Licensing Act of 1857 regulated the establishment of printing presses and the circulation of printed materials.
- Act of 1867: The Act of 1867 replaced earlier laws and regulated printing presses and newspapers. It required publishers to submit copies of their publications to the government and imposed restrictions on the circulation of certain materials.

### 5. Vernacular Press Act (1878)

- Lord Lytton's Repression: Lord Lytton, a staunch imperialist, introduced the Vernacular Press Act in 1878 to control Indian-language newspapers, which were seen as inciting rebellion. The Act allowed the government to demand security deposits from publishers and confiscate printing presses if they published "seditious" material.
- Widespread Criticism: The Act was widely condemned by Indians and even some British officials. It was nicknamed the "Gagging Act" and was repealed in 1882 under Lord Ripon.

## 2.2

### 6. Early 20th Century Press Laws

- Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act, 1908: This Act was passed to curb revolutionary activities and allowed the government to confiscate printing presses that published material inciting violence.
- Indian Press Act, 1910: This Act imposed even stricter controls, requiring publishers to deposit security and allowing the government to forfeit it if they published "objectionable matter." The Act was widely criticized for muzzling the press and was applied rigorously during World War I.

### 7. Press During the Independence Movement (1920s-1930s)

- Role in the Freedom Struggle: The Indian press played a significant role in the independence movement, exposing the acts of the British government and mobilizing public opinion.
- Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931: This Act was passed to suppress the press during the civil disobedience movement. It allowed the government to demand security deposits from publishers and confiscate printing presses if they published material inciting violence or rebellion.
- Other Repressive Laws: The Foreign Relations Act, 1932, and the Indian States (Protection) Act, 1934, were also enacted to control the press and prevent criticism of the British government and Indian princely states.



## 2.2

### 8. Post-Independence Developments

- Press Trust of India (1948): After independence, the Press Trust of India (PTI) was formed to manage news distribution, marking a significant step towards Indian control over its news agencies.
- Press Laws Inquiry Committee (1948): This committee recommended reforms, including the repeal of repressive laws and the establishment of a Press Council to safeguard press freedom and promote professional standards.
- Indian Constitution (1950): The Indian Constitution guaranteed freedom of expression under Article 19, but subsequent amendments imposed restrictions to prevent incitement to violence and other offenses.

### 9. Press Commission (1952-1954)

- Recommendations: The Press Commission recommended the establishment of a Press Council to safeguard press freedom, promote professional standards, and address issues like newspaper monopolies and advertising standards.
- Regulation of the Press: The Commission recommended measures to regulate the newspaper industry, including the introduction of price-page schedules and restrictions on cross-word puzzle competitions.

### 10. Modern Press Laws

- Press (Objectionable Matter) Act, 1951: This Act was passed to prevent the publication of material inciting violence or sabotage. It allowed the government to demand security deposits from publishers but provided safeguards against arbitrary actions.
- Other Laws: Several laws were passed in the 1950s and 1960s to regulate the press, including the Working Journalists' Act (1955) and the Newspaper (Price and Page) Act (1956).

## 2.3

### Key themes

#### Early Days and Reforms:

The East India Company initially employed untrained, low-paid servants who engaged in private trade and accepted presents.

Lord Clive introduced covenants to prevent private trade and presents, leading to the term 'Covenanted Civil Services'.

Lord Cornwallis reformed the service by reserving superior jobs for Englishmen and Europeans, raising salaries, and prohibiting private trade.

#### Training and Recruitment:

Lord Wellesley established a college in Calcutta for training civil servants, which was later replaced by Haileybury College in England.

The Charter Act of 1853 introduced competitive examinations for the Covenanted Civil Service, but it was difficult for Indians to compete due to age and financial constraints.

#### Indian Representation:

Despite provisions in the Charter Act of 1833 and Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858, Indians were largely excluded from higher positions. The Indian Civil Service Act of 1861 reserved higher posts for the Covenanted Civil Service, making it nearly impossible for Indians to compete.

## 2.3

### Reforms and Commissions:

Various commissions, including the Aitchison Commission (1886) and the Islington Commission (1912), studied the public services and recommended reforms.

The Lee Commission (1923) recommended increased Indianization of services and better pay and privileges for civil servants.

### Government of India Act, 1935:

The Act provided safeguards for civil servants, including job security, pensions, and protection from legal actions.

It established Federal and Provincial Public Service Commissions to oversee recruitment and conditions of service.

### Post-Independence:

The Indian Constitution (Articles 309-323) made provisions for public services, including recruitment, conditions of service, and the establishment of Public Service Commissions.

The Union and State Public Service Commissions were given responsibilities for conducting examinations, advising on recruitment, and handling disciplinary matters.

### Shortcomings:

During the British regime, Indians were excluded from high-ranking positions, and civil servants were paid high salaries, which was a drain on India's resources.

The bureaucracy was criticized for being mechanical and not fostering self-reliance among Indians.

## 2.4

The 19th century saw a rising tide of nationalism and democracy in India. Reformers recognized that social and religious progress was essential for national unity and modernization.

Ramakrishna Mission was founded by Swami Vivekananda, inspired by Ramakrishna Paramahansa. Emphasized social service, education, and universal brotherhood. Criticized caste oppression and rituals, promoting Vedantic philosophy.

Theosophical Society, led by Annie Besant, focused on reviving Hinduism, Buddhism, and Zoroastrianism.

Muslim Reform Movements included Sir Syed Ahmed Khan who promoted modern education (Aligarh Movement) and opposed blind orthodoxy. Advocated rational interpretation of Islam, women's rights, and Hindu-Muslim unity. Later, Muhammad Iqbal inspired Muslim political consciousness.

Sikhs reforms: Focused on Gurudwara reforms (Akali Movement, 1920s).

Parsis reforms: Established the Rehnmai Mazdayasan Sabha for social and religious modernization.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy, a pioneering social and religious reformer who founded the Brahmo Samaj in 1828. Advocated for the abolition of sati, freedom of the press, and the introduction of Western education. Promoted a universal religion based on the monotheistic principles found in various religions. It emphasized the worship of one God and the brotherhood of man.

## 2.4

Raja Ram Mohan Roy led the campaign against the practice of sati, culminating in its abolition by Lord William Bentinck in 1829.

The British government, with support from reformers, worked to end the practice of female infanticide among Rajputs.

Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar and others advocated for the remarriage of widows, leading to the Widow Remarriage Act of 1856.

Reformers like Keshav Chandra Sen and M.B. Malabari campaigned against child marriage, resulting in the Age of Consent Act of 1891 and the Sharda Act of 1930.

Movements like the Arya Samaj and Ramakrishna Mission worked to improve the conditions of the depressed classes, with Mahatma Gandhi later leading the campaign for Harijan upliftment.

Christian missionaries contributed to education and social reform, Indian religions pushed to reform themselves to counter Christian influence.

Reformers like Jyotiba Phule, B.R. Ambedkar, Narayan Guru fought untouchability. Gandhi's Harijan Movement (1932) and temple entry satyagrahas. (Gandhi-Ambedkar debate) Constitutional abolition of untouchability (1950), but challenges remain.

The reforms modernized Indian society, promoted education, and weakened caste/gender oppression but mostly benefited urban elites, not rural masses. Overemphasis on past glory sometimes hindered progress. Religious revivalism sometimes fueled communalism.

These movements laid the groundwork for modern Indian nationalism and social progress, addressing issues like sati, child marriage, widow remarriage, and untouchability. The efforts of these reformers and the influence of Western ideas helped bridge the gap between India's traditional past and its modern future.

# **Modern Indian History**

Freedom Struggle and  
Constitutional Developments  
(1885-1935)

## **Module 3**

# 3.1

## 1. **Nature of the Nationalist Movement:**

- Nationalism in India arose due to foreign domination and clashes between British and Indian interests.
- All classes, including intelligentsia, peasants, artisans, and workers, participated in the freedom struggle.

## 2. **Causes of Nationalism:**

- British imperialism unified India under one authority, fostering national sentiment.
- Improved transport and communication facilitated nationalist propaganda. Railways, telegraph, and postal systems connected different regions.
- Scholars and reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Swami Vivekanand promoted national pride and self-confidence.
- The Indian press and literature played a crucial role in arousing national consciousness.
- Economic exploitation, racial discrimination, and discontent among Indians fueled nationalism. All classes, except zamindars and princes, suffered under British policies.

## 3. **Genesis of Indian National Congress:**

- Founded in 1885, with origins debated; some attribute it to A.O. Hume and Lord Dufferin as a "safety valve". (1887 onwards clear rivals)
- Various groups, including liberals, radicals, and the extreme right, have used this theory for different political purposes, often agreeing that the manner of its birth crucially affected the Congress's character
- While the "safety valve" theory presents a narrative of British manipulation, the historical reality points to the agency and strategic thinking of Indian nationalist leaders who aimed to build a nation and initiate a political movement against colonial rule, utilizing Hume's position to their advantage. The formation of the Indian National Congress was a complex process driven by the growing nationalist consciousness and the need for a unified political platform.
- First session held in Bombay with 72 delegates, including prominent leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji and Pherozeshah Mehta.

## 4. **Moderates (1885-1905):**

- Believed in loyalty to the British Crown and gradual constitutional reforms. Advocated for self-government within the British Empire, economic reforms, and Indianization of services.
- Relied on petitions, public meetings, and press criticism to voice demands. Nationalists countered British propaganda by highlighting India's cultural and political achievements. Over-glorification of the past sometimes ignored medieval contributions. Nationalist newspapers and literature spread patriotic ideas and criticized British policies.
- Narrow social base limited their influence to urban communities. Moderate achievements but sowed the seeds for the freedom struggle and their strong foundations ensure later movements are effective.

## 5. **Surat Split (1907):**

- Split between Moderates and Extremists due to differences in goals and methods. Moderates dominated until 1916.

## 3.2

### **Indian Councils Act of 1892:**

- Increased members in legislative councils but maintained official majority.
- Allowed limited discussion on budgets and questions but no real power.
- Introduced indirect elections, criticized for being unrepresentative.
- Expanded the functions of the legislative councils, allowing members to discuss the annual financial statement (budget) and ask questions under certain conditions.
- Increased the number of additional members in both the Governor-General's and provincial councils

### **Defects of the Act:**

- Limited electorate and indirect elections weakened public representation.
- No control over finances or administration; reforms seen as inadequate.
- Lack of real power to control the executive or significantly alter the budget.
- Inadequate representation of the people.
- Domination by officials and nominated members.
- Small number of elected members.
- Restrictive rules governing discussions and the asking of questions. The President (Governor-General) could refuse to answer questions regarding his ruling or the budget.
- Rules of election were considered unfair with limited representation for certain classes and interests.
- Non-official members lacked practical influence.
- There was no practical chance for non-official members to amend or defeat government bills



# 3.3

## 1. **Rise of Extremism after Surat Split (1907):**

- Discontent with Moderates' methods led to militant nationalism. Moderates favored gradual reforms; Extremists demanded immediate self-rule and mass agitation. Extremists marginalized but influenced radical factions.
- Leaders like Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, and Aurobindo Ghose advocated for Swaraj and mass action.

## 2. **Partition of Bengal (1905):**

- Sparked widespread agitation; seen as a British tactic to divide Bengalis. Objective was to divide Bengal to weaken nationalism (communal divide: Hindu-majority West, Muslim-majority East). Decision reversed in 1911 but deepened Hindu-Muslim tensions and radicalized the movement.
- Led to Swadeshi and boycott movements, uniting Hindus and Muslims initially.

## 3. **Anti-Partition Movement:**

- Included mass protests, national mourning, and cultural resistance. Cultural resurgence through literature, songs, and national education. Swadeshi movement spread to other provinces; Tilak played a leading role.
- Students, women, and Muslims participated actively.

## 4. **Government Repression:**

- Harsh measures like arrests, deportations, and press censorship were used. Government repression targeted students and activists.
- Revolutionary terrorism emerged as a response. Symbolized defiance but lacked mass support; inspired later generations (e.g. Bhagat Singh). Secret societies and international networks were formed.

## 5. **Achievements of Extremists:**

- Mobilized lower middle classes and youth.
- Introduced new methods of political struggle but failed to sustain mass movement.
- Fostered pan-Indian nationalism laid the foundation for future struggles: Gandhian mass movements (Non-Cooperation, Civil Disobedience) was built on earlier efforts.

## 3.4

### **Minto-Morley Reforms/ India Councils Act (1909):**

- Increased size of legislative councils but retained official control.
- Introduced separate electorates for Muslims, fostering communalism.
- Failed to satisfy demands for self-government or responsible governance.
- Moderates cooperated but lost public support
- Introduction of the principle of election for some seats, alongside nomination.
- Somewhat expanded powers of the councils, allowing members to move resolutions on matters of general public interest, with limitations.
- Members were given the right to ask supplementary questions.

### **Criticism of the Reforms:**

- Reforms were seen as divisive and insufficient. Not sincere towards establishing responsible government here.
- Didn't address the goal of self-rule or any effective control to elected members; maintained British dominance.
- Limited nature of the elected element and continuation of official majorities in some councils.
- Various restrictions on the powers of the legislative bodies remained.
- Concerns about the fairness and representativeness of the electoral system.
- The introduction of separate electorates was a point of contention and criticized for various reasons, including not satisfying Muslim demands in some areas.
- Some viewed the reforms as merely an attempt to satisfy moderates and prevent further nationalist agitation without transferring real power. No parliamentary system was introduced.

# 3.5

## 1. **Congress-League Scheme/ Lucknow Pact (1916):**

- Proposed joint electorates with reserved seats for minorities along with the demands of the Indian politicians.
- Advocated for provincial autonomy and responsible government.
- Criticized for indirectly accepting communal divisions and allowing the British to later on use it to create and maintain separate electorates in future. August Declaration comes soon after this pressure.
- 1917-1927 witnessed dramatic changes in India, marked by constitutional reforms, the emergence of Gandhi, and shifts in the colonial economy.

## 2. **Round Table Group and Dyarchy:**

- The idea of dyarchy in provinces emerged from a group around the London journal Round Table, aiming to give elected non-officials some executive responsibility, proposed by Lionel Curtis as a transitional mechanism.
- Aimed to train Indians in self-government but faced resistance and criticism.

## 3. **Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms (1919):**

- August 1917 Declaration promised "progressive realization of responsible government" while categorically stating in clear terms the goal of the British rule in India.
- Response to dissatisfaction with the 1909 reforms.
- Aimed at increasing Indian participation in administration.
- Introduced dyarchy in provinces: divided subjects into "transferred" (controlled by Indian ministers) and "reserved" (controlled by British officials).
- Central legislature remained largely under British control.

### **Criticism and Reactions:**

- Reforms seen as inadequate by Indian nationalists.
- Dyarchy criticized for creating administrative inefficiencies.
- Communal representation perpetuated divisions between Hindus and Muslims.

# 3.6

## 1. **Government of India Act 1919:**

- Established bicameral legislature at the center (Council of State and Legislative Assembly).
- Introduced dyarchy in provinces with divided subjects, transferred and reserved. Divided departments as well transferring less important departments to ministers responsible to provincial legislatures, while officials still controlled vital departments.
- Limited franchise for voting in elections based on property and tax qualifications.
- Central executive remained under British control.

### **Working of Dyarchy:**

- Ministers lacked real power due to financial and bureaucratic constraints.
- Friction between ministers and British officials. Finance still under British control so the Indian ministers had to rely upon the Governor-General's approval to get anything done.
- Governors retained significant discretionary powers.
- System failed to achieve its goals and was criticized as unworkable.

### **Provincial Autonomy:**

- Provinces given limited self-governance but remained under central oversight.
- Financial control by British officials weakened ministerial authority.
- The rise of Indian capitalism brought country-wide connections and grievances over war taxation and the rupee-sterling exchange rate

### **Criticisms:**

- Dyarchy seen as a half-measure that did not satisfy Indian aspirations.
- Communal representation deepened divisions.

# 3.7

## 1. **Simon Commission (1927):**

- The Simon Commission (Indian Statutory Commission) was appointed in November 1927 under John Simon to inquire into the constitutional reforms and government functioning in India after the 1919 Act. The British Government forced the appointment of the Simon Commission earlier due to fears of Labour control in British parliament.
- The seven member all-British commission was boycotted by Indians for lack of Indian representation.
- Recommended provincial autonomy and dyarchy at the centre and that the ultimate constitution of India should be a Federation but delayed its implementation.
- The Labour Party in England expressed hope for a change in government in India and favored Dominion Status

## 2. **(Motilal) Nehru Report/ A response to the Viceroy challenge to draft our own constitution (1928):**

- India's first attempt to outline a constitutional framework for self-governance. Proposed dominion status for India. Addressed the civil services and the defense of India.
- Advocated joint electorates with reserved seats for minorities. Rejected by Muslim League
- Amendments were proposed to the Nehru Report, particularly regarding the reservation of seats for Muslims in Punjab and Bengal but the amendments were opposed. Jinnah proposed his "Fourteen Points" in March 1929, outlining minimum demands for political advance.
- Advocated for fundamental rights, including equality before the law, freedom of expression, and the right to elementary education.
- Proposed a Parliament with two Houses and Ministers responsible to the Legislature.

## 3. **Communal Award (1932):**

- Introduced separate electorates for various minorities, including depressed classes and women.
- The depressed classes were given the right to vote in general constituencies as well as special constituencies.
- Opposed by Gandhi who began a fast-unto-death, leading to the Poona Pact between him and Ambedkar, which modified the award.

# 3.8

## 1. **Round Table Conferences (1930-32) :**

These were convened to discuss the future constitution of India and the possibility of a federation, with representatives from the British Government, British India, and the Indian States.

## 2. **Civil Disobedience Movement (1930):**

- Gandhi declared that complete independence and Dominion Status was the goal of the Congress and led the movement for non-cooperation after Dominion Status not granted.
- The Congress Working Committee passed a resolution for complete independence in 1929, stating that Congress would not participate in future elections or legislatures. January 26, 1930, was declared Independence Day, and many people took a pledge for complete independence. Leaders arrested even before the movement began.
- Gandhi announced his intention to defy the salt laws in February 1930 (Dandi March). The Salt Satyagraha spread across the country, involving the breaking of salt laws, picketing of liquor shops, mass participation, defiance of laws, boycotts.
- The government responded with repression, arresting thousands of people, including Gandhi. The Civil Disobedience Movement led to widespread arrests, restrictions on the press, and police firings. Strengthened nationalist sentiment.

## 3. **Gandhi-Irwin Pact (1931):**

- The Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed in March 1931, leading to the release of political prisoners and the suspension of the Civil Disobedience Movement. Congress agreed to participate in Round Table Conferences.
- Provisions of the Pact weren't honoured by the British government. Soon after the Bhagat Singh, Rajguru, Sukhdev hangings take place. Political prisoners in Bombay presidency not released.
- Gandhi attended the Second Round Table Conference in London in 1931 as the sole representative of the Congress. It faced difficulties, particularly regarding the issue of communal representation from Jinnah. Gandhi returns disappointed with the outcome and the government's response to Indian demands. Arrested on arrival.
- The Civil Disobedience Movement was revived in January 1932 followed by severe Government repression.
- The Third Round Table Conference was held in London in 1932 but was not attended by the Congress
- By April 1934, the Civil Disobedience Movement was considerably weakened and was eventually withdrawn by Gandhi.

# 3.8

## 1. **Government of India Act 1935:**

- The Act envisioned an All-India Federation comprising both Provinces and Indian States, but the accession of the States was voluntary, making the federation's establishment uncertain. The Indian Federation, as outlined in the Act, never fully materialized, a missed opportunity by the Chamber of Princes.
- The Act defined the powers of the Federal and Provincial Legislatures through three lists: Federal, Provincial, and Concurrent. The Act abolished dyarchy in the provinces and introduced provincial autonomy, making provincial governments responsible to elected legislatures
- The Act provided for dyarchy at the Centre, dividing subjects into Reserved (under the Governor-General's control) and Transferred (administered by ministers responsible to the legislature).
- Provincial autonomy with elected ministries but limited by sweeping overriding powers of the Governor-General.
- Separate electorates for various religious communities were maintained under the Act.

## 2. **Criticism of the Act:**

- The Act was criticized for not granting full responsible government and for retaining significant powers in the hands of the Governor-General and Governors. The federal scheme of the Act was particularly opposed by many
- Seen as a "machine with strong brakes and no engine" (Nehru).
- Retained British control over key areas like defense, foreign affairs and finance.
- Princely states were given disproportionate influence.
- Failed to address Indian aspirations for self-government.
- Communal representation entrenched divisions.

## 3. **Impact:**

- Provincial autonomy introduced in 1937 but collapsed in 1939.
- Act laid groundwork for future constitution but was largely rejected by Indians.

# Gandhi - Early days

- Greater business interest and involvement in nationalism became logical, a feature of Gandhian movements. Small and middling traders tended to be more pro-nationalist than big industrialists.
- The post-war mass awakening in India was part of a world-wide upsurge against capitalism and imperialism. Returning Indian soldiers and the Bolshevik (Russian) Revolution influenced the revolutionary mood in India. The Bolshevik call for peace without annexations, self-determination, and repudiation of secret treaties had a major impact on the nationalist-minded Indian public
- Gandhi, a relative outsider in 1915, rose to supreme leadership by the end of 1920. Gandhi's South African experience (1893-1914) shaped his ideology, methods (satyagraha), and made him an all-India figure with recognition of Hindu-Muslim unity
- Gandhi's style involved disciplined cadres, non-violent law violation, mass arrests, hartals, and a combination of seemingly unconventional methods with meticulous organization. Gandhi's model of controlled mass participation aligned with the interests of socially-decisive sections, including business groups and better-off peasants, who feared uninhibited social revolution
- His social ideals, as expressed in Hind Swaraj (1909), critiqued modern industrial civilization, arguing that real progress required a return to a simpler, peasant-based life. Gandhi's name acquired astonishing currency in rural areas, peasants often interpreted Gandhi's message with a radical, anti-zamindar twist, attributing their own struggles to him.
- Gandhi's return to India in 1915 was followed by local interventions in Champaran, Ahmedabad, and Kheda, addressing specific grievances. Gandhi's Ahmedabad intervention in 1918 was in a purely internal conflict between mill owners and workers, marked by his first use of the hunger strike.
- The Rowlatt Act in February 1919 prompted Gandhi to launch his first all-India satyagraha campaign. The Rowlatt Satyagraha was an elemental upheaval sparked by post-war economic grievances, rumors about Gandhi, brutal repression, esp. in Punjab.
- Gandhi's 'rise to power' in 1919-20 involved a skillful top-level political game according to some historians
- Gandhi initially played a mediating role between these groups and was the crucial link with Hindu politicians who were essential for any Non-Cooperation movement.
- The harsh terms of the Treaty of Sevres with Turkey and the Hunter Commission's report on the Punjab disturbances were turning points for Gandhi's stance. The Allahabad meeting of the Central Khilafat Committee (June 1920) saw the victory of the radicals, backed by Gandhi, announcing a four-stage Non-Cooperation program.



# Gandhi - Non-Co-operation

- Gandhi began pressing the Congress to adopt a similar plan around the 'Punjab wrong', 'Khilafat wrong', and 'Swaraj'.
- The Congress adopted Non-Cooperation at the Calcutta special session in September 1920 and further defined it at the Nagpur session in December 1920, with key organizational changes
- Non-Cooperation movement had four phases: boycott by students and lawyers, fundraising and enrollment, boycott of foreign cloth and the Prince of Wales' visit, and planned civil disobedience. The strategy shifted towards mass orientation.
- The Prince of Wales' visit in November 1921 was met with a countrywide hartal and violent clashes in Bombay
- The educational boycott was more effective, particularly in Bengal. The economic boycott was far more intense and successful than in 1905-08, with a significant fall in foreign cloth imports
- Labour unrest continued in 1921 with numerous strikes, but Gandhi discouraged political strikes and sought to regulate rather than destroy capital. Keeps distance from AITUC. His idea of trusteeship is important to understand his proximity to businesses.
- Gandhi's programme for peasants emphasized village reconstruction through charkha, khadi, panchayats, national schools, and Hindu-Muslim unity, with limited progress on untouchability
- Gandhi advised tenants to suffer rather than fight landlords, prioritizing the struggle against the government
- The Khilafat issue gained local interpretations, sometimes as a symbol of general revolt against authority. The Non-Cooperation-Khilafat alliance marked a period of great strength and unity in Bengal, despite some intellectual criticism of Gandhian methods.
- Gandhi's abrupt suspension of Non-Cooperation after Chauri Chaura was resented by many Congress leaders.
- Gandhi defended his decision by emphasizing his commitment to non-violence and questioning the ability of local victors to control unruly elements. Constructive work gained momentum after the withdrawal of Non-Cooperation, particularly in Gujarat, providing a base for future movements. The Swarajists, after 1922, focused on Council entry, aiming to discredit dyarchy and push for further reforms.
- Hindu communal organizations like the Hindu Mahasabha and the RSS gained prominence in the 1920s. The communal tensions of the mid-1920s contributed to Muslim aloofness in the next round of anti-British struggle. In the 1926 elections, Swarajists lost ground to Hindu Mahasabha and Responsive Cooperation advocates, indicating sharpening communal alignment.

# Role of Gandhi in freedom struggle

- While Mahatma Gandhi was crucial, the independence of India was the result of the efforts of many leaders before him. The Moderates laid the foundation of the nationalist movement. Extremist leaders like Tilak, B. C. Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai, and Aurobindo Ghose used both constitutional and unconstitutional methods, advocating for Swaraj and even violence.
- Gandhi fundamentally changed the Congress in 1920-21 from a small, upper-middle-class institution to a broad, essentially Indian organization with appeal to the lower middle classes, becoming the spearhead of a mass movement. Moon highlights Gandhi's role in instilling self-confidence, self-respect, and a readiness to stand up for themselves among Hindus
- Dr. S.R. Mehrotra believes Gandhi made the Indian National movement more truly Indian and national, providing it with a firmer and larger indigenous base. Mehrotra emphasizes Gandhi's view that national freedom meant preserving national culture, building national character, developing internal strength, and renewing all departments of life.
- According to Romain Holland "Mahatma Gandhi has raised up 300 millions of his fellow men, shaken the British Empire and inaugurated in human politics the most powerful movement that the whole world has seen for nearly 2000 years." Louis Fischer wrote: "The symbol of India's unanimous wish for freedom is Mahatma Gandhi. He does not represent all of India, but he does reflect the will of all India for national liberation. Gandhi is great because every single act that he performs is calculated to promote the one goal of his life — the liberation of India. He is not the man, he has no intention and never had to rule India or administer India. His function ends when he frees India. Gandhi is the father of India's defiance and its symbol."
- Gandhi transformed the national movement into a genuine mass movement, taking politics to the streets and fields and mobilizing peasants, workers, harijans, and women. Infuses ethics into the nationalist movement through focus on truth, non-violence, satyagraha and sarvodaya.
- Gandhi was a great organizer, giving the Congress a new direction, constitution, structure, agitation techniques, leadership, and programme. He broke the hypnotic spell of British rule, removed fear, and taught people to say "No" to oppressors, uplifting their spirit and dignity.
- Rajni Kothari notes Gandhi's realization that the urbanized middle class alone was insufficient for national awakening. Gandhi's task was to penetrate the masses, arouse them, provide self-confidence, and demonstrate to the authorities that they were dealing with a vast, organized, and disciplined movement from all over the country.
- As per Jawaharlal Nehru, "Gandhiji's influence is not limited to those who agree with him or accept him as a National Leader, it extends to those also who disagree with him and criticise him. To the vast majority of India's people, he is the symbol of India determined to be free, of militant nationalism, of a refusal to submit to arrogant might, of never agreeing to anything involving national dishonour. Though many people in India may disagree with him on a hundred matters, though they may criticize him or even part company from him on some particular issue, at a time of action and struggle when India's freedom is at stake, they flock to him and look up to him as their inevitable leader."

# Events right after Civil Disobedience

## **Post-1937 Developments:**

- The outbreak of World War II in 1939 further complicated the implementation of the Act, and the federal provisions were ultimately suspended.
- The Congress initially contested the provincial elections held under the 1935 Act and formed ministries in several provinces. However, with the outbreak of the war, the Congress ministries resigned in protest against India being made a party to the war without its consent
- Congress demands full independence in exchange for war support. British rejected demands, leading to renewed protests.
- August Offer (1940) promised post-war constitutional reforms but was rejected. Growing demand for complete independence post-WWII.

# **Modern Indian History**

Independence, Partition and  
Post-Independence India

## **Module 4**

## 4.1 Cripps' Proposal (1942)

- In March 1942, Sir Stafford Cripps, a member of the British Government, arrived in Delhi with a draft Declaration outlining the proposals. This offer was made during World War II when Japan was advancing in Asia.
- The Congress was hostile to the Cripps Proposals, believing it could only help if India was given immediate independence.
- The Muslim League was more concerned with the creation of Pakistan than with the immediate independence of India offered by the Cripps Proposals.
- The draft Declaration included provisions for an elected body in India to frame a new Constitution, the participation of Indian states in the constitution-making body, and the right of any province not to accede to the new Constitution to retain its present constitutional position.
- His Majesty's Government would accept and implement the constitution so framed, subject to certain conditions - the right of any province to not join the new Indian Union, thus maintaining its separate constitutional status, was a key aspect of the Cripps offer.
- The Cripps Mission failed because the Congress wanted immediate responsible government, including control over defense, which was not offered. Gandhi was not impressed by the Cripps Proposals, it was a "post-dated cheque on a crashing bank".
- The Cripps Mission also failed because the Muslim League wanted an explicit recognition of the right to separation.
- Other groups like the Hindu Mahasabha, Sikhs, and Depressed Classes also had objections to the Cripps Proposals, fearing for their interests in a united India or feeling their safeguards were insufficient.
- The political deadlock in India persisted despite the Cripps Mission. The failure followed by Congress launching the Quit India movement

# Quit India Movement (1942)

- Reasons for starting the movement included the threat of Japanese invasion, the perceived defencelessness of the British, the growth of Axis propaganda, resentment over racial discrimination during evacuation from Burma, and the sufferings caused by the "scorched earth" policy followed by the British Government in India.
- A resolution was passed by the Congress Working Committee at Wardha on 14 July 1942, stating the growing ill-will against Britain and satisfaction at Japanese influence due to the failure of the Cripps Mission.
- The resolution made it clear that the demand for British withdrawal was not to embarrass the Allies in the war but was in the interest of India and the cause of freedom.
- The Congress warned that if their appeal was not accepted, they would be compelled to use non-violent strength for political rights and liberty. Demand for immediate British withdrawal from India.
- On 8 August 1942, the "Quit India" resolution was moved by Jawaharlal Nehru and passed by an overwhelming majority, declaring the immediate end of British rule an urgent necessity. Gandhi gave the mantra "Do or die"
- An appeal was made to Britain and the United Nations for a just response, and efforts were to be made for a settlement before starting the movement with Gandhi's sanction.
- On the morning of 9 August, the Government arrested Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Azad, Sardar Patel, and other prominent Congress leaders. The sudden arrests stunned the people, who then carried on the movement in various ways, including hartals, strikes, and public demonstrations. People resorted to violence in many places, attacking police stations, post offices, and railway stations, and disrupting communication lines and transport.
- British authority temporarily disappeared in parts of several provinces, and parallel governments were set up in some locations.
- Jawaharlal Nehru stated that this was the first time since the Revolt of 1857 that vast numbers of people challenged British rule by force (though unarmed).
- The government used its machinery to suppress the movement, leading to numerous arrests, imprisonments, and deaths due to police and military firing. People faced insults, assaults, injuries, whipping, and heavy collective fines. Machine-gunning from the air occurred at several places. By the end of 1942, over 60,000 people were arrested.
- The failure of the movement was attributed to tactical mistakes in organization and planning, lack of leadership after the arrests, divided views among leaders, the loyalty of the services, the superior strength of the government, and the lack of support from some sections of Indian society, including most Muslims. Despite its failure, the revolt of 1942 is considered by some to have prepared the ground for independence in 1947 by making the British realize that their domination was numbered.
- The revolt marked the culmination of the Indian freedom movement, expressing India's anger against imperialism and determination to be free.

# 4.1 Cabinet Mission Plan (1946)

The Labour Party came to power in England in 1945 and was more sympathetic to Indian independence.

- The Cabinet Mission was sent to India in 1946 to find a solution for the Indian political problem.
- The Cabinet Mission proposed the establishment of a Union of India, embracing both British India and the Indian States, which would deal with subjects like foreign affairs, defense, and communications, with the residuary powers vesting in the provinces.
- The Mission proposed the formation of a Constituent Assembly to frame a new Constitution. The Mission also proposed the formation of an Interim Government.
- The provinces were to be divided into three sections for the initial stages of constitution-making. Section A included Madras, Bombay, United Provinces, Bihar, Central Provinces, and Orissa. Section B included Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, and Sind. Section C included Bengal and Assam.
- The Cabinet Mission recognized the anxieties of the minority communities and proposed safeguards. However, there were differences in interpretation and acceptance of the scheme by the Congress and the Muslim League.
- The All India Muslim League initially accepted the Cabinet Mission Plan but later withdrew its acceptance and called for "Direct Action" on August 16, 1946.
- Widespread disturbances and communal violence followed the Muslim League's call for Direct Action.
- Lord Wavell invited Jawaharlal Nehru to form the Interim Government in September 1946. The Muslim League later joined this government in October 1946.
- In February 1947, Prime Minister Attlee declared that the British government intended to leave India by June 1948.
- Lord Mountbatten was appointed as the new Viceroy to oversee the transfer of power.
- Mountbatten proposed the June 3 Plan, which involved the division of India into two independent Dominions: India and Pakistan. The plan gets accepted by the Congress and the Muslim League.

# 4.1 The Indian Independence Act 1947

- The Indian Independence Act was passed by the British Parliament in July 1947.
- The Act provided for the partition of India and the establishment of the two new Dominions from August 15, 1947.
- The Act granted full power to the legislatures of the two Dominions to make laws.
- The British government would have no control over the Dominions after August 15, 1947.
- Existing arrangements with Indian States would lapse.
- The Governor-General was given powers to make necessary adaptations to the existing laws.
- The right of veto laws by the King or his representative was ended.
- The Act provided for the termination of the suzerainty of the Crown over the Indian States.
- The Secretary of State for India's functions were to be taken over by the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs.
- The titles "Emperor of India" were to be dropped from the Royal style and titles.
- The Indian Independence Act marked a significant landmark in Anglo-Indian relations, leading to the creation of India and Pakistan as independent nations.



# Why England had to give India Independence?

- The strength of the nationalist movement under Mahatma Gandhi had become too powerful to ignore, demonstrated by the "Quit India" Movement and the sacrifices people made. The slogans "Do or Die" and "Now or Never," along with the Indian National Army under Subhash Chandra Bose and the "Dilli Chalo" cry, made Britain realize it could not resist the demand for independence much longer.
- The British Government lost faith in the loyalty of the armed forces in India, especially the Navy. The Second World War led to increased political consciousness in the armed forces, culminating in the Royal Indian Navy mutiny in 1946 and strikes in the Air Force. These events convinced the British that they could no longer rely on Indian forces to maintain control. The widespread agitation in India against the trial of Indian National Army (INA) members revealed the deep resentment against British rule and turned figures like Shah Nawaz, Sehgal, and Dhillon into popular heroes. The public demonstrations and the eventual clemency granted to the INA officers highlighted the difficulty of maintaining control.
- The myth of British invincibility was shattered by Japanese victories in Asia during World War II, including the fall of Singapore, Malaya, and Burma, and the sinking of British warships. This undermined British prestige and their ability to project power in Asia.
- Great Britain was economically exhausted after the Second World War. They were heavily in debt and dependent on other countries, making it difficult to maintain control over India when their resources were needed at home. The American government also pressured Britain to grant India independence.
- Prime Minister Attlee believed that granting India independence, even if they could have held on by force, was ultimately in Britain's best interest to secure long-term goodwill and better Indo-British relations. He initiated the Cabinet Mission and later sent Lord Mountbatten to oversee the transfer of power.
- Britain became involved in the Cold War after World War II, and the continued occupation of India was a propaganda liability, with the Soviet Union highlighting it as an example of imperialism. Granting independence would improve Britain's standing on the global stage.
- Advocacy for India's freedom by prominent figures abroad and the discussion of Indian independence at the United Nations, of which Britain was a key member, put pressure on the British government to align its actions with its stated principles of freedom.
- A changing concept of the British Commonwealth made it possible to envision India as an independent member, maintaining ties with Britain without direct rule. The establishment of the Commonwealth Relations Office in 1947 signaled this shift. Maulana Azad's view was that Britain ensured a continued foothold in the Indian subcontinent by partitioning India, creating a Muslim-majority state that would offer a sphere of influence.
- Reports from British soldiers returning from India after the war, who had witnessed the widespread poverty, created a sentiment in England that independence might improve the economic conditions of Indians, contributing to the unanimous support for the Indian Independence Bill.
- Prime Minister Attlee viewed India's independence as the fulfillment of Britain's mission to teach Indians self-governance
- India and Pakistan were given a Dominion status on 15th August, 1947 and British still retained some control in India like military, economic, appointment of British judges to high court. Mountbatten continued as the Governor-General, Jawaharlal Nehru becomes the Prime Minister.
- The Government of India Act 1935 becomes the constitution and is in force till 26th January 1950 when India adopts a new constitution and becomes a Sovereign (Independent and Self-Governing) Democratic Republic.

## 4.2 Genesis and Growth of Communalism (7 pg version)

- Communal consciousness, based on Hindu and Muslim divisions, was a major type of sectional consciousness fostered by colonialism.
- Both the communalist view of Hindus and Muslims as perpetually hostile "nations" and the nationalist counter-myth of perfect pre-colonial amity are stereotypes that ignore the complexities and the modern nature of communalism and nationalism.
- Nationwide integration and uniformity were largely absent before the late 19th century due to limited communication and economic connections.
- Communal riots seem to have been relatively rare before the 1880s, with a major instance in Benares in 1809 and the next big outbreak in 1871-72, followed by a series of riots from 1885 onwards.
- Communalism largely stemmed from elite conflicts over jobs and political favors, although it also acquired a mass dimension connected to elite activities.
- While the communal dimensions of the Pabna riots or the Moplah outbreaks were not prominent during this period, Hindu and Muslim elites were more evenly balanced in the United Provinces and the Punjab, where riots became more common from the 1880s.
- Socio-economic tensions, such as Hindu peasants facing Muslim landlords and moneylenders, contributed to communal tensions.
- However, riots often occurred over issues seemingly far removed from economic grievances, such as cow-slaughter.
- A wave of rioting over cow-slaughter spread across northern India between the 1880s and 1890s, with major disturbances in eastern U.P. and Bihar.
- Serious riots also occurred in Bombay city and other Maharashtrian towns between 1893 and 1895.
- Tilak's reorganization of the Ganapati festival on a community basis and inflammatory songs urging Hindus to boycott Muharram contributed to Hindu-Muslim tensions.
- The first recorded riot in the industrial suburbs of Calcutta took place in May 1891, followed by other disturbances during Bakr-Id and the Talla riot in 1897

## 4.2

- Swadeshi boycotts sometimes involved zamindar-led closures of village markets and social pressure on tenants or sharecroppers. The British utilized "divide-and-rule" tactics, evident in the use of urban poor elements to suppress Swadeshi sympathizers.
- Despite efforts for communal unity and the active participation of some Muslim agitators in the Swadeshi movement, British propaganda about the new province benefiting Muslims achieved success among upper and middle-class Muslims, led to the rapid growth of Muslim separatism & the founding of the Muslim League in Dacca in October 1906.
- East Bengal experienced a series of communal riots, including Iswargunj (1906), Comilla (1907), and several incidents in Mymensingh (1907), often involving "ordinary Muhammadans of the lower class" and sometimes with an agrarian dimension targeting Hindu zamindars and mahajans.
- Rumours spread by maulvis suggested the British were handing over power to Nawab Salimulla of Dacca, portrayed as a messiah. Muslim propaganda literature began to identify the zamindar-mahajan exploiter with the Hindu.
- Rabindranath Tagore argued that blaming the British was insufficient and highlighted the gap between the educated elite and the masses as a key problem contributing to the riots.
- Tagore advocated for constructive work in villages led by paternalistic zamindars, but this had little appeal to militant youth. Most nationalists viewed Muslim rioters as agents of the British, akin to the Russian Black Hundreds.
- In Bardoli, Surat district, some organization had begun developing from 1908, initially along caste lines with the Patidar Yuvak Mandal. Lower-class discontent often manifested as communal, caste, or regional consciousness.
- A praja conference in Karnariarchar (Mymensingh, 1914) formulated demands related to rent reduction, an end to cesses, and honourable treatment of Muslim tenants, organized by an affluent Muslim raiyat. This conference, attended by Muslim Bengal political leaders, remained silent on sharecroppers' grievances and marked the beginning of a Faraizi movement that contributed to Muslim separatism due to the limitations of Hindu-dominated Bengal Congress.
- Massive communal riots occurred in Bihar in Oct 1917, Hindus attacking Muslims, fueled by cow-protection rumours of collapsing British rule and echoing the 1857 revolts, utilized by upper-caste landholders to regain local power.
- Cow-protection propaganda by Sanatan Dharma Sabha and Arya Samaj played a role in provoking these riots.

## 4.2

- In the Calcutta riots of September 1918, Marwari businessmen were attacked by poorer Muslim neighbours, partly incited by pan-Islamic propaganda.
- Both Hindu revivalism and pan-Islamism could express lower-class discontent, communal frenzy, and anti-imperialist politics. The early 20th century saw a proliferation of caste conferences, associations, and movements organized by educated men from intermediate or lower castes seeking professional and service jobs.
- These caste movements challenged the dominance of Brahmin and other upper-caste elements who were early beneficiaries of English education.
- Sociologists view caste movements as linked to upward mobility through 'Sanskritization', while others like Gail Omvedt see them as expressions of socio-economic and class tensions. Caste associations became more prominent in Bengal after 1908, but acquired greater social and political importance in south India and Maharashtra, regions with stronger Brahmin predominance and caste rigidity. Among the untouchable Nadars of south Tamilnadu, a prosperous trading group emerged and raised community funds for education and social welfare.
- The Congress's rightward shift explains the lack of major conflict with the bureaucracy until the outbreak of World War II. A crisis occurred in February 1938 when Congress ministries in U.P. and Bihar briefly resigned over the Governors' refusal for immediate release of all political prisoners, a major national issue after hunger strikes in Andaman jail. The resignations were withdrawn after the Haripura Congress session, Governors retaining the principle of individual release.
- Congress ministries initially repealed emergency powers from 1932 but increasingly used repressive measures against communal riots and Left-led labor and peasant movements. In September 1938, the AICC supported measures for the defense of life and property and condemned advocacy of violence in the name of civil liberty.
- The imperialist historian Coupland found little difference between Congress ministries and previous governments in maintaining order. Coupland praised the Congress's handling of law and order while criticizing the alleged "totalitarianism" of the Congress High Command, which he argued undermined federalism and alienated Muslims through pro-Hindu measures.
- This critique echoed the Muslim League's denunciation of "Congress Fascism" by Jinnah in 1938.

- ## 4.2
- Others, including Azad and British writers, also attributed Muslim alienation to Congress attitudes and policies between 1937 and 1939. Congress's rejection of a coalition with the Muslim League in the United Provinces, despite friendly relations during elections against the National Agriculturist Party, is seen as "peculiarly decisive" in the League's revival.
  - The Congress insisted on a total absorption of the Muslim League assembly party in U.P. in July 1937. Congress Leftists feared that a coalition without the League's total surrender would prevent radical socio-economic reforms and preferred a "mass contact" drive with Muslims. The Congress had a strong majority in U.P., support from the Deoband ulama, and backing from the Ahrar Party, which criticized Jinnah and the League.
  - From its Lucknow session, the League actively sought a populist image, advocating complete independence with minority safeguards and denouncing Congress for creating communal bitterness. The League gained significant membership in U.P. and secured the (largely formal) adherence of the premiers of Punjab and Bengal.
  - It is argued that the failure to implement genuine socially radical measures, rather than the rejection of coalition, proved disastrous.
  - Muslim "mass contact" by the Congress remained largely ineffective. Ministry formation in Bengal saw Fazlul Huq's Krishak Praja Party, with a radical agrarian program, being pushed into an alliance with the League after coalition talks with the Congress broke down over prisoner release versus tenancy reforms.
  - Throughout Congress rule in provinces, the League engaged in intense propaganda, including the Pirpur Report, Shareef Report, and Fazlul Huq's account of Muslim sufferings. Charges included failure to prevent riots, bans on Bakr-Id cow-slaughter, the singing of Bande Mataram, and the promotion of Hindi over Urdu. The League rejected a Congress offer for an inquiry into these charges.
  - Before the 'Pakistan Resolution' (1940), League leaders' demands were largely accepted by the British and Congress, leading Jinnah to insist on the League's recognition as the sole representative of Muslims, a claim not yet justified.
  - Congress rejection of Jinnah's position is seen by a League leader as "a piece of good luck". The charge of High Command "totalitarianism" is questioned, as consolidating an all-India party was expected, and Jinnah later sought to control provincial Muslim leaders.

## 4.2

- Communal riots in Congress provinces were not significantly higher than elsewhere.
- The Congress Working Committee decided to drop the closing stanzas of Bande Mataram to address Muslim objections
- Gandhi's "basic education" scheme faced criticism from both the League (as too Hinduized) and the Hindu Mahasabha (for including Urdu).
- Nehru acknowledged the failure to check the growth of communalism and anti-Congress feeling among Muslim masses.
- In the Muslim-majority N.W.F.P. under Congress rule, Khan Saheb's ministry lost support for failing to address rural indebtedness due to opposition from Hindu and Sikh traders.
- Congress-led rural populism was often associated with Hinduism and Hindi, alienating some Muslims who were more urbanized and Urdu-speaking.
- While top Congress leaders emphasized secularism, this was not universally shared or implemented lower down.
- The Hindu Mahasabha gained strength, with its president declaring Hindus as a nation and advocating for Hindu nationalism without apology for being called communalists. Para-military communalist bodies like the Khaksars (Muslim) and the RSS (Hindu) grew significantly.
- Hindsight might exaggerate the significance of communal issues in the late 1930s. Most Congressmen did not yet see the League as a major threat, were focused on various goals through the Congress ministries.
- Communalism arose with the rise of nationalism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and threatened Indian unity. Communalism is defined as an ideology based on the belief that people following a particular religion have shared secular interests, forming distinct communities where religious interests are also communal interests, and ultimately leading to the idea that these religious communities are mutually incompatible and hostile. It is argued that communalism is a modern phenomenon rooted in the colonial socio-economic political structure, not a survival of medieval times. Communalism emerged due to the rise of modern politics based on popular participation and mobilisation, making it necessary to forge wider loyalties beyond old identities.
- The process of forming new identities of nation, class, and cultural-linguistic identity was gradual and uneven, with religion often used to grasp new modern realities.

## 4.2

- Modern political consciousness was late in developing among Muslims, and as nationalism spread among Hindus and Parsis, it failed to equally reach the Muslims of the same class.
- Following the Revolt of 1857, British officials adopted a particularly vindictive attitude towards Muslims, viewing them with suspicion and promoting a "divide and rule" policy to counter the growing nationalist movement. This policy aimed to encourage communal and separatist tendencies in Indian politics by fostering divisions among the people. Muslims faced systemic marginalization under British rule, including exclusion from administrative roles, economic decline, educational neglect. They Muslims for the 1857 Mutiny, leading to harsher repression.
- The colonial government created divisions among Indian society by treating Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs as separate communities and implementing policies that reinforced these divisions. They promoted provincialism by talking of non-Bengali dominance in Indian society and utilized the caste structure by favouring non-Brahmins against Brahmins.
- In education, the colonial government tried to create divisions along religious lines and manipulated language issues, encouraging Urdu as the court language to create divisions. The colonial government's policies of creating divisions among Indian society through various means were consistently applied across different sections.
- The rise of a separatist tendency along communal lines saw Sayyid Ahmad Khan playing an important role, initially a nationalist but later becoming a key figure in promoting communalism due to his views on the political interests of Hindus and Muslims being different. Sayyid Ahmad Khan opposed the Indian National Congress, fearing it would lead to the dominance of Muslims by the larger Hindu population and urging Muslims not to join. He preached that since Hindus would dominate in a representative government, Muslims should not listen to Tyabji's appeal to join Congress. These views were unscientific as Hindu and Muslim interests weren't inherently different based on religion.
- Socio-economic factors also contributed to the growth of communalism, with Muslims lagging behind in education and trade due to factors like the dominance of zamindars and aristocrats among Muslim upper classes. The lack of modern education among Muslims compared to Hindus, Parsis, and Christians limited their participation in the growing trade and industrial sectors. The small number of educated Muslims made it easier for reactionary landlords to maintain influence. Muslim masses, often supporting the British rule due to the influence of landlords and *zamindars*, were pushed towards commercial and industrial pursuits by modern intellectuals, leading to competition with Hindus.
- The educational backwardness of Muslims resulted in fewer opportunities in government service and professions compared to non-Muslims. Loyalist Muslim leaders incited educated Muslims against the educated Hindus, demanding special treatment for Muslims in government employment. The educational difference between Hindus and Muslims created a psychology of fear among Muslims.
- Communal history teaching in schools & colleges, emphasizing conflict & oppressive rule of Muslim rulers, further fueled communal feelings
- Nationalist leaders' attempts to build a single Indian nation sometimes alienated Muslims by emphasizing Hindu culture and traditions. Militant nationalism, with its emphasis on Hindu symbols and history, made some Muslims associate with these activities. The economic backwardness of the country led to intense competition for jobs, which became framed along communal lines, with Muslim leaders demanding a larger share for Muslims.

## 4.2 Partition of India

- The British policy of "divide and rule" and the competition for limited resources exacerbated communal tensions.
- Religion became a major factor in the growth of communalism in India, influencing social and political spheres. The belief in distinct religious communities with separate political interests was central to communalism.
- Secularism was not opposed to religion but aimed to separate it from politics and national affairs.
- Separatist tendencies among educated Muslims and loyalist landlords reached a climax with the formation of the All India Muslim League in 1906, aiming to protect separate Muslim interests and demand special safeguards. The League, initially not advocating for separation, sought to protect Muslim interests within the existing framework, cooperating with the British to achieve separate electorates and other safeguards.
- The British also encouraged the Muslim League to counter the emerging intelligentsia among Muslims who were inclined towards the nationalist movement. The British aimed to use the Muslim League to increase the usefulness of the Muslim masses and assume their leadership to oppose the national movement.
- The basic weakness of the League in its early phase was its inability to significantly mobilize the Muslim masses.
- Some nationalist sentiments existed among a section of traditional Muslim scholars (Deoband School) and younger educated Muslims. The Italo-Turkish War (1911) and the Balkan Wars (1912-13) evoked pan-Islamic sentiments and sympathy for Turkey among Indian Muslims, including those with nationalist leanings, but this didn't always translate into anti-British sentiment.
- While some militant nationalists failed to attract widespread Muslim support due to their Hindu tinge, Hindu communal ideas also arose, advocating the 'liberating' role of the British from 'Muslim oppression'.
- Demand for Pakistan using the Two-nation theory first articulated by Muhammad Iqbal (1930) and popularized by Jinnah, asserting Hindus and Muslims were distinct nations. Transition from Muslim minority safeguards to full sovereignty happened via the two-nation theory.
- In the Pakistan Resolution (1940), Muslim League demanded independent Muslim-majority states in NW and NE India.
- Key causes accelerating the creation of Pakistan were fear of Hindu domination in a united India, British encouragement of communal divisions (e.g., Cripps Proposals, 1942, allowing provinces to opt out of a future union), Jinnah's uncompromising stance on the matter and Congress's refusal to form coalition governments with the League post-1937 elections.
- British policies like divide-and-rule, separate electorates, and partition of Bengal were key to sowing communal discord.
- Communal riots post-1946 following the Direct Action Day made partition inevitable. Pakistan emerged as a response to fears of marginalization, British manipulation, and irreconcilable Hindu-Muslim differences.
- Partition of Punjab and Bengal for creation of Pakistan (August 14, 1947) and India (August 15, 1947) as independent dominions takes place as per the Mountbatten Plan, accepted by both Congress and Muslim League.



## 4.2 TL;DR version

**Origins of Communalism:** "Communalism is a modern phenomenon rooted in the colonial socio-economic political structure," not merely a continuation of medieval conflicts. The British "divide-and-rule" policy after the 1857 Revolt, particularly targeting Muslims initially severely.

**Separate Identities:** The concept of Hindus and Muslims as perpetually hostile "nations" is a communalist view by Sayyid Ahmad Khan's later shift towards promoting separate political interests for Muslims and opposing the Indian National Congress..

**Early Manifestations:** Communal riots in the late 19th century and Tilak's reorganization of the Ganapati festival contributing to Hindu-Muslim tensions. The Partition of Bengal further fueled Muslim separatism and the formation of the Muslim League in Dacca in October 1906.

**Two-Nation Theory:** First articulated by Muhammad Iqbal (1930) and popularized by Jinnah, this theory asserted that Hindus and Muslims were distinct nations, leading to the demand for independent Muslim-majority states in the Pakistan Resolution (1940).

**Factors Leading to Partition:** Fear of Hindu domination, British encouragement of communal divisions, and the Muslim League's insistence on being the sole representative of Muslims are key causes accelerating the creation of Pakistan.

**Violence and Displacement:** The call for Direct Action by the Muslim League led to widespread communal violence, ultimately making partition seem like the only way to end the bloodshed.

## 4.3 Integration of Indian States

- The Cabinet Mission Plan (1946) declared that paramountcy would end with British India's independence and would not be transferred to the new government. This left the future relationship between the States and British India to be negotiated.
- The Indian National Congress asserted that the States were integral parts of India and could not declare independence. They advocated for the people of the States to have a dominant voice in decisions concerning them.
- Accession of the Indian States to the Indian Union was facilitated by Sardar Patel, Lord Mountbatten, and V. P. Menon. An Instrument of Accession was created, where princes ceded control over defence, foreign relations, and communications, while their internal autonomy was respected. By August 15, 1947, most states had acceded to India, except for Junagadh, Hyderabad, and Kashmir.
- The problems of Junagadh, which acceded to Pakistan despite its Hindu majority and geographical location, were resolved through a referendum in 1948 that overwhelmingly favored accession to India.
- Hyderabad, with its Hindu majority ruled by a Muslim Nizam who desired independence, signed a Standstill Agreement with India in 1947 after initial resistance. However, due to increasing lawlessness and the activities of the Razakars, Indian forces took police action ("Operation Polo") in September 1948, leading to Hyderabad's surrender and subsequent integration into India.
- Jammu and Kashmir, with a Muslim majority and a Hindu ruler Maharaja Hari Singh who initially hesitated to join either India or Pakistan, faced an invasion by tribal raiders supported by Pakistan. The Maharaja appealed to India for help and acceded to India in October 1947. Indian troops were airlifted to defend the state. This led to conflict with Pakistan.

## 4.4 Making of the constitution, Constituent Assembly Debates

- The Constituent Assembly made substantial progress, guided by the "Objectives Resolution" (later the Preamble). Important committees, including the Drafting Committee headed by B.R. Ambedkar, played a crucial role.
- The Constitution was adopted on November 26, 1949, and it came into force on January 26, 1950, when India became a Republic with the adoption of the resolution on "Purna Swaraj". Finalized after 11 sessions over 165 days, with 7,635 amendments debated.
- India's decision to continue as a full member of the (British) Commonwealth of Nations was a significant one, accepted by other members even after India became a Republic. This meant India retained Commonwealth advantages without allegiance to the British monarch.
- The Constituent Assembly was envisioned by Jawaharlal Nehru as an instrument to free India through a new constitution, address poverty, and provide opportunities for all Indians. The Assembly was to have 389 members, with 296 from British India and 93 from princely states, though initially, it only comprised members from British India.
- Despite not being elected on universal adult franchise and recognizing only Muslims and Sikhs as minorities with special representation, the Congress made a special effort to ensure diversity by including representatives of Scheduled Castes, Parsis, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, tribals, and women in their list.
- The Congress also prioritized including the best available talent in the Assembly, with Gandhiji suggesting names of eminent persons, and ultimately, thirty non-Congress members were elected on the Congress ticket. The Muslim League refused to join the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly.
- The first session of the Constituent Assembly began on 9 December 1946.
- With India's independence on 15 August 1947, the Constituent Assembly became a sovereign body and also functioned as the legislature.
- The constitution-making process involved five stages: reports from committees, an initial draft by B.N. Rau, a detailed draft by the drafting committee (chaired by Dr Ambedkar), public discussion and amendments, and finally, adoption.
- The Congress party played a critical role, with a Committee of Experts preparing material and proposals as early as July 1946, and the party thoroughly discussing each provision in its forums. This deep involvement led to the charge that Assembly proceedings were a formality, but it also ensured thorough scrutiny.
- The Congress adopted a non-sectarian approach, recruiting the best talent and striving for consensus. Granville Austin noted the unique situation of the Congress being essentially the Assembly and the government, yet decision-making was democratic, reflecting diverse views within the party.

# 4.4

## Salient Features of the Constitution

- Preamble: Declares India a Sovereign, Socialist, Secular, Democratic Republic, securing justice, liberty, equality, and fraternity. Emphasizes popular sovereignty and secularism, avoiding religious references to ensure a secular state.
- Federal Structure with Unitary Bias: Union of States: 22 states and 9 Union Territories (post-1956 reorganization).  
Division of Powers: Union List (Defense, Foreign Affairs), State List (Police, Education), Concurrent List (Marriage, Contracts). Residuary powers vested in the Centre.  
Single Citizenship, integrated judiciary, and centralized emergency powers to curb regionalism.
- Fundamental Rights (Articles 12–35): Include equality before law, freedom of speech, right against exploitation, and constitutional remedies (writs like *Habeas Corpus*). Enforceable by courts but limited by reasonable restrictions (e.g., national security).
- Directive Principles of State Policy: Non-justifiable guidelines for welfare goals: equitable resource distribution, living wages, free education, and uniform civil code. Aimed at transforming India into a "Welfare State."
- Parliamentary System: Modeled after the British system, with a Prime Minister-led Council of Ministers responsible to the Lok Sabha. Bicameral Parliament: Lok Sabha (directly elected) and Rajya Sabha (indirectly elected).
- Judiciary: Supreme Court with original, appellate, and advisory jurisdiction. Acts as guardian of the Constitution and fundamental rights. Judicial Review to invalidate unconstitutional laws.
- Emergency Provisions (Articles 352–360): President can declare emergencies for war, internal unrest, or financial crisis, centralizing power and suspending federalism.

## Key Constitutional Bodies

- President: Ceremonial head with executive, legislative, and emergency powers. Elected indirectly by an electoral college. Can promulgate ordinances (Article 123) and grant pardons (Article 72).
- Election Commission: Ensures free and fair elections with universal adult suffrage.
- Comptroller and Auditor-General (CAG): Audits Union and State finances to ensure accountability.
- Union Public Service Commission (UPSC): Conducts civil service exams and advises on recruitment.

# 4.4

## Criticisms of the Constitution

- Centralization: States reduced to "local bodies"; Centre controls finances and emergency powers, risking authoritarianism.
- Borrowed Provisions: Criticized as unoriginal (e.g., from Government of India Act, 1935, and foreign constitutions).
- Rigidity and Length: Longest constitution globally, complex amendment process (requiring state ratification for key changes).
- Ordinance Power: Seen as undemocratic; allows executive overreach.
- Ambiguous Directive Principles: Non-enforceable, leading to neglect by governments.
- Emergency Powers: Potential misuse to establish dictatorship

## Implementation and Legacy

- Post-Independence Challenges: Integration of princely states (e.g., Hyderabad, Junagadh) and linguistic reorganization (e.g., Bombay split into Maharashtra and Gujarat in 1960).
- Ambedkar's Warning: "Constitution's success depends on political morality; "However good a constitution may be, it is sure to turn out bad if those who work it are a bad lot."
- Enduring Framework: Despite criticisms, the Constitution has provided stability, upheld secularism, and enabled democratic transitions for over seven decades

The Indian Constitution, shaped by historical exigencies like partition and colonial legacies, established a robust yet flexible framework balancing federalism with centralized control. While criticized for its complexity and centralizing tendencies, it has endured as the cornerstone of the world's largest democracy, adapting through amendments and judicial interpretations to meet evolving challenges.

# 4.5 Reorganization of States

- Following accession, the focus shifted to the integration and democratization of the States. This involved merging smaller states with neighboring provinces or larger states, consolidating states into centrally administered areas, and forming Unions of States. Responsible governments were established in the Unions of States, and people of merged states were integrated into the administrative and political systems of the provinces.
- The States Reorganisation Commission (1953-1955) was appointed to reorganize the states on linguistic lines. Their recommendations led to the States Reorganisation Act, 1956, which created 14 states and 6 Union Territories. The distinction between Part A, B, and C states (From the cabinet mission plan) was abolished, and the institution of Rajpramukhs was done away with.
- Further reorganization occurred later, leading to the creation of states like Maharashtra and Gujarat (1960), Nagaland (1961), Haryana and Himachal Pradesh (1966), Meghalaya (1970), and Manipur and Tripura (1971).
- The abolition of Privy Purses and privileges of the former rulers was a significant step in the integration process, finalized through the 26th Constitutional Amendment in 1971, after initial setbacks.
- The establishment of Zonal Councils aimed to foster cooperation among states within different regions.
- Border disputes between states continued to arise and were addressed through various committees and commissions, such as the Mahajan Commission for the Maharashtra-Mysore-Kerala border dispute.

# 4.6 Economic Planning and Mixed Economy

- Independent India inherited a pitiful economic condition due to two centuries of colonial rule, characterized by extreme poverty, illiteracy, ruined agriculture and industry, and structural distortions that hindered self-sustained growth.
- India faced the stupendous task of modern industrial transformation as a latecomer, compounded by changed global political and economic conditions, necessitating new and innovative strategies.
- Despite colonial constraints, India had certain advantages: a small but independent Indian-owned industrial base that emerged between 1914 and 1947, and a mature indigenous entrepreneurial class with large business conglomerates. This prevented a post-independence neo-colonial situation in which the economy remained dominated by metropolitan interests.
- There was a broad societal consensus on the nature and path of development, including self-reliance, rapid industrialization based on import substitution (including capital goods), prevention of foreign capital domination, land reforms, growth with equity, positive discrimination for Scheduled Castes and Tribes, and a central role for the state.
- A crucial aspect of this consensus was the commitment to achieving planned rapid industrialization within a democratic and civil libertarian framework, a unique path compared to many other developing nations.
- The state was assigned a critical role in India's economic development, a trend that solidified in the inter-war period due to various global influences. The idea of a comprehensive economic plan coordinated by a 'National Planning Commission' was widely supported, even by Indian capitalists.
- Beyond using policy instruments and supervision, there was consensus on direct state participation in production through the public sector. This was supported by both Nehru and the left, who saw it as a step towards socialism, and by capitalists, who viewed it as essential for developing capital goods industries and reducing external dependence.
- The Bombay Plan (1945), authored by business leaders, emphasized the necessity of developing indigenous capital goods industries through the public sector to reduce reliance on foreign countries.
- While there was agreement on the need for a public sector, its scope and extent were subjects of debate, reflecting the tension between socialist ideals and the promotion of independent capitalism. Early proposals for nationalizing existing industries alarmed capitalists, leading to a more moderate stance in the Industrial Policy Resolution (IPR) of 1948 and later.
- India adopted a mixed economy model, where the public and private sectors would co-exist and be complementary, with encouragement for private sector growth within national plan objectives. However, the Second Plan's focus on heavy industry led to a significant expansion of the public sector.
- Nehru prioritized a consensual approach to planning, even if it meant moderating some of his socialist objectives, emphasizing that socialism was inseparable from democracy.

## 4.6

- The Planning Commission (established in 1950), with Nehru as its chairperson, played a central role in this planned development. The Second Plan (1956-61), based on the Nehru-Mahalanobis strategy, emphasized the rapid development of heavy and capital goods industries in the public sector and import substitution, driven by a pessimism about export growth. The strategy also aimed for growth with equity, addressing concentration and distribution in industry and agriculture, with rapid growth seen as crucial for poverty reduction.
- An elaborate system of controls and industrial licensing was established through the Industries Development and Regulation Act (IDRA) of 1951 to supervise development, balance public and private sectors, prevent monopolies, protect small industry, ensure regional balance, and canalize resources. Foreign exchange shortages further led to stringent import and foreign exchange controls.
- The first three Five-Year Plans (by the mid-1960s) saw considerable progress compared to the colonial period. The average annual growth rate of national income was about 4 percent, roughly four times the colonial rate and comparable to early development stages of advanced countries.
- Savings and investment rates increased significantly between 1950-51 and 1965-66. The gap between savings and investment was met by liquidating foreign exchange reserves (sterling balances) and through foreign borrowing and aid.
- Significant agricultural growth (over 3 percent annually) was achieved due to land reforms, agricultural extension, community development, and infrastructure investment, a rate much higher than the colonial era and comparable to other developing nations, though still necessitating food imports. This growth occurred within a democratic structure, unlike many other countries that implemented land reforms.
- Industry grew even faster than agriculture, at a compound rate of 7.1 percent annually between 1951 and 1965, driven by rapid import substitution, particularly in capital and intermediate goods from the Second Plan onwards. The output of capital goods saw a ten-fold increase between 1951 and 1969.
- This industrial growth significantly reduced India's dependence on advanced countries for basic goods and capital equipment, enabling a more independent foreign policy.
- Dependence on external resources, foreign aid, and foreign private investment was kept relatively low. Foreign aid was primarily official aid and was increasingly directed towards industrial development and infrastructure. Soviet aid focused on core and basic industries in the public sector.
- The public sector's role in the economy expanded rapidly, capturing the 'commanding heights' and marginalizing the foreign sector.
- The early planners prioritized the development of infrastructure, including transport, communication, power, education, and health, which had been neglected under colonial rule. There was a rapid per capita increase in the availability of these benefits.
- Massive efforts were made to overcome India's backwardness in science and technology, establishing national laboratories and institutes and significantly increasing educational opportunities and manpower in these fields. This laid the groundwork for India's participation in the globalization process.
- It is short-sighted to dismiss the economic achievements of the Nehruvian era, as it established the basic physical and human infrastructure necessary for independent modern development. In the 1960s, India was considered a frontrunner among third-world countries.
- Contemporary development theory and the Indian experience had a dialectical relationship, with India's plans influenced by dominant ideas, and development theory also influenced by the Indian case.
- Over time, some policy instruments of this era (like industrial licensing and import restrictions) needed to be amended, and the possibility of change was affected by crises in the mid-1960s, leading to a more protectionist approach.



# 4.7 Land Reforms - British India

## 1. Permanent Settlement of Bengal (1793)

- Instituted by Lord Cornwallis, this system established Zamindars (landlords) as permanent proprietors of land in exchange for fixed annual revenue payments to the British.
- Zamindars paid 89% of estimated land rent to the government, retaining 11%. Hereditary rights granted to Zamindars; land became transferable property.
- Neglect of Peasants: Ryots (cultivators) were reduced to tenants-at-will, subject to arbitrary rent hikes and eviction.
- Zamindar Exploitation: Many Zamindars fell into debt, leading to land auctions. Absentee landlords (moneylenders, merchants) replaced traditional Zamindars.
- Economic Disparity: Peasants faced extreme poverty; agricultural productivity stagnated.
- Legal Reforms: Bengal Tenancy Act (1822) and Rent Act (1859) attempted to protect tenants but had limited success.

## 2. Ryotwari System (Madras and Bombay Presidencies)

- Direct settlement between the government and individual cultivators (Ryots), bypassing intermediaries.
- Land revenue assessed temporarily (e.g., 30 years) based on soil quality and crop potential. Ryots granted occupancy rights but no ownership.
- High Taxation: State demand often exceeded 50% of produce, forcing peasants into debt.
- Moneylender Exploitation: Ryots borrowed at exorbitant rates; land mortgaged/sold to urban elites.
- Fragmentation: Small landholdings became unviable, worsening rural poverty.

## 3. Mahalwari System (North-Western Provinces)

- Revenue settled with entire villages (Mahals) through village headmen (Lambardars).
- Revenue fixed at 66% of rental value (later reduced to 50%).
- Assessments reviewed every 20–30 years.
- Corruption: Lambardars misused power, exploiting small tenants.
- Inequity: Wealthy landowners dominated; poor cultivators lost traditional rights.

## 4. Taluqdari System (Avadh, Punjab)

- Revenue collected by Taluqdars (intermediaries) for fixed periods (e.g., 30 years).
- Instability due to lack of permanent rights for Taluqdars.
- Peasants remained vulnerable to exploitation.

# 4.7

## Impacts of British Land Policies

- Disruption of Traditional Systems: Village communities and joint ownership eroded.
- Rise of Absentee Landlords: Urban elites/moneylenders replaced traditional landowners.
- Peasant Indebtedness: High taxes and rigid cash payments led to chronic poverty.
- Agricultural Stagnation: Lack of investment in irrigation or technology.
- Social Inequality: Created a landless proletariat and entrenched rural-urban divides.
- Policies prioritized revenue extraction over welfare.
- British laws favored commercial interests, disrupting India's agrarian economy.
- British land revenue systems (Permanent Settlement, Ryotwari, Mahalwari, Taluqdari) aimed to maximize colonial revenue but devastated rural India. They entrenched exploitation, displaced traditional structures, and sowed seeds of economic inequality that persisted post-independence.
- Peasants bore the brunt through debt, dispossession, and systemic neglect, while colonial authorities and intermediaries profited.
- Reforms: Bengal Tenancy Act (1822): Protected tenants from eviction. Saharanpur Rules (1855): Limited state demand to 50% of rental value.

# 4.7 Land Reforms, The Constitution & Five Year Plans

- Land reform legislation in India generally follows a pattern driven by the necessities of the times. The Indian National Congress advocated for land reforms even before independence, aiming to eliminate feudal intermediaries and provide security to the peasantry.
- The Congress's demands evolved over time, initially focusing on protecting landlords' rights through the extension of permanent settlements, and later shifting to protecting the rights of agricultural laborers, sharecroppers, and small tenants.
- Significant political association with land reform demands began with the Champaran and Kaira Satyagrahas led by Mahatma Gandhi. The Karachi Resolution of the Congress in 1931 included calls for land reform.
- The Congress's 1946 election manifesto specifically aimed for the removal of intermediaries between peasants and the State, and the acquisition of rights with equitable compensation. This marked the beginning of enactments to alter the agrarian system.
- Before independence, the land tenure system was linked with the land revenue system, with prominent systems being zamindari, ryotwari, and mahalwari (though mahalwari was not found in Tamil Nadu).
- The zamindari system, based on the permanent settlement introduced by Lord Cornwallis, declared zamindars as landowners who often leased their rights to middlemen, leading to insecurity and high rents for cultivators. The term "zamindar" came to represent large absentee landlords.
- The first step towards agrarian land reform was the abolition of the zamindari system. This was preceded by rent reduction in zamindari areas to the level of land revenue in ryotwari areas, as seen in the Madras Estates Land (Reduction of Rent) Act 1947.
- The Madras Estates (Abolition and Conversion into Ryotwari) Act 1948 abolished zamindari estates, converting occupancy tenants into peasant proprietors paying revenue directly to the government. Zamindars became landholders paying rent directly to the government for their personally cultivated or private lands.
- Compensation for the abolition of zamindari was based on a multiple of the annual net income of the land, varying with the income level.
- The obligation to pay compensation arose from the Government of India Act 1935, which initially provided safeguards for zamindari rights. However, after independence, these "vested interests" were no longer deemed necessary to protect.

# 4.7 Land Reforms, The Constitution & Five Year Plans

- Article 31 of the Constitution, dealing with the compulsory acquisition of property, was a controversial provision and underwent several amendments due to its implications for land reforms.
- The Constitution of India, while including the "right to property" as a fundamental right, has given it a secondary place, subservient to the social good and the directive principles of State policy. The concept of property in ancient India was also linked to Dharma and serving a social purpose. The Constitution aims to balance individual and societal rights regarding land. The second proviso to Article 31A (1) safeguards compensation at market value for land under personal cultivation within the ceiling limit.
- Article 31 (2) originally imposed limitations on the legislative power regarding compulsory acquisition, including public purpose, authority of law, provision for compensation, and fixing the amount or principles of compensation. State laws on this subject required the President's assent. Clauses (4) and (6) of Article 31 were enacted to protect zamindari abolition bills pending at the commencement of the Constitution or enacted shortly before, from being challenged in court for inadequate compensation. The validity of the Madras Estates (Abolition and Conversion into Ryotwari) Act 1948 was upheld under Article 31 (6).
- Land reforms under the Five Year Plans aimed at eradicating poverty and achieving economic self-reliance by developing industry and agriculture. Social justice and increased productivity were major thrusts. Plan objectives included abolishing intermediaries, regulating rent, ensuring tenure security and ownership rights for tenants, imposing ceilings on holdings, distributing surplus land, and consolidating holdings. Despite claims of progress, many argue that land reforms under Congress rule did not abolish landlordism but rather transformed feudal landlords into semi-feudal and capitalist ones, increasing land concentration and deteriorating the conditions of the rural poor. Even the Planning Commission admitted the failure to bring about required changes in the agrarian structure and the significant gap between policy and practice.
- Peasant struggles for land to the tiller played a crucial role in pushing for land reforms. However, the Congress leadership was accused of backtracking on promises and suppressing peasant movements after independence.
- The First Five Year Plan included a chapter on 'Land Policy,' but initially hesitated on imposing ceilings on landholdings due to the influence of the landed class. Later plans, like the Fourth Plan, acknowledged the gaps between objectives, legislation, and implementation in land reforms.
- Efforts to set national guidelines for land ceilings faced delays and compromises that often benefited landlords. Loopholes in legislation and delays in enactment and implementation allowed landlords to evade ceiling laws through fictitious transfers and partitions.

# 4.7 Land Reforms, The Constitution & Five Year Plans

- Lack of political will, inadequate land policy, legal hurdles, and the absence of updated land records are cited as major reasons for the poor performance of land reforms. The bureaucracy's attitude and class bias also played a role.
- The judiciary often acted as an obstacle, safeguarding private property and invalidating reform legislation. Defective land reform laws with deliberate loopholes further hampered progress.
- Inaccurate land records were exploited by landlords for evicting tenants. State governments failed to adequately prepare land records despite provisions in the Five Year Plans.
- While the government claimed significant progress in abolishing intermediaries, reports suggest that intermediary tenures affecting the poor peasantry still existed in many states. The large compensation paid to landlords also negated some of the intended benefits.
- Despite efforts to ensure tenure security and fair rent, tenancy problems persisted, with large-scale leasing, high rents, and limited security for tenants, particularly sharecroppers. Landlords often used loopholes like "personal cultivation" and "voluntary surrenders" to evict tenants.
- The goal of conferring ownership rights on tenants also saw limited success, with many states failing to enact necessary legislation. Kerala, with a strong peasant movement, made more progress in this area.
- Ceiling laws enacted in most states were riddled with loopholes and exemptions, leading to meagre surplus land being declared and distributed. High ceiling limits, based on individual rather than family holdings, and exemptions for various land categories undermined the effectiveness of these laws.
- Kerala and West Bengal, with strong left movements, had the lowest ceiling limits. In some states, no land was declared surplus despite existing ceiling laws.
- The actual distribution of declared surplus land was slow and often flawed, with benefits not always reaching the landless poor. Lack of support for new allottees further hindered the success of land redistribution.
- The significant volume of land reform legislation in India contrasts sharply with the limited implementation, often due to the ruling class's dependence on the support of those whose land was to be expropriated.
- Peasant movements and organized action are crucial for the effective implementation of land reforms. A degree of politicization of the poor peasantry is considered necessary to secure their rights.

# 4.7 Bhoodan Movement 1951

- The Bhoodan Movement, literally meaning the gift of land, aimed for an equitable distribution of land through voluntary donations, particularly from the wealthy, based on the Vedic concept of *vansdanamsamvibhagah*. This movement was rooted in the Sarvodaya ideology of Vinoba Bhave, which envisioned a stateless and classless society based on love and cooperation, with Bhoodan, Gramdan (village in gift), Sampattidan (gift of wealth), and Shramdan (gift of labor) being steps towards this goal.
- The movement emerged in a context where the independent Indian government's land reforms faced significant obstacles. Zamindars resisted handing over land records and used the judicial system to delay implementation, leading to criticism of the Congress and the government by other political parties. Simultaneously, Socialists were leading land liberation movements, and Communists demanded the abolition of Zamindari and land distribution to tillers, sometimes leading to unrest.
- Vinoba Bhave launched the Bhoodan Movement in this situation, starting from the Telengana region in Andhra Pradesh in 1951, where a Communist-led peasant revolt had occurred, and it subsequently spread to the North, especially Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. In 1952, Bhave undertook a long *padayatra* in Bihar, and in 1953, PSP leader Jaiprakash Narayan joined the movement. The movement gained momentum, with significant land donations, particularly in Bihar, which was the largest contributor. By the end of December 1957, about 43 lakh acres of land had been received, and over 6 lakh acres distributed.
- The concept widened to Gramdan in 1952, advocating for communal ownership of all village land and equal partnership among villagers. The first Gramdan village was Mangroth in U.P.. The Second Plan recognized Gramdan as important for cooperative village development, suggesting special assistance for such villages and collection of land revenue through village Panchayats. The government also provided financial assistance to landless agricultural workers settling on Bhoodan land.
- The movement also spread to West Bengal, with Vinoba Bhave entering the state in 1955. While facing less initial recognition than national and international political news, the movement saw participation from local Congress leaders and some land donations. Bhave argued that Bhoodan could potentially acquire more land for distribution without compensation than government legislation. The West Bengal Gramdan Bill of 1963 aimed to establish Gramdan villages and regulate land allotment.
- However, by the 1960s, the Bhoodan/Gramdan Movement had lost momentum. Several limitations contributed to this decline, including the failure to redistribute much of the donated land, the slow pace of redistribution due to a lack of efficient workers, and the absence of crucial land details for nearly 50 percent of the donated land.
- The Bhoodan movement, while impacting various parts of India, including West Bengal, and involving local leaders, ultimately required broader cooperation for complete success. It is viewed as a symbolic movement aimed at promoting the Sarvodaya ideal and fostering a dynamic change in society through voluntary sacrifice.

# **Modern Indian History**

## **Other topics**

(Outside of syllabus, asked previously)

- Hindutva political ideology
- Uniform Civil Code
- Doctrine of Lapse
- Satyashodhak Samaj by Phule
- Arya Samaj
- Prarthana Samaj
- Kothari Commission
- Role of peasants in nationalist movement
- Ambedkar views on caste



# Ambedker's Annihilation of Caste

- The text of a speech prepared by B. R. Ambedkar for the Jat-Pat-Todak Mandal in 1936, which was ultimately not delivered due to disagreements over its content. The Prologue details the correspondence leading to the cancellation, revealing that the Mandal objected to Ambedkar's strong criticism of Hindu religious texts (like the Vedas) and his intention to declare his exit from Hinduism.
- Ambedkar defended his views, arguing that the religious basis of caste must be annihilated to truly break the system.
- Ambedkar argues that social and religious problems have a significant bearing on political constitutions, drawing examples from history.
- He discusses the difficulties of achieving social unity and socialism in India due to the divisions created by the caste system.
- Ambedkar argues that Hindus do not constitute a true society due to the lack of real commonality and communication beyond physical proximity. He criticizes the Hindu tradition of not sharing intellectual and social inheritance with others.
- The concept of Chaturvarnya, even based on worth (guna), is rejected as impractical, unscientific, and historically a system of inequality that would be particularly vicious for the Shudras. Ambedkar asserts that Chaturvarnya is as old as the Vedas but has failed as a system of social organization.
- He differentiates between caste among Hindus and non-Hindus, highlighting the lack of integrating forces within Hindu society to counteract caste.
- The authority of the Shastras must be discarded to destroy the caste system.
- He distinguishes between religious principles (which should be based on liberty, equality, fraternity) and rules (which have become dominant and stifling in Hinduism), proposing reforms like a single standard religious book and abolishing hereditary priesthood.
- Ambedkar then announces his decision to change his religion.
- The source also contains excerpts from Mahatma Gandhi's critiques in *Harijan*, questioning the authenticity of Ambedkar's scriptural references and arguing for judging Hinduism by its best representatives.
- A letter from Shri Sant Ram of the Jat-Pat-Todak Mandal clarifies their stance, appreciating Ambedkar's analysis of caste but disagreeing with his decision to renounce Hinduism during the conference.
- Ambedkar's rejoinder to Gandhi defends his use of texts, questions the effectiveness of saints, and reiterates the necessity of rejecting the Shastras.

# Kothari Commission

- The Kothari Commission (1964-66) advocated for a national system of education, emphasizing science, research, and a common school system.
- It also recommended the adoption of a three-language formula and free and compulsory education up to age 14.

# Peasants movements and Uprisings

Various peasant movements and uprisings in India during the 19th and 20th centuries, primarily driven by exploitation under British rule, zamindars, and moneylenders.

- The Santhals' Rebellion (1855-73) against oppressive demands.
- The strike of Bengal indigo cultivators (1859-60) against the forced cultivation by European planters.
- The agrarian unrest in East Bengal (1872-76) against zamindar oppression.
- A major agrarian revolt in Maharashtra (1875) against moneylenders and high land revenue, leading to the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act.
- The Moplah Rebellions in Malabar (1921)
- Peasant riots in Assam (1893-94) against high land revenue.
- The Champaran Satyagraha (1917-18) led by Mahatma Gandhi against the Tinkathia system of indigo cultivation.
- The Chauri Chaura incident (1922), a violent reaction to police brutality.
- The Vizag Revolution (1923) led by Sitarama Raju.
- Several Satyagraha campaigns between 1921-30 against unjust laws and impositions.
- The revolts of peasants in Indian States against feudal lords and illegal dues.
- Communist-led peasant revolts such as Tebhaga (1946) and Telengana (1946-48) for land rights and against feudal exploitation.
- The revolt of Veera Gunnamma (1940) against unjust arrests and police violence.
- The heroic role of peasants during the Quit India Movement (August Revolution), including the establishment of parallel governments in some areas.
- The suppression of the Telengana revolt by government action.

# Doctrine of Lapse

- The Policy of Lapse: The doctrine stipulated that if a ruler of a dependent state died without a natural (biological) heir, the state would lapse or escheat to the British government. The British refused to recognize the adoption of heirs as legitimate for the purpose of continuing rule.
- Various Indian states were annexed using this doctrine. This often led to resentment and was a major contributing factor to the Indian Rebellion of 1857.
- The British justification for the doctrine was the claim of establishing paramountcy and preventing misrule
- The Indian perspective viewed it as an aggressive and unjust policy of expansion.
- This doctrine had a significant impact on the political map of India, consolidating British power and eroding the autonomy of Indian rulers.

# Prarthana Samaj and Arya Samaj

- The Prarthana Samaj in Maharashtra is known for its social reform activities aimed at improving the condition of women and lower castes.
- The Arya Samaj, founded by Swami Dayanand Saraswati, focusing on a return to the Vedas, rejecting later Hindu practices, and advocating for social reforms like education for all and the eradication of untouchability.

# Satyashodhak Samaj

- Caste movements originated in the early 20th century, particularly in South India and Maharashtra.
- The rise of caste associations formed by educated men from intermediate and lower castes to challenge Brahman dominance and seek better opportunities.
- The "Sanskritization" model of upward mobility was prevalent and the caste movements reflected as expressions of socio-economic and class tensions.
- The Satyashodhak Samaj in Maharashtra had a dual nature: an elite-driven faction seeking patronage and a more populist, anti-Brahman movement with a strong rural base that rejected caste hierarchy.
- The use of traditional folk drama (tamasha) by the Satyashodhak Samaj to spread its message

# Uniform Civil Code

- Article 44 of the Indian Constitution mandates the state to endeavor to secure a Uniform Civil Code (UCC) for all citizens.
- Despite being enshrined in the Constitution since 1950, the UCC, which would govern personal laws related to marriage, divorce, adoption, inheritance, etc., has not been enacted and remains a "dead letter".
- Article 44 is a Directive Principle of State Policy, making it fundamental to the governance of the country but not directly enforceable by any court.
- A Supreme Court observation was made expressing regret that Article 44 has not been implemented, made in the context of a case challenging discriminatory inheritance laws for Christians.
- While the Indian Constitution establishes a secular state with religious freedom, bringing about a common civil code is a complex task but crucial for achieving national harmony.
- Despite judicial pronouncements and expert opinions favoring the implementation of the UCC, the parliament has taken no action, mostly because this issue gets highly politicized.

# Hindutva political ideology

- Vinayak Damodar Savarkar played a crucial role in formulating the ideology of Hindutva, differentiating it from "Hinduism". He defined Hindutva based on "Nation, History and culture" and emphasized "Punya Bhoomi" (sacred land) as essential for Indian nationhood, alongside "Matru Bhoomi" (motherland).
- Savarkar initially supported Hindu-Muslim unity during the 1857 revolt but later became a proponent of Hindu nationalism and the idea that Hindus constitute a nation while Muslims and Christians are only religious societies, aiming for "Hindu Raj".
- The RSS, founded in 1925, is seen as an authoritarian, militaristic, and primarily an anti-Muslim organization that did not participate in the anti-imperialist movement during independence movement, prioritizing the protection of Hindus from Muslim domination.
- The RSS ideology, particularly articulated by M.S. Golwalkar, viewed non-Hindus (especially Muslims) as alien elements who must assimilate or live as subordinates without equal rights. Golwalkar considered Muslims "foes" and "enemies".
- The Bharatiya Jan Sangh (founded in 1951) is fundamentally a communal party with a core agenda of establishing Hindu dominance. Its policies were secondary to this communal ideology.
- The Jan Sangh was deeply and inextricably linked to and controlled by the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS). The Jan Sangh drew its ideology, organization, cadre, and leadership from the RSS.
- The ideology of Hindutva was popularized later, particularly through the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), creating a more aggressive and politicized version of "the Hindu". This aimed to homogenize Hinduism and create an "angry Hindu".
- While initially using terms like "Bharatiya Rashtra" and "Bharatiya culture" as euphemisms for Hindu dominance, the Jan Sangh eventually shifted to more openly using "Hindu nationalism" and "Hindutva".
- Historical debate challenging the left-wing analysis of the RSS as solely a Brahmin-Bania phenomenon, suggesting a broader social reach of Hindutva in later years.
- The propagation of communal ideologies by both Hindu and Muslim communalists is linked to the violence of the partition era, the Calcutta killings, and the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi. Golwalkar condemned those advocating for Hindu-Muslim unity.



*Khatam..*

“History rhymes but only  
for the ones who know  
the music.”

Listen carefully.