



(Supplementary Material)

Post-Independence Consolidation and Reorganization within the Country

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Chapter 01: Nation Building Process and its Challenges

A. Partition and its aftermath

The initial few years of independent India were full of daunting challenges and concerns regarding national unity and territorial integrity of India. Freedom came with Partition, which resulted in large scale communal violence and displacement and unprecedented violence challenged the very idea of a secular India.

Independent India faced three kinds of challenges:

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

Partition: Displacement and Rehabilitation-

On 14–15 August 1947, two nation states came into existence, because of 'partition' of the division of British India into India and Pakistan. According to the "two nation theory" advanced by the Muslim League, India consisted of two 'People' Hindus and Muslims.

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

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

Limitation of this award:

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

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

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

- i. There were two areas of concentration with Muslim majority, In the West and East part of India. Hence, it was decided that the new country. Pakistan will comprise two territories, West and East Pakistan.
- ii. All the Muslims were not in favour joining Pakistan. Frontier Gandhi, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, the undisputed leader of the North West Frontier Province, staunchly opposed the two nation theory. But as Khudai khidmatgar of Abdul Ghaffar Khan boycotted the Plebiscite due to provision of limited franchise rights in that, the lone contender in the fray, the Muslim League, won the vote by default and in the end NWFP was made to merge with Pakistan.
- iii. Two Muslims majority concentrated provinces of British India, Punjab and Bengal had very large areas with non Muslims population in the majority. Eventually it was decided that these two provinces would be bifurcated according to the religious majority at the district or even lower level. The partition of these two provinces caused the prolonged trauma of Partition.

- iv. The last difficult position was of "minorities" on both the sides of the border. Minorities then on either side lived in fear and fled from their homes to save their lives from brutal violence unleashed during partition.

Consequence of Partition:

The year 1947, saw the one of the most abrupt and haphazard, tragic transfer of people that human history had ever witnessed. There were brutal killings, atrocities, rapes, on both sides of the border. The cities like Lahore, Amritsar, Kolkata (then Calcutta) got divided into "Communal Zones". In many cases women were killed by their own family members to preserve the 'family honor'. Everything was divided then from tables, chairs to government officials. It is estimated that the Partition forced about 80 lakhs people to migrate across the new border. Between five to 10 lakh people were killed in Partition related violence.

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

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

Camps such as Kurukshetra were but a holding operation. The refugees had to be found permanent homes and productive work. Thus refugees required land for permanent settlement. As it happened, a massive migration had also taken place the other way, into Pakistan from India. Thus, the first place to resettle the refugees was on land vacated by Muslims in the eastern part of the Punjab. If the transfer of populations had been 'the greatest mass migration' in history now commenced 'the biggest land resettlement operation in the world'. As against 2.7 million hectares abandoned by Hindus and Sikhs in West Punjab, there were only 1.9 million hectares left behind by Muslims in East Punjab. The shortfall was made more acute by the fact that the areas in the west of the province had richer soils, and were more abundantly irrigated. To begin with, each family of refugee farmers was given an allotment of four hectares, regardless of its holding in Pakistan. Loans were advanced to buy seed and equipment. While cultivation commenced on these temporary plots, applications were invited for permanent allotments.

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

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

Leading the operations was the director general of rehabilitation, **Sardar Tarlok Singh of the Indian Civil Service**. A graduate of the London School of Economics, Tarlok Singh used his academic training to good effect, making two innovations that proved critical in the successful settlement of the refugees.

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

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

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

Plan of consolidation:

The broad strategy for national consolidation after 1947 involved :

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

B. Integration of Princely States

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

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

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

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

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

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

Patel threw a series of lunch parties where he requested his princely guests to help the Congress in framing the new constitution for India. Patel's first step was to appeal to the princes whose territories fell inside India to accede to the Indian Union in three subjects which affected the common interests of the country, namely, foreign relations, defence and communications. He also gave an implied threat he would not be able to restrain the impatient people post August 15, 1947. States were issued an appeal with an implied threat of anarchy and chaos.

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

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

Jodhpur- A young hindu king was there, it's accession was a serious issue due to its proximity to border. Jinnah also persuaded him but after tremendous pressure from Patel, finally he signed the Instrument of Assession.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

On 15th August Harisingh offered standstill agreement with both countries which would allow the free movement of people and goods. Pakistan signed the agreement but India didn't and followed the policy of wait and watch. Pakistan became impatient and started violating standstill agreement. Mehar Chand Mahajan then prime minister of Kashmir complained this to British government for economic blockade and breach of standstill agreement. On 22nd October several pathan tribesmen unofficially led by Pakistan's army officer invaded the state from north and reached up to Baramullah, were further advancing towards Srinagar.

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

On 1st Jan 1948 India decided to take the Kashmir issue to UN and it is said that it was on the advice of Pakistan. Security Council was with Pakistan; both USA and Britain supported Pak and even Nehru accepted that they were playing a dirty game. Britain's Representative Phillip baker vigorously supported Pakistan's position.

Finally after a security council resolution there was a cease fire from 1st Jan 1948 and India and pak agreed upon ceasefire line as LoC. After some days in 1951 constituent assembly met in Srinagar to formulate a constitution for state and constituent assembly of state also ratified the accession in 1954.

In 1951 UN passed a resolution for a referendum under UN supervision after Pak has withdrawn its troops. This resolution remains ineffective because Pakistan never withdrew its force from what is called Azad Kashmir or Pak occupied Kashmir.

- iii. Hyderabad the largest of the princely states and it was surrounded entirely by Indian Territory. Some parts of the old Hyderabad states are today parts of Maharashtra, Karnataka, and Andhra Pradesh. Its ruler was called "Nizam" and one the richest men of his time. Rule of the Nizam was unjust and tyrannical and he had **Majlis-e-Ittehad-ul Muslimeen** or **MIM** (Council of the Union of Muslims) which was a Muslim political party to safeguard the interest of Muslims in India. The MIM advocated the set up of a Muslim dominion rather than integration with India.

Nizam Mir Osman Ali wanted an independent status for Hyderabad. Hence, he entered into the standstill agreement with India in November 1947 for a year while negotiations with the Indian Government were going on.

People's movement against Nizam's rule gathered momentum. Particularly the peasants of Telangana region, and women who had seen the worst of this oppression joined the movements in great numbers. Hyderabad town was the nerve centre of this movement, and the communists and Hyderabad congress were at the forefront.

The Nizam retaliated on popular movement by unleashing a para-military force, **Razakars** on the people. In total up to 150,000 Razakar soldiers were mobilized to fight against the Indian Union and for the independence of the Hyderabad State against Indian integration. The atrocities & communal nature of the Razakars knew no bounds. The murdered, maimed, raped and looted, targeting particularly the non-Muslims. The central government had to order the army to tackle the situation. On 13th September 1948, Indian army under **operation Polo** (Code name of the Hyderabad Police Action) invaded the **Hyderabad state** & overthrew its **Nizam**, annexing the state merged it **into the Indian Union**. After the integration of the Hyderabad state with India, the MIM was banned in 1948. The Razakar leader **Qasim Rizvi** was jailed from 1948 to 1957, and then he was released on the condition to go to Pakistan, where he was granted asylum. Nizam was rewarded for final submission and was made Rajpramukh.

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

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

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

Smaller states were either merged with the neighboring states or merged together to 'form centrally administered areas'. A large number of states were consolidated into five new unions, forming Madhya Bharat, Rajasthan, Patiala and East Punjab states Union [PEPSU], Saurashtra and Travancore-Cochin. Mysore, Hyderabad and Jammu and Kashmir retained their original form as separate states of the Union.

In return of their surrender of all power and authority, the rulers of major states were given privy purses guaranteed by the constitution. The rulers were allowed succession to the gaddi and retained certain privileges such as keeping their **titles**, flying their **personal flags** and gun **salutes on ceremonial** occasions.

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

Portuguese were not ready to handover their areas. Its Nato allies supported Portugal's position and India supported peaceful means. There was a independence movement in Goa, India was patient, but in 1961 when that popular movement demanded support Indian troops marched in Goa in under **Operation Vijay** and Portuguese did surrendered without any fight.

C. Tribal Integration

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

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

Roots of India Tribal Policy:

The preservation of the tribal people's rich social and cultural heritage lay at the heart of Government of India's policy of tribal integration.

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

Nehru approach was based on the nationalist policy towards tribals since the 1920s when Gandhiji set up ashrams in the tribal areas and promoted constructive work. There were certain broad guidelines laid down by Nehru, with the help of **Verrier Elwin [British Anthropologist]** which was called as "**Tribal Panchsheel**". They are:

1. People should develop along the line of their own genius & we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture.
2. Tribals rights to land and forest should be respected.
3. We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will no doubt, be needed, especially in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory.
4. We should not over administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through & not in **rivalry** to, their own **social & cultural institutions**.
5. We should judge results not by **statistics** or the amount of money spent, but by the **quality of** human character **that is involved**.

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

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

Note : [There are many special power related to tribal areas are given to state governors by the constitution, for those articles please refer **Indian Polity by Laxmikant**]

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

Reasons for dismal performance of Tribal Policy:

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

Positive Development happened due to state's Initiative:

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

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

D. Issue of language

The language problem was the most divisive issue in the first twenty years of independent India.

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

The problem posed to national consolidation by linguistic diversity has taken two major forms :

1. The dispute over official language of the union.
2. The **linguistic reorganization of the states** [this issue will be dealt **separately not in this chapter**]

The Official Language:

- Opposition to Hindi as a national languages tended to create conflict between Hindi speaking and **non-Hindi speaking regions of the country**.
- The issue of a national language was resolved when the constitution-makers virtually **accepted all the major** languages as "**languages of India**".
- Being a foreign language Gandhi opposed the idea that English would be an **all India medium of communications in free India**.
- Sharp differences marked the initial debates as the problem of the official language was highly political from the beginning.

- Hindi was chosen over **Hindustani [written in Devanagari or Urdu script]** to be the **official** language of India & but the national **language**.
- The issue of the time-frame for a shift from English to Hindi produced a divide between Hindi & non Hindi areas. Proponents of Hindi wanted immediate switch over, while non Hindi areas advocated retention of English for a long if not **indefinite period**.
- Nehru was in favour of making Hindi the official **language**, but he also favoured English to be **continuing** as an **additional official language**.
- The constitution provided that Hindi in Devanagari script with international numerals would be India's official language. English was to continue for use in all official purposes till 1965, when it would be replaced by Hindi in phased manner. However, Parliament would have the power to provide for the use of English for specified purposes even after 1965.
- The constitution laid upon the government the duty to promote the spread and development of Hindi & provides for the appointment of Commission & a Joint Parliamentary Committee to review the progress in the respect. The state legislatures were to divide the matter of official language at state level, though the official language of the Union would serve as **the language of communication between the states and the centre & between one state & another**.
- In 1956, the report of the official language commission set up in 1955 in terms of a **constitutional provision**, recommended that Hindi should start progressively replacing English in various functions of the central government with effective change taking place in 1965. Two members of commission, one each from West Bengal & Tamil Nadu, dissented this while accusing other members for pro-Hindi Bias. JPC [Joint Parliamentary Committee] reviewed the report to implement the recommendations of JPC, President issued an order in April 1960 stating that after 1965 Hindi would be the Principal official language, but English would continue without any **restriction as the associate official language**. To promote Hindi, according to President's directive, central government took a series of steps to promote Hindi. These includes the setting up of central Hindi Directorate, publication of standards works in Hindi or in Hindi translation in various fields, compulsory training of central government employees in Hindi and translation of major text of law into Hindi & promotion of their use by the courts.
- To allay the fear of non Hindi speakers Nehru in the Parliament in 1959, assured them that English would continue as alternate language as long as the people require it. In 1963, official languages Act was passed. The **object of the Act**, was to remove a restriction which had been placed by the constitution on the use of English after a **certain dates namely 1965**.
- Because of ambiguity in Official Languages Act due to the word "**may**" instead of "**shall**", they **criticized** it.
- Now, many non Hindi leaders in protest changed their line of approach to the problem of the official language, while initially they had demanded a slowing **down of the replacement** of English, now they shifted their stand and demanded that there **should be no deadline fixed for the changeover**.
- There was immense amount of protests in Tamil Nadu, some students burnt themselves, Two Tamil Ministers in Union Cabinet, C. Subramaniam & Alagesan **resigned**, 60 people died **due to police firing during agitation**.
- Later when Indira Gandhi became PM in 1966, in 1967, she moved a amendment to **the 1963 official Languages Act**. The amendment was passed with thumping majority.

Features of Amended Act:

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

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

Chapter –02: From Colony to Democracy

A. Emergence of Electoral Politics

Despite the unprecedented illiterate population, diversities, poor economic condition the national leadership were not in big quandary regarding adoption of democratic institutions to consolidate India. Faced with such serious challenges, other leaders from different countries resisted democracy as a form of governance. According to the leaders of different countries who gained freedom from colonialism, their priority was national unity, which will not be sustained with democracy as it would bring differences and conflicts. Hence, we have seen lots of non-democratic regime in newly independent countries. While competition and power are the two most visible **things about politics**, the intention of **political activity** should be deciding and pursuing public interest. This is the route our leaders **decided to pursue**.

After adoption of constitution on January 26, 1950, It was necessary to install the first democratically elected government of the country. The election commission of India was set up in January 1950 with a constitutional provision to conduct free and fair elections. Sukumar Sen became the first Chief Election Commissioner [then ECI was single member body, unlike today's multi member body].

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

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

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

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

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

partition inflicted communal violence and riots. The elections were conducted in a fair, free, impartial and orderly manner with very little violence.

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

There were many political parties which had participated in country's first general elections and state assemblies elections in free India. Starting from the Indian National Congress to Socialist Party, Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party, Communist and allies, Jan Singh, Hindu Mahasabha, RRP [Ram Rajya Parishad] other local parties and independents. The congress had emerged as the single largest party by winning 364 seats with 45% of total polled votes for Lok Sabha. The congress formed all the government in all the states and at the centre too. It did not get a majority on its own in four states—Madras, Travancore-Cochin, Orissa, PEPSU but formed governments even there with the help of independents and smaller local parties which then merged with it. The communist performance was big surprise and it emerged as the second largest group in the Lok Sabha. Princes and big landlords still wielded a great deal of influence in some parts of the country. Their party Gantantra Parishad won 31 seats in Orissa Assembly. Despite the numerically dominant position of the congress, the opposition was quite effective in parliament. Other forms of political participation such as trade unions, Kishan Sabha, strikes, hartals, bands and demonstrations were available to the middle classes, organized working class and sections of the rich and middle class peasantry. Elections were the main form of direct political participation for the vast mass of rural and urban poor.

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

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

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

B. Dominance of Congress System:

As we have discussed about emergence of electoral politics, the congress party achieved great success in country's first general elections. Here we will discuss how it secured such success and further will inquire into nature of such congress dominance.

In the initial three general elections, the congress gained overwhelming majority. The congress won three out of every four seats but it did not manage to win half the total votes polled. In 1952, for example the congress obtains 45% of the total votes, but it manages to win 74% of the seats. In the first general elections, out of 489 seats of Lok Sabha, the congress had won 364 seats. In the next two general elections of 1957 and 1962 respectively, it had secured 371 and 361 seats out of total 494. It had also formed government at the state level throughout the country except few occasions.

Nature of Congress Dominance

India is not the only exception to have experienced the dominance of one party. We can see example of 'one party dominance' in other parts of the world as well. In other countries, we have seen that there was compromise with democratic values and norms whereas India upheld those values and norms. In some countries like China, Cuba and Syria the constitution allows only a single party to rule the country. Some others like

Myanmar, Belarus, Egypt and Eritrea were effectively one party states due to legal and military measure. Until a few years ago, Mexico, South Korea and Taiwan were also effectively one party dominant states.

The congress had reached the fruits of their diligent labor of their freedom struggle movement in ensuring post independence general elections. It had inherited the legacy of Indian National Congress Movements and their stalwart leaders. So, by default, due to their strong organizational network of freedom movement, throughout the country, it reached out to the masses instantly and connected with masses well. It was puerile to imagine other political parties organizing themselves in such a short time and achieving the faith of the masses.

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

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

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

C. Emergence of Opposition Parties

Due to the great performance of the congress party, all opposition parties achieved only a token representation in the Lok Sabha and State assemblies during the "congress system", period. Yet these oppositions played a key role in maintaining the democratic character of the system. The opposition parties offered a sustained and principle criticism of the parties and policies of the congress of the practices and policies of the congress party. By keeping democratic political alternative alive, the opposition parties prevented the resentment with the system from turning into anti-democratic.

In the beginning of true sense of democracy in India, there was high respect between the congress and opposition leaders. There was induction of opposition leaders in the interim government before independence and even in the post independence government, opposition leaders like Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Shyama Prasad Mukherjee(Jan Jabha) were in the Nehru's Cabinet.

The positive rapport between the congress and opposition leaders gradually declined when these parties in intense competition of achieving power.

As the ability of congress to accommodate all interests and all aspirants for political hour steadily declined, other political parties started gaining greater significance. Thus, the congress dominance constitutes only one phase in the country's politics.

Now, we will discuss the major political parties during the "congress system" period.

Socialist party

- The foundation of the socialist party laid before independence when some leaders within the congress party has sought more radical and egalitarian congress. So, they formed the Congress Socialist Party (CSP) in 1934.
- Later after independence, the congress party had changed the rule regarding dual membership and barred the C.S.P members with congress's membership. This situation compelled CSP leaders to form separate Socialist Party in 1948.
- The socialists believed in the ideology of democratic socialism which distinguished them both from the congress and the communists.
- Socialist party leaders criticized congress for favouring capitalists and landlord and ignoring teaming masses like workers, peasants.

- Socialist party was in big dilemma when the congress party in 1955 declared its goal to be the socialist pattern of society. In such scenario, their leader Ashok Mehta offered limited cooperation with the congress.
- Many faction emerged from the split and union of the socialist party viz. Kisan Mazdoor Praja party, the praja socialist party, Samyukta Socialist Party
- Jayprakash Narayan, Rammanohar Lohiya, Achyut patwardhan, Ashok Mehta, Acharya Narendra Dev, S.M. Joshi were stalwart leaders of the socialist party.
- In the contemporary times, the Samajwadi party, the Rashtriya Janta Dal (RJD), Janta Dal (United), Janta Dal (Secular) trace their origins to the socialist party

Bhartiya Jan Sangh (BJS)

- BJS was formed in 1951 by Shyama Prasad Mukharjee and trace its roots with R.S.S (Rashtriya Sawyamsevek Singh) and the Hindu Mahasabha before independence.
- The BJS emphasised the idea of one country, one culture and one notion and believes that the country could become modern, progressive and strong on the basis of Indian culture and traditions.
- BJS leaders were Shyama Prasad Mukharjee, Deen Dayal Upadhyaya (He initiated the concept of integral humanism), and Balraj Madhok.
- BJS performed very party in almost all the Lok Sabha Election.
- In the contemporary times, the Bhartiya Janta Party (BJP) traces its roots to B.J.S

The communist party of India

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

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

Swatantra Party

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

Chapter: 3 Economic Development

Economic Development and Planning

A. Mixed Economy Model (Socialism)

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

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

India had to abandon the colonial style of functioning for commercial gains only; and strive for poverty alleviation and social-economic redistribution was primary responsibility of the then government. Therefore India adopted the mixed model of economic development, which has features of both the capitalist and socialist models.

The things which helped Indian economy to revive itself after years of exploitation:

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

Note: What are the Leftists and Rightist Party?

Leftist: refers to those who are in favour of the poor, down trodden sections and support government policies for the benefit of these sections.

Rightist: refers to those who believe that free competition and market economy alone to ensure progress and that the government should not unnecessarily intervene in the economy]

Why India completely rejected the capitalist style of Modernization?

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

Indian Parliament in December 1954 accepted ' the socialist pattern of society as the objective of social and economic policy. In fact the model projected was of a "mixed economy" where the public and the private sectors were not only to co-exist but where to be complementary to each other and the private sector was to be encouraged to grow with as much freedom as possible within the broad objectives of the national plan.

B. Planning and its Impact

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

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

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

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

As in the then U.S.S.R [United Soviet Socialist Republic], the Planning Commission of India opted for five year plan. The government of India prepares a document that has a plan for all its income and expenditure for the next 5 years. Accordingly the budget of the central and all the state governments is divided into parts:

- i. Non 'Planned' Budget – This is spent on routine items on a yearly basis.
- ii. Planned Budget – This is spent on a Five year basis as per the priorities fixed by the plan. A five years plan has the advantage of permitting the government to focus on the larger picture and make long term intervention in the economy.

The First Five Year Plan:

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

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

Second Five Year Plan

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

Achievements of Plans From 1947–65

1. Stepping up the rate of growth required a substantial increase in the investment rate. An important achievement in this period was the rise in the savings and investment rates.

2. On the agrarian front, the comprehensive land reforms measures initiated soon after independence, the setting of a massive network for agricultural extension and community development at village level, the large infrastructural investment in irrigation, power, and agricultural research created favorable conditions for agricultural growth.
3. Industry during the first three plans, grew more rapidly than agriculture. The industrial growth was based on rapid import substitution of both consumer goods and capital good and intermediate goods. This helped India in reducing India's total dependence on the advanced countries for basic goods and capital equipment's.
4. Apart from industry and agriculture, the early planners gave utmost priority to the development of social infrastructure including education and health, areas greatly neglected in the colonial past.
5. Nehru's temples of Modern India' consisted not only of steel and power plants, irrigation dams, etc. but included institutions of higher learning particularly in the scientific field. During first Five year Plan, high powered national laboratories and institutes were set up by the council of scientific and industrial research for conducting fundamental and applied research in each of following areas : Physics, chemistry, fuel, glass and ceramics food technology drugs, electro-chemistry, roads, leather and building. In 1948, the Atomic Energy Commission was set up laying the foundations of the creditable advances India was to make in the sphere of nuclear Science and related areas. India's scientific and technical manpower increased more than 12 times from 190,000 to 2.32 million.

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

1. Agriculture vs. Industry

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

2) Public vs. Private Sector:

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

C. Green Revolution

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

Prevailing Conditions before the introduction of Green Revolution:

- The focus for Indian agriculture was only on institutional reforms, not on the technological base for agriculture.
- Despite very credible growth of agriculture output during 1949 to 65 of 3% per annum India had been facing food shortages since the mid 1950's.
- The massive jump in population growth rates after independence, steady rise in per capita income, huge outlays towards planned industrialisation put long term pressures on Indian agriculture which resulted in massive demand.
- To meet food shortage, India was forced to import food in greater amount.

- Two wars, one with China (1962) and another with Pak (1965) and successive drought in years 1965–1966, led to fall in agriculture output massively. Food prices shot up.
- Arm twisting policies of U.S.A. Government due to India stand on Vietnam and India's denial of accepting an economy policy package. [During shortage of food, India was importing food from U.S.A. under the PL-480 Scheme].
- Due to the grim Scenario of the mid 1960's economic self reliance and food self sufficiency became top priority objectives of Indian leadership.

Initiatives prior to Green Revolution to boost Agriculture:

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

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

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

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

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

Government's other positive initiative during Green Revolution Period:

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

Positive impact of Green Revolution:

- Throughout the three phases of Green Revolution food grain production rose significantly. By the 1980's not only was India self sufficient in food with buffer food stocks of over 30 million tonnes, but also it was exporting food to pay back its earlier loans and to loan to deficit countries.
- The critical impact of the Green Revolution was it maintained the agricultural growth rates plus it generated a rapid increase in the marketable surplus of food grains.
- The liberation from dependence on PL-480 or other imports was a major step in the direction of self reliant independent development for India.
- The new Green Revolution technology proved not only scale neutral but also evolved an inverse relationship between scale and productivity. Small farmers applied more inputs per unit of land compared to large farmers.

- Small farmers became relatively more viable and did not sell out their land to large land holding farmers in distress.
- The Green Revolution not only generated employment in agriculture but also non agricultural rural and semi-urban employment through the development of agro industries, transport industry, and other agriculturally allied sectors.

Increase in income of farmers led to the demand for factory produced consumer durables like radios, watches, TVS, Sewing machines etc.

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

Negative impacts of the Green Revolution:

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

D. Operation Flood and Cooperatives

Background to operation flood:

Peasants of Kaira [Kheda] district, Gujarat which supplied milk to Bombay felt cheated by the milk traders and then they met Sardar Patel who was from the same region to redress their grievances. At the initiative of Patel & Morarji Desai, the farmers organized themselves into a cooperative union, pressurize the Bombay government with "Milk Strike" to buy milk directly from their Union. These farmers registered themselves in Anand, Gujarat in Dec, 1946.

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

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

The Kaira cooperative success made the movements spread to the rest of the country inevitable. In the 1964, the then PM Shastriji wrote to the all (CM's of the country to set up cooperative dairies on the "Anand Pattern" to perform this task NDDDB (National Dairy Development Board) was created in 1965—Mr. Verghese Kurien was at its helm as its honorary chairman.

Beginning of Operation Flood:

Drawing heavily from the Kaira Union for personnel, expertise and much more, the NDDB launched "Operation Flood", a programme to replicate the "Anand Pattern" in other milkshed of country.

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

Impact of operation Flood

- The obvious impact of operation Flood was the considerable increase in milk supply and consequent increase in income of the milk producers, particularly the poor. It was estimated that 60% of the beneficiaries were marginal or small farmers and landless labourers.

Milk cooperatives proved to be a significant anti-poverty measure.

Cooperatives

All the leader of Indian freedom struggle, from Mahatama Gandhi to Nehru, the socialists, communists, past independence agreed that co-operativization would lead to major improvement in Indian agriculture and benefit the poor.

The congress Agrarian Reforms Committee also known as Kumarappa Committee made the recommendation for compulsory promoting cooperatives. The congress party in their 1959's Nagpur Session passed Nagpur Resolution which visualize an agrarian pattern based on Joint cooperative farming in the future, it specified that such a pattern was to be achieved within three years, However, there were some leaders like C. Rajagopalachari, N.G. Ranga and Charan Singh who opposed such move hence Nehru in Feb 1959 assures the Parliament of not using any coercion to introduce cooperatives.

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

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

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

Limitations of Co-operativization

Danial Thorner, the noted economist during his observation of cooperatives between Dec 1958 to May 1959 found many weaknesses on the cooperative movements. He observed two types cooperatives movements. He observed two types cooperatives in case of joint farming. One was of rich and landowning farmers. They formed such cooperatives to evade land reforms and access incentives offered by the state. These were bogus kind of cooperatives where big farmers enrolled their labourers and ex-tenants as members. The other, second type of cooperatives was state sponsored cooperative forms where uncultivated lands of the government made available to the landless labourers and underprivileged groups. These cooperatives didn't live up to their expectations in terms of benefits of scale.

The service cooperatives fared better than the farming cooperatives. There were many shortcomings too in service cooperatives. Service cooperatives reinforced the caste based hierarchical structure. Leaders of such cooperatives mostly drawn from traders and money lending communities. Hence no benefits to poor. In 1971,

the National Commission on Agriculture confirmed the virtual exclusion of the landless from securing credits from credit cooperatives.

Instead of promoting people's participation in cooperative movement, very soon it became overstaffed with government officials and became inefficient. Credit cooperatives suffered from major drawback of failure of repayment of loans, which led to large percentage of over-dues. Contrary to common perception, rich and landowning community were largest defaulters than the poor and small farmers.

Chapter – 4

India's External Relations

A. Introduction to India's Foreign Policy:

At the world level, situation around the world in general was very grim. The world had just witnessed the devastating World War II, attempt of creating new international body for peace, emergence of new nations with the collapse of colonialism, twin challenges face by new countries; welfare and democracy for all. In Indian context, the bitter partition, the legacy of British India left behind many difficult challenges.

India's efforts to pursue an independent foreign policy were highlight of post 1947 politics. Nehru used foreign policy as an instrument to defend and strengthen India's independence and to safeguard her national interests, to develop the self reliance, self confidence and pride of the masses while serving the cause of world peace and anti colonialism.

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

The state shall Endeavour to:

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

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

- i. To preserve hard earned sovereignty.
- ii. Protect territorial integrity.
- iii. Promote rapid economic development.

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

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

Major function of Indian foreign policy was to promote and protect Indian economic interests. Nehru played a crucial role in setting the national agenda. He was his own foreign minister hence, both as the Prime Minister

and the foreign minister; he exercised profound influence in the formulation and implementation of India's foreign policy from 1947 to 1964.

Non Alignment Policy –

Reason for Non-alignment Policy:

- i. After the end of WW II, the world was divided into two hostile blocs, one led by the U.S.A. and the western powers; another was by the Soviet Union.
- ii. Nehru had thought that the poor countries of Asia and Africa would gain nothing and lose everything if they join such military blocs which will serve their own self interests.
- iii. The leaders of NAM were firm in their view to expand the "area of peace" instead of hostility. Hence India and other countries like Egypt, Indonesia did not approve joining of Baghdad Pact, the Manila Treaty, SEATO and CENTO, which were military blocs.
- iv. Non-Alignment came to symbolize the struggle of India and other newly independent nations to retain and strengthen their independence from colonialism and imperialism.
- v. To pursue the dream of a peaceful world, India advocated non alignment policy by reducing the cold war tensions and contributing human resources to the UN peace keeping operations.
- vi. Due to acceptance of non-alignment policy, many nations of the world got their voice heard in the nascent organization, UN. The one country, one vote system enables the non-aligned bloc to check domination by the Western bloc. Thus, Non alignment advanced the process of democratization of international relations.

Background to Non Alignment Policy:

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

Criticism of NAM:

- i. Former U.S.A. secretary of state, John Foster Dulles accused the non alignment movement with the charge of "immoral neutrality"
- ii. Nehru rebated the charge of Dulles, by saying that Non alignment meant having the freedom to decide each issue on its merits, to understand what was right or wrong, and then take a stand in favour of right.

B. Relations with neighbors [Pakistan & China]

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

India's relations with her neighbours were of central concern to her. India signed with Nepal, Treaty of Peace and Friendship in 1950, which gave Nepal unhindered access for commercial transit through India and secured its total sovereignty and making both the countries responsible for each other's security. With Burma [now Myanmar] there was problem of India settlers which was solved peacefully. Even though there was some tension with Sri Lanka regarding Tamil settlers' issue, but it didn't become obstacle in the relations. However, India had bitter relations with both China and Pakistan.

I. Relations with Pakistan:

Maharaja of Kashmir had sought one year time to make up his mind whether to join either country or to remain independent. Both the countries agreed for this term. However, fearing the tide against Pakistan, the leadership of Pakistan initiated a proxy war by sending some tribesmen from the Frontier Province. India accepted the demand of help by Kashmiri ruler and sent its troops to drive out these tribesmen. Meanwhile Ruler of Kashmir had to sign the instrument of Accession and became a part of India. At the same time after the end of this proxy war, India lodged the complaint against Pakistan for their illegal action in UN. Instead of getting justice at UNs, Western powers backed Pakistan. India also accepted the UN resolution on ceasefire in spite of its advantageous position and agreed for plebiscite in Kashmir, which laid down two conditions for holding plebiscite:–

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

Above mentioned first conditions was never fulfilled, so there was no plebiscite there. Meanwhile J&K participated in India's general elections and then the talk of plebiscite remained irrelevant.

The Kashmir conflict didn't prevent cooperation between the government of India and Pak. Both the government worked together to restore the abducted women to their original families, a long term dispute of river water sharing was resolved –with world Bank's mediation and India-Pakistan Indus Water Treaty was signed by Nehru and General Ayub Khan in 1960.

1965 War:

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

Due to the mediation of Soviet Union, Both the countries signed the Tashkent Agreement [Shastri from India & General Ayub Khan from Pak] in January 1966. Although India won the war, this war added India the economic difficulties.

1971 War:

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

The support to Western Pak came from the USA & China to quash the people's movement. To ensure its safety from the attacks of American and Chinese backed Pak, India signed 20 year Treaty of Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union. Even after much diplomatic deliberations it could not achieve concrete results, and full scale war broke out in December 1971 on both the western and Eastern front. With the support of local population in the form of "Mukti Bahini" Indian army made rapid progress and compelled the Pakistani troops to surrender in 10 days only. With emergence of Bangladesh as an independent country, India declared a unilateral ceasefire. Later Shimla Agreement of 1972 (July 03) between Indira Gandhi & Zulfikar Bhutto brought back the peace between two nations.

Kargil War:

After the debacle of 1971 war, Pak army never tried to fight with Indian army directly and started the proxy war by sending the terrorists trained by their secret agencies to create havoc and panic in J& K and India.

In 1999, so called Mujahideens occupied several points on the Indian side of LOC in the Mashkoh, Dras, Kaksar, Batalik. Suspecting Pak's hand behind such activities, Indian forces immediately started reaching to such proxy war which is known as "Kargil conflict". This conflict got worldwide attention because of the nuclear capabilities attained by these countries in 1998, which could be used by either sides, However this wasn't used in the war, and without it Indian troops regained their points with the help of their courage, bravery and conventional war tactics only. There was huge controversy surrounding this Kargil conflict, that, the then PM of Pak was kept in the dark of such move. Later, the then Pak army Chief General Pervez Musharraf took over as its President.

II. Relations with China:

India adopted a policy of friendship towards China since the beginning. India was the first to recognize the new People's Republic of China on January 01, 1950. Nehru also supported the representation of China in U.N.S.C. When Nehru and Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai signed "Panchsheel "Treaty, at the same time India recognized China's right over disputed territory of Tibet and approved the Chinese control over it.

1962 War:

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

Impact of 1962 War:

- The resources for the economic development and third five year plan were diverted for defence and India faced very difficult situation.
- In August 1963, Nehru faced His first and the last confidence motion of his life.
- It induces a sense of national humiliation and dented India's image at home and abroad.
- Nehru was severely criticised for his naive assessment of the Chinese intentions and the lack of military preparedness.
- Relations between the nations remained cold till 1976. Normal relations resumed in 1976, and later the then Foreign minister A.B. Vajpayee was the first top level leader who visited China in 1979.

C. India's Nuclear Policy

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

Nehru had always maintained his strong faith in Science and Technology for rapid building of modern India. A significant component of his industrialisation plans was the nuclear programme initiated in the late 1940s, under the guidance of Homi J. Bhabha. India wanted to generate atomic energy for peaceful purposes. Nehru was always against the use of nuclear weapons, so he pleaded to all the superpowers for complete nuclear disarmament. But mad race for nuclear arsenal didn't stop.

In 1974, India under the leadership of Indira Gandhi conducted its first nuclear explosions. India termed it as peaceful explosion and argues that it was committed to the policy of using nuclear power only for peaceful purposes. Earlier the five permanent members of UNSC U.S., U.S.S.R. France, U.K. China the five nuclear weapon acquired powers and tried to impose NPT [Non-Proliferation Treaty] in 1968 on the rest of the world. India considered such move as discriminatory and refused to adhere to it. India always maintained that treaties like

NPT was selectively applicable to the non-nuclear powers and legitimized the monopoly of the Five Nuclear weapon holding powers.

In 1998, India again conducted a series of nuclear test after 1974, displaying its capacity to use nuclear & energy for military purposes. After some time, Pak too conducted such test, and increases vulnerability of the region to nuclear exchange. Unhappy with moves of both India and Pak, International community imposed harsh sanctions, which were later waived when India assured no first use of nuclear weapon and maintained its stand of peaceful use nuclear energy and reiterated its commitment to global verifiable and non discriminatory nuclear disarmament leading to a nuclear weapon free world.

Chapter–5: The crisis of Democratic Order

A. Emergency

Background of Emergency

I. Economic Issues.

A combination of recession, growing unemployment rampant inflation and scarcity of food grains created a serious economic crisis. India support to Bangladesh's liberation, materially, caused serious repercussion on India's foreign exchange reserves it got drained and more resources were diverted to defence. Consecutive monsoon failure in 1972 & 73 affected India food grains availability and fuelled prices.

- Large scale unemployment and economic recession led to industrial unrest and wave of strikes in different parts of country culminated in All India railway strike in May 1974.

II. Tussle with Judiciary:–

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

III. Imposition of Emergency:–

- Due to the Allahabad HC's judgement and later S.C.'s opinion and just partial stay on earlier's order, all the political parties under leadership of Jayaprakash Narayan, demanded her resignation on moral grounds. But Indira Gandhi resisted such demand and in response government declared a state of emergency on June 26, 1975 on the grounds of threat of internal disturbances, invoked article 352 of constitution. Once an emergency is proclaimed, the federal distribution of powers remains suspended and all the powers gets concentrated in Union government. Even the Fundamental rights get curtailed during such period. The Union Government misused its all powers, electricity of the newspaper houses got disconnected, leaders of opposition parties were arrested.

IV. Impact of Emergency:–

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

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

V. Comparative Analysis of Emergency [Pakistan, Bangladesh, India]

Pakistan

One can see the long periods of political instability due to military coup or state of emergency in Pakistan. Soon after the adoption of constitution framework to govern the nation in Pakistan, General Ayub Khan took over administration and caused the popular dissatisfaction against his rule. Later we see many such attempts by other individuals too. General Yaha Khan, General Zia-Ul-Haq then later General Pervez Musharraf, they had dislodged the elected governments. Due to such state of emergency, Pakistan couldn't establish the true sense of democracy. Hence it always lagged behind in implementing rule of law and maintaining law and order.

There were several factors which contributed to Pakistan's failure in building a stable democracy one such factor was social dominance of the military, clergy and landowning aristocracy. The constant desire of rulers in Pakistan to fight with India over Kashmir conflict drew their attention away from building democratic institutions to strengthening military establishment. The military rulers considered Political Parties and democracy as flawed. Also, the lack of genuine internal support for democratic rule in Pakistan has encouraged the military to continue its dominance.

Bangladesh

Bangladesh which was earlier East Pakistan, after emerging out as Independent nation, drafted its constitution and declared its faith in secularism, democracy and socialism. But the father of Bangladesh Sheikh Mujib amended the constitution, abolished all parties except his own, the Awami League. Such radical shifts led to the conflict chaos and tensions. These steps of Sheikh Mujib, led to Military uprisings and later the military Generals never tried to establish the democratic institutions and ruled the nation for longer periods.

The authoritarian regimes of military establishment were solely responsible for the failure to institutionalize democracy. Also due to lack of preventive measures to stop such illegal capture of power.

India

If we introspect, the vision and yearning of our founding fathers of the nation, we can see that they had strived really hard to institutionalize the democratic system in India. In our constitution, we have the provisions to declare emergency, on different unforeseen situations but that provision is there with many safeguard to avoid its malafide use. Our leaders in the past firmly believed in the democratic functioning of the system and adhered to democratic norms strictly and never allowed to subvert it, except one instance.

In 1975, the then PM Indira Gandhi had declared emergency, on the grounds of threat to internal stability. Due to the abuse of power during the period of emergency, the leaders had realised that such measures well subvert the rule of law and democratic institutions. Therefore post emergency, they had ensured that such declaration of emergency, should not happen again and put stringent restrictions on declaring the emergency. The preventive measures restored the people's faith in democracy and political leaders too adhered to such conditions and since then they never attempted to undermine the democratic framework. Hence we have not seen any instance of declaration of emergency and after 1977 democracy flourished in India in true sense.

VI. Lessons from Emergency:

Normalcy soon resumed in India after the end of emergency. Many observers found many weakness and strengths emerged out of this period.

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

[The later part of the Emergency is available on page number 3A & 3B after that the Sub chapter of J.P. Movement starts].

B. J.P. Movement

The students of Gujarat protested immensely in January 1974 against the rise in prices of food-grains, cooking oil and other essential commodities, which was later joined by the political parties too.

The police administration replied with excessive force, indiscriminate arrests and used lathi charge. Later union government dissolved the assembly and announced new elections to the assembly.

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

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

The J.P. Movement also got the backing of nearly all the non left political parties. However, by the end of 1974, The JP Movements fervor got down because of absence of organizational structures of the movement. Most of his student followers resumed their classes. The movement had failed to attract the rural and urban poor both in Gujarat and Bihar.

C. Naxalite Movement:

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

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

This Naxalite Movement under Majumdar's leadership used force to snatch land from the rich landowners and to distribute it among the poor and the landless. Its supporters advocated the use of violent means to achieve their political goals. Even though the then government and the subsequent governments strived to control the naxalite menace, it didn't succeed rather it spread to many other parts of the country. It had lots of splintered groups but then joined together in early 2000's and formed unified CPI (Maoist).

Currently, about 75 districts in nine states are affected by Naxalite violence. Most of these are resource rich very backward areas inhabited by Adivasis. In these areas the sharecroppers, tenants and small cultivators were denied their basic rights with regard to security of tenure or their share in produce, payment of fair wages etc.

Forced labour, expropriation of resources by outsiders and exploitation by moneylenders are also common in these areas. These harsh conditions lead to the growth of the Naxalite Movement.

D. Communalism:—

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

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

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

Here we will discuss the infamous incident of communal politics.

1. Ayodhya Dispute:

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

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

In December, 1992 many Karsevaks of Hindu Right Wing faction like VHP, Bajrang Dal etc. arrived at Ayodhya in the name Karseva, voluntary service by devotees to build Ram temple. Meanwhile the Apex Court ordered that State government must ensure that disputed site won't be endangered. However thousands of peoples arrived there and demolished the Babri Masjid on Dec. 06, 1992 and vitiated the peaceful atmosphere in the country and it was followed by communal riots in the country at large scale, in which lots of people died. Then Union government dismissed state government and appointed Librehan Commission to investigation circumstance leading to demolition of mosque.

2. Anti Sikh Riots:—

Due to the orders of Indira Gandhi's Indian Army launched its offensive against Sikh militants at the Golden Temple in Amritsar under the code name "Operation Blue Star". The army was successful in driving out the militants from the Sikh's sacred place, but this event angered the Sikh People and their sentiments got hurt. To avenge this action the bodyguards of Mrs. Gandhi killed her at her own house. Later the angry congress workers and supporters allegedly began their brutal actions of killing innocent Sikh People in the country; Delhi was the most affected area during anti Sikh riots. Union Government appointed so many commissions to enquire about the guilty people and to find out their masterminds, but nothing concrete came out of such commissions. The kiths and kins of the victims of Anti-Sikh riots are still waiting to get the justice after 30 years of the incident.

3. Anti-Muslim riots in Gujarat (2002)

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

Gujarat riots show that the governmental machinery also becomes susceptible to sectarian passions.

Chapter–6: Regional Discontent and its Solution

A. Basis of Regionalism:–

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

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

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

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

Economic Imbalances & Regionalism:–

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

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

Sons of Soil Doctrine:

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

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

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

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

B. Issue of J & K, Punjab

1. Issue of J & K

Jammu and Kashmir comprises three social and political regions: Jammu, Kashmir & Ladakh. Kashmir Valley is the heart of the region.

Jammu region is a mix of foothills and plains areas of Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and speakers of various languages.

The Ladakh region is mountainous, has very little population which is equally divided between Buddhists and Muslims.

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

Root – Cause of the problem:

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

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

By 1989, the J&K state had come in the grip of a militant movement mobilised around the cause of a separate Kashmiri region. The insurgents get moral, material and military support from Pak. Separatist Politics has taken different forms and made up of various strands. The centre has started negotiations with various separatist groups.

2. Punjab Issue

The social composition of the state changes first with the partition and later on with creation of Haryana & H.P.

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

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

Road to Peace:

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

Basic feature of the Accord:

- i. Transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab.
- ii. Sharing of Water through tribunal between Rajasthan, Punjab, Haryana.
- iii. Compensation for those who suffered from militancy.
- iv. Revocation of AFSPA from Punjab.

This accord didn't facilitate peace immediately. Militancy and counter insurgency violence continued which led to human rights violation. Fragmentation of Akali Dal also started. Normal political process was suspended and President's rule was imposed.

Gradually the military was eradicated by the security forces. Peace returned to Punjab by the middle of 1990's. The alliance of BJP and Shiromani Akali Dal emerged as victorious and brought back democratic process in the state.

C. Problems with North-East Region:—

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

Nagaland state was created in 1960, Meghalaya, Manipur and Tripura in 1972 and Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram became separate state in 1986. The isolation of the region, its complex social character due to different ethnic tribes and their culture, lack of development, weak communications between the north-east region and rest of India fuelled the anger and soured the relationship between centre and this region, which led to varied demands of people inhabiting in this region. Due to this delicate relationship, people aspired for their autonomy, secessionist movements and strict opposition to outsider from entering into their region. Meanwhile, following the large scale reorganization of region in 1972, a regional body, the North-Eastern Council (NEC) was set up to provide a forum for inter-state coordination regional planning and integrated development of the region to avoid intra regional disparities.

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

I. Demands for autonomy:–

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

II. Secessionist Movements:

The demands of autonomy can be fulfilled with the constitutional provisions, but when some one demand a separate country from a sovereign country, then the issue get complicated.

i. Mizoram:

Mizo People never considered themselves as a part of British Union. So they refused consider themselves as Indian, after India's Independence. Later in 1959, during the Famine in Assam, the then government didn't take care of Mizo people and shown apathy towards them. The neglect angered the Mizo people, and they formed Mizo National Front under the leadership of Lal denga.

Mizo people led MNF took an armed campaign against Indian army through a guerrilla war and they were aided by Pak government and secured their leader in the then East Pak. Pak was aiding all such secessionist movement in India to destabilize India through different means. The Union government didn't budge to such guerrilla war, and used their armed and air forces well and defeated them handsomely. But at the end of this war, after two decades each side was loser due to loss of human lives and economic resources.

After realising the futility of war, Lal denga started negotiations with the Indian Government. In 1968 Rajiv Gandhi, the then PM and Lal Denga reached for an agreement. As per the peace agreement, Mizoram was granted a full fledges statehood with special powers and MNF gave up its secessionist movement. Now, the state is recognised as having done a commendable job in the implementation of development programmes and making agriculture remunerative.

ii. Nagaland

The story of Nagaland was not different from Mizoram. Above all, the demand of separate country was declared much earlier in 1951. The leader of Nagas was Angami Zaphu Phizo. His organisation Naga National Council (NNC) declared its armed struggle for a sovereign country of Nagas. For a prolonged period NNC carried out its armed campaign against Indian government. Later a section of the Nagas signed a ceasefire agreement with Government of India. This came to be known as the Shillong Accord, which some leaders in the NNC called as total betrayal including Isak Chishi Swu, Th Muivah and Khaplang. This led to the formation of the Nationalist

Socialist Council of Nagaland or the NSCN in the late 1970s under the leadership of Isak Chishi Swu, Thuingaleng Muivah and Khaplang. It started an underground Naga Federal government having both Civil and Military wings. It again split into two factions in the late 1980s: the NSCN (IM) and the NSCN (Khaplang). Earlier Government of India had tried to quell such movements with limited success by bringing many Naga areas within an autonomous framework (1957), formation of the state of Nagaland (1963).

Still the main aim of the NSCN is to establish a sovereign state, "Nagalim" unifying all the areas inhabited by the Naga people in Northeast India and Burma. However the cease-fire between the Union Government and the NSCN has reduced violence in Naga areas. But, the problem in Nagaland still awaits a final resolution.

iii. Movements against outsiders

The migration of people from other part of the region of North-east region for its rich resources created lots of problem and increased the tension between 'local' and 'outsiders'.

The migrant people were seen as encroachers, who would snatch away their scarce resources like land, employment opportunities and political power and render the local population without their legitimate due. To drive away the outsiders from the region, there was one Assam Movement from 1975 to 1985. Their main targets were Bengali Muslim settlers from Bangladesh. In 1979 the All Assam student's union (AASU) a student's group not related to any political party, led an anti-foreigner movement. Their area of focus was illegal migration, domination of Bengali and other outsiders, against faulty voter's register of lakhs of immigrants. AASU members used non-violent and violent methods both. Their violent agitation took human lives and damaged lots of properties. After 6 years of violent turmoil, the then PM, Rajiv Gandhi negotiated with AASU leaders. Both the sides (Union Govt and AASU) signed an accord in 1985. According this accord, the foreigners who migrated into Assam during and after Bangladesh war, were to be identified and deported. With the success of signing this accord, the AASU and Assam Gana Sangram Parishad came together, formed their political party, Assam Gana Parishad, won the Assembly elections in 1985 with the promise of resolving the foreign national problem and make Assam a "Golden Assam". However the problem of immigration hasn't been resolved yet, but it brought peace to some extent.

iv. Accommodation of Regional Aspirations and National Integration:

From the above discussed movements of autonomy and secession, we have learnt that the regional aspirations are part of democratic politics. Around the world, we can see such aspirations. In UK, there are regional aspirations in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Spain faces such issue in Basques, Sri Lanka in Northern Province of the country.

Another lesson, we have learnt is that regional aspirations shouldn't be suppressed, and they should be deliberated, consulted and negotiated well within democratic norms and values.

The third point to notice is that power sharing between the centre and states should be done with utmost precision. States should have their say in matters which will affect their destinies. If the states will be deprived of their power from discussing the issue of national importance, the feeling of injustice and alienation will prevail which can destabilize the balance of power sharing.

The last lesson but not the least, is that the Union government should addressed the issue of backwardness, growth and regional discrimination. Otherwise such feelings could create immense and intense complicated problems. Hence to resolve any kind of regional issues, our founding fathers made a flexible and accommodative constitution.

Chapter 07: Reorganization of the States

A. Formation of Linguistic States:—

India is a land of many languages, each with its distinct script, grammar, vocabulary and literary tradition. In 1917, the Congress Party had committed itself to the creation of linguistic provinces in a Free India. After

Congress's Nagpur Session in 1920, the principle was extended and formalized with the creation of provincial Congress Committee by linguistic zones. The linguistic reorganization of the Congress was encouraged and supported by Mahatma Gandhi.

After the bitter partition on the basis of religion the then PM Nehru was apprehensive of dividing country further on the basis of language. During that time some Marathi speaking Congress members raised the pitches for separate Maharashtra State. Following this demand, other language speaking people too demands a separate state for them. Hence, Constituent Assembly in 1948 appointed the Linguistic Provinces Commission, headed by Justice S.K. Dhar, to enquire into the desirability of linguistic provinces. The Dhar Commission advised against this at that time reason being it might threaten national unity and also be administratively inconvenient. After some time the clamor for linguistic states again got momentum. To appease the vocal votaries of linguistic states, the congress appoints a committee (JVP) in December 1948 consisting of Nehru, Sardar Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramayya to examine the question afresh. This JVP Committee revoked the seal of approval that the congress has once put on the principle of linguistic provinces. The demands for separate state on the linguistic basis didn't subside. There were renewed movements aimed at linguistic autonomy in 1948, 1949. There was the campaign for Samyukta Karnataka, uniting Kannada speaking spread across the states of Madras, Mysore, Bombay, Hyderabad, Samyukta Maharashtra, Maha Gujarat movement. In case of Punjab, struggle brought together both the factors language and religion (Sikh).

After Independence, the speakers of Telugu asked the congress to implement its old resolution in favour of linguistic states. The method they used to advance their causes were various: Petitions, representations, street marches, parts. To support their cause, former Madras CM T. Prakasam resigned from the congress party in 1950. Another politician Swami Sitaram went on hunger strike to support Telegu people's cause. Later he called off his hunger strike on the appeal of veteran Gandhian leader Vinobha Bhave. On 19 October 1952, a popular freedom fighter, Potti Sriramulu undertook a fast unto death over the demand for a separate Andhra and expired after fifty-eight days. After his death people were agitated and it was followed by rioting, demonstrations, hartals and violence all over Andhra. The Vishalandhra movement (as the movement for a separate Andhra was called) turned violent. Finally, the then PM, Nehru announced the formation of a separate Andhra State in December 1952.

The formation of Andhra Pradesh spurred the struggle for making of other states on linguistic lines in other parts of the country. Hence Nehru appointed in August 1953 the states Reorganisation Commission (SRC) with justice Fazl Ali, K.M. Panikkar and Hridaynath Kunzru as members, to examine "objectively and dispassionately" the entire question of the reorganization of the states of the Union. The SRC submitted its report in October 1955. It recognized for the most part on the linguistic principle and recommended redrawing of state boundaries on that basis. The then government accepted the SRC's recommendations.

Finally, the states Reorganization Act was passed by parliament in November 1956. It provided for fourteen states and six centrally administered territories. SRC opposed the splitting of Bombay & Punjab. Therefore, the strongest reaction against SRC's report came from Maharashtra, where widespread rioting took place.

To fulfill their demand of separate Marathi speaking people's state, there was the broad based Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and on the other hand in Bombay state, there was Maha Gujarat Janata Parishad led the movement for Gujarati people. After on years of the reorganization of states Act, the government finally agreed in May 1960, the bifurcate the state of Bombay into Maharashtra, Gujarat with Bombay city being included in Maharashtra and Ahmedabad being made the capital of Gujarat.

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

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

B. Unique cases of reorganization:–

I. Sikkim:

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

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

II. Goa's Liberation

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

Initially, the Government of India, tried to convince the Portuguese to vacate these territories and consider the popular movements of local people. After denial of Portuguese to vacate the territories, the Indian army on the orders of Government of India, liberated the territories within the two days of armed action. After this liberation, another thorny issue emerged in Goa; Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party [MGP] desired that Goa should be merged with Maharashtra.

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

C. Contemporary Reorganizations of the State:–

I. Chhattisgarh:–

The present state of Chhattisgarh was carved out of Madhya Pradesh, and become 26th State of India on November 01, 2000.

The demand of a separate state was first pitched in Pre Independence era in 1920's and later in Post Independence period when State Reorganization Commission in 1955 submitted its report, but it rejected the demand for separate Chhattisgarh. However after long time, this demand got renewed in 1990's and there was a state wide political forum, which gave the platform for this demand. Chhattisgarh Rajya Nirman Manch, led by Chandulal Chadrokar conducted several region wide strikes and rallies and got the support of INC and BJP.

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

II. Uttarakhand

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

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

It all started in 1930 when residents of the hill region had moved a resolution by majority vote claiming for a separate of Uttarakhand. Later in 1973, there was Uttarakhand Rajya Parishad formed and became a platform for statehood struggle. This got transformed into Uttaranchal Kranti Dal in 1979. Later in 1994, the then CM M.Yadav set up a Kaniskya Committee for evaluating demands of Uttarakhand.. The committee favoured the formation of the state. Later in 2000, NDA Government Carved out a state Uttaranchal out of Uttar Pradesh which later changed its name to Uttarakhand.

III. Jharkhand:–

Jharkhand the tribal area of Bihar, consisting of Chotta Nagpur & the Santhal Pargana for decades showed movements for state autonomy. The area, there is concentration of several major traditional tribes, like Santhal, HO, Oraon, Munda etc.

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

IV. Telengana:

On September 17, 1948 Hyderabad state, which included Telangana, was merged into the Indian Union. It is well known fact that the states reorganization Commission did not favour the idea of merging Telangans with Andhra Pradesh and it provided various safeguards to protect the interests of the people of the region for some years to come. This "gentlemen's agreement" didn't work successfully. Hence, on 1969, an agitation began in the region under Marri Channa Reddy under the banner of Telengana Praja Samiti. Later they continued their agitation but it didn't succeed.

The Telengana Rashtra Samiti then took the cause of separate Telengana in 2001. On November 29, 2009, the TRS launched an indefinite hunger strike. On December 09, 2009, the centre announced that it was "initiating the process for formation of Telengana State". Finally in 2014, their demand got accepted after much dilly-dallying it became 29th State of India on 2nd June 2014.

(v) There are still long pending demands for state formation on the different basis viz. ethnicity, lack of development, administrative inconvenience. These separate statehood demands are Gorkhaland (WB), Kamatpur state for Koch Rajbangsi (Assam), Bodoland (Assam), Vidharbha (MH), Saurashtra (Gujarat), fourfold division of Uttar Pradesh in the form of Harit Pradesh, Awadh Pradesh, Purvanchal and Bundelkhand (some parts of UP and MP).

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

Chapter 08: Contemporary Developments

A. Politics of Coalition:

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

The beginning of coalition Politics in India–

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

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

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

1977 Elections

As we have seen in Emergency and J.P. Movement chapter, the prevailing conditions before the beginning of 1977 General Elections so, now we will straightway discuss the general elections, without discussing its background.

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

Formation of Government in 1977

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

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

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

Era of constant coalition government

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

The nineties also saw the emergence of powerful parties and movements that represented the Dalit and backward castes. With the elections of 1989, a long phase of coalition politics began in India. There have been

nine governments at the centre, majority of them either been coalition governments or minority governments. In this phase, any government could be formed only with the participation or support of many regional parties. This can be seen from the National Front in 1989, the United Front in 1996 and 1997, the NDA in 1997, BJP led coalition in 1998, NDA in 1999 and UPA in 2004 and 2009.

Mandal Politics

The Mandal Commission was set up in 1978 by Govt. of India to investigate the extent of educational and social backwardness among various sections of Indian Society and recommend ways of identifying these "backward classes". After a decade, in August 1990, the National Front Government decided to implement one of the recommendations of Mandal Commission pertaining to reservations for OBCs in job in the central government and its undertakings. This decision sparked agitations and violent protests in many cities of North India. Supreme Court in 1992 gave a ruling upholding the decision of the government.

[Mandal Commission found that the backward caste had a very low presence in both educational institutions and in employment in public services. Hence it had recommended reservations of seats in educational institutions and government job for these groups. The Mandal Commission also made many other recommendations like land reforms, to improve the conditions of the OBCs.]

B. New Economic Policy 1991

[We will strictly restrict ourselves to the reforms on 1991 only].

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

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

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

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

I. Liberalization

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

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

Financial sector reforms

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

Tax Reforms

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

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

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

II. Privatisation:

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

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

III. Globalisation:

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

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

C. Era of ICT [Information and Communication Technology]

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

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

[Information Technology and Communication]

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

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

ICT generates new possibilities to address problems of rural poverty, inequality and environmental degradation. In India, the growth of information technology and communications is very significant in the past two decades. IT

Industry in India comprises of software industry and information technology enabled services [ITES] which also includes BPO industry.

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

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

Chapter 09: [Popular Movements]

A. Introduction

According to Paul Wilkinson, Concept of Social Movements means –

- i. A social movement is a deliberate collective endeavour to promote change in any direction and by any means not excluding violence, illegality, revolution or withdrawal into utopian Community.
- ii. Ghanshyam Shah classifies movements as revolt, rebellion, reforms and revolution to bring about changes in the political system. According to Parth Mukherji, social movements are accumulative, alternative and transformatory in nature. In the view of T.K. Oommen, movements are charismatic, ideological and organisational. Some other classify movements on the basis of the participants such as Peasants, tribals, dalits, women, backwards, students etc.

B. Environment Movement

Ecological and environmental conflicts in India are claims over depleting resources of forests, land water, fisheries etc. These conflicts have been a challenge to the development of the country.

I. Chipko Movement:

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

The villagers demanded that no forest exploiting contracts should be given to outsiders and local communities should have effective control over natural resources like land, water and forests. Women's active participation in the Chipko agitation was a very novel aspect of the movement. Villagers in general, and women in particular thwarted commercial falling of trees by hugging the trees to prohibit their cutting and the name chipko originates from this very practice only. The movement achieved a victory when the then government issued a ban on felling of trees in the Himalayan regions for fifteen years, until the green cover was fully restored. Gaura Devi, a middle aged widow of the village was prominent figure of this movement. After this movement, the Chipko movement inspired many environmental movements and gave rise to series of forests against commercial felling in Himalayan foothills led by Gandhians and leftists.

II. Narmada Bachao Aandolan :

- An ambitious developmental project was launched in the Narmada valley of central India in early 80's.

- The project consisted of 30 big dams, 135 medium sized and around 3000 small dams to be constructed on the Narmada and its tributaries that flow across three states, MP, Gujarat and Maharashtra.
- Sardar Sarovar Project in Gujarat and Narmada Sagar Project in MP were two most important biggest, multipurpose dams planned under the project.
- The projects mentioned above were aimed to provide drinking water and water for irrigation, generation of electricity and increase in agricultural production.
- The project required relocation of about two and half lakh people and 245 villages were expected to get submerged. Initially locals demanded proper relocation and proper rehabilitation. It was during late 80's that the issue crystallised under the banner of Narmada Bachao Aandolan, a loose collective of local voluntary organs. NBA demanded a proper cost benefit analysis of the major developmental projects completed in the country so far. It also demanded that social cost should be calculated too with respect to such projects. Social cost meant forced settlement of project affected people, serious loss of means of livelihood and culture, depletion of ecological resources. Because of constant struggle, Right to rehabilitation has been recognized by the government and judiciary.
- A comprehensive National Rehabilitation Policy formed by the government in 2003 can be considered as an achievement of the movements like NBA.
- NBA used every available democratic strategy to put forward its demands like Pradarshan, Dharna, Gherao, Rasta Roko, Jail Bharo Aandolan, Bhook Hartal etc. The prominent face of the movement was Medha Patkar, a social activist.

III. Silent Valley Movement

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

IV. Fisheries Movement:

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

C. Dalit Movement

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

The Term "Dalit" encompasses the communities known as ex-untouchables and tribals who are officially termed as S.C. & STs respectively.

Ghanshyam Shah classified Dalit Movement into:

1. Reformative
2. Alternative Movement

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

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

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

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

Some of the important points:

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

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

D. OBC Movements:

- The Other Backward Classes (OBCs) are these who are as deprived as the S.C.s but without the stigma of untouchability. Andre Beteille, says "The OBC constitute a congeries of communities of rather uncertain status".
- The Kaka Kalelkar Commission appointed by the Government of India, identified more than 3000 castes or communities as OBC in 1956. The Mandal Commission (1980) calculated that 52% of the population including non Hindus constitutes OBCs. Almost all commissions, except the Rane Commission in Gujarat (1983), used Social, educational and economic criteria for identifying 'backwardness'.
- [We have already discussed Mandal Politics in chapter, Politics of Coalition, so no need to repeat it again here]

E. New Farmers Movement

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

F. Women's Movement

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

G. Civil Democratic Movement:

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

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