

## Recorded Post Independence Class 01

### POST-INDEPENDENCE CLASS 01

#### BRIEF REVIEW OF THE MODERN HISTORY (09:06 AM)

##### SOURCE:

- **Vision Ias Material**
- **Class Notes**

##### INTEGRATION OF PRINCELY STATES

- AISPC (All India state people's congress)
- State People Congress or Prajamandals were organisations set up by people of Princely states for their grievances, democratic reforms and goal of integrating with India.
- Initially, the Main active centres were Hyderabad, Mysore, and Gujarat.
- **Relation with INC:**
- **1920, Nagpur Session-**
- INC opened membership for people of states but they were not allowed any political activity in the name of INC because-
- A) States people were not trained in mass political agitations.
- Absence of colonial rule in the domestic sphere as the ruler was Indian.
- Until 1929, INC's goal was Swaraj within British Raj.
- In 565 Princely states there was a Raj of Indian Rulers therefore demand for democracy or swaraj was to be from Indian Rulers and not from the British.
- No Anti-British Agends in 565 Princely states.
- B) State people not trained in Mass politics as no rich history of INM in 565 Princely States.
- C) INC has no Presence in 565 Princely states. Therefore in case of repression by Indian rulers, INC won't be able to protect people.
- **1927, AISPC Set up**
- **1929 Lahore Session**
- President Nehru stated that People of states can't be excluded from INM (\*\*Not saying will be included\*\*) but the 1920 stand was maintained.
- **1937-39**, 28 months of INC rule in provinces under the GOI Act 1935 that brought Provincial Autonomy and fully responsible government in provinces.
- Therefore, the Prestige of INC increased in 565 princely states and States people were motivated to set up Praja Mandal in those Princely states who don't have SPC. So existing SPC increased in Members. Therefore, INC strengthens SPC.
- State people's thoughts if INC can extract democracy from mighty British then they can as well from Indian Rulers.
- **\*\*\*1938, Haripura session with Netaji Bose as president- 1920 stand continued but INC declared that states are an integral part of India and poorna swaraj is the goal for the Whole of India**
- [\* Not just for British India in 1929, 565 Princely states aim of Poorna Swaraj came in 1938]
- **Nehru Report August 1928-Dominion status for the Whole of India.**
- **1939, Tripuri session:** With Netaji Boase as president- Finally, change in the policy of INC which declared that people of 565 princely states would be future movements of INC.
- **In the Ludhiana session of AISPC (1939),**
- Nehru was appointed as president of AISPC.
- **\*\*INC+ AISPC is merging, under the same command resulting in better coordination.**
- **QIM 1942-45**
- was the first movement in INM in which the state's people participated. They demanded- Independent Poorna swaraj +democracy in 565 Princely states + Integration of states with British India.
- Therefore, they raised slogans of United India and SPS brought people of states into INM and the late foundation of the territorial integrity of India.
- Later, the people of states played important role in the integration of those Princely states where princes refused to sign an Instrument of Accession (IOA) with India. Example- Travancore, Hyderabad, Junagarh

##### Status at the time of 3rd June plan/Mountbatten Plan of 1947 (10:11 AM)

<b>British India + 565 Princely states</b>	<b>Pondicherry, Chandarnagar (Under French)</b>	<b>Goa, Daman and Diu (Portuguese), Dadar and Nagar Haveli</b>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• The First Indo-China war 1946-54 led to the</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Movement for independence</li></ul>

decolonisation of Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia. and Realisation for France that decolonisation is inevitable.

- Therefore became part of India (Pondicherry, Chandarnagar) via negotiation.

in Goa but India did not intervene until 1961 when the popular movement demanded help, therefore now in Operation Vijay, the Portuguese surrendered without a fight (\* 12th CAA 1962)

- **565 Princely states**
- Instrument of Accession had a legal basis in section 6 of the GOI Act 1935.
- The Instrument of accession (IOA) gave defence, foreign affairs, and communications to the union government of India, while the rest of the subjects were to remain with princely states.
- Also, **only the ruler's signature is valid for the Instrument of accession (IOA) to be valid** (because Paramountcy was a personal relationship between the Indian ruler and British Crown)
- Therefore, the Merger agreement was signed alongside/after signing IOA and led to acceding in all subjects.
- Therefore, Princely states were equal in all aspects to an Indian Province after the Merger agreement.

#### **Cabinet mission plan, 1946 (10:46 AM)**

- Paramountcy was not to be transferred to any GOI (Government of India) unless the Instrument of accession (IOA) is signed by princely states and the same position was prescribed by the Indian Independence Act, 1947.
- Paramountcy was to come to an end on the appointed date i.e. 15th August 1947.
- Therefore Net legal status = legally it was possible for each princely state to be a fully independent country.
- However, the Mountbatten plan /3rd June plan, 1947 promised unofficially, that no right of independence to 565 Princely states.
- On 13th June 1947, the States department was created with two divisions-
- One for India and another for Pakistan. Sardar Patel was a minister and V P Menon was secretary on the Indian side.
- The state's department's role was to manage the partition and with 565 princely states.

#### **The strategy of Patel (10:57 AM)**

- Patel brought Mountbatten on board who gave a speech, who made a speech in Narendra Mandal, 1920 to convince princes to sign IOA, princes agreed and most of them signed within 3 weeks of 13th June 1947.
- **Princes agreed due to**
- Mountbatten was viewed as a friend and he had influence as he was from the Royal family and paramountcy was between the British Monarch and Indian prince which is a personal relationship.
- Mountbatten argued Britain won't be able to help after the lapse of paramountcy
- Persuasion by Patel who promised Autonomy in subjects other than 3 subjects. Otherwise, India won't be able to control the people of the state after 15 Aug, 1947-argued Patel. Therefore, implied threat of anarchy if persuasion did not work.
- **BhoTMaJo-** Bhopal, Travancore, Manipur, Jodhpur + HJJ (Hyderabad, J&k, and Junagarh)
- Did not immediately sign IOA. The former finally signed before 15th August and later signed post-15th August
- **Bhopal:**
- The majority population was Hindu while ruler Habibullah was Muslim, who resisted signing IOA
- Pressure by Patel and communists on Grounds led to the signing of IOA before the 15th of August.
- **Travancore**
- Ruler= Maharaja Thirunal but the real power centre was Diwan, C P Ramaswamy Aiyar, who proposed that Travancore would follow the American model i.e. **Model of a voluntary union.** (\*\*\*)The USA was set up in

1783 after the American revolution 1765-83 and the American war of independence 1776-83 as a voluntary union of 13 colonies)

- Therefore he stated, Travancore would stay independent as legally it had the right to not join the union.
- **PUNNAPRA VAYALAR movement October 1946 -**
- a) Under CPI with the method of armed struggle by peasants and workers for their Class rights and also for uniting with India.
- b) Now in 1947, they gave the slogan "Go into the Arabian Sea with your American model".
- In June 1947, Negotiations by Patel Failed, and Travancore declared Independence.
- In July 1947, Attack on the life of Diwan Aiyar, who now fled away and Travancore signed IOA.
- **Manipur**
- On the 11th of August 1947, Raja Bodh Chandra signed IOA on assurance of autonomy.
- The **First elections in Independent India took place in Manipur in June 1948**, after public pressure for democracy led to the setting up of a constitutional monarchy with a popular legislative assembly.
- GOI convinced Maharaja to sign the merger agreement but without consulting the popular legislative assembly.
- This contributed later to the separatist movement in Manipur.
- **Jodhpur (11:41 AM)**
- It was important because had a border with Pakistan
- Pressure by Patel on the young king finally led to the signing of IOA before the 15th of August 1947.
- Therefore BhoTMaJo (Bhopal, Travancore, Manipur, Jodhpur) signed IOA before 15th August 1947
- **Hyderabad**
- On the Indian mainland + the largest Princely states + The majority population was Hindu + Ruler was Muslim-Nizam Mir Osman Ali.
- **Problem:**
- MIM was a communal political party that was also opposed to signing IOA.
- The real ruler was Qasim Rizvi who was an Anti-Hindu radical desperate for independence and gave a threat to the Security of Hindus.
- The rule of Nizam was unjust and unpopular as Muslims who were 25% of the population dominated all bureaucratic posts.
- 12th of June 1947, Hyderabad declared independence.
- **Solutions:**
- Patel Offered local autonomy + Promised special status for Hyderabad + 20000 personnel troops for Nizam, but he rejected it.
- Now a people's movement began under communists and the State Peoples Congress. In response, Nizam unleashed violence by Razakars (his private army).
- Negotiations led to the signing of a standstill agreement in November 1947 between GOI and Hyderabad in November 1947. But, the violence by Razakars continued.
- Therefore finally in **Operation Polo/ operation Caterpillar** of September 1948, the Indian army entered Hyderabad.
- Qasim Rizvi was imprisoned until 1957, after which he was sent to Pakistan.
- MIM was banned and Hyderabad merged into India with Nizam as governor.
- **Junagarh**
- Nawab was Mohabbat Khan,
- Geography= Junagarh was surrounded by Indian territory, a small state on Saurashtra Coast with no border with Pakistan.
- The ruler was Muslim while the majority population was Hindu which wanted integration with Secular India.
- Problem= Nawab announced the accession to Pakistan and Shah Nawaz Bhutto of the Muslim League (1906) joined the government of the state.
- Solution= a people's movement began which forced Nawab to flee
- Link Patel's strategy of an implied threat of anarchy.
- Now Shah Nawaz Bhutto requested military help from Pakistan but Jinnah refused as his main focus was J&K and Junagarh was only a bargaining chip
- Indian troops captured Junagarh and a plebiscite in 1948 led to a merger with India.

**TOPIC FOR THE NEXT CLASS: WILL CONTINUE WITH THE JAMMU AND KASHMIR**

**Recorded Post Independence Class 02**

**Jammu & Kashmir (9:00 AM):**

- The crucial players were:
- **Maharaja Hari Singh**-who wanted independence.
- **Sheikh Abdullah** was anti-Pakistan, anti-monarchy, pro-democracy, and pro-socialist and had good relations with Nehru.
- India and Pakistan both wanted J&K.
- Muslims were in the majority and most were poor ryots and therefore demanded land reforms.
- Also, Sheikh Abdullah started "**Kashmir Chhodo Andolan**" in 1946 against monarchy for democracy.

#### Some background of Sheikh Abdullah:

- He was against Pakistan and tilted towards India.
  - He sometimes demanded autonomy like the **article 370**-like agreement, and sometimes even called for having a separate army of Jammu & Kashmir.
- Hari Singh offered a **Standstill Agreement** to India and Pakistan, which only Pakistan had signed which later made Pakistan anxious.
- Hari Singh wanted a standstill agreement for the continued movement of people and goods in and out of J&K.
- Anxious Pakistan now applied an economic blockade on J & K to pressurise J&K for signing an Instrument of Accession( IOA).
- Then in October 1947, **Pashtun** tribals invaded Kashmir.
- Hari Singh sought help from India but India gave a condition that J&K must sign IOA and Sheikh Abdullah remain head of administration.
- (\* If IOA would have been signed then Pashtun invasion would be an attack on India; Abdullah having an administration would portray democracy.)
- IOA was signed and Abdullah became the PM.
- Indian army entered J&K, but before the Indian army could push back invaders, Mountbatten (MTB) convinced Negru to take the issue to UNO.
- Therefore, on the first of January 1948, a ceasefire was signed between India and Pakistan under a UNSC resolution.
- In 1972, this line became the Line of Control (LOC).



- Therefore, now Pakistan Occupied Kashmir with Gilgit and Baltistan came into existence.
- Also, a UN mission was set up to monitor the ceasefire.
- Then a UNSC resolution in 1951 decided in favour of a plebiscite, but the condition was that Pakistan withdraws from POK.
- Till now, no plebiscite since Pakistan never withdrew.

- In 1951, the Constituent Assembly of J&K met and drafted a constitution of J&K by 1956.
- As IOA was for three subjects (Defence, Foreign Affairs, and Communications), COI was also for three subjects, and for the rest, the state's constitution was to be applied if the state had not signed the merger agreement.
- In 1954, J&K constituent assembly ratified the IOA with India.
- Article 370 and Jammu & Kashmir Constituent Assembly could be taken as a link between India and Jammu & Kashmir, in absence of a merger agreement.

#### **Contemporary international incidents (9:30 AM):**

- However, from 1948 onwards USA and Britain sided with Pakistan in UNSC.
- Therefore, today India is against any third-party intervention in bilateral disputes.
- India adopted Non-Alignment Movement (NAM) policy, while Pakistan aligned with the capitalist bloc in the **Cold War (1947-1991)**.
- It can be seen from examples like- Pakistan joining military alliances led by the USA like the South East Treaty Organization (SEATO) 1954 and Baghdad Pact 1955 which was called Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) from 1958.
- They were NATO 1949-like organizations in South East Asia and the Middle East respectively.

#### **Responsibility for the partition violence:**

- **I. 3rd June Plan 1947:**
- Here, the British decided to exit India by 72 days or one year in advance- by 15th August instead of 30th June 1948.
- **II. February 1947 Attlee statement:**
- The pro-Balkanisation statement indicated that the British will leave India even if the constitution is not ready and the paramountcy will not be transferred to any government of British India.
- This led to poor preparation for partition on the part of the government and the people.
- **Punjab Governor Jenkins** expressed that "peaceful demarcation will take years and not 72 days".
- Later, **Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army Lockhardt** stated "Punjab tragedy would have been avoided if partition would have been delayed by a year.
- **III. Delay in announcing the Boundary Commission Award:**
- Under MTB Plan and the Indian Independence Act 1947, two commissions were set up under **Radcliffe- a British Jurist**, for boundary demarcation in east and west.
- This was to be done before or after the appointed day 15th August 1947.
- The award was ready before 15th August but was declared on 17th August as allowed by Indian Independence Act 1947.
- This was also responsible for communal violence during partition.
- Radcliffe had no past experience in boundary demarcation.
- No experts were there in the commission.
- Radcliffe also had no prior knowledge of India.
- The award was prepared in a hurry as the deadline of six weeks was given.
- Therefore people did not know on 15th August if they were on the right side of the border, leading to last-minute chaos.

#### **Migration & Violence (9:59 AM):**

- Important cities like Calcutta and Amritsar got divided into communal zones.
- Women were raped and even killed by family members /committed suicide to save the family's honour.
- Overall, 80 lakhs migrated and 5-10 lakh were killed.

#### **Rehabilitation:**

- **Two classes of migrants:**
- I. Rich and who had pre-planned migration- came before 15th August.
- II. Poor and who had a hope of honourable leaving in West Pakistan.
- The poor migrated in September and October 1947.

#### **Note for the students:**

- Students must believe that there is no single standard sure-shot strategy of preparation, revision, practising, note-making, etc for the exam.
- Students can take inspiration from topper talks, and classrooms, but in no case must they ignore their own ground realities, time available, inclinations toward subjects, etc.
- There are as many strategies as many qualifications in the exam, students are the most important stakeholder in their preparation and are expected to chalk out their own strategy.

### Indian response:

- A department of rehabilitation of a special cadre of officers was set up.
- As a temporary measure, many refugee camps were set up.
- **For example-** the Kurukshetra camp for migrants from West Punjab, and the Kolwada camp in Mumbai got refugees from Sindh.
- In total, 200 camps for migrants from West Punjab, and five camps in Mumbai for migrants from Sindh.
- Also as an immediate measure, basic necessities were provided apart from a shelter.
- As a short-term measure, temporary plots of four acres were given to every family along with loans to buy seeds and pieces of equipment so that they could start cultivation.

### Permanent Rehabilitation (10:50 AM):

- It was the biggest rehabilitation operation.
- Hindus and Sikhs left 2.7 million hectares in West Punjab( Pakistan), while Muslims left only 1.9 million hectares in east Punjab( India).
- The fertility of the soil was greater in West Punjab, as it was better irrigated.
- Also, the Indian western Punjab was better irrigated than the Indian eastern Punjab.
- Therefore a big challenge for rehabilitation as for redistribution, land was lesser and so was its fertility.
- A **Rehabilitation Secretariat** was set up in **Jalandhar**.
- Its job was to collect, collate, verify and execute land claims
- 7000 officials worked here, so it looked like a makeshift/temporary city.
- Applications were invited for permanent plots.
- The basis of the claims was the land left behind in Pakistan.
- Verification was to be done via assemblies of people, so past neighbours could vouch/verify a claim by a family.
- To resolve the problem of over-claiming, false claims were punished by decreasing lands ideally to be allotted, and even a brief jail term.
- Punjab which had the **malhwari** system had strong community bonds.
- This was utilised by people coming together and over-claiming and verifying each other's claims.
- This led to inflation of claims as high as 25%.

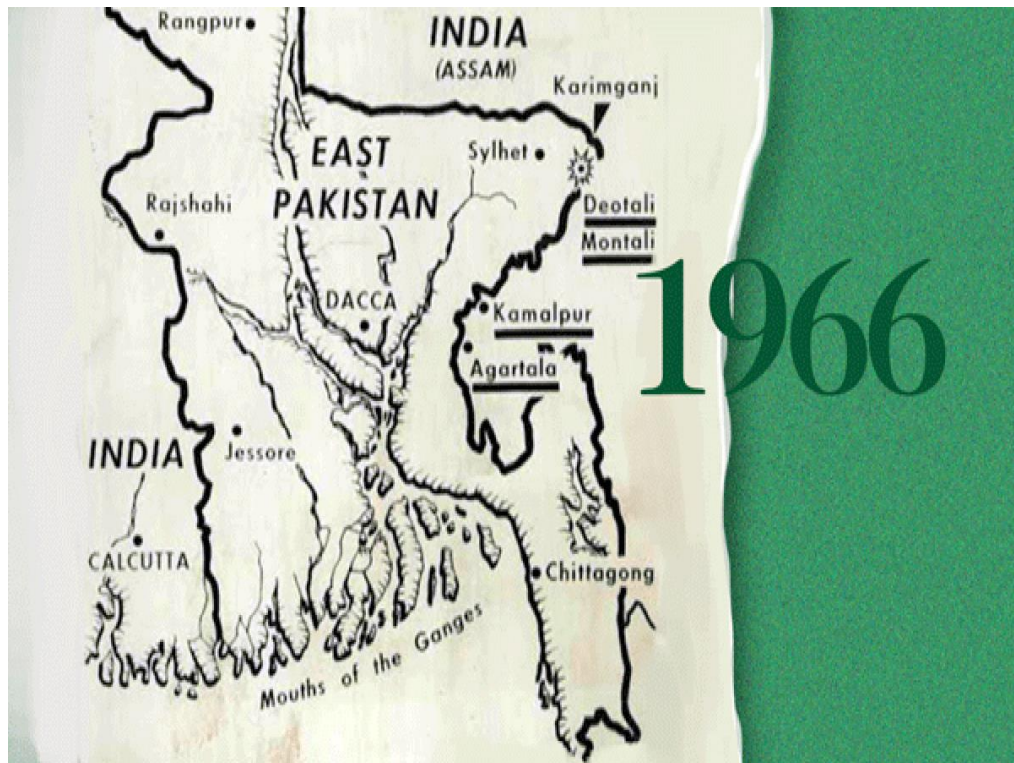
### Contributions of Sardar Tralok Singh ICS:

- He gave the concepts of Standard Acre and Graded cut.
- Concept of a **Standard Acre**= piece of land that can produce rice of 10-11 mounds( 1 mound= 40 kg).
- This solved the problem of inequity, as people got more land in eastern Indian Punjab had lower fertility & which was unirrigated, and less land in Indian western Punjab.
- 1 acre was equal to 1 standard acre in Indian western Punjab and 4 acres were equal to 1 standard acre in Indian eastern Punjab.
- The concept of **Graded Cut** meant more percentage cuts in the land allotted when more of the land was claimed( **principles of Socialism**).

Percentage of cut	Range of land claimed( in acres)
25	1-10
30	10-30
upto 95	more than 500

- By November 1949, Tralok Singh made 2,95,000 allotments.
- Review applications led to 80,000 acres changing hands again.
- By 1951, the task in the west was completed.
- The cultural loss could not be restored as Punjab lost some important Gurudwaras to Punjab( like the Kartarpur Sahib).

### Rehabilitation in the East:



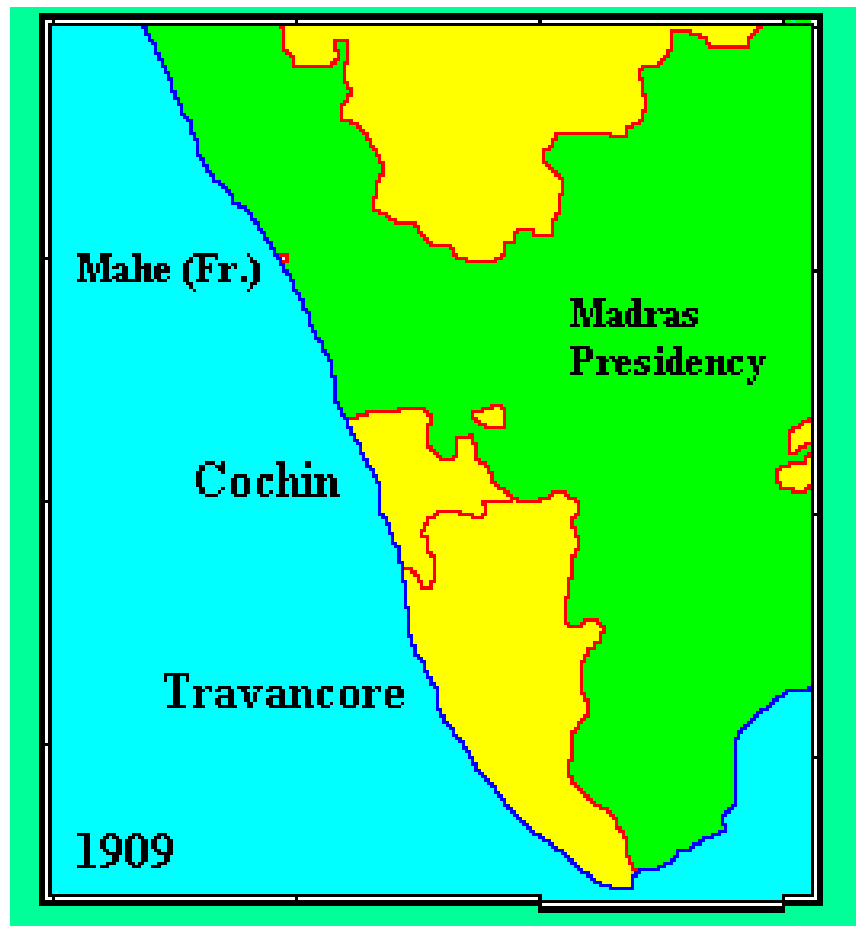
- 
- **Problems:**
- **I. Long-term inflow of refugees:**
- The migration continued for years due to periodic communal riots in East Pakistan, and it continues even today.
- East Pakistan also had a poorer economy than Western Pakistan.
- After 1971, the inflow continued due to better economic opportunities in India.
- Migration caused socio-cultural problems and political tensions in India in the form of ethnic, and linguistic tensions and consequent riots.
- It also contributed to the rise of insurgency in the northeast, especially in Assam.
- There was a problem with language for migrants as Bengali immigrants had to be settled even outside Bengal.
- This was because very less property was left behind by those who migrated to East Pakistan.
- **II. Less evacuee property:**
- Masses were landless tenant ryots in Bengal, Odisha, and Bihar due to Permanent **Settlement in 1793**.
- Therefore, no property was left behind by those who went to East Pakistan.
- Muslims were mainly ryots in Bengal (unlike Muslims of Punjab, and Awadh).

#### **State Reorganisation Commission( SRC) 1953 (explanation)(11:30 AM):**

- SRC was set up in 1953 and gave its report in 1955 which led to the **State Reorganization Act of 1956**.
- **Background:**
- **Bal Gangadhar Tilak** raised the demand for the linguistic reorganization of provinces of British India during the **Home Rule League Movement** of 1916-1918.
- **In 1917, the Indian National Congress also advocated the same.**
- **In the 1920 Nagpur Session, INC set up** Provincial Congress Committees on linguistic lines.
- During the Bengal partition of 1905, which was done on the basis of religion, administrative convenience was the reason given by the British, INC put forward that better administrative efficiency could be achieved through partitioning Odiya speaking area out of Bangla speaking area.

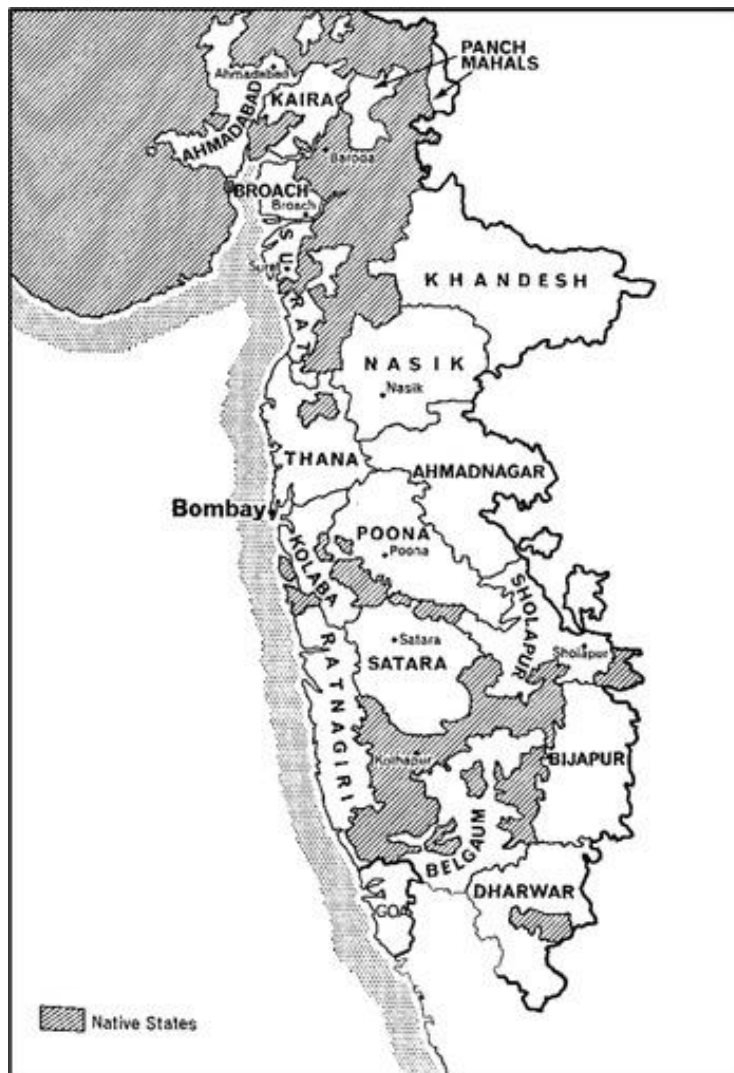
#### **Some special cases:**

- Andhra became the first state made on a linguistic basis.
- Princely states of Travancore and Malabar and some other regions from the Madras Presidency were merged to create Kerala state.



- 
- Gujarati and Marathi-speaking people both demanded separate states, but both staked claim over Bombay for economical reasons.





- 
- The division of Punjab state had both religious (Hinduism, Sikhism) and linguistic (Hindi, Punjabi) basis.

#### Uttarakhand:

- The main issues were:
- I. Uttarkand was an upper caste-dominated state, while united Uttar Pradesh had a majority of OBC communities.
- II. The lifestyle differences between the plains and hills.

#### Jharkhand:

- There was the demand for a tribal state since British times and the major issue was the exploitation of tribal wealth.
- The issue was similar for **Chhattisgarh**.
- Statehood for Uttarakhand, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand fanned the demands for statehood in other regions too.

#### Telangana:

- Demand for statehood was first raised just after independence.
- The region was mainly in the Hyderabad princely state.
- The Telugu-speaking population there lived separately from British India.
- Some Telugu-speaking population was also under Northern Circars which was under the British since 1866.
- Both the Telugu-speaking populations were brought under Andhra Pradesh.

#### North East :

Year	Manipur (UT)	Tripura(UT)	Assam	North East Frontier Agency (NEFA) (UT)
1960	Continued as UT	Continued as UT	Assam + Nagaland	Continued as NEFA

1969	Continued as UT	Continued as UT	Assam( Meghalaya) + Nagaland	Continued as NEFA
1972	Given statehood	Given statehood	Assam + Meghalaya + Nagaland was given statehood and Mizoram was given UT status	Arunachal Pradesh was made a UT along with some areas of Assam

#### Tribal Consolidation (11:57 AM):

- Tribal Consolidation was one big challenge post-independence.
- **Tribal grievances in the British era( explanation)**( Refer to Modern Indian History Notes):
- The tribal life was turned upside down due to outsiders and British laws interference- British government and officials, British laws, British Land Revenue(LR) systems, British businesses, zamindars, revenue farmers, merchants, money lenders, etc.
- Banning Jhum cultivation by the British for certainty and ease in land revenue collection.
- Hunting was banned because the British wanted hunters & gatherers to shift to agriculture for ease in land revenue collection.
- Special powers are given to the Governor for the protection of the tribal way of life in the Constitution as per the 5th schedule.
- **Tribal grievances in the British era( dictation)**
- Loss of homeland to outsiders.
- Landlessness due to the land revenue systems of British and British laws such as Forest Acts that divided forests into **reserve forests** where tribals were not allowed, **protected forests** where tribals could only use the forest produce for personal use and not for commercial sale, and the forests which were open to all.
- British law banned **Jhum** cultivation and hunting because British wanted to convert tribals into settled peasant communities that can pay land revenue regularly.
- British law hurt the autonomy which was traditionally enjoyed by the Tribals under their tribal leader( \* District Magistrate got greater than the tribal leader).
- Land acquisition for railways, roadways and timber.
- Christian missionaries hurt cultural autonomy.
- Outsiders were the revenue farmers, zamindars of plains, money lenders, merchants, British officials, British business and their agents, and Christian missionaries.

**The topic for the next class is steps taken for tribal integration post-1947- Constitutional provisions and schemes. Recorded Post Independence Class 03**

#### Tribal independence in post-independence India(explanation) (1:06 PM):

- There were many viewpoints on how the tribals must be integrated into Indian society.
- Indian government chose the middle path between totally isolating them and totally merging them with the Hindu fold.
- The confidence of tribals regarding the government's intentions was prioritized over purely objective economic indicators of development.

#### The policy of isolation (1:16 PM):

- It was proposed by British anthropologist Verrier Elwin.
- He argued that the tribals are special people who must be kept in separation from the rest of the society to preserve their unique culture and ethnic identity.
- He suggested the creation of national parks where tribals could live safely without being victims of the fast-paced and unregulated process of modernization.

- However, this policy was viewed as a proposal to create a museum or a zoo.

### **The policy of assimilation:**

- The policy was given by **GS Ghurye**, the father of Indian Sociology.
- He argued that tribes are simply backward Hindus, who need to be brought into the mainstream.
- But in that process, their unique identity may be lost.

### **The policy of integration/Tribal Panchheel:**

- This was given by Pandit Nehru.
- This policy argued that tribals must progress, but in their own way.
- - Tribal areas are designated by the government, and they can include both tribal and non-tribal populations.
  - Link **orientalism** of British- rule India in the Indian way.
  - This was different from the "white man's burden" because we accepted that tribals are as Indian as ourselves, and we must play a big-brotherly role by the virtue of being stronger and richer.

### **Principles of Tribal Panchsheel (1:30 PM):**

- I. Tribals must be allowed to develop as per their own genius- as per their capability, skills, and way of doing things.
- **For example-** Traditional medicine instead of allopathy, in line with their culture - educational content in their language, etc.
- II. Tribal rights in lands and forests should be respected.
- **For example** Forest Rights Act 2006, the powers of the Governor as per article 244(1) regarding the sale of land.
- III. Tribals should be trained to undertake administration and development tasks without too many outsiders being inducted.
- **For example-** lower bureaucracy and other professionals should be tribals.
- IV. Tribal development should be undertaken without disturbing tribal social and cultural institutions.
- **For example,** the Eklavya model schools where tribal culture is promoted, delegating implementation authority for schemes to tribal Self Help Groups (SHGs).
- V. The index of tribal development must be the quality of life and not the money spent.

- Money spent is indicated by utilization certificates submitted by the DM Office to the government is an important metric to judge the quantum of development.
- Quality of life- a longer road might be uneconomic but it can prevent digging a tunnel through a hill worshipped by the tribals.

### **Constitutional provisions related to Tribal Panchseel (2:02 PM):**

- Article 366(25) defines Schedule Tribes (ST) as the tribes or tribal communities as defined in article 342.
- ST are those tribes or tribal communities which are in the notification issued by the President.
- Parliament may include or exclude any tribe from this notification.
- **Article 244:** Administration of scheduled areas and tribal areas.
- 5th schedule will govern the administration of **scheduled areas** and STs.
- 6th schedule will govern the administration of **tribal areas** in Tripura, Meghalaya, Mizoram, and Assam.
- Provisions for some other states are mentioned in article 371.
- **Article 244(a): Formation of autonomous states-** Comprising certain tribal areas in Assam and creation of local legislature or Council of Ministers or both.
- **For example,** Meghalaya was created first as per 244(a) as an autonomous state within Assam, and it got statehood in 1972.
- **Article 243(d)** Reservation for seats for SC and STs in Panchayats.
- **Article 243(t)** Reservation for seats for SC and STs in Municipalities
- **Article 330:** Reservation of seats for SCs and STs in the house of people.
- **Article 332:** Reservation of seats for SCs and STs in legislative assemblies of states( Lok Sabha).
- **Article 46:** DPSP-Promotion of educational and economic interests for SCs, STs, and other weaker sections.
- **Article 48 (a):** DPSP- Protection and improvement of environment and safeguarding forest and wildlife (the forest is the home of tribals).
- **Article 244(1):** 5th Schedule talks about the **Tribal Advisory Council** that would advise the state governments( more likely to be dominated by people of the plains or **dikus**) on the welfare of STs.
- Governor may make regulations for the good government of Scheduled Areas and in particular, may prohibit or restrict the

transfer of land of tribals and regulate the business of money lending.

- **Article 244(2):** 6th Schedule talks about autonomous districts & autonomous regions.
- The constitution( formation) of district councils & regional councils, and their powers to make laws.
- Defines tribal areas.
- Additional powers of **Bodoland** territorial councils to make laws.
- **Article 29** for the protection of the interests of minorities.
- **Article 30** for the right of the minority to the right to administer educational institutions.
- **Article 31(A):** negative- the saving of laws 2 acquisition of estates, etc in public interests.
- **Article 335** claims of Scs and STs to services and posts shall be taken into consideration consistently with the maintenance of efficiency in administration.

#### **Schemes (2:45 PM):**

- **TRIFED:**
- An important role of **Trifed** under **the Ministry of Tribal Affairs (MOTA)**.
- Tribal cooperative marketing development Federation of India Limited.
- Trifed can either buy tribal products to sell them later or connect tribals to potential buyers.
- Trifed can also add value to tribal products by increasing their shelf-life and other steps.

#### **Minimum Support Price(MSP) for Minor Forest Produce(MFP) 2013.**

- MFP examples are tendu leaves, bamboo, sal products, wild honey, lac, tamarind, etc.
- It is important because MFP have high social and economic value for tribals as they not only provide food, medicine, and other consumption items, but also cash in hand.
- Under the scheme, sustainable harvesting of MFPs is ensured and procurement & marketing operations at pre-fixed MSPs are conducted.

#### **Pradhan Mantri Van Dhan Yojana 2018:**

- The goal is the generation of livelihood by utilizing forest wealth.
- The scheme promotes MSP for the MFP scheme by additionally focussing on value addition to MFP.

- Trifid implements it with the help of tribal SHGs.

### **Bharat Rural Livelihood Foundation(BRLF) (3:00 PM):**

- It integrates government, the private sector, and civil society for the generation of livelihood, with a special focus on women and tribes.
- Developing tribal leadership.
- Spreading SHGs.
- Strengthening the role of civil society and the private sector in the development industry.
- The idea is to train and utilize human resources available to civil society for imparting skill development and generating livelihood.
- Big private companies, and organizations like **Nabard** are partners in BRLF, whose initial corpus in 2013 was 1000 crores( 500 cr by GOI and 500 cr by other parties).
- Private contributions are eligible for **Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)**.
- This is an example of **Networked Governance**.
- 

#### **Book recommendation:**

- **Beautiful Country** by Gunjan Veda & Syeda Hameed.
- It focuses on tribal sensitivities.

### **Swasthya Portal:**

- The goal is to solve the problems of statistics on tribal health and nutrition for better policy-making.
- It is a national portal for the exchange of data, ideas, best practices, and learnings between stakeholders working for tribals so as to have evidence-based decision-making.

### **Panchayat Extension to Schedule Areas (PESA) Act:**

- 
- 
- 

#### **PESA 1996**

The main intention was the setting up of panchayats, which represented the power devolution from the state government to Panchayat Raj Institutions (PRIs).

#### **FRA 2006**

The main intentions were providing land rights to tribals, the right to forest produce along with the responsibility to protect forests.

- The 5th schedule created **Tribal Advisory Council (TAC)** which had 3/4th members as ST MLAs.

- ST MLA will be a tribal leader who was traditionally an institution of authority.
- Therefore constitution of India represents the tribal Panchsheel principles of respecting the social and cultural institutions of tribals.
- However, TAC proved ineffective as it largely had an advisory role.
- Therefore, **PESA** 1996 gave more authority to local tribals and other communities by extending PRIs to scheduled areas.
- PESA mandates the states to devolve political, administrative, and financial powers to local government.
- Tribals are guaranteed 50% seats in the local governments and the seat of chairperson at all levels of panchayat systems.
- However, PESA has not been fully implemented by the state governments.
- **1997 Samata judgment**- Supreme Court ruled that the 5th schedule mandate the governors to bar the purchase of tribal lands for mining activity by non-state entities.
- After this, GOI gave unrestricted authority to governors in the transfer of ST land to the government and allotment by the government to non-tribals, therefore hurting the goal of tribal autonomy.

#### **Forest Rights Act 2006 (3:30 PM):**

- STs and OTFDs( Other Traditional Forest Dwellers) Act 2006.
- It was for the 5th schedule areas.
- It gives the right of land to individuals and rights over MFP, water bodies, and grazing areas to the community.
- It also gives responsibilities to STs and OTFDs for the protection of wildlife, forest, and biodiversity- the right to manage and protect their forests.
- ( \* implements article 48(a) DPSP).
- Link this to **Santhal's** fatherland.
- Max forest land rights of up to 4 hectares.
- Rights are inheritable but not transferable.
- Therefore FRA 2006 prevents the sale of tribal lands.
- Eligibility includes persons living in and dependent on forests for livelihood, but only those cultivating land before 2005.
- Therefore, FRA bans land use change after 2005 december.
- FRA mandates the need for consent of **gram sabhas** for forest land acquisition.
- **Link**- Gram Sabha is set up by PESA and it is empowered by FRA.

- Therefore, FRA strengthens PESA.
- **2013 Supreme Court judgment** in Vedanta's Bauxite mining project in **Niyamagiri hills, Odisha** recognized customary/traditional rights and religious rights of STs and OTFDs.
- Here the tribes worshipped Niyamagiri hills and the tribes were given the right to protect the hill/their religion.
- Therefore, FRA 2006 now also gives protection to customary rights.

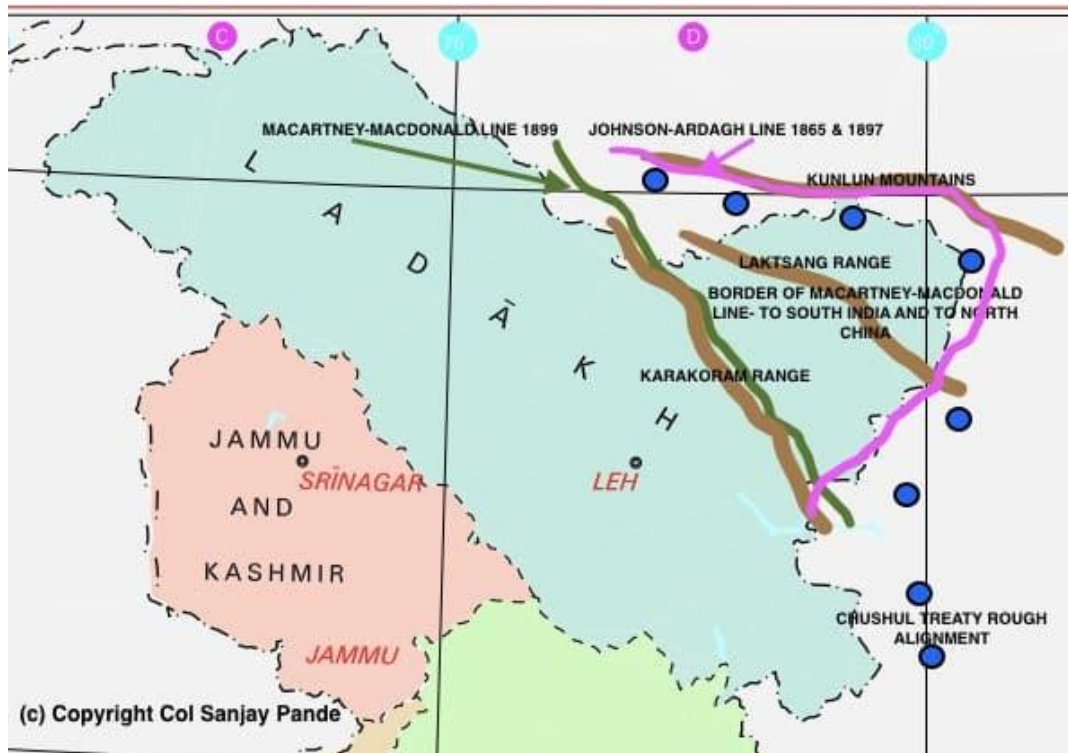
#### **1962 war (background) (3:54 PM) :**

- India was the first to recognize the People's Republic of China in 1949.
- India believed that we have common past experiences of colonialism and hence can share good relations.
- There were good relations until 1950 as India and China did not share borders.
- In 1950, China annexed Tibet, leading to the rising of border disputes with India.
- Two flashpoints in the form of **Aksai Chin** and **NEFA**.
- Also, the improving India-USSR relations and worsening China-USSR relations made China anxious.
- Sardar Patel did not trust China with respect to the border and wanted a clear stand while Pandit Nehru was over-trusting.
- The entire border with China is disputed.

#### **Western Sector:**

- **Johnson-Ardagh line 1897.**
- **Johnson** was the surveyor and recommended this line which was accepted by the British government on the recommendation of **Ardagh** who was the head of British military intelligence.
- The line puts Aksai Chin in India.
- **McCartney-Macdonald line 1899:**
- Puts Aksai Chin in China.
- In 1899, the British Government of India proposed this line to China via an envoy Macdonald, but there was no response from China.
- So this line was not finalized and the British reverted back to Johnson line 1897.





### Eastern Sector:

- **Macmahon line 1914.**
- 1907 Britain -Russia agreement settled their colonial disputes, but it also had a clause that any agreement on the borders with Tibet must have the agreement with China.
- Macmahon line was a result of the Simla Agreement of 1914 between British India and Tibet.
- China was invited to the conference, but it did not attend.



- Post 1949, the CCP-led government in China refused to recognize this line.

## The topic for the next class is the continuation of the 1962 war.

Recorded Post Independence Class 04

REVISION OF THE PREVIOUS CLASS (01:06 PM)

CONTINUATION OF THE TOPIC OF THE PREVIOUS CLASS, THE 1962 WAR (01:30 PM)

- **Nehru was an idealist while Patel was a rationalist.**
- And to resolve disputes post-1950, Nehru sent an envoy to China to gauge the mood of Chinese President Zhou Enlai.
- As per the response, India got the impression that China has no interest in borderlands and its only interest was trade across borders.
- A satisfied Nehru went ahead and signed the 1954 Treaty of friendship based on **Panchsheel principles** to guide future India-China relations:
- **Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity**
- **Mutual nonaggression in internal affairs**
- **Equality**
- **Mutual benefit**
- **Peaceful Coexistence**
- For example, As per the **Policy of Paramountcy (1813)**, Zhou Enlai, The British interest was paramount over the interests of **Indian states**.
- Therefore, the example of the absence of **equality and mutual benefit**.
- However, the mistake is equal to this treaty was **silent** on any clarity on **borders** plus **India accepted Tibet as part of China**.
- In 1956, **Dalai Lama** sought **asylum** in India but **Nehru Refused** good India-China relations.
- 1957 report- China has constructed a road in **Aksai Chin**.
- (\*Nehru had once called Zhou and he was assured that China won't ever claim Indian territory.
- But it was never clarified **what is Indian territory as per China**).
- This news created **uproar** in Indian politics and now Nehru wrote to China.
- No reply for one month and then Zhou proposed that if India recognises Aksai Chin as part of China then China will recognise **the Macmahon line that is NEFA as part of India**.
- Nehru proposed this to Parliament and argued that Aksai Chin is barren land to which there was **high opposition**.
- For example, **Mahaveer Tyagi** responded that if he was barred then should the head be removed from the body.
- With no agreement in the Parliament, Nehru withdrew from negotiations.
- 1959, **Dalai Lama was given asylum**.
- However, political activities were not permitted.

REASONS FOR 1952 WAR (01:57 PM)

- **Border disputes** since the British era stayed unresolved even after the 1954 Treaty of Friendship.
- **The India-USSR** relationship was improving which made **China anxious**.
- Therefore, China wanted to assert itself militarily which is **a show of strength to rivals**.
- **China USSR** relationship was worsening since 1953 as **Mao accused Nikita Khrushchev** of compromising with the **core principles of Marxism**.
- When Nikita talked about peaceful coexistence with **Capitalist** West and introduced some capitalist features in the USSR economy.
- This created **demand in China** for **capitalistic reforms** that made Mao anxious.
- Therefore, he took an **anti-USSR stand**.
- Also, China wanted to be the leader of **the socialist world**.
- Further, both had long-pending border disputes since 1858 when **Russia took over all territory above river Amur**.
- Post 1953, USSR decreased aid given to China.
- China was facing domestic problems due to the initial failures of **the Great Leap forward** whereby **agrarian Communism** was promoted instead of the heavy, rapid, and centralised industrialisation model of the USSR.

- Now focus was to be on **the agrarian economy, labor-intensive industry, decentralised industrialisation**, and only gradual industrialisation.
- This hurt GDP growth plus due to a bad harvest due to poor rains, even the agrarian economy suffered creating huge discontent.
- Therefore, Mao wanted to distract the Chinese public away from domestic problems.
- Forward policy of India, 1960-62 whereby Indian forces crossed above **Macmahon line, 1940**.
- In response, China also adopted a **forward policy**.
- Therefore, tensions increased by 1962.
- **Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962:**
- The US, USSR, and other major powers were busy in this crisis.
- Therefore, the opportunity for China is less fear of foreign intervention in favor of India.
- Therefore, China attacked and **defeated Indian forces** and captured both Aksai Chin and NEFA.
- War continued for one month followed by a **unilateral ceasefire by China on 28 November 1962**.
- China pulled down from NEFA but not from Aksai Chin.
- **Impact** equal to the first time Nehru faced no **confidence motion and was blamed for** failing to protect the national interest.
- The government was blamed for **political interference** in the conduct of war.
- The irony is that **socialist India was** attacked by a communist country and not by a capitalist country.
- **Huge loss of prestige** for India and the Indian Military.
- Due to high war expenditure, the third five-year plan was badly affected.
- **Reason for loss:**
- **Poor political leadership,**
- **Lack of military preparedness and poor strategy**
- For example, When skirmishes began after the **forward policy (1960-62)**, **Nehru opined** that China won't ever go to war as it may lead to poverty plus defense Minister **VK Krishna Menon** argued that Pakistan is a bigger threat than China in response to the army chief.

#### **BORDER TALKS (03:00 PM)**

- 1976 plus **India-China relations** improved leading to 1981 **high-level border talks** but then the 1987 **Sumdorong Chu incident** led to the failure of talks.
- 1988, **Rajeev Gandhi's** visit to China led to the setting up of **Joint Working Groups (JWG)**.
- Finally 1993 agreement on the maintenance of peace and **tranquility** along LAC.
- In 1996, agreement on **CBMs** in the military field along LAC.
- In 2003, after 14 rounds of JWG talks (1988-2003), two special **representatives** were appointed to **find political solutions** plus **three stages were envisaged in the peace process**.
- (\*technical position may be different than the political agreement that is compromised solution)
- In 2005, the first stage was completed with- agreement on **political parameters and guiding principles:**
- Solve peacefully and don't affect other bilateral areas.
- Must be a **mutually accepted solution** plus a final solution
- Both countries are flexible.
- Respect each other's **strategic interest**
- Consider the historical evidence and **national interest**
- Geographically sensible border
- No exchange of **populated areas**
- Pending final agreement maintain peace, continuous CBMs, and respect LAC plus a special representative to develop the framework for the second stage.
- **Second stage:**
- Develop a framework for boundary settlement that will be the basis for demarcating actual borders
- **Third stage:**
- Demarcate actual borders.

#### **SHASTRI ERA (1964-66) (03:33 PM)**

- Nehru died in 1964 and now Congress had to choose a new PM.
- **Syndicates** were groups of powerful leaders from **non-Hindi-speaking regions**.
- **For example, Kamraj**, Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy, SK Patil, etc and wanted a puppet PM who would follow party directions.
- Therefore chose **Lab Bahadur Shastri (LBS)** who had a polite personality, was honest and hardworking and was not very commanding.

- **Challenges inherited by LBS:**
- **Economic Challenges:**
- Third FYP was badly affected due to **huge war expenditure**.
- Therefore, the economic slowdown plus **high poverty** plus **consecutive drought years of 1962-63** led to **food shortage and food inflation**.
- This contributed to **Law and order instability as well**.
- **Political instability:**
- Political instability in form of LBS not being viewed as a strong personality like Nehru
- Factionalism in Congress.
- **Social Challenges:**
- Official language issue
- Demand for the creation of Punjab as the Sikh majority state.

#### **INDIA-PAKISTAN WAR (1965) (03:57 PM)**

- **Causes:**
- Pakistan was confident due to the defeat of India in the 1962 war.
- Sale of **high-tech weapons**.
- For example, Patton Tanks by the US to Pakistan.
- Economic and political instability in India.
- For example, Pakistan expected support from Kashmiris due to protests and unrest created by **Sheikh Abdullah and other leaders in the valley**.
- Abdullah wanted **greater autonomy than Article 370**.
- For example, own military for J and K.
- He began demanding a **plebiscite under the US influence**.
- In 1963, Pakistan gave **Sakhsam tract to China from PoK**.
- Therefore, expected Chinese help.
- The lack of support to India by the US due to the NAM policy which was unethical for the US since **Communism was evil for the US**, and the lack of any military alliance between India and the USSR further increased the confidence of Pakistan.
- Pak verified Indian military preparedness by attacking **Rann of Kachch** and found India unprepared.
- RoK is a marshy area and India was not expecting an attack on this front, therefore was not ready.
- Pak demanded 910 Sq. Km in RoK.
- After this attack, Britain mediated and a **ceasefire was declared** and a tribunal was set up whose judgment came in 1968 that gave 910 Sq. Km to Pakistan.
- **Events:**
- **Operation Gibraltar** by Pakistan (August 1965)
- 14000 militarily trained infiltrators entered India with the goal of starting civil rebellions by Kashmiris.
- However, failed as it did not get desired response from people and effective intelligence with Indian forces led to their suppression.

**The topic to be discussed in the next class-** operation **Gran Slam 1965** by Pakistan, Indira Gandhi era  
**Recorded Post Independence Class 05**

#### **OPERATION GRANDSLAM (1:03 PM):**

- Akhnoor connected J& K with the rest of India.

- 
- The goal was to attack Akhnoor and cut off supplies to Indian forces in J&K.
- Meanwhile, Lal Bahadur Shastri (LBS) was criticized for his indecisiveness during the conflict in the **Rann of Kutch**.
- **For example- Vijaylakshmi Pandit** stated, "LBS is a prisoner of indecision".
- LBS replied that when India enters the war, the time and place will be of India's choice(\* leadership & morale).
- Along with the army chief, LBS decided to open a second front in Punjab, so Pakistani forces are diverted from J&K, leading to the failure of operation Grandslam.
- This decision could have brought external players like China and possibly the USA into war in favor of Pakistan as now it would be an all-out war on multiple fronts and not a limited conflict(\* decision-making and strong leadership).
- India successfully captured 1920 square kilometers in Pakistan and reached the outskirts of Lahore.
- While Pakistan captured 540 square kilometers.
- Further, India captured **Haji Pir** which connected POK with the rest of J&K, so it was a big strategic gain.



- 
- India also destroyed many **Patton tanks** in Pakistan.
- Therefore, the real gains of the war were made by India, even though there was an overall stalemate after the 1965 war.
- Pakistan had initiated the war because it could not meet its objectives.
- Also, India did not win because the **Tashkent Agreement of 1966** made both India and Pakistan exchange captured territories.
- The USA did not help Pakistan as it was heavily involved in the **Vietnam War (1961-1975)**.
- 
- USA president Johnson (1963-1969)- bombed North Vietnam and sent in a million troops.
- So that was the peak phase of the war and the USA's involvement.
- 

#### **USA Presidents and their Vietnam strategies:**

- **Kennedy(1961-1963)**-Safe villages were created that housed non-guerilla villagers.
- **Johnson(1963-1969)**- Bomb North Vietnam would be essential against Vietcong and we need to send more troops
- **Nixon( 1969-1974)**- Bombing **Ho Chin Minh** trial essential against Vietcong, and the USA announced a gradual pullout from Vietnam.
- Due to differences in the timeline, the USA did not intervene in the 1965 war, but there were chances of the USA intervention in the 1971 war.
- Russia did not openly support India but it made it clear to China that Russia would be forced to support India if China supported Pakistan by attacking India.
- Russia feared the involvement of the USA and the escalation of the war.
- So Russia pressurized both India and Pakistan for a ceasefire and Pakistan accepted.
- However, LBS consulted the army chief that if there was a chance of an all-out victory, but he got the feedback that India was running low on arms and ammunition.
- This was an assessment error on the part of the army chief.

- Therefore, India accepted the ceasefire( \* leadership).

#### **PROVISIONS OF TASHKENT AGREEMENT OF 1966 (1:45 PM):**

- Both sides agreed on the **status quo ante**- withdraw from all occupied territories to return to pre-war positions.
- Unfortunately, India had to give back Hajipir which connected POK with Indian Kashmir.
- India agreed because of fear of losing the support of the USSR on the Kashmir issue, fear of high war expenditure, and the USA escalating the war.
- Another reason was the feedback to Indira PM regarding the Indian shortage of arms and ammunition.
- Tashkent was the place where the Communist Party of India was first founded by M N Roy in 1920.
- During the war, the stature of LBS greatly improved.
- LBS said in a speech- "Ayub Khan( Pakistani dictator) said he would meet us in Delhi and I replied you are a man of high status, instead we will come to Lahore to pay respects".
- In Allahabad, LBS gave the slogan of **Jai Jawaan Jai Kisaan**.
- Why Jai Jawaan, we know from above.

#### **Agrarian Crisis & LBS:**

- The Agricultural crisis was already there when Shastri came to power in 1962, and 1963 droughts.
- The war conditions led to the diversion of already scarce resources.
- The population was rising and agrarian productivity was going down due to poor irrigation facilities.
- To overcome food shortage, India was importing wheat from the USA under the PL 480 ( Public Law) program of the USA.
- During the war, the USA insisted on a ceasefire in return for the continuation of PL 480 supplies.
- 

#### **Effectiveness of UNO:**

- UNO has proved largely a toothless tiger whenever superpowers are involved.
- UNO though had brought about the quicker resolution of issues like the **Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962**.
- The USA stopped exporting food grains to India to punish India for not declaring a ceasefire earlier.
- LBS now hailed the importance of self-sufficiency and now highlighted the crucial role of peasants with the slogan Jai Jawaan Jai Kisan.
- LBS highlighted the importance of the idea of a **Kitchen Garden**- each family growing basic vegetables near the house.
- He also proposed the idea of fasting once a week, he started this with his own family.
- \* Hungry families and hungry children for a day will lead to every citizen and every politician recognizing, even if for vote bank politics that food security is a challenge that cannot be ignored anymore.
- Therefore, LBS set the public and political narrative for the future **Green revolution**.

#### **INDIRA GANDHI ERA (1966-1969) BACKGROUND (2:28 PM):**

- After the death of LBS in February 1966, in Tashkent, the question of succeeding him was raised in Congress, especially its core of strong regional leaders called **Syndicate**.
- Important contenders like Morarjilal Desai and Gulzarilal Nanda were assumed as over-assertive candidates by the syndicate who may not follow party directions.
- K Kamaraj was a strong leader but did not know Hindi and English and therefore realized that he may not be accepted as PM.
- Indira Gandhi( IG) projected herself as not interested, and the syndicate thought that she would be a weak PM due to being an inexperienced woman.
- Also, she would also have public sympathy for being the daughter of Pandit Nehru.
- Hence, India got its first woman as Prime Minister.

#### **Congress Split 1969:**

- Indira Gandhi was perceived as docile, nicknamed **Goongi Gudia**, and assumed as someone who will certainly tow the party's ( Syndicate's) instructions.
- Later differences emerged between her and Syndicate.
- Indira Gandhi did not consult the syndicate before the **devaluation of the Indian Currency**.
- 

#### **Effects of a weaker currency( currency devaluation):**

- If a nation is a net exporter who sources raw materials from domestic markets then that country will most likely benefit from a weaker currency.

- But if a country is a net importer, a weaker currency will not bring the desired benefits as the forex outflow will increase due to costlier imports.
- But in India, most raw materials are also imported, like that of the **fertilizer industry**.
- So in that case, a weaker currency might not help.
- Also, essential imports would continue and get costlier.
- There was the pressure of IMF and the World Bank for devaluation as India was having a BOP crisis, and devaluation may increase export earnings.
- The decision backfired as India was a net importer, and wasn't industrialized to make the most out of the benefit of devaluation.
- We also imported raw materials, especially energy(oil), and the cost of inputs increased with devaluation.
- The real issue between her and the syndicate was that she acted independently.
- In the 1967 elections at the center and states, the ticket distribution was handled by the syndicate.
- To control IG who was the PM face of the party, the syndicate decided to distribute tickets to their allies.

#### 1967 ELECTIONS (2:58 PM):

- Congress got bad results as it lost elections in eight states( at that time, State assembly elections and Lok Sabha elections were held simultaneously).
- The **reasons were:**
- I. Public anger due to high corruption.
- II. Lack of unity or factionalism in Congress leadership.
- The era of regional parties began.
- But at the center, there was no alternative to congress( TINA factor) and IG was able to get a weak majority and so the syndicate saw a loss of prestige.
- So there was the emergence of **coalition politics** at the state level and the rise of horse-trading, which later led to **the 10th Schedule (Anti defection provisions) in 1985**.
- The era of political instability began.
- Between 1967 and 1970, there were 7 government changes in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.
- Congress was further weakened due to the defection of rich and middle-class peasants due to socialist policies of Congress like the **land ceiling**.
- Also, the princes of erstwhile princely states defected from congress.
- So IG headed a fragile government at the center.
- Before the 1967 elections, to have a hold on power, the Syndicate distributed tickets to their allies.
- But this turned out in favor of IG since most of them lost elections.
- All the members of the Syndicate themselves lost elections, like Kamaraj.
- Therefore 1967 election results resulted in weakness for both congress and the Syndicate.
- But within Congress, it was positive for IG.
- 

#### **Economical effects of war; interlinkages with international trade** :

- Poor agricultural production would mean poor food supply and hence higher food inflation.
- Higher war expenditure widens the fiscal deficit and it will also divert resources from welfare and agriculture.
- This leads to higher poverty which will decrease the buying power and increase the **felt inflation** by the population.
- When the currency is made to or it gets evaluated, imports become costlier, and people faced **imported inflation**.
- It will increase the cost of production which will translate into costlier final products.
- This will both increase the inflation in the country, and exports would get uncompetitive.

#### **Reasons for conflict between IG and syndicate:**

- Power struggle.
- 

#### **IG**

She was left of center.

#### **Syndicate**

They were right of center.



She favored pro-poor policies (socialism)	They favored pro-market policies (capitalism)
She wanted a strong state, and hence favored the nationalization of banks, industries, etc.	They wanted a weaker state and more participation from the market and private sector
She favored the welfare state and planned economy	Abolish five-year plans. (the fight is about decision-making power in the economy)
She was pro-land reforms like land ceiling( no person to have land above a certain threshold).	Not in favor of such reforms.

#### The trigger for the split:

- After the death of President Zakir Hussain in 1969, the syndicate wanted Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy ( a member of the syndicate) as president so as to control IG using the pocket veto.
- The conflict led to Congress not declaring any official candidate.
- IG declared that she would vote for VV Giri, who was seen as a neutral personality.
- Therefore, the party whip did not apply, and finally, VV Giri became the president.
- The humiliated syndicate now expelled IG from the party.
- Therefore, the Congress (O) of a syndicate and Congress (R) of IG was formed.
- IG still continued as PM as she had more MPs with her.

#### 1971 elections (3:30 PM):

- They were declared pre-maturely by IG as she hoped to win a stronger majority so she could implement her reforms which had earlier failed.
- Like she wanted to abolish **privy purses**, but she did not have the majority in Rajya Sabha, so she brought an ordinance that was overturned by Supreme Court in the **N Palkiwala case**.
- She did banks nationalization of banks which was overturned by SC in the **R C Cooper case** (link 24th-42nd amendments).
- Syndicates, Jan Sangh, and all other parties set up a grand alliance and gave the slogan of "**Indira Hatao**", while IG gave the slogan of "**Garibi Hatao**".
- A mistake by Ram Manohar Lohia by calling IG a **Goongi Gudia**.
- IG came to power with an absolute majority.

#### Bangladesh liberation war 3rd December 1971:

- **Reasons:**
- Bangladesh's ( East Pakistan) region was poor due to older British policies like the permanent settlement.
- The region also had poorer irrigation facilities as compared to the Western Pakistan(WP) region.
- In the military and administration, there was a dominance of Pakistani Punjabis and East Pakistan(EP) was discriminated against.
- EP felt cheated as very less dollar revenue out of jute exports was sent to EP.
- EP felt cultural discrimination and disregard for the Bengali language.
- EP suffered from poor administration and poor socio-economic indicators vis-a-vis WP.
- Another grievance was the **Bhola Cyclone** of 1970 in EP and a weak response by WP, which led to large casualties.
- The discrimination got explicit when the western Pakistani leadership and the Pakistani Army refused to acknowledge the election results of the 1970 general elections in which **Sheikh Mujibur Rahman** got a full majority on the basis of sweeping East Pakistan.
- The Pakistani army launched **Operation Searchlight** in march 1971 under which massacres were carried out in East Pakistan, so as to show them their place.
- India had to intervene to avoid the refugee crisis.
- The time was already high inflation in India.
- As per the consultation with the Indian army chief **Sam Manekshaw**, Indian intervention was postponed to 1971 winter.
- This was so that the Indian army could avoid Chinese intervention through snow-blocked Himalayan passes and overflowing rivers of East Pakistan during monsoons.
- With the advice of Army Chief **Sam Manekshaw**, it was decided that:
- **I.** India should financially and militarily support the **Mukti Bahini**, the military wing of the people of EP, instead of directly entering the war.
- So India started giving training, arms, ammunition, money, etc. to Mukti Bahini so that the people of EP can fight their own battle.
- **II.** Wait for winter, since the rains in EP from April to September will make the terrain difficult.

- Also, China won't be able to help Pakistan in winter due to snow in the Himalayas.
- So to prevent wars on three fronts- EP, WP, and China.
- There were also high chances of the USA helping Pakistan, as it was not that busy on any war front( Nixon era of Vietnam war).
- **III.** It was deemed important that India has international support and is not seen as an aggressor.
- So it was decided to utilize the time until winter to raise awareness about the genocide in EP and the refugee influx into India.
- In 1971, USSR offered and India agreed to sign the **Treaty of Friendship, Peace & Cooperation**, which led to the military alliance.
- On 3rd December 1971, Pakistan attacked India, but we were well prepared and so there were no gains for Pakistan.
- Now India recognized Bangladesh and imposed an air blockade on Indian air space.
- The USA introduced two resolutions in the UNSC for a ceasefire which USSR vetoed and bought India some time.
- The USA asked China to intervene, but China refused.
- Now the USA sent the **7th Fleet** into the Indian Ocean.
- USSR responded by sending the **10th Operating Fleet**, which bought us more time.
- After 13 days, on 16th December around 1 lakh Pakistani soldiers were made to publicly surrender at the Dhaka race course.
- With the war, the **two-nation theory** was dented.
- India was now free from the fear of a two-front war from both EP and WP.
- Through proper planning, the 1971 war ended with a resounding Indian victory, that gave Indira Gandhi large political benefits in India.

**The topic for the next class is the continuation of the 1971 war.**

**Recorded Post Independence Class 06**

#### **BANGLADESH LIBERATION WAR 1971 (1:03 PM):**

- East Pakistan (EP) and West Pakistan (WP) had cultural differences.
- EP felt closer to Indian West Bengal culturally as compared to WP due to the common Bengali language.
- EP was poor while WP was relatively rich.
- Even in British times, irrigation infrastructure was not a priority for the British in Permanent Settlement areas of BOB( Bengal-ODisha -Bengal).
- This was because land revenue( LR) could not be increased under the permanent settlement clause.
- So more canals were built in undivided Punjab( Punjab came under the British after the Third Anglo-Sikh War in 1849).
- EP felt that the revenue of jute exports was used for the development of WP instead of WP.
- Pakistan's state and military were dominated by WP
- EP wanted official language status for Bengali which was resisted by WP.
- 

#### **Pakistani cultural conundrum:**

- Jinnah imposed Urdu on WP and EP as he wanted an Islamic image for Pakistan.
- WP did not want to encourage linguistic sub-nationalism.
- The Urdu language originated in the Hyderabad region, but it had Arabic script.
- There was poor administration in EP.
- The trigger was **Bhola Cyclone in 1970** in EP, after which poor relief work led to anger.
- **Sheikh Mujibur Rahman** was a highly popular leader of EP and he was a leader of the Awami League.
- He raised the sociocultural, economic, and political demands of EP.
- Now there was an agreement on elections after which, the constitution would be amended to bring real federalism.
- **Yahya Khan** was the military leader(General) of Pakistan who supported **Zulfikar Ali Bhutto** who was very popular in WP.

#### **ELECTION RESULTS (1:25 PM):**

- There was a big surprise for WP as Awami League won nearly all seats in EP, therefore getting the majority in the parliament.
- Now WP refused to convene the parliament and Bhutto was declared PM.

- A peaceful CDM was started by the Awami league with the demand for the right to form government and amendment to the constitution.
- On 25th March 1971, **Operation Searchlight** was started against the people of EP by the Pakistani army whereby lakhs were executed and Hindus were selectively targeted.
- Hindu and Muslim Bengalis suffered brutal repression.
- Overall 10 lakh refugees entered India, threatening internal stability as India was already facing challenges of food security, unemployment, and poverty.
- Also, there was a cultural conflict between Non-Bengalis of the North East and Bengali immigrants.
- **However, India decided not to act directly, immediately because:**
- Rains were soon to follow in EP, which would make terrain tough for military movement.
- **For example-** Rivers would swell, making it hard to cross them.
- In the summer, China would be able to come to the military aid of Pakistan, so India may have to fight a war on multiple fronts.
- The USA was not that heavily involved elsewhere militarily so it may come to the aid of Pakistan( its ally).
- (\*Under President **Nixon( 1969-1974)**, the USA announced a gradual pullout from Vietnam and did not send more troops).
- Also, India did not have a military alliance with USSR, as we followed NAM policy, so no assurance of military help.
- Further, India should not be seen as an aggressor in the international arena.
- So we decided to wait till winter and Indira Gandhi (IG) began raising awareness internationally on genocide by Pakistan and the refugee issue faced by India.
- USSR offered and we accepted the **Treaty of Friendship, Peace & Cooperation**, which led to a form of a military alliance.
- India also decided to support **Mukti Bahini**( an organization of the people of EP) with arms, training, and money so that people ca fight the war on their own.
- This was done under **Operation Jackpot**.
- On 3rd December 1971, Pakistan attacked India, but we were well prepared.
- India immediately recognized Bangladesh and imposed an air blockade on Indian air space hence cutting supplies from WP to EP.
- The USA introduced two resolutions in the UNSC for a ceasefire which USSR vetoed.
- The USA wanted China to intervene, but China did not respond as China did not want a direct war with USSR and there were winters.
- 
- **Realpolitik:**
  - The USA used the veto to give a permanent UNSC seat to China under CCP in 1972.
- The USA now started **Gunboat diplomacy**- the use of naval power and resources to threaten others.
- Now the USA sent the **7th Fleet** into the Indian Ocean.
- USSR responded by sending the **10th Operating Fleet**.
- So now, there was a threat of nuclear war.
- Therefore, USSR brought time for India to crush the Pakistani army in EP.

## Result

- Pakistan was defeated in 13 days.
- Pakistan faced a big humiliation as the Pakistan army in EP was made to surrender in Public at **Dhaka Racecourse**, where 93,000 soldiers surrendered on **16th December 1971**.

## Shimla Agreement 1972 was more than just a peace treaty:

- I. Exchange of prisoners troops.
- II. Withdrawal of troops from each other's occupied territories.
- III. Pakistan recognized Bangladesh
- The agreement also aimed at a blueprint for peaceful coexistence by providing guiding principles for India-Pakistan relations( link **Panchsheel** with China 1954).
- **Features of the agreement:**
- Territorial integrity.
- Respect for each other's unity and territorial independence.
- Sovereign Equality- like the treaties where one partner was subordinate to the other.
- Non-interference in internal affairs.
- Take all steps to prevent hostile propaganda.

- Peaceful resolution of issues via direct bilateral talks or by any other peaceful means mutually agreed upon.
- That means- no third-party intervention will happen unless both India and Pakistan agree.

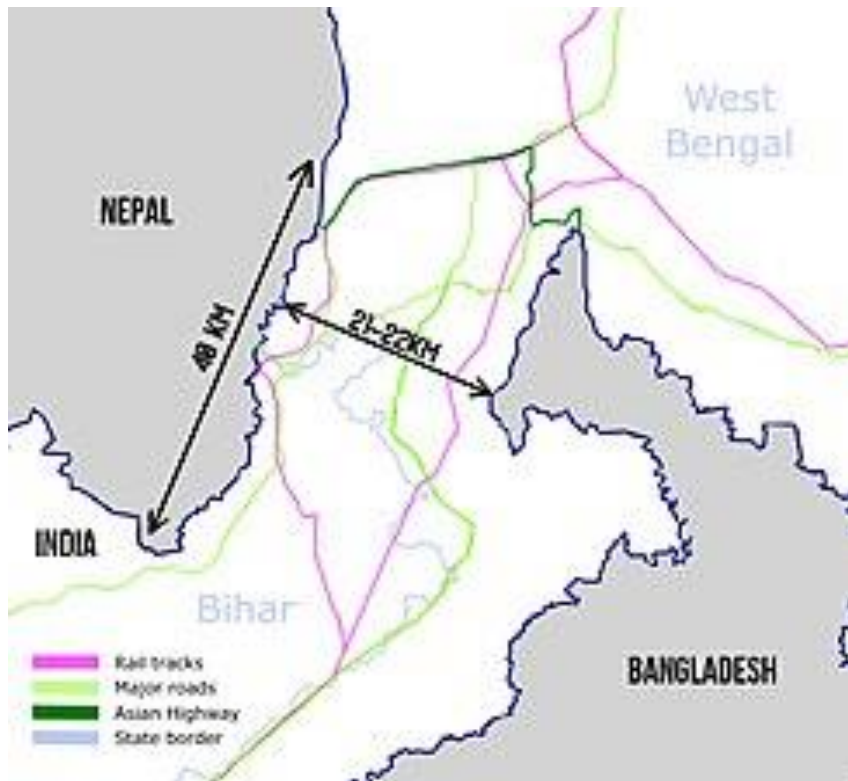
#### **LINE OF CONTROL (LOC)( 2:08 PM):**

- The 1949 ceasefire line was in existence after 1948.
- The ceasefire line as of 17th December 1971 was named LOC.

- 
- **Importance:**
- The 740 km long line was to be a de facto border and both sides decided not to alter it unilaterally or by force.
- LOC was accepted as inviolable.
- Therefore, **Kargil 1999** and all terror acts are criminal acts as per the Shimla agreement because the agreement has a clause:
- The pending permanent settlement, but shall prevent the organization, assistance, and encouragement of any act detrimental to peace and harmonious relations and the overall relationship to be guided by the UN charter.
- Promote people-to-people contact via post, telegraph, sea, land, and air.
- Improve trade, economic relations, cultural contact( **Kartarpur Corridor**), and science and technology cooperation.

#### **Conclusion/ Impact of the 1971 war:**

- Personal political gains for IG.
- India regained military pride.
- Two fronts with Pakistan ended, so it was a big strategic victory.
- Link this with the **Chicken neck(Siliguri corridor)** issue of India.
- Imagine EP supporting the insurgency in the North East.



- 
- Arunachal Pradesh is also nearby and in 1962, China attacked NEFA (North East Frontier Agency).
- It was a big blow to the two-nation theory as religion was negated as the foundation principle with the creation of Bangladesh.
- So language and culture defeated the two-nation theory.

**Sheikh Mujibur Rahman** declared four principles that will guide Bangladesh (NDSS):

- I. Nationalism (Linguistic nationalism so focus on reasons for Bangladesh).
- II. Democracy (as election results were not respected by WP).
- III. Socialism (as EP was relatively poor and was neglected by WP).
- IV. Secularism (Operation Searchlight targeted both Bengali-speaking Hindus and Muslims, another contradiction to the two-nation theory).

#### EFFECTS ON INDIA(2:30):

- **Sheikh Abdullah in J&K** realized that there was no use in practicing confrontational politics.
- So we saw Indira-Sheikh Accord 1975 where he gave up plebiscite demand and agreed to autonomy as provided by Article 370.
- 
- 

#### Referendum

The result was binding.  
It seeks a decision, like  
Yes/No

#### Plebiscite

The result was not binding  
It can seek a decision or an  
opinion.

#### Lahore Agreement 1999:

- It was signed between Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Nawaz Sharif.
- Condemnation of terrorism in all forms.
- Commitment to human rights and freedom.
- Implement Shimla Agreement 1972 in letter and spirit.
- Commitment to the goals and objectives of SAARC 1985 (\* there was a dream of a possible EU or ASEAN-like agreement).
- Prevent nuclear war and nuclear proliferation and both were Nuclear Weapon States since 1998 so the focus was on universal nuclear disarmament and nuclear non-proliferation.
- 

#### Did India lose the opportunity to integrate Bangladesh into India?

The answer is negative because:

- India has never been expansionary power.

- The war was officially referred to as **Bangladesh Liberation War**, so India had already planned to recognize a sovereign state of Bangladesh.
- Absorption of new territory, especially after a thumping victory would have gone against **Gandhian principles**.

#### J.P MOVEMENT AND EMERGENCY(BACKGROUND) (1973-1977( 2:57 PM):

- IG wanted to eliminate poverty but the challenge was big due to three wars in a decade.
- Also, 1972 and 1973 were two drought years that contributed to food inflation and food shortage.
- There was a **Global Oil Crisis in 1973** that caused fuel inflation that especially hurt the middle class.
- The arab world decreased oil production to indirectly hurt the capitalist world in the context of the **Yom Kippur War 1973** where Egypt and Syria attacked Israel.
- 

#### Arab-Israel history:

- **Six-day war 1967:**
- It was a war between Israel on one side and Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Egypt, Lebanon, and Algeria on the other.
- Israel captured the **Golan Heights** from **Syria**, **the Sinai Peninsula** from **Egypt**, and the whole of Palestine( Gaza Strip and West Bank).



#### Yom Kippur war 1973:

- It was between Israel and Egypt, Syria because of the territorial losses after the Six-Day war.
- Fuel price rise greatly impacted the middle class.
- Also, corruption cases in India increased public anger.
- There was the largest strike in the history of India- The All India Railway Strike against 22% inflation.
- So inflation, unemployment, corruption, and the authoritarian rule of IG contributed to the **JP Movement (1973- 1980)**.

#### JP MOVEMENT (3:30 PM):

- **Ideology:** a fight for the revival of values in society and ending the system which has compelled everyone to be corrupt.
- In Patna 1973, JP came out of political retirement due to high corruption, inflation, etc., and gave a call to the youth to fight against dishonesty in society.

#### 1974 Gujarat:

- Students began protests in January 1974.
- JP went there to give leadership and later political parties also joined.
- They demanded the dissolution of the assembly and fresh polls.
- IG applied President's rule but did not decide in the favor of fresh elections.
- So **Morarji Desai** began a fast unto death.
- Now IG declared elections which were won by parties supported by JP.

#### 1974 Bihar:

- JP took the leadership of the student movement like in Gujarat with the same demands.
- The plan was to win state after state in this manner.
- IG did not accept this time.
- JP gave a call for Total Revolution against corruption and authoritarian rule of IG and for changing the system as a whole.
- He demanded that the government should resign, people don't pay taxes and they should set up parallel governments.
- In Bihar, people stopped paying taxes and set up parallel governments.
- However, the movement declined by the end of 1974 and students joined back colleges.
- **This was because:**
- I. The government did not accept demands and so the masses got tired.
- II. Poor organizational structure of the movement.
- III. The movement did not attract the poor and the main participation was of students, the middle class, and the intelligentsia.
- The movement got re-ignited due to the **Allahabad HC judgment** (June 1975) that invalidated the election of IG on the grounds of misuse of the election machinery.
- The case was filed by **Raj Narain** who had lost against her by one lakh votes.
- Now JP gave a call for daily protests.
- On 25th June, he held a rally in Delhi where he asked the people, police, bureaucracy, and army to stop following government orders and follow the constitution of India.
- He also declared that he will start a Civil Disobedience Movement(CDM) on 29th June.
- Meanwhile, SC gave partial relief to IG who was allowed to continue as MP and PM but was not allowed to vote as PM until the final decision.
- On the midnight of 26th June, National Emergency under **Article 352** was applied on the grounds of internal disturbances.
- This further boosted the JP movement.
- The oppression during the emergency( 1975-1977) led to public anger against IG.
- Therefore, she lost the 1977 elections, and Janta Party with **Morarji Desai** as PM came to power.
- However, the government was unstable as Janta Party was set up by merging opposition parties with different ideologies.
- In 1980, the government fell before its Five -Year term and the JP movement ended with the victory of IG in the 1980 elections.
- Janta Party Government had failed the objectives of the JP movement

#### JP movement failed due to:

- Ideological differences between opposition parties who had joined the movement.
- The goal got limited to the removal of IG instead of social change or total revolution.
- There was no viable alternative as JP talked about partyless democracy.
- The method was flawed as JP advocated anarchy that would have eroded the faith in democratic institutions.
- JP asked people and institutions of the state to disobey the government and talked about parallel governments.
- There was a limited social base as the poor did not participate.

#### Emergency (1975-1977):

- **The rationale behind the emergency( as per the government):**
- JP had given the call for daily protests after the Allahabad judgment.

- He also asked the people and institutions of the state to not follow government orders.
- He also declared CDM on 29th June 1975.
- **Economic troubles:**
- Growing recession, unemployment, inflation, and food inflation in the context of bad monsoons.
- 1971 war depleted foreign reserves.
- Global Oil crisis.
- Fear of external powers to further destabilize India.
- Public anger was rising-all Indian railway strike in May 1974 against inflation as high as 22%.
- IG wanted changes in the constitution like the 42nd constitution 1976.

#### **During emergency:**

- Initial acceptance among the public as law and order improved and administrative efficiency increased.
- The economy improved due to the good monsoon.
- People felt that emergency was applied as per the Constitution of India(COI) in the context of the JP movement.
- Twenty-point program with a focus on land redistribution after the land ceiling, abolition of bonded labor, reduction of prices, etc.

#### **However later, there was public anger:**

- Economic growth did not sustain.
- Authoritarian conduct of the bureaucracy.
- Misuse of preventive detention.
- Elections were suspended.
- President rule was imposed in non-congress states.
- Censorship of press- **Indian Express** published a blank page instead of an editorial.
- Fundamental rights were suspended, including **Article 32**- moving to court for enforcing fundamental rights.
- Federal provision of COI was suspended.
- The 42nd constitutional amendment nearly rewrote the constitution and curtailed the freedom of the judiciary.
- Many organizations were banned like RSS, Jamaat E Islami, etc
- Sterilization campaign by **Sanjay Gandhi** under which there were cases of double sterilization, sterilization of political opponents, forced slum clearances, etc.

#### **Result:**

- IG lost the next election.
- **Shah Commission** was set up to fix responsibility for atrocities.
- The commission concluded that not enough grounds existed for an emergency.
- **44th constitutional amendment** undid many provisions of the 42nd amendment.
- Now internal emergency under article 352 could be applicable only on the grounds of armed rebellion.
- The cabinet must give to the president in writing the advice to proclaim an emergency.

**The topics for the next class are Assam Accords, the Punjab crisis, operation Bluestar, the Indian Peacekeeping Force, etc.**

#### **Recorded Post Independence Class 07**

#### **Assam Nationalist Movement (1975-85): (9:02 AM)**

##### **Reasons:**

- The migration of **Bengalis since 1947** continued even after the creation of Bangladesh due to better economic opportunities.
- Therefore, the fear of immigrants regarding **jobs, land grabs, and economic capture**.
- And the fear of cultural subjugation and political domination.
- Example:
- Issue of **faulty voter lists**.
- Assamese felt that since British Era, their natural resources and economy benefitted outsiders.
- For example, **Assam Tea gardens** were owned by foreigners.
- And local trade was dominated by outsiders.
- Plus, oil though extracted in Assam was refined outside Assam.
- **AASU (All Assam Student Union):** After peaceful protests from 1975-79, the movement turned violent under the leadership of AASU 1979, which adopted methods of violent agitations.
- **Demands were:**



- Stop the immigration of Bangladeshis. And deport those already present.
- Bring new economic policy so Assam's resources are used for the benefit of natives.
- Greater participation in administration for natives. (Reservation) And administrative autonomy. (**Sixth Schedule**).
- **Result:**
- Assam Accords, 1985 by Rajiv Gandhi.
- Which settled the AASU-led movement.
- (ULFA 1979 and BODO movement came later.)

#### **Assam Accords, 1985: (9:24 AM)**

- **Foreigners:**
- Those who entered 1961 will get citizenship and all rights.
- **1961-71:** Will get all rights of citizenship but won't get right to vote for 10 years.
- 25 March 1971 onwards (Operation Searchlight): Those who entered after 25th March 1971 will be declared illegal immigrants and be deported back to Bangladesh.
- **Economy:**
- Second Oil Refinery, a paper mill, and IIT Guwahati.
- **Culture:**
- The promise of legislative and administrative safeguards to protect cultural and linguistic identity and heritage.
- Assam Gana Parishad was now set up as a political party, which won elections and **Prafulla Mahanta of AASU** become Chief Minister at the age of 32.

#### **United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA, 1979): (9:35 AM)**

- Majorly active **after 1983**.
- When huge malpractice in the form of faulty voter lists was revealed again after 1978.
- **Method:**
- Armed insurgency.
- **Goal:**
- **Pre-1826 Status** when there was Ahom Kingdom in Assam. I.e., full independence.
- British took over Assam in First Burma War (1824-28).
- 1992 onwards **ULFA** 1979 declared that their movement is not just for Assamese speakers but for all indigenous people of Assam.
- 2011 **Ceasefire Agreement between GOI**, Government of Assam, and ULFA, 1979.
- **Today demands for statehood from Assam by/of:**
- **Bodoland**, which at present has the 6th Schedule Autonomous Council.
- **Karbi Anglong**, which at present has Autonomous Council.
- **Dimaland**, which at present has Autonomous Council.
- **Kamtapur**, demanded by **Kochi Rajbanshi community**.

#### **Kashmir Crisis: (9:47 AM)**

- After the 1971 War, **Indira-Sheikh Agreement 1974**.
- Therefore, Sheikh Abdullah in 1975, came to power.
- He was old, therefore, on the advice of Indira Gandhi, declared Farukh Abdullah as his successor.
- In 1982, S Abdullah died, and then **Farukh** Abdullah came to power.
- But during the elections, he took the anti-Congress stand, instead of being in a coalition.
- Now, the Brother-in-Law of Sheikh Abdullah, **Gulam MD Shah did a Coup** within the party, therefore, Farukh Abdullah was removed from power.
- GM Shah increased communal tensions, for example, in Jammu he declared his desire to construct a **Mosque in the vicinity of a famous Hindu temple**.
- **And in Kashmir, he started propaganda that Islam is in danger from non-Muslims.**
- **Now, communal violence began, and therefore, the exodus of Kashmiri Pandits began.**
- GM Shah was removed as CM, and **Farukh Abdullah** became CM.
- But he was not able to manage the crisis.
- Further, **Hizbul Mujahideen and JKLF** escalated communal violence and forced Kashmiri Pandits to leave Kashmir.
- From 1986 onwards, there was a President Rule in Jammu and Kashmir on and off.

#### **Punjab Crisis: (10:04 AM)**

- Post-independence demand for Punjab as a Sikh majority state within India, via **Punjabi Suba Movement in the 1950s and 60s**.

- In 1950s and 60s led by **Akali Dal (1920)**.
- **Master Tara Singh** (an Akali) stated that Punjab should be a separate state within India ruled by a Sikh organization.
- SRC Report 1955 rejected the demand since the demand was on the basis of religion.
- And not much difference between Punjabi and Hindi for the **reorganization of Punjab on a linguistic basis**.
- There was a concern for national unity in the context of the recent partition on basis of religion.
- Under **State Reorganisation Act, 1956**, Punjab was expanded by adding PEPSU state (1946-58, **Patiala and Eastern Punjab States Union** was a group of ex-Princely States)
- Therefore, Punjab existed as a three-language state: Hindi, Punjabi, and Pahari.
- And Sikhs were not in majority.
- However, demand continued, also, rising demand for Haryana by Hindi speaking community.
- And **Sant Fateh Singh** assured that demand was linguistic and not communal.
- (That is no anti-Hindu policies or politics post-reorganization).
- Therefore, **Indira Gandhi created Punjab as a Sikh-majority state** by separating Haryana.
- However, no agreement on Chandigarh, therefore it was made a **common capital and UT**.
- (During negotiations, the proposal that **Chandigarh to Punjab and Fazilka and Abohar to Haryana**).
- However, Akalis still unable to get the majority and had to form a coalition government with non-Congress parties.
- In 1967, there were elections.
- There **Anti-Congress** wave all over India.
- This was because now Punjab had a **60% Sikh population of which 25% were Dalit Sikhs** who were not the support base of the Akali Dal.
- In 1971, Congress again came to power in Punjab, and then the high popularity of Indira Gandhi due to the December 1971 **Bangladesh Liberation War**.

#### **Anantapur Sahib Resolution: (10:47 PM)**

- Therefore, in **October 1973**, **Akalis** gave Anantapur Shahib Resolution.
- (MIH: Guru Gobind Singh wanted Sikh State in an around Anantapur)
- **Whereby:**
- Chandigarh for Punjab.
- Punjabi-speaking areas of other states to Punjab.
- Resolve grievances about river water sharing with Haryana and Rajasthan. (Ravi, Beas, Satluj).
- Change the Constitution of India to bring real Federalism with the center's powers limited to defense, foreign affairs, currency, and general administration.
- The political goal was defined as **Autonomy within India** and not secession.
- But in the Preamble of Resolution, it was stated that Akali Dal is a representative of a Sikh Nation. (**Nation = People, not state or country**).
- Therefore, two nation theory but not two states.
- However, 1973 was not the right time due to Indira Gandhi's popularity after the 1971 war.
- During the **Emergency in 1975-77**, Akalis were put in Jail.
- And they came to power after the Emergency.
- And revived demands of the **Anantapur Sahib Resolution**.

#### **Rise of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: (10:56 AM)**

- **Nirankaris vs. Others, 1978:**
- Nirankaris considered themselves as Sikhs but believed in a living Guru.
- Therefore, regarded as Heretics by other Sikhs.
- In 1978, Nirankaris were holding a big rally in **Amritsar**, and **Bhindranwale** was leading the opposition to this meeting.
- Motivated by his Hate Speech, in **Golden Temple (GT)**, a **Sikh** crowd attacked the meeting and 15 died.

#### **Personality:**

- An inspiring preacher who had good knowledge of **Sikh scriptures**.
- And left the family to head a seminary called **Damdami Taksal**.
- He wanted Sikhs to purify themselves, and return to the golden past.
- For example, spoke against smoking, alcohol, cutting hair, etc.
- He raised political tensions.
- For example, argued that **Sikhs are discriminated against by Hindus**, and are slaves in India.

- Some argue, that he was cultivated by Sanjay Gandhi and Gyani Zail Singh (former CM, future President) to counter Akalis.
- That is, create a bigger religious icon to cut the votes of Akalis.
- Whoever promoted **Bhindranwale**, later displayed his own Charisma.
- Some lower Sikh castes of Artisans and Labourers became followers as they saw purification away for social mobility (MIH: Lower Caste Hindus followed Sati, and stopped Widow Remarriage for the same reason).
- Many **Jat Peasants** became followers as they felt that Green Revolution benefits were cornered by **Big Landlords**.
- A general increase in religiosity due to unexpected economic gains from **Green Revolution**.
- **1980:** Sikh pride hurt as Akalis lost and Congress won the elections.
- June 1980: Khalistan was proclaimed by a group of students in Golden Temple.
- Their leader **Jagjeet Singh Chouhan** was in London.
- And this declaration was also made in UK, US, and Canada.
- The main focus of GOI was Akalis who had started protests under new leader Longowal who operated from Golden Temple (**Protests for ASR, 1973**).
- Bhindranwale also operated from Golden Temple and kept armed followers.
- Therefore, the 1980s was an era of **Mass Agitations by Akalis** and political assassinations by Bhindranwale's followers.
- For example, Gurcharan Singh (Leader of Nirankaris) was shot dead in Delhi in April 1980, Killing Lala Jagat Narain (Editor of Punjab Kesari, who was writing against communal politics).
- Bhindranwale was still **not arrested**.
- For example, union minister Zail Singh prevented Congress CM Darbara Singh from acting against Bhindranwale.
- When finally, he was arrested, it was agreed that only **Sikh policemen arrest him**.
- **Violent** protests followed.
- And Bhindranwale was released on grounds of **lack of evidence**.
- This was a turning point in the popularity of Bhindranwale, as the perception that he defeated **Union Government**.
- **1982 negotiations on ASR**, 1973 between GOI and Akalis failed due to disagreement at Chandigarh, river-water sharing, and areas Punjab should give to Haryana in return for Chandigarh.
- Therefore, in 1983, Akali MLAs resigned suggesting disloyalty to the **Constitution of India**.
- It was the product of competition for Sikh support between **Bhindranwale and Akalis**.
- Therefore, Akalis took a more radical step by resigning.
- **AS Atwal was shot dead** in Golden Temple, and his body could not be picked up for hours.
- Therefore morale of the police crashed.
- Now bank **robberies began**.
- **The Exodus of Hindus** from Punjab began.
- Therefore centuries-old Hindu-Sikh unity started collapsing.
- Khalistan:
- Bhindranwale argued that Sikhs are a **separate community/nation**.
- He did not demand Khalistan but stated that won't refuse if offered, and now attacked GOI, for example, referred to Indira Gandhi as Panditain.
- And that she can come to Golden Temple for meeting him, but he won't go to Delhi.
- Gave communal directions like **"smash" the heads of Hindus** if they come in search of you.
- And cited Sikh history, where **40 fought 10,000 when Mughals tried to destroy the Gurus**.
- **"If Israel of Jews can keep away so many Arabs, then Sikh can fight Hindus."**
- In October 1983, Hindus were removed from a bus and shot dead.
- And the next day, **President Rule was applied**. (Government of Congress in Punjab).
- By the end of 1983, took residence in Akal Takht, which had great symbolic value.
- As it is second in importance only to Golden Temple, and from here, Gurus gave *humkunamas*.
- And **Guru Gobind Singh ji** compiled Guru Granth Sahib here.
- And, Khalsa warriors took blessings from here before fighting **against the Mughals**.

#### Operation Blue Star: (11:51 AM)

- **3rd June 1984.**
- 100s of Armymen were killed, and 100s of Bhindranwale's supporters and Bhindranwale were killed.

- **Golden Temple** complex was damaged, and tanks were used.
- After **Operation Blue Star**, there was rampant communal violence.
- Even neutral youth joined militancy.
- **31st October 1984**: Indira Gandhi was killed by Sikh bodyguards.
- Anti-Sikh riots in Delhi, where police remained inactive for 3 days.
- Agitations by Akalis in Punjab continued.
- **Rajiv-Longowals Accord**: July 1985 on Anantapur Sahib Resolution.
- These were not fully implemented.
- **1987-91: President Rule.**
- **1988: Operation Black Thunder**: Much better planned, as on basis of effective intelligence.
- Without any damage to **Golden Temple**.
- **Militants were flushed out of Golden Temple**, and their leaders were neutralized (Militants believed that GoI won't ever think of entering Golden Temple again, therefore had taken safe heaven in Golden Temple).
- **1992 Elections**:
- Congress came to power due to **low voter turnout**.
- And now KPS Gill was given **free hand**.

#### **Gill Doctrine: (12:09 PM)**

- He was ruthless and eliminated **militancy in Punjab**.
- **People** don't support militants; they support the **stronger faction**.
- As they fear for their own security.
- Therefore, **Police** should demonstrate that they are more powerful.
- The leadership of militants was **targeted and eliminated**.
- **But in the process**: Allegations of rape and murders of civilians.
- Therefore, civilians suffered at hands of both **militants and police**.
- **(Refer to Handout for Rajiv Gandhi era, Kargil War)**.

**Post Independence India syllabus completed for this batch.**