THE REVOLT OF 1857

1. Objectives:

After going through this unit the student wilt be able:

a) To understand the background of the Revolt 1857.

b) To explain the risings of Hill Tribes.

c) To understand the causes of The Revolt of 1857.

d) To understand the out Break and spread of the Revolt of 1857.

e) To explain the causes of the failure of the Revolt of 1857.

2. Introduction:

The East India Company's rule from 1757 to 1857 had generated a lot of discontent among the different sections of the Indian people against the British. The end of the Mughal rule gave a psychological blow to the Muslims many of whom had enjoyed position and patronage under the Mughal and other provincial Muslim rulers. The commercial policy of the company brought ruin to the artisans and craftsman, while the divergent land revenue policy adopted by the Company in different regions, especially the permanent settlement in the North and the Ryotwari settlement in the south put the peasants on the road of impoverishment and misery.

3. Background:

The Revolt of 1857 was a major upheaval against the British Rule in which the disgruntled princes, to disconnected sepoys and disillusioned elements participated. However, it is important to note that right from the inception of the East India Company there had been resistance from divergent section in different parts of the sub continent. This resistance offered by different tribal groups, peasant and religious factions remained localized and ill organized. In certain cases the British could putdown these uprisings easily, in other cases the struggle was prolonged resulting in heavy causalities. These disturbances and uprising, though did not succeed in uprooting the British power from India, became the precursors of the major Revolt of 1857. Before we take up the study of the Revolt of 1857 in detail, it is important to briefly discuss the various resistance movements and upheavals.
3.1. Bhil Risings: - The ‘Bhiles’ were predatory tribes living in the Western Ghats with their strongholds in Khandesh. They controlled the mountain passes between the north and the Deccan. Economic distress, famine and misgovernment led to the uprising against the British in 1817-18. The British succeeded in suppressing the Bhil rising partly by military action and partly by conciliatory policy adopted by Elphiston. However, a more serious Bhil rising in 1819 led to the ravaging of vast neighbouring regions. The British used brutal force to subjugate the Bhils. Taking the advantages of the British reverses in the Burmese war in 1825, the Bhils rose in rebellion. Again they challenged the British authority in 1831, and later in 1846.

3.2. The Ramosi uprising: - The Ramosi uprisings were the outcome of the policy of annexation and deposition of popular rulers. The Ramosis once served in the inferior ranks of police in Maratha administration. After the final defeat of the Peshwa in 1818 and the annexation of the Maratha territories by the British, the Ramosis lost their means of livelihood. In 1822, Chittur Singh of Satara gathered Ramosis against the heavy assessment by the British and plundered the neighboring regions of Satara. The Ramosis around Poona revolted in 1826 under the leadership of Umaji Naik and his supporter Bapu Trimbakji Sawant. For three years the Ramosis continued to harass the British. The British Government followed a pacifist policy condoning the crimes of the Ramosis, granting them land and recruiting them as hill police.

3.3. Revolt in Sawantwadi:- The events in Kolhapur had their impact on Sawantwadi. The people of Sawantwadi had already revolted against the British in 1830, and 1836. In 1838, the British deposed the ruler of Sawantwadi for his failure to maintain law and order in the state, and appointed a European Political superintendent to administer the state. The discontented rulers fled to Goa and planned revolt against the British. The British authorities introduced several laws and brought the state under control.

3.4. Revolt of the Raja of Vizianagaram: - The British policy of land revenue led to a number of insurrections. In July 1794, the Raja of Vizianagaram, openly rose in revolt against the British. The reason was that British reduced the area of his zamindari and increased the revenue payable to the British. In an encounter with the British forces, The Raja was killed along with 300 of his armed men. Following this incident, the British followed a conciliatory policy towards the son and successor of the deceased Raja, Narayan Rao.

3.5. Revolt of the Poligars:- Poligars on the eastern coast of India were the local military chiefs and barons within their jurisdiction. Their position was adversely affected by the Company’s agreement with the Nawab of Arcot in 1781, according to which, the Nawab acquired the right of
management and control of the entire revenue of the Tinnevelli and Carnatic provinces on behalf of the Company. He was allowed to retain one-sixth of the total revenue. The Poligars, who had been revenue farmers for generations organized themselves to fight against the encroachment on their right. After several armed confrontations, the company, revoked the agreement of 1781 with the Nawab of Moot and restored the old system of revenue and the traditional rights of the Poligars.

3.6. The Wahabi Movement:- The Muslims lost their political power with the replacement of the Mughals by the East India Company. The spread of Christianity and the Western culture were viewed as a threat to Islam. They resisted English education and remained aloof from Western influences. The Wahabi movement in Arabia was introduced in India by Syed Ahmed of Rae Bareilly in Uttar Pradesh. The Wahabi movement aimed at the purification of Islam and to return to the simplicity of religion. In India the Wahabis did not restrict to the religious reforms only. They aimed at the replacement of the British rule by the rule of the true believers. Thus, the Wahabi movement took the nature of the political revolt.

3.7. Sepoy Mutinies:- The first mutiny of Indian sepoys occurred in 1764, when a whole battalion from Hector Munro’s Forces opposing Mir Qasim at Patna joined the army of the Nawab. However, they were overpowered and punished. This was chiefly due to lack of an understanding among the British officers regarding the social and religious customs of the sepoys under their charge. In order to bring about improvement and discipline in the army, the British officers ordered the sepoys to shave their beard, to remove the caste marks from their forehead. This enforced practice created all kinds of apprehension and suspicion among the sepoys. This factor led the sepoys to stage a mutiny in the fort of Vellore early in May 1806. A British contingent from Acort, brought the mutiny under control. In 1844, the 34th Regiment at Ferozpur refused to March into Sindh, The 7th Bengal cavalry and the 64th Regiment Followed the example of the 34th Regiment. The mutinous troops were marched back and their ringleaders were punished.

4) Causes of the Revolt of 1857:-

The small island-Kingdom of British created one of the largest empires in India. The adventure that the mercantile enterprises, the East India Company, had started in the beginning of the seventeenth century culminated in the extensive political domination and economic power by the middle of the nineteenth century. The rise of the purely mercantile Company to be a permanent political entity in India had three phases. In the First phase the activities of the East India Company were confined to
trade; in the second phase the company eliminated the European rivals through armed conflict and succeeded in establishing its trade monopoly and political influences in India; and in the third phase, the company combined commerce with conquest and achieved unparalleled success in building up a vast empire in the sub-continent. However, during its activities spanning over a century, the East India Company created conditions and let loose forces that challenged the power of the British empire in 1857 can be summarized as under:

### 4.1 Political Causes:

**4.1.1. Conquest:** - The East India Company created a lot of discontent and disaffection among the dispossessed ruling families and their successors by her conquest A large number of dependents on the ruling families who lost their means of livelihood and other common people were disillusioned and disaffected with the alien rule. Lord Dalhousie annexed the Punjab and added humiliation to the ruling family. Dalip Singh, the minor son of Ranjit Singh, the founder of the Sikh Kingdom of the Punjab, was deposed, and exiled to England. The properties of the Lahor Darbar were auctioned.

**4.1.2. Doctrine of Lapse:** - By applying the Doctrine of Lapse, Dalhousie annexed the principalities of Satara, Jaipur, Sambhalpur, Bhagat, Udaipur, Jhansi, and Nagpur. These measures manifested the lack of sensitivity of the British towards the ancient right of adoption among the Hindus.

**4.1.3. Lord Dalhousie** annexed the kingdom of Oudh in 1856 on the pretext of mismanagement. The dethronement of Wajid Ali Shah sent a wave of resentment and anger of throughout the country. The state was exploited economically and the Nawabs were reduced to a position of complete dependency on the British. Thus the Nawabs, neglected the administration of the state, which was used as an excuse by Dalhousie to merge it with the British Empire.

**4.1.4. Humiliation of the Mughals:** - Since 1803, the Mughal emperors had been living under the British protection. His claims to honour and precedence were recognized. The seal of Governors General bore the inscription humble servant. However, there was a gradual change in the relationship between the Mughal emperor and the governors-general. Amherst made it clear to the emperor, that his Kingship was nominal; it was merely out of courtesy that he was addressed as King. Moreover, the emperor was forced to give up residence in the Red Fort, and abandon his prerogative of naming his successor. The treatment meted out by the governors-general to the Mughal emperor greatly alienated the Muslims who felt that the British wanted to humble their emperor. Thus, it was not surprising that the Muslims and the Hindus, felt resentful at the humiliation.
of the nominal Mughal emperors.

4.1.5. Suspension of Pension:- The annual pension of Rani Jindan the Queen of Maharaja Ranjit Singh was reduced from 15,000 pounds to 1,200 pounds. The pension to Nana Sahib and of Lakshmi Bai, of Jhansi was suspended. The titular sovereignty of the Nawab of Carnatic and Tanjore was also abolished. This led them to oppose the British.

4.2 Administrative Causes:-

4.2.1. Bitter Taste of the Rule of Law:- The British introduced the Rule of Law, which implied the principle of equality in the eyes of the law irrespective of the high and the low, the rich and the poor, the weak and the strong. However, those persons which they had been enjoying, resented this kind of legal system. On the other hand, the poorer and the weaker sections did not get any benefit from the new system due to complicated procedure of the British administration.

4.2.2. Unpopular British Administration:- The English officials were not accessible to the people. Thus, the people could not place their grievances before them, as they did during the period of the Mughals. The people also disliked the new system of British administration which functioned as a machine and lacked personal touch. The English laws were quite strange and the common people could not understand them.

4.2.3. Exclusion of Indians from Administrative Posts:- The British were of the opinion that the Indians were not suitable for the higher posts in their administrative structure. They lacked faith in the sincerity of the Indians. Contempt for Indian and racial prejudice were other reasons why the Indians were denied higher positions in the administration. Thus, complete exclusion of Indians from all position of trust and power in the administration, and the manning of all higher offices both in the civil government and the military forces by the British brought forth discontent and a sense of humiliation among the people.

4.3 Economic Causes:-

4.3.1. Ruin of the Mercantile Class:- The British deliberately crippled Indian trade and commerce by imposing high tariff duties against Indian goods. On the other hand they encouraged the import of British goods to India. As a result by the middle of the nineteenth century Indian exports of cotton and silk goods practically came to an end.

4.3.2. Destruction of Indian Manufacturers:- The British policy of promoting the import of cotton goods to India from England destructed all Indian manufacturers, in the cotton textile industry. When British goods
flooded Indian market and threatened the outright destruction of Indian manufacturers, the East India Company's government that ruled India did not take any step to prevent the tragedy. Several Englishmen were of the opinion that free trade and refusal to impose protective duties against machine-made goods of England ruined Indian manufacturers.

4.3.3. Pressure on Land:- The millions of ruined artisans and craftsmen, spinners, weavers, smelters, smiths and others from town and villages, had no alternative but to pursue agricultural activity that led to a pressure on land. India was transformed from being a country of agriculture in to an agricultural colony of British Empire.

4.3.4. Impoverishment of peasantry:- Land being the chief source of income for Indians the East India company introduced various experiments and measures to extract the maximum share of agricultural produce. Various methods of revenue settlement led to the impoverishment and misery of the peasants. They were exploited by moneylenders, who usually confiscated their land for failure to repay their debt. English settlers monopolized plantation industries like indigo and tea. The inhuman treatment of the indigo cultivators by the European plantation owners was one of the darkest and most tragic episodes in the history of British rule in India. The economic policies of the British affected the interests of the Indian traders, the manufacturers, craftsmen and the peasants.

4.4 Socio Religious Causes:-

4.4.1. Social Exclusiveness: - The British policy of social exclusiveness and arrogant manner towards the Indians created discontent among the Indians. The British forced every native to salute all Englishmen in the streets. If native was on horseback or in a carriage, he had to dismount and stand in a respectful position until the Englishman had passed him. This was an unwritten law through British India. The British could insult, injure, assault and even kill Indian subjects.

4.4.2. Social Legislation:- Lord William Bentinck abolished the practice of sati in 1829, with the support of educated and enlightened Indians such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy Lord canning enacted the widow Remarriage Act, drafted by Lord Dalhousie in 1856. These legislation were viewed by the orthodox sections in the society as interference by the British in their social and religious practice The two laws of 1832 and 1850, removing disabilities due to change of religion, particularly conferring the right of inheritance to change of religion, particularly conferring the right of inheritance to Christian converts, were quite unpopular among the Hindus-
4.4.3. Missionary Activities:- There was a strong movement grew in England to spread Christianity in India and convert its Hindus and Muslims subjects to that faith. By the Charter Act of 1813, Christian missionaries were permitted to enter the Company's territories in India to propagate their religion and spread Western education. The Christian missionaries took every opportunity to expose the abuses in the Hindu as well as the Islamic religion. They denounced idolatry, ridiculed the Hindu gods and goddesses and criticized the philosophy and principals of Hinduism and Islam. The teaching of Christian doctrines was made compulsory in educational institutes run by the missionaries. Thus, the interference of the British authorities in social customs and practices through social legislation and the encouragement given by the government to Christian missionaries in their proselytizing activities created a sense of apprehension and hatred in the minds Indians.

4.5 Military Causes:-

4.5.1. Service Conditions:- The sepoys in the East India Company's army had a number of grievances, which led to the Revolt of 1857. The sepoys of the Bengal army, were Brahmins and Rajputs had special grievances of their own. Among them were unsatisfactory conditions of service, encroachment upon their religious customs, and offences against their dignity and self-respect. They had a strong sense of resentment, as their scale of salary was very low compared to their English counterparts. In the guise of enforcing discipline, the British authorities prohibited the Hindus and the Muslim sepoys displaying their religious marks. They were forbidden to wear vermillion mark on their forehead, or turban on their head. The Muslims sepoys were forced to shave off their beard. These restrictions wounded the religious sentiments of the sepoys.

4.5.2. Dental of Allowances:- The British authorities used to withdraw the allowances after the conquest and annexation of a province and post the same troops in those very provinces on reduced salaries. These measures naturally demoralized the sepoys. In 1844 four Bengal regiments had refused to move to Sindh till extra allowance was sanctioned Mutinous spirit was also displayed in 1849 by the sepoys in various provinces.

4.5.3. The General Service Enlistment Act: - The Indian soldiers nursed grievances against the British as they were forced to go on expedition to Burma and Afghanistan, which violated their religious scruples. To live among Muslims and to take food and water from them was disliked to their ancient customs. Besides, crossing the seas was prohibited by the religion as the one who crossed the forbidden seas was bound to lose his caste. In order to prevent any kind of resistance from the sepoys against their deployment abroad, Lord Canning's government passed the General
Service Enlistment Act in 1856. By this act all future recruits to the Bengal army were required to give an undertaking that they would serve anywhere their services required.

4.6. Immediate Causes:-

These factors prepared a general ground for discontent and disaffection among different section of the Indian people, which required a mere spark to explode into a conflagration. The greased cartridges provided this spark. In 1856, the government decided to replace the old fashioned muskets by the Enfield rifles. In order to load the Enfield rifle, the greased wrapping paper of the cartridge had to be bitten off by the soldier. In January 1857, a rumor began to spread in the Bengal regiments that the greased cartridges contained the fat of cows and pigs. The sepoys became convinced that the introduction of the greased cartridge was a deliberate attempt to defile their religion. The cow was sacred to the Hindus, and the pig was a taboo for the Muslims. The sepoys refused to use these cartridges. The authorities regarded this act of defiance of the sepoys as an act of insubordination. The action was taken against them.

5. Outbreak of the Revolt of 1857:-

On 29th March, 34th Native Infantry sepoys, Mangal Pandey broke the lines and fired at Lieutenant Baugh. Mangal Pandey was arrested and executed. At Behrampur, which also had disobeyed the authorities were disbanded. The First major outbreak that finally led to the Revolt of 1857 occurred at Meerut. Following the court martial of eighty-five sepoys of the Cavalry Regiment for refusing to use the greased cartridges, on 10 May 1857, the sepoys broke out in open rebellion, shot their officers, released their fellow sepoys and marched towards Delhi. On 12 May, the sepoys captured the city of Delhi and occupied the palace Bahadur Shah II was proclaimed as the emperor of India. Within a short period, the revolt spread to Lucknow, Kanpur, Agra, Jhansi, Central India, Bihar, Orissa, and many other places. However, the Indian rulers remained loyal to the British and rendered valuable service in the suppression of the revolt.

The British were on the defensive during the early part of the revolt. First of all, they made a sustained effort to recapture Delhi from the sepoys. In September 1857, Delhi was recaptured by the British. Emperor Bahadur Shah II was arrested and exiled to Mandalay, Burma, where he died a few years later. Two of his sons and a grand son were shot dead. Thus, The British ended the Mughal dynasty from the Indian scenario.

The sepoys besieged the Residency at Lucnow. Sir Henry Lawrence and some loyal sepoys lost their Lives while defending the Residency. In March 1858, British forces captured Lucknow with the help
of the Gurkha Regiments.

Nana sahib, the adopted son of the ex-Peshwa Baji Rao II led the sepoys at Kanpur. Nana Sahib was joined by Tantia Tope. After the recapture of Lucknow, General Campbell occupied Kanpur on 6th December 1857 Tantia Tope joined Rani Lakshmi Bai the widow of Raja Gangadhar Rao fought against the British. The British under Sir Hugh Rose occupied Jhansi. Rani Lakshmi Bal and Tantia proceeded to Gwalior where the Indian soldiers joined them. The British recaptured Gwalior in June 1858, and the Rani of Jhansi died fighting heroically. Tantia Tope was captured and put to death a year later. Nana Sahib fled to Nepal where he died in due course.

In Rohilkand, the revolt began at Bareilly in May 1857. Where Muhammad Hasan Khan, led a force of about 10,000. Rana Beni Madho Singh of Saharanpur had a personal following of about 15,000 and Gajadar Singh of Gorakhpur commanded a force of 51,000. All of them attacked British position in their respective regions and rallied round the Begum, Hazrat Mahal.

Indian rulers had actively co-operated with the British in suppressing the revolt. The ministers of Gwalior, Hyderabad and Nepal also rendered their support to the British. Thus, the first major attempt on the part of the Indians to overthrow the British power could not succeed.

6. CAUSES OF THE FAILURE OF THE REVOLT:

The sudden and unexpected rising of the sepoys forced the British officials, to leave Delhi Oudh, Rohilkhand and other places which almost passed under the control of the sepoys. However, the British began to recover them within some months. There were several factors responsible for the British success. Thus, it is important to analyze the causes of the failure of the Revolt of 1857.

6.1. The Revolt of 1857 was localized and poorly organized. Due to lack of communication facilities, the sepoys of the widely dispersed cantonments could not act simultaneously in a concerted manner. The revolt did not spread to wider regions of the country. The armies of the Bombay and Madras presidencies remained loyal to the British. There was hardly any disturbance to the south of the Narmada, Sindh, the Punjab, the Northwestern Frontier province and Nepal remained unaffected.

6.2. The need of the time was a leader with military capability and political skill who could fuse the scattered elements into a consolidated force of great momentum with a definite policy and plan of action. Such a leader was hard to emerge. Bahadur Shah II was an old and exhausted man lacked organizing ability. Nana Sahib, through possessed some ability,
lacked military leadership. Other leaders such as Rani Lakshimi Bai, Kunwar Singh, and the Begum of Oudh were local leaders and lacked all-India standing. This led to the failure of the Revolt of 1857.

6.3. The sepoys could not get the support of the population. The revolt did not attract common people who remained passive and indifferent to the Revolt. In many places the revolt was confined to the sepoys only. There was lack of intimate link between the sepoys and common people. Even among the sepoys, many remained loyal to the British.

6.4. The sepoys lacked common ideal before them. The sepoys at Delhi decided to recovery the glory of the Mughal. At Gwalior and Kanpur, Nana Sahib was proclaimed a Peshwa. Rani Lakhmi Bai fought for her Jhansi. The orthodox section among the Hindus and the Muslims were concerned with their religions. There was no unity among the Hindus and the Muslims.

6.5. The ruling princes did not support the sepoys. On the other hand they actively assisted the British in suppressing the revolt. Sir Dinkar Rae, the minister of Gwalior, Sir Salar Jang, the minister of Hydrabad, Sang Bahadur of Nepal, and Dost Muhammad, the ruler of Afghanistan were indifferent to the Revolt and actively helped the British against the sepoys.

6.6. Luckily for the British by 1856 the Crimean and the Chinese wars had come to an end This enabled the British to send additional troops to India to put down the revolt. The sepoys had few guns and muskets. They fought chiefly with swords and spears. On the other hand the British soldiers were equipped with latest weapons and used the telegraph and railways to their advantages. They could send message about the revolt much in advance so that precautionary measures could be taken at the other end.

7. SUMMARY:-

After the battle of Plassey of 1757. The East India Company began to control political powers in the country. The Company extended its dominion territorially and economically. It waged wars of conquest against the Indians. Naturally that led the Indian people to fight against the British. Among them the tribal revolts, Santha revolts, Rampa rebellion, Kolasian Revolt & Munda Revolt were noteworthy. The Ramoshi uprising, revolt of Sawantwadi and some sepoy’s mutinies also challenged the British Government. But the big challenge, the British sustained was in the year 1857. There were several causes responsible for the Revolt of 1857. They were political, administrative, economic, socio-religious and military causes. The greased cartridges of the Enfield rifle became the immediate cause. The Revolt broke due to the incident of Mangal Pandey The Revolt spread throughout North India. The Muntinous sepoys reached Delhi and
proclaimed Bahadur Shah II, as the emperor of India. But the Indian sepoys could not succeed in throwing the British out of India. Because, the sepoys did not get the support of all India people. Almost all Indian rulers and princely states were in favour of the British government. They had no sufficient war materials. There was no able general with them. They were unable to use the postal and Telegraphic services because they were under the control of the British government. Premature beginning of the Revolt, Lack of unity of purpose and organization and personal jealousies among the Indian sepoys came in the way of their success against the British. The British Government recruited a huge force in India itself and received additional force from the Crimean province of Russia and crushed the rebellion completely within a period of one year only.

8. ADDITIONAL READINGS:-

1) Dr Eugene D'souza, Modern India, Manan Pakistan, Mumbai, 2004
2) Hansraj, Advanced History of India, Surjeet Publications, Delhi, 2002.

9. QUESTIONS :-

1. Examine the Socio-economic and Political causes of the Revolt of 1857.
2. Assess the economic and military causes of the Revolt of 1857.
3. What were the causes of the Revolt of 1857? Account for the failure of the Revolt of 1857.
4. Discuss the major causes of the Revolt of 1857.

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Nature and Consequences of the Revolt of 1857

I. OBJECTIVES:-

After going through this unit the student will be able to:-

a) Understand the nature of the Revolt of 1857.
b) Know the divergent opinion about the Revolt of 1857.
c) Explain the various consequences of the Revolt of 1857.
d) Comprehend the significance of the Revolt of 1857.
e) Understand the Queen's proclamation of 1858.

2. INTRODUCTION:-

Analyzing the nature of the revolt different scholars have expressed divergent opinion regarding the spread, participation and overall impact of the uprising. It is not easy to categorize this historical event. It is far more difficult to assign any specific character to a movement like the Revolt of 1857.

3. NATURE OF THE REVOLT OF 1857 :-

Divergent opinion:- There are two major views regarding the nature of the Revolt of 1857. The British historians have treated the great uprising of 1857 as a sepoy mutiny. On the other hand, the staunch patriotic and nationalist Indian writers & historians regard the Revolt of 1857 as the First War of Indian Independence. However, the truth lies somewhere in between. In his *Discovery of India*, Jawaharlal Nehru maintains that the Revolt of 1857 was much more than a sepoy mutiny. Though initially it started as a mutiny of the Indian soldiers, the revolt spread rapidly and assumed the nature of a mass rebellion. Jawaharlal Nehru maintains that the Revolt of 1857 was essentially 'a feudal uprising though there were some nationalistic elements in it'. Moderate historians also express similar opinion regarding the nature of the Revolt of 1857. There are some other views who described the Revolt as religious war or a racial struggle for the supremacy between the whites and the coloured people a struggle between the oriental and occidental civilization, a Hindu-Muslim conspiracy to overthrow the British rule; a conflict between feudalism and imperialism. In order to understand the nature of the Revolt of 1857 it is important to examine the opinions of the different historians.
3.1. Whether it was a sepoys Mutiny? :- The British historians Sir John Lawrence and Seeley, considered it nothing more than a sepoy mutiny. According to Seeley, the Revolt of 1857 was a wholly unpatriotic and selfish sepoys mutiny with no native leadership and no popular support. He further maintains that it was a rebellion of the Indian sepoys. Some states, which had grievances against their annexation, also joined the rebellion. However, the British government succeeded in suppressing the revolt.

This interpretation is not correct. Though the greased cartridges triggered the rebellion, it was only an immediate cause. As part of the Indian society, the sepoys had many other grievances than their service conditions. The Revolt of 1857 cannot be termed as a mutiny in the ordinary sense of the term. In many areas, the sepoys were joined by other elements of the society including Zainindars and orthodox sections of the Hindus and the Muslims, peasant, disposessed princes and many other people.

3.2. Whether it was a Hindu-Muslim conspiracy to overthrow the British Rule?
Sir James Outram, described the Revolt of 1857 as the result of the Hindu- Muslim conspiracy. Malleson held the view that Maulavi Ahmadulla of Faizabad Nana Sahib, and the Rani of Zansi had entered into negotiations before the uprising of 1857. The wide circulation of chapatis, regarded an important evidence in favor of the organized conspiracy. However, there is no reliable evidence to prove that there was a genuine Hindu-Muslims conspiracy against the British rule.

3.3. Whether it was a war of Races between the Blacks and the Whites?: Some English historians have described the Revolt of 1857, as a war of races, it was a struggle between the whites and the blacks. However, this view is also not correct No doubt; all the whites in India irrespective of their nationality were on one side, but not all the Black. As Captain J.G. Medley points out that there were many black people for every white man in the British camp. In the British war camps, Indians were employed as cooks, and palanquin-bearers-who carried the white wounded sepoys out of the danger zone. Moreover, there was a considerably large number of Indian solders in the company’s army that took part in the suppression of the rebellion, It would not be wrong to say that it was a war between the Black on one side and the White rulers backed by other Black on the other side.

3.4. Whether the revolt was a War between Feudalism and Imperialism? Jawaharlal Nehru says that the Revolt of 1857 was essentially a feudal outburst headed by feudal chiefs and their followers and aided by the widespread anti foreign sentiments. There is no doubt that the people and the sepoys had a number of grievances against the
British. However, their response was not uniform. It was varied from region to region especially in the urban centers of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta where the intellectual ferment had its impact were generally less affected than the areas where the landed interest were predominant. This contrast in the attitude of the new educated elite and the landed class was observed as early as in 1828.

The Revolt of 1857 can be viewed as a conflict between a feudalism and strong imperialism. Theoretically, if the Revolt of 1857 succeeded in driving out the British from this country, they would have been replaced by the feudal class under the nominal emperor of Delhi. The Indian feudal order was the first to challenge, and declare war upon, the British trading company when it started assuming the imperialist role. During the Revolt of 1857 also those among the ruling princes who were adversely affected by the application of the Doctrine of Lapse. The landed aristocracy, who were affected by the land laws introduced by the British, became active during the Revolt of 1857.

3.5. Whether it was the First War of India Independence?:- The Indian historians like V.D. Savarkar, in his book *The Indian War of Independence* and Ashok Mehta in his book, 1857 The Great Rebellion describe the Revolt of 1857 as a planned war of national independence'. The sepoys were the chief players in the rebellion. A large number of Indians participated in this struggle of independence from an alien rule. Several national leaders further elaborated the perfect accord and harmony between the Hindus and the Muslims for freedom from the British domination. They have presented the following arguments in support of their view:-

3.5 a) They point out that million of Indians actively participated in this rebellion. The number of civilians killed was as large as that of the sepoys. They joined the rebellion with the sole intention of liberating their country from the tyranny of the British rule.

3.5 b) Those who helped the British in suppressing the revolt had to face social ostracism, and those, who could not join the Great rebellion, did not cooperate with the British.

3.5 c) The decisive evidence showing the national character of the rebellion is the communal harmony it struck in both the Hindus and he Muslims of the time. Even the British Government found it very difficult to separate the two communities from each other.

3.5 d) Thus, both Vir Savarkar and Ashok Mehta have tried to portray the Great rebellion as the "First Indian National War of Independence". In the words of Dr. S. B. Choudhury, The leaders of the rebellion of 1857 looked beyond their own immediate circle, and showed a combination of wide
vision and patriotic solidarity. Even a contemporary Conservative leader in England, described the Revolt of 1857 as a national uprising.

To ascribe the nature of the Revolt of 1857 as the first war of Indian independence may not be entirely correct. Though in certain areas the revolt assumed the character of popular rising and constituted a danger to the British power, it was poorly organized. Each of the leaders of the uprising fought for their regional or personal or class interests. The absence of unity of purpose and cohesion among the different sections and local character of the uprising does not fully qualify the Revolt of 1857 as the first war of Indian Independence.

3.5 e) An example of the struggle for freedom without any communal bias. According to Maulana Azad, "Two facts stand out early in the midst the tangled story of the Rising of 1857. The First is the remarkable sense of unity among the Hindus and the Muslims of India in this period. The other is the deep loyalty which the people felt for the Mughal Crown'. The 'Friendly relationship' exhibited by the Hindus and Muslims during the uprising of 1857 was a significant phenomenon, in India at that time. Loyalty to Babadur Shah II as the emperor of India and issued all orders in his name as his suhhdar.

3.6) The Revolt was not Wholly a National War of Independence:- Both Dr. Mujumdar and Dr. Sen agree that, in the middle of the nineteenth century, nationalism in India was yet in its infancy. There was no feeling of nationalism, as we know it today. In 1857, the Bengalis, the Punjabis, the Marathas the Madrasis, and Rajputs never felt even for a movement that they all belonged to one and the same nation. Dr. Sen, in fact went to the extent of saying: "India in the first half of the nineteenth century was a geographical expression . This is proved by the few facts.

3.6. A) Bahadur Shah II was not a national King. He was in fact, "the king of no land". He was compelled by the Indians sepoys to assume their leadership.

3.6. B) Nana Sahib raised the banner of revolt only when his envoy, failed to get for him the pension. Which had been sanctioned to Baji Rao II, the Maratha Peshwa

3.6. C) Rani Lakshmi Bai revolted because of the annexation of Jhansi. The Rani, no doubt, died a hero's death, but at no stage did she ever suggest that her cause was the national cause.

3.6. D) Nawab of Oudh could never think of assuming national leadership. He stooped so low that he placed his turban at the feet of the English.

3.6. E) The Taluqdars of Oudh raised the banner of revolt for the revival
and restoration of their feudal privilege and those of the Nawab of Oudh and not for any national cause.

3.6. F) Most of them raised the banner of revolt to protect and promote their own interests. When the defeat of the British seemed imminent, the conflicting regional and class loyalties of the rebel leaders and the masses reappeared on the surface, which weakened the anti-British front.

Moreover, the greater part of India and the majority of the people remained apathetic and neutral. It is abundantly clear that the Great Rebellion was not wholly a war of Indian National Independence.

Dr. Sen, however, has pointed out that national revolutions are mostly the work of a minority, with or without the active support of the masses. Such was the case with the French Revolution. From that point of view, the Great rebellion can claim a national character.

3.7) The Revolt was more than a mere sepoy Mutiny - S.N. Sen and Dr. R.C. Mujumdar have given an objective and balanced view that the sepoy mutiny assumed the character of a revolt and assumed a political dimension when the mutineers of Meerut after proceeding to Delhi declared the restoration of the Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah II, and the landed aristocracy and civil population declared their loyalty in his favor. What began as a right for religion ended in a war of independence, for there is not the slightest doubt that the rebels wanted to get rid of the alien government and restore the old order of which the Mughal emperor was the rightful representative.

Prof. Bipan Chandra is of the view that the revolt of the sepoys was accompanied by a rebellion of the civil population particularly in the Northwestern Provinces and Oudh, the two regions from which the sepoys of the Bengal army were recruited. The civil rebellion had a broad social base embracing all sections of the society and the revolt of the sepoys thus, resulted in a popular uprising. In spite of the limitations and weaknesses the effort of the sepoys to liberate the country from foreign rule was a patriotic act.

4. CONSEQUENCES OF THE REVOLT OF 1857:-

The Revolt of 1857 marked a turning point in the history of Modern India. It exercised a tremendous influence upon the British policy in India. The character of the Indian empire in the last decades of the nineteenth century was shaped to a large extent by the events of 1857. The considerable support, which the revolt obtained, and the threat it posed to the very existence of British rule in India during the year 1857, forced the British to examine the entire nature of their connection with India. The consequences of the Revolt of 1857 may be studied under two headings as positive results and negative results.
4.1 Positive effects:-

4.1.1 Transfer of power from the East India Company to the British Crown:- The transfer of power from the East India Company to the crown of England was achieved through the Act for the better Government of India, 1858. Under this Act India would be governed directly by the crown acting through a Secretary of State. He was made directly responsible to the British Parliament. To assist and advise him in transacting the affairs of this country; a Council known as the India Council was created. The India Council was to consist of fifteen members of whom at least nine should have served in India for not less than ten years. The India Council was to be presided over by the Secretary of State.

In India the central administration continued to remain in the hands of the governor general who also became the viceroy of the Queen in England The governor general acquired the additional title of viceroy not due to the India Act of 1858, but due to the Royal Proclamation, which was issued on 1 November 1858.

4.1.2. The Queens Proclamation, 1858:- Lord Canning, the Governor General of India, announced the acquisition of the Indian administration by the British crown at a Darbar, held at Allahabad on 1 November, 1858. When he read out the Queens Proclamation to the princes and the people of India, it reflected the generosity and religious tolerance. He pointed out that several benefits, the people of India would enjoy and they would be treated at par with the subjects of the British Crown.

The proclamation proclaimed the transfer of administration over the British territories in India from the hands of the East India Company to the British Crown. It states that they have resolved to take upon themselves the Government of the territories in India. The Queen, in her proclamation, called upon all her subjects within the British territories in India to be faithful and to bear true allegiance to the British Government. The proclamation proclaimed the appointment of Charles Canning as the first viceroy and Governor General over the British territories in India The Queen, in her proclamation, assured the following to the native princes that all treaties and engagement made by the East India Company with the native Princes would properly be maintained by the British Government and it is hoped that the same would also be observed by them. With all the above promises the Queen reserved to herself the right to interfere in native states in order to set right such serious abuses in a native government.

The Queens proclamation called upon all subjects within the British territories in India to be faithful and to owe true allegiance to the
British government. The native princes were assured that the territorial integrity of their respective states would be respected. All treaties and engagements made by the East India Company with them would be maintained. They were further assured that their rights, dignity and honor would be respected and the British Government would not interfere in their internal affairs. The proclamation assured freedom of religion to the people of India. They would be allowed to follow their own religious beliefs, practices and worship and the British officials would not interfere in such matters. Equal and impartial protection of law was promised to all Indians. Further, the Queen's proclamation assured equal opportunities to the people of India in government services without distinction of race, creed. The proclamation assured that while framing and administering law, due respect would be shown to the ancient Indian rights, usages and customs. The British government would strive to achieve the welfare of the people of India. Finally, the proclamation announced pardon to Indians who had taken part in the Revolt of 1857 against the British.

4.1.3. Home Government For India:- Under the Act for better Government of India the power of the Crown were to be exercised by the Home Government in England consisting of the secretary of state for India, assisted by the Council of India known as the Indian Council under the Act for the better Government of India, passed on August 2, 1858. The Secretary of State for India was to be a member of the British Parliament and also a Cabinet Minister of England. He was, therefore, to be responsible, for the administration of the British territories in India, to the British Parliament. His salary and the expenses of his establishment were to be paid out of the India revenues. The secretary of states for India was to be assisted by the Council of India, consisted of fifteen members, eight of whom were to be nominated by The Crown and the remaining seven were to be elected by the Court of Directors.

To make the Council of India expert body on Indians affairs, the Act provided that nine out of fifteen must be those members who served or resided in India, at least, for a period of ten years before their appointment. All future vacancies were to be filled by the Crown. The members of the Council were to hold office during good behavior but could be removed, under the Act of 1858, upon an address presented by both the Houses of Parliament to the Crown. Each member of the Council was to be paid the yearly salary of one thousand and two hundred pounds, out of the revenues of India. Up to 1906, all the members of the Council of India were Europeans. In 1907, two Indians, were appointed to associate his Council.

The Secretary of State for India, representing the Crown and the British Parliament, legally exercised supreme control over all authorities in India. He enjoyed very wide powers. He was made the President of the Council of India with the power to vote and in case of a tie he was to enjoy
a casting vote as well. He had the power to divide the Council of India into committees for the more convenient transaction of business. He enjoyed the power to override the majority decision of the Council, but he was required to record his reasons for so doing. However, the majority decision of the Council on certain matters was binding on him. He had the power to send and to receive from the Governor-General in India. Secret messages and dispatches without information the Council of India.

The secretary of State-in-Council had to lay down certain rules and regulation for the guidance of the Government of India in all its dealings with the Home Government and the Crown. He had the power to frame rules and regulations for the requirement to the Indian civil services. The secretary of state was required to lay before both the Houses of Parliament an annual Budget of India and also an annual report on the moral and material progress of India for the consideration of the houses. Finally, the Secretary of state-in-Council was constituted into a corporate body that could sue and be sued in England and in India.

The Council of India was a body of permanent Civil servants who had expert knowledge on the Indians conditions and administration. It was an advisory body. Its meetings were to be held every week. The meetings were to be presided over by the Secretary of state for India. Although, the Secretary of State could override the majority decision of the Council by recording reasons for so doing in several matters, however, its majority decision was binding on him on many matters, such as, grant or appropriation of any part of the Indian revenues, division and distribution of patronage, making contracts, sales and purchases for and on behalf of the Indian Government and all matters related to property of Government of India. The Council of India had the power to make appointments to the Council of the Governors and also to exercise control over the civil and military servants of the Crown. Finally the Council of India could not take any decision during the absence of the Secretary of State without his approval in writing.

The Queen’s proclamation of 1858 was a great landmark in the constitutional history of India. It proclaimed the end of an era of the East India Company’s rule and the beginning of a new era. The era of the direct rule over the British India. Its noble sentiments and glittering ideals, expressed in rich and dignified language, went a long way in pacifying the people of India, and in creating good atmosphere for the proper functioning of the British Government in India. It laid the foundation of a new British policy in India for a period of about sixty years.

4.1.4. Reconstruction of the Indian Army:- British attitude towards the Indian army underwent drastic change. It was no longer possible for the British to assume that the Indian people would stand by the government in its hour of need. The British element in the Indian army was strengthened in order to ensure loyalty and efficiency. Thus, the number of Indian
soldiers was drastically reduced from 238,000 in 1857 to 140,000 by 1863. The number of European Soldiers was increased from 45,000 to 65,000. The proportion of Europeans to Indians was fixed at fifty-fifty in the Bengal army and one to two elsewhere. New recruits were drawn largely from those martial races of the Punjab, Nepal and the Northwestern Frontier Province who had proved their loyalty during the hours of urgency.

In keeping with the old Roman policy of divide and Rule, the new recruits were often formed into separate units on the basis of caste, community or region. According to Jawaharlal Nehru, the policy of balance and counterpoise was deliberately furthered in the Indian army. Various groups were so arranged so as to prevent any sentiment of national unity growing amongst them~ and tribal and communal loyalties and slogans were encouraged. Every effort was made to isolate the army from the civilian population. All the key positions were kept in the hands of the Englishmen, and no Indian could hold the King's Commission. The more effective weapons of warfare were not given to the Indian forces they were reserved for the British troops in India. These British troops were always kept with the Indian regiments in all the vital centers of India as an internal security and for the suppression of disorder among the Indian soldiers and people as well. The result of all these measures was that a high sense of loyalty and discipline developed in the Indian army.

4.1.5. The Policy of Annexation was Given Up:- The British authorities realized the importance of The Princely States and wanted their support to the British rule in the country. Besides, even after the end of the Crimean War the British government remained apprehensive of a Russian invasion of India. Under these circumstances, it was felt that the princely states would be of great help in case of any danger from abroad. Hence, the policy of the British dominion annexing the princely state was given up.

4.2 Negative Effects:-

4.2.1 Increase in Racial Animosity between the British and the Indians: - British considered themselves as an occupying power) garrisoning a hostile land. On the other hand Indians tried to seek self-respect and honor within the bounds of their traditional culture. The British had formed a separate community in India. During the Revolt of 1857, stunned and shocked the British saw the obedient sepoys suddenly transformed into a disobedient. Hence, the British felt that safety could be found only among their own countrymen. On the other hand, the manner in which the Revolt of 1857 was crushed by the British and the ruthlessness in which the sepoys were treated left a deep sense of hatred among the Indians against the British. The British also massacred thousands of civilian population every where in the country.
4.2.2 Setback to Reforms: - The Revolt of 1857 convinced the British the futility of interfering in the traditional socio-religious customs of India. The strong opposition to the social legislation especially coming from the orthodox elements in both the Hindu and the Muslim community put the British on the defensive. The self-confidence of the British and their plans for the rapid westernization of India through social reforms were shattered. The British, after the Revolt of 1857, decided to concentrate in providing a sound and efficient administration rather than introducing western ideas and reform in a traditional Asian society.

4.2.3 The Policy of Divide and Rule: - After the Revolt of 1857, the British had patronaged and applied the most unscrupulous policy to divide the Indians in different castes and classes. The British used one class or caste against the other. The Muslims were made to fight with the Hindus and the high caste Hindus were excited against the low caste Hindus. Thus, there was a deterioration in the whole country.

4.2.4. Economic Loot: - With the failure of the Great rebellion, the era of British territorial conquest came to an end and a new era of systematic economic loot and plunder by the British was inaugurated. The English people ruthlessly exploited Indian economy without any fear.

5. SIGNIFICANCE: -

5.1 Exposure of Drawbacks: - According to Sir Lepel Griffin had there been no Mutiny in 1857, the various types of defects and irregularities, existed in the administrative machinery and policies and programs of the East India Company would not have come to light before the world. The Great rebellion immediately invited the attention of the British Government in London and the various glaring defects and shortcoming in the administration were removed. It was the Revolt of 1857 that brought to the military defects of the East India Company, which were at once eradicated. Thus, for the British the Revolt of 1857 was an important incident.

5.2. Efforts to win over the confidence of Indians: - After the abolition of the East India Company the administration of India was taken over directly by the Crown-in-Parliament. The people of India were assured of the freedom of religion, equal protection of law, equality of opportunities in government services, and of ancient Indian rites, customs and usages. At the same time, the Indian princes were assured of maintenance of their treaties and engagements of territorial integrity of their states and of their rights, dignity and honor. It was in this way that the British Government made attempts to win over the confidence of the people of India for years to come.

5.3. Beginning of the New Era: - The Revolt of 1857 influenced the history of India's struggle for freedom in another way also. It could not deny that the sepoys who rose in revolt had genuine grievances. They were
certainly justified in their struggle for their rights. However, in the trial of strength, the primitive weaponry of the Indians was no match for the more modernized weapons used by the British. The accounts of the atrocities convinced the Indian intellectuals about the futility of violence to be applied in the struggle for freedom. The new elite, emerging from the intellectual ferment of the early nineteenth century, created a middle class which despised violence and showed preference for orderly progress. Even during the Revolt of 1857 it became evident that the educated Indian's had no faith in armed rebellion, and the failure of the revolt confirmed them in this conviction. When the leadership of India's struggle for freedom passed on to these middle class, the lesson of the Revolt of 1857 influenced their strategy to a very large extent.

6. SUMMARY:-

After the analysis of the Revolt of 1857 it came to know that historians have expressed different views depending on their perceptions. Mostly they fall into two categories namely Europeans and the Indians. The former group of historians tried to paint the Revolt as the sepoys mutiny means due to their grievances, the sepoys came together and revolted against the British. But this view is not correct. Some of the Indian nationalist historians have tried to point the Revolt as the first War of Indian Independence. The other English historians have characterized it as the Hindu, Muslim conspiracy to over throw the British rule out of India. In his discovery of India, Jawaharlal Nehru maintains that the Revolt of 1857 was more than a sepoy mutiny. Although, initially it started as a mutiny of the Indian soldiers, but when it spread rapidly assumed the nature of a mass rebellion. He further maintains that the Revolt of 1857 was essentially a feudal uprising although there were some nationalistic elements in it. Some of the moderate historians like Dr. R.C. Mujumdar and Dr. S.N. Sen also expressed the similar view. They further say that it was a wholly national war of independence, means it was some where between the two views.

Although the Revolt of 1857 was suppressed completely, it had been created great shock waves in the heart of people and the British Crown in England. The British, therefore, examined the whole administration of India and brought about several changes in it. Among them the First was the transfer of power from the East India Company to the British Crown. Then followed the abolition of the Mughal dynasty of Delhi, reconstruction of the army, guaranteeing freedom of religion and equal treatment to Indians, association of Indians in the British administration of the country and introduction of several reforms. The British Government tried to do this through the Queen's Proclamation of 1858. The Revolt of 1857 brought about some positive and negative changes. Among the negative effects were the increase of racial animosity, introduction of the divide and rule policy and increase in the
systematic economic loot of India. Even then it started the new era in the history of India and the British Imperialism.

7. ADDITIONAL READINGS:-

1) Dr. Eugene D'souza, Modern India, Manan Prakashan, Mumbal, 2004.
2) S.N. Sen, Eighteen Fifty Seven, Delhi, 1957.
4) P.C. Joshi, Editor, Rebellion, 1857, A Symposium, Delhi, 1957.

8. QUESTIONS:-

1) Examine critically the nature of the Revolt of 1857.
2) How it would be correct to describe the Great rebellion of 1857 as the first war of Indian Independence?
3) Analyze the Various consequences of the Revolt of 1857.
4) Assess the significance of the Revolt of 1857.

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EMERGENCE OF INDIAN NATIONALISM

1. OBJECTIVES:-

After completing the study of this unit the student can be able to

a) Know the emergence of national consciousness among the Indians.

b) Understand the causes responsible for the foundation of Socio-Religious Reform movement.

c) Explain the life and career of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and the Brahmo Samaj.

d) Understand the work done by the Prathana Samaj.

e) Know the life and carrier of Dayanand Saraswati and the work carried out by the Arya Samaj.

f) Explain the activities undertaken by the Theosophical Society.

g) Know the work of Swami Vivekanand in and outside India.

h) Know the work done by Christian and Muslim reform movements.

2. INTRODUCTION:

When the Indians could not dislodge the British power from the country, they turned their attention to the religious and social reforms. The impact of the Western education through the medium of English, had aroused both the Hindus and the Muslims to set their houses in order. They began to analyse their own socio-religious conditions. This introspection convinced them that their original religions had been defiled due to traditions, meaningless, rituals, customs, practices and superstitions. Thus the Hindus and the Muslims began to reform their religions. The Socio-religious reform movement was known as the Indian Renaissance, which was responsible for the national awakening. It was the expression of the rising national consciousness. Their aim was to reconstruct the social, religious and cultural life of the people. Religious
reform rejected the elements, which were incompatible with the original faith. In spite of their differences, the Hindus and the Muslims showed similar spirit of awareness to reconstruct their religion and society.

3. CAUSES OF THE SOCIO-RELIGIOUS REFORM MOVEMENTS:

There were several factors responsible for the rise of the Socio-religious reform movement. Some of the important causes were as under:

3.1. Humiliation of Indians: The conquest of India by the British caused severe humiliation to the people in the country. The British who came to India as traders became the ruler of this country. They treated Indians very arrogantly and rudely. They mocked Indian religion, culture and tradition. Thus, this led Indians to introspect and reform their socio-religious conditions.

3.2. Western Education: Introduction of Western education paved the way for renaissance in India. Because, it brought Indians into the contact with the works of great Western thinkers like Milton, Burke, Hume, Mill, Hegel, Kant, Thomas Paine, Jefferson, and many other political philosophers. Indians, who received the western education began to get the employment in the British administration and were exposed to various business activities in the country. Thus, they cause to know the speedy progress in western countries, which stimulated them to reform their own religion. The English, which became the medium of instructions, enabled the Gujaratis, the Punjabis and all other people from various regions to communicate and exchange their ideas among each other. This communication created awareness about the rapid progress in the west and the stagnation in India.

3.3. Christian Missionary Activities: The Christian missionaries helped to promote the social and religious awakening in India a lot by their various activities. The missionaries, when reached India began to convert Indians to Christianity. This hurted newly educated Indians. Naturally, the young men determined to reform Hinduism and purge it drastically. In order to bring equality in the service. They opened schools where students from various parts were admitted irrespective of their creed and castes. The Christian nuns also opened schools for girls, which was very revolutionary to impart education to females during that time. The Christianity taught that Christ died for the settlement of all the men. God loves the poor, the despised, the outcast, the untouchable the whole human. Christ was born in a stable and worked as a carpenter. His disciples were from various sections of the society. Christian missionaries opened hospitals. Leper-homes, asylums to the service of the poor people was a good example. They set up a good network of schools and colleges.
which to spread the western education in India. Thus the, Christian missionaries were greatly responsible for reform movement in India.

3.4. The National Awakening: The socio-religious reform movements created the background to the national awakening. India had several outdated practices, traditions and customs. When the western educated people realized the futility of those practices, they very well began to accept the new ideas, and thoughts. Thus, the national awakening was born in India, which led Indians to reform their religion and society.

4. Aims of the Socio Religious Reform Movements:

The socio religious reform began with the efforts of Raja Ram Mohan Roy in Bangal, who established the Brahmo Samaj in 1828. In addition to the Brahmo Samaj the Parthana Samaj, the Arya Samaj and Ramkrishna Mission came into existence in the country. There were some other movements like the Kayastha Sabha, the Sarin Sabha, and the Satya Shodhak Samaj. The Ahmadiya and Alighar movements represented the spirit of reforms among the Muslims and the Sikhs. Although some of them were regional, the perspective of these reform movements was similar.

The promotion of a national outlook was the aim of these reform movements. The principle of individualism which was combined with political and economic factors provided a powerful basis to the growth of nationalism. The British rule brought new ideas in India, which the new intelligentsia recognized them and started movements to reform social and religious institutions. The new educated class felt that the regenerated society could become politically and economically progressive only on the basis of liberal principles.

Another aim of the socio-religious reform movements was to democratize the Indian society and religion. They sought to dissolve disruptive institution like the caste system, which was the obstacles in the social and national unity. These reform movements tried to establish equal rights of all individuals irrespective of caste, religion or race. These socio religious reformers believed that liberalism and democratisation of social relations were the backbones of a national unity. Thus, movements brought all sections together.

5. RAJA RAM MOHAN ROY AND THE BRAHMO SAMAJ:

Raja Ram Mohan Roy has been rightly called the ‘father of reform movement of the nineteenth century’. He represented the new spirit of India with its thirst for science and love for rationalism, reform and broad
humanism. He was born and brought up in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, which was one of the darkest period in Indian history.

5.1. Early Life: Ram Mohan Roy was born in 1772 in an orthodox Brahmin family of Bengal. His mother was a devout Vaishnava while his father was a Shakta. At an early age he was placed in charge of a Maulavi to learn Persian. Later he was sent to Patna to study Arabic. Soon Ram Mohan Roy became familiar with the work of Sufi poets and became critical of idolatry and polytheism. At the age of fourteen he went to Benaras to learn Sanskrit. Knowledge of Sanskrit enabled him to study the Vedanta and the Upanishads. This made him still more critical of idolatry. After his return from Benaras, Ram Mohan Roy wrote a book condemning idolatry. This led to dispute between him and his father at an early age. Ram Mohan Roy went Tibet where he studied Buddhism.

When, Ram Mohan Roy returned home he reconciled with his father. Soon thereafter his older brother died, and his widow immolated herself on the funeral pyre and became a sati. Following this incident, Ram Mohan Roy was greatly shocked and distressed. He decided to start a crusade against the cruel practice of sati. Till this stage Ram Mohan Roy had no contact with the English language and Western liberalism. The sources of his religious and spiritual awakening are to be found in his study of the Hindu and Muslim scriptures. In 1796 he began learning English.

5.2. The Atmiya Sabha: After the death of his father in 1803 Ram Mohan Roy moved to Murshidabad in Bengal. In 1804 he published a pamphlet in Persian called Tuhafat-ul-Muhawiddin. He settled down in Calcutta in 1815 and started his career as a religious reformer. He established the Atmiya Sabha and began translating the Upanishads into English and Bengali to expose the evils and abuses, which had crept into the original Hindu faith. He read the Quran and was greatly influenced by the doctrines of the Islamic free-thinkers and the Sufis. During the years 1820-23, Ram Mohan Roy made a deep study of the Christian and Semitic Cultures. He also acquired knowledge of Hebrew and Greek, the languages in which the Old Testament and the New Testament were written.

Ram Mohan Roy began his reforming activity by preaching monotheism, the unity of God and denouncing polytheism, idolatry and rituals. He pointed out that the deviations from the true scripture were due to superstitions. Ram Mohan Roy’s views stirred the Hindu society to its depths and bitter controversies followed. Therefore, Ram Mohan Roy published the English translation of the Vedanta in 1816. In the introduction of this book, Ram Mohan Roy pointed out that his countrymen disliked him because he had given up idolatry and had taken up the worship of one supreme god.
5.3. The Establishment of Brahmo Samaj: Raja Ram Mohan Roy established the Brahmo Samaj in 1828. Through this Samaj he tried to unite the various sections in the society on the basis of the fundamental unity harmony of all creeds.

He wanted to improve the condition of the Indian women. He raised his voice against the practice of sati. Ram Mohan Roy and his followers pointed out that the sati system was designed more to secure the temporal happiness of the surviving relatives of the dead than the spiritual welfare of the husband and the wife. He also pointed out that most of the sati cases were not voluntary, but forced. When the orthodox leaders petition to the government, requesting the withdrawal of the regulations of 1812-13 and 1817, Ram Mohan Roy and his friend submitted a counter-petition in August 1818. Ram Mohan Roy wrote a number of articles in English to show that nowhere in the Hindu Shastras the burning of widows have been mentioned as a compulsory measures. He also published articles in his Bengali journal Sambad Kaumudi against the evil practice of sati. Ram Mohan Roy struggled against sati and finally succeeded when Lord William Bentinck declared the practice of sati illegal and published by the law passed in 1829.

He also opposed to polygamy. He pointed out that the Shastra has permitted the second marriage of men under certain circumstances. Ram Mohan Roy was in favour of the education of women. However, he could not achieve much in this respect. Ram Mohan Roy had a clear idea of the evils of the caste system. Writing in an issue of the Brahminical Magazine in 1821, Ram Mohan Roy emphasized that the caste was a cause of the political dissension among the Hindus, which in its turn had brought about their subjection to foreigners for centuries.

5.4. PROMOTION OF WESTERN EDUCATION:

Ram Mohan Roy was interested in Western Education. He took active part in the establishment of the Hindu College at Calcutta in 1817 for the spread of English education. He also founded the Anglo-Hindu School to encourage a liberal and enlightened system of instructions, in mathematics, philosophy, chemistry, anatomy and other sciences'.

5.5. BRAHMO SAMAJ AFTER RAM MOHAN ROY:

Raja Ram Mohan Roy died in Bristol, England on 27th September 1833. He lived and died a Hindu. After his death Dwarakanath Tagore shouldered the responsibility of the Brahmo Samaj. His son Debendranath attracted many enlightened Hindus to Brahmo Samaj. He and his friend Akahay Kumar Datta, the editor of the Tatvabodhini Patrika did much to check the conversion of the Hindus to Christianity. Though Debendranath
rejected idolatry, in matters of social reformers he wished to proceed slowly. But this cautious approach brought him into conflict with one of his disciples, Keshab Chandra Sen. Many social rules and practices, such as the caste system, restrictions on food, marriage and other fields prescribed by the Hindu society were given up. Keshab Chandra Sen later split the Samaj by insisting that the Brahma Samajists discontinue the wearing of scared thread. Thus, the original Brahma Samaj by Debendranath Tagore came to be known as the Adi Brahmo Samaj. It followed the monotheistic form of Hinduism and went slow on social reform. But it lost its old position and the Brahma Samaj of India of Keshab Chandra Sen became dominant.

Keshab Chandra Sen, who had a striking personality, possessed sincerity, and had wonderful oratorical abilities. Under him the movement religious and social reform became an all-India venture. He visited Bombay and madras. Under the influence of Keshab Chandrr Sen similar organizations were established in various cities of the country. This includes the Parthana Samaj in Bombay and the Veda Samaj in madras. He and his followers openly proclaimed loyalty to the British government as an articles of faith of his church. The Brahma Samaj movement under Keshab Chandra Sen launched a comprehensive programme of social reforms. He founded the Indian Reform Association in 1870. The upliftment of the women and their education was in the forefront of the programme.

There was a crisis developed in Brahmo Samaj due to the marriage of the eldest daughter of Keshab Chandra Sen with the minor ruler of Cooch Behar. Neither of the pairs had attained the minimum marriageable age as per the Brahma Samaj and the Native Marriage Act of 1872. In addition to this, the marriage was performed by the Brahmin priests according to Hindu rites in the presence of the images of Hindu deities. Due to this controversy there sustained a split in the Brahmo Movement. The section led by Sivanath Sastri, Anand Mohan Bose and others came to be know as the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj in 1878. with this the Brahma Samaj movement received a great setback.

6. THE PARATHNA SAMAJ

The influences of the Brahma Samaj movement had taken place in Maharashtra. The reformers in Maharashtra desired also to have an organisation similar to that of the Brahma Samaj. Under the guidance of Keshab Chandra Sen, Atmaram Pandurang and R.G. Bhandarkar founded the Prathna Samaj in Bombay in 1867. M.G. Ranade became one of its member. The followers of the Parathna Samaj did not look upon themselves as adherents of a new sect out-side and along-side of the general Hindu body, but simply as a movement within it. The Parathna
Samajists were practical minded people and staunch followers of the Vaishnava tradition in Maharashtra, which was made popular by saints such as Tukaram, and Ramdas. They were interested in interdining and inter marriage between different castes and creeds.

6.1. PRINCIPLES OF THE PARATHANA SAMAJ

The Prathana Samaj accepted the principles of the Sadharan Barahmo sabha, it used the thoughts of the old Marathi sant, poets in its services. The Prathana Samajists were theists. They observed the ceremonies of the Hinduism without believing in their religious significance. They believed that God is the creator of the universe. It is eternal, spiritual and joyous. One who worships him becomes happy. All men are his children Therefore, they should behave brotherly towards each other. They were aware that the people in Maharashtra were staunch devotees of certain deities. They do not go against the feeling of the people. They explained that whatever they worshiped, that is the worship of one true god. The Prarthana Samajists were practical minded people. They allowed the image worship but did not profess it. The Prathana Samajists were interested in social reforms. They undertook the work of education by founding Night School to teach the workers, laborers and their childrens. The Prathana Samajists founded social organisations like Asylums and orphanages at pilgrimages for needy people and children. In order to oppose to the inhumed practice of untouchability, they founded a Depressed Classes Mission and tried their level best to remove the problem of untouchability. To improve the position of women, the Prarthana Samajists discouraged childmarriages and encouraged female education and widow remarriage.

6.2. Justice M.G. Ranade

Due to the influence of the Prarthana Samaj several educated people came forward to work as reformers, journalists, dramatists, novelists, poets, social workers, founders and organizers of various kinds of institutions. Many of them were not even the member of this Samaj but they worked on the line of the Samaj. Justic Ranade was one of the founders and leading member of the Prarthana Samaj. He was a reformer, educationist, nationalist, economist and historian. He was born in 1842 at Niphad, Nasik Dist. He worked as a professor in Elphinstone College, Bombay. And finally became a High Court Judge. He wanted to improve the position of women and hence established the Widow Marriage Association in 1861.

Although Ranade had realized that Indian society needed rigorous religious reforms it was not possible without the active support of the masses. Ranade therefore, joined some like-minded leaders and established some educational institutions. Ranade helped G.K. Gokhale
to found the Sarvajanik Sabha at Poona in 1870. Ranade as a member of this sabha, prepared a report on the economic problem of Maharashtra to be submitted to the Parliamentary Committee. He also suggested the Government some measures to be applied on the famine which took place in 1877. He also was a good historian.

Ranade suffered intensely in his personal life, when he lost his wife, his father forced him to marry the eleven years old girl, Ramabai.

6.3. Pandita Rambai:

Pandita Ramabai was one of the noble women of modern India. She regarded a great service to the Prathana Samaj in and out side of Maharashtra. She married a Bengali and became a widow at an early age. Her marriage out of caste, and her criticism of popular Hinduism earned her strong opposition from orthodox people of the Hindu society. In order to emancipate women, she started the Arya Mahila Samaj in Pune. Ramabai with the help of Christian missionaries went to England and America. She was converted to Christianity and started the Sharada Sadan in 1889, when she came back to Pune.

The activities of the Prathana Samaj were regional in character. Although its theism was derived from Hinduism it did not regard the Veda as divine. It neither believed in the doctrine of transmigration and incarnation of God. It did not detach itself from the Hindu elements, both in religious observances and social customs, it followed closely the old models. The members observed the ceremonies of Hinduism, only as ceremonies or routine without any religious significance.

7. THE ARYA SAMAJ

The Arya Samaj founded in 1875 by Swami Dayanand Saraswati, was more conservative, than the Brahmo Samaj. The Brahmo Samaj and the Prathana Samaj were inspired by Westerned learning and religions. Whereas the reform movement initiated by Swami Dayanand Saraswati was inspired by India’s past of Vedic Age.

7.1. EARLY LIFE OF DAYANAND SARASWATI

Dayanand Saraswati’s original name was Mulshankar. He was born in an orthodox Brahmin family in 1824, in the state of Morvi, Kathiawar. When he was barely fourteen he rejected idol worship. Dayanand lost his faith in image worship due to an incident on a Shivratri day. He found it impossible to reconcile the idea of an omnipotent, living God with the idol, which allowed the mice to run upon its body. Doubts about the virtues of idol worship and death of his sister and uncle made Dayananda to realize the unreality of life. He left his home in order to escape marriage and
traveled all over India. For fifteen years he led the life of a wondering ascetic in search of knowledge, which could remove all his doubts. At Mathura he spent two and half years as a disciple of a blind sage Virajanand, a profound master of ancient learning. He impressed upon Dayanand that he should rely only on the Sanskrit literature. He taught Dayanand the philosophic interpretation of the Vedas. Vriajanand asked Dayanand to take up the mission of purging Hinduism of all its evils and superstitious customs and practices.

Dayanand was not touched western learning. He was of the opinion that the Hindus required no new religious knowledge and no external spiritual aid. He insisted that they should rely on the Vedas alone. As he studied the Vedas deeper, Dayanand was convinced that they were the source of all truth and supreme knowledge.

Swami Dayanand Saraswati insisted that the vedic religion alone was true religion and eagerly looked forward to the day when the religion of the Vedas would become the religion of the whole human race. The Vedas had advocated only the fourfold natural division of the society according to the character, capability and preference of the individuals for their profession. Thus, there were neither caste system nor untouchability in the Vedic society. In the same way the women during the Vedic age had honorable status in the society. Being convinced of the values of the Vedic religion and society, Swami Dayanand adopted the motto of ‘Back to the Vedas’.

Dayanand denounced superstitious beliefs, caste system, untouchability, child marriage, sati, forced widowhood, neglect of women’s education and ban on foreign travel. He took up the cause of the emancipation of women and started a number of Kanya schools where the girls were given education. Dayanand opposed animal and human sacrifices and denounced rituals and ceremonies.

7.2. FOUNDATION OF THE ARYA SAMAJ

Swami Dayanand Saraswati founded the Arya Samaj first in Bombay in 1875 and another in Lahor in 1877. He provided the Arya Samaj with a code of social conduct and moral values. Dayanand Saraswati believed in one God and relied on the Vedas as his authority. But he was in favour of Western education, teaching of sciences and betterment of the material conditions of the society. Dayanand made extensive tours to various parts of northern and western India. Branches of the Samaj were established in many places. It largely appealed to the middle and lower class Hindus.

7.3. THE SHUDDHI MOVEMENT

Dayanand was a Hindu reformer. In order to counteract the proselytizing activities of the Christian and Muslim missionaries, initiated
the shuddhi movement for the reconversion of the former Hindus. The importance of this movement can be understood from the fact that for ages Hinduism has debarred the reentry of those who adopted other faiths for one reason or the other.

In all its activities, the spirit of nationalism and democracy inspired the Arya Samaj. It attempted to bring out an integration of the Hindu society by destroying the caste system. It organized a network of schools and colleges for boys and girls. The Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College was founded in 1886. To encourage ancient type of education the Arya Samaj founded a number of Gurukulas. The most important of such Gurukulas was one at Kangri near Hardwar, U.P where Sanskrit and Hindi were used as the medium of instructions. Many schools and colleges were established under the direct supervision of the Gurukul University.

Swami Dayanand Saraswati did not spare his countrymen for their manifold defects. He treated the decline of India and loss of political independence to those defects. He emphasized that Indians could not rise as a nation unless they radically transformed their social system. He opposed childmarriage and recommended twenty-five and sixteen years as the minimum marriageable age for boys and girls respectively. He supported widow remarriage and female education. He also attacked on the caste system.

7.4. SWARAJ AND SWADESHI

Swami Dayanand Saraswati spoke of swaraj and believed in swadeshi. He wanted the people to use indigenous goods. He believed in everything indigenous, including the government. He also favoured representative government and was not in favour of any single individual to have absolute power. Swami Dayanand Saraswati was of the opinion that learned men should be elected to the educational assembly, devoted men to the religious assembly and men of character to the legislative assembly.

Many Arya Samajists, actively participated in the national movement. Lala Lajpat Rai, an extremist leader joined the Arya Samaj in 1882. This was a turning point in his life. Later he wrote that it was the Arya Samaj that instilled into him love for nation and that breathed into him the spirit of liberty. The strengthening of the cultural nationalism among the Indians eventually led to the strengthening of the spirit of political nationalism.
8. RAMKRISHNA MISSION

The Ramkrishna Mission was founded by Swami Vivekanand, in the name of his guru, Ramkrishna Paramhansa, who was known as Gadadhar Chatterji in his childhood. Gadadhar Chatterji was born in an orthodox Brahmin Bengali family at Kumarpukar village in 1836. He started initial studies in the village school, but had no interest in studies. He liked the company of sanyasis and deeply interested in spiritual pursuits. Ramkumar his elder brother was a priest at Calcutta. He took Gadadhar to Calcutta for further studies, but Gadadhar did not have any interest in education in Calcutta also.

During this time Rasmani, a rich lady had built a temple of goddess Kali at Dakshineshwar. She was a shudra and was unable to get Brahmin priest to worship and look after the deity in the temple. However, Gadadhar agreed to serve as priests, and became a passionate devotee of Kali. It is said that here only Gadadhar became Ramkrishna Parmahansa. Historians say that the name was given to Gangadhar by the owner of the temple of Kali.

Ramkrishna had earlier married a five-year old girl, Shardamani Devi. Their relationship was purely spiritual and had no children. He came to look upon her as the visible representation of the Divine Mother. The relationship between the two was unique. The contribution of Shardamani in transforming Gangadhar into Ramkrishna Paramhansa considered unparallel in the history.

8.1. SWAMI VIVEKANAND (1863-1902)

Narendranath Datta was one of the most famous disciples of great seer, Sir Ramkrishna, who advised him to carry on his work of developing spirituality after Ramkrishna Paramhansa.

Narendra was born in a Kayastha family of a rich lawyer of Calcutta in 1863. Narendra Dutta secured the B.A Degree in Philosophy. He studied the work of great European thinkers like Kant, Descartes, Hume and Hegel and many others. While once teaching in his college, Principal W.W. Hastie referred to Sri Ramkrishna about the ecstasy of poets. Narendra decided to go to Dakshineshwar to meet Ramkrishna.

Narendra met Ramkrishna on an often and realised that Ramkrishna was a great spiritual personality. Thus he became his ardent follower since then. Ramakrishna gave Narandra a sound training of spirituality. Ramkrishna died in 1886. Narendra rented house to house the relics of Ramkrishna and to reside there along with a few of his disciples. This was the first Mutt of the Ramkrishna Mission. The disciples lived here
in utmost poverty. They wore only a loin-cloth and slept on mats. They concentrated only on spiritual progress. Each of them was called by a new name. Narendra was called of Vivekanand, here itself.

8.2. PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS

Swami Vivekanand travelled a lot. He had been to Himalayas as well as to Kanyakumari, where he meditated deeply. In his travel he met people of all sections. He was happy to be a guest of an ‘untouchable’ and shared the sorrow of India’s poor. He came to know about a Parliament of Religions, to be held at Chicago in the U.S.A in 1893. he wanted to attend it and acquaint Hinduism to the world.

The Maharaja of Khetri who was his friend decided to support him. He was also supported by his followers, who were from various parts of the country. Vivekanand started his journey in 1893 from Bombay for the West via, China, Japan and the Pacific. When he reached the U.S. he exhausted all his money. He was helped in that financial distress by Prof. J.H. Wright of Harvard University. Prof. Wright said that Swami represented Hinduism at the Parliament of Religions. The Swami declared that he did not represent any organisation as a bonafide representative of the religion. When Vivekanand explained his problem to Prof. Wright. Prof. Wright gave Swami letters of introduction to the Chairman of the Delegates Committee of the Parliament of Religions, and other important authorities of the Parliament.

The participants in the parliament at Chicago were about 10,000 person each one was an authority on his own religion. Finally, Swami Vivekanand, got up and uttered the words Sisters and Brothers of America. There was a thunderous applause which encouraged the Swami to speak boldly referring to Hinduism as the Mother of all Religions.

The Swami captured the imagination of the Americans. The press referred to him the greatest figure in the Parliament of Religions. Vivekanand went on lecture campaigns, for several years. He went to Paris, London and other cities of the West. Some universities offered him professorships in Philosophy. Several Europeans cultivated friendship with him. Even the imperialist-minded historian Valentie Chirol called him, the first Hindu whose personality won recognition abroad for Indian’s ancient civilization and for her new born claim to nationhood. Vivekanand founded the Vedanta Society of New York in 1896.

In England, Vivekanand won over several followers. Among them were Miss Margaret Nobel, Ida Ansell, Mrs. Sevier and Mr. Goodwin, who helped him as and when he required. Some of them came to India and served in the Matha till their last.

8.3. FOUNDATION OF THE RAMKRISHNA MISSION

After his return from abroad, Swami Viveknanand established the Ramakrishna Mission on 5th May 1897. It’s main objectives were: 1) To
propagate the teachings of Ramakrishna Parmahansa 2) To spread the meaning of Vedantic spiritualism 3) To strive for a synthesis and harmony among various faiths 4) To regard the service of man as the service of God. In 1898, Vivekanand founded the Belur math to train young men who joined the Mission for religious and social welfare. Members of the mission lived a life of dedication and engaged in active service of the society.

Vivekanand condemned the caste system and the Hindu emphasis on outdated rituals. He urged the people to adopt the spirit of liberty and fraternity. He considered that education, emancipation of women and removal of poverty were necessary conditions for perusing religion. The Ramakrishna Mission adopted the idea of social service as an essential discipline for religious and spiritual life. Its famine relief work in Murshidabad in 1897 and the relief during the time of plague in Calcutta in 1898-99 form landmarks in the relief activities of the mission. The Mission has also opened many schools, colleges, orphanages, dispensaries and hospitals. It always helped the poor in times of distress. The Ramakrishna Mission is a world organization doing its splendid work of interpreting to man everywhere the spiritual and cultural heritage of India and rendering various other humanitarian services.

9. THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

The Theosophical Society was founded by Madame Balvatsky, a Russian and Colonel Olcott, an American in New York on 17th November 1875. In 1879 they came to India and established the headquarters of the society at Adyar, near Madras. Gradually, branches of the society were established in different parts of India. The society emphasized on the majesty and sufficiency of eastern scriptures and appealed to the sentiments of patriotic loyalty of Indians to uphold the religion of their forefathers.

The aims of the Theosophical Society were: 1) To form a nucleus of universal brotherhood. 2) To encourage the study of comparative religions, philosophies and sciences. 3) To investigate the complex and unexplained laws of nature and the power hidden in man. 4) To strive for women’s welfare, upliftment of depressed classes.

9.1. MRS. ANNIE BESANT

The most important propagator of the Theosophical movement in India was Annie Besant, an Irish lady. She renounced Christianity and joined the Theosophical Society in 1889. After the death of Madame Balvatsky in 1891, Annie Besant took over the leadership of the society and came to India two years later. She guided the society for fifty years and infused a new life into the Theosophical movement and attracted many Indian's towards the society. Annie Besant considered the aim of
the Theosophical Society to be the founding of a universal brotherhood without distinction of race or creed. The founders of the society did not believe in a personal God, but, adopted a subtle form of pantheism. Annie Besant sought to defend Hinduism against the attack of Christian missionaries.

She translated the Bhagavad-Gita into English and became a pillar of Hindu revivalism. She, however, condemned early marriage and forced widowhood. She was also associated with the founding the Central Hindu College at Banaras in 1898, which later in 1916 became the famous Banaras Hindu University.

Annie Besant worked with the Indian people and joined the national movement. She helped in the promotion of nationalism in India through two journals, the Commonweal, a weekly and the new India, a daily that were started in 1914. She promoted the cause of the Home Rule for India in these journals. Her services to the national cause appropriately recognized and she was elected as the president of the Congress session in 1917.

10. OTHER REFORMERS

10.1. Lokhitawadi Gopal Hari Deshmukh

Gopal Hari Deshmukh was a radical social reformer in Maharashtra. He was born at Poona in jagirdar’s family he received western education and became a Session Judge. He also became a member of the Bombay Legislative Council from 1880 to 1882. Lokhitawadi was in favour of western education and western science. He realized the value of Western education for the upliftment of India. He was the first reformer in Maharashtra to challenge the old authorities and the old traditions. Lokhitawadi closely connected with the Prarthana Samaj, the Arya Samaj and the Theosophical Movement in Western India. He supported the cause of women and promoted female education and widow remarriage. He established a number of educational institutions, dispensaries, maternity homes and orphanages. He attacked the caste system. He was the earliest promoter of swadeshi to save Indian industries from the British goods. He contributed articles to a weekly journal, the Prabhakar, on social and political problems of the day. The collection of his 108 articles and letters are popularly known as shatapatre. In his opinion reorganization of the India society, based on rational principles and on Western social values, was the pre-requisite of progress of India.
10.2. MAHATMA JOYITIBA PHULE

Mahatma Joytiba Phule was the reformer who challenged the supremacy of the Brahmins in religion and society. Joytiba Phule was born in a Mali family and was educated in the Scottish Mission School at Poona, where he learnt the principle of universal equality of man.

Joytiba Phule was the first modern social revolutionary in Maharashtra, who fought against the caste tyranny of the Brahmins and worked for the upliftment of the depressed classes and women. At the age of twenty-one, despite opposition from the public, he established a school for the girls from the low caste in Poona in 1848. He also established a school for the children of untouchables in 1852. He openly supported widow remarriage and attacked the practice of female infanticide.

In 1873, he started the Satya Shodhak Samaj with a view to organize the lower classes and liberate them from the domination of the priestly class. Jyotiba Phule popularized his ideas through journals such as Dinbandhu and Dinmitra.

11. REFORM MOVEMENT AMONG THE MUSLIMS

The most effective movement among the Muslims in favour of English education was initiated by Syed Ahmad Khan. He began his career as an official in the British government. He used his position for the upliftment of the Muslim community. His chief aims were to bring about an understanding between the English and the Muslim community and introduction of modern education among the Muslims. Syed Ahmad Khan formulated an educational scheme for the Indian Muslims. He made an appeal to the higher and middle class Muslims to learn English and adopt westernization to some extent. He regarded the western knowledge through the English language as the foundation of all real progress among the Muslims. Syed Ahmad Khan established an English School at Gazipur and the Scientific Society for translating useful English books into Urdu. He established the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh. The college provided liberal education in arts and sciences through the medium of English. Later the college was developed into the Aligarh Muslim University. The reform movement in the Muslim community initiated by Syed Ahmad Khan came to be known as the Aligarh Movement which played an important role in bringing about awakening among the Muslims. It aimed at spreading the Western education among the Muslim without weakening their allegiance to Islam. The movement made an appeal to the Muslims to adopt Western culture and interpret the Quran in a rational manner and in accordance with the needs to the Muslims to restructure their social system on more or less democratic
basis. Syed Ahmed Khan endeavored to remove backwardness among the Muslims.

12. **CHRISTIAN MISSIONS**

The Portuguese came to India for trade and converting the natives to Christianity. In 1510 Goa was conquered and made capital of a great maritime empire. The Archbishop of Goa was later given the title of Patriarch of the East Indies.

The missionaries from Catholic religion descended upon Golden Goa. The most famous missionary was Francis Xavier, a co-founder of the Jesuit Society. He came to be regarded as a Saint by Catholics and non-Catholics. He converted thousand of Indians along the West Coast. The Mugal Emperor Akbar invited Catholic priests from Goa to his court. These were learned men, but they failed to convert Akbar.

The English Protestant William Carey (1761-1834) had a flair for Indian language and Oriental studies. Carey got the Bible translated into Indian language. A printing press was set up to print the Bible and other Christian literature. Large numbers of vernacular schools were started. Grammars and dictionaries were published of Sanskrit, Bengali and other Indian languages.

The missionaries took great interest in education. Wherever they started their work, they would first buy a large plot of land, then build a church, then a school. The Europeans and Indian Christians would attend services, conducted both in English and the local language. The Mission English School would be about the best in the town and all who wanted Western Education would seek admission to it.

13. **SUMMARY**

The British conquest and the subsequent insemination of colonial culture and ideology had led to an inevitable introspection about the strengths and weaknesses of indigenous culture and institutions.

The spirit of the reform embraced almost the whole of India beginning with the efforts of Raja Ram Mohan Roy in Bengal leading to the foundation of the Brahmo Samaj in 1828, the Paramhansa Mandali and the Prathana Samaj in Maharashtra, the Arya Samaj in Punjab, the Ramkrishna Mission in Bengal, The Theosophical Society in Madras were some of the prominent movements. The Satya Shodhak Samaj, Shri Narayan Dharma Prapalana Sabha, the Ahmediya and Aligarh movements represented the spirit of reform in India.
Although religious form was their major concern, none of them, were exclusively religious in character. They were strongly humanist and their attention was focused on worldly existence. Indian society in the nineteenth century was caught in a vicious circle of religious superstitions and social obscurantism. Social conditions were equally depressing. The most distressing was the position of then women. Another debilitating factor was the caste, which hampered social mobility and fostered social divisions and above all was the problem of untouchability. All above social and religious reform movements criticized almost all social ills and tried to wipe them out. This cultural and ideological struggle represented by the socio-religious movements, was an integral part of the evolving national consciousness. This was so because it brought a new vision and created a resistance against the colonial cultural and ideological hegemony.

14. ADDITIONAL READINGS

1. V.C. Joshi, editor Rammohan and the process of Maderuisation in India, Delhi, 1975.

15. QUESTIONS

1. Describe the rise and growth of the Socio- Religious Reform Movements in 19th century India.
2. Assess the causes, aims and objectives of the Socio- Religious Reform Movements in India.
3. Form an estimate of the career and achievements of Raja Ram Mohan Roy.
4. Examine the role of Arya Samaj in the Socio- Religious Reform Movements in India.
5. Analyse the contribution of the Ramkrishna Mission to Socio- Religious Reform Movements in India.

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2B

ECONOMIC NATIONALISM

1. OBJECTIVES OF THE UNIT :-

After completing the study of this unit the student will be able to:-

a) Understand the impact of British rule on Indian Urban Handicrafts.

b) Learn the causes, which were responsible for the decline of Indian Handicrafts.

c) Know the Free Trade Policy of the British Government.

d) Know the Commercialisation of Agriculture, and the impact of British rule on Indian Agriculture.

e) Learn the Rural indebtedness its causes and effects.

f) Know the Industrial Policy of the British Government.

g) Understand the Commercial Policy of the British Government.

h) Learn the Economic Drain, its methods and effects.

i) Know how the economic nationalism came into existence.

2. BACKGROUND

After the Revolt of 1857 rapid growth of national consciousness took place. There were several factors responsible for this development. One of these was the economic impact of the British rule on India. The British rule drastically affected the socio-economic structure of India. The economic policies of the British in India resulted in poverty and misery of the masses and led to the extinction of the self-sufficient village economy. During a century and a half, the commercial policy of the British aimed at serving the interests of England. The free trade policy of the British led to the import of British goods, especially cotton textiles in large quantities into India, which resulted in the ruin of indigenous industries. Railways were extended to all parts of the country that helped in the distribution of British goods to the remotest regions of the country and facilitated the transport of the raw materials to the ports to be exported to England. The effect of these developments was that India became poor for several centuries and a scene of poverty and distress.
3. IMPACT OF BRITISH RULE ON URBAN HANDICRAFTS:-

India had vast trade with European countries and enjoyed a marked superiority in the exports of all types of industrial products in the world. During the eighteenth century, India attained a high standard of development in a wide variety of industries. The production of various manufactured goods in the country was not only for home consumption, but also for exports. The following urban industries were noted for their high standard of excellence.

The finest and the most reputed was Dacca muslin described as the shadow of a commodity. Its prosperity depended on patronage of various rulers in the country.

The other centers of muslin production were Krishnagar and Chindere. There were also other cotton fabrics manufactured practically all over India. They were Chintzes, silk bordered clothes: ‘palampore’ saris and veshties, dhoties Calicoes and Corahs and enjoyed world-wide reputation as well as fetched prosperity.

Manufacture of silk clothes was the next in order of importance. Choppas, bandanas and corahs of Murshidabad, Maldah, and other Bengal towns, the fine flowered brocade work of Benares and Ahmedabad, and the fabrics in double weaving of colours produced at Poona, Yeola and other places Paithani of Paithan were the most important silk products during that time in India.

The most famous product of woolen was the Kashmir Shawl, produced in Kashmir and other towns. The shawl enjoyed a good reputation all over India and European countries and demanded in the courts everywhere. The famine of 1830 drove many shawl weavers from Kashmir to Punjab and became a business of every household in the state.

The manufacture of steel and iron had reached a high perfection at least two thousand years ago. Iron smelting centred around Mysore, Chota Nagpur and the Central Provinces and though its products found an all India Market. Its raw materials also were available in almost all parts of the country.

Banares was famous all over India for its brass, copper and other metal industries. Other centres of this craft were chiefly Nasik, Poona, Hyderabad, Vizagapatnam and Tanjore. The town of Rajputana
specialised in enamelled jewellery, stone carving and other kinds of artistic work. Mysore was also a famous centre of jewellery.

Many other industries like gold and silver thread, marble works, sandal-wood work, glass bangles, tanning and leather works, paper making, perfumery existed and flourished at various places in the country.

3.1. THE DECLINE OF HANDICRAFTS:

The establishment of the alien rule and the advent of foreign traders were inimical to Indians handicrafts, even in some surviving feudatory states. The demand for Indian handicraft in Europe halted the fast decline of the handicrafts. During the initial period this demand had led to the lowering of the quality of Indian handicrafts. Moreover, the introduction of the new patterns and the demand for cheap goods resulted in adulteration of material. The hasty workmanship, means the deterioration in the quality of the Kashmir shawls after the introduction of the French lifeless and garish product had much disastrous effects on the indigenous art and handicraft products of India.

The educated class, under the British rule accepted European standards and followed European fashions and entirely turned their backs on indigenous arts. The British came to India mainly for trade with the country. After becoming rulers, they tried their level best to further their trade interests. The British manufactures in England prevailed upon the British Parliament to make the East India Company concentrate on exports of raw materials from India than to encourage Indian industries. They imposed protective tariff to protect England’s woolen and silk industries. They banned Indian dyed calicos to be imported form India to England between 1700 and 1814. Similarly, high duties were imposed on the imports of Indian goods to England for local consumption. These heavy duties imposed to protect English industry stopped the further growth of Indian handicrafts which resulted in its decline.

The British rulers who governed India never helped the struggling Indian artisans. They adopted a very unfavorable attitude which led the British manufacturers to earn at the cost of Indians. The policies adopted to help the development of railways aimed at facilitating export of raw materials, and the movement of finished goods from ports to interior parts of India. This resulted in the rise of the Indian foreign trade while its home industries were ruined.

Competition of European manufacturers led to the decline of Indian handicrafts. According to R.C. Dutt the invention of the power loom in Europe completed the decline of Indian Industries. Indigenous products came to be
undercut by cheap English factory goods both in the home and foreign markets. The urban weaver of finer textiles was hard hit, and hopelessly beaten by machine made goods. The process of decay was further hastened by the vitiation of public taste. People started preferring the cheaper factory products with their relatively lurid colors and gaudy designs.

4. FREE TRADE POLICY OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT :-

During the eighteenth century, British adopted a policy of free trade in India for her goods. Which led to the following consequences :-

Cheaper British textiles invaded Indian markets. Indian textiles could not compete with them. The British began to purchase British made paper, which ruined Indian paper industries. Indian had to import large quantities of British made goods. The customs duties on the import of these goods in India was low while customs duties on Indian goods imported into Britain were high. This led to the decline of India’s exports to England while India’s imports from England registered a steep rise. Thus the free trade policy of Britain brought down India from the position of the world’s major producer and exporter of textiles to the position of the world’s largest consumer of imported textiles.

5. COMMERCIALISATION OF INDIAN AGRICULTURE:-

Commercialization of agriculture implies the cultivation of crops for sale and not for consumption. Farmers desirous of getting higher prices for their produce switched over to cultivation of cash crops like cotton, tea, tobacco, from crops like rice and wheat.

These changes proved highly beneficial to the British and the newly emerged class of merchants and money lenders. Indian farmers started cultivating crops to cater the need of the British industrialists, who required large quantities of raw materials to feed their industries in Britain. Merchant middlemen who bought produce from needy farmers at low prices and sold at high prices earned huge profits. Money lenders who lent funds to farmers got huge interest and exploited them.

These changes made the conditions of Indian farmers much worse. The ownership of land passed to zamindars and absentee land lords who exploited the farmers. The farmer’s dire need of cash gave rise to a parasitic class of merchant middlemen and money lenders who filled their coffers at the cost of the farmers. Farmers also lost the incentive to produce more and improve agriculture. Hence agricultural production in India began to decline.
5.1. CONSEQUENCES OF COMMERCIALIZATION OF INDIAN AGRICULTURE:

The large demand of foreign goods did not benefit the farmer in any way. This was so because of the weak agricultural organization in the country and lack of resources with the farmer for technological improvements. The rise in exports and the resulting rise in agricultural prices could not benefit the small farmer who had a very narrow margin of surplus over his requirements for sale in the market. The small farmer or the marginal farmer was not the owner of the land he cultivated and was therefore, unable to introduce any technological changes in the methods of cultivation.

The agriculturists in some parts, however met the situation of substituting commercial crops for food grains, fodder and other traditional crops. Consequently, different commercial crops came to be grown in some regions which were climatically suitable for the cultivation of such crops. Regional specialization of crops was one of the distinguishing results of the commercialization of agriculture. Although this break from the past marked a turning point in the history of agriculture in India, it brought about a disastrous effect on the supply of food grains in the country.

The famines of 1856 in Bengal and Orissa were acute mainly because of the diversion of area from food crops to commercial crops. Cockrell who enquired into this famine observed that one of the causes of scarcity of food grains was the increasing cultivation of indigo absorbed a large area of land which otherwise would have been used to cultivate food grains.

6. RURAL INDEBTEDNESS:

The farmers had to sell their produce in the market to pay the land revenue to the government and interest to the money lenders. Poor farmers had, to buy same produce after six months or so at higher prices for substitution. This process sank the farmers deeper and deeper in debt of money lenders.

There was the grant of absolute ownership right and the right of alienation of land to farmers that led to a steep rise in farmers’ debts. In fact, it has been observed that in some native states where the farmers had not been granted rights of absolute ownership of land, they were much less indebted than farmers who were granted
the right of absolute ownership. Because there had been several implications of that right.

In order to restrict the alienation of land from farmers various Acts, as, the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act, the Central Provinces Tenancy Act, and the Punjab Land Alienation Act were passed in different States. These acts could not put a total stop to land alienation. But the acts reduced the number of such alienations. The acts could not completely check the fraudulent practices of money lenders, who began to deceive then farmers under various pretexts. Moreover, the natural catamites like bad monsoons, floods, drought and locusts resulted in total crop failures. The farmers could not discharge their debts and maintain their families, to purchase new seeds. Thus they became more and more pauperised and crushed under the debts.

Illiterate and tradition bound farmers borrowed more in periods of prosperity. They spent heavily on celebration of marriages, death ceremonies and such social occasions. Prosperity led to a sustained rise in rentals and land values. The rural indebtedness could neither be reduced nor removed unless credit to farmers was made available on easier terms and a check was kept on the purpose of farmers seeking loan from the money lenders.

6.1 CONSEQUENCES OF RURAL INDEBTEDNESS:-

There were several long term and short term effect of the rural indebtedness. Some of the important consequences were as:-

Rural indebtedness deprived the farmers of their land. The growth of population added to the pieces of land. The class of money lender was not interested in having land. But after 1850, with the rise in population and the increase of the pressure of population on land, the prices of land began to rise steadily. This induced the money lenders to grab the land from the indebted farmers in the country.

Indebtedness resulted in the growing poverty of the farmers. As already shown, the farmers mortgaged their land to the money lenders. They finally lost it to the money-lenders. Then they joined the ranks of the tenants and landless laborers. The indebted farmers were also averse to take interest in cultivation. There was generally inefficiency. The production, therefore, suffered a lot. The indebted farmer was enforced to sell his produce to the traders at low prices. He was able to discharge his debt. But he was forced to borrow again to maintain himself and his family. Thus rural indebtedness was cause and also the effect of the poverty of Indian farmers on a large scale.
The rise in indebtedness had led to the small size of the landholdings. The size of an average land holding was not economically gainful. An economic holding had been defined as one which offered reasonable opportunities to the farmer and his family was to employ themselves in the most efficient manner. An average holding in India was much smaller. The reason for this small size of holdings was growing population in the country. Which increased the pressure on available land. Moreover, the law of inheritance, the breakdown of the joint family system, the decline of handicrafts and village industries and the farmers natural attachment to landed property, were other effects of the rural indebtedness. The effect of small-sized land-holding was that the available labor was to be diverted to other alternative occupations to supplement the earning of the family.

We cannot say that the Indian peasants were very happy and contented before the arrival of the British in India. But Indian farmers were not miserable. The British rule definitely led to the increase in their poverty, which increased the suffering of the farming community, which formed a major part of the population of India and was the main stay of the Indian economy.

7. INDUSTRIAL POLICY UNDER THE BRITISH RULE:-

The year 1850 was generally regarded as the great mark in the history of India. It was the beginning of the era of modern industry. Pioneering attempts were made to introduce different industries; however, they could be traced even in the earlier period. These pioneering efforts were made mostly by Europeans. For instance, the first iron-smelting unit was established in Madras in 1815. The first cotton textile unit was established in Madras in 1815. The first cotton textile unit was founded near Calcutta in 1818 and the first coal mine began to function in 1820 at Raniganj. In 1823, the first ever coffee plantation in country was started. These efforts were continued even after 1850 in Kerala. In the same way the British established the first cement plant of the country in Madras.

A generation of leading Indian entrepreneurs, laid the foundation of modern industry in India. Among them mention must be made of the Bengal Iron Works started in 1854. Rally Paper Mills in 1870, the Bombay Spinning and Weaving Company in 1854. The causes of the poor development of Industries were the discriminating industrial and commercial policies of the British rulers which aimed at developing India as a market for British manufactured goods in return for India’s raw materials.

Both, the East India Company and the British Parliament imposed discriminatory trade duties on Indian goods. The British
Parliament imposed high import duties ranging from 40 to 60 per cent on finished Indian textile goods imported into Great Britain. This led to the closing of the British market for Indian manufactures which then had to be exported to other foreign countries. As British textiles imported into India had to pay only 3 ½ percent import duty while local producers of textiles were forced to pay 6 to 18 per cent transit duties.

The Indian government adopted a laissez-faire policy. The policy of encouraging Indian industries was completely reversed after the transference of India to the Crown. The Government policy aimed at keeping India predominantly agricultural, and avoided to encourage industries that competed with the British interests.

8. COMMERCIAL POLICY OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT:-

Before the British came to India, exports from India exceeded her imports. This led to the favorable balance of trade. Huge quantities of gold and silver flowed into the country. Arab and European traders in the later days supplied goods to India. Indian traders contributed to the growth of the trade on a very large scale and earned good fortunes. Thus in the course of India's foreign trade brought gold into India. India exported silks, spices, textiles, precious stones and handicrafts. Her imports consisted of corals, lead, copper and precious metals. But her exports were such that they passed on the real advantage to the importing countries. Indian exports in the nineteenth century included raw cotton, food grains, oil seeds, jute, opium, hides and skins, jute and tea.

British used Indian manufactured cotton textiles and sent them back and these were sold at high prices in India. Indian cotton thus filled the coffer of the British. The export of food grains and other articles led to a short supply of consumer’s goods in India. This made the life of the common man difficult. Nearly 60 per cent of manufactured goods came from England. India thus became a dumping ground for British manufactured goods.

The export trade did not result in India's economic development. The raw material exported by India would have been used profitably if there had been large scale industries set up in India as in England. India had been one of the largest exporters of sugar; but by the end of the nineteenth century, the British Government began to throttle the growing Indian sugar industry so that the British sugar industries in Mauritius and Javas might expand to a large extent.
The favorable balance of trade did not enhance the Indian economy. It obstructed industrial growth, and helped industrial stagnation. Thus the British Government dislodged India from the prominent position in the international trade.

9. THE ECONOMIC DRAIN OF INDIA:

The nationalist leaders pointed out that a large part of India’s capital and wealth was being transferred to England in the form of salaries and pensions of British civil and military officials working in India, interest on loans taken by the Indian Government, profits of British capitalists in India, and the Home Charges.

Dadabhai Naoroji, the exponent of the economic drain, was born in a family of Parsee priests in 1825. After completing his education in 1845 he worked as a teacher for the next ten years. In 1855, he proceeded to England to look after the affairs of the firm Cama and Company in London. In 1874, he became the Dewan to the Maharaja of Baroda. But the British resident forced him to resign from the post. He went back to England and spent the rest of his life in public service. He was elected to the House of Commons of the British Parliament. He was the founder member of the Indian National Congress and became its president thrice. His most famous book is Poverty and Un-British Rule in India. Dadabhai Naoroji made poverty his special subject and spent his entire life awakening the Indian and British public. In 1867, he read a paper entitled England’s Duties to India, before the East India Association, London. In this discourse he posed a question, ‘is British rule in India a benefit to India or England?’. He provided the reply as well “but now as the country is being continually bled, its vitality and vigour must get low, unless permanent improvement already made. Dadabhai Naoroji raised the problem of Indian poverty and the drain of India’s wealth by the British and their intimate connection. He spent rest of his life in the detailed examination of these problems. In 1873, he gave evidence before the Select Committee of Parliament appointed to enquire into the state of Indian finances, and in 1876, he presented the revised draft of his famous paper on the Poverty of India to the Bombay branch of the East India Association.

9.1. METHODS OF DRAIN:

Dadabhai Naoriqi said that the poverty of the Indian people was incurred due to several factors and facts, such as 1) the low national income of the country, 2) the low import and export figures, 3) the low standard of living of the people, 4) the low revenue returns of the government 5) the recurring famines and 6) the high rate of mortality. Dadabhai considered the economic drain as an external-cum-internal
mechanism in which the transfer of funds from India to England took place in a complicated way. With the establishment of political power in 1757, the profit making through trade became integrated with administration. Which also became an instrument of profit making.

The wealth of India was drained to England through various ways such as
1) remittances of private fortune acquired by the way of plunder tributes.
2) Gifts.
3) Salaries.
4) Pensions paid to the British civil and military officials;
5) remittance of money to England for the purchases of British goods for the consumption of British employees.
6) Purchases by the British of British goods in India;
7) Government purchases of stores manufactured in England;
8) interest paid on public debt held in England.
9) The surplus revenue and taxes collected by the British government in India were also transferred to England.

9.2. PAYMENTS MADE IN ENGLAND

India made huge payments to England on account of administrative and commercial connections between India and England. These commitments came to be known as the Home charges. These charges were 1) interest on public debt raised in England often at higher rates of interest. 2) Annuities on account of railway and irrigation works. 3) Payments in connection with civil departments where Englishmen were employed. 4) India Office expenses including pensions to retired officials who had worked in India or who had worked for India in England and retired there. 5) Pension to army and naval personnel.

These payments were estimated at thirty-five million pounds annually. They were calculated the one-fourth of all the revenue derived in India and remitted to England annually. Dadabhai Naoroji says that between 1814 and 1865 about 350 million pounds went to England by way of economic drain. He obtained this figure from India’s export surplus over her imports during those years. G.V Joshi estimated the drain to the extent of nearly 600 million pounds. S.N. Banerjee estimated the annual drain for the last thirty years to be about thirty million pounds. R.C. Dutt says that the drain was about twenty million per year. Besides Dadabhai Naoroji, M.G. Ranade and R.C. Dutt were the other nationalists who emphasized in detail the extremely disastrous effects of the drain. M.G. Ranade criticized the drain of resources and capital from India to England. R.C. Dutt made the drain a major theme of his
Economic History of India. Economic Drain was so great that it impoverished India, the most prosperous country on the earth; it reduced India to a land of frequent, widespread, and fatal, famines in the world.

9.3. DISASTROUS EFFECTS OF THE ECONOMIC DRAIN:-

The economic drain brought about several disastrous effects as under:-

1) Historians pointed out that the drain represented not only the spending abroad of certain portion of national income but also the further loss of employment and income that would have been generated in the country, if the drain had not been taken place.

2) R.C Dutt wrote, that when taxes are raised and spent in a country, the money is circulated among the people and it fructifies trade, industries and agriculture, in one or another shape and reaches the people. But when the taxes are remitted out of the country, the money is lost to the country forever; it does not stimulate her industries, and reach the people in any form at any cost.

3) The nationalist leaders considered the drain harmful because it resulted in the depletion of productive capital.

4) Dadabhai emphasized on this aspect and it formed the core of his Drain Theory.

5) G.V. Joshi viewed the drain as total loss of the national capital.

6) Drain brought no economic return.

7) The drain resulted in the industrial retardation due to shortage of capital. Nation leaders tried to analyze and point out the effect of the drain on income and wealth, capital, industrial development, land revenue, trade and the poverty of the Indian people.

According to M.G. Ranade there were number of causes of poverty of India. He felt that India was totally dependent on agriculture. This situation had been brought about by the economic policy of the British Government. The British encouraged the export of raw materials to England by providing transport and other supporting facilities. The early nationalists thoroughly exposed the nature and consequences of the British economic policies. They came to conclusion that basically the poverty of India was the consequences of the British rule. This realization made the people to conclude that no improvement in the economic conditions of the people could be expected without a radical change in the character of the government. Therefore, it was necessary to agitate for a change in the government. Thus, the economic background became one of the most broad-based factors responsible for the rise of nationalism in India.
10. SUMMARY

The period following the great uprising of 1857, a tremendous growth of national awakening took place. There were several factors and circumstances responsible for this occurrence, one of them was the impact of British rule, which affected Indian handicrafts, agriculture, industry, commerce, transport and contributed to general rural indebtedness. Among the urban handicrafts, cotton textile, silk, woolen and metal works were very popular in the western countries. They were exported to Europe more than their use in India itself. There were several causes responsible for the decline of these urban handicrafts, as lack of support from the Indian rulers, educated class and the British Government in India. In addition to these causes hostile policy of the British Parliament and the East India Company was the most severe. These handicrafts could not withstand the machine made goods of England, the changing fashion and taste of people, and the free trade policy of the British Government. Naturally due to the British only the handicrafts in India were declined.

The British Government introduced the commercialization of Indian agriculture to compensate the loss of raw cotton which was coming from America. This policy was not of any benefits to Indians but the British only. It neither improved the method of cultivation nor the production in the agriculture, but resulted in the decrease of food grains. This followed the fragmentation of land holding and disposal of Land for the want of food grains. Rural indebtedness increased. Industrial Policy of the British stimulated to the export of raw materials from India at the giving away prices and import of finished products from England for which Indians were forced to pay exorbitant prices. Needless to say that the commercial policy of the British helped a lot in this matter. This process speeded up the British Industrial Revolution but made India one of the most pauprised countries on the earth. This is known as the economic drain of India.

The Indian nationalist leaders pointed out that a large part of India’s capital and wealth was being drained or transferred to England in the form of Salaries, pensions of British civil and military officials working in India, interest on loans taken by the Indian Government, profits of British capitalists in India and the home charge of the Indian Government in Britain. Dadabhai Naoroji was one of the first and most eloquent nationalist exponents of the drain theory. Besides, Dadabhai Naoroji, M.G. Ranade and R.C. Dutt were the other nationalists who wrote on the disastrous effects of the economic drain. The early nationalists thoroughly exposed the nature and consequences of the British economic policies in India. Through their analysis, they came to irrefutable conclusion that basically the poverty of India was the
consequence of the British rule in the country for centuries together. Therefore, it was necessary to agitate for a change in the government, naturally, this enhanced the rise of nationalism in India.

11. ADDITIONAL READINGS

1) R.C Dutt, The Economic history of India Under early British Rule, and Economic History of India in the Victorian Age, Delhi, 1960.
2) Bipin Chandra, the Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India New Delhi, 1984.

12. QUESTIONS

1. Give an account of the urban handicrafts in India.
2. Account for the decline of urban handicrafts during the British rule.
3. Examine the causes and consequences of the commercialisation of Indian agriculture during the British rule.
4. Assess the factors responsible for the rural indebtedness under the British rule.
5. Analyze the theory of economic drain. Bring out its importance.

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GROWTH OF POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS

1. OBJECTIVE :-

After reading this unit the student will be able to:

- Know the political associations, which were founded before the establishment of the India national Congress in 1885.

- Understand the establishment of the Land Holders Society in Calcutta.

- Know the circumstance which led to establish the Bengal British India Society in 1843.

- Understand the foundation, aim and objectives, achievements and limitations of the British Indian Association.

- Comprehend the foundation and programme of the Indian Association in 1876.

- Perceive the foundation and activities of the Bombay Association.

- Understand the establishment of the National Conference, the Bombay Presidency Association, the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha and the Mahajan Sabha.

2. INTRODUCTION:-

In the second half of the nineteenth century the newly emerging Indian intelligentsia created political associations to spread political education and to launch political work in the country. Realizing the futility of armed resistance to the British imperialism, the new western educated and liberal intelligentsia decided to give a new direction and dynamism to the national agitation. These political associations brought India on the threshold of modern politics. Though initially the religious zeal encouraged people to form the associations, these associations were established in different parts of the country by men of secular interest. The factors, which held
them together, were common education, skills, functions, aspirations, and resentment against the British rule. These associations can be studied as under:

3. The Land Holder’s Society:

   The landholders of Calcutta and its neighborhood met at the Hindu college to established an association in July 1838, and called zamindary Association, but the name was soon changed to landholder’s society. The object and achievements of this political association were very limited, It was significant for the following reasons:

   (1) In the first place, it set the example of an organized constitutional agitation for the redressal of grievances by a public body.

   (2) Secondly, the organizers desired to establish branches of the society in the British India with the view to communicate all subjects the object of the society. Thirdly, it enlisted the cooperation of Englishman who sympathized with the political aspirations of the people. Thus, the Landholder’s Society, sought to preserve the economic interests of the feudal landlords. It also provided ‘the first lesson in fighting constitutionally for their rights.

4. The Bengal British India Society:

   The Bengal British India society was founded at Calcutta with wider political objectives. Five resolutions were passed in the inaugural meeting which was held on 20 April, 1843 explaining the scope and object of the society. The important aim was ‘to collect and disseminate the information of the actual condition of the people of British India.

   It was to employ such other means of peaceful and lawful character, to secure the welfare, extend the rights and advance the interests of all people.

   There were two more political associations were founded in Bengal, as the Landholders Society and the Bengal British India Society. None of these achieved much popularity. But it created political consciousness among people of British India.

5. The British Indian Association:

   The main reason for the establishment of this political organization was the agitation of the European community against the four bill drafted by Bethune, the law member of the British Government in 1849 in order to extend the jurisdiction of the East India Company’s criminal courts over the British-born subjects. While the Indian strongly supported these Bills, the European community in Bengal called them as ‘Black Acts’ and carried
on an agitation. After the agitation of the European community the government was forced to withdraw the Bills. These events shocked the educated Indians who felt the need of a strong political association to safeguard their interests against the organized attacks of the European people.

5.1. AIMS OF THE BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION:-

There were several aims and objectives of the Association some of the important aims were as under:-

(1) To represent Indian interests in the debates of renewal of the Company’s Charter. In 1852, when the new Charter Act was under consideration, a petition was sent to the Parliament in the name of the British Indian Association and other native inhabitants of the Bengal Presidency complaining against grievances and urging for relief. It dwelt at length upon the evils, of political or executive power with the legislature.

(2) Petition to reduce salaries of the higher officers, separate the functions of magistrates and judges.

(3) To make prayer to abolish salt and the stamp duties.

(4) Request to discontinue the payment for ecclesiastical establishments.

5.2. ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION:-

The Association put several demands to the British Government some of these were as under:-

(1) The association submitted a number of petitions to the British authorities both in India and England. These petitions served as much to enlighten the government as to educate the public. Among the chief reforms for which the British Indian Association petitioned, the authorities were the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils on a wider and more liberal basis.

(2) The Association demanded increase employment of Indians in the higher services; holding the Indian Civil Service Examination simultaneously in India and England; appointment of a Parliamentary Committee to inquire into the affairs of India.

(3) The Association requested reduction in the government expenditure and the ‘home charges; reduction of duties on imported cotton goods; extension of the permanent settlement of the land revenue to other provinces of British India.

(4) The Association petitioned for additional grants for education., elimination of racial distinction in the administration of justice, establishment of the Anglican church in India.
(5) The Association prayed for charging low rate of postage for newspapers; prevention of famines and epidemics; removal of grievances of the railway passengers; promotion of agricultural exhibitions.

(6) The Association demanded improvement in the administration of police, justice and local administration.

(7) The Association demanded the recognition of the principle of equality in the eyes of the law. The Association brought to the notice of the Local government, the various grievances of the people and suggested various measures for reforming them soon.

5.3. LIMITATIONS OF THE BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION:-

(1) The Association could not become a popular representative organization. Its membership was limited to the wealthy people only.

Zamindars of Calcutta formed the majority of its membership and became the chief financial support. Thus, after 1858, the British Indian Association identified itself more and more with the interest of the landed aristocracy and ceased to represent the political ambitions of the Indian people.

(2) It is said that the British Indian Association usually supported the British rule to preserve its own interests. This attitude becomes clear in the petition sent to the British Parliament in 1859, which urged the government to introduce the permanent settlement all over India.

(3) Though the leaders of the British India Association were patriotic and public spirited, their primary objective was to safeguard and promote their own interests.

(4) The British Indian Association remained confined to petitioning the authorities and the occasional holding of public meeting in order to reinforce its demands.

(5) The Association could not meet the aspirations of the rapidly growing middle class in Bengal. It failed to secure any advantages for the educated class in that province.

6. THE INDIAN ASSOCIATION

There was a demand for dynamic organization among the people who had studied in England. Man Mohan Ghose and Womesh Chandra Banerjee had experimented with politics in the London Indian Society and in the East India Association. In 1860, Vidyasagar was contemplating of a Bengal Association. In Calcutta two groups were putting together plans
for a new Association with countrywide branches. One group was led by Sisir Kumar Ghose formed the Indian league in September 1875, while the others were still formulating their plans. The Indian League was intended as a deliberate challenge to the British Indian association. The Indian League’s low annual subscription of five rupees was intended to attract a new kind of members since it hoped to represent the middle classes and the masses to stimulate the sense of nationalism among the people.

The Indian Association, was founded at a meeting in Albert Hall, Calcutta, on 26 July 1876. This new association echoed the argument that there was no political society in Bengal, which represented the middle classes. The objectives of the Indian Association were ‘to represent the people and promote the political, intellectual, and the national advancement of the people.

6.1. Aims and objectives of the Indian association:-

This organization was a dynamic and based on the needs of the common man. Considering this viewpoint. Surendranth Banerjee, one of the most active members of the association outlined some of the aims, which were as:-

(1) The creation of a strong public opinion in India on political questions,
(2) Unification of the Indian people on a common political programme,
(3) Creation of cordial relations between the Hindus and the Muslims.

6.2 Programmes of the Indian Association: -

As per its objectives, the Indian Association, in its early years attempted to unite all groups of the educated community on urgent problems in the country. One such question was the virtual exclusion of Indians from high offices in their own country because of holding of the Indian civil service examination only in England. This was an old question, but it had brought to the forefront by an order of Lord Salisbury, reducing the upper age limit for the civil service examinations from 21 to 19 years. This made difficult even for the few Indians who could afford to go to England to compete for the examinations. It was regarded as a deliberate attempt on the part of the British authorities to damage the prospects of Indian candidates for the Indian Civil Services. The Indian Association decided to organize national protest against the Secretary of State’s order. The enthusiasm and skill, which the Indian Association displayed in organizing this protest, marked it out as representing a new force in Indian politics. The civil service question was greatly suited to become the battle cry of an all India movement. It was the leaders of the Indian Association, who felt that the civil service issue justified a call for a
national movement. The real purpose of the Civil Service agitation was the awakening of a spirit of unity and solidarity among the people of India. On 24 March 1877 one of the biggest public demonstrations was held in Calcutta. The leaders at the meeting denounced the British action as violation of the Charter Act of 1833 and the Queen’s Proclamation of 1858. The meeting demanded the restoration of the higher age limit for the Civil Service examination, and holding of the examination simultaneously in India and in England. A Committee, was appointed to draw up and forward the proposed memorial to the British Parliament. Surendranath Banerjee was deputed to visit all provinces to bring them on a common platform.

Accordingly, he toured Lahore, Amritsar, Meerut, Delhi, Agra, Lucknow, Kanpur, Allahabad, Benaras, Patna, Bombay, Ahmedabad, Surat, Poona and Madras in 1877. His tour helped to create national solidarity on important political issues. Surendranath Banerjee could be the first politician to receive all India popularity as a result of his tours. The most gratifying aspect of the Civil Service movement was the union it brought among men of diverse castes, classes and regions in the country. In its issue dated 24 December 1877, The Times of India wrote: ‘the real remarkable feature of the whole movement. The memorial, which sought modification in the Secretary of State’s proposal and holding simultaneous Civil Service examination in India and England, was sent to the House of Commons. There was a demonstration in its favour by the British Liberals at a meeting where Lal Mohan’s eloquent presentation of the Indian cause made a profound impression. As a result of this the Indian Governments was empowered to make direct appointment for the Civil Service from amongst the Indians of proved ability. This order was laid on the table of the House of Commons within twenty four hours of the demonstration. Indian politicians at that time were greatly impressed by the promptness with which the British parliament had acted in this matter.

6.2.1. Movement Against the Vemacular Press Act :- After the success of the Civil Service agitation, another opportunity was provided when Lord Lytton introduced the Vernacular Press Act in 1878. The Indian Association organized a public meeting on 17 April 1878 to record public protest against these retrogressive measures. The meeting decided to send a memorial to the British Parliament. Gladstone moved a resolution in the House of Commons on 23 July 1878 that all proceedings, which might be taken by the authorities under the Act, should be laid before the Parliament from time to time. The voice of India echoed in the House of Commons through the leader of the opposition. The Vernacular Press Act was soon modified, and was finally repealed by Lord Ripen, who succeeded Lord Lytton as Viceroy.

6.2.2. Movement for local Self – Government: - An agitation was carried on for election, in place of nomination of the chairman and
members of the Local Boards and Municipalities. Circulars were sent to
different localities explaining the necessity and importance of democratic
method in the administration of local affairs. In a largely attended
meeting at Calcutta a demand was made for democratic constitution of the
local bodies. The Indian Association received letters and telegrams from
different provinces of India supporting the demand and giving it an all India
character.

6.2.3. The Ilbert Bill Agitation :- In 1883, there were two events, which
promoted political consciousness among the people. The first was the
great controversy over the legislative measures introduced by Ilbert, the
Law Member of the Viceroy’s Council, popularly known as the Ilbert Bill.
In those days the European subjects could not be tried in criminal cases
by any Indian judge. The Elbert Bill sought to remove this inequality. A
similar attempt in 1849 had failed due to the opposition of the British in
India to what they called the ‘Black Act’. The Indian Association carried on
a counter – agitation in favour of the Elbert Bill. In the same way the
Indian political associations in Bengal and Bombay made a joint
representation to the Viceroy. However, these measures had no effect.

6.2.4. Protest Against the Imprisonment of S.N. Banerjee :- In the
peak of his popularity Surendranath Banerjee was charged for contempt of
court on account of some comments he had made on the conduct of Mr.
Justice Norris of the Calcutta High Court. Although Surendranath tendered
apology, the majority of the judges found him guilty, and sentenced him to
imprisonment. The imprisonment of Surendranath Banerjee evoked a
spontaneous protest from all sections in Bengal. All business was
suspended, shops were closed, and a strong wave of indignation swept
across the whole of Bengal and even regions far outside its boundaries.
About twenty thousand people attended a meeting organized by the Indian
Association on 16 May 1883, to protest against the imprisonment of
Surendranath Banerjee. Eventually, Surendranath Banerjee was released
from jail on 4 July 1883.

7. FOUNDATION OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE :-

In spite of its remarkable achievements, the Indian Association was
considered as a provincial organization. Many nationalists felt the need of
a closely-knit organization embracing the whole of India. The proposal of
the government to hold an International Exhibition in Calcutta in December
1883 offered an opportunity for the Indian Association to organize an all-
India National conference at that time, as it was expected that many
prominent Indians would visit Calcutta during this occasion.

The Conference met in the Albert Hall between 28 and 30 December
1883, was attended by one hundred delegates. In spite of this, as Dr. Anil
Seal has observed, the first National Conference was, in its programme and proceedings, a dress rehearsal for the Indian National Congress. The subjects discussed at the Conference were essentially the same as those, which were later discussed in the National Congress session. The second session of the National Conference was held in Calcutta in December 1885 practically at the same time that the Indian National Congress was meeting for the first time in Bombay. The Association remained a separate institution for a long time.

8. **THE BOMBAY ASSOCIATION** :-

After the foundation of the British Indian Association in Calcutta, a public meeting of the Indian Citizens of Bombay was held in the Elephantine Institute, where the foundation of the first political association in the Bombay Presidency was laid. The people from all walks of life as Parsee, Jews and Portuguese mingled with Hindus freely and frankly. The meeting was presided over by jagannath Shankershet and decided that the Bombay Association should be the representative of the people of the presidency, and the annual fee of twenty-five rupees was fixed. Suddenly, subscription of thirty thousand rupees was collected by donation to launch the association. The object of the association was defined in the first resolution, that was to ascertain the wants of the natives of India in the Bombay Presidency.

8.1. **Activities of the Bombay Association**: - The Bombay Association sent a petition to the British Parliament in 1853, in which criticized the system of administration and suggested some remedial measures. The first important question, which engaged the attention of the Bombay Association was that of the enormous and continuous rise in taxation, the proposed levy on professions and trades. Public feeling against the so-called License Bill was as strong in Bombay as elsewhere in India. It was only when the License Bill was in the Legislative Council and long after Calcutta and Madras had formally registered their protest against it, that the Bombay Association, under great pressure from the local press and the public held a meeting at the house of Jagannath Shankershet. Some of the radical members of the association led by Bhau Daji, urged the need for speedy action and for sending a separate and more comprehensive position to the Parliament.

After the death of its president, Jagannath Shankershet in August 1865, the Bombay Association virtually ceased to function. The cause, of the rapid decay of the Bombay Association in the early 1860’s was the lack of harmonious co-operation among its members. The members of the Bombay Association were businessmen and were too busy with their transaction and could not spare time for the Association.

A number of young graduates and lawyers, such as R. G. Bhandarkar, M.G. Ranade, Ferozshah Mehta, K.T. Telang and Badruddin Tyabji were attracted to it. They also joined the Bombay branch
of the East India Association, which Dadabhi Naoroji had organized in 1869. The Bombay Association remained fairly active for about five years following its revival. It corresponded regularly with the other political associations in India and with the East India Association in London. In 1870, the secretary of the Bombay Association went to England, where he tried to enlist the support of influential sections in favor of the demands of the Association.

9. THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY ASSOCIATIONS :-

In January 1885, three prominent leaders of Bombay, Perozeshah Mehta, K.T. Telang and Badurddin Tyabji, set up the Bombay Presidency Association. Form the beginning, the association had friendly relations with the Poona Srvajanik Sbha. In September 1885, the Bombay Presidency Association, the Poona Sarvajanik Sbha, the Mahajana Sbha of Madras and the Indian Association of Calcutta sent a joint deputation to England to present India’s case before the British electorate. The deputation was led by N. Chandavarkar from Bombay, Ramaswami Mudaliar of Madaras, and Manmohan Ghosh of Calcutta. Three months later, it was the Bombay Presidency Association, which hosted the first Congress.

10. THE POONA SARVAJANIK SABHA :-

The Poona Association was founded in 1867 on the lines of the Bombay Association. She was known as the Poona Sarvajhnik Sabhja three years later in April 1870. Its main object was to serve as a bridge between the government on the one hand and the people on the other. It aimed to communicate to the government the wishes and opinions of the people regarding the laws passed by the government.

There were ninety five members enrolled in the first year. Its presidents and vice-presidents were annually elected, and at first they were Maratha Sardar. But most of the ordinary members were local lawyers, teachers, government servants and journalists. Retired government servants and lawyers dominated the managing committee of the Sabha.

The Sabha concerned itself with problems of a local character. The arrival of M.G. ranade in Poona in 1871 as a subordinate judge marked a turning point in the history of the Sabha. Very soon Ranade became the life and soul of the Sabha.

10.1. Programmes of the Sabha :- The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha had taken lead in organizing a Swadeshi movement in the Deccan. In 1872 and again 1876-78 the Sabha organized famine relief in that area. In 1872 the
Sabha appointed a sub-committee of its members to conduct an elaborate inquiry into the condition of the farmers in the Deccan. In 1873 the Sabha sent Naoroji Fardunji to London as their delegate to give evidence before the Parliamentary Committee on Indian Finance. In 1874, it raised funds for the relief of the famine stricken population of Bengal. In 1875 the Sabha submitted a petition to the House of Commons demanding the direct representation of India in the British Parliament.

Due to the influence of the Sabha, political associations grew up in many places in the Deccan. The leaders of the Sabha aroused patriotic feelings among the masses and launched its Journal, in July, 1878.

In May 1876 the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha sent a congratulatory letter to Queen Victoria on her assumption of the title of the Empress of India. The Sabha also protested publicly against the vernacular press Act of 1878.

The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha had always been suspected in the eyes of many Anglo–Indians. Believing that Ranade was the mastermind behind the Sabha, the Bombay government under Richard Temple transferred him to various places in 1878.

The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha agitated on a wide range of subjects such as the Bombay Forest Regulations, the Lincense Tax, the Ilbert Bill and in favour of the local self – government. The Sabha was the first to petition for an extension of Ripon’s Viceroyalty.

11. THE MAHAJANA SABHA OF MADRAS :-

The Native Association set up in 1851-52 in Madras became defunct in 1862. Due to the liberal policy of Lord Ripon, many political associations emerged throughout the country. Under these circumstances the Madras Native Association was also revived. In May 1884, the Mahajana Sabha was established in Madras with Rangiah Naidu as its president and veeraraghavachariar and Ananda Charlu as its secretaries. About seventy delegates representing both the Tamil and Telgu districts of the Madras Presidency attended its first conference, held in December 1884. The main issues discussed at this Conference were:-

1) Reform of the Legislative Councils.
2) Separation of the executive from the judiciary.
3) Changes in the structure of the India Government and
4) The condition of the agricultural classes.
12. SUMMARY

The socio–religious reform movements began to regenerate the Indian society in the second half of the nineteenth century. Added to this was the impact of Western education. The effect of both was the development of national and political consciousness in the country. During the second half of the nineteenth century the western educated people set up several political associations in order to spread political education in the country. Their work was based on new political ideas. They wanted to pace with the changed social and economic objectives. The associations which were established on the eve of the foundation of the Indian National Congress can be enumerated as under:-

The first political Association was the Landlords Society, which was established in Calcutta on 12 November, 1837. This society was inaugurated in July, 1838 and was called Zamindary Association. The main object of this Association was to protect the interest of Landlords in Bengal. Therefore, the achievements of this society were very limited. But the Association created the example of an organized agitation for the redressal of grievances. The second political Association was the Bengal British India Society. This society was founded on 20 April, 1843. The society was aimed to collect and disseminate the information relating to the actual conditions of the people in India under the British rule. The third political association was known as the British India Association, which was founded on 29 October, 1851 by merging both earlier societies. The Association was established to oppose the Europeans in India who agitated against the four bills drafted by Bethune, the Law member of the Government in 1849 in order to extend the jurisdiction of the East India Company’s criminal courts over the British born subjects. In addition to this, the Association sent several petitions for reforms to the British Government and the Parliament in England. Despite this, the Association developed several limitations with the passage of time. One of them was that the Association was the representative body of the zamindars only. It was never been a popular organization of all India people. The Association also failed to meet aspirations of the rapidly growing middle class. The next important organization was the Indian Association, which was founded on 26 July, 1876, in Calcutta. This Association argued that there was no political organization for the middle classes. Hence, the Association wanted to represent the middle class for their legitimate rights. The Association undertook several agitation as the Civil Service agitation against the order of Lord Salisbury, the secretary of state for India, who had reduced the upper age limit for the civil service examinations from 21 to 19 years, the agitation against the Vernacular press Act passed by Lord Lytton in 1878; the agitation for Local self – Government explaining the importance and necessity of the democratic methods in the local
administration. The Association supported the Ilbert Bill and protested against the imprisonment of S.N. Banerjee. Consequently, S.N. Banerjee was released on 4 July, 1883. Despite the remarkable achievements of the Indian Association, it was called a provincial association. Therefore, the Association determined to call the All – India National Conference which came into existence in 1883. The next association was the Bombay Association established on 26 August, 1852 in Bombay. In January, 1885 the Bombay Presidency Association was founded by P. Mehta, Telang and Tyabji. It was followed by the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha and the Mahajan Sabha of Madras. These associations did a lot of political homework for the establishment of the Indian National Congress.

13. ADDITIONAL READINGS :-

2) Sumit Sarkar, Modern India, Maemillian India Ltd, NewDelhi, 1983.
3) Briton Martin, New India 1885, Bombay, 1970.
4) S.R. Mehrotra, Emergence of Indian National Congress, Delhi, 1971.

14. QUESTIONS :-

1. Enumerate the various provincial associations on the eve of the foundation of the Indian National Congress?
2. Examine the aims and objectives of the British Indian Association.
3. Assess the various achievements and limitations of the Indian Association.
4. Discuss the major activities of the Bombay Association.
5. Write short notes on :- 1) The National Conference
   2) The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha
   3) The Mahajan Sabha

★★★★
FOUNDBING OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

1. OBJECTIVES :-

After going through this unit the student will be able to :-

a) Understand the circumstances that led to the foundation of the Indian National Congress.

b) Explain the contribution of Allan Octavian Hume towards the foundation of the Indian National Congress.

c) Comprehend the aims and objectives of the Indian National Congress.

d) Understand the British attitude towards the Indian National Congress.

e) Explain the first session of the Indian National Congress and the major resolutions passed in the session of the congress.

2. INTRODUCTION :-

The foundation of the Indian National Congress in 1885 was not a sudden event, or an historical accident. It was the culmination of a process of political awakening that had its beginning in the 1860s and 1870s and took a major leap forward in the late 1870s and early 1880s. The year 1885 marked a turning point in this process. The modern intellectuals interested in politics, who no longer saw themselves as spokesmen of narrow group interests, but as representatives of national interest as a 'national party,' saw their efforts bear fruit. The all-India nationalist body that they brought into being was to be the platform, the organizer, the headquarters, the symbol of the new national spirit and politics.
3. **CIRCUMSTANCES THAT LED TO THE FOUNDATION OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS:**

The Indian demands of those years were, no expansion in Afghanistan or Burma, the freedom of the Press, reduction of military expenditure, higher expenditure on famine relief, indianization of the civil services, the right of Indians to join the semi-military volunteer corps, the right of Indian judges to try Europeans in criminal cases, the appeal to British voters to vote for a party which would listen to Indians - look rather mild, especially when considered separately. But these were demands which a colonial regime could not easily concede, for that would undermine its hegemony over the colonial people.

The political thrust in the years between 1875 and 1885 was to create to the young, and radical nationalists, most of whom entered politics. They established new associations. The older associations were too narrow. The Bombay Association and Madras Native Association had become reactionary And so the young nationalists of Bengal, led by Surendranath Banerjee and Anand Mohan Bose, founded the Indian Association in 1876. M Viraraghavachariar, G. Subramaniya Iyer, P. Ananda Charlu and others—formed the Madras Mahajan Sabha in 1884. The intellectuals like K.T. Telang and Pherozeshan Mehta broke away from leaders like Dadabhai and Dinshaw formed the Bombay Presidency Association in 1885. Among the old associations only the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha carried on as before.

In 1885, the formation of an all-India political organization had become an objective necessity, and which was felt by nationalists all over the country. Many scholars have furnished detailed information on the moves that were made in that direction from 1877. These moves acquired a greater sense of urgency especially from 1883 and there was intense political activity. The Indian Mirror of Calcutta was carrying on a continuous campaign on the question. The Indian Association had already in December 1883 organized an All-India National Conference and given a call for another one in December 1885.

Since 1875, there had been a continuous campaign around cotton import duties which Indians wanted to stay in the interests of the Indian textile industry. A massive campaign had been organized during 1877-88 around the demand for the Indianization of Government services. The Indians had opposed the Afghan adventure of Lord Lytton and then compelled the British
Government to contribute towards the Vernacular Press Act. In 1881-82 they had organized a protest against the Plantation Labour and the Inland Emigration Act which condemned plantation labourers to serfdom. A major agitation was organized during 1883 in favour of the Ilbert Bill which would enable Indian magistrates to try Europeans. This bill was successfully thwarted by the Europeans. The Indians had been quick to draw the political lesson. Their efforts had failed because they had not been coordinated on an all-India basis. On the other hands, the Europeans had acted in a concerted manner. Again in July 1883 a massive all-India effort was made to raise a National Fund which would be used to promote political agitation in India as well as England. In 1885, Indians fought for the right to join the volunteer corps restricted to Europeans, and then organized an appeal to British voters to vote for those candidates who were friendly towards India. Several Indians were sent to Britain to put the Indian case before British voters through public speeches, and other means.

4. THE ROLE OF ALLAN OCTAVIAN HUME :--

It is said that the idea of all Indian Congress was conceived in a private meeting of seventeen men after the Theosophical Convention held at Madras in December 1884. The Indian union started by Hume after his retirement from the Civil Service is also supposed to have been instrumental in convening the Congress. Whatever the origin, and whoever the originator of the idea, we come to this conclusion, that the need of such an organization was being felt, that Allan Octavian Hume took the initiative. Hume was son of the British Radical leader Joseph Hume. He inherited his father's political views and in his early days took interest in European revolutionary associations. He joined the East India Company's civil service in 1849, and served in the Northwestern Provinces. He got himself involved in such projects as the spread of education, fighting social evils and encouraging agricultural progress. In order to educate the people of Etawah in political and social affairs, Hume even started a newspaper in 1861. Hume’s pro-Indians attitude and his efforts towards promoting the welfare of the Indians did not find favour with his fellow British officers. Hume became a Secretary to the Government of India in 1870. For his views, Viceroy Northbrook threatened Hume with dismissal from service. He also failed to get on with Lord Lytton and suffered demotion in 1879, and finally retired from service in 1882.
Hume settled down in Simla and began to take interest in Indian politics. He was more in sympathy with the Bombay and Poona groups than with Calcutta leaders like Surendranath Banerjee and Narendranath Sen. Hume also came in contact with Viceroy Lord Ripon, become interested about the latter’s scheme of local self-government.

4.1. Appeal to the Graduates of Calcutta University :- After retiring from the service, Hume addressed an open letter to the graduates of the Calcutta University on 1 March 1883, appealing them to take the initiative in establishing an association which would promote the mental, moral, social and political regeneration of the people of India. Hume further stated, “If only fifty men, good and true, can be found to join as founders, the thing can be established and the future development will be comparatively easy”. This appeal of Hume was not made in vain. The men required as founders to initiate the movement were forthcoming from all parts of India.

4.2. Hume’s Meeting with Indian Leaders :- Hume had prolonged talks with eminent Indian nationalist leaders in Calcutta, Bombay, Poona and Madras. However, it was on the Bombay leaders like William Wedderburn, Dadabhai Naoroji, M.G. Ranade, Pherozeshah Mehta and D.E. Wacha that Hume relied most for launching his new political movement in India. Hume and his friends from Bombay and Poona drew up a plan for an Indian National Union. The Union was to take the form of an annual conference to be attended by leaders of various provincial associations. The conference was to be associated with the government and used as a sounding board for enlightened Indian public opinion. Officials would be encouraged to participate and the governor of the province would be requested to preside over the conference.

4.3. Hume’s Meeting with Lord Dufferin :- After holding consultations with the Indian leaders in the country, Hume met Lord Dufferin at Simla in May 1885. He briefed the Viceroy about his proposed conference of representatives from all parts of India to be held in Poona in December 1885. Lord Dufferin showed considerable interest in Hume’s plan of an Indian National Union. In a letter to Lord Reay, the Governor of Bombay, on 17 May 1884, Dufferin advised him not to serve as Chairman of the conference which would be held at Poona in the coming winter. In March 1885, a circular was issued by Hume stating that the conference would be attended by delegates chosen form among leading politicians, from Bengal, Bombay an Madras Presidencies. The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, agreed to form a reception
committee for hosting the first conference of the Indian National Union. After his preliminary work in preparation of convening the conference of India leaders, Hume went to England and remained there from August to November 1885. He consulted eminent politicians including Lord Ripon. Under their advice he organized what later became the nucleus of the Indian Parliamentary Committee in England. He also set up an Indian Telegraph Union for publicing Indian news in the leading newspapers of England. Having made all arrangements in England, Hume returned to India before the congress began to be operative.

As for the question of the role A.O. Hume, if the founders of the Congress were such capable and patriotic men of high character, why did they need Hume to act as the chief organizer of the Congress? It is undoubtedly true that Hume impressed—and quite rightly—all his liberal and democratic contemporaries, including Lajpat Rai, as a man of high ideals with whom it was no dishonour to cooperate. But the real answer lies in the conditions of the time. Considering the size of the Indian subcontinent, there were very few political persons in the early 1880s and the tradition of open opposition to the rulers was not yet firmly entrenched.

Courageous and committed persons like Dadabhai Naorji, Justice Ranade, Pherozeshah Mehta, G. Subramaniya Iyer and Surendranath Banerjea cooperated with Hume because they did not want to arouse official hostility at such an early stage of their work. They assumed that the rulers would be less suspicious and less likely to attack a potentially subversive organization if its chief organizer was a retired British civil servant Gokhale, with his characteristic modesty and political wisdom, stated this explicitly. No Indian could have started the Indian National Congress if an Indian had come forward to start such a movement embracing all India, the officials in India would not have allowed the movement to come into existence. If the founder of the Congress had not been a great Englishman and distinguished ex-official, such was the distrust of political agitation in those days that the authorities would have at one found some way or the other to suppress the movement.

In other words, if Hume and other English liberals hoped to use the Congress as a safety-valve, the Congress leaders hoped to use Hume as a lightning conductor. And as later developments show, it was the Congress leaders whose hopes were fulfilled.
5. THE FIRST SESSION OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS :-

Although there were several other conferences held in different parts of India during the latter half of December 1885, the most important conference, which met during this fortnight, was the First Indian National Congress from 28 to 30 December 1885. The venue of the Congress was shifted from Poona to Bombay on account of an outbreak of cholera epidemic in Poona. The first session of the Indian National Congress was held in the hall of the Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College, Bombay. It was a colourful gathering. The total number of delegates who attended the session was about seventy-two, but they fairly represented the different regions of India. Among the gathering eminent leaders were Dadabhai Naoroji, K.T. Telang, Pherozeshah Mehta, D.E. Wacha, B.M. Malabari, and N.C Chandavarkar from Bombay; M.G. Ranade and G.G. Agarkar from Poona; Dewan Raghunath Rao, P. Rangiah Naidu, P. Ananda Charlu and S. Subramania Iyer from Madras; W.C. Bonnerjee and Narendra Nath Sen from Calcutta; Lala Baijnath from Agra; and Allan Octavian Hume from Simala.

6. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE CONGRESS :-

It, thus, becomes clear that the foundation of the Indian National Congress was the natural culmination of the political work of the previous years. In 1885, a stage had been reached in the political development of India when certain basic objectives were laid down. These objectives were correlated and could only be fulfilled by coming together in a single organization formed on an all-India basis. The men who met in Bombay on 28 December 1885 were inspired by these objectives and hoped to initiate the process of achieving them. These objectives can be studied as under :-

6.1. The first major objective of the founders of the Indian national movement was to promote the process, to weld Indians into a nation, to create an Indian people. It was common for colonial administrators and ideologues to assert that Indians could not be untied or freed because they were not a nation or a people but a geographical expression. The Indians did not deny this but asserted that they were not becoming a nation. India was as Tilak, Surendranath Banerjea and many others were fond of saying - a
nation-in-the making. The Congress leaders recognized that objective historical forces were bringing the Indian people together. But they also realized that the people had to become aware of the objective process and that for this it was necessary to promote the feeling of national unity and nationalism among them. Thus, Among the basic aims and objectives of the Congress laid down by its first President W.C. Bonnerji, was that of the fuller development and consolidation of national unity among the people of India.

6.2. To reach out to the followers of all religions and to remove the fears of the minorities, a rule was made at the 1888 session that no resolution was to be passed to which an overwhelming majority of Hindu or Muslim delegates objected. In 1889, a minority clause was adopted in the resolution demanding reform of legislative councils. According to the clause, wherever Parsis, Christians, Muslims or Hindus were a minority their number elected to the Councils would not be less than their proportion in the population. The early national leaders were also determined to build a secular nation, the Congress itself being intensely secular.

6.3. The next major objective of the early Congress was to create a common political platform around which political workers in different parts of the country could gather and conduct their political activities, educating and mobilizing people on an all-India basis. This was to be accomplished by taking up those grievances and fighting for those rights which Indians had in common in relation to the rulers.

For the same reason Congress was not to take up questions of social reform. At its second session, the president of the Congress, Dadabhai Naoroji, laid down this rule and said that ‘A National Congress must confine itself to questions in which the entire nation has a direct participation.

6.4. The politics of popular participation, agitation, mobilisation - was new to India. The notion that politics was not yet familiar to the people. No modern political movement was possible till people realized this. On the basis of this realization, an informed and determined political opinion had to be created. The arousal, training, organization and consolidation of public opinion was seen as a major task by the Congress leaders. All initial activity of the early nationalist was geared towards this end.

6.5 As part of the basic objective of giving birth to a national movement, it was necessary to create a common all-India
national-political leadership, that is, to construct. Nations and people become capable, meaningful and effective political action only when they are organized.

6.6. W.C. Bonnerji, as the first Congress President, reiterated that one of the Congress objectives was the ‘eradication, of all possible race, creed, or provincial prejudices amongst all lovers of our country,’ and ‘the promotion of personal intimacy and friendship amongst all the more earnest workers in our country’s cause in all parts of the country. The early nationalist ledgers saw the internalization and indigenization of political democracy as one of their main objectes. They based their politics on the doctrine of the sovereignty of people, as Dadabhai Naoroji put it that kings are made for the people, not peoples for their kings.

6.7. The basic objectives of the early nationalist leaders were to lay the foundations of a secular and democratic national movement, to politicize and politically educate the people, to form the headquarters of the movement that is, to form an all-India leadership group, and to develop and propagate an anti-colonial nationalist ideology. History would judge the extent of the success or failure of the early national movement not by an abstract, a historical standard but by the extent to which it was able to attain the basic objectives it had laid down for itself. By this standard, its achievements were quite substantial and that is why it grew from humble beginning in the 1980s into the most spectacular of popular mass movements in the 20th century historians are not likely to disagree with the assessment of its work in the early phase by two of its major leaders. Referring to the preparatory nature of Congress work from 1885 to 1905, Dadabhai Naoroji wrot to D. E. Wacha in January, 1905, that the very discontent and impatience, the Congress has evoked against itself as slow and non progressive among the rising generation are among its best results. It is own evolution and progress to evolve the required revolution. The character of the revolution would depend upon the wisdom of the British Government.

7. RESOLUTIONS :-

The first session of the Congress discussed and passed nine resolutions. 1) Appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the working of Indian administration. 2) Abolition of the Indian Council of the Secretary of State for India. 3) Expansion and reform of the Imperial and local Legislative Councils, established under the Indian Councils Act, 1861. 4) Creation of Legislative Councils for the Northwest Province and Oudh and the Punjab, and the creation of a standing Committee in the House of
Commons to consider formal protests. 5) Introduction of simultaneous Public Service Examinations in England and India and raising of the age of candidates. 6) Reduction of military expenditure. 7) Protest against the annexation of Upper Burma and the proposed incorporation of it with India. 8) That all the resolutions were to be sent to political associations all over the country for discussion and formulation of views. 9) The next session of the Congress was to be held at Calcutta on 28 December 1886. Though the Indian leaders had met for the first time on a political platform their knowledge of public problems of the day appeared to be enough wide in various diamentions. They manifested remarkable knowledge of the administration in their speeches. Dadabhai Naoroji observed that England was the ‘parents of free and representative government, we as her subjects are entitled to inherit the great blessings of freedom and representation’. Subramaniya lyer though that ‘be a merciful dispensation of providence, India has been brought under the domination of the Great British power and that the rule of Great Britain has been better in its results and direction than any former rule’ Thus, the first session of the Indian National Congress dissolved amid cheers for the British Crown. Though the Muslims did not join the Congress in large number, the Congress did nit make any discrimination against the followers of any religion or seet. The second annual session of the Congress was presided over by a parsee, third by a Muslim, and fourth by a Christian The leaders of the Indian National Congress cherished a firm faith in the British sense of justice and demanded political reforms in its first session in 1885.

8. BRITISH ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE CONGRESS:-

The British Government was hostile to the development of nationalist forces. Lord Dufferin had looked with apprehension on the founding of the Indian National Congress. He had tried to divert the movement by suggesting to Hume that the Congress should devote itself to social rather than political affairs. However, the Congress leaders had refused to make the change. The Indian National Congress began to publish popular pamphlets in Indian languages and hold mass meetings to spread nationalist message among the people. The British could not tolerate this role of the Congress. The economic agitation initiated by the nationalists exposed the real exploitative nature of the British imperialism. Under these circumstances the British officials changed their attitude towards the Indian National Congress and began publicly to criticize and condemn the Congress. The nationalists were branded as ‘disloyal babus’, and ‘violent villains’. The Congress was painted as a factory of sedition’ and the Congressmen as ‘disappointed candidates for office. In 1887, Lord Dufferin attacked the Congress in a public speech and ridiculed
it as representing only a microscopic minority of the people'. Lord Salisbury, who had been the Secretary of State for India from 1874 and the Prime Minister of England from 1886 to 1892, expressed his opposition to the Congress in a memorandum in 1888 regarding the granting of legislative powers to elected councilors.

9. REACTION OF LORD DUFFERIN TOWARDS THE CONGRESS

Neither Dufferin and his fellow-liberal Governors of Bombay and Madras nor his conservative officials like Alfred and J.B. Lyall, D.M. Wallance, A. colvin and S.c. Bayley were sympathetic to the Congress. It was not only in 1888 that Dufferin attacked the Congress in a vicious manner by writing that he would not allow the Congress to continue to exist. In may 1885 itself, he had written to Reay asking him to be careful about Hume’s Congress, telling him that it would be unwise to identify with either the reformers or the reactionaries. Reay in turn, in a letter in June 1885, referred with apprehension to the new political activists as ‘the National Party of India’ and warned against Indian delegates, like Irish delegates, making their appearance on the British political scene. Earlier, in May, Reay had cautioned Dufferin that Hume was ‘the head-centre of an organization wanted to bring native opinion into a focus.

In fact, from the end of May 1885, Dufferin had grown cool to Hume and began to keep him at an arm’s length. From 1886 onwards he also began to attack the ‘Bengali Baboos and Leaders from Maharashtra for being ‘inspired by questionable motives’ and for wanting to start Irish-type revolutionary agitations in India. And, during May-June 1886, he was describing Hume as ‘cleverish, a little cracked, excessively vain, and absolutely indifferent to truth,’ his main fault being that he was ‘one of the chief stimulants of the Indian National movement. The government followed various methods and policies to curb the influence of the Indian National Congress. One of them was favouring the anti-Congress elements and putting pressure on the rich to withdraw their patronage form the Congress. To counteract the growing influence of the Indian National Congress the British authorities adopted the policy of ‘divide and rule’. British authorities encouraged Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Raja Siva Prasad and other pro-British Individuals to start an anti-Congress movement. A powerful attack was launched on the nationalists in Western India with the arrest of Tilak and other leaders. In 1898 laws were enacted to suppress freedom of press and speech and increasing the powers of the police and magistrates. The
government decided to promote private colleges run by religious trusts. Modern secular education, which led to the spread of rational democratic and nationalist ideas, was sought to be replaced by a system based on religious and moral teaching. Even though based on Indian religions and glorification of Indian culture, this new system was reactionary as it did not cultivate a forward looking and modern spirit among the young. The above observations undoubtedly explode the myth that the Indian National Congress was started by A.O. Hume and others under the official direction, guidance and advice of no less a person than Lord Dufferin, the viceroy, to provide a safe, mild, peaceful, and constitutional outlet or ‘safety valve’ for the rising discontent among the masses, which was inevitably leading towards a popular and violent revolution. Right from its inception the Indian National Congress was looked upon by the British authorities as a great menace to security of their Indian Empire.

10. SUMMERY :-

The leaders who were responsible for the foundation of the Indian National congress had come together in London in the late 1860s and early 1870s for their higher studies. They were from Calcutta like Pherojeshah Mehta, Badruddin Tyabji, W.C.Bannerji, Manmohan and Lalmohun Ghosh Surendranath Banerjee, Anand Mohan Bose and R.C. Dutt. They all were under the influence of Dadabhai Naoroji, who was settled in England as a businessman. There were some other leaders, like K.T. Talang, G, Subrarnaniya Iyer, Viraraghvachari and Ananda Charlu from Madras. They all were young nationalist intellectuals and started several associations, like the British Indian Association, the Bombay Association, The Madras Native Association, the Mahajan Sabha, the Bombay Presidency Association and Poona Sarvajanik Sabha. These Associations prepared the most fertile ground for the foundation of the Indian National Congress. In addition to this, the British policy of exploitation, the reign of Lord Lytton and Lord Ripon were instrumental for the foundation of the Indian National Congress.

There is a controversy regarding the role of A.O. Hume, a retired English officer in the establishment of the Indian National Congress. A.O. Hume joined the East India Company’s Civil Service in 1849 and served in various provinces. He had pro-Indian attitude. In order to educate Indians, he had started a newspaper in 1861. Hume appealed to the Calcutta University graduates to take initiative in establishing an association for regeneration of the people in India. He met some Indian leaders
and consulted with them regarding the national level organisation. A.O. Hume also met Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy at Simla and discussed with him about the organisation. These efforts of Hume triggered a controversy that he was a stooge of Lord Dufferin. According to Bipin Chandra there is myth that the Indian National Congress was started by A.O. Hume under the official direction of Lord Dufferin, to provide a safe, mild, peaceful and constitutional outlet or safety Valve for the rising discontent among the masses, which was inevitably leading towards a popular and violent revolution. The core of the myth, was that the violent revolution was on the cards that time and was avoided only by the foundation of the Indian National Congress.

Therefor, the leaders form various parts of the country came together and established the Indian National Congress. Its first historic session was held in the hall of the Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College, Bombay on 28th December, 1885. W.C Bannerjee, a Calcutta barrister presided over the session. The Congress had several aims and objectives as promotion of personal intimacy and friendship among the people of India., eradication of all possible race, creed or provincial prejudices among the people of the country, preparing all people for the national movement and devise methods and techniques for furthering the activities of the Congress. The Congress also passed nine resolutions for its activities. Naturally, the British Government adopted the hostile attitude towards the Congress. The British officials charged the Congress as a factory of sedition and the Congress leaders as disappointed candidates for office and discontented lawyers who represented no one but themselves. Viceroy Lord Dufferin and Lord Salisbury, the Secretary of state for India openly criticised the Congress and adopted Various measures to counteract the influence of the National Congress.

11. ADDITIONAL READING

1  S.R. Mehrota , Emergence of Indian National Congress, Delhi, 1971.
4  Dr. Eugence D'souza , Modern India, Manan Prakashan, Mumbai, 2004.
12. QUESTIONS :-

1. Examine the circumstances that led to the foundation of the Indian National Congress.
2. Assess the contributions of Allan Octavian Hume towards the foundation of the Indian National Congress.
3. Evaluate the role played by A.O. Hume in the foundation of the Indian National Congress.
4. Explain the aims and objectives of the Indian National Congress.
5. How did the British Government respond to the activities of the Indian National Congress?

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Indian National Congress -
It’s Programme 1885-1920

1. Objectives:-

After going through this unit the student should be able-

a) To explain the various phases of the Indian national Congress, and the programme undertaken by the Moderate Congress.

b) To understand the ideology, activities & methods of the Moderate phase of the Indian National Congress.

c) To know the weaknesses of the moderate phase of the Indian National Congress.

d) To comprehend the various reasons responsible for the emergence of the Expremist phase of Indian National Congress.

e) To understand differences between the Moderates and the Extremists.

f) To know the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909.

g) To understand the Home Rule movement.

h) To know the Lucknow Pact of 1916.

i) To understand the Government of India Act 1919.

j) To explain the Rowlatt Act of 1919.

k) To know the Jhiliawala Baugh Tragedy of 1919.

2. Introduction:-

The Indian National Congress was founded on 28th December, 1885 in Bombay. This organization initially fought for reforms in the country, and subsequently for the freedom of India-from the foreign
Yoke. The political career of this organization can be studied in various phases; one of them is from 1885 to 1920. During this period two major groups became functional one after the another. The first group of leaders was called the Moderates, which dominated the Congress from 1885 to 1905 & the second was the group of extremist leaders, overpowered the Congress from 1905 to 1920. During this period, the Congress took a major Leap forward. People from all sections including rural, urban, women, and students became actively involved in politics for the first time in the country. During this period almost all the major political trends of the Indian National movement got emerged. From conservative moderation to political extremist from revolutionary to socialism. From petitioning & public speeches to passive resistance & boycott, all had been active in this phase.

3. The Moderate Congress (1885-1905):

The Indian National Congress founded in 1885, provided common platform for the nationalist leaders to meet & voice their grievances & place their demands before the British government. The early leaders of the Indian National Congress were Dadabhai Naoroji, M.G. Ranade, Sir P.M. Mehta, G.K. Gokhale, W.C. Banerjee & S.N. Banerjee. They were staunch believers in liberalism & ‘Moderate’ politics. They therefore called as ‘Moderates’ in comparison with the new nationalist of the early twentieth century who were referred to as Extremists. During the first twenty years, the middle class intelligentsia and journalists dominated the Congress. The moderates had a fascination for British Parliamentary institutions. They were reformers and believed in the British justice.

3.1 Programme of the moderates: Due to the method of political work of the early nationalists that they came to know as the ‘Moderates. These methods can be summed up briefly as constitutional agitation. They believed that their main task was to educate the people in modern politics & arouse national consciousness, create a united public opinion on political questions. They hold public meetings; they passed resolutions setting forth popular demands, and sent petitions to the British authorities in India & to the parliament in England. The moderates believed that the British were unaware of the real conditions of India. They therefore made all efforts to enlighten the British public opinion through memorials, petitions and political propaganda in England. Dadabhai naoroji, who settled in England, labored there for four decades for the Indian cause. He wrote several articles, on economic matters, delivered speeches before learned societies, and agitated publicly for the Indianization of services.

The Moderates considered the coming of the British as beneficial and providential. They wanted to use the British in their attempts to
reform contemporary Indian society. The early nationalist leaders did not expect the Congress to function as a political party. A.O. Hume wanted it to function on the model of the Irish Home Rule League, which sought autonomy in internal affairs under the British suzerainty. Thus, the Western concept of self-government, was the political goal of the moderates. This goal was to be achieved through a gradual process based on the principle, ‘First deserve.’ The Moderates realized that India could learn the proper use of western political institutions only after she had gained some experience under the British rule.

The Moderates tried to weld India into a nation. They created a loyalty for the land irrespective of the fact whether one was a Parsee, a Christian, a Muslim or a Hindu. They in fact said that a Parsee should be a better Parsee, a Muslim a better Muslim and a Hindu a better Hindu. In this way he would be more attached to his country & bound in brotherly affection and relations to all the children of the soil. They considered themselves Indian first and Hindus, Muslims or Christians afterwards.

The Moderates wanted a balanced and lucid presentation of their needs before the Englishmen and their parliament. They came from the upper strata and were the product of western education. The Moderate’s had faith in British fair play and believed that India’s connection with the west was a boon rather than a curse. The English literature, the system of education, justice & local bodies loyalty to the British crown was the keynote of the early nationalist leaders.

The Moderate’s were described as the counterpart’s of the English liberals in India. The English liberal tradition was their source of inspiration. They had their best friends in the Liberates of England. The Moderate pleaded for reforms in administration, in councils, in services. in local bodies, in defense services. They avoided violence & followed the method of prayer, petition representation and deputations in order to convince the government about the validity of their just demands.

3.1.1 Economic Reforms:- The Moderates linked the poverty in India to the economic exploitation of the country by the British. Dadabhi naoroji pointed out the root cause of India’s poverty & traced it to the drain of India’s wealth. The Moderates suggested the development of modern industry as a remedy for the eradication of poverty. They popularized the concept of swadeshi as a means of promoting Indian industries. They carried on agitation for the reduction in land revenue and asked for a radical change in the existing pattern of taxation & expenditure. They urged the government to provide cheap credit to the peasants through agricultural banks and to make available largescale irrigation facilities. They demanded improvement in the condition of plantation laborers, abolition of salt tax & other taxes. They were critical
of the high government expenditure on the army that was employed in Asia & Africa.

3.1.2 Administrative reforms:- The Moderates demanded for increasing Indianization of administrative services; criticized the oppressive & tyrannical behavior of the police & government officials towards the common people and demanded the separation of the executive from the judiciary. They opposed the official policy of disarming the people. The moderates urged the government to undertake welfare activities in favor of the people. They emphasized the need for the spread of education, extension of medical facilities to the people, improvement of the public system and demanded freedom of speech & abolition of press censorship.

3.1.3 Constitutional reforms:- The Moderates suggested a step by step approach to attain self & responsible government. They demanded the extension of the existing central and provincial legislative councils with greater number of non-official Indians and re introduction of the principle of election. Along with this they also demanded the widening of the powers of those councils and an increase in the powers of the members to discuss the budget and to question and criticize the day-to-day administration.

The Moderates achieved parts at success when the British Government passed the new Indian Councils Act, in 1892. This Act increased the number of non-official members, a few of them were to be indirectly elected. Members of the council were granted right to speak on the budget.

Assessment of the Moderates:- Later critics have pointed out that the Moderates did not achieve much success. The Extremists criticized the programme of the Moderates as ‘political mendicancy.’ Lala Lajpat Rai, writes that more than twenty years of futile agitation for concessions and redress of grievances, they received stones in place of bred. One of the serious charges against the moderates was their loyalty to the British crown and the appreciation of the British fair play & sense of justice.

In the final analysis it is said that the moderates achieved a considerable success. Their contribution in building a strong foundation of Indian national movement cannot be underestimated. The Moderates were the most progressive in Indian society at that time and they were true patriots. They desired all-round progress and modernization of India and wished the betterment of the Indian society.

The Moderates succeeded in creating a wide political awakening in India and arousing among the Indians the feeling of belonging to one common nation. They popularized the ideas of democracy & civil liberty.
They also trained a large number of political workers in the art of modern politics. In spite of their loyalty to the British crown, they exposed the true character of the British imperialism in India and blamed to British rule for the poverty of the Indian people.

3.2 Weaknesses of the Moderates:- There were several weaknesses of the moderates as under:-

3.2.1 The Moderates Lacked confidence in the masses. They came from the cities. They were sympathetic towards the people of the country but could not keep close contact with them.

3.2.2 The Moderates felt that the masses were backward and lethargic. They did not realize that a prolonged struggle against imperialism could be waged through a mass movement only.

3.2.3 The Moderates apprehended that if they led a mass movement, the British Government would easily break the congress. The Moderates, therefore, did not organize a mass movement on a large scale.

4. The Extremist congress (1905-1920):-

The younger group of nationalists in the Indian national Congress, led by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, lala Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal; was known as the Extremist Congress. This group was extremely critical of the ideology and methodology of the Moderate leadership. They believed in radical programmes for the attainment of their demands.

According to the extremists the nationalist ideas behind the Revolt of 1857 were not popularized by the Moderates. The Moderates with their elitist background did not succeed in making any effective impact on the masses. Under these circumstances the extremists made their appearance on the Indian political stage. There were several causes responsible for the rise of extremists. Some of them can be studied as:-

4.1) The leaders who provided philosophical background to the rise of extremism in the Indian national movement were Rajnarain Bose & Bankim Chandra Chatterjee in Bengal and Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar in Maharashtra. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee’s call of patriotism & self-sacrifice created a stir, while, Swami Vivekananda, Tilak and Aurobindo Ghosh reminded the people of their glorious Past.

4.2) The famine and bubonic plague between 1896 & 1900 took heavy toll of life. The government relief machinery was inadequate, slow-moving and badly organized. People faced poverty,
starvation, disease and death. Hundreds of thousands of People perished due to famine & disease.

4.3) According to Dadabhi Naoroji, the British rule reduced India to material and moral wretchedness. The tariff & cotton duties Act 1894 & 1896, contributed to the growth of extremist ideas. The excise duty on Indian cotton Safeguarded Lancashire textile industry. Unemployment become so acute that people lost their faith in moderates. Indians were convinced that the purpose of the British rule was to exploit India economically. Naturally, this discontent was responsible for rise of the Extremist Congress.

4.4) Following events from other countries contributed to the rise of extremism:-
1) The emergence of Japan as a world power after the Meiji Revolution in 1868 proved that a backward country could become strong through its efforts. The defeat of Russia by Japan in (1904-05) infused a new spirit of self-confidence among the Indians. It was felt that if Japan could defeat a power like Russia, India also could challenge the British Power in India. 2) The rebellion in – China against the European imperialists in 1900, 3) The revolution in Iran in 1906, 4) The Turkish revolution, and the unification of Italy.

4.5) The viceroyalty of Curzon & his reactionary policies contributed to the rise of extremist movement in India. He considered that the main objective of his mission was to strengthen the roots of the British empire on India. He curtailed the number of Indians in the Calcutta Corporation & increased the official control over the Indian universities in the name of educational reforms. He spent Indian money lavishly on foreign missions, the Delhi Durbar & the Tibetan expedition. Curzon’s highhanded action forcing the partition of Bengal against the will of the people, earned unpopularity & alienated the educated classes from the British rule.

4.6) Consequently the extremist leaders such as Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai, and Aurobindo Ghosh advocated stronger agitation and mass action. The extremists differed in ideology and action from the moderates. Unlike the Moderates the Extremists did not want to reconstruct India in the image of the west. They looked more to the past history of India than to the west. The Extremist leaders accepted Swaraj as their political goal. It was their natural right and was to be achieved at all cost.

4.7) The most outstanding leader among the Extremists was Bal Gangadhar Tilak. He started a school & founded two newspapers, the Maratha in English and the Kesari in Marathi. Both the
newspapers, by their fearless criticism of the government attained great popularity. In 1890, Tilak opposed the Age of Consent Bill, on the ground that a foreign government had no right to interfere with Hindu religion and social matters and in 1893, also sponsored the cow-protection movement. He reorganized the festival of Ganapati, and started the Shivaji festival to revive the spirit of adventure & liberate the country from foreign domination. Tilak advised the peasants to withhold payment of land revenues when their crops failed because of draught or famine. He called for Swadeshi & boycott of British goods. The British arrested Tilak in 1897 and charged him with spreading hatred and disaffection against the government and was sentenced to eighteen months of rigorous imprisonment.

4.8) The partition of Bengal in 1905 marked the beginning of the extremist phase of Indian Congress Lord Curzon issued an order on 26 July 1905 dividing the province of Bengal into two parts. A new province having the Muslim majority was created consisting of East Bengal & parts of Assam with Dacca as its capital. This province had the Muslim majority. The rest of Bengal including Bihar & Orissa had the Hindu majority. Though administrative efficiency and convenience was projected as the reason for the partition of Bengal, in reality Curzon’s policy was politically motivated. Curzon deliberately did this to reduce the strength of Hindus and destroy their unity. Another purpose of the partition was to create animosity between the Hindus & the Muslims of Bengal.

4.2 PROGRAMMES:-

The Swadeshi and Boycott Movement:- To oppose to the partition of Bengal, on 7th August 1905 a mammoth meeting was held at the town Hall, Calcutta and a resolution of boycott of British goods was adopted with deafening shouts of Bandemataram. When the partition was made effective on 16th October 1905, the day was observed as a day of national mourning. The people of Bengal considered partition as an attack on the growing solidarity of Bengali nationalism, and felt that they had been humiliated and insulted by the policy of ‘divide & rule’.

The anti-partition agitators raised slogans of Swaraj & swadeshi. Mass meetings and demonstrations were held all over the country. The patriotic songs composed at that time by Rabindranath Tagore, and Mukunda Das had great literary quality. Bal Gangadhar Tilak led the boycott & Swadeshi movement in Western India. He organized a great bonfire of foreign cloth at Poona. He opened cooperative stores as a part of the Swadeshi movement. He asked the Bombay mill-owners to supply dhotis at moderate rates. A Swadeshi weaving company was established at Poona. In the Punjab, Lala Lajhpatt Rai led the movement against the
use of foreign sugar. The movement spread to other parts of India as well.

The boycott movement aimed to affect adversely, the interests of the British manufacturers and force the British authorities to repeal the partition of Bengal. Secondly, stop the import of British goods to encourage the sale of Indian goods & contribute to greater productivity within the country & promote swadeshi. Tilak believed that through boycott of foreign goods the entire British administration machinery could be paralyzed in India. The chief features of boycott & swadeshi movement were: a) Boycott of British manufactured goods such as clothes, sugar, and salt. b) Burning of British manufactured goods in public places. C) Picketing of shops selling foreign goods, including liquor. D) Promotion of Indian industries or swadeshi.

The swadeshi movement spread from Bengal to other parts of India. As a result of the boycott movement, the import of British cloth was greatly reduced in the first two years. Though this hurt the British merchants economically, the crisis in trade did not make the British government to attach much importance politically to the question of the partition of Bengal.

4.3 Differences between the Moderates and the Extremists:

The differences between the Moderates & the Extremists were that the moderates were against the idea of boycott as a general political weapon, though they welcomed swadeshi. G.K. Gokhale recommended the use of the word swadeshi to describe the anti-partition movement. These differences centred round two main points, namely the political goal and the method to achieve it. As regards the goal, Tilak summed up his idea in one sentence ‘Swaraj is my birth right and I will have it’. The Extremists interpreted Swaraj to mean complete autonomy without any dependence on the British rule. But G.K. Gokhale, did not expect that. He said that there was no alternative to British rule, for a long time to come.

The differences between the moderates and the Extremists had become irreconcilable. In 1906 the Calcutta Congress proposed the name of Tilak for the presidency of the congress. However, the moderates opposed this proposal. A split was avoided by choosing Dadabhai Naoroji; Under his presidency four compromise resolutions on Swadeshi, boycott, national education, and self-government demands were passed.

The Split in the Surat Congress: In 1907, the annual session of the Congress proposed to be held at Nagpur, which was considered as the Extremist stronghold. However, due to the Moderates, the venue was shifted to Surat. The final showdown between the two factions in the Congress was staged at Surat. The Extremists wanted Lala Lajpat Rai as the president of the Congress. However, the Moderates chose
Rashbehari Ghose as the president. The Surat Congress of 1907 ended in a split between the Moderates and the extremists led by Gokhale and Tilak respectively.

After the Surat session, the government passed the seditious meetings act in 1907. Tilak was arrested on charge of seditious writings in the Kesari, tried and sent to the Mandalay jail for six years in 1908. Aurobindo Ghose, was forced to give up politics and take up religion. Bipin Chandra pal temporarily retired from politics. Lala Lajpat Rai left for England in 1908, and then to the United States.

5. **Minto-Morley Reforms, 1909:-**

The British government introduced the Minto-Morley reforms through the Indian Councils Act, 1909. The act increased the number of elected members in the Imperial Legislative Council and Provincial Legislative Councils. Most of the elected members were still indirectly elected. The real purpose of the Minto-Morley reforms was to divide the nationalist ranks by encouraging the growth of Muslim communalism. To achieve the latter objective, the reforms introduced the system of separate electorates for Muslim candidates in constituencies’ reserved for them.

6. **The Home Rule Movement:-**

During the world war I, the national movement remained dormant. In order to infuse a new life into the national movement in India, Dr. Annie Besant announced her decision to establish a Home Rule League at Madras on the model of the Irish Home Rule League in 1915. Tilak, who was also keen to start a mass struggle, set up his home Rule League at Poona in April 1916. The chief objective of the Home Rule League was “to attain self government within the British empire. The Home rule Movement opposed to violence and were willing to co-operate with the British government in the war efforts.

Tilak’s Home rule League confined its work to Maharashtra, Karnataka and central provinces. Annie Besant carried on her work in the rest of India. She promoted the Home rule idea through her newspapers such as the New India. In July 1916 Tilak was prosecuted for delivering seditious speeches. Annie Besant and two of her co-workers were interned at Ooctacamand. She was released due to the pressure of public opinion. Annie Besant was elected as the president of the Congress in 1917. Following the august Declaration of 1917, the Home Rule Movement gradually declined.

7. **The Lucknow Pact, 1916:-**

The Lucknow session of the Congress is remembered for the reconciliation between the moderates and the Extremists and for the harmony between the congress and the Muslim league. Tilak, after his
release from Mandalay jail in 1914, was convinced that the unity of the Congress was essential for the success of the national movement. Annie Besant, who was the leader of the Theosophical Society of India, took the initiative towards the reunification of the Congress. The death of Moderate Leaders, G.K. Gokhale and Pherozeshah Mehta in 1915 made the unity easier. At the Lucknow session of the Congress in 1916, the formula for reunification was devised.

There were some other reasons responsible for the pact as under:-

7.1. **Events that led to the Lucknow Pact of 1916:-**

7.1.1. **Cancellation of the Partition of Bengal:-** Lord Curzon had partitioned Bengal in 1905. This resulted in revolutionary activities everywhere in the country for its cancellation. The cancellation was done in 1911. The Muslims, therefore, lost faith in the British government.

7.1.2. **The Turko-Italian War of 1911:-** The Turkish Sultan was the khalifa of Islam means the religious head of all Muslims in the world. In the turko-Italian war of 1911, Turkey was defeated & Italy possessed several provinces of Turkey. The British, who often projected as friends of the Muslim did not help Turkey. This event led Muslims in India to go against the British Govt.

7.1.3. **The World War I (1914-18):-** Turkey fought against the British in the World War I of 1914 to 1918. The Indian Muslims considered that it was their duty to help Turkey in the holy war against the British. This also helped the Indian Muslims to go against the British. The Muslim’s started the khilafat Movement against the British in India. The Indian National Congress supported the Muslims. That brought them to collaborate with each other.

To cement the bonds of comradeship, both the Congress and the Muslim league signed the historic Lucknow Pact in 1916. This resulted into the union of the Hindus and the Muslims in India. Following were the other important points of the Lucknow Pact: - a) India must be a self-governing state. b) The congress conceded separate electorates for minorities. c) The Muslims could veto a bill relating to them, if 75% of their representatives so desired. d) The Executive Council of the Governor-General should be elected by the Central Legislature, the same provision also was made for the Provincial Council.

The Government of India Act, 1919:- In order to give effect to the august Declaration of 1917, Montague along with the viceroy, Lord Chelmsford prepared a scheme of constitutional reforms, which came to be known as Montague Chelmsford Reforms. On the basis of the Montague Chelmsford Reforms, the British Parliament passed the Government of India Act, 1919. The enlarged the provincial legislative councils and introduced the system of Dyarchy in the provinces. Under this system finance, law and order and such subjects were ‘reserved’ and
administered by the governor and his council. Other subjects such as agriculture, industry, health and education were to be ‘transferred’ to the ministers responsible to the provincial councils. At the centre, a bicameral legislature was introduced in the place of imperial Legislative Council. The new legislature was to have two houses the legislative Assembly and the council of state.

8. The Rowlatt Act:-

The Montford Reforms failed to satisfy the Indian nationalists as they fell far short of their expectations. Naturally activities to oppose the British govt. increased in December 1917 a committee was formed under the direction of Mr. Justice Rowlatt in order to investigate the revolutionary movement in India from 1905. The Rowlatt Report traced the growth of revolutionary activities during the First World War. The committee recommended that the Defense of India Act should be made permanent, certain measures of arbitrary arrest and imprisonment without trial, internment and restriction on movement of persons suspected of anti-government activities. This would have meant the suspension of trial by jury, and habeas corpus the right of safeguarding against illegal imprisonment. On the recommendations of Rowlatt two bills were introduced in the Imperial legislative Council in February 1919. One bill was passed into law the very next month. There was widespread indignation and opposition to the Rowlatt Bills even before the Act was passed. The popular agitation against the Rowlatt Bills gradually developed in a nationwide campaign.

9. The Jallianwala Baugh Tragedy:-

The Rowlatt Act passed on 21 March, 1919, armed the British government with dictatorial powers. To protest against this Act several programmes were arranged. The British Govt. began to suppress the Indians by arresting the popular leaders. As one of the programmes of protest against the Rowlatt Act, a meeting was held on 13 April, 1919 in the Jallianwala Baugh, Amritsar, Punjab on this Baisakhy day around twenty thousand people were assembled at the meeting. General O’ Dyer, entered the Baugh with his 150 soldiers and opened fire till the ammunition was exhausted.

The British govt. wanted to whitewash this inhuman incident. The Hunter committee was appointed to investigate into and report to the government. The committee did not punish General O’ Dyer. On the contrary Europeans in India appreciated the general by presenting him with a purse of 20,000 pounds and a sword. This cruel conduct shocked the whole country.

10. SUMMARY:-
The Indian National Congress was founded in December, 1885 at Bombay. The Congress worked continuously till the independence to the country. The early leadership of the Congress was represented by Dadabhai Naoroji, M.G. Ranade, P.M. Mehta, G.K. Gokhale and many other leaders. These Leaders were staunch believers in liberalism and moderate politics. The Moderates did not aim at the complete freedom of the country immediately. They felt that the country was not yet ready to make such a demand.

The Moderates aimed at the consolidation of nationalism, bringing more and more people into the nationalist struggle, training people for political agitation, creating public interest in national questions, and fighting for civil liberties such as freedom of speech and association. The Moderates demanded for several reforms such as reform in the Executive and legislative councils at the centre and the provinces, they opposed to the economic imperialism, destruction of Indian cottage industries, large scale British investments in Indian plantation and mines. They tried to popularise the concept of Swadeshi. The Moderate believed in constitutional agitation, justice and fair-mindedness of the British and their tradition of liberalism and democracy. Hence, they sent their petitions and presented memorials in dignified language to get their demands sanctioned. Besides petitions, they used other techniques, public meetings, and vigorous writings in the Nationalist press. The Moderates had some weaknesses as lack of confidence in the masses. They came from the elite. They had sympathy towards the masses but could not organize a mass movement and mass struggle. The Moderates were Criticized by many people like Lala Lajpat Rai, who said that after twenty years of agitation, the moderates received stones in place of bread. However, the achievements of the Moderates were not so poor. They prepared the ground for the next phase and kept the Indian National Movement Live.

Since the Moderates had failed to achieve significant consessions as were expected, the nationalist elements were dissatisfied, and looked up to more militant leaders who came to be known as the Extremists. There was dissatisfaction on other counts also. As educated unemployment was increased in the middle classes, that led them to frustration and radicalism eventually, they became Extremists. The Moderates had the support of the intelligentsia and the urban upper and middle classes. The Extremists secured the support of those
classes because the moderates failed to gain any substantial concessions from the British government for them. There were some other reasons responsible for the emergence of the Extremists, as ideological background of the Extremists, ruin of India’s economy, inspiration from Italian patriots like Mazzini, the Meiji Revolution in Japan, the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-05, Lord Curzon’s reactionary policies, the partition of Bengal Extremists leader Lokmanya Tilak, who graduated from the Bombay University Played an important role in the renaissance Movement. He founded two newspapers, the Marathas in English and the Kesari in Marathi. Tilak popularized the Ganesh festival and introduced the festival in honor of Shivaji. When the monsoons failed, Tilak advised the peasant not to pay the land revenue. When lord Elgin introduced excise duty on Indian goods, Tilak appealed to the people to boycott English cloth. Thus, he was sentenced to 18 months rigorous imprisonment for spreading dissatisfaction against the government in 1897. In 1908, he was again sentenced to six years and sent to Mandalay. He was rightly calling the father of Indian unrest. Hence, Tilak was the major cause for the rise of Extremists congress. The Congress was divided into the Moderates and the Extremists in the Surat session of 1907. The Swadeshi and Boycott Movements, the minto-morley reforms, the Home rule movement, the Lucknow Pact, the Government of India act of 1919, the Rowlatt Act and the Jhallianwala Baugh Tragedy were some of the outstanding events of this period. The Extremists had
some weaknesses, as they took much caution in organizing peasant’s revolts and workers strikes as well as they did not antagonize the Indian gentry and bourgeoisie. The Extremist used religious symbolism, religious ideas, and religious slogans. Since, the religion of the majority was Hinduism; the struggle alienated the Muslims for sometimes.

11. ADDITIONAL READINGS:-

2) B.R. Nanda, Gokhale, the Indian moderates and the Raj, Delhi, 1977.
4) Amles Tripathi, the Extremist Challenge, Calcutta, 1967.

12. QUESTIONS:-

1) Analyse the contribution of the Moderates to Indian National Congress.
2) Assess the Role of the Extremists in the Indian National Movement.
3) Discuss the ideological differences and political strategies of the moderates and the Extremists.

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1. OBJECTIVES:

In the study of this unit you will

a) Learn about Mahatma Gandhi’s struggle for Indians against social discrimination in South Africa.

b) Read something about how Gandhi practiced his Satyagraha in South Africa.

c) Learn about Gandhi’s return to India, his name and fame reached to every corner of India and the world.

d) Read the initial political activities in India.

e) Find the elements responsible for the Non-Co operation Movement, the resolution of the Movement, the beginning and termination of the Movement.

2. INTRODUCTION

Undoubtedly, the Liberals and Extremists played a key role in the growth of national movement at the beginning of the struggle. The former challenged British authority at a time when it was a crime to utter a word against British colonial power. They made the rulers realize the need of association of Indians in running their own administration. Now it is accepted that their method of struggle was well-suited Indian conditions of those days. Any violent confrontation with the government would have been crushed with force and the movement would not have spread. The Extremists made the British government realize that the Indians were very much conscious and awakened. They took the spirit of struggle to the masses through festivals and newspapers. But in India’s struggle for freedom a new turn came with the appearance of Gandhiji on the national scene. The whole journey was difficult but his leadership solved the difficulties with in no time.

When Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi called for a nation-wide Satyagraha against the Rowlatt Act in March 1919, an all – India struggle, he was already in his fiftieth year. To understand the man who was about to take over the reins of the Indian national movement and guide its
destinies through its most climactic years, it is necessary to begin his story at least twenty-five years earlier.

3. Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa:

The young barrister who landed at Durban in 1893 on a one-year contract to sort out the legal problems of Dada Abdullah, a Gujarati merchant. He was the first Indian barrister, the first highly educated Indian, to have come to South Africa. Indian immigration to South Africa had begun in 1890 when the White settlers recruited indentured Indian labour, to work on the sugar plantations. Indian merchants, mostly Meman Muslims. Ex-indentured labourers, who followed them settled down in South Africa. Indians had much access to education.

Thus, they were subjected to racial discrimination. Even if they resented it, they had little idea about how to challenge it. But young Mohandas Gandhi was not used to swallowing racial insults. He was widely respected in his native Kathiawad. He had spent three years in London studying for the Bar. Neither in India nor in England had he ever come in contact with the overt racism that confronted him within days of his arrival in South Africa. His journey from Durban to Pretoria consisted of a series of racial humiliations. Apart from the famous incident in which he was bundled out of a first-class compartment by a white man and left to spend the night shivering in the waiting room, he was made to travel in the driver's box in a coach for which he had bought a first-class ticket; when he ignored the coach leader's order to vacate even that seat and sit on the foot-board, he was thrashed. On reaching Johannesburg, he found that all the hotels became full up the moment he asked for a room to stay the night. Having succeeded in securing a first-class train ticket from Johannesburg to Pretoria, he was almost pushed out again from his railway compartment and was only saved this humiliation by the intervention of a European passenger.

On his arrival in Pretoria, where he was to work on the civil suit that had brought him to South Africa, he immediately convened a meeting of the Indians there. He offered to teach English to anybody who wanted to learn and suggested that they organize themselves and protest against oppression. He voiced his protest through the press as well. He tried his best to arouse the Indians in Pretoria to a sense of their own dignity as human beings and persuade them to resist all types of racial disabilities. Having settled the lawsuit for which he had come, Gandhiji prepared to leave for India. But on the eve of his departure from Durban, he raised the issue of the bill to disenfranchise Indians, which was in the process of being passed by the Natal legislature. The Indians in South Africa begged Gandhiji to stay on for a month and organize their protest as they could not do so on their own, not knowing even enough English to draft petitions, and so on. Gandhiji agreed to stay on for a month and stayed
for twenty years. He was then only twenty-five; when he left, he was forty-five.

4. Gandhi’s Satyagraha:

The story of Gandhiji in South Africa is a long one and we present it here in its briefest outline only to highlight the wide experience that Gandhiji had undergone before he came back to India.

Gandhiji’s political activities from 1894 to 1906 may be classified as the ‘Moderate’ phase of the struggle of the South African Indians. During this phase, he concentrated on petitioning and sending and sending memorials to the South African legislature, the Colonial Secretary in London and the British Parliament. He believed that if all the facts of the case were presented to the Imperial Government, the British sense of justice and fair play would be aroused and the Imperial Government would intervene on behalf of Indians who were, after all, British subjects. His attempt was to unite the different sections of Indians, and to give their demands wide publicity. This he tried to do through the setting up of the Natal Indian Congress and by starting a paper called Indian Opinion.

The second phase of the struggle in South Africa, which began in 1906, was characterized by the use of the method of passive resistance or civil disobedience, which Gandhiji named Satyagraha. It was first used when the Government enacted legislation making it compulsory for Indians to take out certificates of registration, which held their fingerprints. Gandhiji formed the passive Resistance Association to conduct the campaign. The last date for registration being over, the government started proceedings against Gandhiji and twenty-six others. The passive resisters pleaded guilty, were ordered to leave the country and, on refusing to do so, were sent to jail. Others followed, and their numbers swelled to 155. The fear of jail had disappeared, and it was popularly called King Edward’s Hotel.

Gandhiji’s own legal practice had virtually ceased since 1906, the year he had started devoting all his attention to the struggle. At this point Gandhiji set up Tolstoy Farm, made possible through the generosity of his German architect friend, Kallenbach, to house the families of the Satyagrahis and give them a way to sustain themselves. Tolstoy Farm was the precursor of the later Gandhian ashrams that were to play so important a role in the Indian national movement.

The movement was widened further to include resistance to the poll tax of three pounds that was imposed on all ex-indentured Indians. The inclusion of the demand for the abolition of this tax, a particularly heavy charge on poor labourers whose wages hardly averaged ten shillings a month, immediately drew the indentured and exindentured labourers into the struggle, and Satyagraha could now take on a truly mass character.
Further fuel was added to the already raging fire by a judgment of the Supreme Court which invalidated all marriages not conducted according to Christian rites and registered by the Registrar of Marriages. By implication, Hindu, Muslim and Parsi marriages were illegal and the children born through these marriages illegitimate. The Indians treated this judgment as an insult to the honour of their women and many women were drawn into the movement because of this indignity.

Gandhiji decided for the final struggle into which all the resisters resources should be channeled. The campaign was launched by the illegal crossing of the border by a group of sixteen Satyagrahis, including Kasturba, Gandhiji’s wife, who marched from phoenix settlement in Natal to Transvaal, and were immediately arrested.

Gandhiji reached New Castle and took charge of the agitation. The employers retaliated by cutting off water and electricity to the worker’s quarters, thus forcing them to leave their homes. Gandhiji decided to march this army of over two thousand men, women and children over the border and thus see them lodged in Transvaal jails. The treatment that was meted out to these brave men and women in jail included starvation and whipping, and being forced to work in the mines by mounted military police. Gandhiji himself was made to dig stones and sweep compound. He was kept in a dark cell, and taken to court handcuffed. The Governments action inflamed in entire Indian community.

Eventually, through a series of negotiations involving Gandhiji, the viceroy, Lord Hardinge, C.F. Andrews and General Smuts, and agreement was reached by which the government of South Africa conceded the major Indian demands relating to the poll tax, the registration certificates and marriages solemnized according to Indian rites, and promised to treat the question of Indian immigration in a sympathetic manner. Non-violent civil disobedience the substance of the demands put forward by the movement. The blueprint for the ‘Gandhian method of struggle had been evolved and Gandhiji started back for his native land. The South African experiment was now to be tried on a much wider scale on the Indian sub-continent.

5. Lessons to Gandhi:

The South African experiment prepared Gandhiji for leadership of the Indian national struggle. He had had the invaluable experience of leading poor Indian laborers. Of seeing their capacity for sacrifice and forbearing hardship, their moral in the face of repression. South Africa built up his faith in the capacity of the Indian masses to participate in and sacrifice for a cause that moved them.

Gandhiji also had had the opportunity of leading Indians belonging to different religions: Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Parsis were all united under his leadership in South Africa. They also came
from different regions. Being mainly Gujaratis and Tamils. They belonged different social classes; rich merchants combined with poor indentured laborers. Women came along with the men.

Another aspect of the South African experience also stood Gandhiji in good stead. He learnt, the hardest way, that leadership involves facing the ire not only of the enemy but also of one's followers. There were two occasions on which Gandhiji was faced with a serious threat to his life. Once, when a white mob chased him down a street in Durban in 1896 and surrounded the house where he was staying, asking for his blood; he had to be whisked out in disguise. The second, when one Indian, a Pathan, who was angry with him because of an agreement he had reached with the Government assaulted him on the street.. Gandhiji learnt that leaders often have to take hard decisions that are unpopular with enthusiastic followers.

South Africa, then, provided Gandhiji with an opportunity for evolving his own style of politics and leadership for trying out new techniques for struggle, on a limited scale, untrammelled by the opposition of contending political currents. In South Africa, he had already taken the movement from its 'Moderate' phase into its 'Gandhian phase. He already knew the strengths and the weaknesses for the Gandhian method and he was convinced that it was the best method around. It now remained for him to introduce it into India.

6. Return to India:

Gandhiji returned to India, in January 1915, and was warmly welcomed. His work in South Africa was well-known, not only to educated Indians, but, as he discovered on his visit to the Kumbh Mela at Hardwar, even to the masses who flocked to him for his 'darshan'. Gokhale had already hailed him as hero. Other Indian leaders noticed in Gadhiji the marvelous spiritual power to turn ordinary men around him into heroes and martyrs.

7. Initial Political Activities:

During the course of 1917 and early 1918, Gandhiji was involved in three significant struggles, as 1) Champaran in Bihar, 2) Ahmedabad and 3) Kheda in Gujarat. The common feature of these struggles was that they related to specific local issues and that they were fought for the economic demands of the masses. Two of these struggles, Champaran and Kheda, involved the peasants and the one in Ahmedabad involved industrial workers.

The story of Champaran begins in the early nineteenth century when European planters had involved the cultivators in agreements that forced them to cultivate indigo on 3/20th of their
holdings. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, German synthetic dyes forced indigo out of the market. The European planters of Champaran, tried to turn their necessity to their advantage by securing enhancements in rent and other illegal dues as a price for the release. Resistance had surfaced in 1908 as well, but the exactions of the planters continued till Raj Kumar Shukla, a local man, persuaded Gandhi to come to Champaran to investigate the problem.

Gandhiji, on reaching Champaran, was ordered by the Commissioner to immediately leave the district. But Gandhiji refused and preferred to take the punishment for his defiance of the law. This was unusual, for even Tilak and Annie Besant. To offer passive resistance or civil disobedience to an unjust was indeed novel. The Government of India, ordered the local Government to allow Gandhiji to proceed with his enquiry.

A victorious Gandhiji embarked on his investigation of the peasants grievances. Meanwhile, the Government appointed a Commission of Inquiry to go into the whole issue, and nominated Gandhiji as one of its members. Gandhiji’s assessment was proved correct and, within a decade, the planters left the district.

Gandhiji turned his attention to the workers of Ahmedabad. A dispute was brewing between them and the mill owners over the question of a ‘plague bonus’ the employers wanted to withdraw but the workers insisted it stay. Gandhiji persuaded the mill owners and the workers to agree to arbitration by a tribunal. The mill owners, offered a twenty per cent bonus and threatened to dismiss those who did not accept it. But Gandhiji demanded a thirty-five per cent increase in wages.

The strike began and Gandhiji addressed the workers every day on the banks of the Sabarmati River. He brought out a daily news bulletin,

After some days, Gandhiji decided to go on a fast which put pressure on the mill owners and they agreed to submit the whole issue to a tribunal. The tribunal later awarded the thirty-five percent increase.

Gandhiji learnt that the peasants of Kheda district were in extreme distress due to a failure of crops, and that their appeals for the remission of land revenue were being ignored by the Government.

The Gujarat Sabha, of which Gandhiji was the President, played a leading role in the agitation. Appeals and petitions having failed, Gandhiji advised the withholding of revenue, and asked the peasants to ‘fight unto death against such a spirit of vindictiveness and tyranny. Vallabhbhai Patel, a young lawyer and a native of Kheda district, joined Gandhiji in touring the villages and urging the
peasants to stand firm to face the government repression including the seizing of cattle, household goods and the attachment of standing crops.

After some days, Gandhiji came to know that the Government had issued secret instructions directing that revenue should be recovered only from those peasants who could pay. This was exactly what Gandhiji had been demanding.

Champaran, Ahmedabad and Kheda served as demonstrations of Gandhiji’s style and method of politics to the country at large. They also helped him find his feet among the people of India and study their problems at close quarters.

8. The Non-Cooperation Movement -1920-22

There were many factors responsible to launch the Non-Cooperation Movement. Some of them were as under:-

1) The Rowlatt Act, 2) the Jallianwala Bagh massacre. 3) Marital law in Punjab. 4) The Montagu-Chemlsford Reforms, announced towards the end of 1919, with their ill-considered scheme of diarchy. 5) The Indian Muslims were incensed when they discovered that their loyalty had been purchased during the War by assurances of generous treatment to Turkey. The Muslims regarded the Caliph of Turkey as their spiritual head and were naturally upset. 6) Even those who were willing to treat the happenings at Jallianwala Bagh and other places in Punjab as aberrations, that were disillusioned soon, when they discovered that the Hunter Committee appointed by the Government to enquire into the Punjab disturbances was an eye wash and that the House of Lords had voted in favour of General Dyer’s action. The British public had demonstrated its support. The Morning Post collected 20,000 pounds for Genera Dyer.

7) The Khilafat leaders were told quite clearly that they should not expect anything more and the Treaty of Sevres signed with Turkey in May 1920 made it amply clear that the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire was complete. 8) Gandhiji, who had been in close touch with the Khilafat leaders for quite some time, and was a special invitee to the Khilafat Conference in November 1919, had all along been very sympathetic to their cause, especially because he felt the British had committed a breach of faith by making promises that they had no intention of keeping them. In February 1920, he suggested to Khilafat Committee that it adopt a programme of non-violent non-cooperation to protest the Governments behaviour. On 9 June, 1920 the Khilafat Committee at Allahabad unanimously accepted the suggestion of non-cooperation and asked Gandhiji to lead the movement.
9) Meanwhile, the Congress was becoming skeptical of any possibility of political advance through constitutional means. It was disgusted with the Hunter Committee Report especially since it was appraised brutalities in Punjab by its own enquiry committee. In the circumstances, it agreed to consider non-cooperation. The AICC met in May 1920 and decided to convene a special session in September to enable the congress to decide on its course of action.

10) It was apparent that they had to work out something soon for it was clear that the people were chafing for action. Large numbers of them, who had been awakened to political consciousness by the incessant propaganda efforts that the nationalist leadership had been making for the previous four decades or more, were thoroughly outraged by what they perceived as insults by the British government. To swallow these insults appeared dishonorable and cowardly. 11) Also many sections of Indian society suffered considerable economic distress. In the towns, the workers and artisans, the lower middle class and the middle class had been hit by high prices, and shortage of food and essential commodities. The rural poor and peasants were in addition victims of widespread drought and epidemics.

8.1. Adoption of the Non Cooperation Resolution:

The movement was launched formally on 1 August, 1920. after the expiry of the notice that Gandhiji gave to the Viceroy in his letter of 22 June, in which he had asserted the right recognized ‘from time immemorial of the subject to refuse to assist a ruler who misrules.

The Congress met in September at Calcutta and accepted non-co operation as its own. In December 1920 when the Congress met for its annual session at Nagpur, it was C.R. Das who moved the main resolution on non-cooperation.

The programme of non-cooperation included as:- 1) the surrender of titles and honors, 2) boycott of government affiliated schools and colleges, 3) boycott of law courts, 4) boycott of foreign cloth, and could be extended to other imported goods 5) resignation from government service 6) mass civil disobedience 7) non-payment of taxes. 8) National schools and colleges were to be set up 9) Panchayats were to be established for settling disputes, 10) hand-spinning and weaving was to be encouraged 11) people were asked to maintain Hindu-Muslim unity. 12) Give up untouchability 13) observe strict non-violence. Gandhiji promised that if the programme was fully implemented, Swaraj would be ushered within the year. The Nagpur session, thus, committed Congress to a programme of extra-constitutional mass action. Many groups of revolutionary
terrorists, especially in Bengal, also pledged support to the movement.

8.2. Beginning of the Non-Cooperation:

The adoption of the Non-Cooperation Movement by the Congress gave it a new energy and, from January 1921, it began to register considerable success all over the country. Gandhiji, along with the Ali brothers undertook a nation-wide tour during which he addressed hundreds of meetings and met a large number of political workers. In the first month itself, 90 thousands students left schools and colleges. The educational boycott was particularly successful in Bengal, where the students in Calcutta triggered off a province-wide strike to force the managements of their institutions to disaffiliate themselves from the Governments. C.R. Das played a major role in promoting the movement and Subhas Bose became the principal of the National College in Calcutta. The Swadeshi spirit was revived with new vigour, this time as apart of a nation-wide struggle. Punjab, too responded to the educational boycott and was second only to Bengal, Lala Lajpat Rai playing a leading part here despite his initial reservations about this item of the programme. Other areas that were active were Bombay, U.P., Bihar, Orissa and Assam. Madras remained lukewarm.

The boycott of law courts by lawyers was not as successful as the educational boycott, but it was very dramatic and spectacular. Many leading lawyers of the country like C.R. Das, Motilal Nehru, M.R. Jayakar, Saifudding Kitchlew, Vallabhbhai Patel, C Rajagophlachari, T. Prakasam and Asaf Ali gave up lucrative practices, and their sacrifice became a source of inspiration for many. In numbers again Bengal led, followed by Andhra Pradesh, U.P. Karnataka and Punjab.

But perhaps, the most successful item of the programme was the boycott of foreign cloth. Volunteers would go from house to house collecting clothes made of foreign cloth, and the entire community would collect to light a bonfire of the goods. Picketing of shops selling foreign cloth was also a major form of the boycott. The value of imports of foreign cloth fell from Rs. 102 crore in 1920-21 to Rs. 57 crore in 1921-22. Another feature of the movement which acquired great popularity in many parts of the country, even though it was not part of the original plan, was the picketing of toddy shops. Government revenues showed considerable decline on this count and the government was forced to actually carry on propaganda to bring home to the people the healthy effects of a good drink.

In July 1921, a new challenge was thrown to the Government. Mohammed Ali, at the All India Khilafat Conference held at Karachi on 8 July, declared that it was ‘religiously unlawful for the Muslims to continue in the British Army’ and asked that this be conveyed to
every Muslim in the Army. As a result, Mohammed Ali, along with other leaders, was immediately arrested. In protest, the speech was repeated at innumerable meetings all over the country. On 4 October forty-seven leading Congressmen, including Gandhiji, issued a manifesto repeating whatever Mohammed Ali had said and added that every civilian and member of the armed forces should sever connections with the repressive Government.

The next dramatic event was the visit of the Prince of Wales which began on 17 November, 1921. The day Prince landed in Bombay was observed as a day of hartal all over the country. In Bombay - Gandhiji himself addressed a mammoth meeting in the compound of the Elphinstone Mill owned by the nationalist Umar Shobhani, and lighted a huge bonfire of foreign cloth. Unfortunately, however, clashes occurred between those had gone to attend the welcome function and the crowd returning from Gandhijis meeting. There was police firing and the three-day turmoil resulted in fifty-nine death. Peace returned only after Gandhiji had been on fast for three days. The whole sequence of events left Gandhiji profoundly disturbed and worried about the likelihood of recurrence of violence once mass civil disobedience was sanctioned.

The Prince of Wales was greeted with empty streets and downed shutters wherever he went. Emboldened by their successful defiance of the Government, non-cooperators became more and more aggressive.

The Non-Cooperation Movement had other indirect effects as well. In the Avadh area of U.P., where kisan sabhas and a kisan movement had been gathering strength since 1918. Non-Cooperation propaganda, carried on among others by Jawaharlal Nehru, helped to fan the already existing ferment and soon it became difficult to distinguish between a Non-Cooperation meeting and a kisan meeting. In Malabar in Kerala. Non-cooperation and Khilafat propaganda helped to rouse the Muslims tenants against their landlords.

In Assam, laborers on tea plantations went on strike. When the fleeing workers were fired upon. There were strikes on the steamer service, and on the Assam-Bengal Railway as well. In Midnapur, a cultivators strike against a White zamindari company was led by a Calcutta medical student in defiance of forest laws became popular in Andhra. Peasants and tribals in some of the Rajasthan states began movements for securing better conditions of life. In Punjab, the Akali movement for wresting control of the gurdwaras from the mahants was a part of the general movement of Non-cooperation, based on strict non-violence in the face of tremendous repression.

In this situation, it was hardly surprising that the Government came to the conclusion that its earlier policy had not met with
success and that the time to strike had arrived. By December, the Government announced the volunteers illegal and arrested all those who participated in the movement.

C.R. Das was among the first to be arrested, followed by his wife Basantidebi, whose arrest so incensed the youth of Bengal that thousands came forward to court arrest. In the next two months, over 30,000 people were arrested from all over the country, and soon only Gandhiji out of the top leadership remained out of jail. In mid-December, repression continued, public meetings and assemblies were banned, newspapers gagged, and midnight raids on Congress and Khilafat offices became common.

Gandhiji had been under considerable pressure from the Congress rank and file to start the mass civil disobedience. The Government showed no signs of relenting and ignored both the appeal of the All Parties Conference and Gandhiji’s to lift the ban on civil liberties and release political prisoners. Gandhiji announced that mass civil disobedience would begin in Bardoli taluqa of Surat district. And that all other parts of the country should cooperate by maintaining total discipline and quiet so that the entire attention of the movement could be concentrated on Bardoli. But Bardoli was destined to wait for another six years before it could launch no-tax movement. Its fate was decided by the action of members of a Congress and khilafat procession at Chauri Chura in U.P. On 5 February 1922 Irritated by the behaviour of some policemen, a section of the crowd attacked them. The police opened fire. At this, the entire procession attacked the police and when the latter hid inside the police station, set fire to the building. In all twenty-two policemen were done to death. On hearing of the incident, Gandhiji decided to withdraw the movement. He also persuaded the Congress Working Committee to ratify his decision and thus, on 12 February 1922, the Non-Cooperation Movement came to an end. Gandhiji’s decision to withdraw the movement in response to the violence at Chauri Chura raised a controversy. Motilal Nehru, C.R. Das, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Bose, and many other recorded their utter bewilderment on hearing the news. They could not understand why the whole country had to pay the price for the crazy behavior of some people in a remote village. Many in the country thought that Mahatma Gandhi failed as a leader and that his days of glory were over, but the later developments proved this view wrong.

9. Summary

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born in a small village, Porbanddar in present Gujrat State on 2nd October, 1969. He completed his education in England, and became a barrister. He began his legal practice in the Bombay Highcourt. However, he earned his
value & fame not as a legal practitioner but as a political organizer and that also in South Africa.

The young barrister who landed at Durban in 1893 to sort out a problem of Doda Abdulla, a Gujarati merchant. Indians in south Africa lived under severe social restrictions and racial discrimination. Mohandas Gandhi got the experience of these soon when he arrived in South Africa. During his journey to Pritoria, he was thrown out of first class railway compartment and beaten by a driver. His offence in both cases had been that he occupied a seat normally reserved for Europeans. These and other experiences converted the young barrister form a shy lawyer into a bold champion of the rights of his countrymen. Gandhiji publicized the plight of Indians and petitioned the government against unjust regulation. In the struggle against racism in South Africa, Gandhiji developed philosophy of action, Satyagraha, which was based on truth and non-violence. Gandhiji explained that Satyagraha does not mean meek submission to the will of the evil-door, but it means the pitting of one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant. He founded a newspaper called the Indian Opinion to highlight the problems of the Indians in South Africa. He organised workers and led them to resist unjust laws. Eventually, an agreement was arrived and the South African government released all imprisoned satyagrahis.

Gandhiji returned to India in January 1915 and secured a hero's welcome by people like Gopal Krishna Gokhale. He fought for the rights of the indigo cultivators at Champaran in Bihar, led a successful satyagraha campaign in the district of Kheda, Gujarat and brought about a settlement between mill-owner and workers in Ahmedabad. Gandhiji launched Satyagraha campaign soon the Rowlatt Bills were passed to oppose thems. This was followed by civil disobedience and an all India hartal on 6 April, 1919, everywhere in the country. The Jallianwala Bagh tragedy occurred and it brought Gandhiji into the forefront of Indian national movement. In the 1920's special session of the Indian national Congress, Gandhiji's proposal for the non-violent, non-co-operation movement was discussed and passed. The programme of non cooperation was consisted of surrender of British titles and honours, boycott of British Legislatures, courts, educational institutions and foreign made goods. The promotion of swadeshi goods, removal of untouchability and abstention from alcohol also formed the part of the programme. The movement began with boycott of government schools and colleges, law courts and offices. Bonfires of foreign goods were lit everywhere and Khadi was encouraged. Peasants, workers, artisans, traders, professionals, employees and women were actively participated in the movement. However, Mahatma Gandhi withdrew the movement on the incidence of Chauri Chaura, which took place on 5 February 1922. In the Gorakpur district of present U.P.
10. ADDITIONAL READINGS:-

4  B.R Nanda, Mahatma Gandhi over Delhi 1958.

11. QUESTIONS:-

1) What do you mean the Satyagrah of Mahatma Gandhi?
2) Describe the events leading to the Non-Co-Operation Movement in 1920-22.
3) Review the programme of the Non-co-operation Movement of 1920-22.
4) Examine the achievements of the Non-cooperation Movement of 1920-22.

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THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Revolutionary Nationalism

1. OBJECTIVES:-
   a) After studying this unit the student will-
   b) Understand the genesis of the Revolutionary nationalism
   c) Learn the revolutionary activities in Maharashtra
   d) Understand the revolutionary activities of Vasudev Balwant Phadke and Chapeckar brothers.
   e) Get the idea of revolutionary activities in Bengal.
   f) Learn the revolutionary activities in Europe, America, Germany and France.

2. INTRODUCTION:-
   Following decades to the foundation of the Indian National Congress nationalist leaders involved in the national movement were broadly divided into three categories as-

1. Moderates
2. Extremists
3. Revolutionaries

The Moderates were the leaders, who drew inspiration from the English Constitutional History. They wanted to achieve colonial self-government through peaceful & constitutional means. They therefore, adopted the moderate methods & techniques to communicate their views to the British government.

The Extremists were the people, who wanted swaraj. They believed in a comprehensive policy of boycott. They also propagated & adopted the policy of promotion of swadeshi. Naturally, young educated class came under this philosophy.

The Revolutionaries were the leaders, who also believed in swaraj. They did not believe in the peaceful or constitutional means. They,
therefore, resorted to the methods of violence, which had been practised in the movements of Russia & Ireland.

3. CAUSES FOR THE EMERGENCE OF REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM:

There were several factors responsible for the revolutionary nationalism during the closing quarters of the nineteenth century. Some of the important factors were as under-

3.1. The British introduced the education system on the western lines that was responsible for the rise of a middle class. This western educated class was enough sensitive to appalling misery of the Indian people but it was unable to express openly their growing indignation & taking positive action against the British.

3.2. There were several natural calamities, as flood & famines, especially the famine in 1877, which cost around six million lives. The problem of unemployment among the educated middle class of landless farmers, apprehended them about their future. This complicated situation was aggravated by every action of the British government.

3.3. The tyrannical role of the British undermined the individual or national advancement. The vernacular press Act of 1878, the drama performance act of 1878, and the arms of Act 1878 gagged the Indians, denied Indians the right to stage themselves & deprived them of all means of protection against predators.

3.4. The Law members introduced the Ilbert Bill to clear anomaly in the Judicial administration. But the British government could not pass the bill due to the determined European opposition that caused frustration & helplessness among the Indians, which gave birth to the revolutionary nationalism.

3.5. The socio-religious leaders as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ram Krishnan Paramhansa, and Vivekananda initiated renaissance, which fired the emotions of the revolutionaries.

3.6. It is said that the moral courage of the revolutionary nationalism was derived from the Hindu philosophy. The immortality of soul made the revolutionaries indifferent about the physical pain and death. They used to derive the inspiration from the Gita. They regarded Bankim Chandra as a prophet of modern India, who wanted to create a band of selfless sanyasis for achieving the liberation of the country.
3.7. The memory of Shivaji’s struggle for freedom spread its inspiration throughout India. Tagor’s poem on Shivaji’s vision of a kingdom of true faith inspired the revolutionary nationalists.

Thus several revolutionary societies & groups came into existence. They tried to demoralise the administrative machinery & win freedom for the country. Since, the government suppressed the other political movements, the activities of these revolutionary societies got a momentum. The revolutionary nationalists & their activities were as under:

4. REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES IN MAHARASHTRA:

Maharashtra being ahead in renaissance, produced a number of national leaders and movements. It also gave birth to the revolutionary leaders and their activities. Some important revolutionary activities during the freedom struggle of India were as:

4.1 Vasudeo Balwant Phadke: He was one of the greatest early Indian revolutionaries. He was born in 1845 in the modern Raigad District of Maharashtra. After his initial education, he joined the military accounts department of the Bombay government. Phadke was influenced by the vision of Justice Rande. The sufferings of the people during the famine in the Deccan in 1876-77 made him sad & angry. He held the British government responsible for the sufferings of the people. With the help of Ismail Khan, the Rohilla leader, Phadke organized an armed band prepared to die for the cause of freedom. Thus, phadke decided to overthrow the British government in Maharashtra through armed rebellion.

In May 1879, Phadke denounced the British policy of ruthless exploitation of India. The government ordered the army to suppress the uprising. Avoiding pitched battle; Phadke recognized his force & started guerilla warfare against the British. But he was ultimately captured and was sentenced to transportation for life. He was deported to Aden where he died in 1883 in jail.

4.2 The Chapekar brothers, Damoder, Vasudev and Balkrishan had established the Hindu Dharma Sanrakshini Sabha in 1894. During the Ganapati festivals of 1894, they circulated leaflets in Poona, and asked the Hindus to rise in arms against that rule as Shivaji had done against the Muslim rule.

In 1897, the British government sent W.C. Rand, as the president of the plague committee, for tackling the epidemic. Instead of carrying on his work, he wielded the big stick and became very unpopular in Poona & surrounding areas. The government troops were sent to search houses to find cases of plague. The local press complained that the people’s privacy had been violated. On 22 June 1897, W.C. Rand & Lieutenant C.E. Ayearst were shot dead by Damodar & Bal Krishna Chapekar when they were returning from the celebration of the 60th
anniversary of the coronation of queen Victoria. Damoder was arrested and was sentence to death. Bal Krishna was later arrested in Hyderabad, tried and also sentenced to death.

4.3 The revolutionary activities in Maharashtra centered around Vinayak Damodar Savarkar. Savarkar joined the Abhinav Bharat society founded by his elder brother Ganesh Damodar. At the time of his departure from India, Savarkar and his brother were also leaders of an association known as the Mitranela, started around 1899. Although Savarkar later proceeded to London in 1906, his organization continued to flourish in India. Many colleges and higher educational institutions in Poona & Bombay had at least one secret society or branch of the Abhinav Bharat society.

The revolutionary movement in Maharashtra was at its height in 1909. Anant Laxman Kanhere murdered. A.M.T. Jackson, District Magistrate, in a theater at Nasik. Subsequently, he and his friends were sentenced to death.

5. REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES IN BENGAL:

The revolutionary activity in Bengal was the outcome of the failure of constitutional agitation to prevent the partition of Bengal in 1905. Every year the steadily increasing number of young men turned to revolutionary activities as the only possible means to attain their goals. The nationalists argued that nothing could be achieved without the use of violence. They were of the opinion that freedom could be earned only by fire & sword as the Italians and the French had earned their freedom. Further, the victory of Japan over Russia, in 1905 seemed to strengthen their argument for force & violence.

The first revolutionary organization in Bengal was the Anushilan samiti. It attracted a large number of recruits. However, a small band of young men under the leadership of Barindrakumar Ghosh, were in the forefront of the revolutionary movement of the Anushilan samiti. They published a periodical named Jugantar, which openly preached armed rebellion in order to create the necessary revolutionary mentality among the people. The Jugantar was suppressed in 1908, a judge observed, that the Jugantar exhibited a burning hatred of the British race, breathed revolution in every line, and pointed out how revolution was to be affected. Both Sandhya & Jugantar openly preached the cult of violence & wrote that the money that was required for financing the revolutionary activities could be obtained by plundering post offices, banks, government treasuries & by robbing the luxury-loving rich. Two members of the Anusilan samiti were sent abroad to be trained in the manufacture of the explosives. On their, return regular arrangements were made for manufacturing bombs in the suburb of Calcutta. Attempts were made to assassinate Kingsford the vindictive judge who had sentenced many political prisoners to heavy terms of punishment. Two revolutionary youths, Kudiram Bose & Prafulla Chaki were entrusted with the task of
assassinating Kingsford. On 30th April 1908, they threw a bomb at the carriage in which they believed Kingsford to be travelling. But unfortunately, two British ladies who were in the carriage were inadvertently killed. Kudiram was arrested and hanged on 11th August 1908.

5.1 THE ALIPORE CONSPIRACY:

The government search for illegal arms in Calcutta led to the arrest of thirty-four persons including the Ghosh brothers. Their trial came to be known as the famous Alipore conspiracy case. One of the arrested persons Narendra Gosain became the approver. But before he could give his evidence, he was shot dead inside the jail. Of the accused in the Alipore conspiracy case, fifteen were ultimately found guilty & some of them including Barindrakumar Ghosh were transported to life. After the Alipore conspiracy case, Rash Behari Bose planned a nationwide-armed uprising with the help of Indian soldiers of the British army. However following the discovery of the plot by the police, Rash Behari Bose escaped to Japan & continued his revolutionary activities there.

6. REVIVAL OF REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM :-

During the First World War, the revolutionary leaders were in either jail or absconding. Following the end of the war, the British government, released some of the revolutionaries to create a more harmonious atmosphere. On the plea of Gandhiji, C.R.Das and other leaders, most of the revolutionary nationalists either joined the Indian national movement or suspended their own activities. The non-cooperation movement under the leadership of Mahatma gandhi was suddenly suspended following the mob violence at Chauri chaura in U.P. Many young people began to question the very basic strategy of the national leadership & its emphasis on non-violence and began to look for alternatives. Some of them were convinced with the idea that violent methods alone would free India. Gradually two separate groups of revolutionary nationalism developed one in Punjab, U.P., and Bihar and the other in Bengal.

6.1 THE KAKORI CONSPIRACY CASE:-

The revolutionaries under Ramprasad Bismil, Jogesh Chatterji, & Sachindranath Sanyal met in Kanpur in October 1924 & founded the Hindustan Republic Association. Its aim was to overthrow the British rule from India. For all these activities, money was required. To achieve this objective the Hindustan Revolutionary Army stopped the down train at Kakori, an obscure village in Lucknow district on 9th August 1925 and looted the railway cash. The government arrested large number of young men and tried them in the Kakori conspiracy case. The chief leaders of the robbery, Ashfaqulla Khan, Ram Prasad Bismil, Roshanlal were sentenced to death.
6.2 Trial & execution of Bhagat Singh:

Bhagat Singh & Batukeshwar Dutt were tried in the Assembly Bomb Case. Their fearless & defiant attitude in the courts their slogans as Inquilab Zindabad,'Down with imperialism, Long live the proletariat, and their revolutionary songs as Sarfaroshi Ki Tamanna Ab Hamare Dil Main Hai and Mera rang de basanti chola were reported in the newspapers. This won them support of the people all over country, and Bhagat Singh become a household name in India. While in Delhi jail, Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar demanded that they be treated not as criminals but as political prisoners. Jatindranath Das, who went on fast on similar grounds, died on 13th of September 1930, on the sixty-fourth day of the fast in the Lahore prison. The trail and subsequent execution of Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru on 23rd March 1931 become a political issue. A resolution was passed by the Karachi session of the congress in 1931 commending their bravery contribution to the freedom struggle of India.

6.3 SURYA SEN:

In the later part of 1920’s, the most active & famous of the Bengal revolutionary groups was the Chittagong group led by Surya Sen. He had actively participated in the non-cooperation movement and had become a teacher in a national school in Chittagong. Surya Sen was arrested & imprisoned for two years from 1926 to 1928 for revolutionary activity. He was a brilliant and inspiring organizer. A group led by Surya Sen captured the government armory on 18th April 1930, and for a while took control of the town. Chittagong. All the revolutionary groups gathered outside the police armory where Surya Sen took a military salute, hoisted the national flag among shouts of Bande Mataram and Inquilab Zindabad, and proclaimed a provisional revolutionary government. However, it was not possible for this small group of revolutionaries to put up resistance against the army. They escaped to the Chittagong hills and continued to wage guerilla warfare for another three years.

The sustained government action and repression gradually decimated the revolutionary nationalists ranks. The death of Chandrashekhar Azad in a shooting counter in a public park at Allahabad in February 1931 gave a great blow to the revolutionary movement in Punjab, U.P. and Bihar. It is important to note that the politics of the revolutionary nationalist had a number of limitations. Theirs was not the politics of a mass movement. They were not successful in politically activating the masses. Their contact with masses was lacking. However, the contribution of the revolutionaries to the freedom struggle of India cannot be under estimated. Their deep patriotism, courage and determination, and sense of sacrifice moved the Indian people.
7. REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES IN EUROPE AND OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES:

Shyamji Krishnavarma, was a native of Kathiawar in Gujarat and a great Sanskrit scholar. He was a member of Mitramela Abhinav Bharat revolutionary group. He left Bombay in 1897 and went to London. He started a monthly journal, the Indian sociologist, an organ of freedom struggle of India in 1905, Shyamji established the Indian Home Rule society and a hostel for Indian students living in London, popularly known as the Indian House. Shyamji, therefore, gathered around him many young revolutionaries. The most important among them were V.D. Savarkar, Madanlal Dhingra, Madame Cama, and Lala Hadyal.

In 1907 as the British authorities decided to take action against the activities of Shyamji, shifted his head quarters to Paris. Savarkar took up the political leadership of the Indian House in London. According to intelligence report that there was a fashion to read at Sundays’s meeting some important passages from the book on the Indian Mutiny, prepared by V.D. Savarkar, to prepare the Indian people in London for the cause of the Indian struggle for independence. The practice gained significance as preparations got under way to celebrate the golden jubilee of the ‘First war of Independence,’ in 1907.

7.1 MADANLAL DHINGRA:-

In 1909 Madanlal Dhingra, a Maharashtrian youth and an associate of Savarkar assassinated Curzon-Wylie an A.D.C.to the Secretary of State for India. He was spying on Indian students. Madanlal Dhingra was arrested and brought to trial, and was hanged on 1st August 1909. The only lesson, he wrote before his death, required in India is to learn how to die and the only way to teach it is by dying alone. About the same time, Ganesh Savarkar, the elder brother of Vinayak was convicted in Nasik on a charge of abetment of waging war against the king under section 121A of I.P.C. He was sentenced to transportation on 9th June 1909. When Vinayak was informed about this, he thrice repeated his oath to wreak vengeance on the English. Savarkar was arrested and sent to India to stand trial in the Nasik conspiracy case and other charges. His attempt to escape from the ship at Marseilles failed, and he was sentenced to transportation for life after his trial in India. He was sent to Andaman along with his brother Ganesh Savarkar to face inhuman torture till 1924. This noble son of India died in 1966.

7.2 MADAME CAMA:-

Madame Bhikaji Cama was another revolutionary who was drawn into the circle of Shyamji Krishnavarma. Madame Cama had been popularly described as the Mother of Indian Revolution. She left India in 1902 and was engaged since then in making revolutionary propaganda
against the British rule in India. She took active part in editing the Indian sociologist and represented India at the Stuttgart conference of socialists in 1907. At the conference, Madame Cama unfurled for the first time Indian national flag on the foreign soil. Due to her anti-British activities, she was forced to shift her residence from London to Paris. After thirty years of patriotic service in London, Paris and other cities of Europe, her friends succeeded in repatriating her to India in November 1936. She died on 12th August 1937.

7.3 THE GHADAR PARTY:-

The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 gave a new impetus to the freedom struggle. It was felt that England’s difficulty was India’s opportunity. This opportunity was fully exploited by the Ghadar revolutionaries based in North America. A number of Punjabi immigrants had settled down on the west coast of North America. They had gone to America in search of livelihood.

During the Swadeshi movement Indian nationalists in the United States published number of journals containing articles against the British rule in India. As a result of these activities, a number of political organizations were established in America. Lala Hardyal, a political exile from India, organized the nationalists in the United States and published a weekly paper, the Ghadar for free circulation. These developments led to the revolutionary movement known as the Ghadar movement. Ghadar means revolution. The Ghadar movement had its headquarters known as the Jugantar Ashram in San Francisco. It highlighted the daring deeds of the Anusilan Samiti, the yugantar group and the Russian secret societies. The Ghadar was circulated widely among Indians in North America. Trinidad, Honduras the Philippines, Hong Kong, China, Malaya, Singapore and India. Within a short period, the Ghadar succeeded in changing the Punjabi immigrant to that of a rebel whose only aim was to destroy the British hold on his motherland.

7.4 THE INDIAN INDEPENDENCE COMMITTEE IN BERLINE:-

After the outbreak of the First World War, Hardyal and other Indians abroad moved to Germany and set up the Indian independence committee at Berline. The committee planned to bring about a general insurrection in India. For this purpose foreign arms were to be sent to India from abroad; expatriated Indians were to return to mother country, where they were to be joined by Indian soldiers and by the waiting revolutionaries.

The policy and activities of the Berlin committee and the Ghadar party had greatly influenced the revolutionaries of Bengal. Hoping to be supplied with arms from outside, they were prepared to stage an uprising.
7.5 THE KOMAGATA MARU INCIDENT:-

Canada had imposed strict restrictions on Indian immigration except those who made a continuous journey from India. But in November 1913, the Canadian Supreme Court allowed entry to thirty-five Indians who had not made a continuous journey. Encouraged by this judgment, Gureli Singh, an Indian contractor living in Singapore, decided to charter a ship to carry Indians living in various regions in East and the South East Asia to Vancouver carrying a total of 376 Indian passengers. The ship komagata Maru began its journey to Vancouver. When the ship arrived in Vancouver, it was not allowed into the port and was cordoned off by the police. Soon the komagata Maru was forced out of Canadian waters. Before it reached Japan, the first world war broke out, and the British government passed orders that no passenger be allowed to disembark anywhere on the way, but only at Calcutta. This created anti-British sentiments among the Indian communities at every port that the ship touched. On landing at Calcutta on 27 September 1914, the harassed passengers, provoked by the hostile attitude of the authorities resisted the police. This led to a clash in which eighteen passengers were killed and a number of Sikhs were arrested.

8. SUMMARY:-

The leaders in the Indian national movements were divided into three categories as the Moderates, the Extremists and the Revolutionaries. The moderates, who drew inspiration from the British constitutional history and wanted to achieve self-government through the constitutional means. The Extremists wanted Swaraj and believed in the policy of boycott. The Revolutionaries who also believed in Swaraj but resorted to violent methods.

There were several factors, which led to the emergence of the Revolutionary nationalism as the rise of English educated middle class, but the class was unable to express openly their indignation. The national calamities like famines, floods and unemployment, the acts like the vernacular press Act, the Arms Act and the failure to pass the Ilbert Bill caused frustration among the people. The influence of the Bengal renaissance leaders, the Hindu philosophy and the memory of Shivaji's struggle for freedom led to the rise of Revolutionary nationalism.

Revolutionary activities in Maharashtra started by Vasudev Balwant Phadake. He was influenced by Justice Ranade and held the British responsible for the sufferings of Indian people during the Deccan famine of 1876-77. The Chapekark broters shot dead to W.C. Rand and C.E. Ayerst the British officers. Savarkar brothers and their Abhinav Bharat Society and Mitramela stood at the top in the revolutionary activities in Maharashtra. The Anushilan Samiti was the first revolutionary organization in Bengal. Jugantar, a periodical published by the Anushilan Samiti spread revolutionary spirit in every corner of the state. Kudiram Bose and
Prafulla Chaki tried to shoot Kingford. The Alipore conspiracy case against the bomb manufactures in Calcutta stirred the British administration in the country. In the same way, an attempt on the life of Viceroy Harding & a plan of armed uprising against the British by Ras Behari Bose had shaken the administration. The Kakori Conspiracy case, the establishment of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association, hurling a bomb in the Central Legislative Assembly by Bhagat Singh & Bhatukeshwar Dutt were very important activities of the Revolutionary nationalists.

Revolutionary activities were carried out in Europe and other western countries also-

Shyamji Krishnaji Varma, who established a hostel for Indian students in London, later came to be known as Indian House, attracted revolutionaries like V.D. Savarkar, Madanlal Dhingra, Madame Cama and Lala Hardyal. Shyamji Krishnaji Varma also started a monthly journal, the Indian Sociologist. Which advocated political, social and religious reforms. After he shifted to Paris, Savarkar took up the political leadership in London. Madanlal Dhingra assassinated Curzon Wylie in London. Savarkar’s arrest and trial in Nasik conspiracy case his attempt to escape from the ship at Marseilles, Madame Camas’s work in London and Paris; contributed on a large scale to the freedom struggle of India. During the W.W.I. all Punjabi migrants settled in the United States of America; established a party known as Ghadar party. Ghadar party started revolutionary activities as the title suggests. Gadhar means revolution this party had its headquarters known as Juganter Ashram in San Francisco. The Ghadar party circulated all revolutionary spirit emanated in India to every corner of the United states and converted Punjabis to that of rebel who aimed to destroy the British rule in India. During the same time Hardyal and his friends set up the Indian Independence Committee at Berlin. This Committee influenced the Bengal
Revolutionary nationalists on a large scale. The Komagata Maru incidence in Canada also contributed to Revolutionary nationalism in India.

9. ADDITIONAL READINGS:-

1- Arun Chandra Guha, first speak of Revolution, Bombay 1971.
2- Bimal Bihari Majumdar, Militant Nationalism of India, Calcutta 1966.
5- Sohna Sing Josh, Hindustan Ghadar party, A short History, New Delhi,1977.

10. QUESTIONS:-

1- Account for the emergence of Revolutionary Nationalism in India.
2- Give a brief account of the Revolutionary activities in Maharashtra during the freedom struggle of India.
3- Assess the contribution of Revolutionary Nationalists from Bengal to the freedom struggle of India.
4- Discuss the Revolutionary activities carried out by Indian nationalists in Europe.

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THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Gandhian Era, The Civil Disobedience Movement and the Quit India Movement:

1. OBJECTIVES:
   - After completing the study of this unit you will –
     a) Know briefly about the Simon Commission and it report.
     b) Learn about the events that led to the civil disobedience movement.
     c) Come to know about the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, the Round Table conferences and the Communal award.
     e) Know the events leading to the quit India Movement.
     f) Learn about the Quit India Movement, its spread and the effects.
     g) Be able to know Subhas Chandra Bose and the Indian National Army.

2. INTRODUCTION:
   - Gandhi’s non-cooperation movement ended in failure. However, it succeeded on many counts. Gandhi through his dedicated leadership inspired the people to suffer and sacrifice for the cause of the country. They had come together for the first time cutting across all barriers and became a mass movement. The retreat on 12 February, 1922 was only temporary. Although the campaign against the imperialism was called off, the fight was continued. Gandhi revived the struggle with a much vigour and more powerful weapon, that came to be known as the Civil Disobedient Movement.

   It is said that the withdrawal of the non-cooperation movement when it was in its peak, had demoralized the people. As a result of that the Congress was divided into two groups. The one, who was in favor of the boycott of Legislatures and the other who wished to enter the Legislative Councils and wreck them within. This group wanted to force the British to grant real reforms. These leaders later, formed their own party known as the Swaraj party. However, the death of C.R. Das the leader of this party brought to an end to the Swaraj Party. Naturally, there was no alternative except the beginning of the Civil Disobedient
Movement under the Leadership of Mahatma Gandhiji. The Indian National Congress held its meetings time to time and empowered Gandhiji for the Civil Disobedient Movement, which was preceded by the Dandi March.

3. Events Leading to the Civil Disobedient Movement:

3.1. The Simon Commission:

In order to compensate the Indian people for their cooperation with the Government during the World War I, the British Government passed the Government of India Act, 1919 which had provided that after a period of ten years a Royal Commission would be appointed to review the working of the reforms and suggest improvement in the working of government under the Act of 1919. The nationalist leaders had pointed out that the Dyarchy was unworkable. Lord Irwin who came as the Viceroy in 1926 recommended to the Home government an early inquiry into the constitutional progress in India. The Conservative Party government, decided abruptly to appoint a commission in November 1927. A veteran lawyer Sir John Simon, became its chairman with six other members in 1927. However, not a single Indian was included in the commission. This move clearly projected that the British never wanted to reform Indian Government. It constrained the people to agitate for reforms.

The Simon Commission was greeted with protest all over India. The Congress and the Muslim League decided not to cooperate with the Simon Commission because it did not include any Indian Member. When the commission arrived in Bombay in February 1828, it was greeted with black flags and the slogan of ‘Go back Simon’. There were protests in different parts of the country. In one such protest Lala Lajpat Rai received lathi blow, which eventually led to his death. In spite of these protests, the Simon Commission continued its work and submitted its report in 1930. On the basis of the recommendations of the Simon Commission, the British government summoned the Round table Conference in 1930 to decide the future of India’s constitutional set up, but the Conference was a total failure. It did not obtain any concrete results. The reforms were pending till 1935.

3.2. The Nehru report:

In 1925 and 1927, Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State, had challenged Indian leaders to draft a constitution to which all parties would agree. The time had come for the Indian to take up the challenge. The selected representatives of all groups met in an All-Parties Conference between February and May 1928. A select committee was appointed under the chairmanship of Motilal Nehru for the actual drafting
of the constitutional scheme. The Nehru Committee’s report was submitted on 10 August 1928. It was considered by All-Parties Conference at Lucknow and was adopted with only one dissenting vote of the Muslim League.

The Nehru Report stated that the next step for India must be the Dominion Status. India, would enjoy the same status as Canada, Australia, and other independent former colonies of Britain. The Nehru Report rejected separate electorates, but provided for the protection of minorities through a system of reservations. The report also included the proposal for universal adult suffrage. The Congress at Calcutta approved the Nehru Report in December 1928. As there was opposition to the Dominion Status from many members, it was decided that India would accept it only if it were conceded before 31 December 1929; otherwise, she would stick to her demand for complete independence, and organize non-violent non-cooperation movement.

The Government had failed to respond to the demand of the Congress for Dominion Status within a year. Jawaharlal Nehru was elected the president of the historic 1929 session of the Congress, which met at Lahore at the end of December. It was in this session that the resolution of declaring the aim of India’s national movement as complete independence or purna swaraj was adopted on 30 December 1929. On the night of 31 December 1929 Jawaharlal Nehru led a solemn procession to the bank of the river Ravi. There he raised India’s national flag, and decided that 26 January 1930 should be observed as the day of Poorna Swaraj. On 26 January 1930, at public meetings held all over the country people took a pledge to carry on the struggle until the achievement of complete independence and decided to hold similar celebrations every year on that day. Therefore, the 26 January Carries special importance in the history of our country.

3.3. The Civil Disobedience Movement and The Dandi March:-

The Lahore Congress of 1929 had authorized Mahatma Gandhi to launch a programme of civil disobedience movement, by the end of February Gandhiji decided to launch the movement by violating the Salt Law. On 2 March 1930, Gandhiji addressed a letter to the Viceroy and informed him of his plan of action, the Salt Satyagraha by disobeying the Salt Laws at Dandi a seashore village, around 240 miles away from Sabaramati Ashram. Gandhiji decided to begin the campaign with a march from his Sabarmati ashram to the seaside village of Dandi, along with a band of seventy-eight members through the villages of Gujarat for 240 miles. On reaching the coast after 24 days at Dandi, he would break the salt law by collecting some salt from the beach. He impressed upon those who assembled and accompanied him to do the same. Besides, he asked the satyagrahis to picket shops selling foreign cloth and liquor, refuse to pay taxes, boycott courts and resign
from government posts. However, he asked them to observe non-violence. But that was not possible. The Government only became violent beyond the limit. On 12 March, 1930 Gandhiji left his ashram with seventy-eight satyagrahis. The news of the progress of the Dandi march was carried day after day by newspapers to readers across the country and the world. Towards Dandi, the Congress leaders and workers had been busy at various levels. The marchers reached Dandi on 5 April 1930 and spent the night in prayer. On 6 April 1930, Gandhiji inaugurated the civil disobedience movement, by picking a handful of salt lying on the beach of Dandi, Gandhiji’s act was a symbolic action and signal the country had been waiting for, the volunteers accompanied Gandhi also picketed salt and the Salt Law was broken. The whole country was stirred by the action of Mahatma Gandhi.

3.4. Spread of the Disobedient Movement in the Country:

Once the way was cleared by Gandhiji at Dandi a Seashore Village in Gujarat, people disregarded the Salt Laws, and other unfair laws every where in the country. In Tamil Nadu, C. Rajagopalachari led a salt march from Trichinopoly to Vedaranniyan on the Tanjore coast. A band of satyagrahis walked all the way from Sylhet in Assam to Noakhali on the Bengal coast to make salt and break the Salt Law of the British. In Andhra, a number of sibirams were set up in different districts to serve as the headquarters of the salt Satyagraha, and some bands of Satyagrahis marched through villages on their way to the coastal centres to defy the law. Jawarharlal Nehru’s arrest on 14 April, for defiance of the Salt Law, was answered with huge demonstrations and clashes with the police in the cities of Madras, Calcutta, Karachi and all other cities in the country. In the Northwest Frontier, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and the Khudai Khidmatgars, popularly known as the Red Shirts, played an extremely active role in the civil disobedience movement. Their political activities contributed to the mass upsurge in Peshawar. The Peshwar demonstrations are significant because it was here that the soldiers of the Garhwali regiments refused to fire on the unarmed crowd, in which the volunteers from various parts of the country were there. Besides, violating the Salt Laws the movement included the boycott of foreign goods and cloth, picketing of shops selling foreign articles and liquor, withholding payment of revenue. Student’s peasants and youths played the most prominent part in the boycott of foreign cloth the liquor shop, dealing with foreign goods. The movement spread to every part and it took many forms. No-tax campaigns were started in Gujarat, Bihar, Bengal and U.P. Defiance of forest laws assumed a mess character in Maharashtra, Karnataka and the Central Province in the country.

3.5. Government Repression and the Suspension of the Movement:

The Viceroy, Irwin ordered the arrest of Gandhiji on 5 May, 1930 there was a massive wave of protest at Gandhiji’s arrest. There were clashes and firing in Calcutta and Delhi. The workers went on strike from 7
May and along with other residents, burnt liquor shops and proceeded to attack all symbols of the British government authority. In order to suppress the civil disobedience movement, the British government passed ordinances demanding securities from the press. The Congress organization was outlawed. Under these ordinances, the government was authorized to confiscate the property of the Congress organizations. The British authorities confiscated lands of the Satyagrahis. The police brutalities against the agitators caused terrible physical and mental damage. There were the following reasons responsible for the suspension of the Civil Disobedience Movement:

1) The Simon Commission Report was published in May 1930. On the basis of this report, the First Round Table Conference was held in London between November, 1930 and January, 1931. Although, the Congress boycotted the Conference, the attention of the Indian people was centered on the outcomes of the Conference in England then the Disobedience Movement in India.

2) The British Government sustained heavy losses to their trade due to the boycott of British goods in the Disobedience Movement. Therefore, the British wanted to compromise with the Leadership of the Movement of the Indian National Congress.

3) Although, Mahatma Gandhi had announced that the Movement would be non-violent but unfortunately due to the provocative repression of the British Government, it turned violent. This changes in the nature of the Movement, greatly hurted the mind of Mahatma Gandhi.

4) The British Government came to the conclusion that the Indian National Congress was the only political organization in Indian, which commanded the public opinion of the people. The Government, therefore, wanted to settle the matter any how and eventually, released all political leaders from the prison in February 1931 paved the way for compromise between the Congress and the Government and the Disobedience Movement was suspended.

4. **Gandhi-Irwin Pact (1931):**

Gandhi-Irwin Pact took place on 5 March 1931. According to this pact, the government agreed to withdraw all ordinances and pending prosecutions against the political workers; release all political prisoners who were not guilty of violence; restore the confiscated property of the Satyagrahis; permit peaceful picketing of shops selling liquor, and foreign goods. In return, Gandhiji agreed to suspend the civil disobedience movement and participate in the Second Round Table Conference held between September and December 1931. He was the only representative of the Congress. However, no agreement could be reached at the Conference. Gandhiji refused the idea of separate electorates for the Muslims, the Sikhs and the Depressed Classes. His demand for the establishment of full responsible government at both centre and the
provinces with immediate effect was not accepted by the British. Disgusted with the attitude of the British and fellow-countrymen, Gandhiji returned to India on 28 December, 1931.

5. The Communal Award (1932):

In August 1932, Ramsay McDonald, the prime minister of England announced the Communal Award. This award specified the number of sets to be allotted to each community in the legislative councils under the new constitutional provisions. Separate electorates were provided for the Muslims, the Europeans, the Sikhs, and the Anglo-Indians. Moreover, the Hindu community was divided into Hindus and Scheduled castes. The Communal Award sought to divide the Hindus by creating separate electorate for the caste Hindus and the Scheduled Castes.

6. The Poona Pact, 1932:

Gandhiji, who was in the Yerwada jail Poona, did not prepare to accept separate electorate for the Scheduled Castes. Realizing that the Communal Award would destroy the growing unity of the country, Gandhiji undertook a fast unto death. Anxious to save the life of Gandhiji, leaders of various parties brought Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Gandhiji to the negotiating table. These discussions led to the famous Poona Pact of 1932. According to a compromise reached between the two, Ambedkar dropped the demand for separate electorate for the Scheduled Castes and accepted certain modifications to the Communal Award. There would be joint electorates for all the Hindus with reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes, which were increased. Under the Poona Pact, although, Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. B.R. Ambedkar agreed to retain joint electorates, the number of reserved seats for the Depressed Classes in the provincial Legislatures was increased from 71, as was allotted by the Communal Award to 148. In the same way, in the Central legislature, around 20 percent seats were reserved for the Depressed Classes. It was further agreed that sufficient representation was to be given to the Depressed Classes in the Local Bodies and the Public Services.

Thus, the unity between the Hindus and the Depressed Classes was retained, which the British Prime Minister, Ramsay Macdonald had tried to disturb through the Communal Award. The ultimate credit goes to Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, who agreed to do away with the separate electorates for the Depressed Classes under the Poona Pact, which was signed between Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Mahatma Gandhi on 26 September, 1932.

7. The Government of India Act:

In order to give effect to the scheme of new political reforms for Indian People, the British Government published a white paper on the basis of the discussions and decisions of the Three Round Table Conferences, the Simon Commission Report, the Nehru Report, the Communal Award and the Poona Pact. The Indian leaders from every
walk of life criticized the White Paper. However the British Government set up a Joint Committee, consisting the representatives of the British Parliament, under the chairmanship of Lord Linlithgow in April 1933. The Government assigned the Committee to examine and report to the Government on that report. The Joint Committee submitted its report to the Government on 11 November, 1934.

Meanwhile, the Civil Disobedience Spirit was withered away up to the month of May, 1934, and all agitations and campaigns were brought to an end. The British Government withdrew some of the ordinances in connection with the movement and freed all political detainees. There was a favorable atmosphere in India and in England. Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of state for India, introduced the Indian Constitution Bill on the Basis of the report submitted by the Joint-Committee. The Bill was introduced on 5 February, 1935, in the House of Commons, which became an Act Subsequently.

The Secretary of State for India drafted a bill, which after being passed by the Parliament, became the Government of India Act, 1935. It came into force form 1 April 1937. The important provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935 were: (1) the Act proposed the formation of an All-India Federation. (2) Bi-Cameral legislature was established at the centre and in each of the six out of eleven provinces. (3) Dyarchy at the provincial level was abolished, but introduced it at the centre (4) the qualification for voting was relaxed. However, only fourteen per cent of the total population of British India got the right to vote., (5) It established a Federal Court with original and appellate jurisdiction (6) A Reserve Bank was established to control currency and maintain fiscal stability of the country. (7) The Act introduced autonomy at the provincial level. However, the Act did not satisfy the Indian people, because all powers were concentrated in the hands of the British Government and the people appointed by them.

8. The Quit India Movement (1942)

Following were the events responsible for the Quit India Movement of 1942:-

8.1. Formation and Resignation of the Congress Ministries 1937-1939:-

Following the elections in January and February 1937, the Congress won absolute majorities in five provinces and was the largest single party in four others. The Congress formed ministries in the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, Madras, and Bombay. Later, Assam and the Northwest frontier Province also came under the Congress rule.

The Congress ministries did useful work in the field of education, welfare of the Depressed Classes, and public health; took
measures to promote agriculture and industries, especially the khadi and village industries: removed restrictions on the press labor unions and Kisan organizations; took measures to improve the condition of the peasants and tenants and also supported the demands of workers for higher wages; followed economy and reduced wasteful expenditure of their departments by reducing their own salaries.

When the Second World War broke out in September 1939, Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy declared that India would enter the war on the side of the British without consulting the elected representatives of the people. The Congress insisted that the British should promise that India would have full freedom to frame her constitution after the war. However, the viceroy repeated the old promise of Dominion Status for India as the final goal. In protest against the viceroy’s stand the Congress ministries submitted their resignation on 1 October 1939, and announced agitation against the British Government.

8.2. The August Offer:

When Germany overran nearly the whole of Western Europe the Congress offered to cooperate in the British war efforts, if the British government accepted the demand for independence and immediately established a provisional national government at the center. The Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow did not accept the Congress demand. However, he did admit for the first time on 8 August 1940 that forming of an Indian constitution was primarily the responsibility of the Indians themselves. But this ‘August Offer’ was too little and too late for the principal Indian parties. Jawaharlal Nehru flatly refused the idea of Dominion Status, on which the August Offer was based. The Muslim League declared that it would not agree with any plan but the Partition of India. The Indian national Congress announced the individual Satyagraha to pressurize the British Government.

8.3. The Cripps Proposals:

In June 1941 the Hitler invaded Soviet Union. In December 1941 the Japanese attacked an American naval base in Hawaii, and the United States entered the war against Japan, Germany and Italy. The continued non-cooperation of the Congress in the British war efforts, pressure from the Chinese President, Chiang Kai Shek and the President of the United States, F.D Roosevelt and the rapid Japanese advance towards India’s eastern borders forced the British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill to send Sir Stafford Cripps, a member of the British War Cabinet to India in March 1942. After consulting with the Indian leaders, Sir Stafford Cripps made the following proposals: Dominion Status would be granted after the end of the Second World War. A Constituent Assembly would be established after the war to frame a new constitution. The Congress rejected the Cripps Proposals. Gandhiji felt that the proposals were like a ‘post-dated’ cheque upon a crashing
bank. He had prepared to accept a long term political scheme but not the interim scheme.

8.4. **The Quit India Resolution**:

The Cripps Mission’s failure plunged the whole country into despondency, which signaled that the British Government never wanted to settle the matter of reforms in India. The Indian leaders began to discuss the next line of action. Mahatma Gandhi determined to start a movement once again, calling upon the British Government to leave India. The movement later came to be known as the Quit India Movement. Many Indian leaders felt the Movement very drastic, when the enemy like Japan was on the threshold and creative panic among the Indians. Gandhiji did not listen to any argument and was resolute on his decision of launching the Movement.

The Congress Working Committee met at Wardha on 14 July, 1942 and adopted the Quit India resolution, calling upon the British to transfer power to Indians immediately. The Congress Working Committee further proposed that if this proposal was not acceptable to the British Government, the Congress would be constrained to use all spirit of non-violent strength to start a direct action, to pressurize the Government to do so. The resolution was preceded by a letter of Mahatma Gandhi to the Chinese Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek, requesting him to mediate in the matter. Pandit Nehru also wrote a similar letter to Madam Chiang Kai Shek. Mahatma Gandhi brought the whole development to the notice of the American President, F.D. Roosevelt by a letter written on 1 July, 1942. Similarly, Chiang Kai Shek also addressed a letter to the American president, in which he requested the President to prevail upon the British Prime Minister to settle the Indian problem to strengthen the forces of the United Nations on a wider scale.

8.5. **The Endorsement of the Quit India Resolution**:

There were many like minded people involved in requested to various authorities to resolve the tangle in India. Some Americans like George Merrel and Colonel Louise Jonson appealed to Roosevelt for intervening between the British Government and the Indian nationalist for favorable result. Accordingly, President Roosevelt tried to bring the Indian matter to the notice of the British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, who very uncannily announced that he did not preside over His Majesty’s first Minister to liquidate the British Empire world over.

The most uncompromising attitude of the British Prime Minister, Churchill left the Indian nationalists with no alternative except launching a massive agitation nationwide. The All India Congress Committee met on the Govalia Tank ground in Nana Chauk, Mumbai on 8 August, 1942, in a historic session, where the Congress endorsed the CWC resolution adopted at Wardha on 14 July, 1942. The AICC with overwhelming
majority passed the historic Quit India, resolution, in which it was announced that the immediate termination of the British rule in India was most urgent for the people of India and to facilitate the success of the United Nations. The continuance of the British Empire in India would further weaken the country. India has inalienable right to freedom and independence. For the protection of that right and development of India, the abolition of the British power in India is absolutely necessary. The AICC, therefore, resolved to start a massive struggle on the widest scale, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. On the passage of the above resolution, the British Government, in order to foil the Congress Movement, arrested all the Congress Leaders including Mahatma Gandhi in the early hours of 9 August, 1942. The British banned the Congress and brought under its control, the offices of the organization. The Indian people were left with no option except actively oppose to the action of the British Government.

8.6. The Quit India Movement Becomes Nationwide:

After the arrest of all Congress leaders, the Indian people openly revolted against the tyranny and suppressive tactics of the British Government. In absence of the Congress leaders, the rank and files spontaneously began to undertake the course of action on their own which paralyzed the administration incredibly. The police firing and arrest of people inflamed the feelings of all people and worsened the situation further. Students, teachers, workers, professors and people from each section of the society joined the Movement against the British. Post offices, railway stations and police station, which were the British authority, were attacked by the people. Telephone wires were cut and communication was totally disrupted. In some parts of the country, nationalist’s people waged guerrilla war against the British. In the states like Maharashtra, Bihar, U.P. and Bengal parallel governments were established. The Nana Patri Government at Satara in Maharashtra was the most popular government during that period. Due to the imprisonment of the leading leaders, leaders like Aruna Asaf Ali, Usha mehata, Jaya Prakash Narayan, Achutrao Patwardhan and Lohia Shouldered the responsibility of leadership and guided the Movement.

8.7. Suppression of the Quite India Movement:

According to Bipin Chandra, in order to suppress the Movement, the British used repressive measures and very brutal tactics, thousands were killed and several thousands were injured seriously in military operations. Police brutality and atrocities became the order of the day. They arrested more than 70,000 people and jailed them in various part of the country. In short, summary sentences of the British brought to an end to the Movement. There was disapproval in certain corners in the country to the Movement.

9. Subhas Chandra Bose and the Indian National Army:
Subhas Chandra Bose, entered the political movement under the leadership of C.R. Das. He was elected Congress president twice. But his differences with Gandhiji and other veteran leaders of the Congress forced him to quit the Congress and form a new party which came to be known as the Forward Bloc.

Subhas Chandra Bose was arrested by the British in July 1940. On 5 December 1940 he was released and confined to his Calcutta residence. The next month he went to Germany via Moscow. Hitler received him with honour and agreed to help him. In 1943 Subhas Chandra crossed the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean in submarine and reached Japan. After some time Subhas Chandra Bose went to Singapore. There he took charge of the Indian National Army (INA), which had been raised by the efforts of Rash Behari Bose, an Indian revolutionary who had gone to Japan in 1915. Rash Behari Bose prevailed upon the Japanese to raise an army of Indian patriots from the prisoners of war. After taking the charge of the INA; Subhas Chandra Bose came to be styled as Netaji. He reorganized the army and infused new life into it. At the same time he inaugurated the government of Free India at Singapore, which was acknowledged by both Germany and Japan. He gave war cry such as Delhi chalo, Jai Hind and you give me blood and I will give you freedom. The Indian National Army advanced up to the eastern borders of Assam and in 1944 it reached Kohima (Nagaland) and hoisted the Indian national flag. After the British victory in Burma, the INA disintegrated and with the defeat and surrender of Japan the INA also surrendered to the British in August 1945. On 23 August 1945, a report was circulated to the effect that Subhas Candra Bose had been killed in a plane accident.

In November 1945 INA officers P.K. Shegal, Shah Nawaz Khan and G.S. Dhillon were put on trial at Red Fort by the British for fighting against the state. A leading Indian lawyer, Bhulabhai Desai acted as the defense counsel. The military court found them guilty and sentenced them to death. However, due to widespread public resentment the government suspended the sentence of the above armed leaders of Subhas Chandra Bose.

10. SUMMARY:-

After the failure of the non-cooperation movement, the Congress was divided into two groups, those who were in favour of the boycott of the Legislatures and those who wished to enter the legislative councils and wreck them from within. Although, the later group founded their own party known as the Swaraj Party, did not survive for a long time. As per the Government of India Act, 1919, The British Government appointed a Commission under the Chairmanship of sir John Simon to review the reforms in India. However, not a single out of six members was an Indian included in the Commission. Indian, therefore, did not cooperate with the Commission. As per the challenge
of the Secretary of State for India, the Congress appointed a committee under the Chairmanship of Motilal Nehru to draft a constitution to which all parties would agree. The Committee submitted its report to the Government on 10th August, 1928. The Nehru Report stated that the next step for India must be the Dominion Status as Canada and Australia enjoyed. The Report rejected separate electorate but provided for the protection of minorities through a system of reservations. The Congress demanded that the Government should accept the report before 31 December, 1929. The British Government failed to respond to the Congress. Pandit Nehru was elected the President of the Lahore session of the Congress. It was in this session that the resolution declaring complete independence for India was adopted on 30 December, 1929 and decided that 26 January, 1930 should be observed as the day of Poorna Swaraj.

The Lahore Congress session of 1929 had authorised the Congress Working Committee to start a programme of Civil Disobedience to which Mahatma Gandhi was put incharge. Gandhiji decided to begin the campaign with a march from his Sabarmati ashram to the seaside village, Dandi. On reaching the coast of Dandi, Gandhi would break the salt Law by collecting salt from the beach. Beside this he asked the Satyagrahis to picket shops selling foreign cloths and Liquor, refuse to pay taxes, boycott courts and resign from the governemtn posts. However, he asked them to observe non-violence. The movement spread to every part of the country. It assumed a mass character in every state of the country. The Government repressed the movement with stern action.

Gandhi-Irwin pact was signed in 1931. Gandhiji as well as the Govt. agreed to certain demands, including Gandhis attendance to the Round Table Conferances. Accordingly, Gandhiji attended the second Round Table Conference but nothing concreate could come out. In August, 1932 Ramsay Mcdonald, the Prime Minister of England announced the Communal Award, Gandhiji protested against the communal award. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar’s initiative led to the passage of the Poona pact of 1932. After the Third Round Table Conference, the Government of India Act of 1935 was passed. The Act provided for the elections. The Congress Ministries come to power in majority states in 1937. When the world war II broke out in 1939, Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy, declared that India would entre the war on the side of the British without consulting the Congress Ministries. This led the ministries to resign on 10 October, 1939. The Congress wanted to cooperate the British in the war, if the British Government accepted the demand for independence, but the British did not respond favorably. This led the Congress to start the quit India movement in 1942 and passed the famous Quit India resolution. The movement spread through out the country on 9 August 1942, when the news of arrest of all Congress leaders reached to them. The British Government resorted to brutality,
killed several thousands and arrested more than 70,000 people throughout the country. Repressive measures of the British suppressed the Quit India Movement.

11. ADDITION READING:-


12. QUESTIONS:-

1. Examine the events leading to the Civil Disobedience Movement.

2. Give brief account of the Civil Disobedience Movement.

3. Discuss in brief the events leading to the Quit India Movement.

4. Present a brief overview of the Civil Disobedient Movement of 1930.

5. Review the role of Mahatma Gandhi in the freedom struggle of India.
1. OBJECTIVES:

After studying this unit the student will be able to:

a) Know the Rajaji Formula and provisions in it.

b) Understand the failure of Simla conference.

c) Comprehend the Wavell plan.

d) Know the Cabinet Mission and Provision in it.

e) Understand the Direct Action Day and the Interim Government under Nehru.

f) Know the Mountbatten plan and its features.

g) Comprehend the circumstances that led to the freedom & partition and passage of The Indian Independence Act of 1947.

2. INTRODUCTION:

In 1939, second Word War broke out and the Congress Ministries resigned to protest against British Government’s decision to make India a participant in the war without consulting them. The system established by the Act of 1935, which remained in operation hardly for 2 years. British government had no time to attend the demands of Indian leadership but wanted that Indians should extend their unqualified support to the British. On the other hand, Indians were not ready to trust the British government. They remember that they had given unqualified support to the British during the World War I and in return they got Jallinwala Bagh tragedy. Thus the British sense of Justice which Gandhiji had full faith was now non-existent and had been fully shaken.

The Muslims had put forth a demand for a separate state for Muslims. The League said that culturally and socially Muslims were different from the Hindus, and under any circumstance the Hindus would not look after the Muslim interests. Meanwhile the British government tried to establish that congress movement which believed in non-violence become violent. Gandhiji denied the Government Charges that the Congress organization was in league with the Japanese aggressors, he requested to investigate
them when, the demand was not met. He went on fast from February 10, 1944. His health began to deteriorated. He therefore, was released from the jail on May 6, 1944.

3. Failure of Rajaji’s Formula :-

Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, popularly known as ‘Rajaji’, the congress leader of Madras, put forward his proposal. He was of the opinion that the only way out to the communal deadlock was to accept the League’s demand for a separate state. Gandhiji disapproved it. The AICC rejected the Rajaji plan by a large margin. The AICC passed another resolution stating that any proposal to disintegrate India by giving liberty to any component state or territorial unit to secede from the Indian Union will be highly detrimental to the interests of the people of the different states and provinces and the country as a whole. The Congress, therefore, could not agree to any such proposal.

A year later Rajaji put forward his formula to Jinnah saying that it had Gandhiji’s approval, Rajaji’s formula accepted the principle of Pakistan. In exchange for the League’s supporting the Indian demand for independence, and pledging cooperation with the congress in the formation of a provisional interim government. According to this formula the contiguous districts’ would be demarcated in the northwest and east of India where the Muslim population was in absolute majority. Plebiscites would be held on the basis of adult suffrage in order to decide the issue of separation from Hindustan. Any transfer of population would be on voluntary basis.

3.1. Some important provisions of the formula were :-

3.1.1) The Muslim League should accept India’s demand for independence.

3.1.2) It should co-operate with the Congress, in the formation of an Interim Government.

3.1.3) As soon as the hostilities were over, a commission would be set up to demarcate Muslim majority areas. Thereafter plebiscite would be held on the basis of adult franchise in the areas to decide the issue of separation from Hindustan.

3.1.4) Before the plebiscite every political party would be given the fullest opportunity to express its view point before the people.

3.1.5) In case some provinces wanted separation an agreement would be signed with them about defense, commerce and communication, etc.

3.1.6) There would be no use of force in transfer of population if at all that became unavoidable & that would be on voluntary basis.
3.1.7) These terms would be binding only, if Britain transferred power to India in toto.

Jinnah, however, did not agree to the formula and put forth such terms & conditions which were absolutely unacceptable to the Congress. But the effects of the formula were significant. The Hindus of Panjab & Bengal were disappointed to be a part of an Islamic state. In the words of Menon, “ The offer was calculated only to strengthen Jinnah’s hands & further the cause of Muslim League.

3.2 Failure of Simla Conference :-

Gandhiji & Jinnah met in September 1944 at Bombay in order to find a way out of the deadlock prevailing in the country. The negotiations continued for three weeks, but no agreement could be arrived at. The two leaders parted saying they would meet again. Lord Wavell said of the talks that Jinnah declined to answer awkward questions.

To bring about an understanding between the Congress and the Muslim League, the Desai-Liaquat pact between Bhulabhai Desai, the leader of the Congress party in the Central Legislative Assembly and Liaquat Alikhan, the deputy leader of the Muslim League in the same Assembly was worked out. Though the Pact had the approval of Gandhiji, Jinnah said that the Desai-Liaquat pact was done without the authorization from the Muslim League. Lord Wavell decided to break the impasse between the Congress & the Muslim League and summoned the Simla Conference on 25 June 1945. The Congress insisted that being a national organization it must have Muslim as well as Hindu representatives in the proposed new Executive Council. However, Jinnah insisted that the League alone had the right to nominate the Muslims to the Executive Council. The Congress working Committee prepared a list of fifteen names, but Jinnah informed that Muslim League should have the right to choose the entire Muslim membership of the Executive Council. However, the Simla Conference ended without any success.

3.3. The Wavell Plan :-

Lord Wavell came to India as viceroy and Governor-General. He had a very long association with India and worked with Cripps in India. He gave his plan on July 19, 1945. There were several causes responsible for giving his plan by 1945. It was amply clear that Indians were sufficiently awakened and mere jugglery of words would not satisfy them. Therefore, it was decided to give them something concrete. The war situation in 1945 had considerably changed in favour of the Allied powers.

After the W.W.II Churchill was not considered a suitable Prime Minister for the reconstruction work. He, wanted to prove that the problem which stood in the way of constitutional development in India was the differences between the two major religious communities, the Hindus and the Muslims. Under these circumstances Lord Wavell submitted his plan to India. Some of the important provisions of the plan were as under :-
3.3.1) Executive Council of the Viceroy should be reconstituted and expanded with the Indian members except the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief.

3.3.2) The Executive Council should be equally represented by the Muslims and the Hindus.

3.3.3) The Governor – General would sparingly use his veto power.

3.3.4) A British High Commissioner would be appointed to look after the Indian Commercial interests in other dominions.

3.3.5) Indians should frame their own constitution not withstanding any contingent in this scheme.

3.3.6) Secretary of state would interfere in Indian affairs only in the interest of the Indians.

Lord Wavell invited the Indian leaders to discuss the scheme, between 29 June, and 14 July 1945 but ultimately failed. Lord Wavell declared that, This was a matter which should be decided by the Congress and the Muslim League and it would not be proper for the government to enforce a decision on any party.

The Wavel plan exposed the strategy of Jinnah. It was clear that the Communal politics was the prime object of the League. The British government was not keen to give the self – government to India. Maulna Azad writes that, The Simla Conference marks a break down in Indian political history. This was for the first time that negotiations failed not on the basic political issued between India and British but on the communal issues. Similarly K.P. Menon also writes, that the Simla Conference offered last opportunity to the force of nationalism to fight a rear guard action to preserve the integrity of the country and when the battle was lost the waves of communalism quickly engulfed it only the Hobson’s choice of partition was left.

4. The Cabinet Mission (1946) :-

In 1945, the Labor Party under the prime ministership of Clement Atlee came to power. Lord Wavell was summoned to London for consultations. After his return to India, he declared that the government had decided to hold elections to the central and provincial legislatures. Towards the end of 1945 general elections were held. The Muslim League won all the thirty Muslim seats to the Central Assembly and the Congress had won fifty-seven seats. The British government sent the Cabinet Mission to India in March 1946 to establish a national government and work out constitutional arrangement for the transfer of power to the Indian hands.

The Cabinet Mission wanted an undivided Union of India, which would consist of all the British provinces and princely states. Hence, the idea of Pakistan was clearly rejected by the Cabinet Mission. The Mission
was convinced that the partition would create many serious problems in defense, communications, and other areas. The provinces were to be classified into three groups. The Muslim League at first accepted the Canbinat Mission Plan because it provided for a weak centre and Muslim majority provinces. In the cabinet Mission Plan, Jinnah saw an opportunity to achieve his dream of Pakistan. The Congress accepted the cabinet mission plan partially.

4.1 The Cabinet Mission had the following characteristics:

4.1.1) There should be Union of India, which would consist of all the Indian states.

4.1.2) The proposed Union should deal with subjects like Foreign Affairs, defense Communication and raise funds for running the government.

4.1.3) The Union should have executive and legislature which would accept the representatives from the British India and Indian states.

4.1.4) Every major communal issue should be decided by a majority vote of the representatives of both communities.

4.1.5) All other subjects should be vested in the provinces.

4.1.6) The states themselves would decide the subjects which to be surrendered to the Union.

4.1.7) The provinces should be free to form their own groups and the group should have a separate executive and legislature.

4.1.8) There was a provision for the revision of constitution after every ten years.

4.1.9) Cabinet Mission had a provision for a Constituent Assembly for India. It was provided that in the proposed Constituent Assembly each province would be given representation on the basis of its population.

4.1.10) Each province should send representatives on the basis of population of each community in the province.

4.1.11) There would be three classes of electorates as General, Muslims and Sikhs.

4.1.12) It was hoped that India would continue to remain a member of the commonwealth; but the decision would be entirely her own.

4.1.13) A treaty would be signed between the Constituent Assembly and the British government giving effect to the transter of power.

4.1.14) Till the Constituent Assembly come into existence there should be a provision was for the interim government of 14 members as 6 of the Congress, 5 of the Muslim League & one each of the Indian Christians, the Sikhs & the Parsees.

4.1.15) After the transter of power the paramountcy over Indian states would come to an end.
4.1.16) The total strength of the Constituent Assembly was fixed to 292 from Indian Provinces.

The Cabinet Mission also provided that the representatives of the Indian provinces for the Constituent Assembly would represent on the basis of proportional representation from the provincial assemblies by transferable vote.

4.2 Critical Appraisal of the Plan :- Although the Cabinet Mission Plan was not accepted by India, it had very long lasting impact. In the words of Gandhiji. It was the best document that the British government produced in the circumstances. In the words of Maulana Azad, the acceptance of Cabinet Mission Plan by both Congress and Muslim League, was a glorious event in the history of freedom movement of India. The plan was a sincere effort on the part of British government to solve India’s constitutional deadlock. It was made amply clear that the partition of India was not a feasible solution to the problem of Indian minorities. Both Lord Patrick Lawrence and Sir Stafford Cripps repeatedly said that they could not see Pakistan, as envisaged by Muslim League, could be viable and stable. The grouping formula was to satisfy the muslims because Group ‘B’ and ‘C’ contained predominantly Muslim majority provinces. Thus to a large extent the Muslim demand was already met.

The plan provided that all representatives were to be Indians. Similarly in the interim government all portfolios were to be handled by Indians. The constituent Assembly was made a sovereign body and Indian states were to represent according to their population. The scheme was important because the Princely states were not allowed to nominate their representatives on the Constituent Assembly. This was a major change the states were concerned.

With the merits, the Cabinet Plan had some demerits also; which should not be undermined. Under the scheme very few subjects were with the centre, even residuary power were given to the provinces. A vast country like India should have a strong Centre. That was a great blow to India’s unity. The provinces were divided into groups on the basis of religion and the each group was given full autonomy to frame its own constitution. The constitution, which the Assembly was to give was not to be a permanent document. It was to change after every 10 years.

The plan was very vague. It was not clear whether it was compulsory for the provinces to join the proposed federation. In fact, the several articles of the proposed plan as 15(5), 19(8) and 19(15) were self contradictory.

The Constituent Assembly, under the scheme was undemocratic because its members were to be elected community wise in the province.

A major drawback in the plan was that the states were given liberty to join the Indian Union. Thus, it was designed disunited rather than united India.
The Sikhs were against the plan because their interests had not been protected and they were absolutely left at the mercy of the Muslims in Punjab.

The plan was rigid. Because it was to be accepted or rejected in Toto. There was no scope for modification of the plan. The plan provided for interim government. However there was no fixed duration of the Interim government to be in the office.

Since, the Congress had not given right to send any Muslim representative, that threw away the national character on the Congress.

5. Direct Action Day :-

Under the Cabinet Mission Plan the representation on the basis of national character of the Congress had been challenged. The result was that the Congress declined the offer of the viceroy to join the interim government on June 16, 1946 the viceroy issued a statement inviting the leaders of major political parties to join interim government. Muslim League, agreed to joined the viceroy, however, felt that a government, which did not include Congress representatives could not be a successful and decided to postpone the formation of the interim government till Congress agreed to join it. On 26 June, 1946 viceroy wrote to Jinnah that, *Since the Congress and the Muslim league had now accepted the statement of 16th May it was the intention of the Cabinet Mission & the viceroy to form a Coalition Government including both the parties as soon as possible. In view, however, of long negotiations which had already taken place and since we all had other work to do, we felt that it would be better to have a short interval before proceeding with further negotiations for the formation of an interim government.* Meanwhile the Cabinet Mission left for England on June 29, 1946.

No sooner, the Cabinet Mission left for England, Jinnah asked Lord Wavell to invite the Muslim League to form the interim government. But Lord Wavell refused to oblige him. Further, in the elections held for the Constituent Assembly, the Congress won 199 of the 210 general seats. The Muslim League bagged 73 of the 78 Muslim seats. Jinnah argued that the Congress having support of 211 members out of the total strength of 296 would place the Muslims at their mercy. Under these circumstances, Jinnah demanded two Constitution-making bodies and the Muslim League withdrew its acceptance of the cabinet Mission plan and observed 16 August 1946 as ‘Direct Action Day’ with violence, looting and burning the houses of the Hindus and killing innocent Hindu men, women and children.

6. The Congress Joins the Interim Government :-

The Congress, accepted proposals of the Viceroy and accordingly Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru was invited to form the government. All efforts to bring the Muslim League in the interim government were miserably failed. On
September 2, 1946 interim government came to power. Finding Congress and other parties in power, Jinnah agreed on October 13, 1946 to join the government to get a foot hold to fight for the cherished goal of Pakistan and create as many obstructions as possibly, since the League was not cooperating with the Congress and the question of collective responsibility was not in existence.

British government was, keen to transfer the power to the Indians as early as possible. The Prime Minister Atlee made a statement in the House of Commons that British would leave India by June, 1948. He also made it clear that if Indian leadership did not come to any compromise by this date, British government would decide the authority whether the one central authority or the provinces to whom the power could be transferred. The Muslim League tried to topple governments in NWFP, Assam and Punjab. The Congress Party, appreciated the decision of the British government to leave India and mentioning nothing about the partition of the country. Gandhiji said, “so long I am alive, I will never agree to the partition of India nor will I, if I can help it allow Congress to accept it.” But subsequently leaders persuaded him to accept the partition of India. Thus, the Muslim League which followed the pressure tactics and policy of communal disharmony seemed reaching its goal.

7. **Mountbatten Plan:**

Lord Mountbatten came to India in March, 1946 with clear instructions to transfer the power to Indians as quickly as possible. He was convinced that partition was no solution to India’s constitutional problem. After meeting all Indian leaders he went to England in May 1947. He came back to India on June 3, 1947 and unfolded his plan of solving problem. Dr. Ishwari Prasad is of the view that role of convincing Congress leadership to accept partition was that of Lady Mountbatten. In his own words, “By remarkable adaptability of character and pleasing manners, she won the hearts of all the great adversaries of the land.” Gandhiji even at this late stage wrote in the Harijan that the demand for partition of India was both un-Islamic and sinful. He further said that, they might cut me to pieces but they could not make me subscribe to something which I consider wrong. Dorothy Norman is of the view that partition proposal of Lord Mountbatten matured because the negotiation work was carried on by Nehru and Patel.

**7.1 Salient Features of the Scheme were as under:**

7.1.1) There should be two legislative Assemblies, one for the Hindu and the other for the Muslim dominated areas and each Assembly would decide whether it wished partition or not.

7.1.2) If either of the province opted for partition it would decide whether it would like to join the already established Constituent Assembly which would consist of representatives of those areas which decided not to participate.
7.1.3) The province of Sind would decide whether it would like to join Constituent Assembly.

7.1.4) Area of Sylhet would decide by referendum whether it would continue to remain Part of Assam or join East Bengal, which would form part of Pakistan.

7.1.5) A referendum would be held in NWFP to decide whether the province would like to join India or Pakistan.

7.1.6) British Baluchistan would also be given right to decide whether this chief Commissioners province would like to stay in India or join newly born state of Pakistan.

7.1.7) In case majority areas of Bengal ; Assam and Punjab decided for partition of their respective province then a boundary commission would be set up to demarcate the boundary.

7.1.8) Both India and Pakistan would be given dominion status.

In accordance with the plan separate Assemblies where necessary were convened. Punjab and Bengal opted for partition, whereas sylhet decided to join East Bengal. Referendum was held in NWFP which decided to join Pakistan. All India Congress Committee, Sikh Conference and Muslim League all accepted the plan. Since Bengal & Punjab opted for partition, boundary commission under sir Cyril Radcliffe was set up to demarcate the boundaries.

8. Freedom and Partition :-

The Congress leadership was all along against the partition of India and Gandhiji had gone to the extent that ‘India would be partitioned on his dead body’. For this one important reason, during those critical days of negotiations the leadership went to Pt. Nehru and Sardar Patel. According to the author of “Freedom at midnight” Congress leadership did not know that Jinnah was suffering from the tuberculosis. Had even Lord Mountbatten known this, perhaps the tragedy would not have occurred. The Congress leadership, tried to avoid the civil war in the country. It also hoped that after the partition India and Pakistan would live as peaceful neighbours and concentrate on improving the economic condition of the people.


Once the partition scheme was agreed by major political parties, the stage was set for the introduction of the Independence Bill in the House of Commons, it was done on July 4, 1947. This was the culmination of India’s struggle against the colonialism and imperialism. It was also the victory of the communal forces in the national struggle, because the Act provided for the partition of India and formation of independent and sovereign state of Pakistan.

The main provisions of Indian Independence Act of 1947 were as under :-

9.2) India would be divided into two sovereign states of India and
9.3) The power previously exercised by the British government in India would be transferred to these states.

9.4) Punjab and Bengal would be divided and its territories would be demarcated by a boundary commission headed by Sir Cyril Radcliff.

9.5) Office of the Secretary of state for India would be abolished.

9.6) Provision was made for the Governor-General for each Dominion, who was to be appointed by the Queen of England on the advice of the Dominion. He was not to act in his individual judgment or discretion but was to act merely as constitutional head of the State.

9.7) Each Dominion was to have a sovereign legislature. No law made by British Parliament would automatically be applied to India.

9.8) A Bill passed by the Legislature could not be disallowed by His majesty.

9.9) Both Dominions would have their own Constituent Assemblies, which would act as legislatures.

9.10) Till the Constitution is framed by the constituent Assembly. It would work on the basis of the Act of 1935.

9.11) Government of the provinces would act as constitutional heads of the states.

9.12) Those civil service personnel who wanted to resign after the transfer of power were allowed to do so.

9.13) Paramountcy of Britain over Indian states was to come to an end on 15th August, 1947. The states were to decide whether they would like to join India or Pakistan.

9.14) Relations between the British government and India would be governed through the Commonwealth.

9.15) The king of England was to drop the title of Emperor of India.

9.16) The territories of Pakistan were to include Eastern Bengal, Western Pakistan, Sind and British Baluchistan and the NWFP.

The Act brought India on the threshold of new era where both the Dominions were to share their responsibilities without any super power. Lord Attlee said in the House of Commons that, “It is the culminating point in a long course of events.” Lord Samuel called it a treaty of peace without war. The Hindustan Times characterized it as the noblest, and the greatest law ever enacted by British Parliament. Dr. Rajendra Prasad in his India Divided says, “The period of domination of British over India ends today and our own relationship with Britain is henceforth going to rest on a basis of equality, of mutual good and mutual profit.”

Although, the Act provided for the freedom of India it was unfortunate that the people of both the dominions had to undergo untold sufferings and miseries after the partition of the country. It was a period in which inhuman deeds were committed in the name of religion. As a matter of fact, Britain left more than 567 independent Indian states. It
needed a person of determination and far-sightedness like Sardar Patel to merge them with Indian Union.

10. SUMMARY :-

Although, the Quit India Movement failed due to lack of proper organization and the total absence of leaders; it produced two important consequences. As in the first was that the Quit India Movement was a rendition of India’s anger against the British rule and her firm resolution to get rid of the imperialist administrations. The second was that the movement convinced the British that they should leave India the earlier. It was the matter of time and adjustment between the Congress and the Muslim League. The Muslim league was against the creation of one single Indian Union. The League was apprehensive that if one single Union was created the creation of another Union for Muslims might become impossible. Hence, the Muslim League started threatening civil war in case, Pakistan was not created. The leaders of the Muslim League began to use the students of the Aligarh Muslim University to carry on propaganda in favor of Pakistan.

Rajigopalachari, the Congress leader of Madras put forward his proposal, in which he advised the Congress to accept the League’s demand for a separate state and break the communal tangle. But the Congress rejected the Rajaji’s plan by a large margin. Gandhi-Jinnah talk of 1944 and Desai Loquat Pact of 1945 also could not unravel the deadlock. Viceroy, Lord Wavell summoned a conference of all political leaders at Simla on 25 June, 1945 to select the members of his new Executive Council. The Conference, however, was failed due to the stubborn attitude of M.A. Jinnha.

The next development was that the Cabinet Mission, under Lord Pethick Lawrence who came to India on 24 March, 1946 and presented a plan, known as the Cabinet Mission plan. The plan was a compromise between the League demand for Pakistan and the Congress demand of a single Indian Union. The Muslim League rejected the Congress demand and decided to observe the Direct Action Day on 16 August, 1946. On that day around 5000 Hindus lost their lives and about 15000 people were injured seriously in Calcutta. After the communal riots in Noakhali and Bihar, the Muslim League joined the Interim government, which was formed under Nehru on 2nd September 1946. However, the Interim Government failed miserably, due to the negative attitude of the Muslim League.

The League launched a campaign for her demand of Pakistan. It boycotted the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly in December, 1946. Meanwhile, the Labour Government of Lord Atlee, declared on 20 February, 1947 that the British government would transfer power into Indian hands by June 1948. Lord Mountbatten replaced wavell as the Viceroy of India. As soon as he came to India, Lord Mountbatten, held
discussions with the leaders of the major political parties in the country. He tried to revive the Cabinet Mission plan with Jinnah in order to retain the unity of India. But Jinnah was insistent on a separate state for the Muslims. Mountbatten came to conclusion that partition of the country was the only solution to the deadlock and save the country from the communal holocaust. He convinced the Congress about the inevitability of the partition and unfolded his plan. The Mountbatten plan sought to transfer power on the basis of the Dominion status to two successor states, India and Pakistan, and proposed the partition of the provinces of Punjab and Bengal representing the predominantly Muslim and the Hindu areas. Both the Congress and the Muslim League accepted the plan. In order to execute the Mountbatten plan, the Indian Independence Bill was introduced in the British Parliament on 4 July, 1947 and was passed on 18 July, 1947. The Indian Independence Act of 1947, provided for the partition of the country into two Dominions of India and Pakistan from 15 August, 1947. Till the new Constitution was framed for each Dominion, the Indian Independence Act made the existing Constituent Assemblies of India and Pakistan, the Dominion Legislatures. At midnight on 14-15 August, 1947 the British rule in India came to an end and the political power was formally transferred to the two new Dominions of India and Pakistan. M.A. Jinnah was declared as the Governor General of Pakistan. Thus, Pakistan became a reality, the freedom struggle, which began with the foundation of the Indian National Congress in 1885, came to an end on 15 August, 1947.

11. ADDITIONAL READINGS :-

1) S. Gopal, Jawaharlal Nehru – A Biography, Vol-I.
3) Partha Sarathi Gupta, Imperial strategy and Transfer of power, 1939-1951.

12. QUESTIONS :-

1) Examine the developments between 1942 of 1945.
2) Write a critique on the Wavell Plan.
3) Discuss the main provisions of the Cabinet Mission Plan.

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THE NEHRU ERA – 1947-1964

Features of the Indian constitution:

1. OBJECTIVES:

   After reading this unit the student will be able to:

1. Know the immediate problems, which India faced.
2. Understand the making of the Indian constitution.
3. Explain the unique and outstanding features of the constitution of India.
4. Know the fundamental rights of the Indian people and the guiding principles of the state policy.

2. INTRODUCTION:

   The Indian Independence Act, 1947 partitioned India into two Dominions of India and Pakistan, and gave the Indian Princely States the freedom to join either of the two Dominions or to remain independent, with effect from August 15, 1947. The pleasure and happiness of the achievement of independence was diluted by the pains and sorrows of partition. The consequent communal riots, exodus of Hindus from Pakistan to India and of Muslims from India to Pakistan creating most baffling problems for India. The problems, which India faced soon after the independence are briefed as under

2.1. Communal Riots:

   When Sir Cyril Radcliffe, the Chairman of Boundary Commissions for the partition of the Punjab and Bengal announced his award on 17 August, 1947 for the partition of Punjab neither the Muslims nor the Sikhs were pleased with it. The Sikhs bitterly resented the loss of Lahore and the rich colonial lands. The Muslims strongly protested the retention of Mandi hydro-electric project by East Punjab. The partition of Punjab boiled the blood of both the Muslims and the Sikhs. Nearly forty per cent of the Sikh community was rendered homeless because of the partition of the Punjab and the Muslims ruthlessly kicked them out to India. Well–armed bands of fanatic Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus ransacked each other and massacred old & young in cold blood. Horrifying atrocities, violence, arson, looting, massacre, abduction and rape became the order of the day.
Amidst this raging storm of emotion and communal riots and rivalries, Mahatma Gandhi immediately rushed to the ravaged Noakhali Bihar and Calcutta as a messenger of peace, to heal the wounds of the sufferers and extinguish the flames of communal passion with his message of universal love and fellow feeling. Foreign observers noted that Gandhiji achieved what many battalions of troops would have failed in restoring amity. His very presence in Bengal on 14 August 1947, saved the repetition of the communal horrors of 1946, All national leaders struggled hard to extinguish the flame of communal conflagration and restore fraternity among the people.

2.2. The Refugee Problem:-

Towards the end of August, 1947, there began one of the most horrifying mass-migration in the history of mankind. People both from towns and villages, left their homes and all their belongings behind. Whatever they could carry with them, they migrated to India. Lakhs of people were attacked on roads and massacred, the refugee trains were derailed and passengers were murdered in cold blood. Thousands of women and girls were abducted. Both countries governments did their best to evacuate the refugees with minimum inconvenience to them but found it almost impossible. The camps were set up in Delhi, where one lakh Muslims took refuge. It is said that up to 29th October 1947 around 8, 49,000 non-Muslims migrated to India.

Till the major wave of migration was over around eighty lakh refugees came to India form Pakistan, who created most baffling problems of housing, feeding, clothing, medical and sanitation. The Government of India undertook the task of rehabilitation. The urgent needs as food grains and vaccines were rushed by air, motor transport and railways.

Lands and loans were granted to refugees to enable them to start their lives afresh. The camps were also set up in cities like Bombay, Delhi and Ahmedabad and some cities were expanded and attached to the old towns.

In addition to this around 8, 50,000 Muslims came to India, from West Bangal. The Indians resented strongly and demanded the Government to eject the trespassers. The Government of India tried its level best to resolve the problem.

2.3. Assassination of Mahatma Gandhi:-

Mahatma Gandhi the Father of nation did his level best to promote reconciliation between the Hindus and the Muslims in the country. After the communal harmony was restored in Calcutta in September, 1947, Mahatma Gandhi rushed to Delhi, where mass murder and destruction of property were under taken to terrorize the Muslims to leave the city. Gandhiji’s public prayer in Delhi, had a powerful
effect, but when fresh refugees poured in, with stories of communal holocaust in Pakistan caused further up-heavals.

As per the Indo-Pakistani Accord of 1947 India was to pay Rs. 55 crores to Pakistan. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel took a firm stand against the payment to Pakistan until the withdrawal of Pakistani raiders from Kashmir. India feared that Pakistan would use the money to strengthen her military position against Kashmir, hence, withheld the payment. Mahatma Gandhi did not like the stand of India and insisted on payment of the money to Pakistan. And went on fast, declaring that he undertook it on behalf of the Indian Muslims. When the Government, including Sardar Patel, finally yielded, Ghandiji broke his fast. This friendliness of Mahatma Gandhi towards the Muslims cost his life. Gandhi was assassinated by Nathuram Godse in Birla House at New Delhi during his daily public prayer on 30 January, 1948.

The assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, the embodiment of the hopes and aspirations of the people of India, caused a profound shock and grief to the people of India. Nehru was overwhelmed with sorrow and said: that the light had gone out of our lives and there was darkness everywhere.

3. Making of the Constitution of India:-

3.1. The Constituent Assembly:-

The Cabinet Mission of 1946 had proposed to call a Constituent Assembly, through which the Indians themselves could draft a constitution. As per the scheme, the Constituent Assembly would be elected by the Provincial Legislative Assemblies. The number of representatives allotted to each province and community was to be proportional to its population. The Constituent Assembly was to have 389 members. Of these, 296 were to be from British India and 93 from the princely states. The Congress acquired 208 seats, the Muslim League won 73 out of 78 Muslim seats. In order to have a wider base, the Congress Working Committee had advised the Provincial Congress Committees to include representatives from minority communities such as Scheduled Castes, Parsees, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, tribals and women in the Congress list for the general category.

The Constituent Assembly held its first meeting on 9 December 1946. At Nehru’s insistence, the oldest member of the Assembly, Dr. Sachidanand Sinha was chosen as the provisional president of the Constituent Assembly. The first session of the Constituent Assembly was attended by 207 members. On 11 December, Dr Rajendra Prasad was elected the president of the Constituent Assembly. On 13 December,
Jawaharlal Nehru moved the Objectives resolution, which was passed in January 1947. The third session of the Constituent Assembly was held from 28 April to 2 May 1947. The Muslim League, kept herself aloof from the Constituent Assembly. On 3 June 1947, the Mountbatten Plan was announced, which contained the proposal for the partition of India. This completely changed the Constituent Assembly.

3.2. The Prominent Members of the Constituent Assembly:– The members of the Constituent Assembly were indirectly elected by those who themselves were elected on the basis of the proportional representation by means of a single transferable vote. The Assembly was a galaxy of great leaders, able statesmen, experienced administrators and eminent jurists. The prominent members were Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, Sardar Patel, Maulana Azad, Gopalswami Ayyangar, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, K.M. Munshi, Puroshottamdas Tandon, T.T. Krishnamachari, Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyer, K.T. Shah, Masani, Acharya Kripalani, Dr. B.R Ambedkar, Dr. Radhakrishnan and Dr, Sachchidananda Sinha.

3.3. The Sessions of the Constituent Assembly:– The first session of the Constituent Assembly was held in New Delhi on 9 December, 1946, under the temporary Chairmanship of Dr. Sachchidanada Sinha. On 11 December, 1946, Dr. Rajendra Prasad was elected its permanent Chairman.

On 16 July, 1947 Lord Mountbatten announced the partition of the country and the setting up of a separate Constituent Assembly for Pakistan.

The 14 August, 1947 session of the Constituent Assembly was of immense importance in the constitutional history of India, because the Constituent Assembly met as a sovereign body in the real sense of the term under the Indian Independence Act, 1947.

3.4. The Draft Committee of the Constituent Assembly:– The Constituent Assembly set up, on 29 August, 1947 a Drafting Committee consisting of seven members namely Dr. B.R. Ambedkar as its Chairman, and Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, Dr. K.N. Munshi, M. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar, N. Madhava Rau, Saiyed Mohammad Sadulla and D.P. Khaitan as its members to prepare a draft Constitution, which was published in January, 1948 for the consideration and suggestions of the public. On 26 November, 1949, the new Constitution was adopted and signed by Dr. Rajendra Prasad as the President of the Constituent Assembly. The Constituent Assembly held 11 sessions and was in existence for 2 years, 11 months and 18 days. It brought the Constitution into force on 26 January, 1950.

4. Features of the Constitution of India:–
The basic features of the Indian Constitution are the supremacy of the Constitution, the republican and democratic form of government, the secular character of the Constitution, the separation of powers between the legislature, executive and the judiciary and the federal structure. Some of the other features of the Indian Constitution are the objectives specified in the Preamble the balance between Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles. The principles of free and fair elections, freedom and dignity of the individual, unity and integrity of the nation, the principle of equality, the concept of social and economic justice, independence of judiciary and judicial review. The Preamble states that the people of India in the Constituent Assembly made a solemn resolve to secure to all citizens, ‘Justice, social, economic and political; Liberty of thought expression, belief, faith and worship; Equality of status and opportunity; and to promote among them all, Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation. Every Constitution in the world is characterized by certain features of its own, which distinguish it from the rest of the Constitution in the civilized world. Thus the Constitution of India has the following outstanding features.

4.1. The Longest Constitution in the World:

The Constitution of India is the lengthiest Constitution in the world. The original Constitution of India, as adopted by the Constituent Assembly on November 26, 1949, contained 395 Articles and 8 Schedules. Since the Constitution has been amended time to time this increased its bulk.

It incorporates the leading Constitutions of the World; the Constitution of the federating States; detailed provisions relating to Centre-State relations; special provisions for Jammu and Kashmir; detailed administrative provisions, justifiable and non-Justifiable rights; special provisions to meet regional problems; and to solve the peculiar problems of India. These problems include the Service under the Union and the States special Provisions relating to certain classes such as the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and Anglo-Indians, Official Languages, the Fifth Schedule; and the Emergency Provisions.

Hence, the three-fourths of the Constitution are devoted to the above items and matters.

4.2. The Paradise of the Lawyers:

It is said that the Indian Constitution is a lawyer’s paradise. The elaborate and detailed language in which the provisions are couched, and the exhaustive explanations, have made the Indian Constitution a comprehensive document. However, it is wrong to say that the nature of the constitution has widened the scope of legislation. This is evidenced by the chapters of the Constitution which deal with the
relations between the Union and the States, under which, there have been a proportionately small number of cases.

4.3. Federal Structure of the Constitution:-

The prevailing circumstances in the country at the time of framing the Constitution, prompted the decision of the Constituent Assembly to have a federal constitution with a strong Centre. However, in the draft Constitution the term. Union of states was included in place of Federation of state. Dr Ambedkar said that the federation is a Union because it is indestructible. Though the country and the people may be divided into different states for convenience of administration, country is one integral whole.

Though India has two sets of governments as in the United States, the Central government and state governments, Indian Constitution confers single citizenship on its citizens. The Constitution has also tried to minimize conflict between the Centre and the states by clearly specifying legislative powers of each. The subjects are divided into three lists. The Union List on which the Union Parliament can legislate, the Sate List on which the states legislatures can legislate, and the Concurrent List on which both the Parliament and state legislatures can legislate. But in case of conflict between the Union and the state legislation, the Union law will prevail. The Central government has the power to suspend the state government and dissolve the state legislature in case of Constitutional breakdown and bring the State under the Central rule. Similarly, during national emergency, the Indian state can take the unitary character.

4.4. Parliamentary form of Government:-

The Constitution of India provides for the Parliamentary system of responsible Government with the elected President as the executive head of the Union. The President is constitutionally obliged to act on the advice of his Council of Ministers but whether he acts on the advice of his Ministers, cannot be questioned in any court of law. Finally, there is no mode, except that of impeachment, to remove the President of violation of the Constitution.

4.5. A Member of the Commonwealth:-

India being a Republic, still continues to be a member of the Commonwealth of Nations. Its membership does not; affect the sovereignty of the country. The status of India is quite different from that of the other Dominions in the Commonwealth. Moreover, the agreement to remain in the Commonwealth is not included in the Constitution. Hence there are no legal implications of the membership.
4.6. Flexible Than Rigid:

The Constitution of India is flexible than rigid. There are very few Articles of the Constitution, which require ratification, by one-half of the total State Legislatures as against three-fourths of the States under the Constitution of the U.S. for its amendment. Whereas most of the Articles can be amended by a two-third majority of each House of the Parliament of India. There are certain provisions of the Constitution, like change in the name, boundaries of States, abolition or creation of the Second Chamber of the State Legislature, can be amended by a simple majority of each House of the Parliament. This variety in the amending process, wise but is rarely found in the constitutions of other countries.

4.7. Secular State:

Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru Writes that We call our State a secular State, it means freedom of religion and conscience including freedom for those who have no religion. It means free play of all religions, subject to their non-interference. The Constitution declares India to be sovereign, socialist, secular and democratic republic. The 42nd Amendment added the terms ‘secular’ and ‘socialist’ to the Preamble of the Constitution in 1976. The Supreme Court held in 1973 that the secular character in one of the basic features of the Constitution. The Fundamental rights include prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion. And right to freedom of religion including freedom of conscience, Practice and propagation of religion, freedom to manage religious affairs, are clear features that give a distinct secular character to the Indian Constitution.

There had been a lot of debate over the meaning of the term ‘secular’ in the Indian context. Some argue that the term is borrowed from the West. The concept of secularism emerged in India as a result of the struggle of the nationalist forces against communal forces that wanted to use religion for political advantage. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, said that no religion should be given preferential status of unique distinction. No person should suffer any form of disability or discrimination because of his religion but all alike should be free to share to the fullest degree in the common life.

4.8. Single Citizenship:

The Constitution of the U.S.A has accepted the principle of double citizenship, one the citizenship of the U.S.A., and other, the citizenship of the State i.e., the place of permanent residence of the person. Unlike this, the Indian Constitution confers only single citizenship that is the citizenship of the country, i.e. India. This certainly helps in creating the feeling of oneness, the spirit of unity, the sense of patriotism, among all the people of the country.
4.9. Universal Suffrage:

The Indian Constitution has introduced the universal adult suffrage without any qualifications. This is, indeed, a bold step in this country where, the problems like ever-increasing population, nationwide illiteracy, poverty-inequality unemployment, distraction in industry, slow growth rate of agriculture, communal violence and regionalism are there.

4.10. Fundamental Rights:

Fundamental Rights to the Indian citizens are contained in Articles 12 to 35 of the constitution. These Fundamental Rights primarily protect individuals and minority groups from arbitrary state action. The Fundamental Rights are divided into seven parts: 1) the right of equality 2) the right of freedom 3) the right to freedom of religion, 4) the right against exploitation 5) cultural and educational rights 6) the right to property and 7) the right to constitutional remedies. Article 17 abandons untouchability. Article 15(2) maintains that no citizen shall suffer any disability in the use of shops, restaurants, wells, roads, and other public places on account of his religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth. Article 23 prohibits forced labour. Article 32 gives the right to a citizen to move the Supreme Court or High Court through writ petition for the enforcement of the Fundamental Rights. This it is a Fundamental Right and it cannot be suspended except Emergency.

Commenting on the Fundamental Rights, Durga Das Basu observes that it is meaningless to enshrine individual rights in a written Constitution as Fundamental rights, if they are not enforceable in a court of law against any organ of the State.

This was the reason for inclusion of Right to Constitutional Remedies in our Constitution as one of the Fundamental Rights. The Judges have power to issue the writs of habeas corpus, mandamus, prohibition and certiorari, for enforcement of Fundamental Rights. However, numerous restrictions have been imposed upon the enjoyment of Fundamental Rights in the interests of public order, the sovereignty and integrity of India.

4.11. Directive Principles of State Policy:

The Directive Principles of State Policy cannot be enforced by the Courts of Law. These principles are in the nature of extra-legal instructions and guidelines to the legislature and executive. Articles 36 to 51 deal with Directive Principles. The framers of the Constitution intended that Directive Principles and Fundamental Rights should be read together and they did not foresee a conflict between the two. However, there had been serious differences in the interpretation of the two. In 1980, in the landmark judgment in Minerva Mills Limited vs. Union of India, the Supreme Court has held that both Fundamental Rights and directive Principles are equally important and one cannot be sacrificed for the other. Article 38 of the Constitution contains the
The essence of the Directive Principles. It lays down that the State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting the social order.

The Constitutional Amendment, 1976, has incorporated a chapter on Fundamental Duties. These enjoin upon a citizen, to abide by the Constitution, to cherish and follow the noble ideals which inspired our national struggle for freedom, to defend the country and render national service when ever called upon and promote harmony and a spirit of brotherhood among Indians.

4.12. Administrative Uniformity:

India has adopted the Parliamentary system of government based on the British example. Under this system there are two executives. The head of the State President of India is the nominal executive; whereas the Prime Minister the head of the Council of Ministers is the real executive.

4.12.1. The President:

He is elected indirectly by the elected members of the Parliament and State legislatures for five years. The Vice-President performs the duties of the President when the latter is unable to discharge his functions due to certain circumstances or till the election of a new President. The election of the new President is to be held within six months of the vacancy. The Vice-President is elected by an Electoral College comprising of the members of both the houses of the Parliament for five years. The Vice-President is also the ex-officio Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, the upper house of the Indian Parliament.

4.12.2. The Council of Ministers:

The Indian Constitution vests all executive power in the Council of Ministers headed by the Prime Minister. The leader of the majority in the Lok Sabha, if no party has majority, a person who has the confidence of the majority of the members of the Lok Sabha is invited by the President to become the Prime Minister. The President on the advice of the Prime Minister appoints other ministers. The Council of Ministers is collectively responsible to the Lok Sabha. If the Council of Ministers loses the confidence of the Lok Sabha. It has to resign.

4.12.3. The Parliament:

The Indian Parliament consists of two houses. The upper house is called the Rajya Sabha and the lower house the Lok Sabha. The Rajya Sabha consists of 250 members, of whom 238 are elected by elected members of the state legislative assemblies and Union Territories by a system of a single transferable vote. The President nominates 12 members from among persons having special knowledge or practical experience of subjects like literature, science, art and social service. The term of the individual member of the Rajya
Sabha is six years. Every two years, one third of the members retire and new members are elected. The minimum age required for a person to be a member of the Rajya Sabha is thirty years. In this way the Rajya Sabha is a permanent body. The Lok Sabha comprises representatives of the people, elected directly. The maximum number of seats in the Lok Sabha is 552. Of these 550 represent territorial constituencies. The President nominates two members from the Anglo-Indian community. The minimum age for a person to be a member of the Lok Sabha is twenty-five. The Speaker presides over the proceedings of the Lok Sabha, and in his absence the Deputy Speaker, both are to be elected by the members of the Lok Sabha. The Lok Sabha has a term of five years. But it may be dissolved by the President before the end of its term. In case of National Emergency, the Lok Sabha can extend its term for one year at a time but not beyond six months after the end of the Emergency.

The Parliament has extensive legislative powers. Ordinary bills may be introduced in any one of the two houses. However, the money Bill has to be introduced in the Lok Sabha. The Rajya Sabha may delay a Money Bill for fourteen days. In order to become law, the bills have to be passed by both houses, and then receive Presidential assent.

4.12.4 The Administrative Services:

The Constitution mentions only two all-India services as the Indian Administrative Service (IAS) and the Indian Police Service (IPS). However, the Constitution authorized the Rajya Sabha to create additional all-India services. The Indian Forest Service and the Indian Engineering service are two services set up under this constitutional provision. There are Central Services such as Audit and Accounts Service, Railway and Customs Service which perform a unifying role as they are recruited from all over the country. State service officers are posted within the state. The Constitution provides for a Union Public Service Commission and also State Public Service Commissions.

4.12.4.a) Government in the States:-

Each state has a Governor who is the constitutional head of the state. All states have legislative assemblies. A few states also have second chambers or legislative councils. The state legislatures have exclusive right to legislate on the State List and also legislate on the concurrent List. Each state has the Chief Minister and his Council of Ministers. If the constitutional machinery breaks down, under Article 356 of the Constitution, the Governor can recommend the imposition of President’s Rule in that state.

4.13. The Judiciary:-

In the Indian Judiciary, the Supreme Court is at its apex. Consists of a Chief Justice and twenty-five other judges, appointed by the President. They hold office till the age of sixty-five. The Supreme Court has both original an appellate jurisdiction. It issues writs relating to
enforcement of Fundamental Rights and is the custodian of the Constitution. The Court can declare any law passed by the legislature or any act of the executive as unconstitutional, if they violate the Constitutional provisions.

The Constitution provides for a High Court for every state. There can be one High Court for two or more states. Every High Court consists of a Chief Justice and other judges. The judges of the High Court are appointed by the President in consultation with the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the Chief justice of the High Court and the governor of the state. The judges of the High Court retire at the age of sixty-two years. The High Courts in the states have powers over all the subordinate courts in their jurisdiction. Every High Court has both original and appellate jurisdiction.


The Independent judiciary with the power of judicial review is another salient feature of the Constitution.

Durga Das Basu observes that if he is asked to mention the best feature of our Constitution in two words, he would say the Judicial Review.

Judicial review means the power of the court to declare any law passed by the Legislature or any act of the Executive if they violate any provision of the Constitution as unconstitutional. The Constitution of India, also has empowered the High Courts to declare any law passed by the Legislature or any act of the Executive ‘ultra vires’ if they violate any Article of the Constitution. However, the scope of judicial review, in India is limited in comparison with America.

4.15. Revolutionary in Nature:-

The Indian Constitution is revolutionary because it abolished some of the Long standing practices and institutions which were deeply rooted in the Indian society. Although the Constitution has not abolished the caste system completely it guarantees, the political and social equality to all its citizens, irrespective of their caste, colour, creed, breed, sex, and place of birth. It has abolished untouchability and its practice in any form. If any individual is practicing it, it is declared an offence and punishable under the law. Further, by making special provisions for the weaker sections of the community, such as, the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, it tries to create an egalitarian society.

4.16. Historical Continuity:-

The Constitutional development of India has kept linkage with the constitutional development in India, particularly from the Queen’s Proclamation in 1858 to the Indian Independence Act of 1947. Under the Government of India Act of 1919, the seeds of responsible government could be traced. Gradually, the expansion of the Legislatures
and the Councils, centralization, and the decentralization of the Indian administration have been truly reflected in the Constitution.

5. A Critic Appraisal of the Constitution:-

The Indian Constitution has been working fairly well in spite of serious crisis like wars with Pakistan and China and the Emergency faced by the country. The institutions created by the Constitution to provide a democratic structure to the nation have seen survived. The Constitution has been remarkably successful in providing the framework for the protection of the Fundamental Rights. The judiciary had been the protector of citizen’s interests against encroachment by the State and private organizations. The Constitution of India had been flexible in matter of amending itself. The Article 368 does not exclude any part of the Constitution from the scope of amending provision, the Supreme Court had placed restrictions on the power of the Parliament to amend the Constitution by defining the principle of basic structure of the Constitution. There had been suggestions to bring about drastic changes in the Constitution, in order to meet the needs of the changing times. There had been a demand from certain quarters to adopt the Presidential system of government and a number of other significant modifications. However, the general feeling is that the Constitution of India has served the country quite well, and whatever changes required should be brought about within the basic structure of the Constitution.

6. Summary:-

On 15 August 1947, the British rule in India came to an end, and the political power was transferred to the two Dominions of India and Pakistan. The Partition of the country was followed by a number of tragic events, such as communal riots, on both sides, migration of million people, and assassination of the father of nation Mahatma Gandhi. These events were the immediate problems that India faced.

With all these problems, India involved in the process of making the Constitution. One of the chief proposals of the Cabinet Mission of 1946 was the convening of a Constituent Assembly, through which the Indians themselves could draft a constitution. According to this scheme, the constituent Assembly was to have 398 members, elected by the Provincial Legislative Assemblies. Finally, the Congress acquired 208 seats, the Muslim League won 73 out of 78 Muslim seats. The Constituent Assembly held its first meeting on 9 December, 1946, on 11 December, 1946 Dr. Rajendra Prasad was elected the President of the Constituent Assembly. In order to facilitate the constitution making process, a draft committee under the chairmanship of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was constituted. Dr. Ambedkar was a legal luminary a prominent leader of Modern India. The Draft
Committee placed the draft of the Constitution before the Constituent Assembly in the month of February, 1948. On 26 November, 1949 the Constituent Assembly adopted the Constitution and brought into force on 26 January, 1950. The Constitution of India has several outstanding features as:

- It is the longest Constitution in the world. Its original draft consists of 395 Articles and 9 schedules. The Indian Constitution has been the alleged paradise of the lawyers. Because, it has several section, articles and schedules. It has federal structure with unitary bias. It created a strong centre. The term union of states is included in place of Federation of states. According to Dr. Ambedkar, the Federation is a union because it is indestructible. Though the country and the people may be divided into different states, the country is one integral whole. The Constitution of India adopted a parliamentary form of government with the elected President as the head of the country. India is a member of the Commonwealth of nation. The Indian Constitution is flexible than rigid. Its most of the articles can be amended by a two third majority of each House of the Parliament of India. The 42nd Amendment added the term secular and socialist to the Preamble of the Constitution. In 1973, the Supreme Court held that secular means prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion and right to freedom of religion. The Indian Constitution has accepted the principle of single citizenship and the universal suffrage without any qualification of sex and community. It has also accepted several fundamental rights and directive principles of state policy. Independence of Judiciary and Judicial Review made Indian constitution unique in the world. Revolutionary Nature and Historical continuity are other features of the Constitution of India.

7. Additional Readings:-

2. S.Gopal, Jawaharlal Nehru - A Biography, Vol.I,

8. Questions:-

1. Discuss the immediate problems faced by India after the Independence.
2. What are the important features of the Indian Constitution?
4. Write a critique on the administrative uniformity mentioned in the Indian Constitution.

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INTEGRATION OF THE INDIAN STATES

1. OBJECTIVES :-
After going through this unit the student will be able to.

a) Understand the position of the princely states on the eve of the Independence of India.

b) Know how Sardar Patel and his assistant and Departmental Secretary, V.P. Menon, played their roles in the process of integration of the Indian States.

c) Explain this integration of the Princely State of Junagadh.

d) Understand the integration of Hyderabad into the Indian Union.

e) Explain the complications in the integration of Jammu and Kashmir with the Indian Federation.

2. INTRODUCTION :-
The condition of the Indian States in Independent India was fore-shadowed by the Cabinet Mission, which used the following words in its statement of 16th May, 1946. “It is quite clear that the attainment of independence by British India, the relationship which has hitherto existed between the Rulers of the states and the British Crown, would no longer be possible. Paramount would neither be retained by the British Crown nor transferred to the new government. At the same time the states would be ready and willing to co-operate in the new development of India. The precise form which their co-operation would take might be a matter for negotiations during the building-up of the new constitutional structure. It by no means followed that it would be identical for all the states. The Cabinet Mission recommended that: (1) There should be a Union of India, which should deal with the following Subjects:

- Foreign Affairs, Defense and Communications; and should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above Subjects:

(2) The states should retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded to the Union.

The level was further elucidated as follows by the Cabinet Mission in its Memorandum on States’ Treaties and paramountcy presented to the Chancellor of the Chamber of princes on the 22nd May, 1946 that when a new independent Government would come into being. His Majesty’s Government would cease to exercise the powers of paramountcy. This means that the rights of the states would no longer exist and that all the
rights surrendered by states to the paramountcy power would return to the states. Political arrangements between the states on the one side and the British Crown and British India on the other hand, would thus be brought to an end.

After the independence in 1947, the interim government under Jawaharlal Nehru was not successful in dealing with the problems created by the partition of India. However, it achieved success in integrating the princely states into the Indian Union. Two influential men handled the task, with excellent political instinct and great foresight. They achieved the integration of the states within a short period of time. These two great persons were Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, who became the Minister in charge of a specially constituted states Ministry and V.P. Menon, as his Lieutenant departmental Secretary.

1. The Cabinet Mission on the Treaties of the states:

The integration of the Princely States into India as one political and administrative unit had been a unique event in the history of India. The antecedents of the integration of Indian States into India could be traced in the Cabinet Mission. The Mission came to Delhi on March 24, 1946 and, after meeting with the leaders of the Congress and the Muslim league, announced their constitutional scheme on May 16, 1946. Among other things. It announced…..that the British paramountcy over the Indian States would come to an end when a new self-governing independent Government would come into being in India. The states should enter into a federal relationship with the successor Government in India. The Indian states would be free to negotiate their terms with the new Indian Government.

The process of integration of states was facilitated when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru invited the representatives of the Princely States to function on some of the committees constituted by the Constituent Assembly. There were the committees of the Union Power and the Fundamental Rights Committee. The Nawab of Bhopal, who was the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, refused to do so. But the Maharaja of Bikaner, and the Maharaja of Patiala were in favour of the Indian States joined the Constituent Assembly and promised to cooperate with Nehru. On April 18, 1947, Jawaharal Nehru declared that any state which refused to participate in the Constituent Assembly would be treated as a hostile state, and such a state would have to face the consequences later.
2. Muslim League’s Reaction :-

Liaquat Ali Khan, one of the important leaders of the Muslim League in the Central Legislature and the Cabinet of the Interim Government, severely criticized Nehru. He said that Congress had no right to coerce the states. Liaquat Ali announced that the States were perfectly within their right in refusing to join the Constituent Assembly. He, therefore, appealed to the States to disregard the threat. Jinnah commented that constitutionally and legally, the Indian States would be independent and Sovereign States on the termination of British Paramountcy and they would be free to decide for themselves to adopt any course they like; it would be open to them to join either the Indian Constituent Assembly or the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. Even they could decide to remain independent.

Thus it is needless to say that there was a fierce rivalry between Pakistan and India in securing the accession of Princely States to their respective Dominions.

3. The Indian Independence Act, 1947 :-

The British Parliament passed the Indian Independence Act on 18 July, 1947. It provided for the partition of India. It established the two Dominions of India and Pakistan from 15 August, 1947. The Act provided that the suzerainty of His Majesty over the Indian States would lapse with all its treaties and agreements in force on the same day, i.e. August 15, 1947. The result was that the Indian States would become completely independent. The Governments of India and Pakistan would never inherit to the rights and authority of the former Government of India over Indian States. In this regard Sir Hartley W. Showcross, Attorney General of England, made, a statement in the British Parliament; which is self explanatory. He said that The British Government did not propose to recognize the Princely States as separate international entities on August 15, 1947.

4. Position of the Princely States During the British Rule :-

The Indian states were the creation of the East India Company’s expansion from the later eighteenth century. Once the British became dominant in Bengal, to secure those areas of India which were densely populated and had most value to them. This was done through conquests and some times by alliances. By 1800, Lord Wellesley achieved remarkable benefits for the Company, through war and his Subsidiary Alliance System with the States. In the second decade of the nineteenth century, the Company faced serious disruptions beyond the frontiers of their territories and the borders of its allies. The British did not have the resources to undertake conquest to difficult terrain and those areas, which
were economically nonviable. Thus, the British decided to make a settlement that established and stabilized a highly localized political structure. Under this policy, the British recognized any local chief who could guarantee some stability over the area under his control on condition that he accepted British paramountcy and maintained peace and harmony. Under this scheme, most of central and western India, and of Rajasthan became a fixed petty states. Thus, by mid nineteenth century, pursuing imperialist programme, the British annexed Sindh and Punjab by wars and some states through the Doctrine and lapse.

5. Chamber of Princes :-

The Revolt of 1857, transferred the political power from the Company to the British Crown. The guarantee provided through the Queens Proclamation of 1858, ensured the safety and continuity of the princely class. The British authorities looked upon the princes as a source of support for imperial rule and as a conservative check on the newly emerging political movement in the country. Montague, the Secretary of State for India decided to bring the Princes in closer contact with the British government, and suggested the establishment of the Chamber of Princes in 1921.

6. Failure of the Proposed Federation :-

In 1930, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, a lawyer from Allahabad brought the constitutional issue of reforms to create a federation between British India and the Indian States. Although, the princes took the idea enthusiastically, but when the Government of India Bill, 1935 was published, the princes became apprehensive regarding the nature of the instrument of accession which was to govern the relationship between them and the federal government.

However, the princes agreed to join the federation in 1937, the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 changed the political situation and the proposal of the federation remained unfulfilled. The Cripps proposals gave option to the provinces and Indian States either to join the new union or stay out of it. The Cripps Mission ended in a failure, and the Indian Princes felt that their future was not safe. The Cabinet Mission made it clear to the Indian Princes that with the transfer of power, all the rights surrendered by them to the Crown would revert to them.

7. Desire to Achieve Independence :-

In 1947, the Princely States claimed that the paramountcy could not be transferred to the new States of India and Pakistan. Because, several princes claimed that they would become independent from 15 August 1947. Jinnah in a speech on 18 June 1947 encouraged the princes to
claim their independence. There was some hint about the change in British attitude towards the princely states. In his speech on the Indian Independence Bill, Atlee pointed out that the British government hoped that in due course of time all the princely states would find their appropriate place within one or the other Dominion.

8. Appeal for Integration :-

In June 1947, the British Government made it clear that it would transfer power to the two Dominions, India and Pakistan and that a third force recognized by international law could not come into existence. The British advised the princes to choose either of these two Dominions. The All India Congress Committee made an appeal to those Indian Princes who had not yet joined the Constituent Assembly to do so and cooperate in building the constitutional structure of free India in which the States would be equal and autonomous. Besides, the people of the states had started movements for administrative reforms in 1922 with the support of the Congress. As the independence of the subcontinent was drawing near, the people of the states began to demand integration with the Indian Union.

9. ROLE OF SARDAR PATEL:-

On June 11, 1947, Sir C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Dewan of Travancore State, announced that his state would be an independent sovereign state on 15 August, 1947. The state would be free to deal with any Government in the world. On the next day i.e. 12 June, 1947 the Nizam of Hyderabad made a similar announcement of the Independence of the state. Patel saw imminent danger to the Indian union in such announcements.

9.1. States Ministry and Instrument of Accession :- Sardar Patel sensed uncertainty to the Indian Union in such disruptive situation and immediately felt the urgent need of the integration of Princely States with the rest of India Union. At his suggestion the States Ministry was set up and Sardar Patel himself became its head. The Instrument of Accession was prepared which was acceptable to the Princes. According to this Instrument, the princes were to hand over to the union Government the subjects of defence, foreign affairs and communications. In all other subjects, their autonomy was to be respected. Sardar Patel made it abundantly clear to the princes that it was not the intention of the Congress to interfere in any manner in the domestic affairs of the princely states.

9.2. Sardar Patel's Appeal to Patriotism of Princes:- Sardar Patel made a powerful appeal to the patriotic and nationalist sentiments of the Indian Princes in the following words:

“We are at a momentous stage in the history of India. By common endeavor we can raise the country to a new greatness while lack of unity
will expose us to fresh calamities. I hope the Indian states will bear in mind that the alternative to cooperation in the general interest is anarchy and chaos which will overwhelm great and small alike in common ruin, if we are unable to act together in the minimum of common tasks. Let not the future generations curse us for having had the opportunity but failed to turn it to our mutual advantage. Instead, let it be our proud privilege to leave a legacy of mutually beneficial relationship which would raise this sacred Land to its proper place among the nations of the world and turn it into an abode of peace and prosperity.”

With this appeal, Patel called upon the Princes to join the Indian Constituent Assembly and their representatives participate in framing a Democratic Constitution for free India. Sardar Patel’s appeal produced the desired effect and the representatives of the states like Baroda, Bikaner, Cochin, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Patiala and Rewa took their seats in the Indian Constituent Assembly. With in a short span of time, one by one, the remaining other states started sending their representatives to the Indian Constituent Assembly. It may there be pointed out that the Maharaja of Boroda was the first ruler to sign the Instrument of Accession.

9.3. Lord Mountbatten’s Appeal to Indian Princes :- Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel’s appeal was followed by Lord Mountbatten’s appeal to Indian Princes on July 25, 1947. Addressing the Chamber of Princes, Lord Mountbatten fully endorsed the appeal of Sardar Patel and advised the Indian States to accede to one or the other of the Dominions before 15 August 1947, failing which there would be anarchy and chaos which would hurt the States the most. Lord Mountbatten also emphasized the factors that were to be taken into consideration by the States while acceding to any Dominion that, they were certain geographical compulsions which could not be evaded. The vast majority of states were irretrievably linked up with Indian Union.

9.4. Net Result of All the Efforts :- The net result of all the efforts was that by August 15, 1947, all the states, with the exception of Junagadh, Hyderabad and Kashmir, had signed Instruments of Accession. On the same day, Lord Mountbatten paid the tribute to Sardar Patel as: ‘Thanks to that far-sighted statesman, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Minister-in-Charge of the States Department, a scheme was produced which appeared to me to be equally in the interests of the States of the Dominion of India. It is a great triumph for the realism and sense of responsibility of the rulers and the Government of the State as well as for the Government of India that it was possible to produce an Instrument of Accession, which was equally acceptable to both sides, and one moreover so simple and straight forward that within less than 3 weeks, practically all the States concerned had signed the Instrument of Accession.’

10. Integration of Junagadh, Hyderabad and Jammu & Kashmir :-
Sardar Patel’s approach to the problem of the accession of the princely states to the Indian Union had desirable effect. Being apprehensive of the rising tide of the people’s movements in their states, and the extreme programme of the radical wing of the Congress, most of the princes responded to his appeal and joined the Indian Union by August 1947. Only three States, Junagadh, Jammu and Kashmir and Hyderabad refused to integrate with the Indian Union.

10.1. Accession of Junagadh :- Junagadh was in Kathiawar, Gujarat, surrounded by other Indian states and the Arabian sea in the south and the southwest. It did not have geographical contiguity with Pakistan. Majority of its populations was Hindu. The state was ruled by the Nawab who lived a life of luxury. His chief adviser was Shahnawaz Bhutto, the father of Jhufiqar Ali Bhutto, a Muslim League politician of Karachi. The Nawab appointed him as Dewan of the Junagadh State in May 1947. There was speculation that the Nawab of Junagadh may opt to accede to Pakistan, which had no geographical contiguity and was three hundred miles away by sea. The Government of India sent an Instrument of Accession to the Nawab of Junagadh for his accession but the Nawab sent a reply to the Government of India on 13 August, 1947 saying that the matter was under consideration. On 15 August 1947, the Nawab announced his accession to Pakistan, whereas the majority of his subjects, who were Hindus, desired to merge with India.

The rulers of other states of Kathiawar requested the Government of India to take prompt action in order to protect them, as there were rumours that Pakistan was sending military assistance to Junagadh. They further requested that the Indian troops should be suitably dispersed in Kathiawar to protect the states, which had acceded to the Indian Union. The people of Junagadh refused to accept the accession of Junagadh to Pakistan and organized a popular movement. When the Nawab found that the help from Pakistan was not enough to keep him on the throne, he fled to Karachi with his family and the available cash in the state treasury. Shahanawaz Bhutto, who remained in the state, asked the Government of India to intervene. The Government of India sent troops to Junagadh to restore law and order. As soon as normal conditions were restored, the Government of India arranged a plebiscite and integrated into the Indian Union.

10.2. Accession of Hyderabad :- Hyderabad was the largest and premier state, occupied a strategic position in the heart of India and surrounded by Indian territory. As in Junagadh, the Nizams ruled over a Hindu majority state. On the eve of the departure of the British, the last Nizam, who had been ruling Hyderabad had two choices, as, to grant the Hindu majority a certain share in the state power and in its administration or to establish a close relation with the new India. However, the Nizam had since 1922 been planning to become the Khalifa for this purpose he...
had got his two sons married to daughters of the late Turkish Sultan. He believed that after the end of the British paramountcy he could become an independent sovereign. The integration of Hyderabad can be studied as under:

10.2. (1) Stand still Agreement:- In November 1947, the Government of India signed a standstill agreement with the Nizam. It was hoped that while the negotiations proceeded, the Nizam would introduce representative government in the state, making the task of integration easier. However, the Nizam had other plans. At first he counted upon his friendship with Lord Mountbatten. But he did not accept the favorable compromise of the viceroy and annoyed him by petty and underhand intrigues. The Viceroy left in June 1948, without concluding any agreement with the Nizam. Then the Nizam approached Pakistan and tried to find favour with Jinnah by lending 200 million rupees to the Government of Pakistan. With the consent of Jinnah, he appointed a Pakistani as his Chief Minister. Through Jinnah he hoped to get the consent of Portugal to the permanent use of the harbour of Goa. In the negotiations with India, he insisted upon the recognition of his right to remain neutral in the case of a conflict between India and Pakistan. When the negotiations reached a critical phase, the Nizam called upon the United Nations to protect the right of his state to independence and asked the President of U.S.A. to arbitrate between him and India. In short, he did everything to emphasize the character of his dynasty and kingdom as foreign body within India Union.

10.2. (2) Reign of Terror :- The Nizam increased the strength of his own army, and even tried to get arms and ammunitions from Pakistan and other foreign countries. Besides, he allowed the militant Muslim communal organization, led by Qasim Razvi, and its paramilitary wing the Razakars to operate. The Razakars followed reactionary policies and terrorized the Hindu population. By inflaming communal passions inside and outside Hyderabad. They began to create insecurity particularly in the border regions and also carried out raids on neighboring territory. They attacked trains in transit robbed the passengers, killed men, women and children in cold blood, raped women and girls. Looting and arson became the order of the day. This reign of terror let loose by the Razakars sent shock waves across the country.

10.2. (3) Satyagraha Movement: - In August 1947, the Hyderabd State Congress launched a powerful Satyagraha movement to force the Nizam to democratize the state. Nearly 20,000 Satyagrahis were jailed. As a result of the attacks by the Razakars and repression by the state authorities, thousands of people fled the state and took shelter in the neighboring Indian Territory. Meanwhile, a powerful Communist – led peasant struggle had developed in the Telangana region of the state from the latter half of 1946. The movement, which was dormant, became active against the attacks of the Razakars. The Peasant Squads also
attacked big landlords and distributed their land to the landless peasants. There was a possibility of the situation taking different turn.

This was the background of the negotiations carried on with Indian by the Nizam. By a series of unpleasant incidents, which the Nizam instigated and by imposing fresh demands, managed to drag the negotiations. Even Lord Mountbatten, who made serious efforts to settle the matter was reduced to despair because of the unreasonable demands of the Nizam.

10.2. (4) A Quick Police Action in Hyderabad :- In spite of the provocations by the Nizam and the Razakars, the Government of India restrained itself from taking any drastic action against Hyderabad for several months. The Nizam continued his delaying tactics and managed to import more and more arms. The violent activities of the Razakars were also assuming dangerous proportions. Under these circumstances, the Government of India decided to act swiftly.

In these circumstances Nehru discussed with Sardar Patel to take military action against Hyderabad. Nehru announced this move on September 10, 1948, and the Indian troops under the command of Major General J.N. Chaudhari, moved into Hyderabad on September 13, 1948. The military action in Hyderabad was preceded in New Delhi the atmosphere of tension and high drama. The zero hour was fixed twice by Patel, the Home Minister. He was forced to cancel it under heavy political pressure. The zero hour was then fixed for the third time and Patel was determined to get the work done. Once again the hitch was developed at the psychological moment. The Nizam of Hyderabad made a personal appeal to Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, the first and last Indian Governor-General of India, who conferred with Nehru and they both decided to call off military action again. Patel was informed accordingly, but it was quite late, when the reply to the Nizam was made ready, Patel coolly announced that the Army had already, left for Hyderabad and nothing could be done to halt it at this juncture.

Patel had rightly realized that only military action, and not negotiations, could settle the Hyderabad question. However, as expected, Nehru and Rajaji were, agitated and worried about whether it would provoke retaliation by Pakistan. But within twenty-four hours, the action was almost successful and there were smiles and jubilations all round. The Nizam surrendered, Quasim Razvi was arrested on September 19, 1948, the Razakars were disbanded and many of them were detained under the Public Safely Regulations. The Communists were crushed. The state of Hyderabad merged into the Indian Union on November 1, 1948 after completing all legal formalities.

10.3. (1) Accession of Jammu and Kashmir :- The State of Jammu and Kashmir had been strategically important due to its international boundaries. As its boundaries reach to Tibet, the Sinkiang province of
China and to Afghanistan. The ruler of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, Maharaja Hari Sing, was a Hindu and three-fourths of his subjects were Muslim. The most difficult case in the integration was that of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. It had been a part of the Mughal Empire, but in 1752 Ahmedshah Abdali incorporated it within Afghanistan. In 1819 it became a part of the Sikh state under Ranjit Singh. When the then ruler of Jammu from the Dogra dynasty, agreed with the Sikh State to pay the war reparations demanded by the British and obtained in return the provinces of Kashmir, Ladakh and Gilgit, a new independent state came into existence which acknowledged the sovereignty of the British. Like Hyderabad, Jammu and Kashmir had a population professing different religions. While Jammu had Hindu majority, Kashmir had Muslim majority and Ladakh Buddhist majority. However, the Muslims formed the overall majority with seventy-five percent, of the total population of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, and its ruler was a Hindu, maharaja Hari Singh. The state of Jammu and Kashmir occupied a strategic position on account of its boundaries.

Maharaja Hari Singh did not take decision to join either of the two Dominions. Mountbatten assured him that Nehru would accept whatever decision he might take. Fearing democracy in India and communalism in Pakistan, he hoped to remain aloof from both and entertained a dream of emerging as a sovereign ruler from this uncertain situation. Meanwhile, the popular political force led by the National Conference and its leader Sheikh Abdullah, wanted that the state should merge with India. The political leaders in India wanted the people of Kashmir to decide their future as of Junagadh and Hyderabad.

10.3. (2) Invasion on Kashmir: - Jinnah was too anxious to see the accession of the state of Jammu and Kashmir to Pakistan and for this, he tried to use force. Pakistan convinced the tribesmen of Jammu and Kashmir trained them, and helped with arms, money, and material. Pakistan prepared them all-out for invasion on Kashmir, which actually started on October, 22, 1947. They marched towards Baramula along the road leading to Srinagar. All the Muslims in the state forces deserted and joined the invaders. The raiders announced that they would reach Srinagar on October 26, 1947, and celebrate the Idd in the Srinagar Mosque.

10.3. (3) Maharaja’s Appeal for Military Help: - It was at this critical situation that Maharaja Hari Singh appealed to the Government of India for immediate military help on October 24, 1947, and agreed to accede to India on the next day i.e. October 25. V.P. Menon was sent by the Government of India to Srinagar to study the situation on the spot and report to the Government of India. On October 26 Menon, accompanied Kashmir Prime Minister Justice Mehr Chand Mahajan, apprised Nehru and Patel of the serious situation in the state. Prime Minister, Justice Mehr Chand mahajan, requested the Indian leaders as. Give us army, take
accession and give whatever powers you want to the popular party, but the army must fly to Srinagar this evening, otherwise I would go and negotiate with Jinnah to save the people of Kashmir.

On hearing this, indignant prime Minister Nehru asked Prime Minister Mahajan to go away. However, the intervention of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah the leader of All-Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, who was saying in the Prime Minister Nehru,s house, intervened and saved the situation, Nehru changed his attitude.

10.3. (4) India’s Military Help:- In the morning of October 26, 1947, on the request of the Prime Minister, the Indian Cabinet agreed to send Indian troops to kishmir to save the state; V.P. Menon went to jammu, with Mahajan, and got the Instrument of Accession signed by Maharaja Hari Singh on the same day. On October 27, 1947, more than 100 civilian aircraft and Royal Air Force planes with Indian troops, arms, ammunition, equipment and supplies were sent to Srinagar. The Royal Indian Air force and civilian pilots and the ground crews rose to the occasion and demonstrated heroism to make the airlift a remarkable success. It was in this way that the timely arrival of the Indian armed forces saved Srinagar from both the tribesmen and Pakistan.

10.3. (5) Jinnah’s Reaction:- When Jinnah heard about the acceptance of the accession of jammu and Kashmir by India and the role of the Indian armed forces in Srinagar, he became very furious and ordered the Acting Commanding-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army, to dispatch pak troops to Kashmir. However, better counsel prevailed and he cancelled his previous order and issued a statement that the accession of Kashmir to India was based on fraud and violence and cannot be recognized.

10.3. (6) India’s Complaint to the U.N.O :- On other hand the Government of India took their complaint to the United nations Security Council against the Pak invasion of jammu and Kashmir, who precisely originated the idea that India should take the Kashmir problem to the Security Council is not clear. Meanwhile, both India and Pakistan fought a war over a year till the U.N. Commission arranged for a cease-fire between them with effect from January 1, 1949. India holds two-thirds of Kashmir and one –third is illegally occupied by Pakistan which is known Azad Kashmir.

Although, many efforts have been made by the U.N. to resolve the dispute no solution has worked out and the problem is not solved so far.

10.3. (7) India’s Assurance to the people of Kashmir:- In spite of the legal accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India under the Instrument of Accession the Prime Minister Pandit Jawahararl Nehru, made the Government of India give the assurance to the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

The Government of India assured the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, who, through their Assembly, ware to determine the future
Constitution of the state and the constitutional relationship between India and the State of Kashmir. The provisions of the Constitution of India, relating to the State of Kashmir, were to be under article 370 of the Constitution India.

10.3. (8) Nehru’s Blunder:- Many statesmen and national leaders considered the assurance of the government of India, as a blunder of the Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru because it was this assurance that made the State of Kashmir a subject of negotiation and a pawn in the game of power politics of big nations. If Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel had been given a free hand, as he had in case of all other Indian States, there would not have been a Kashmir problem at all. Because Sardar Patel was a champion of a bold and decisive policy of sweeping away the invaders, whether they were tribal hordes or Pakistani troops, from the soil of Kashmir, so that the whole State of Kashmir would be an integral part of India.

Dr. K.M. Munshi, says that Jawaharlal Nehru under the influence of sheikh Abdullah, took away the portfolio of Kashmir from Sardar’s state ministry otherwise, Kashmir would never have become the problem that has been today. The first Attorney-general of India, Mr. M.C. Setalvad, also expressed the same view that though, the liberality of the government of India has been greatly misunderstood and misinterpreted in interested quarters, the fact remains that the State of Kashmir has become a part and parcel of India, the fact which cannot be altered, under any circumstances, by any body or authority. In February, 1954, the Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir ratified the accession of the State of India and on November 17, 1956, it adopted a constitution which came into force on January 26, 1957.

10.3. (9) Death of Sardar Patel :- Sardar Patel, thus demonstrated his rare qualities on several fundamental issues, as the partition of India, the accession and assimilation of princely States, and the acceptance of Dominion status for free India. He was a statesman and demagogue of the highest rank and a source of strength to the Government headed by his confrere, Nehru. When Patel died on 15 December 1950, at the age of 75, India last one of the greatest sons. He was a man of iron will, clear vision, prompt action and integrity of India.

11. Assimilation and Democratization of the States:

Once the Instrument of Accession were signed by princely states within the Indian Union, the major task that remained before the Government of India was their full integration into the Indian nation. This process began in December 1947 and completed within a year.

The total number of princely states incorporated in the Indian Union was 560. Out of them only 140 possessed full judicial authority, while the rest of them had the rights of feudal landowners. Out of these 140, the number of those entitled to the honour of sovereignty was 104. Of these
again, 21 were real states in the political sense and three of them, Mysore, Hyderabad and Kashmir, were large states. The integration of such varied states was something unique in the history of nation building. It was due to the iron will of Sardar Patel and ably assisted by his Secretary, V.P. Menon. This stupendous task of integrating and democratizing of the Indian states was achieved within a short period without major conflict except in the case of Junagadh, Kashmir and Hyderabad. It is no wonder that Sardar Patel has been called the 'Iron Man of India.' He showed his skill as a superb organizer. Integration involved the elimination of the small states by their merger with the neighboring provinces. Through this method centrally administered areas were to be created. A large number of states were consolidated into five new Unions. These Were 1) Madhya Bharat, 2) Rajasthan, 3) Patiala, and East Punjab States Union, 4) Saurashtra and Travancore-Cochin, 5) Mysore, Hyderabad and Jammu and Kashmir were treated as separate states within the Indian Union due to their considerably large and viable size.

In order to enable the princes, to maintain their status, the government of India assigned them privy purses free of all taxes. The privy purses were guaranteed by the Constitution. The princes were allowed succession, permitted to certain privileges such as retaining their titles, places, flags, and gun salutes during ceremonial occasions. The democratization process of the Indian states was achieved when the Indian states were merged with the provinces, by which the people of the state were placed on par with the people of the provinces. When the Government of India created centrally administered areas, the people of those states were also associated with the administration. The same procedure was adopted when the Unions of States were created.

However, the unification of India was not complete because several territories of India still remained under the control of the French and the Portuguese people. The French handed over the territories of Pondicherry, karrikal, Chandranagar and Mahe to the Indian Government under the agreement signed on 28 May, 1956. This was officially ratified and communicated by the French Government on 16 August, 1962. But the Portuguese Government did not agree to follow the Indian suit to vacate the territories she controlled. Hence, India was constrained to take military action to liberate Goa, Div and Daman from the Portuguese rule. These territories were incorporated into India on 20 December, 1961. Thus in real sense the integration of Indian states was complete.

12. SUMMARY:-

After the independence of India in 1947, the government under Nehru could not solve the problems properly, created by the partition of India. However, it was able to resolve the tangle of integration of Princely States into Indian Union. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the then Minister in-charge of the State Ministry and his catalyst, V.P. Menon, the Departmental Secretary, handled the task with excellent political acumen,
skill and great foresight. There were around 560 Princely States on the eve of Indian Independence. They were the direct effect of the British policy of expansion carried on in India, in the later eighteenth century. When the British consolidated their position in the country, began to secure these important states by various means, as one of them was the doctrine of lapse. After the Revolt of 1857 and the transfer of power to the British Crown, the Princely States were ensured the safety of their continuity. The British authority looked upon the princes as a source of support for the imperial rule in India. In order to reward the princes, Montegue, the Secretary of States, suggested the establishment of the chamber of princes in 1921. At the First Round Table Conference in 1930, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, a lawyer from Allahabad, suggested for a federation between British India and the Indian states. But during the period of the W.W. II the idea of federation remained unfulfilled. The Cripps proposals gave option to the provinces either to join the new union or stay out of it. But the Cripps mission ended in failure. The Cabinet Mission made it clear that after the transfer of power their future relations would be bound by the instrument of accession. On the eve of the independence, some of the Princely States cherished the desire to be independent from 15 August, 1947.

In response to the appeal of the All India Congress Committee, to the Princely States, to join the Constituent Assembly, several states sent their representatives to the Constituent Assembly in April, 1947, and some joined the Indian Union, after the appeal of Sardar Patel, by August 1947. Only Hyderabad, Junagadh and Kashmir refused to integrate with the Indian Union. Junagadh was in Gujarat had eighty percent Hindu population and enjoyed no geographical contiguity with Pakistan. However, the state was ruled by the Nawab. The Government of India sent an Instrument of Accession to the Nawab of Junagadh for his signature, but the Nawab did not reply positively. On 15 August, 1947 the Nawab announced his accession to Pakistan, against the wishes of the subjects, who were Hindus and desired to join India. The people of Junagadh requested the Indian Govt. to send army and protect them from the Pakistan forces, because there were rumours of Pakistan sending forces to junagadh. India sent her troops to junagadh, arranged a plebiscite and integrated the state into Indian Union. Hyderabad was one of the largest states and occupied a strategic position in the heart of India Union. Hyderabad was ruled by a Muslim ruler, the Nizam. The Nizam also wanted to be independent on 15 August, 1947. The Nizam increased his armed forces, received arms from Pakistan and instigated the Muslim militant organization, by Qasim Razvi to terrorize the Hindu subjects. Qasim Razvi and its paramilitary wing, the Razakars began to attack trains, kill men, rape women and girls and loot people. Sardar Patel and even lord Mountbatten tried to negotiate but ended in failure. When the activities of Razakar assumed dangerous proportions, the Govt. of India sent forces under Major General J. N. Chaudhari to Hyderabad and within
three days, the State was brought under the control of the Indian Union. The integration problem of Kashmir has been festered for India. A seventy five percent Muslim populated state was ruled by a Hindu King, Maharaja Hari Sing on the eve of Indian Independence Kashmir occupied a strategic position on account of its international boundaries. Hari Singh also avoided to take decision on the integration due to certain reasons.

In October, 1947 tribesmen led by Pakistani army officers invaded Kashmir and advanced towards Srinagar, the Capital of Kashmir. The Muslims in the state joined the invaders and began to commit various atrocities against the people of Kashmir. Hari Singh appealed India for military assistance. But it was not possible for India to help Kashmir unless the state acceded to the Indian Union. On 26 October, 1947 Hari Singh signed the Instrument of Accession with India and in the morning of 27 October, 1947, the Royal Indian Air force planes landed in Kashmir. Jinnah did not recognize the accession of Kashmir to India & undeclared war between India and Pakistan continued. In December, 1947 on the suggestion of Lord Mountbatten, India agreed to refer the Kashmir Problem to the Security Council of the UNO-However, the Security Council, did not take note of the Pak invasion, it sided with Pakistan and converted the issue into India- Pak -dispute, which has not been resolved so far.

13. ADDITIONAL READINGS:-

2) Gupta M. L., Glimpses of Indian History, past and present.
3) Khanna DD and others, Democracy, Diversity, and stability-50 years of Indian Independence.
4) Nanda B.R. Essay in Modern Indian History, O.U.P., Mumbai.

14. QUESTIONS:-

1) Give an account of the Princely States on the eve of Independence of India.
2) Discuss the process and procedure adopted for the integration of Indian State with the Indian Union.
3) Examine the role played by Sardar Patel in the integration of Indian States.
4) Assess the integration of Junagadh, Hyderabad and Kashmir into the Indian Union.

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REORGANISATION OF THE INDIAN STATES

1. OBJECTIVES:-

In the study of this unit the student will:-

1) Understand the background and the need of the reorganization of states on the basis of language.

2) be able to know agitations carried on by the people interested in the reorganization of Indian states on the Linguistic basis.

3) Study the reorganization of Indian states Act 1956.

4) Study the creation of Andhra, formation of Nagaland, bifurcation of the Bombay state, bifurcation of Madras state and the division of Punjab into Punjabi speaking Punjab and Hindi speaking Haryana.

2. INTRODUCTION:-

The Britishers in India never created any province taking into account the cultural and lingual homogeneity. All that they cared was administrative convenience. In addition to this, the princely states had been merged in Indian Union as a matter of temporary arrangement and to speed up the process of integration. Therefore, there was a need to rationalize this adhoc arrangement as quickly as possible.

The Indian National Congress during the freedom struggle had already promised, to the people of India that after the independence the states would be reorganized taking into consideration the cultural and lingual homogeneity of the areas. Accordingly, S.K. Dar Commission was appointed to make recommendations about the reorganization of the states. The commission, submitted its report in December, 1948, it mentioned that the major consideration for the reorganization of the state
should be the administrative convenience and not the language of the people or their culture or traditions. This created much resentment among the people and received disapproval of the Indian National Congress. At the session of Jaipur, the Indian National Congress set up another committee consisting of Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramayya to examine the whole question afresh. This committee opined that it was better to reorganize the states on the basis of administrative convenience, but since there was great demand and public sentiments had sufficiently arisen, therefore, these might be reorganized on the basis of languages. But some of the leaders reported that it was not the proper time for reorganization of states, because the uncertainty in the country, would create some additional problems to the Government.

3. Need for the Reorganization of the States:

One of the important considerations in the task of national consolidation and integration immediately after the independence of the country was the reorganization of the states on the basis of language. The British had roughly drawn the boundaries of the presidencies and provinces for their administrative convenience rather than keeping in view the linguistic unity of the people. As a result the pre-independence British provinces were multi-lingual and multi-cultural entities.

The need for reorganizing the states on linguistic basis was felt due to various following reasons. 1) Language has been closely related to the culture of the people. Spread of education and literacy could be achieved through the medium of regional languages. 2) There was also a need to develop regional languages and regional literature. 3) Democracy could become meaningful to the people if politics and administration was conducted in the language that they could understand. 4) The reorganization of the states on linguistic basis was necessary so that educational, administrative and judicial activities could become relevant to the people.

During the national movement, the Congress had realized the importance of the mother tongue. Since 1921, the Congress had been organizing regional branches on a linguistic basis. Since then, the Congress had been advocating the rearranging the provincial boundaries on linguistic basis. Gandhiji was also in favour of the redistribution of provinces on linguistic basis. However, immediately after the independence the national leadership had to face a number of problems arising out of the partition of the country and accession of Kashmir to India. The government was burdened with the refugee problem, communal violence, economic and law and order crisis and a warlike situation against Pakistan. Under these circumstances it was decided to consolidate the national unity, rather than reorganizing the states on linguistic basis, which, it was thought might unleash divisive forces such
as regional and linguistic rivalries and might damage national unity and economic progress.

4. **Appointment of the Linguistic Provinces Commission (1948):**

The question of the reorganization of India on linguistic lines was taken up by the Constituent Assembly. In 1948, it appointed the linguistic provinces commission under justice S.K. Dar to enquire into the desirability of linguistic provinces. The Dar commission expressed its view that such a step might threaten the unity and integrity of the nation as nationalism and sub-nationalism might work as cross-purpose. Besides, the Commission felt that it might cause administrative inconvenience.

4.1. **The JVP Committee:**

The supporters of the reorganization of the provinces on linguistic lines, especially in the south were disappointed following the outcome of the Dar Commission report and the question remained politically active. In order to satisfy the voters of linguistic states, in December 1948, the Congress appointed a Committee Comprising of Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhai Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramayya. The JVP Committee’s task was to examine the findings of the Dar Commission. The Committee also came to the conclusion that the time was not opportune for the formation of new provinces on linguistic lines. The JVP Committee felt that the need of the time was to consolidate the gains of independence and solve economic and political problems. In spite of the JVP report, the Congress was in no position to oppose any popular demand for linguistic states. The Congress leadership was of the opinion that if there was any persistent demand for linguistic states and if other language groups did not have any objection, then a new state could be created. In spite of the JVP report, movements for the reorganization of states on linguistic basis gathered momentum throughout the country. For nearly half a century there had been a demand for a separate Andhra state carved out of the Madras Presidency for the Telugu people.

5. **Agitation for Creating Telugu state of Andhra:**

The division of the administrative units into A, B, C, D, categories was not satisfactory. This classification of states was criticized on the ground that it refused the principle of equal rights, guaranteed to all citizens under the Constitution of India. There was a growing demand for the reorganization of states on the principles of linguistic homogeneity both inside and outside the Constituent Assembly. However, it was rightly felt that the reorganization of states on linguistic basis would give rise to fissiparous tendencies, encourage intolerance, antagonism, provincialism, parochial patriotism, and bitterness among rival claimants. It would also
threaten the unity of the nation. Even then a powerful movement, demanding the formation of Andhra, unilingual state for the Telugu speaking people started under the leadership of Mr. Potti Sriramulu. Potti Sriramulu was a Gandhian, he undertook a fast unto death for the cause of Andhra State. The government failed to respond to his demand, Sriramulu died on the fifty eighth day of his fast i.e. on 19 October, 1952. The rampant hysteria in Andhra followed to Sriramulu’s death.

The situation in Andhra became very tense following the death of srimulu. For three days there was rioting, violence, demonstration all over Andhra. Following these disturbances, the government appointed Justice Wanchoo to report on the matter. The outcome of these developments was that the government conceded the demand for the formation of separate state of Andhra in October 1953.

Accordingly, the Parliament passed the Andhra State Act on October 1, 1953, carving a separate state of Andhra. It was the first unilingual state in India, by taking out some territory from the state of Madras as it existed at the commencement of the Constitution. This Act also made consequential provision, concerning representation, constitution and jurisdiction of the high Court, as became essential due to the formation of the new state.

Subsequent to the Andhra State Act, in 1953 the Parliament passed a number of other Acts relating to reorganization of states as under:-

6. The Himichal Pradesh and Bilaspur Act of 1954:

It merged the two states of Himachal Pradesh and Bilaspur to form the one state, called, Himachal Pradesh.

6.1 The Bihar and West Bengal Act, of 1956:

It transferred certain territories from Bihar to West Bengal.

7. The States Reorganization Commission (1955)

The creation of Andhra, as a separate unilingual state, gave a green signal to the people all over India, for strongly demanding the reorganization of their states on the linguistic consideration. Hence, on December 22, 1953, Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru announced in the Parliament that a commission would be appointed to examine objectively the question of reorganization of states on linguistic considerations. Accordingly, the Union Government appointed the States Reorganization Commission, under the chairmanship of Justice Fazl Ali. Sardar K.M. Panikkar; and Pandit Haridaya Nath Kunzru were other two members of the commission. The commission was asked to investigate the conditions of the problem, the historical background, the existing situation and all relevant factors there on. As unity and security of India, as well as economic and administrative consideration of the country.
7.1. **The Commission's Report (1955):** The Commission toured the whole country, received 152,250 memoranda, petitions, and communications, from the people and interviewed 9,000 persons. It submitted its report to the Government on 30 September, 1955. The Report consisted the following points as:-

The commission recommended the creation of 16 states and 3 Centrally Administered Territories as against the then existing states classified into A, B, C and D states. The commission suggested the creation of a bilingual state of Bombay, as the question of Bombay was not solved satisfactorily.

However, the commission did not recommend the creation of a Punjabi speaking state because such state would not have solved the language or the communal problems.

7.2. **The State Reorganization Act of 1956:** The Commission during two years of its work had to face a number of demonstrations, agitations and hunger strikes and clashes between different linguistic groups. After a painstaking investigation into the entire question of reorganization of the states on linguistic basis, the SRC submitted its report on 10 October 1955. In spite of strong reaction to the report of the SRC in many parts of the country, its recommendations were accepted with certain modifications. In November 1956, the parliament passed the States Reorganization Act. This Act provided for the establishment of fourteen states and six centrally administered territories also known as the Union Territories. By adding the region of Telangana from Hyderabad State the new State of Andhra Pradesh was created. Certain territories were added to the Madras state. By merging the Malabar district of the old Madras Presidency with Travancore-Cochin, the state of Kerala was formed. The new Mysore certain Kannada- speaking areas of the states of Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad and Coorg. The state of Bombay was enlarged by merging the states of Kutch and Saurashtra and the Marathi- speaking areas of Hyderabad and Madhya Pradesh. A new state of Madhya Pradesh was set up comprising the territories of existing Madhya Pradesh, Vindhya Pradesh, Bhopal and certain territories taken from Rajasthan. Patiala and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU) was added to the State of Punjab. Ajmer was added to the state Rajasthan.

The fourteen states of the Indian Union were as:- 1) Andhra Pradesh, 2) Assam, 3) Bihar, 4) Bombay, 5) Kerala, 6) Madhya Pradesh, 7) Madras, 8) Mysore, 9) Orisa, 10) Punjab, 11) Rajasthan, 12) Uttar Pradesh and 13) West Bengal, 14) The state of Jammu and Kashmir, was placed in the ‘B’ Part, with special status.

7.3. **Six Union Territories:** A Union Territory must be distinguished from a state. The state is a legal person capable of entering into contracts in its name or of suing in its own name, whereas the Union Territory is not a legal person. The Union Territory therefore, cannot enter into contracts in its own name. Moreover, the Indian Union is composed of only states, which enjoy the status of members of the federal system and
share a distribution of powers with the Union. The states and the Union Territories, under the Act, were as under: 1) Andaman and Nicobar Islands and 2) Delhi 3) Himachal Pradesh, 4) Manipur and 5) Tripura. Before 26 January, 1950, these regions were administered as the Chief Commissioner’s Provinces. 6) Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands, the territory specified in section 6 of the state’s Reorganization Act, 1956.

7.4. Zones and Zonal Councils:- The states Reorganization Act, 1956 provided for the creation of five Zones of States and Zonal Councils, with a view to promote closer co-ordination and co-operation among States and Union Territories.

The Five Zones were as: - 1) The northern Zone, included the states of Punjab, Rajasthan, Jammu and Kashmir, and the Union Territories of Delhi and Himachal Pradesh, 2) The Central Zones, comprised the states of Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh, 3) The Eastern Zone, composed of the states of Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Assam and Nagaland and the union Territories of Manipur and Tripura. 4) The Western Zone, consisting of Maharashtra and Gujrat, 5) The South Zone, was formed of the states of Andhra, Madras, Mysore, and Kerala.

Zonal Councils were organized in each of the five Zones. A Zonal Council was composed of 1) the Union Minister, appointed by the President, 2) the Chief minister of each state included in the Zone and two other ministers of each state in the Zone, nominated by the governor, 3) one member from each union territory nominated by the President, 4) the Advisor to the Governor of Assam for Tribal areas in the case of the Eastern zone, and 5) Advisers.

Each Zonal Council handled the following matters 1) reorganization of states, 2) economic planning and 3) matters of common interest and mutual benefit in social planning. The Union Minister acted as the Chairman of the Zonal Council. The Zonal council was to act as an advisory body to advise the central government and the government of each state concerned regarding the action to be taken on any matter.

7.5. Delimitation Commission:- The Delimitation Commission was to comprise of three members including the Chief Election Commissioner as the ex-officio member along with two other members nominated by the central government. The commission had to determine the population figures, the seats to be reserved for the scheduled Castes and Scheduled tribes.

7.6. Reorganization of the Bombay state Act of 1960:- However, the process of reorganization of states on the linguistic, basis did not come to an end for many years. The Maharashtrians demanded a separate state of Maharashtra with Bombay as its capital city for Marathi speaking people; on the same line, the Gujaratis demanded a state of Gujrat for Gujarati speaking people. After the establishment of the composite state of Bombay as per the provisions of the States Reorganization Act of 1956, there were widespread riots in Bombay for the separation of Maharashtra
from Gujarat. In January 1956, nearly eighty people were killed in Bombay city in police firing. The opposition parties, students, farmers, workers, artists and businessmen supported the protest movement. Under the pressure of the public opinion and strong protest, the central government decided in June 1956 to divide the Bombay State into two linguistic states of Maharashtra and Gujarat, and the city of Bombay also invited strong opposition from the Maharashtrians. Nehru hesitated and suggested the formation of bilingual greater Bombay. This proposal also was met with strong protest from the people of both Maharashtra and Gujarat. The Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and Maha Gujarat Janata Parishad in their respective regions carried on the agitation. Both Maharashtrians and Gujaratis demanded Bombay as the capital of their respective states. Violence spread to Gujarat as well. The agitation for separate states of Maharashtra and Gujarat continued for five years. Indira Gandhi, the Congress president in 1960, reopened the issue and the central government finally agreed to bifurcate the state of Bombay into Maharashtra and Gujarat. Bombay was to be the capital of Maharashtra and Ahmedabad that of Gujarat. The official sanction was given to the creation of the states of Maharashtra and Gujarat through the Bombay Reorganization Act, 1960, which came into force from 1 May 1960.

7.7. Formation of the States of Nagaland (1962):- In 1962, the Government of India created the new state of Nagaland with Kohima as its capital. Since the Reorganization of States Act 1956, the Eastern Part of India was equally disquiet. Some of the Naga leaders went underground and claimed that the Nagaland was not a part of India. In order to satisfy the Naga People a separate state of Nagaland was formed. Dr. Sarvapali Radhakrishnan, the President of India, inaugurated Nagaland on the 1 December, 1963, as the sixteen state of the Indian union. The newstate of Nagaland comprised of the territories of Naga Hills, and Tuensang area, which were mentioned as a tribal area, in the sixth schedule of the constitution of India and formed the part of Assam State. In 1971, the union territory of Himachal Pradesh was elevated to the status of the state. The Northeastern Areas Reorganization Act, 1971 gave the status of states to Manipur, Tripura and Meghalaya.

7.8. The Punjab Reorganization Act of 1966:- When the state of Punjab was created the linguistic principle was not given due consideration. As a result the new state of Punjab became a trilingual state comprising of people speaking the languages of Punjabi, Hindi and Pahari. There was agitation in the Punjabi speaking area for a separate, of Punjab. The States Reorganization Commission overlooked this demand. Soon the question of the assumed communal colure as the Akali Dal claimed that Punjabi language written in was the mother tongue of the Sikhs, where as the Hindu people led by Jan Sangh opposed the Sikh demand for the Punjabi suba claiming that Punjabi was not their mother tongue. The issue became complicated due to the involvement of religion. Nehru and other Congress leaders were opposed to the creation of any state on religious basis. The Akali Dal under the leadership of Sant Fateh
Singh continued its agitation for a separate state for the Sikhs. On 25 September, 1965, Sant Fateh Singh threatened to self immolation as a martyr, if the demand of the Punjabi speaking people is not met. Finally, in 1966, Indira Gandhi, as the Prime Minister agreed to the division of Punjabi into two states, Punjab having Punjabi speaking and Haryana with Hindi speaking population. The Pahari speaking districts of Kangra and Hoshiarpur were merged with Himachal Pradesh. The newly built city of Chandigarh, which had been the capital of United Punjab, was converted into a Union Territory and was to be the joint capital of both Punjab and Haryana.

7.9. A Critical Appraisal: - The reorganization of the states on linguistic lines was completed after more than ten years of continuous popular struggle, which included agitation, hunger strikes, in certain cases violence and even death of the agitators due to police firing. Through determination and farsightedness, the political leadership of that period tried to settle the complex question of the reorganization of the states by showing sensitivity and respect to public opinion. In spite of apprehension of weakening national unity, in the final analysis one can come to the conclusion that loyalty to the language was quite consistent and even complimentary to the loyalty to the nation. The federal structure was not weakened due to the reorganization of the states. By meeting the popular demand to have their own states on the basis of language, the Government of India tried to eliminate the root cause of alienation and recurring conflict among the people of different linguistic groups inhabiting the same administrative unit. However, it cannot be denied that the reorganization of the states on linguistic lines has not solved all the problems. Linguistic conflicts still exist in the border regions of various states. Boundary disputes, such as between Karnataka and Maharashtra over Belgaum, water dispute between Karnataka and Tamil Nadu, the problem of linguistic minorities in different states coupled with linguistic chauvinism, and The ‘Sons of the Soil’ doctrine adopted by certain political and regional groups posed a danger to the unity of the country.

8. SUMMARY:-

The Reorganization of states on the linguistic basis was germinated in the Government Act of 1919. The Indian National Congress often promised to create the states on the Language and cultural considerations. Because the British had roughly carved the boundaries of the states for their administrative convenience rather than keeping in view the linguistic unity of the people.

Moreover, there were other factors responsible for the demand of the reorganization of states in independent India. They were as: - 1) Language is
closely related to the culture of the people. Spread of literacy could be achieved through the mother tongue or regional languages. 2) Democracy could become meaningful if the administration was conducted in the language that the people could understand. Accordingly, the constituent Assembly appointed a commission, under Justice S.K. Dhar in 1948, to inquire into the desirability of Linguistic states. The Dhar Commission expressed its views that such a step might threaten the unity and the integrity of the country. This disappointed the people, who supported the reorganization on linguistic lines. In order to satisfy these people, in December 1948, the Congress appointed a committee of Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel and Pattabhi Sittaramayya, known as JVP Committee. This committee did not support the issue of reorganization of states on linguistic lines but also advised the Government to solve other pressing problems faced by the country. In spite, of the JVP report, the Government agreed to the demand of a separate Andhra State for Telugu speaking people. The state was carved out of the Madras presidency, which was supported by all eminent political leaders. The formation of the state of Andhra encouraged the people of various language groups to have their own states. Under this circumstance, the Government of India appointed the state Reorganization Commission under the chairmanship of Justice Fazl Ali. In November, 1956, the Indian Parliament passed the States Reorganization Act on the basis of the recommendations of the Commission. This Act provided for the establishment of fourteen states and Six Union Territories. The State Reorganization Act also empowered the Government to divide India into five
administrative Zones. Each Zone was to have a Zonal Council-under the Chairman of a Central Minister. The Zonal Council was to act as an advisory body to the central Government and the concerned State Governments.

However, the demand for linguistic states augmented and got momentus day after day. In the erstwhile Bombay state, there were widespread riots for the separation of Maharashtra from Gujarat. In January, 1956, eighty people were killed in police firing in Bombay city. Under these circumstances, the central Government bifurcated the state of Bombay into Maharashtra and Gujarat on 1st May, 1960. In the same way, Nagaland was formed out of Assam in 1962. There was a long demand for separate Punjab for Punjabi speaking people. When the Akali Dal under the leadership of Sant Fateh Singh threatened self immolation as a martyr if the demand for a separate state of Punjab was not met. The Union Government was, thus, passed the Punjab Reorganization Act of 1966 and created a separate Punjab for Punjabi speaking people, Haryana for Hindi speaking people and the Union Territory of Chandigarh. The northeastern Areas Reorganization Act of 1971 gave the status of states to Manipur, Tripura and Meghalaya. By reorganizing the state of Assam, Union territories were created out of Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh. Thus, the Indian Government tried to eliminate the major linguistic problems in the country.

9. ADDITIONAL READINGS:-
2) Gupta M.L., Glimpses of Indian History, Past and Present.
3) Khanna DD and others, Democracy, Diversity and stability-50 years of Indian Independence.

10. QUESTIONS:-
1) Account for the Reorganization of Indian states on the basis of Language after the Independence.
2) Examine the report of the Reorganization Commission submitted to the Govt. of India.
3) Discuss the reorganization of the states of Bombay and Madras.
4) Assess the reorganization of the states of Punjab and Assam.
THE NEHRU ERA – (1947-1964)
Socio – Economic Reforms (1947-1964)

1. OBJECTIVES:-

After completing this unit the student will be able to-

1) Understand the social legislation during the period of Pandit Nehru.
2) Know the educational development carried on under Nehru.

3) Explain the Community Development Programme started to develop the rural India as soon as India secured independence.
4) Understand the labour legislations passed to reform their conditions under Nehru.
5) Know the land reforms passed between 1947 and 1964.
6) Explain the economic reforms, which took place under Pandit Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India.

2. INTRODUCTION:-

Liberation from the foreign rule was one of the objectives of the Indian national movement. Independence is meaningless unless the society is liberated from the age-old social evils. Even during the British rule attempts were made to free the society from the social evils. A number of socio-religious reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy worked hard to promote liberal education, emancipate women and uplift the depressed classes. During the national movement Gandhiji imagined a nation where social distinctions would not be there and women along with all occupy equal place in the country. In consonance with this, the father of the Indian Constitution tried his level best to bring about the social transformation. They included Article 36 which stated that the state
should strive to promote the welfare of the people. In order to realize this objective, the Congress in 1955, in its Avadi session officially adopted the phrase of Socialistic Pattern of Society. During the period of Nehru a number of reform programmes were introduced by the government. they were land reforms, beginning of planned economic development and expansion of public sector. Besides, a labour legislation was introduced which granted the workers the right of collective bargaining the right to form trade unions and to go on strike, security of employment, health and accident insurance. Attempts were made towards equitable distribution of wealth through progressive tax policies.

3. Abolition of Untouchability: -

Untouchability a discriminatory social practice that had been deeply rooted in the social structure of the Hindu Society still continued. In order to deal with this issue effectively the government passed the Anti-Untouchability Act in 1955. In an attempt to provide social justice to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and other weaker sections of the society, the government is implementing the clauses of reservations in educational institutions and government services and started special facilities such as scholarships, hostel accommodation, housing and health care. To supervise the implementation of the constitutional provisions for the welfare of these sections of the society, a commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is appointed. In spite of all these measures, a majority of the people belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes continue to be backward. They constitute a large part of the landless labourers.

4. Emancipation of Women: -

Since the ages the woman has been the worst victims of social inequality. They realized their strength during the freedom struggle as they fought along with men to liberate the country from the foreign yoke. It is said that one can judge the degree of civilization of a country by the social and political position of its women. In order to improve the condition of women Nehru took several steps and introduced the Hindu Code Bill in the parliament in 1951. However, the conservative sections of the society strongly proteted against the passage of the bill. Though the Congress, women MPs, and activists were in favour of the bill Nehru decided to mobilize wider support of the people. The Congress under Nehru came to power in 1952-53 and passed the Hindu Code Bill in four separate Acts. These were the Hindu Marriage Act, the Hindu Succession Act, the Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act and the Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act. These Acts have placed the women on equal footing with men. The age of consent and marriage was raised. Women were given the right to maintenance and inheritance of the Family Property.

5. Educational Development:-
5.1. Primary Education: - Jawaharlal Nehru and his government realized that for social and economic development and for building up a democratic society progress in education was essential. In 1951 only 16.6 per cent population was literate. A provision was made in the Constitution empowering the state to provide free and compulsory education to children up to the age of fourteen. Realizing the importance of education the government set aside large sums of money for primary, secondary, higher and technical education. Due to these measures, the school enrolment doubled for boys and tripled for girls between 1951 & 1961. In the field of secondary and higher education also the progress was impressive. The number of universities increased from eighteen to fifty-four in 1964. However, the target of universal and compulsory primary education could not be achieved due to several economic constraints.

The implementation of the spread of education and literacy, in the Third Plan met with several difficulties. In 1965, several schools had not basic facilities such as buildings, blackboards and drinking water. Nearly forty per cent of the schools were ‘one teacher’ schools. There were some other problems as the high rate of dropouts, girls were more than the boys in the dropout, and the quality of education was not up to the Mark. Hence, Nehru began to put more emphasis on the primary education.

5.2. Secondary Education: - In 1959, the Government of India appointed the Secondary Education Commission under the Chairmanship of Dr. A.L. Mudaliar, the Vice-Chancellor of Madras University. The Commission, in their Report pointed out that the education imparted in Indian schools was isolated, from the life and failed to train the whole personality of the pupil. Hence, the Commission made several recommendations relating to the organization of education, technical education, public schools, Co-education, methods of teaching, the system of examination and evaluation, study of languages and training of teachers. Some of the recommendations of the Commission were implemented by the Centre and the States under the Second-Five Year Plan. Stipends and scholarships were provided to the deserving students. However, the Kothari Commission said that education in India increased social segregation and widened class distinction, instead of facilitating the emergence of egalitarian society in the country.

5.3. Higher Education: - The Government of India appointed the University Education Commission, under the Chairmanship of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan in 1948. The Commission surveyed the University education and made several recommendations to the government. The establishment of the University Grants Commission and the introduction of the three-year degree courses were the direct results of the recommendations of the Commission. Under the Second Five-year Plan, professional and technical education was expanded. Several Indian Institutes of Technology and Regional Engineering Colleges were
established. The number of Universities rose from 27, to 64 in 1965-66 and the colleges increased from 542 to 1,788. The number of students of higher education also rose to 14.9 lakhs. The National Council established thirteen institutions, one each at Sriniketan, Gandhigram, Udaipur, Jaminagar, Bironli, Richpuri, Sanohar, Gargoti, Amravati, Rajpura, Coimbatore, Hanumanamath, and Wardha. To facilitate the agricultural education in the country, agricultural universities have also been established in Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa and Rajasthan. Even then the rate of the spread of education remained very low in, rural India and slightly increased in the urban areas.

6. Community Development Programme:

To lay the foundations of the welfare state in the country, the Community Development Programme was launched on 2 October, 1952 on a limited scale. It covered fifty-five development blocs. The each bloc consisted hundred villages. Finally, the programme was extended to all villages in the country. The Block Development Officer and Gram Sewaks supervised the Community Development Programme. The programme covered the improvement in agricultural methods, communications, health and education. Self-help or self-reliance, people’s participation and responsibility were the basis of the programme. It was aimed as a people’s movement for their own welfare. Use of better seeds and fertilizers, and better methods increased food production. Construction of roads, tanks and wells improved communication and irrigation facilities in rural India. Educational and health facilities also improved to certain extent. Gradually, the programme declined due the lack of people’s participation in the developmental activity, which was the primary aim of the programme, seemed to be defeated. As Dr. D.R. Gadgil said that the programme was characteristically originated with a foreign expertise and it was sponsored and functioned through the top bureaucrats. Naturally, it was bound to be a failure.

7. The Panchayati Raj:

The Government appointed a committee under, Balwant Rai Mehta, the Ex-Chief Minister of Gujarat to evaluate the Community Development programme. The Committee Strongly criticized the functioning of the programme and recommended the decentralization of the rural and district development administration. On the recommendation of the Committee the three-tier Panchayati Raj was implemented from 1959. As, the Gram Panchayat, Panchayat Samitis, and Zilla Parishads. The Community Development programme was amalgamated with the Panchayati Raj. Nehru, the first Prime Minister, wanted through the Community Development Programme to change the rural society into a dynamic and progressive society. The micro-level development coming from the village population was considered to be the best means of national development. However, a number of factors scuttled one of the finest experiments of the
Nehru Era. The state governments showed no real enthusiasm in implementing the Panchayati Raj. The Panchayati Samitis were not given adequate powers. The functioning of the Panchayat Samitis, Politicization, factionalism and corruption made the Panchayat Raj inefficient. The rich farmers wielded power in the villages and dominated the Panchayats means the Local Self Government in India.

8. Land Reforms

8.1. In 1949, to enhance the agricultural production, the government introduced far-reaching land reforms in various provinces of the country. All intermediary tenures were abolished. The landlords challenged the constitutionality of the law abolishing Zamindari. The Patna high Court upheld the Zamindars’ plea. The Congress government met the challenge of the Zamindars by introducing the first Constitutional Amendment in 1951 and fourth Amendment in 1955. Absence of proper land records made the task of abolishing the Zamindari system difficult. In spite of these difficulties, the process of land reform was completed by the end of the fifties. This led to the twenty million tenants to become landowners of the land they cultivated.

8.2. The ceilings on the size of landholdings aimed at distributing land equitably. In 1946, the all India Kisan Sabha had supported the demand for a maximum limit of landownership of twenty-five acres per landholder. The Committee headed by Jawaharlal Nehru had recommended the fixing of the maximum size of landholding. The Congress Agrarian Reform Committee recommended a ceiling on landholding which was to be three times the size of an economic holding. The First Five Year Plan also was in favor of the upper limit of land that an individual held.

In January, 1959, the Nagpur Session of the Congress adopted a resolution for the implementation of the land reforms and fixing of land ceilings. The excessive land acquired was to be placed under the Panchayats and managed through cooperatives consisting of landless labourers. There was severe criticism of the Nagpur Resolution from different quarters. The right-wing forces consolidated against the land ceiling proposal. The state legislatures showed no enthusiasm in implementing the Nagpur Resolution.

All the land ceiling laws had several deficiencies as the ceiling fixed on the land holding was quite high. In Andhra Pradesh, it varied from 27 to 312 acres depending on the nature of the land. In Assam it was 50 acres, Kerala 15 to 37.5 acres, Punjab 30 to 60 acres, Maharashtra 18 to 126 acres. As the ceiling was imposed on individuals it enabled the landowners to divide their holding in the name of relatives to escape from the land ceiling legislation. In spite of the land ceiling legislations were passed in 1961, till the end of 1971 no tangible result was there. A mere 1400 acres were declared surplus in major part of the country. Only in Jammu and Kashmir the legislation was more effectively introduced and
about 230,000 acres of surplus land was distributed among the needy people of the state.

8.3. Acharya Vinoba Bhave initiated the Bhoomdan Movement in 1953. He organized an all-India federation of constructive workers, whose aim was a non-violent transformation of the society. He moved from village to village and persuaded the landowners to donate at least one-sixth of their lands, which would be distributed among the landless poor. Though the Bhoomdan Movement had the support of the Congress, Jayaprakash Narayan withdrew from active politics in 1953 and joined Vinoba’s Movement. Vinoba Bhave received the first donation of land in April 1951 in a village in the Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh. In less than three months he had covered about 200 villages and received 12,200 acres of land in donation. The movement spread in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh also. The movement achieved a certain degree of success and by March 1956 over four million acres of land was received as donation.

In the end the movement was transformed into Gramdan or donation of village. Under this movement the entire land of the village was to be owned collectively. This movement started in Orissa and became successful. There were around four and a half thousand Gramdan villages by the end of 1960 spread over in Orissa, Maharashtra, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and Madras.

9. Labour Legislation:

During the British rule labour legislations were introduced in the form of Factories Acts, which were enacted periodically beginning from 1881. There were other legislations covering different aspects of employment and benefits for the labourer, its working hours, holidays, wages, and security.

As soon as the independence, Indian industries were passing through the phase of depression. The Government of India took early action to bring together employers and workers to accept a period of Industrial Truce. Several laws were enacted during 1947-50 in order to achieve the objectives of industrial growth and labour welfare. The Industrial Dispute Act of 1947 provided for conciliation and arbitration in the settlement of industrial disputes. The Factories Act of 1948 extended the scope of factory legislation to all power-using establishments employing ten or more persons. The Minimum Wages Act of 1948 empowered the Government to fix minimum rates of wages for different categories of workers in the specified occupations. The Employees State Insurance Act 1948 extended medical benefits for workers and their family members. The Parliament of India adopted several legislations, as Plantation Labour Act of 1951, Employees Provident Funds Act 1952, and Mines Act. 1952 and of Maternity Benefit Act 1961 were important.

10. Economic Reforms:-
The famous Karachi Resolution of the Congress in 1931 visualized that ‘the state should own all key industries and services, mineral resources, railways, waterways, shipping and other means of public transport’. In 1938, under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru, the National planning Committee was established. It drew up a comprehensive plan of development. In the Plan known as the Bombay Plan, the business leaders expressed their support to public sector. They believed that by promoting public sector the problem of lack of capital goods industries could be solved and India’s dependence or foreign countries for plant, machinery and finance could be reduced. Under these circumstances it was felt that the public sector had to play a crucial role in the industrial progress of the country. Thus, Nehru and the left nationalists on one hand and the capitalists on the other were unanimous to reduce external dependence.

10.1. Industrial Policy Statements: The Industrial Policy Resolution of 6 April 1948 said that, industries in India would be divided into four categories: as (1) Industries under the state monopoly such as arms and ammunition, atomic energy generation and railways. (2) Industries for which the state will be exclusively responsible these industries included coal, iron and steel, aircraft, ship building telegraph, telephone and mineral oils. (3) Industries, subject to central regulation and control. Such were the machine tools, fertilizers, cotton and woolen textiles, cement, salt and paper. (4) Industries left to private enterprise, but participation of the state was expected for progress and expansion.

10.2. Mixed Economy: In which the responsibility of industrial development was shared between the state and private enterprise. Even before the First Plan, about Rs. 33 crores worth of industrial investment had been made by the central government in the Sindhri fertilizer factory and the Chittaranjan locomotive factory. In the First plan the Central government proposed to invest in iron and steel production machine tool and ship building industries; perambur railway coach factory, a factory at Pimpri. Under the new ‘Mixed Economy’ model it was projected that the public and private sectors were to co-exist within the broad objectives of the national plan. The strategy of India’s Second Five Year Plan was in favor of building up ‘heavy’ public sectors which were steel plants at Rourkela, Bhilai and Durgapur, a heavy engineering factory near Ranchi, the Hindustan Shipyard at Visakapatnam, and electrical equipment plant at Bhopal. The private sector was to be involved in the Tata Iron and Steel Works, expanded production in aluminum, ferroalloys, cement and engineering industries, development of certain simpler types of machinery such as cotton textile machinery and modernization of equipment in cotton mills and jute textile factories. Industrial development in the Third Plan was the same as the Second Plan. It was realized the Indian leaders made the country poor by neglecting the utilization of its resources and not developing the skill of the people. Some of them, therefore, started thinking seriously about the economic problems of India.
The introduction of economic planning in Russia and transforming Russia into a second major power in the world made the Indians think about introducing economic planning in India in order to improve Indian economy. Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru set up the National planning Committee in 1938 in order to prepare a comprehensive report for the introduction of economic planning in the country. When the Committee was working hard, the Bombay Plan was drawn by eight leading Indian industrialists for economic development of India. The economists in the country produced a meaningful literature and suggested approaches for economic development of the country as under:

10.3. Establishment of the Planning Commission:- Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, who had understood the importance of the application of science and technology in transforming the course of human life, set up the Planning Commission by a Resolution of the Government of India, Passed in March, 1950. The Planning Commission was to make an assessment of the material, capital and human resources in the country including technical personnel and to investigate the possibilities of augmenting them. It was to formulate a plan for the most effective and balanced utilization of the country’s resources and the Commission was to determine the priorities and define the stages in which the plan should be carried out and propose the allocation of resources.

10.4. Objectives of the Plans: - The Planning Commission was required to formulate the Five Year Plans within the framework of the Directive Principles of State policy stated in the Indian Constitution. The purpose of those plans was to ensure the people adequate means of livelihood, the right to work, education, and minimum standard of living.

To transform a poverty stricken agrarian Indian economy into a developed economy, the Planning Commission of India, under the Chairmanship of Jawaharlal Nehru kept before her the following objectives: as (1) a rapid increase in national and per capita income by increasing the production of the country. (2) The balanced industrialization of the country (3) faster development of Indian agriculture. (4) achieve self sufficiency in food and raw materials to meet the needs of India. (5) Full utilization, mobilization and development of the man power, to solve the problems of mass unemployment and under employment. (6) reduce inequalities to develop an egalitarian society. (7) create socialistic pattern of Indian Society.

10.5. Establishment of the National Development Council: - In the federal set-up of India, economic and social planning is in the Concurrent List. Unless there is mutual consultation between them, it is not visualized that the plans would be executed properly. Hence, the Government of India set up the national Development Council, consisting of the Ministers of the Central Cabinet, Chief Ministers and the Members of the Planning Commission. The Prime Minister has been the ex-officio Chairman of the Council. As the result of the discussions took place from time to time on
the plan proposals in the National Development Council, the system of economic planning become democratic in nature. With the help of the objectives and the machinery stated above, the planning Commission prepared: (I) the First Five year plan for the years 1951-52 to 1955-56; (II) the second Five year plan for the years 1956-57 to 1960-61; and (III) the third Five year Plan for the years 1961-62 to 1965-66, in the Nehru Era in order to carry out planned economic development of India.

10.6. The First Five Year Plan (1951-52 to 1955-56):- The central objective of planning was defined by the planning commission of India as initiating a process of development which would raise living standards and open out to the people new opportunities for a richer and more varied life. The Economic planning was viewed by the planning Commission as an integral part of a wider process aiming not nearly at the development of resources in a narrow technical sense, but at the development of human faculties and building up of institutional framework adequate to the needs and aspirations of the people of India. The planning Commission framed the First Five year plan after facing the problem of making a choice, of striking a balance between a number of competing objectives like: reduction of inequalities and maximizing production; and production of the consumer goods and build up enduring assets and capital goods.

The First Five year Plan indicated the process of development of the larger efforts in the time to come. That plan took into account the necessity of completing the schemes of development initiated by the Central and the State Governments prior to the commencement of the plan. It also took into account to correct the maladjustments caused by the Second World War and the partition of India. The plan had very limited resources as Rs. 2,377.7 Crores for the public Sector. It had therefore taken great care in allocation of the resources. It gave topmost priority to agriculture, irrigation and power. That was because the plan wanted to complete projects already at hand which were going to increase the production of food and raw materials. It also gave priority to railways, being the backbones of transportation in India.

The plan wanted to develop the resources of the Private Sector. It made a modest beginning in setting up key industries like iron and steel, heavy chemicals, electrical industries. It also planned for the development of social services like education, technical training and health. It made adequate financial provision for technical training because of its importance to the process of development itself in India. As stated above the First Five year plan also laid emphasis on the utilization of local manpower for local development and initiated a programme of Community development. That programme was aimed at transforming the social and economic life of the villages. The National Extension Service was given the responsibility to implement that programme.

10.6.1. Achievements of the First Year Plan:- In March, 1956, India had made significant progress as the result of the First Five Year Plan.
The national income of India increased by 18 per cent over the Five Years: The output of food grains increased by 20 per cent; of cotton by 45 per cent, and of oilseeds by 8 per cent: Over 6 million acres of additional land was brought under irrigation, and another 10 million acres benefited from smaller irrigation works: Industrial Production increased steadily: In public sector important industrial projects were completed: Considerable private investment, in producer and capital goods industries increased and preliminary work in steel plants and a heavy electrical plant was completed.

10.7. The Second Five Year Plan (1956-57 to 1960-61):- The Second Five Year Plan provided for a larger increase in production, investment and employment, and accelerates the institutional changes needed to make the Indian economy more dynamic and more progressive.

Objectives of the Second Five Year plan: - The plan aimed to increase the national income, so as to raise the level of living standard in the country: Rapid industrialization, emphasized the development of basic and heavy industries: Expansion of employment opportunities and reduction of inequalities in incomes and wealth also was expected.

10.7.1. Socialistic Pattern of Society: - The Second plan pointed out to raise living standards and generate a dynamics in the economy which would continue to increase higher levels of material well-being and of intellectual and cultural achievements. The farmers of that plan said that the rising standard of material welfare is not an end itself; it is essentially a means to better and fuller life. It was, therefore, decided the pattern and lines of economic development must be related to the basic objectives which the Indian Society wanted to implement.

Those basic objectives were converted into a phrase that is known as the Socialistic pattern of Society. The Socialistic Pattern of Society is as per the objective of social and economic policy was accepted by the Indian Parliament in 1954. It meant that the primary criterion for determining the lines of advance must not be private profit but social gain. Also that the pattern of development and the structure of socio-economic relations should be so planned that they resulted not only in appreciable increase in national income and employment but also in greater equality in income and wealth. In other words, the benefits of economic development must accrue more to the relatively less privileged classes of society and the social surroundings should be created in which the small man should have chances of rising in life. In effect, the socialist pattern was a more concretized expression of the Directive principles of State policy embodied in the Constitution, of India.

10.7.2. Development of the Mixed Economy: - The socialist pattern of society meant taking on heavy responsibilities like causing rapid expansion of the public sector; playing a dominant role in planning to shape the private as well as public investment; and initiating all round
development of Indian people. The Second Plan envisaged an increase in the output of goods and services should be secured through development of both the private and the public sector, the two sectors should function in union. The Planning Commission felt while preparing the Second Plan that “Cooperation should become the principal basis of organization in several branches of economic life, notably in agriculture, small industry, distribution, construction, and provision of essential amenities for local communities. The Industrial Policy Resolution of the planning Commission pointed out that the principle of cooperation should be applied wherever possible.

10.7.3. Achievements of the Second Five Year Plan: - The Second plan achieved the increase in the national income of India by 20 per cent as against the initial target of 25 per cent per capita income rose from Rs. 284 in 1950-51 to Rs. 306 in 1955-56 and Rs. 330 in 1960-61; agricultural production expanded by 40 per cent and the output of food grains by 46 per cent; and the net output of industries multiplied.

10.8. The Third Five Year Plan- 1961-62:- As a result of the achievements of the Second plan and the confidence of the valuable experience gained by the Planning Commission under its Chairman, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, it prepared the Third Five Year Plan on large and ambitious scale.

The principal aims of the Third Plan were to secure and sustain, the increase of 5 per cent per annum in the national income; achieve self-sufficiency in food-production and expand basic industries like steel, chemical industries, fuel and power and establish machine-building capacity, to further industrialization. To ensure substantial expansion of employment opportunities and fuller utilization of the manpower. To establish progressively greater equality of opportunity.

The Third Plan was obstructed by the Chinese aggression in 1962: The aggression of Pakistan in 1965 became a disruption in the flow of foreign aid: The necessity of stepping up defense outlays led to inflation. The severe and widespread drought which hit the country in the last year of the Third Plan resulted in a sharp fall in agricultural production: The fall in the income of agriculture, the sharp rise in prices, and the death of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, hampered the work of this Plan. Even then the Third Five Year Plan of India achieved the progress in various sectors as follows:-

10.8.1. Agriculture: - Agriculture is the mainstay of the Indian economy. But without water it cannot be undertaken properly. As a result, the Five Year Plans in India were required to undertake measures to supply water. India has total water estimated 16, 77,500 million cubic meters, but hardly six per cent of this was utilized for irrigation and producing electricity before 1947. As irrigation projects before 1947 were few and no efforts were made to control the monsoon floods, the Indian
farmers were at the mercy of the uncertain rainfall in 82 per cent of the cultivated areas. In some areas recurring river floods proved to be dangerous to crops, and lives. The Three Five year plans thus, gave a high priority to the flood control projects.

The big projects undertaken during the three Five years plan were Bhakra Nangal, Rihand, Damodar Valley, Hirakud, Kosir, Mayurakshi, Nagarjunasagar, Chambal, Lower Bhawani, and Tungabhadra. Those projects were used for irrigation, flood control and production of electricity, which was the pressing need of the country.

These big projects involved enormous capital, human labour and great engineering skill. The Bhakra Dham in Punjab, which is 225.5 meters high, is one of the highest dams in the world. The irrigation canals running from bhakra are over 5,000 Km. long. The Hirakud Dam in Orissa, including its flanking dykes, is 25 Km. long, in the world. The Three Five Year Plans developed the allied occupation like animal husbandry, poultry farming and fisheries. The Key village scheme was started with the aim of increasing milk production and the efficiency of India’s cattle.

10.8.2. Development of Cooperative Movement: - The cooperation has made much progress in agricultural credits, procession and marketing. There were over 100,000 agricultural societies with a membership of 4.4 million. In 1963-64, the number of societies and the membership increased many times. During the plan, the cooperation was extended to farming: The pilot projects and cooperative farming societies were organized. Cooperative farming enabled the small land-holders to pool their resources together and secure large-scale benefits.

Agricultural development could not reduce the unemployment problem in India. Therefore, the Third Five Year Plan encouraged various village industries like handloom, khadi, silk, coir and handicrafts. Naturally, these industries helped to meet the demands of consumer goods and solved the problem of unemployment in the country.

10.8.3. Development of Industry: - The Third Five Year Plan laid down the foundation for the industrial development in India. The basic needs of industrialization of India was steel, machine building capacity and electric power. The plan built those industries in the country. The steel production of India in 1951 was only one million tones which was quite inadequate to meet the industrialization. The Government of India set up three new steel plats in the public sector which were Bhilai, Ruurkela and Durgapur. The production of steel in those plants ensured a steady supply of steel to fulfill the demands of rapid industrialization of India.

In order to supply fertilizers at reasonable rates to farmers, the Government of India established Sindri Fertilizer Factory, which increased the agricultural yield in multiplicity in 1964.
The Indian industrialists invested heavily in industries like iron and steel, chemicals, fertilizers, petroleum, refining, textiles, cement, sugar & paper industry. As a result, many new items, articles like machinery, cement, paper industries, urea, ammonium phosphate, synthetic fibres, new spirit, dyestuffs, boilers, tractors, antibiotic drugs, motorcycles and scooters and petroleum products were produced for the first time in India. Jute, sugar and cotton textile mills were modernized and re-equipped. Due to the production of various consumer goods, increased textiles by more than 60 per cent, sugar by 300 per cent cement and automobiles by 300 per cent, aluminum by 400 per cent, and bicycles by 1,000 per cent in the country.

10.9. Assessment of the Economic Reforms: - The First and Second plans had shown that the biggest obstacle to economic growth was the slow expansion of agricultural production. Thus, one of the Chief objectives of the Third Plan was to achieve self sufficiency in food grains, and increase agricultural production to meet the requirements of industry and exports. Other objectives were expansion of basic industries, power generation and machine building capacity. The Third Plan could not achieve its targets because of political uncertainties, and repeated failure of the monsoons which led to revision of plan targets, during 1965 and 1966. Food production increased only two per cent a year against a target of sex per cent. Lack of political will in implementing the land reform legislation, and the non availability of agricultural inputs also contributed to the low agricultural production. The biggest failure of the Third plan was an increase in prices of food and consumer essentials to the tune of 48.4 per cent.

The First Three Plans under Nehru proved that India became a modern industrialized nation. Under these plans India nearly became self-sufficient in food production. Nehru’s policies between 1951 & 1961 succeeded in raising India’s national income by forty-two per cent. Taking these things into consideration the achievements were significant to a newly independent nation like India.

The initial economic achievements were retarded by the huge growth of India’s population: Nehru failed to devise any programme to limit its growth of the population. In 1959, the Indian government adopted the family planning programme but its implementation was half-hearted. In the long run the population explosion undermined the advances in agriculture and industry. In spite of expansion of education, Nehru could not arrest the level of illiteracy and unemployment.

In spite of many odds and handicaps, Jawaharlal Nehru, a genuine statesman, tried to give the country a socio-economic direction to meet the challenges of the nation. It is true that all the reform programmes introduced by his government were not completely successful.
11. SUMMARY:-

Several social reformers tried hard to reform Indian Society during the British period. They promoted education, encouraged women and less privileged people to take education. But no considerable progress was achieved till the independence of the country. Independence has no meaning unless the society is liberated from its own evils, traditions and customs. Hence, the framers of the Indian Constitution took upon this challenge and included several articles in the Constitution to bring about the transformation of Indian society. By Article seventeen of the Indian Constitution, practice of untouchability in any form was abolished. Untouchability, the age old system, created deep rooted inequalities. To improve the socio-economic status of this section of the society, the Government of India had been extending the facilities like Scholarships, hostel accommodation, housing and health care. But they are utterly inadequate. A Commissioner to Supervise these facilities had been appointed but this section continued to be backward and oppressed. As the untouchables, the women had been the worst victim of social inequality and injustice. In order to improve the condition of Indian Women, Pandit Nehru passed the Hindu Code Bill in four separate Acts, as the Hindu Marriage Act, the Hindu Minority Guardianship Act, the Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act. The Acts enabled the Government to enforce monogamy, diverse, to fix marriageable age, maintenance and right to inherit the family property. Even though, the Women secured these rights the practice shows that very few women take benefits of them and they remained secondary in the Society.

India inherited illiteracy on a huge scale from the British rule. In 1951, only 16.6 per cent population was literate and the rural figure was around six per cent. Realizing the importance of literacy in democratic set up, Nehru provided funds for primary, secondary and technical education. As the result, between 1951 and 1961 the school enrolment was doubled. During the same period, the number of universities increased from 18 to 54. Pandit Nehru, in order to start the welfare state in the villages, introduced the Community Development Programme and Panchayati Raj. Under the First Programme, fifty five development blocks were covered, each block consisted hundred villages. Block Development officer supervised the programme, which covered whole country by 1960. To Supplement the Community Development Programme, the Panchayat Raj System was introduced. This aimed at the decentralization of the District and rural administration. The three tier hierarchical Panchayat Raj System was implement from 1959. But within a short period of time politicization, factionalism, corruption made Gram Panchayat, Panchayat Samiti and Zilla Parishad inefficient. To improve the conditions of peasants and increase agricultural production, Pandit Nehru introduced far-reaching legislations and land reforms as abolition of Zamindari
System & imposition of ceilings on the landholdings. In spite of these legislations, no concrete results were seen till 1971. Vinoba Bhave, a Gandhian leader, initiated a very innovative movement, later came to be known as the Bhoodan Movement or land gift movement. The movement aimed to secure one sixth land from the landowners and distribute them among the landless hard working people for its maximum use. Within a short span of time, Vinoba Bhave received about 12,200 acres of land. By 1955, the movement was transformed into donation of village movement.

As a matter of fact, the economic reforms started with the Karachi Session of Indian National Congress in 1931. The Resolution in the same year, suggested that the state should control all key industries. In 1938, under Pandit Nehru, the National Planning Committee was established, which guided the further course of economic development. In 1948, the Government of India announced the Industrial Policy Resolution, which divided Indian industries into four categories. The Resolution also ushered the mixed economy, in which the responsibility of industrial development should be shared between the state and the private enterprise. The strategy of the Second Five year Plan was in favor of heavy industries. Such industries were established at Rourkela, Bhilai and Durgapur. After the independence, the National Planning Commission was established. Pandit Nehru being the Prime Minister of India was the ex-officio Chairman of the Commission. The Commission arranged Five Year Plans on the basis of Soviet Union and intended to achieve development of the economy and the country. The First and the Second Five Year Plans were successful but the Third Five Year Plan could not succeed, due to certain circumstances.

12. ADDITIONAL READINGS:-


4) Chandra Bipin, Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India, Delhi, 1966.

5) Nanda B.R; Essays in Modern Indian History, O.U.P. Mumbai.

13. QUESTIONS:-

1) What were the social legislations enacted during the period of Pandit Nehru? Bring out its Significance.
2) What were the social reforms carried out by Pandit Nehru between 1947 and 1964?

3) Write a critique on the Labour Legislations and Land Reforms executed during the Nehru Age.

4) Account for the economic development during the Nehru Age.

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INDIA AFTER NEHRU

DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENTS-RISE OF MRS. INDIRA GANDHI

1. OBJECTIVES:-

After the study of this unit the student will be able to.

a) Understand the developments after the death of Nehru and Lal Bahadur becoming the Prime Minister of India; his problems and tragic death.

b) Know the events after the death of Lal Bahadur Shastri and Mrs. Indira Gandhi becoming the Prime Minister of India.

c) Explain the tussle for power between the Congress came to be known as Syndicate and Mrs. Indira Gandhi, weakening of the Syndicate and strengthening the position of Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

d) Comprehend the factors responsible for the abolition of the privy purses.

2. INTRODUCTION:-

Pandit Nehru was the prime Minister and Foreign Minister for the longest period in the history of India. He was the First Prime Minister of independent India. He also had actively participated in the Indian Freedom struggle and was fully aware about the problems, the country faced, after the independence. Pandit Nehru only laid down the profound policies in the internal administration, to give solution to those problem. He, therefore, was very popular in and outside India. Nehru's sudden death gave birth to a controversy that who would succeed to Nehru as prime Minister of India. In his book 'India Today' published in 1960, Frank Moraes, discussed this question at length. He first assessed the possibility of Nehru's successor being found from among three political figures of the day Rajendra Prasad, Govind Pant and Morarji Desai, but each one had this or that problem and acceptability of any one of them seemed very bleak. A masterly analysis of the question was also made by Welles Hangen in his book, After Nehru, who? Hangen came to the conclusion that Lal Bahadur Shastri was the person most likely to succeed Nehru, though he warned that Shastri’s health migh cut short his tenure.
3. Lal Bahadur Shastri as the prime Minister:

Lal Bahadur Shastri was born on 2 October, 1904, at Moghalsarai near Benares. By a remarkable coincidence Shastri's birth date 2 October was the same as that of Mahatma Gandhi, who was born thirty five years earlier. In 1906, when Lal Bahadur was just eighteen months old, his father died suddenly of the plague. When he was 4 years old he started his education. At the age of twelve, Lal Bahadur dropped his surname Varma, thus became just Lal Bahadur Shastri was added to his name in 1925, after he acquired the degree of Shastri, from the Kashi vidyapeeth in Benares.

The period between Nehru's deaths on 27 May 1964 and the consolidation of power under Indira Gandhi in 1971-72 constituted a prolonged succession crisis and struggle for power. Nehru's death had caused a sort or political vacuum, especially in the Congress Party. There were two contenders for the post of Prime Minister ship, Morarji Desai and Lal Bahadur Shastri. They were poles apart in their nature and approach. Morarji Desai was senior and most experienced Congressman, a sound administrator and honest, but he was rigid, arrogant, intolerant and self-righteous. The big business, big farmers and moneylenders backed him. Lal Bahadur Shastri was mild, tactful, incorruptible and highly respected. The question of succession was decided by a group of Congress leaders who were collectively known as the 'Syndicate', which was formed in 1963, with regional party bosses such as Atulya Ghosh of West Bengal, N. Sanjiva Reddy of Andhra Pradesh, S.K. Patil of Bombay & S. Nijalingappa of Mysore Karnataka. The Syndicate supported Lal Bahadur Shastri as Prime Minister. Desai withdrew from the race and shastri was elected unopposed as the parliamentary leader and was sworn in as prime Minister on 2 June 1964. Mrs. Gandhi was made Minister of Information and Broadcasting. But Lal Bahadur Shastri lacked the Nehru Charm, but commanded great respect both within the Congress Party and in the Parliament of the country. Yet to many other it seemed that he did not have the firmness and the direction needed to govern a country like India. These apprehensions appeared to be confirmed in 1965 when Hindi was finally proclaimed as India's national language. Nehru had struggled to prevent the imposition of Hindi as the only national language in 1950 and had tried to postpone the issue for fifteen years and was suggested that the government should take decision considering the existing situation in 1965.

The Kashmir issue had been simmering since the independence in 1947. India refused to give up her position while Pakistan continued to press her claims to the whole state. In October 1965, Pakistani troops disguised as civilian volunteers infiltrated into Kashmir in another attempt
to surprise India and capture the state. This ultimately resulted in full-scale war between India and Pakistan and Shastri took full control of the situation and Pakistani forces were defeated and driven back. As a result Shastri became a national hero and a dominating political figure. Under the auspices of the Soviet Union, a peace conference was arranged at Tashkent in Central Asia. General Ayub Khan, the President of Pakistan and Shastri met at Tashkent on 4 January, 1956 and signed the Tashkent Declaration. However, in the moment of victory for the nation and personal prestige to Shastri as the Prime Minister, tragedy struck in the form of heart attack and Shastri died at Tashkent on 10 January 1966.

4. Indira Gandhi as the Prime Minister:-

After the death of Lal Bahadur Shastri, Morarji Desai staked his claim to the top post in the country. However, the syndicate, which had aversion to Desai, decided to bypass his claim and looked around for some one whom they thought, would be able to control. Their choice was Mrs. Gandhi. Mrs. Gandhi had lived with her father as his hostess and closest companion. In the public eye she was the person most closely associated with his legacy. She had a gradual rise in the Congress hierarchy. In 1959 she had been elected president of the party. However, Nehru had consistently refused to give her a position in the government. The Syndicate was, thus, shrewed in its choice of Mrs. Gandhi as the next Prime Minister. The succession of Mrs. Gandhi was stage managed by kamaraj. Twelve Chief Ministers supported her. As Morarji Desai insisted on contesting the election as the leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party, a secret ballot in the CPP was held on 19 January 1966. Mrs. Gandhi polled 355 Votes and defeated Desai who polled only 169 votes.

Coalition Governments:-

The fourth general elections to the Lok Sabha and the state assemblies, Were held in February 1967. This election witnessed a sharp decline in the popularity of the Congress Party. Though the Congress Party succeeded in retaining control of the Lok Sabha, its seats were reduced from 361 to 284 out of 520. In West Bengal and Kerala the left parties were successful. The loss of Congress was translated into gains for the communal, feudal, right wing and regional parties. Congress lost its majority in eight states Both Jan Sangh and the Swatantra party made substantial gains both in the parliament and state assemblies. This election signaled the end of the massive majorities of the Nehru era. Except in Tamil Nadu, where the Dravida munnetra kazagham party formed the government, coalition governments were installed in all other states. In Punjab, Bihar and U.P., opposition governments included Swatantra, Jan Sangh, Bharatiya Kisan Dal, Socialists and Communist Party of India. Congress also formed coalition governments in some of the states where it had been reduced to minority. Except the Dravid Munetra kazagham government in Tamil Nadu and the Swatantra-led
Government in Orissa, the coalition governments in other states proved to be highly unstable and could not survive for long. The council of Ministers became unwieldy, shifting loyalties for money and power became common, and the political defection was adopted to destabilize governments and form new governments promising ministerial berths.

**Scramble for power in Congress Party:**

The 1967 elections drastically changed the balance of power within the Congress. The Syndicate received a major blow as several of its members, including Kamaraj, Atulya Ghosh and S.K. Patil lost the election. Most of the loyal followers of the Syndicate also failed to get elected to the parliament and the state assemblies. Under these circumstances, the position of Mrs. Gandhi within the party was strengthened. She asserted her position as the leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party and manifested her freedom in the choice of ministers and distribution of portfolios. Morarji Desai, who had not given up his dream of becoming the Prime Minister of India, after a compromise accepted the position of Deputy Prime Minister in the Cabinet.

**6.1. Widening Gulf in Congress:**

There developed the differences between Syndicate and the Central Government under Mrs. Gandhi. The gulf widened between the two factions due to several reasons, after the elections of 1967. Among them, there were two issues which became very significant. First was dealing with the growing popular protest accompanied by violence, and the second was regaining the popular support to the party that was on the decline. The two factions within the party were broadly divided ideologically not only in dealing with these issues but also regarding the future economic and political policies that the party should adopt. The general mood within the Congress immediately after the setback in the 1967 elections was to tilt to the left.

**6.1.1. Introduction of the Ten Point Programme:** In may 1967, the Congress Working Committee adopted the radical Ten-Point Programme. It included the social control of banks, nationalization of general insurance, state trading in import & export trade, ceilings on urban property and income, restrictions on business monopolies and concentration of economic power, public distribution of food grains, rapid implementation of land reforms, provision of house-sites to the rural poor, and abolition of princely privileges. But the right-wing in the Congress began to assert itself and openly promoted right-wing policies such as dilution of planning in economic field, encouragement to private sector and foreign capital, and suppression of the left and protest movements.
6.1.2. In fighting on Presidentship of the Congress: - Though Mrs. Gandhi headed the government, the party organization was beyond her influence as the Syndicate controlled it. On Kamaraj’s retirement as the president of the Congress at the end of 1967, Mrs. Gandhi’s attempt to have a friendly person to head the party was foiled by the Syndicate, and the post went to the Conservative, Nijalingappa. She even failed to get some of her people elected to the Congress Working Committee. Meanwhile between 1968-69, the Syndicate began to conspire to dislodge Mrs. Gandhi from the office of the Prime Minister. The Syndicate members roped in Morarji Desai, their old foe in this plot. In spite of these developments, Mrs. Gandhi followed caution. She did not want to jeopardize the unity of the party and the stability of her government at that juncture. Thus, she tried to avoid any open conflict and a split in the Congress and accommodated the Syndicate and Desai in both cabinet making and policies, which the Syndicate had been asserting. However, when she faced a direct challenge to her position, Mrs. Gandhi decided to fight back to finish the Syndicate.

6.1.3. Resignation of Morarji Desai as Finance Minister: - In May 1969, Zakir Hussain, the President of India died unexpectedly. This speeded up the fight between the syndicate and Mrs. Indira Gandhi. In July, 1969, without consent of Mrs. Indira Gandhi the Syndicate nominated Sanjiva Reddy, a prominent member of the Syndicate, as the Congress candidate for presidency. Fearing the designs to oust her from office by using Sanjiva Reddy’s Presidency, Mrs. Gandhi decided to carry the battle to the opponent’s camp. She deprived Morarji Desai of his finance portfolio and took it under her charge. Mrs. Gandhi’s argument was that as a conservative he was not capable of implementing her radical ten Point Programme. Desai resigned from the cabinet. Through presidential ordinance, Mrs. Gandhi nationalized fourteen major banks in July 1969, and also announced her plan to withdraw the special privileges of the Princes. Within short period, Mrs. Gandhi was perceived as the champion of the masses and her popularity went up.

6.1.4. Giri elected as the President of India: - There were three candidates contesting the presidential election. Besides the official Congress candidate, Sanjiva Reddy, there were other two in the fray; C.D. Deshmukh supported by the Swatantra and Jan Sangh and V.V. Giri, the Vice-President, who had decided to contest the presidential election as an independent candidate, supported by the communist and other parties. The Syndicate committed a tactical error when Nijalingappa approached the Jan Sangh and Swatantra leaders requesting second preference votes in favour of Reddy in order to ensure his election. This gave an excuse to Mrs. Gandhi to accuse the Syndicate of joining hands with the communal and reactionary forces to oust her from office. She decided to support V.V. Giri and asked the Congress MPs and MLAs to vote according to...
their ‘Conscience’, rather than issuing a whip in favor of the Congress candidate. The election results proved that nearly one third of them defied the organizational leadership and voted for V.V. Giri, who won the presidential contest with a narrow margin on 20 August 1969.

6.1.5. Disciplinary Action Against Indira Gandhi:- After the defeat of the official candidate of the Congress, the Syndicate decided to strike back at Mrs. Gandhi. The Congress President Nijalingappa issued notices to Mrs. Gandhi, Jagjivan Ram and Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, asking them to explain why action should not be taken against them. V.B. Chavan played the role of a peacemaker and a unity resolution was passed by which an attempt was made to bring about reconciliation between the two groups. However, this and other efforts could not bridge the gap between the two. The defeated and humiliated Syndicate in a final bid to salvage its reputation took disciplinary action against Mrs. Gandhi and on 12 November 1969, expelled her from the party accusing her of having violated party discipline.

Split in the Congress:-

The disciplinary action of the Syndicate against Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the standing Prime Minister of India was unique and it had taken place for the first time in the history of independent India. It was a great insult of the Post and Mrs. Gandhi. She did not want to let down the Syndicate and decided to fight to finish the Syndicate. Thus, the Congress Party finally split. Mrs. Gandhi’s faction of Congress came to be known as congress (R), stood for Requisitionists. The Syndicate faction of the Congress came to be known as Congress (O), ‘O’ stood for ‘Organization’. The break up of the congress was completed on 22 and 23 November 1969, when the Congress (R) held its session in New Delhi under the presidentship of Subramanian. Out of 801 members of the undivided All India Congress Committee (AICC), about 495 attended this session. The committee passed a resolution removing Nijalingappa from the President ship of the Congress In spite of her clear victory over the Syndicate Mrs. Gandhi lacked political strength, as her party did not command majority in the Parliament. Among the original Congress MPs 68 were still with the Syndicate. Hence, her government was in minority and she was dependent on issue-based support by the two Communist Parties, Socialists, DMK, Akali Dal and independent members of the Parliament.

7.1. General Elections of 1971:- Following the split in the Congress in 1969, Mrs. Gandhi felt that she had to depend on other Parties to get some of the progressive legislations passed in the Lok Sabha. She was waiting for an opportunity to dissolve the Lok Sabha Such an opportunity came her way when the Supreme Court struck down her attempt to abolish the privy purses of the princes. On 27 December 1970, Mrs.
Gandhi recommended the President, to dissolve the Lok Sabha and elections were ordered to be held in February 1971; In order to win popular support, Mrs. Gandhi announced a number of socialist policies, which she knew would appeal to the masses. The most important of these were abolition of the privy purses enjoyed by the princes and the nationalization of the banks. The results of the 1971 election were an overwhelming victory for Mrs. Gandhi and her Congress faction, who won a two-thirds majority in the Lok Sabha with 352 out of 518 seats. Mrs. Gandhi received the mandate she had sought, and she became the unchallenged leader of the Congress and a dominant political figure in the country, for a long time and enjoyed the second longest period as Prime Minister of India.

**ABOLITION OF PRIVY PURSES AND TITLES:-**

At the integration of the princely states with the Union of India, the rulers of those states were allowed to retain their properties privileges and they were also granted the privy purses. Sardar Patel and his lieutenant V.P. Menon had in 1947, persuaded the princes to merge their states with the Indian Union. In the following words, we are at a significant sage in the history of India. We all together can take the country to a new great height while lack of unity, would expose us to various calamities. I hope the Indian princely states would bear in mind that the alternative to cooperation in the general interest is anarchy and chaos which would overwhelm all in common ruin. They were asked not to extort revenue from the peasants and the government fixed the taxes. The princes were also asked to give up some of their nefarious activities, which had oppressed the peasants. In compensation, the government allotted the Princes Privy Purses.

**8.1. Factors leading to the abolition of Privy Purses:** - There were several factors responsible for the abolition of the Privy Purses. Some of the important are as under: - 1) Disparity in the Privy Purses: - These were granted according to the amount of land the ruler held and the revenue he drew from it. Thus, while some rulers like the Maharaja of Mysore remained immensely rich with a Privy Purse of Rs. 26 lakhs per year, other, whose states consisted of little more than a few acres, was allotted Privy Purses, which were comparatively negligible. For example the Talukadar of Katodia received Rs. 192 per annum as Privy Purse. Nevertheless, there were a large number of princes and lot of Privy Purses with a total amount of about Rs. 5.8 crores per annum.

**8.2. Rise of Privileged Class:-** The rulers enjoyed a number of Privileges and several exemptions from the operation of the Indian law. They were also permitted to retain their jagirs and personal property as well as the properties of the members of their-families. The government
took the responsibility of paying the marriage expenses of the family members of the rulers including brothers and sisters. They were granted other Privileges such as immunity from some processes of courts of law, immunity from requisitioning of the private properties of the rulers of the Indian states, during the negotiations at the time of merger, the Government of India through letters assured them that the Privy Purses would be allotted in perpetuity to their descendants. Further, they were also promised that the freedoms and Privileges enjoyed by them would be continued to their successors. This led to the rise of a Privileged Class, which had no responsibility.

8.3. Privy Purses a Burden on the Exchequer: The Privy purses were a burden to the Indian exchequer. Besides the erstwhile rulers were free to enjoy their properties and privileges, and were exempted from a number of taxes. Mrs. Gandhi looked at this situation with a sense of unease. There were only a very few princes who actually did anything. Dr. Karan Singh, the Maharaja of Kashmir, a tall, handsome, scholarly man, was a politician and a liberal, a supporter of Mrs. Gandhi. He wrote poetry and books on religion and culture. The Nawab of Pataudi played Cricket, captained the Indian team. And even contested Parliamentary elections and lost. Other princes played Polo; some had an interest in collection of stamps and coins. Many of the princes’s had considerable amount of family treasure. The maintenance of the princes was quite expensive to the government. The princes were considered as parasites. Though they had the Privy Purses, many of them locked upon these as trifles in comparison to what they thought they needed. Mrs. Gandhi found the Privy Purses an unnecessary drain on the government exchequer.

8.4. Apprehension of Insurrection of Princes: She felt that the princes could be a disruptive element in the country with their rightist tendencies. Some of the younger and adventurous among them were already talking about a kind of coalition of princes which would collect the people they had once ruled and fight the government, that is, Mrs. Gandhi. Those people were still under the Charisma of their once Kings. They were ready to resort to any act.

8.5. Rise of Terrorism: Mrs. Gandhi already had trouble with the Naxalite terrorists, followers of Mao Tse Tung’s ideology. In West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh, the Naxalites were attacking the police and beheading the land lords. With poverty all round, Mrs. Gandhi felt that the continuance of the privy purses would be unjustified. Thus, she decided to stop the privy purses of the princes and take away their titles. She argued that if the princes wanted money they would have to work for it. They would no longer be able to use their titles as earned badges of honour. From her point of view she was not only morally correct in putting
an end to a colossal waste of government money, but she was bent upon pre-empting any possibility of the princes joining to fight against her.

8.6. Resolutions for the Abolition of the Privy Purses:– The privy purses of the princes had first been raised at a Congress Working Committee meeting in May 1967. At this time Morarji Desai had said that it would be unethical to break the agreement on the privy purses. However, he had suggested that the existing agreement between the princes and the government could be revised, and ‘if we do not succeed in these efforts, we can take legal measures to give effect to our intentions… This was more or less what Mrs. Gandhi was saying at the time, though by 1969 her views had hardened decisively on this issue. The all-India Congress Committee passed a resolution on 25 June 1967 for the abolition to the Privy Purses. In furtherance of this resolution, the Union Home Ministry held several conferences with the representatives of the rulers. As many as six meetings between 3 November 1967 and 8 January 1970 were held. There were also a number of informal meetings and consultations, but nothing came out of them. The Government of India repeated its intention of withdrawing the recognition of the rulers and the withdrawal of the Privy Purses and Privileges.

8.7. Defeat of the Amendment Bill in the Rajya Sabha:– While addressing the two houses of the parliament, the president gave expression to the policy of the government. A bill was then moved in the Lok Sabha called the 24th Amendment Bill, 1970. The amendment of the Constitution was intended to terminate the privy purses and privileges of the rulers of the former Indian states. The 24th Constitutional Amendment bill was passed in the Lok Sabha on 2 September 1970, with 332 in favour and 154 against. The government was confident of passing it in the Rajya Sabha. However, the bill was defeated in the Rajya Sabha by one vote. It failed to secure the requisite majority of not less than two-thirds of the members present and voting. The bill secured the support of 149 members and 75 members voted against it. A terrific lobbying was done by some powerful princes. Who apparently spent a lot of money for it.

8.8. Presidential Ordinance Abolishing the Privy Purses:– After the failure of the government to pass the 24th Constitutional Amendment Bill in the Rajya Sabha, the cabinet met in the same night and decided to advise the president to withdraw the recognition of the rulers. The Prime Minister dispatched an official by a special jet to Hyderabad with the draft Presidential Order for President Giri’s signature, hours before the cabinet met to take the decision. The same night, V.V.Giri signed the Presidential Ordinance whereby the prince’s were stripped not only of their rights to privy purses but also of their titles. Separate orders were issued to all the rulers on 6 September 1970, and they were also notified in the Gazette.
8.9. Intervention of the Supreme Court: Immediately, after the presidential orders derecognizing the princes were challenged in the Supreme Court of India. The princes requested the court to issue a writ, order, declaring the order of the president to be unconstitutional and also an order declaring that the several petitioners continued to be rulers and thus entitled to their respective privy purses and personal rights and privileges. The petitioners wanted the court to issue a further order, direction the union of India to continue to pay the privy purses as before, and to recognize the personal rights and privileges and to observe the provisions of the Covenants and Merger Agreements. On 15 December 1970, the Supreme Court accepted the write petitions and held that the orders of the president were *Ultra Vires* and issued the necessary orders restoring full privileges to the princes.

8.10. Abolition of the Privy Purses: The Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi and the Congress accepted the challenge and decided to abolish the privy purses and privileges of the rulers. The failure to get the privy purses of the princes abolished and their titles withdrawn due to the lack of sufficient majority in both the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha prompted Mrs. Gandhi to think in terms of dissolving the Lok Sabha and seeking fresh mandate from the people. Mrs. Gandhi stayed passive until 27 December 1970. She recommended the president to dissolve the Lok Sabha and order elections in February 1971. After winning a thumping majority in the Lok Sabha elections in 1971, the government moved the Twenty-sixth Constitution Amendment Bill in the Lok Sabha in December 1971. The Bill was passed with overwhelming majority with 393 members present in the Lok Sabha supporting the bill. Following the Presidential assent to the bill on 31 December 1971, the privy purses, little and privileges of the Indian rulers were ultimately abolished for ever and saved the country from the unnecessary waste.

**SUMMARY:**

During the first decade after Independence, Nehru’s wish was the will of the people of India. After the death of Sardar Patel in December 1950, the Nehru era was in full swing. India loved Nehru and Nehru loved India, no one even could think an end to this idyllic situation. Nehru steered the country successfully through several odds. Then all of a sudden on 27 May 1964, Nehru suffered a heart attack at 6.30 a.m. and died before 2 p.m. After the death of Nehru, who would be the Prime Minister, was the dominant question in the mind of every Indian. The answer to this question was found by the political leaders of the Congress Party with in a few days, and that was the Lal Bahadur Shastri. On 2 June, 1964 India displayed to the world its political maturity. Gulzarilal Nanda proposed the name of Lal Bhadur Shastri, and it was seconded by Morarji Desai. Lal Bahadur Shastri was born coincidently on the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi, lacked Nehru’s Charm but commanded great respect
within the Congress Party and the Parliament of India. Shastri was troubled by two problems. The first was the Hindi language, which he proclaimed as India's national language and finished it. The second issue was of Kashmir. Pakistan started the full-scale war on this issue in October, 1965. Shastri defeated Pakistan and became a political hero. When he had been to Tashkent, Russia to signed a treaty, suffered a heart attack & died on 10 January, 1966.

The sudden death of Lal Bahadur Shastri once again started the war of succession to power. Morarji Desai, once lost to Shastri, staked his claim to the Prime Minister ship. But the Syndicate opposed him and selected Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the only daughter of Pandit Nehru, the first Prime Minister. The Syndicate was quite shrewd in choosing her as the next prime Minister. Though, she inherited the Nehru legacy, she was quite inexperienced and young woman, she would be dependent on them for each and every issue. But this dream of the Syndicate did not come true because most of the Syndicate members were defeated in the 1969 elections. Naturally their position began to weaken and Mrs. Indira Gandhi was strengthened in the Congress. The introduction of her Ten Point Programme and the election of the Congress. President in 1969 hasten the rift between Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Prime minister and the Syndicate, the senior members of the Congress. The syndicate supported Sanjiva Reddy's candidature for the post of the President of India, without the consent of Mrs. Gandhi. Indira Gandhi accused the Syndicate of planning to dislodge her and decided to support V.V. Giri, was elected as president on 20 August, 1969, due to Mrs. Indira Gandhi only. The above election and the Lok Sabha election of 1971 made Gandhi much stronger than the syndicate.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi was a progressive Prime Minister; she wanted to abolish, the Privy Purses, which were agreed to the Indian states at the time of their integration with the Indian Union in 1947. In the due course of time, the Privy Purses, the amount of expenditure on the families of Indian princes had been born by the Indian Government, had been a burden on the Indian exchequer. There was a possibility of the princes using this amount for disruptive activities against the government. Because some young and adventurous princes were already talking about a coalition between them and the people, once they ruled them. Hence, Indira Gandhi wanted to abolish the privy Purses. On 25 June, 1967 the All-India Congress Committee passed a resolution to this effect,. On 2 September, 1970, a bill known as the 24th Amendment was passed in the Lok Sabha, but was defeated in the Rajya Sabha by one vote. The cabinet wanted to get the Privy Purses abolished by the president ordinance. President V.V. Giri signed the ordinance on 6 September, 1970. Immediately, after the ordinance, the princes approached the Supreme Court of India. The petitioners requested the Court to direct the Union of India to continue the Privy Purses as before. The Supreme Court gave its decision on 15 December, 1970 declaring the Presidential
ordinance ultra vires. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and the Congress accepted the challenge and recommended the President to dissolve the Lok Sabha and order for the fresh elections. After securing a thumping majority in the February, 1971 elections, the government moved the Twenty Sixth Constitutional Amendment Bill in the Lok Sabha. The Bill was passed in December 1971. Accordingly, the Privy Purses and titles came to an end as Mrs. Indira Gandhi wanted.

**ADDITIONAL READING:-**


2) Upendra Baxi, Crisis and Change in Contemporary India, sage Publishing House, New Delhi, 1995.


**11. QUESTIONS:-**

1) Give a brief account of the Lal Bahadur Shastri’s achievements as Prime Minister of India.

2) Discuss the events that started struggle for power between the Syndicate and Mrs. Indira Gandhi.


4) Account for the abolition of the Privy Purses.
NATIONALISATION OF THE BANKS

1. OBJECTIVES:
After completing the study of this unit the student will be able to-

1) Understand the factors responsible for the Nationalization of banks in 1969.

2) Explain the major objectives of the Nationalization of Banks.

3) Understand the functions of the nationalized banks.

4) Understand the achievements and drawbacks of the Nationalization of Banks.

2. INTRODUCTION:

2.1. Untimely Death of Lal Bahadur Shastri: - Shocking news stunned Delhi on the morning of January 12, 1966. The news had landed from Tashkent, Russia of the death of then Prime Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri. A short, soft spoken man, Lal Bahadur Shastri had been chosen by the party bosses in preference to the more rigid and assertive Morarji Desai, perhaps under a misconception that he would be pliable enough. But within some months, Lal Bahadur Shastri, a quite man from Varanasi proved that he was not a person, what the Syndicate expected. He had nerves of steel, what India needed. Pakistan’s uncalled for war in 1966, provided him an opportunity; to prove that he was as strong as one could hope for at that critical moment. His sudden death after signing the Tashkent Declaration let lose a number of rumors and rejuvenated the crisis for power in the country.

2.2. Indira Gandhi as the Prime Minister of India: - Even before the ashes had cooled on the pire of Lal Bahadur Shastri, the followers of Morarji Desai staked his claim for the post of Prime Ministership, which had been lost to Shastri some months before. Despite having acted as her father’s confident, through out his tenure as India’s Prime Minister, Indira remained shy, retiring and soft spoken personality. Lal Bahadur persuaded her to join his cabinet as Minister for Information and Broadcasting on her father’s death. The Ministry given to her required a sensitive mind, and she had been still remembered by the professionals in the Ministry, as the best Minister they ever had. At the residence of the Congress President a consensus was emerged in favour of Indira Gandhi as the next Prime Minister of India. On 19 January, 1966, at the meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party, Indira Gandhi was elected to succeed Lal Bahadur Shastri, as the leader of the party.
2.3. Adoption of Socialistic Pattern of Society: - After independence, India aimed at a socialistic pattern of society. This goal was expected to be achieved through the effective functioning of the joint sector. As such, the two sectors, private and public, were allowed to function independently of each other. The public sector was wholly owned and controlled by the government. The private sector was regulated through the system of licenses, controls and legislative acts. The public sector was made to grow by nationalization of industries which required huge capital outlay like steel and power supply or which provide public utility services.

3. Factors Responsible for Nationalization of Bank:-

The nationalization of 14 major banks through an ordinance promulgated on July 19, 1969 has since become an Act. The decision has been described as historic, momentous, bold and timely by certain sections of people, while others had vehemently criticized it as wrong and untimely and apprehended serious consequences to the economy from its implementation.

The demand for bank nationalization in India was as old as the adoption of its socialist goal by the Congress Party. It received an added emphasis in what is now known as the Ten Point Programme of the A.I.C.C. But the persistent and vociferous demand for bank nationalization was first met by social control of banks under which the banks were forced to adopt some of the policies and directions issued by the Government. While the social control policy was being followed since the beginning of 1968, the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, thought fit to nationalize the 14 top banks in the country in July 1969. Let us spell out the various factors which compelled the government nationalize the banks as under:-

3.1. Nationalization of the Imperial Bank of India: - The banks had been the custodians of savings and institutions to provide credit. They mobilize the resources from all the sections of the community by way of deposits and channelize them to industries by way of loans. The first step in the nationalization of commercial banks was taken in 1955 when the biggest commercial bank, the Imperial bank of India was nationalized and re-named as the State Bank of India. The act of nationalization was resorted to make commercial bank credit available to rural areas. The State Bank’s statute required it to open at least 400 branches within five years.

3.2. Banks never advanced Loans to Agriculture: - After the independence it became quite evident that, without liberal supply of credit for agriculture the benefits of new technologies of agricultural production could not be reaped. Till then the bulk of commercial bank credit was available for industry and commerce. It was observed that the commercial banks were directing their advances to the large and medium scale
industries, and the priority sectors such as agriculture, small-scale industries and exports were neglected.

3.3. **Banks were in the hands of Moneyed People:** - The Chairman and Directors of Banks were mostly industrialists. Naturally, they were interested in sanctioning large amount of loans and advances to the industries with which they were connected.

3.4. **Weaker Sections needed Financial Assistance:** - Farmers, small artisan and petty traders had to borrow loans at exorbitant interest rates from non-institutional sources, which included large traders. The trading and money-lending activities led to excessive exploitation of weaker sections of the society, which was not a healthy practice for development. The issue of nationalization of major commercial banks along with the abolition of the privy purses of the former rulers of the states was taken up in the Congress Working Committee meeting in May 1967.

3.5. **Ten point Programme of Mrs. Indira Gandhi:** - It was one of the Ten-Point programmes that the Congress Working Committee adopted after the poor performance of the Congress in the 1967 elections. A major decision was taken to nationalize the commercial banks and insurance companies. Rich businessmen had founded most of these institutions, and they loaned money to other rich businessmen. People involved in small-scale industries found it difficult to obtain loans to carry on their business.

3.6. **Establishment of social control over the Banks:** - Morarji Desai, as Finance Minister, pointed out that the government had deliberately asked commercial banks in the past not to lend money to peasants. This was apparently a policy designed to facilitate the formation of more rural Co-operative banks. But, Desai maintained that it was possible that what he called Social Control could be exerted through the Reserve Bank upon the commercial banks, to widen the scope of their loans. He said that Social Control would be far more effective than nationalization. With this approach Morarji Desai introduced the bill in the Parliament, which was passed as the Banking Laws in December 1968. It came into force on 1 February 1969. Desai made a statement in the Parliament on the eve of introducing the bill to amend the banking laws. He explained that the aim of social control was, to regulate our social and economic life to attain the optimum growth rate for our economy.

3.7. **Ownership and control in a few hands:** - The commercial banks were owned and controlled by a very small number of shareholders who were able to determine the pattern of allocation and investment of bank finance according to their own individual interests and convenience. Concentration of ownership of banks in a few hands has directly been responsible for concentration of economic power and the intensification of disparities of income and wealth in the country. This is against the
Directive Principles of the Indian Constitution which demand a reduction of concentration of economic power and wide disparities in income and wealth.

3.8. **Concentration of Wealth and Power:** - It is stated that the Indian Commercial Banks have been controlled by a few big industrial magnates who use the funds of the banks to build up huge industrial empires, which have become virtual monopolies. This has led to concentration of wealth and economic power in the hands of a few persons.

3.9. **Failure to mobilize resources:** - Private commercial banks had failed to open branches in small towns and large villages. As a result, they failed to mobilize the saving of the community, specially of the rural sector, small towns and lower income groups. Besides they drained the savings of some states and diverted them to others. Thus they had been instrumental in lopsided regional development.

3.10. **Resources utilized by the directors:** - It is pointed out that the resources of banks were utilized by the directors of the banks to promote their personal interests or they have been used in those concerns in which the directors are interested. This means that the savings of the general public which have been mobilized by the commercial banks have not been used for general economic development but for the promotion of the business and industrial concerns of the directors.

3.11. **Discrimination against small business units:** - It is pointed out that commercial banks had been used by those who had controlled and managed them in favor of large industrial and business units. Small borrowers had not been able to approach the banks and had been discriminated against. Such a policy of banks went against the policy of the government to encourage small-sale and medium industrial units.

3.12. **Indifference to the needs of agriculture:** - In spite, of the fact that agriculture is the basic industry in the country, it had been completely ignored by commercial banks. They remained largely indifferent to the credit needs of farmers for agricultural operations and land improvement. This is regarded as a basic reason for the failure of planning in the agricultural sector and consequently for the failure of general planning. Thus, commercial banks failed to contribute to the development of the vital priority sectors of the economy, which were small-scale industries and agriculture.

3.13. **Misuse of Funds:** - It is pointed out that the funds of the commercial banks had been used for hoarding of essential articles and for speculation. That is, the bank lent loans to anti-social elements who were able to get large profits through exploitation of shortages of essential goods. The rise in prices is due to the activities of these anti-social elements who were getting the backing of banks for their activities. The Reserve Bank of India had been unable to prevent the misuse of funds.
3.14. Five-Year plans and Commercial Banks:- As already indicated, commercial banks failed to contribute to financial resources for the vital priority sectors of the Indian economy. The private control of commercial banks in a planned economy is an anachronism which has been an obstacle to the achievement of plan objectives in India.

It was thus argued that the Indian Commercial Banking System had not fulfilled its proper role in the planned development of the nation. It was controlled by a coterie of industrialists and business magnates who used public funds to build up private industrial empires. Small industrial and business units were being continuously and consistently ignored. Agricultural credit was never seriously considered. Public funds were used to support anti-social and illegal activities against the general public. Naturally, the commercial banking system should be taken over by the Government and the funds should be used to carry out the objectives of comprehensive planning.

4. Aims and Objectives of the Nationalization of Banks: -

There were several aims of the nationalization of banks. Some of the important aims were as under: - 1) The nationalization of commercial banks was aimed to increase the overall efficiency of the banking system. 2) It was argued that due to nationalization deposits would increase. 3) To increase the confidence of the people in public sector banking. 4) The government could appoint experienced personnel to run and manage the banks. 5) The public sector banks could give preference to priority sectors. 6) As the nationalized banks would accumulate deposits from the public, they would be in a position to bring about changes in the supply of money. 7) When a country aimed at socialistic pattern of society, the role of public sector undertakings had to be extended in all spheres of the economy. 8) To start and run the public sector undertakings the government required enormous financial requirements. Private Commercial Banks might have obstructed such policies and might have hesitated to finance public sector undertakings and above all they might have discriminated against them. Therefore, the nationalization of commercial banks was necessary as the Government wanted to establish socialism. 9) Other arguments were that the nationalization of banks were the prevention of concentration of economic power in the hands of few. 10) Initially, a few leading industrial and business house had close association with commercial banks. The directors of these banks happened to be the same industrialists who established monopoly control on the bank finance. They exploited the bank resources in such a way that the new business units could not enter in any line of banks, thus, it would prevent the spread of the monopoly enterprise. 11) There was no adequate social control as some banks did not follow the regulations given under social control. Thus the nationalization was necessitated to create social control on the bank. 12) The nationalization of banks would ensure the availability of resources to the plan-priority sectors such as public
sector industries and agriculture. 13) The public sector banks opened branches in rural areas where the private sector had failed, so, to mobilize rural savings, and assist the agriculture to prosper it as needed in a country like India where more than 70% of the population depended upon agriculture. Thus, for providing increased finance to agriculture, banks had to be nationalized. 14) Private bank neglected the backward areas because of poor business potential and profit opportunities. It was believed that nationalization would help in providing bank finance in such a way as to achieve balanced inter-regional development and remove regional disparities. 15) In a developing country like India there was a need for exercising strict control over credit created by banks. If banks were under the control of the government it would become easy for the Central bank to bring about coordinated credit control. 16) The nationalized banks were sure to command more confidence with the customers about the safety of their deposits. 17) The planned development of nationalized banks would impart greater stability for the banking structure. 18) Nationalization also ensured the staff of banks to enjoy greater job security and higher emoluments. 19) To help banks motivate their staff and increase the operational efficiency of banks.

5. Nationalization of the Fourteen Banks:

Mrs. Gandhi was under pressure from the Syndicate. She was waging a battle for her survival and to assert her position in the government and the party. The Syndicate had only formally accepted the Ten-Point Programme and was determined to stall its implementation. The left wing in the Congress argued for a new political and economic strategy that would go back to develop Nehru's socialistic agenda. It wanted that Congress should implement the Ten-Point Programme, and enhance its appeal to the urban and rural poor, Harijans, Tribals, Minorities and Women through radical reforms. There was a strong desire that the Congress once again should become a vehicle for social change and economic development. With this view the Government of India, on 19 July 1969 nationalized fourteen major Indian banks. In her broadcast to the nation on the eve of nationalization of the banks, Mrs. Gandhi summed up the objectives of the nationalization. The decision to nationalize major banks is to accelerate the achievements of our objectives. The purpose is to expand bank credit to priority areas which have hitherto been neglected.

The nationalization of the fourteen banks was done under the Banking Companies Act of 1969. This Act spelt out the objectives and the reasons for nationalization as the following: The banking system touches the lives of millions and has to be inspired by a larger purpose and has to subscribe to national priorities and objectives, such as rapid growth in agriculture, small industries and exports, raising of employment levels, encouragement of new entrepreneur and the development of the backward areas. For this purpose it was necessary for the government to
take direct responsibility for the extension and diversification of banking services and for the working of a substantial part of the banking system. The nationalization of the banks was challenged in the Supreme Court. In February 1970, the Supreme Court gave its verdict invalidating bank nationalization on the grounds that it was discriminatory and the compensation paid was inadequate. However, Mrs. Gandhi used the Presidential Ordinance to renationalize the banks.

6. Nationalized Banks:

The following were the fourteen nationalized banks in 1969: 1) Central bank of India, 2) Bank of India, 3) Punjab National Bank, 4) Bank of Baroda, 5) United Commercial Bank, 6) Canara Bank, 7) United Bank of India, 8) Dena Bank, 9) Syndicate Bank, 10) Union Bank of India, 11) Allahabad Bank, 12) Indian Bank, 13) Bank of Maharashtra and 14) Indian Overseas Bank. Following nationalization, the banking network registered unprecedented growth, with banks reaching hitherto untouched areas, adopting backward areas and developing them. Nationalization of banking was enlarged on 15 April 1980 with the nationalization of six more Indian banks under the Banking Companies Act, 1980. These six banks were: 1) Andhra Bank, 2) Punjab and Sindh Bank, 3) New Bank of India, 4) Vijaya Bank, 5) Corporation Bank and 6) Oriental bank of Commerce.

7. Working of Nationalized Banks:

Structurally, the commercial banking system in India has gained distinctly in strength and cohesion after bank nationalization in 1969. The policies and working of the nationalized banks have now been brought into closer harmony and co-ordination with those of the State Bank and its subsidiaries which, prior to the nationalization of the 14 banks in 1969, moved in a somewhat different orbit. A better environment has thus been created for the formulation and implementation of monetary and banking policies. The major achievements of nationalized banks are in the realm of branch expansion, and extension of credit to agriculture, small-scale industry and certain other hitherto neglected sectors.

Assistance to priority sectors. An off-repeated criticism against commercial banks prior to bank nationalization was that they neglected to provide credit to farmers, small industrialists, artisans and exporters. After nationalization, banks have devoted considerable attention to provide credit to those priority sectors. The public sectors banks have to be praised for the enthusiasm with which they took to the new task and reoriented their policies and procedures to cope with it. They have made good progress towards what was one of the main objectives of nationalization, as to give the small borrower an access to bank credit. Most of the borrowers were formerly at the mercy of money lenders and paying usurious rates of interest anything up to 36 per cent or even more. Commercial banks are now increasingly providing timely and adequate credit at a low rate of interest of 4 per cent.
Public sector banks have extended liberal credit facilities to the priority sectors, viz., agriculture, small-scale industries. The total credit extended by the public sector banks to agriculture, small-scale industries and other priority sectors went up considerably. As a result, advances to priority sectors as percentage of total credit increased from about 15 per cent in June 1969 to over 41 per cent by the end of 1984. As mentioned earlier, the rate of progress was rapid soon after nationalization but later progress was more modest. The relatively slow progress of advances to the priority sectors was due to the fact that the bank officials from top to bottom were not imbued with the new objectives of banking. At the same time, banks were also worried at the poor and unsatisfactory recovery performance of the agricultural and small sectors.

Bank nationalization was expected to give a great fillip to deposit mobilization, due partly to the expansion of a network of branches and partly to the incentives given to savers. The nationalized banks have succeeded in this important point. Deposit mobilization has been of the order of 16 to 17 per cent, every year since nationalization. It has, however, been observed that the foreign banks and the smaller private sector banks have registered for higher increases in deposits, indicating thereby a possible diversion of deposits from the nationalized banks to other banks. According to the opinion Estimates Committee of the Lok Sabha the nationalized banks have performed satisfactorily in respect of deposit mobilization and branch banking.

The most disturbing aspect of functioning of banks since nationalization is the expansion of bank credit in a reckless manner, probably under implicit or explicit policy directives from the Government. Usually, expansion of bank credit goes hand in hand with expansion of bank deposits. But initially soon after bank nationalization, credit expansion has been much larger at 24 per cent as compared to the expansion of bank deposits later, however, credit expansion is proportionate to expansion in deposits. Despite nationalization, some of the old abuses and mistakes regarding bank credit are still to be met with. For instance, the practice of taking personal guarantees of directors as an additional security is responsible for excessive flow of credit, for the impression that cheap credit is still available to well-established names in trade and industry and for making the guarantors rich by the commission paid by the borrowing concerns. The system of cash credit is also responsible, to a certain extent, for the excessive credit limits being granted. Finally, bank finance is being used as usual by borrowers to corner shares and acquire control over companies.

The Government has introduced the scheme of differential interest rates from April 1972. Under the scheme, the public sector banks have been giving loans at a concessional interest rate to the weaker sections of the community who have no tangible security to offer but who can improve their economic condition through financial assistance from banks. This
scheme has shown a marked increase both in number of accounts and the amount of advances outstanding in 1984. The phenomenal rise in lending under the scheme was attributable to the rigorous steps taken by public sector banks to step up their lending at concessional rates to the weaker sections.

One expectation of bank nationalization was that nationalized banks would provide finance for economic plans. In fact, the planning commission had placed high hopes on the banks providing finance for the Fourth plan. The banks were expected to contribute to the Government through the purchase of Government securities. But during 1969-70, the first year of the Fourth plan, the contribution of the banks to the plan finance was actually negative. There has not been much of a change in the succeeding years.

The basic weakness of the nationalized banking system in India is its failure to sustain the desired credit pattern and fill in credit gaps in different sectors. Even though the bank objectives have changed, the bank staff has remained virtually static and the bank procedures and practices have continued to be the age-old and outmoded ones. The yawning gap between promise and performance in banking industry has continued to increase. The basic reason is the failure of the bank staff to appreciate the new philosophy and new social objectives. As a well known critic stated. Area approach, Agricultural Development branches, village adoption plans, etc., will be of little use, if the grass-root level staff is not imbued with the motive and the vision of bringing about a silent revolution in the countryside.

The working result of the banks indicates that though there has been an increase in the profits of nationalized banks and the State Bank of India, the increase is relatively greater in the case of foreign banks and other Indian Scheduled Banks during 1973 to 1981. Efforts should, therefore, be made to increase earnings and reduce expenditure so that profit realized by the banks can be used for national development. Therefore, their contribution to plan finance can be considered only marginal.

8. Achievements of the Nationalization of Banks:

8.1. Nationalization was designed to accelerate investment and production to raise the living standards of the people. But it should be noted that nationalization was not an end in itself. It was a means to increase the economic prosperity.

8.2. The nationalization of banks in India did a wonderful job in the rural areas.

8.3. It has taken banking service to rural and remote areas; awakened the rural masses about the need and usefulness of banking service.
8.4. It greatly helped in the speedy transfer of funds from one place to another.
8.5. It provided thousands of job opportunities to educated youth.
8.6. It made credit available to neglected people like agricultural labourers, small traders at the low interest rate.
8.7. It helped to free the rural poor from the clutches of moneylenders.
8.8. It ensured adequate and timely credit for agricultural activities and farming operations.
8.9. The Priority Sector advances ensured adequate supply of credit to weaker sections of the society like village aristans, labourers, scheduled caste and tribes.
8.10. It helped export sector to obtain cheap credit; ensured even supply of credit to various industrial activities.
8.11. It avoided diversion of funds for harmful activities like speculation in shares, hoarding of essential commodities and investment in real estates.
8.12. The nationalization has removed concentration of wealth in the hands of few industrialists.
8.13. It has ensured the use of public money for social and desirable purposes.
8.14. It removed regional disparities in economic development; and
8.15. It helped implement various welfare measures for the betterment of people.

9. Drawbacks of the Nationalization of Banks:

The Nationalization of Banks was not flawless. It had several lacunae which developed in the process. These lacunae and criticisms can be summarized as follows.

9.1. It was pointed out that the nationalization of banks would serve the political purpose rather than the productive purpose.
9.2. It would promote state capitalism; and breed inefficiency.
9.3. Some argued that the political prestige of India in foreign counties would be damaged.
9.4. Doubts were expressed especially in countries, which were rendering large-scale financial assistance to India, about the assurances and promises given by the government with regard to freedom of foreign enterprise in India.
9.5. Nationalization of Banks might adversely affect the foreign assistance, which India was receiving then.
9.6. Fear was expressed regarding inefficiency, indecision, corruption, and lack of responsibility in nationalized banks, and a government bank might not care to attach importance to the customer service.

9.7. In spite of the assurances given and provisions made in the Act, businessmen would still fear about the maintenance of the secrecy of the customer’s accounts. As such, they might be forced to withdraw their deposits and go to some private banks.

9.8. The nationalization of big Indian banks would divert some of the deposits of Indian banks to the foreign banks.

9.9. There was apprehension that diversion of large sums of finance from the industry and trade to agriculture might starve the large-scale industries and business for finance.

9.10. The fact cannot be ignored that the big industries and business had been providing employment to millions of people and largely had been contributing to the production of wealth. To starve them for finance simply because they were big would be upsetting the job opportunities and production in these concerns.

10. Bank Nationalization-an Evaluation:

Now that nationalization of banks is a fact none will argue for its removal. However, well meaning critics point out possible dangers and express certain fears and apprehensions. Some of the dangers which arise from bank nationalization are as follows:

10.1. Nationalization of banks has led to bureaucratization of the banking system. Red-tapism, inordinate delays, lack of initiative and failure to take quick decisions have impaired the smooth functioning of banks.

10.2. Another aspect of nationalization of banks relates to the fear of political pressure in the working of the nationalized banks. Political pressure in the selection of personnel, grant of loans to particular parties without reference to credit worthiness, may land the nationalized banks in serious difficulties.

10.3. Serious danger can be expected from the trade unions of bank employees who are strongest supporters of the nationalization decision. Mr. H.V.R. Iyengar observes, “It has to be confessed that experience of nationalized institutions such as the Reserve Bank of India and the State Bank of India do not lend encouragement to the view that this enthusiasm will last long. This is not a cynical view, but one based on experience of nationalized and public sector undertakings. Indeed I have a fear that if we have a strike, such as we recently had in the State Bank of India solidarity, among all nationalized banks it could lead to economic paralysis. One can only express the hope that this fear is unfounded.”

10.4. There may be possible losses from the new credit policy specially to the agricultural sector. The issues involved in the case of small framers are very complex and unrestricted credit in this sector, though very
necessary from the point of view of the poverty of the rural masses, may bring serious losses and instability to the whole banking structure. This apprehension is brought out by the working of the nationalized banks in the last years. These banks are now burdened with a large amount of overdue advances and uneconomic branches.

10.5. It is feared that bank nationalization may result in further inequalities of income in the country, both in urban and rural areas. In other words, one of objectives of bank nationalization, that is to remove concentration of wealth and to bring about equality of incomes among the people, may not be achieved.

The Estimates Committee of the Lok Sabha headed by Mr. R.K. Sinha expressed great disappointment at the failure of the nationalized banks to fulfill the major objectives of the State take-over such as lending to weaker and priority sectors, particularly agriculture, and removal of regional disparities in development of banking in backward areas. Even after 17 years, the public sector banks have not been able to properly identify the weaker sections with a view to adequately covering them under the various assistance schemes. While in the first year, advances of the priority sectors rose from Rs. 440 Crores to Rs. 770 Crores the growth rate was not sustained from the second year. In fact, there was a decline ranging between 17 and 22 per cent.

The Estimates Committee remarked that the nationalized banks had adopted an approach of meeting the legitimate needs of large borrowers instead of restricting their loans to such large borrowers as anticipated prior to nationalization. Even so, the banks did not seem to have any machinery to see that the finances from the public institutions are, in fact, going into productive uses in the larger public interest. The committee has called for a review of the policies and procedures followed by banks for granting loans to larger industrial houses to plug all loopholes in this regard."

11. SUMMARY:-

The nationalization of fourteen major banks in 1969 was a part and parcel of the adoption of socialistic pattern of society. This was to be achieved through the effective functioning of the joint sector. The decision of the nationalization of banks was called historic, while some other criticized it and said that it was a wrong and apprehended some serious consequences. Even then, let us enumerate the factors which were behind the nationalization of banks. Before the nationalization, the ownership and control of the banks was in the hands of few people. These few i.e. shareholders allotted and advanced loans according to their own interest. This created disparities of income and wealth in the country, which was against the Directive Principles in the constitution. The second factor was the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of some industrialists. It was a danger to the healthy democracy. The next reason
was failure to mobilize resources in rural areas and small cities, which was a symbol of lopsided regional development. Here was also a discrimination against the small business units, who were not able to borrow the money for their business. This policy was against the Government Policy. Government wanted to help and encourage the small and medium industrial units. Before, 1969, the banks were indifferent to the needs of agriculture. As a matter of fact, agriculture is the major industry of India, which totally ignored by the banks; Naturally, the country began to face many problems. The commercial banks often misused the funds, did not contribute to the priority sectors of the Indian economy. Therefore, the Government decided to nationalize the banks.

The Government of India had several objectives of the nationalization of banks. As, to increase the overall efficiency of the banking system, enhance the deposit and confidence of the people in the public sector, appoint experienced person to manage the banks effectively, to extend the public sector in all spheres of the economy, avoid concentration of money and power and create a social control on the banks. It aimed to open several branches in rural area and finance to the agriculture, achieve balanced regional development, ensure the safety of the deposits, and also job security, higher emoluments to the staff, working in the banks. In addition to this, Mrs. Gandhi was under the pressure from the syndicate; therefore, Mrs. Indira Gandhi nationalized major fourteen banks on 19 July, 1969. Those banks were Central Bank, Bank of India, Punjab National Bank, Bank of Baroda, United Commercial bank, United Bank of India, Canara Bank, Union Bank, Syndicate Bank, Allahabad Bank, Indian Bank, Maharashtra and Overseas Bank. In 1980, the Government also nationalized six more banks.

The nationalization of bank began to mobilize the national saving and apply it for rapid growth of Indian economy. The bank reached to rural parts of India, awakened the masses, created several job opportunities, made facilities available to farmers, labourers, small traders at reduced interests, helped rural poors and released them from the clutches of moneylenders. The banks also helped export sector to speed up transfer of money from one place to the other. It ensured the use of public money for social purposes. Despite, these achievements some expressed the apprehensions that the banks would serve the political purpose rather than the productive purpose, it would promote state capitalism and generate inefficiency, it would damage India’s prestige in the foreign countries, which were funding to India. There was a fear of indecision & corruption. But these expressions proved unfounded because, the nationalized banks are still working with some exceptions. It helped to remove disparities and execute several schemes undertaken for alleviating poverty, inequality and unemployment in the country.
12. ADDITIONAL READINGS:-

3) Indian Express, August 6, 1969.

13. QUESTIONS:-

1) Examine the factors that led to the Nationalization of Banks in 1969.
2) Assess the major objectives of the Nationalization of Banks in 1969.
3) Give a brief account of the functioning of banks after the nationalization in 1969.
4) Write a critique on the achievements and drawbacks of the Nationalization of Banks.
THE GREEN REVOLUTION

1. OBJECTIVES:-
After completing this unit the student will be able to:-

a) Comprehend the origin of the Green Revolution, which took place during the Prime Ministership of Mrs. Indira Gandhi.
b) Understand the causes responsible for the Green Revolution.
c) Explain the nature of the Green Revolution.
d) Explain the major effects created by the introduction of the new technology and the launching of the Green Revolution.
e) Understand the achievements and drawbacks of the Green Revolution.
f) Comprehend the lessons from the Green Revolution.

2. INTRODUCTION:-
Since the mid-1960s, the traditional agricultural practices are gradually being replaced by modern technology and farm practices in India and a veritable revolution is taking place in our country. Initially, the new technology was tried as a pilot project in seven Intensive Agricultural District Programme (IADP) in 1960-61. Later, the high-yielding Varieties Programme (HYVP) was also added to the IADP and the strategy was extended to cover the entire country.

Traditional agriculture relies heavily on indigenous, inputs such as the use of organic manures, seeds, simple ploughs and other primitive agricultural tools and bullocks. etc. Modern technology, on the other hand, consists of chemical fertilizers, pesticides, improved varieties of seeds including hybrid seeds, agricultural machinery, extensive irrigation, use of diesel and electric power. Since 1966, the use of modern agricultural inputs has increased at a compound rate of 10 percent per annum-in contrast to the traditional inputs rising at the rate of only one percent per annum during the same period. The new agricultural technology consists of those resources like fertilizers, pesticides and agricultural machinery which are produced outside the agricultural sector. As a result, industries supplying the modern farm inputs are growing at a rapid rate. Massive programmes of farm mechanization and irrigation have also led to an increase in the consumption of electricity and diesel in rural areas.
3. Origin of the Green Revolution:

Indian agriculture had been stagnant for centuries. Because the Indian farmers could produce food with primitive implements and outdated methods of cultivation, could produce food, which could hardly sustain them. The various land tenures of the British had driven the peasant to impoverishment and misery. With meager produce he could neither feed his family well nor have surplus for other needs of the family. Natural calamities such as failing monsoons and exploitation by the landlords and moneylenders brought about depression in agriculture. Naturally, Pandit Nehru, after independence in 1947, felt the need to increase agricultural production. He was of the opinion that in order to achieve the dream of rapid industrialization, agricultural development had to be promoted. While devising the Five Year Plans, agriculture and irrigation received considerable importance. During the First plan the outlay on agriculture and irrigation was 31 percent and in the Subsequent Plans was between 20 to 24 per cent. Huge irrigation and power projects like the Bhakra-Nangal, a number of agricultural universities and research laboratories, fertilizer plants, were set up in order to promote agricultural development and achieve self-sufficiency in food grains.

During the early sixties, the land reforms gradually expanded the area under cultivation. It was not enough to bring additional land under cultivation through land reforms and irrigation facilities. In order to increase agricultural production, Nehru realized that the agriculture had to adopt technological solutions with intensive extensive cultivation. During the Third Plan a New Agricultural Strategy was adopted, which selected a package programme known as the Intensive Agricultural Districts Programme (IADP). This programme was launched in fifteen districts, on experimental basis. Later this strategy was renamed as Intensive Agricultural Area programme (IAAP). The quantitative technological transformation in India came to be known as the ‘Green Revolution.

4. Factors Responsible for the Green Revolution:

There were several factors responsible for the launching of the Green Revolution, some of the important factors were as under:

4.1) In spite of growth in agricultural output up to 1965 of about three percent per year, there was a chronic food shortage in the country.

4.2) The stagnation in agricultural growth was aggravated due to rapidly increasing population. The slow rise in per capita income and emphasis on industrialization put a great pressure on Indian agriculture.

4.3) The gap between the demand for food and its supply began to widen. In order to meet the food shortages and to stabilize the prices, India began to import food from the United States since 1956. With the passing years the import of food grains went to four and a half million tonnes in 1963.
4.4) Added to these problems were the wars, in 1962 and in 1965, which added to the burden of the nation.

4.5) This was followed by droughts in 1965-66 leading to a sharp fall in the agricultural production by seventeen per cent. This resulted in phenomenal rise in food price and India was forced to import more than ten million tones of food grains in 1966. Under those circumstances, self-sufficiency in food production became the prime objective of the Indian economic policy.

4.6) It was clear that there was no alternative to technological change in agriculture for self-sufficiency in food grains. Even those countries in Asia, which carried out radical land reforms and built up sufficient infrastructure, had taken up the modernization of agriculture. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who succeeded Shastri in 1966, was serious about the situation and took all the necessary steps to start the Green Revolution in the country.

5. **Characteristics of the Green Revolution:**

   There are several characteristics of the Green Revolutions. Some of the important characteristics are as under:

   5.1) The Green Revolution derives its name from the fact of a big increase in agricultural production in short span of time.

   5.2) The distinguishing characteristic of the new technology was the substitution of low-yielding varieties of seed by the high-yielding variety and use of chemical fertilizers.

   5.3) The core of the new technology consisted of seeds drawn from researches against traditional seeds on farms, inorganic fertilizers, controlled water supply, pesticides, agricultural machinery including tractors and pump sets, soil testing facilities and agricultural educational programmes. Since all this came suddenly spread quickly and brought dramatic results.

   5.4) The Green revolution introduced new seeds known as the high-yielding varieties (HYV) of seeds. It was in the year 1966-67 that the HYV seeds were introduced.

   5.5) These seeds matured into plants in a shorter period and could be usefully sown in those places where there were adequate facilities for water supplies.

   5.6) To achieve the largest possible production, these seeds needed heavy doses of chemical fertilizers.

   5.7) The green Revolution has been confined to some crops. The technological strategy was first applied to wheat in Punjab, Haryana, and western Uttar Pradesh. However, later HYV of seeds were developed for rice, sugar cane and cotton.
5.8) Due to the HYV seeds and chemical fertilizers, it became possible to obtain three or four crops instead of two from the same plot in a year. The multiple cropping has helped in diversification of crops and additional food production. Modern machinery like tractors, harvesters, pumping sets and tube wells, were increasingly used.

6. EFFECTS OF THE GREEN REVOLUTION:

The Green Revolution brought about the following effects:

6.1. Qualitative and Quantitative Effects: - The modernized agriculture in India, resulted in sharp increase in the production of food grains. Between 1967-68 and 1970-71 food grain production rose by 35 per cent. Aggregate food production between 1964 and 1971 went up 112 million tones, which was ten per cent per capita increase. By the eighties, India became self sufficient in food production, with buffer food-stocks of over thirty million tones. It was even exported food to pay back the earlier loans.

6.2. The Green Revolution has been limited to Crops, Land and Region.

6.2.1. As far as the crops are concerned, the revolution was confined largely to wheat. In this case there has been large-scale use of hybrid seeds, and an extensive use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides. The area under high-yielding varieties of seeds has also greatly expanded. Thus, within a short period of time, production and productivity of wheat have increased greatly. As far as rice, the staple food of a majority of the Indians was concerned the Green Revolution benefited only to a limited extent. The restricted crop coverage of the new technology resulted in an increased production of wheat and to some extent rice. Commercial crops were also not covered by the new technology. Thus, the new technology did not contribute significantly in raising the overall agricultural production.

6.2.2. The Green revolution was extended over a limited region. This package programme was applied to the areas, which had adequate supply of irrigated water. Thus, the large part of the country, which has no assured supply of water, did not have the advantage of the Green Revolution. Moreover, the Green Revolution was confined to very few states. Except Punjab, Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh, practically the whole of the country remained outside the agricultural strategy.

6.3. The Green Revolution led to the disparities in income. In the early stages of the Green Revolution, especially the early seventies, an opinion developed that the new agricultural technology was leading to class polarization in the countryside. There was an argument that the class of rich peasants and capitalist farmers were getting strengthened at the expense of small peasants, tenants. Besides, mechanization of agriculture was displacing labor, leading to increasing unemployment and a fall in the wages of agricultural labour. However, the experience after the mid-
seventies covering nearly a decade and a half revealed trends, which were typical of a diffusion process.

6.4. According to the studies conducted in the regions of Green Revolution, the demand for casual labor had increased and also the wages and the condition of the landless labourer had been somewhat better than in the past. The additional demand for labour, especially in Punjab and Haryana was met by large scale migration of labour from the poorer districts of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar.

6.5. The environmental degradation in the rural areas had arisen from the chemical inputs used, and deforestation and expansion of cultivation. It had been found that across different states in India, the extension of areas under cultivation and the deforestation was usually high because the progress of yield increasing technology was slow. In such regions, the levels of agricultural income and wages were low and poverty levels were high similarly, the pressure from animals such as goats and sheep on forests and common lands had been increasing in regions where growth of crop production was slow. This was due to the fact that the rural poor supplement their income by rearing these animals.

6.6. The Green Revolution succeeded in solving the problem of food shortage from the middle of the sixties, and laid a stronger base for self-sufficiency in agricultural production. In spite of initial restrictions to crops such as wheat and regions, the green revolution promised a miracle in agricultural production. The new agricultural technology embraced other corps including rice, bajra, pulses and cash crops.

7. ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE GREEN REVOLUTION:-

The major achievement of the Green revolution is the boost in the production of major cereals, wheat and rice.

The yield per hectare has also recorded on improvement from 1,018 kg in 1960-61 to 1425 kg in 1984-85. In the initial phase, the new strategy was able to make an impact only on wheat output, but since 1973-74, production of wheat which stood at 11 million tones in 1960-61 rose to 45 million tones in 1983-84 an 44 million tones in 1984-85. Part of this increase can be attributed to an extension of the area, but the yield per hectare rose from 851 kg to 1,873 kg. Per hectare, signifying an increase of about 120 per cent in the last 25 years. While jawar has made impressive progress, other coarse cereals and pulses have not recorded any growth-rather, they have registered considerable decline during this period.

Wheat and sugarcane responded exceptionally well to the green revolution. Some breakthrough was to be noticed in maize. Rice was below the average of all food grains. But it is very disappointing to note that the growth rates were negative in gram, jute and cotton. During 1970-71 and 1984-85 grams has shown negative growth rate. There have been
significant improvements in cotton and jute. However, the overall growth rate of food grains which was 4.8 per cent during 1967-68 and 1970-71 declined to 2.2 per cent during 1970-71 to 1984-85. All this leads us to the conclusion that the influence of green revolution which was felt during 1967-68 to 1970-71 started slowing down, despite the fact that more area was covered under HYV.

As a result of the Green Revolution area under improved seeds has gone up from about 2 million hectares during 1966-67 to 59 hectares in 1984-85. The new varieties are of a short-term duration and consequently, instead of growing one crop in several irrigated areas, two crops and sometimes even three crops are grown. In the case of wheat, unprecedented enthusiasm prevailed among farmers in Punjab, Haryana, Delhi, Rajasthan and Western U.P. for the New Mexican varieties like Lerma Rojo, Sonara 64, Kalyan and P.V. 18 and a situation developed in which the demand for seeds by the farmers exceeded the supply. But in the case of rice, the new varieties were tried and found successfully applied on the field.

It was expected that the trend of rising output of food grains would continue. This culminated in a record achievement of 108 million tones of food grains in 1970-71. It was hailed that green revolution had materialized, imports were stopped but the euphoria was cut short in 1972-73 when production of food grains slumped to 95 million tones sharp fluctuations in food grains output were observed during the Fifth Plan period as well. From a low level of about 100 million tones in 1974-75, food grains output rose to 121 million tones in 1975-76 and then again fell to 111 million tones in 1976-77 but rose to 132 million tones in 1978-79. Obviously, the difference between the outputs of a good monsoon year indicates an increase of 4 per cent which is not significantly large in view of the fact that additional 4 million hectares were brought under HYV programme during this period. There was a decline in production in 1979-80 due to adverse weather conditions. Food grains output in that year was 109 million tones only, almost the same as 1970-71 output. The output of 1983-84 was 152 million tones-an all-time record. Two conclusions can be drawn from the sharp fluctuations of output of cereals in India since the introduction of new agricultural strategy:- (a) Output of cereals is subject to weather conditions as in the past and (b) The maximum and minimum outputs, however, are now much higher than in the past.

Since the green revolution was mainly directed to increase the production of food grains, it is not reasonable to expect a sharp increase in the production of commercial crops. Dr. Dharam Narain described this situation as near paralysis in the output of cash crops. Significant improvement in the output of sugarcane, however, took place after 1973-74 and its output rose to 19 million tones in 1982-83. Likewise, there was some improvement in the production of other cash crops but the improvement was not such as to be called a revolution. The green
revolution did not cover pulses which accounted for 12 million tones of the total output of food grains in 1970-71. The output of pulses further declined to 10 million tones in 1973-74; it rose to 13 million tones in 1975-76 but declined to an all time low of 8 million tones in 1979-80. Neither did green resolution cover barley, ragi, and minor millets which accounted for 7 million tones in 1981-82 the same as 1960-61. Thus, the green revolution was confined only to High Yielding Varieties (HYV) cereals mainly wheat, maize and jowar. While rice output increased at a relatively slower rate. The singular crop which showed a continuously rising trend was wheat, Maize and Jowar showed substantial fluctuations. The very fact that cash crops and pulses have not so far been brought within the ambit of new technology forces the conclusion that quite a substantial part of the agricultural output has not been even touched by the green revolution.

As a result of the green revolution, the crop in Indian agriculture has undergone two major changes, a decline in the importance of pulses in food grains output from 15 per cent in 1949-50 to 8 per cent in 1984-85. As against it, cereals have risen in importance from 85 per cent to 92 percent during the same period. Secondly, among cereals, there is a decline in the proportion of rice from 50 per cent to 44 per cent during 1949-50 and 1984-85 but during the same period, the importance of wheat has more than doubled, i.e., from 14 per cent to 33 per cent. The growing production of wheat indicates a substitution of coarse grains with wheat, both on the side of production and consumption. This trend had begun even before the green revolution was ushered, but it has now been strengthened. The share of coarse grains has gone down from 36 per cent to 20 per cent of the total food grains.

8. WEAKNESSES OF THE GREEN REVOLUTION:-

8.1. Growth of Capitalistic Farming: - The new agricultural strategy consisting of IADP and HYVP necessitated heavy investment in seeds, fertilizers, pesticides and water. These heavy investments are beyond the capacity of small and medium farmers. The big farmers alone are making heavy investment in the installation of tube wells, pumping sets, fertilizers and agricultural machinery required for the purpose. Consequently, the new agricultural strategy has helped the growth of capitalist farming in India. The agricultural revolution is lacking in spread effects and, this is fostering an enclave type development, in Indian agriculture, it has led to concentration of wealth in the hands of the top 10 per cent of the rural population. The poor peasants have not benefited from it. Ashok Rudra, Majid and Talib defined capitalist farmers as those who have at least 20 acres of land. Land owned by the big farmers increased by about 9.5 per cent between 1955-56 and 1967-68. A further break up of big farms reveals that farms of size group 20-25 acres expanded only by 4 per cent where as those of the size group 100-150 acres increased by 40 per cent and that most of the additions took place through purchases. Francine
Franknel undertook a study of the impact of the Green Revolution on the socio-economic relations of the peasantry. The main conclusions of this study are:-

8.1. (a) Overwhelming majority of the Cultivators having uneconomic holdings of 2-3 acres have managed to increase per acre yield from the applications of small doses of fertilizers, but aggregate gains in output have been insufficient to create capital surplus for investment in land development.

8.1. (b) In cases where small farmers also take part of their holdings on lease, or are pure tenants, rising rentals in recent years, and the tendency to resume land for personal cultivation, has actually led to an absolute deterioration in the economic condition of the small owner-cum-tenant cultivator class.

8.1. (c) Only the small minority of cultivators with holding of ten acres or more have been in a position to mobilize surplus capital for investment in land development, especially minor irrigation, as an essential pre-condition for the efficient utilization of modern inputs. Moreover, this class has prided its gains by using increased profits to buy more land, improve land already under cultivation, and purchase modern equipment.

8.1. (d) Farmers with twenty acres or more have made the greatest gains, partly by mechanizing farm operations to take up double or multiple cropping and partly by diversifying their cropping pattern to include more profitable commercial crops.

8.1. (e) The majority of farmers—probably as many as 75 per cent to 89 per cent in the rice belt—have experienced a relative decline in their economic position; and same proportion, representing unprotected tenants cultivating under lease, have suffered an absolute deterioration in their living standards. U. Thant, a former U.N. Secretary-general warned developing countries that there are many observers who contend that if left to market forces, the green revolution is likely to benefit primarily those farmers who are already engaged in commercial production rather than subsistence farmers, and among commercial farmers, big ones more than small producers. U. Thant impressed upon the developing countries the urgent necessity to push through land reforms and bring about relative equality in land owner-ship.

8.2. Sidetracking the need for institutional reforms. : - The Green Revolution does not recognize the need for institutional reforms in agriculture. The bulk if the peasant does not enjoy ownership rights. Besides we have failed to provide even fixity of tenure and large scale evictions have already taken place. As a result, the tenants are being forced to accept the position of share-croppers. Minhas and Srinivasan have studied the effect of crop sharing arrangement in fertilizer use. Their basic assumption is that the cost of fertilizers is met by the cultivator by borrowing, and interest charges amount to 10 per cent of the cost. Basing
their judgment on the capitalist principle of profit maximization, the owner-
farmers reap a profit of 180 per cent on irrigated lands in the case of
wheat and 183 per cent in the case of rice.

8.3. **Widening Disparity in income:** - The Green Revolution has
adverse effects on the distribution of income in rural areas. C.H.
Hanumantha Rao has come to conclusion that the Green Revolution has
contributed to widening disparities in income between different regions,
between small and large farms, between land owners and landless
labourers.

D.P. Chaudhri concludes his survey of green revolution that: Land
reforms with appropriate changes in the capital market and rural
institutions would make possible maximization of output and productivity
growth completely consistent with reduction of inequalities of income
distribution.

8.4. **Problems of Labour Displacement:** - Very few studies assessed
the impact of the mechanization introduced under the green revolution in
terms of displacement of labour. Uma K. and Earl O. Heady have
examined the effects of two types of technological innovations introduced
under the Green Revolution- (i) biological and (ii) mechanical. The term
biological innovation refers to the changes in input that increase
productivity of land. The introduction of high yielding varieties and use of
fertilizers, fall in this category. In this sense, green revolution is described
as transformation of seed fertilizer technology. The mechanical
innovations refer to the introduction of new appliances which displace
human or bullock labor. Thus, whereas biological innovations are labour
absorbing mechanical innovations are labour saving. It is therefore;
appropriate to describe the green revolution as a biological-mechanical
revolution. It is the net effect of the labor-absorbing and labor-saving
innovations which will determine the extent to which mechanization need
be introduced to check further displacement of labor. The study
concludes:

C.H. Hanumantha Rao brings out the favourable as well as
unfavourable effects of the Green Revolution on employment: If the
Green Revolution is regarded as a package consisting of HYV and
fertilizers, its contribution to employment has been substantial. Also, tube
wells seem to have contributed significantly to the employment of labour.
He further says that the net employment of tractor-use may turn out to be
negative when tractorisation of farm operations is complete. A harvest
combine would displace farm labor on a large scale while its land
augmenting effect would be negligible. As against 5.5 per cent
displacement of labour in 1968-69 labor displacement would be of the
order of 17.4 per cent in 1983-84. About 55 per cent of the total labor
displaced is expected to be caused by tractors and pump sets and 37 per
cent by threshers and reapers. The analysis of Martin H. Billings and
Arjan Singh emphasizes the fact that the technical changes that will
successively gather momentum and the green revolution’ unaccompanied by a massive programme of rural industrialization would lead to frustration amongst the large mass of Indian peasants.

9. LESSONS FROM THE GREEN REVOLUTION:-

The Green Revolution has posed a variety of lessons to India. It would be, therefore, proper to analyse some, of the important lessons of the experience of the green revolution, before coming to any conclusion:

9.1. The green Revolution is limited to wheat, maize and bajra only. The major crop of India, i.e. rice, has only recently responded to the impact of the high-yielding varieties. Besides this, progress in major commercial crops, viz., oilseeds, cotton and jute is very slow. Agricultural research has not been diverted to the development of new seeds in major cash crops. In addition to all this, pulses which account about 10 per cent of the total food production have not registered any increase in production.

9.2. The rise in food production has taken place in Punjab, Haryana, and Western U.P. and in some selected districts of Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu. But these areas can not claim to cover the bulk of India. All that can be said is that they have shown the way to a big take-off in agricultural production. In other words, the already better-off areas have made their economic position still better. This has initiated a process of unbalanced growth in India.

9.3. D.P. Chaudhri in his study, Education and Agricultural Productivity in India has shown that large farmers invariably are always early adopters of yield-raising, cost-reducing innovations, while small farmers, who are generally illiterate, are among the laggards. The spread of the new technology, therefore, depends upon the extent of information and this in turn depends upon the level of literacy. A programme of removal of illiteracy can, therefore, become the chief vehicle of the spread of green revolution.

9.4. It has been observed that in the present rural set-up of co-operative societies and rural banks, it is the big farmer who is able to secure a loan at 6 to 10 per cent interest. The small farmer who wields very little influence in the village has to borrow from the money-lender or other such sources of unorganized money market at interest rates varying from 12 to 75 per cent. The net result of the prevailing situations is that where as official agencies provide less that 30 per cent of the total credit, and that too, mostly to the big farmers, it has been usually found that the tenant farmer and the small farmer who need credit at lower rates of interests, get the costliest credit while the credit-worthy large farmers are able to get it cheap. This introduces a difference in the real price of inputs to the large and the small farmers, obviously to the disadvantage of the latter.
9.5. The Green Revolution depends upon water supply and ability of the farmer to regulate its timing. It requires lumpy investment in tube wells or diesel pump sets. It has been observed that the ownership of tube wells was limited among farmers with ten acres or more. Obviously, there is need to develop a rental market for water supply. In order to accelerate the pace of Green revolution availability of water should be ensured.

9.6. The new strategy has created three kinds of conflicts, namely, 1) between large and small farmers, 2) between owners and tenant farmers and 3) between employers and employees on agricultural farms. The holders of large farms are capable of making heavy investment in the form of fertilizers, pump sets, tube wells and agricultural machinery. They are also able to procure credit from co-operatives, and also obtain fertilizers and better seeds. For all practical purposes the large farmers enjoy the right of pre-emption of agricultural inputs and, thus, the small farmers are deprived of the much-needed inputs. This has, therefore, widened the inequalities of income and fostered the growth of capitalist agriculture in the country.

In this context C.H. Hanumantha Rao argues that participation in the modernization process is usually greater in regions which have shed the feudal and semi-feudal structures and attitudes and where the inequalities in wealth and status are not conspicuous. Hanumantha Rao cites the examples of Punjab, Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh where the technological change did not result in perceptible social tensions because real wages had risen in these regions. But such was not the case in Thanjayur in Tamil-Nadu. The landlords in Thanjayur district tried to counter the demand for higher wages by bringing in farm labour from outside. For the success of the Green Revolution and its spread without social tensions, it would be advisable-rather it is absolutely necessary-to make a frontal attack on feudal and semi-feudal land relations.

It is, therefore, essential that landless labourers and tenants are organized and a trade union mechanism is developed, so that non-exploitative forms of tenancy can be developed in rural India and the wages of landless labourers can be improved. The gains of high-yielding varieties are being pocketed by the rice landowning classes and the new strategy has further tilted the scales of distribution in their favour. Unionization alone can help the small peasant, the tenant, the share-cropper and the landless labourer, not only to maintain their relative share in agricultural income intact but also get a legitimate share in the prosperity ushered in by the new technology. Regarding the introduction of Green revolution one may conclude that an effort should be made to provide credit to the small farmers, provide security of tenure to the cultivating tenants, reduce the rents, charged from tenants to provide an institutional framework which takes care of the economic inequities. In such an institutional environment, the benefits of the green revolution can be optimized from the social point of view.
10. SUMMARY:-

Pandit Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, felt the need to increase the agricultural production. After the independence in 1947, he was the opinion that in order to achieve the rapid industrialization, the agricultural development was to be promoted. In the first Five Year Plan, Nehru allotted around 31 per cent outlay on agriculture and irrigation. He constructed huge projects like Bhakra-Nangal and Hirakud and established several agricultural Universities during his period to stimulate the agricultural production. However, these efforts were not enough to develop the agriculture: Nehru came to conclusion that in order to have extensive cultivation, the Indian agriculture should adopt technological solutions. During the Third Five Year Plan, under the New Agricultural Strategy, a package programme known as Intensive Agricultural Districts programme (IADP) was devised. It was extended to other areas and renamed it as Intensive Agricultural Area programme in India and finally came to be known as the Green Revolution.

There were several factors responsible for the launching of the green Revolution as the continuous food shortage in the country, the rise of population, slow rise of per capita income, emphasis on the rapid industrialization, pressing need to import food grains from the U.S.A., which had reached to four and half million tones in 1963, scarcity of food created by two wars, against China in 1962, and against Pakistan in 1965, occurrences of two successive droughts in 1965 and 1966. These factors left India with no alternative except either import more food grains or make India self-reliant and self-sufficient in the production of food grains. Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi and food Minister, C. Subramaniam prepared themselves to cater the needs of Indian people, and the green Revolution came into existence. This Revolution implied a big increase in agricultural production in a short time with the help of a new technology, chemical fertilizers and high-yielding variety (HYV) of seeds. The high-yielding Mexican wheat proved to be very profitable in Punjab, Haryana and Western U.P.; multiple cropping and modern implements like tractors, harvesters, pumping sets and tube well increased the production of Indian agriculture. The Government of India also took appropriate steps in providing water to the agriculture and makes available the above all implements to the farmers. Consequently, the food production of India agriculture between 1965 and 1972 increased from 89 to 112 tones, which was around 10 per cent capital increase and could make buffer food stocks, of over thirty million tones. This enabled India to export food grains to pay back its earlier loans.

Despite this impressive growth in agricultural production, the Green Revolution brought out some negative impacts. Some of the economists say that the Green Revolution remained Limited to crops, land and some regions only. As far as the crops are concerned, the revolution was confined to wheat and rice only. As far as the regions are concerned, it is
extended over a limited region like Punjab, Haryana and U.P. some other economists say, it has created a disparity in income and class polarization. There was a fear among some economists that the green revolution would lead to rural unemployment due to the use of modern technology. However, the Revolution increased the demand for casual labours and raised the wages also. But it is true that the environmental degradation in rural area increased not so much from the high level of chemical inputs used, but due to deforestation and expansion of cultivation. There are certain lessons of the Green Revolution as except few crops, the Revolution is very slow in increasing the production in other crops, it created regional imbalance, literate farmers went ahead but the illiterate farmers lagged behind, it depended on the water supply but the farmers, who have no water are far away from the gains of this revolution. The greatest suffers are the landless labourers unless alternative opportunities are created for them, the green Revolution will be meaningless.

11. ADDITIONAL READINGS:-


12. QUESTIONS:-

2) Enumerate the factors that led to the introduction of the Green Revolution.
3) Assess the achievements of the Green Revolution in India under Mrs. Indira Gandhi.
4) What are the lessons posed by the Green Revolutions?
1. **OBJECTIVE:-**

After the completion of this unit the student will be able to

1) Understand the background of the emergency which was proclaimed on 26 June, 1975.

2) Comprehend the various factors that were responsible for the proclamation of the Emergency.

3) Explain the Congress’s Popular Programme, which came to be known as the Twenty Point Programme.

4) Understand the results which were carried out by the emergency.

2. **INTRODUCTION:-**

The day internal emergency was proclaimed on June 26, 1975, the Nehru era ended in the Indian Politics. All that had been made dear to Indians by Pandit Nehru was finished at one stroke by his own daughter, who had been a great Prime Minister of India. The President, Fakruddin Ali Ahmed was made to sign the presidential proclamation on the night of June 25, 1975. The contingency plans that had been prepared by the Chiefs of the Intelligence Bureau and the Central bureau of investigation, were put into operation. Even the Cabinet Colleagues of Mrs. Indira Gandhi did not know anything about them. Strict censorship had been imposed on the newspapers and the mass media. Before it was down, almost all the leaders of opposition were rounded up. This was continued all over the country till much later.

3. **Factors responsible to Imposition of the Emergency:-**

3.1) **Mrs. Gandhi** became the undisputed leader of India, with a firm control over the Congress party, the parliament and the government after the election of 1971. She began to act in an increasingly authoritarian manner, asserting her own power over the institutions of government both at the central and at the state level. Mrs. Gandhi resolved to take steps to assert the sovereignty of the parliament. The Twenty-fourth Constitutional Amendment Bill that was introduced in July 1971 sought to give the Parliament the blanket power to amend any part of the constitution, including the Fundamental Rights of the citizens. The Twenty-fifth Amendment laid down that any legislation, which had for its purpose the fulfillment of the Directive principles of state policy in the Constitution would be outside the purview of the court. Both those Amendments reflected the authoritarian tendencies in the Congress in general and in
Mrs. Gandhi in particular. Mrs. Gandhi never tolerated any opposition to her authority. At the state level she did not tolerate any Chief Minister with independent mass base.

3.2) The Indo-Pakistan War of 1971:- This war gave Mrs. Gandhi her first opportunity to show her ability in serious crisis. In the election to Pakistan’s national Assembly, the Awami league led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman of East Bengal obtained an overall majority, but the result of the elections was rejected by West Pakistan. Talks between the Pakistani president, General Yahya Khan and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman broke down and a civil war broke out on 26 March 1971. The Pakistani army brutally suppressed the Awami League and let loose a reign of terror in East Pakistan. Consequently, by December 1971, nearly ten million refugees from East Pakistan crossed into India.

When the war broke out between India and Pakistan on 3 December 1971, the entire nation including the opposition parties stood strongly behind Mrs. Gandhi. Indian army occupied Dacca, the capital of East Pakistan, and on 15 December 1971 all the Pakistani forces in Bengal surrendered. Mrs. Gandhi declared a unilateral cease fire and withdrew the military, and the government was handed over to the Awami League headed by Sheikh Mujibur Rahaman. Thus, the independent nation of Bangla Desh was constituted with India’s support. The victory in the Indo-Pakistan War was a huge triumph for Mrs. Gandhi.

3.3) Elections in Gujarat (1972):- After the victory in the Indo-Pakistan war, Mrs. Gandhi went for state assembly elections in March 1972, and secured a massive victory over 70 per cent of the seats. The Congress Party was firmly in saddle both at the Centre and the States.

3.4) Economic Crisis: - The Chief reason for the increasing discontent among the people was the deterioration of the economic situation. A number of factors contributed to the economic chaos. A recession, unemployment, inflation and scarcity of food created serious socio-economic problems. The Bangladeshi refugees and the war with Pakistan had put a crushing economic burden on the nation. Besides, failure of monsoon for two years during 1972 and 1973 leading to drought and famines resulted in drop in agricultural production and unemployment. The four-fold increase in crude oil price in the world market, in 1973 led to a massive increase in the price of petroleum products and fertilizers.

Mrs. Gandhi decided to undertake some measures to solve the problems. The government launched another sweeping programme of nationalization. Many more industries were taken over including coal mines in Bihar and West Bengal. However, this did not improve coal production, which remained stagnant. This had an adverse effect on other sectors like steel and cement and railways were also affected. Engineering and chemical industries were working below capacity.
land reforms were declared and harsh new taxes were imposed. The government adopted restrictive policies that hampered production and dampened business incentive. The land reforms could not achieve the desired results due to the opposition of powerful landlords.

3.5) Discontent Among the People: - The economic problems such as recession, unemployment, price rise, non-availability of essential commodities led to mounting discontent and dissatisfaction throughout the country. This created industrial unrest, demonstrations and strikes in different parts of the country during 1972 and 1973. In Bombay, there were 12,089 strikes in one year alone. The most spectacular was the nation-wide railway strike in May 1974, which involved more than one million railway workers. The government used highhanded tactics to suppress the strikes. Workers were beaten up and arrested. Law and Order deteriorated during 1974-75. Strikes, demonstrations and student protests usually turned violent. Many colleges and universities were closed due to student agitation. In many parts of the country there were huge popular protests and violent disturbances against the Congress rule. The government’s capacity to redress the situation was questioned, there were bitter complaints of corruption against the government officials and ministers.

3.6) Attack on the Judiciary and the Press:- In April 1973, Mrs. Gandhi appointed Justice A.N. Ray as the Chief justice of India after superceding three senior judges; This act of Mrs. Gandhi violated one of the well-established conventions of the senior-most judge of the Supreme Court succeeding as the Chief Justice. There was protest against this action by the right thinking people. Along with the attack on the independence of the judiciary, the freedom of the press, the other strong pillar of democracy, also came under severe repression from Mrs. Gandhi.

3.7) The attack on the democratic institutions resulted in the alienation of the middle classes. It was due to price rise and increasing corruption in the administration, the rich peasantry because of the threat of land reforms and fear of losing their land, and the capitalists, because of socialistic trend of the government, nationalization of the banks and anti-monopoly measures. The poorer sections of the population continued to support the Congress that too passively. The political parties with diverse ideological moorings and having lost heavily in the parliamentary elections of 1971 and assembly elections in 1972, were not in a position to provide any political alternative. The only factor that seemed to unite them was anti-Congress sentiments.

3.8) Unrest in Gujarat (1974):- The agitation in Gujarat was started by the students of the Government Engineering College in the town of Morvi, in response to the increase in the mess rates. It was turned violent and
destroyed college property in the first week of January 1974. Similar reaction was witnessed in the Government Engineering College at Ahmedabad. Gujarat faced virtual anarchy with strikes, looting, rioting and arson. The people were angry against the Congress government led by Chimanbhai Patel. The defective public distribution system and shortages of food grain coupled with corruption in the administration had frustrated the people so much that they joined the violent demonstrations against the government.

The Chief Minister, Chimanbhai Patel was accused of being in league with the manufacturers of edible oil in order to enable them to finance the forthcoming elections in Uttar Pradesh. There was a demand to dismiss the Gujarat government. The MLA’s were humiliated and even beaten up. The movement achieved its objectives when the central government brought Gujarat under president’s rule in February. Due to fast unto death by Morarji Desai the Central government dissolved the Legislative Assembly and elections were held in June 1975.

3.9) Agitation in Bihar (1974):- On 18 march 1974, when Bihar State Legislative Assembly was to meet, the students’ Action Committee, from Patna Colleges held a demonstration demanding a reply to a memorandum presented to the state Education Minister in February 1974. The students protested against misadministration, corruption and rising prices. Political parties supported the students. The police took strong action against the student demonstrators, and the students turned violent. Organized violence in Bihar lasted for four days and the government offices were paralyzed.

3.10) The JP Movement: - When Patna was burning, Jaya Prakash Narayan gave a call for ‘total revolution’ and asked the people to fight against corruption. He demanded the resignation of the Congress government of Bihar. He asked the people to gherao the state assembly and government offices, set up parallel governments and pays no tax. JP led a silent procession on 8 April 1974. As the movement spread to other towns the police opened fire on peaceful demonstrators at Gaya on 12 April 1974 and killed eight persons. As the movement became widespread Chhatra Sangharsh Samitis were set up in every village in the state. Jaya Praksh Narayan decided to carry the struggle to remove Mrs. Gandhi and wanted a nation wide movement. JP toured the entire country and was welcomed wherever he went. The JP movement received support not only from the students, but also from the middle class, traders and a section of intelligentsia.

3.11) Defeat in Gujarat Elections:- In June 1974, the opposition parties formed a Common Front known as the Janata Front due to the efforts of Morarji Desai to take on the Congress. JP Campaigned for the
Janata Front and Mrs. Gandhi taking up the challenge of the opposition parties visited the state of Gujarat eleven times and addressed 119 meetings. Following the election the results were announced on 12 June 1975, and the Congress was reduced from 140 to 75 seats. The Janata Front secured 87 seats and came to power under Babubhai Patel as the Chief Minister.

3.12) The Allahabad Court Verdict: - On the day of the Gujarat State Assembly election results, Mrs. Gandhi received another shock from Allahabad High Court judgment. Justice Jagmohan Lal Sinha of Allahabad High Court in a historic judgment on 12 June 1975, on an election petition by Raj Narain against Mrs. Gandhi’s election from Rae Bareilly, declared her election to the Parliament invalid on two grounds. 1) One charge was that Yashpal Kapoor who assisted her in her election from Rae Bareilly, was still in service of the government of India when he was appointed as her election agent. 2) The second charge was that the state government, constructed election rostrums and provided facilities for her election meetings, and helped the Prime Minister.

After the Allahabad high Court judgment, opposition leaders like Atal Behari Vajpayee and others demanded Mrs. Gandhi’s resignation as the Prime Minister. However, Mrs. Gandhi refused to resign and appealed to the Supreme Court. Public rallies were organized to demonstrate support to the prime minister. On 14 July 1975, Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer, the vacation judge of the Supreme Court gave a verdict on 24 June that, till the final disposal of her appeal by the full bench of the Supreme Court, Mrs. Gandhi could continue as the prime minister.

The opposition parties intensified their agitation and joined forces to form a grand alliance The Janata Morcha. Plans were made for a mass campaign to bring down the government. In a historic mass meeting at Delhi on 25 June 1975, Jaya Prakash Narayan announced a programme of civil disobedience movement. He appealed the policemen, bureaucrats and armed forces not obey orders from a disqualified prime minister.

4. Declaration of the Emergency: -

Mrs. Gandhi to escalate the crisis called on the president, Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed and advised him that in view of the grave situation in the country, he should declare a state of Internal Emergency under Article 352 of the Constitution. Under the Maintenance of Internal Security Act hundreds of opposition leaders were arrested as the Emergency became operative from 26 June 1975. Fundamental Rights and all civil liberties were suspended and the whole country was brought under direct rule from Delhi. Several academics, student leaders, trade unionists and newspapermen were also hailed. During the Emergency period more than 10,000 people from different sections of the society were arrested. Several communal and ultra-left organizations including, Anand Marg,
Jamaat-i-Islami and Naxalite groups were banned. Demonstrations and strikes were prohibited and wage freeze was imposed. Press was severely censored. The non-Congress governments in Tamil Nadu and in Gujarat were dismissed.

5. **Positive Results:**

There were several results the emergency brought about. They were mostly of two categories as 1) Positive and 2) Negative.

The emergency brought some quick results which were

1) reduction in prices,
2) availability of essential commodities
3) Check on smuggling,
4) Check on hoarding and tax evasion,
5) The emergency eliminated strikes and lockouts,
6) The performance of the bureaucracy improved from its earlier lethargy and indifference.
7) Industrial output grew dramatically by six per cent in 1975 and ten per cent in 1976.
8) There was an increase in export trade and by the end of 1976 India had accumulated the largest balance of payment surplus in her history,
9) The emergency period benefited the people in certain other ways.
10) The people began to understand the value of discipline,
11) Trains ran in time, and bus commuters followed the queue system with the intervention of the police,
12) Unauthorized buildings in cities like Delhi were demolished,
13) Property and life became more safer, as the penalties for murder, theft, armed robbery and rape became more stringent,
14) Family planning programme got the top priority.
15) Progress was made in the upliftment of the rural poor.
16) Three million house sites were provided to the landless and the Dalits.
17) 1.1 million acres of surplus land was distributed to the landless.
18) Minimum wages for agricultural labourers were enhanced.

6. **The Twenty-Point programme:**

Mrs. Gandhi decided to answer her opponents by unveiling a package called Twenty-Point programme of economic reforms on 1 July 1975. The Twenty-Point programme promised to bring down prices of essential commodities, implementation of land reforms, for the landless and poor, abolition of bonded labour, liquidation of rural indebtedness, review of laws on minimum agricultural wages and their increase, more
water for agriculture, an accelerated power programme, development plan for handloom sector, improvement in the supply of people's cloth, socialization of urban land.

7. Negative Results of the Emergency: -

As positive results, there were some negative results also. Some of the important negative results were as under: - 1) In Emergency the corrupt administrative system failed to implement the economic reforms programmes. 2) Illegal activities like smuggling continued as before, 3) People could not air their grievances due to restrictions on civil liberties. 4) Censorship of the press prevented the government from knowing what was actually happening in the country. Though Mrs. Gandhi had promised to lift the Emergency within a short period after the restoration of the normally, people in general became disillusioned when through 42nd Constitutional Amendment, the term of the parliament was extended by one year in 1976.

8. Sanjay Gandhi and Emergency: -

The prime minister’s younger son, Sanjay Gandhi became an extra-constitutional center during the period of emergency. He began to interfere in the functioning of the government and working of the administration. The minister of information and broadcasting, Inder K. Gujral immediately resigned rather than accept orders from Sanjay. Vidya Charan Shukla, a staunch loyalist of Mrs. Gandhi replaced Gujral. Ministers, bureaucrats and Chief Ministers courted him. He formulated the four point programme, as: - 1) not to take dowry, 2) practice family planning and limit the size of the family to two children, 3) plant trees, 4) and promote literacy, which fetched tremendous response from the young generation.

The direction of Sanjay Gandhi projects aimed at the birth-control made it mandatory for any man having more than three children to undergo sterilization. The birth control project soon developed into compulsory sterilization programme and became extremely unpopular among the people. The second project was of slum clearance. In Delhi which was implemented inhumanly. These measures completely destroyed the faith of common people in Mrs. Gandhi.

9. Resistance to the Emergency: -

There was no immediate reaction from the people to the emergency. However, with the passage of time, there was a lot of activity against the government. The centers of resistance were located in Delhi, Bombay, Ahmedabad, Baroda and Madras-Anti-government demonstrations were held throughout the states on 26 July 1975. Tamil Nadu was under the rule of Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam. The Executive Committee of the party passed a resolution demanding the revocation of the Emergency and release of those arrested. On 6 July, 1975, Chief Minister, Karunanidhi administered an oath to safeguard India’s
democracy. But the states were brought under president’s rule soon. Resistance was carried out by various groups to the Govt. as under:-

9.1) **Underground Activities:** - The underground resistance to the Emergency was organized through various channels. Very often, young girls and women were employed to carry the illicit literature published by the opposition for distribution amongst the people. The activities of the underground movement were the preparation and circulation of bulletins, pamphlets, newssheets, which were issued from Delhi. They carried messages from Jaya Prakash Narayan, lists of those who had died in prison and other vital information about the activities of the movement. Its aim was to keep up the morale of the workers both in jails and outside. It ceased to be published when the police raided its underground office within six months. Several underground pamphlets and newsletters in Hindi, English and several regional languages were circulated during the emergency period. Some of these carried revolutionary titles: George Fernandes, linked to the Baroda Dynamite case evaded the police for a moved up and down the country in various disguises, and up a network of around 2000 people. He made Baroda as the centre of the initial planning for violent underground resistance. Minor explosions took place in 1975 in Bihar, Maharashtra and Karnataka. On 10 June 1976, George Fernandes was arrested and imprisoned.

9.2) **Resistance from various Groups:** - During the Emergency several professional groups registered their dissent, and passed many resolutions against the Govt. Several journalists-reporters and editors protested against the arrest of K.R. Malkani, editor of the Motherland. Bar Associations in several states expressed themselves strongly against the Emergency. Ram Jethmalani Chairman, bar Council of India, made a powerful and passionate speech condemning Mrs. Gandhi’s action. Several lawyers played a notable role in the fight for civil liberties. Teachers in universities and colleges also played an important role in the resistance movement. Among the earliest letters of protest to the president was the one from the Bombay University Campus. In Maharashtra writers and critics were in the forefront of the resistance movement. The most well known among them was Durga Bhagwat, She was arrested after her speech, she made at a Ganapati Festival. Another popular playwright and humourist P.L. Deshpande also campaigned for freedom.

9.3) **Resistance from the Citizens for Democracy:** - The organizations, the citizens for Democracy, was formed in 1974 under the president ship of JP with V.M. Tarkunde as its secretary. JP was arrested on 26 June 1975, but released on parole on 12 November 1975 on grounds of health. The work of the Citizens for Democracy and the manifold activities of the underground resistance derived much of their strength from the inspiring leadership of Jaya Prakash Narayan.
The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) was the backbone of the underground movement. Though this organization was banned, and government vigilance increased, the secret operations of the RSS spread rapidly after June 1975. The RSS organized campaigns, in the presence of delegates from foreign countries. A Friends of India Society was established in London in April 1976. Similar organization was set up in the United State also. Thousands of RSS underground workers cooperated with the Lok Sangharsh Samiti. The Akalis also played an important role in the resistance movement.

9.4) Attempts for Negotiations: - Some leaders of the opposition were in favour of a negotiated settlement with Mrs. Gandhi. However, Mrs. Gandhi did not want any compromise. Still a large number of leaders were in prison, and the approval of Jaya Prakash Narayan was also necessary for a settlement. On 14 December 1976, N.G. Goray, who represented the Socialist party to negotiate with Mrs. Indira Gandhi but George Fernandes expressed his strong displeasure wrote to Jaya Prakash Narayan informing him to continue the struggle against the ‘dictatorship’.

10. End of the Emergency: -

Mrs. Gandhi on her perception of lack of unity among the opposition leaders and her popularity among the masses due to the Twenty-Point Programme, decided to go for general elections. It seems that she completely misread the popular temper. The intelligence agencies convinced that she would win in the next elections. Besides, she realized that the policies of the Emergency had to be legitimized further through elections. She also realized that the Emergency regime was increasingly getting discredited and was quite fragile. Therefore, Mrs. Gandhi had two options before her, either to intensify the authoritarian ruthless suppression of dissent or acquiring legitimacy through popular mandate. Hence, Mrs. Gandhi had no other option but to seek re-election. Under these circumstances, Mrs. Gandhi suddenly announced that elections to the Lok Sabha would be held in March 1977 and promised that the Emergency would be gradually lifted. Meanwhile, she released political prisoners, lifted press censorship and other restrictions on political activity. Officially the Emergency was revoked on 21 March 1977.

11. SUMMARY:-

Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the prime minister of India proclaimed Internal Emergency on 26 June, 1975, and the Nehru era came to an end. All that had been made dear to Indians by that great man. Nehru was finished at one stroke by his own daughter who, till then, had herself been a great prime Minister of India. The President, Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed was requested to sign the presidential proclamation on the night of 25 June, 1975. The contingency plans, that had been prepared by the Chiefs of Intelligence Bureau and the Central Bureau of Investigation put into
operation. All the leaders of opposition, including Jayprakash Narayan, Morarji Desai, Atal Behari Vajpayee and even a Congress Working Committee member, Chandra Shekhar, a former minister of state, Mohan Dharia, and the secretary of the Congress Parliamentary party, Ram Dhan were arrested. This arrest was continued all over the country till much later. Strict censorship was imposed on the newspapers and the mass media. The Government issued the instructions to all newspapers not to publish the news of the leaders, who were arrested. As days passed, ruthlessness of the administration became blatantly obvious. People began to wonder whether it was really Indira Gandhi, who had ordered all this or was she not herself, perhaps, the handful of people around her, who usurped effective power. The people, who surrounded Mrs. Indira Gandhi, were her own younger son, Sanjay, Defense Minister Bansilal, Indira Gandhi’s special Envoy, Mohammad Yunus. These people openly started ordering officials to carry out their dictates, although they had no political legitimacy or legal sanction behind them. Inder Kumar Gujral became the first casualty of this emergency.

As a student of history it is imperative to know the factors which, made Mrs. Gandhi too much authoritarian, and assert the sovereignty of the parliament by introducing the Twenty fourth and the Twenty Fifth Constitutional Amendment Bills. She became the legendry figure after defeating Pakistan and creating Bangladesh in 1971. The Gujarat Elections in 1972 boosted her morale. However, this spirit did not last long. Several economic problems began to fester her from 1971 onwards, Discontent among the people mounted day after day on several courts, led her to appoint justice A.N. Roy her henchman, as the Chief justice of India, which invited protest by the legal luminaries. Thus, Mrs. Indira Gandhi alienated the people in general. The student’s agitation in Gujarat, the JP Movement in Bihar and the Congress defeat in Gujarat in 1974 were some serious events damaging the image of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. The main reason that led Mrs. Gandhi to proclaim emergency was the Allahabad High Court Judgment on 12 June, 1975, on an election petition by Raj Narayan against her. The judgment declared her election from Rae Bareilly to the parliament invalid on two grounds that Yashpal Kapoor, who was her election manager was still in the Government service and the state of U.P. provided her with all government facilities. The conviction also meant that she could not contest any election to the parliament or hold any government office for six years.

This was the open challenge to her survival, she, therefore, called on the president, Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed and advised him to declare a state of Internal Emergency under Article 352 of the Constitution of India. During the emergency, Mrs. Gandhi introduced Twenty point Programme to solve several pressing problems of the country. The state of emergency created several positive and negative results. Reduction in prices, check on smuggling, strikes and lockouts took place. The discipline in administration was enforced; trains ran in time, unauthorized
construction was demolished. Property and life became safer as the penalties for murder, theft, robbery, rape and other offences became more stringent. In spite of these results some negative results as corruption and smuggling continued after sometime. People could not air their grievances due to restrictions on civil liberties. Resistance to the emergency increased from various selections and underground organizations were founded. Finally, Mrs. Gandhi was forced to announce the elections to the Lok Sabha in which the Congress lost miserably and the emergency come to an end.

12. ADDITIONAL READINGS:-

3) Mark Tully, Zareer Masani, from Raj to Rajiv, Universal Bookstall, New Delhi, 1994.
4) Upendra Baxi, Crisis and change in Contemporary India, Sage publications, New Delhi, 1995.

13. QUESTIONS:-

1) Examine the conditions in India on the eve of emergency, declared on 26 June, 1975.
2) Assess the Twenty Point Programme introduced during the emergency.
3) What were the causes and consequences of the emergency?
4) Write a critique on the results of the emergency.

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POST - EMERGENCY POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

1. OBJECTIVES:-

After the completion of this unit the student will be able to:-

a) Understand the political developments which took place after the revocation of the Emergency, such as announcement of elections in the month of March, 1977, the formation of the Janata Party Government at the centre.

b) Explain the work that the Janata Government tried to do and solve the problems in the country.

c) Perceive the achievements and the failure of the Janata Party Government.

d) Comprehend the factors that led to the fall of the Janta Party Government and the emergence of Indira Gandhi to power as the Prime Minister again.

e) Explain the problems Mrs. Gandhi faced and the tragic end.

2. INTRODUCTION:-

The Emergency being a time bound situation could not be continued indefinitely. Mrs. Gandhi had made it clear that the Emergency would be lifted and elections held when the country had been restored to a normal condition.

Mrs. Gandhi, on the night of 18 January 1977, took the country by her surprise broadcast over all stations of All India Radio. She announced that the President had been advised to dissolve the Lok Sabha and order fresh elections. She also announced that the opposition leaders were to be released from prison, and the Emergency would be lifted gradually.

The Congress leaders welcomed the announcement of the elections, praised Mrs. Gandhi and criticized the opposition leaders for doubting her integrity. Jaya Prakash Narayan also welcomed Mrs. Gandhi’s decision to hold elections. However, he was worried about the inability of the opposition parties to come together to form a single Party.

3. Birth of the Janata Party:-

Following the announcement of fresh elections the opposition party leader of the Congress (O), Jan Sangh, Bhartiya Lok Dal and the socialists met at the residence of Morarji Desai on 18 January 1997, to explore the possibility of opposition unity. They decided to constitute into
a new Janata Party. A nine men committee of nomination and selection of candidates was expanded to include 28 members under the chairmanship of Morarji Desai and Charan Singh as vice-chairman. The Janata Party sent feelers to the Akalis in Punjab and the CPI (M) to have an electoral alliance with the Janaa Party. The DMK also agreed for an electoral adjustment in Tamil Nadu.

On the other hand, soon after the announcement of elections, there was scramble for Congress tickets. The Central Election Committee of the Congress consisted of Mrs. Gandhi, D.K. Barooha, Jagjivan Ram, Y.B. Chavan, Siddhartha Shankar Ray, C. Subramaniam, Swaran Singh, K. Mallappa, K. Brahmananda Reddy and Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma, handled all problems of selecting candidates and drafting the election manifesto.

On 2 February, 1977, Jagjivan Ram resigned from the cabinet and the primary membership of the Congress deploiring the many excesses of the Emergency. The news of Jagjivan Ram’s exit shook the Congress. Jagjivan Ram along with H. N. Bahuguna and Nandini Satpathy formed the Congress for Democracy which forged a common front with the Janata Party.

3.1. Election Campaign: - Mrs. Gandhi had to fight her Party’s electoral battle almost single-handed. Mrs. Gandhi referred to the Janata Party as the ‘Janata Front’ and dubbed it as a mixture of parties with clashing ideologies. She predicted that a coalition would result in a weak centre. The opposition parties mounted a personal campaign against Mrs. Gandhi, her son Sanjay and their supporters. They made the Emergency the major issue, and posed it before the electorate, as a choice between ‘freedom or slavery’

3.2. Victory to the Janata Party: - The elections, results stunned the Congress and surprised the nation. The Janata Party and its allies scored a brilliant victory with 330 out of 542 seats. The Congress was left with only 154 seats. North India became the watershed for the Congress. In Uttar Pradesh, the Congress did not win a single seat. Even Mrs. Gandhi lost the election in Rae Bareilly to Raj Narain. This was the only instance in Indian political history that a sitting Prime Minister had been humiliated in such a manner. However, the Congress improved its tally from 70 seats in 1971 to 92 seats in 1977 in South India. This was due to the impact of the Emergency which was not felt in the south, and the Twenty-Point Programme had achieved better results.

Having lost the elections Mrs. Gandhi advised the acting president B.D. Jatti to revoke the internal Emergency on 21 March 1977. On the next day she submitted her resignation to the acting president of India.

3.3. The Janata Party Government: - To pay homage to Mahatma Gandhi, in the morning of 20 March 1977, a unique ceremony was held at Rajghat. The members of the Janata Party and CFD assembled under
the leadership of Jaya Prakash Narayan and Acharya Kriplani and took a solemn oath to endeavor earnestly to fulfill the task of Gandhiji to serve the people. They promised to practice honesty in personal and public life. Therefore, for the choice of the Prime Ministers Post, consensus was adopted, and the 81-year-old Morarji Desai was declared as the next Prime Minister. He was sworn in on the same day in the afternoon. The council of ministers was formed through the constituent groups of the Janata party. It was agreed that the major groups of the ruling alliance would have two members each in the Cabinet. BLD was represented by Charan Singh and Raj Narain, Jan Sangh by Atal Behari Vajpayee and L.K. Advani, CFD by Jagjivan Ram and H.N. Bahuguna Congress (O) by Fernandes and Madhu Dandavate, the Akalis by prakash Singh Badal. On 1 May 1977, the Janata Party, BLD, the Congress (O), the Socialist Party and the Jan Sangh merged into the Janata Party, On 5 May, the CFD also merged with the Janata Party.

3.4. Work of the Janata Government: - After coming to power, the Janata party Government took several decisions in the interest of the Indian people as:-

3.4.1) The Janata Government took steps to undo to the harm done to the civil service during the Emergency. The officials who had been transferred to unimportant posts, or forced to leave and penalized for expressing their views were given back their due place in the government and administration.

3.4.2) Those officials who have been suspended without any charge were allowed to resume their duty.

3.4.3) J.R.D. Tata was replaced by Air Marshal Lal as the Chairman of Air India.

3.4.4) The Janata government appointed the Shah Commission in May, 1977, under J.C. Shah, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of India. The terms of reference of the commission were to inquire into the abuse of authority, misuse of powers during the period the proclamation of the Emergency made on 26 June 1975 under Article 352 of the constitution. After thoroughly going through various records and holding interviews with various officers and even ministers in the former Congress Government, the Commission submitted its first interim Report in March 1978.

The Janata government was not sure as to the nature of action that should be taken, against Mrs. Gandhi. Various alternatives, including disenfranchisement of Mrs. Gandhi or trial by a special court were considered.

The government maintained that on a number of matters the findings disclosed grounds for initiating legal action and got the Special Court Act passed by the Parliament The Janata Party Government could not take any action against Mrs. Indira Gandhi
as the Janata Government crashed in July, 1979 like a playing card bungalow, under its own weight.

3.4.5) The Janata government dismissed governments in nine Congress-rule states and ordered new elections to the assemblies. The justification for this action was that those governments had lost the mandate of the people as the Congress had lost national elections in these states. Following the elections in June 1977, except in Tamil Nadu and in West Bengal, Janata ally secured an absolute majority.

3.5. Achievements of the Janata Government: - There were several achievements to the credit of the Janata Govt. some of them are as under:

3.5.1) The Janata government took measures to dismantle the authoritarian features of the Emergency.

3.5.2) They abolished the Press Censorship and the censor machinery was wound up.

3.5.3) The Press Council was set up once again.

3.5.4) The Maintenance of Internal Security Act was scrapped.

3.5.5) The rule of law was fully restored.

3.5.6) The government released political detainees.

3.5.7) The arbitrary laws were reviewed.

3.5.8) The constitution was amended twice, as 43rd and 44th Amendments.

3.5.9) During the Janata government economy was quite impressive. The rate of growth of the economy in 1977-78 was six per cent. The overall growth in the industrial sector was seven per cent.

3.5.10) The Janata government laid greater emphasis on the translation of Gandhi’s noble concept of Antyodaya into a practical economic project. The scheme was aimed at providing with the facilities that would help the five poorest families in each village to earn a monthly income of about Rs. 150. The Chief Minister, Bhairon Singh Shekawat, started this novel experiment in Rajasthan, and was followed successfully in Himachal Pradesh, U.P., M.P. and Gujarat.

3.5.11) Another scheme the Food for Work Scheme, implemented on a nation-wide scale through the state governments. The Central government provided food grains to the states, which were used in the rural areas as payment for work.

3.5.12) The biggest achievement of the Janata government was its success in curbing in inflation and making available essential commodities all over the country.
3.6. Failure of the Janata Government: Among the failure some of the important failures are as under:

3.6.1) The Janata government repudiated the vision of rapid economic development based on large-scale industry, modern agriculture, and advanced science and technology.

3.6.2) It failed to evolve an alternative strategy to deal with the economic development.

3.6.3) The Janata government laid emphasis on labour-intensive industry in place of large-scale industry, decentralization in place of national planning; and rich-peasant-led agricultural development based on generous subsidies, reduction in land revenue, and massive shift of resources from industry to the rural sector.

3.6.4) In 1978 and 1979, severe drought and devastating floods in several states affected agricultural production. Food grains and petroleum price rise, in international market let loose trends in inflation, beyond twenty per cent. There was a lot of discontent in the country. The law and order situation began to deteriorate.

3.6.5) In many states the landowners tried to forcibly take back the plots of land given to the Scheduled Castes and Rural Poor. The result was widespread caste tensions and violent attacks on the Scheduled Castes in North India. An early instance of such carnage was the killing and burning of Harijans at Belchi in Bihar in July 1977.

3.6.6) The Janata government wasted its energy on total prohibition. Total prohibition meant loss of revenue from excise, which could have been used for national development.

3.6.7) The Janata governments at the center and in the states took no initiative in speeding up land reforms.

3.6.8) The scheme of the government to auction gold was a failure. In spite of warnings of adverse effects, the Janata government went ahead with the scheme, which was suspended only after large quantities of gold had been auctioned.

3.6.9) The Freedom of Religion Bill introduced in the Parliament created doubts and suspicion in the minds of the minorities about the real intentions of the government. This damaged the image of the Janata party and suspected of being influenced by communal forces.

3.6.10) The Janata government could not complete the full term of five years. This was due to ideological differences, factional interests and personal ambitions of different leaders.

3.7. Fall of the Janata Government: The Jan Sangh tried to promote its communal agenda through rewriting textbooks, recruitment to official
media, educational institutions and the police. The Jan Sangh tried to maintain its separate ideological and communal identity within the government. It never attempted to merge with the Janata party. It had close links with the RSS, which provided it cadres and ideology. Congress (O) was secular but it had the interests of the rich-peasantry at its heart. The socialists did not have a wider base. Under these circumstances, the Janata experiment was bound to be short-lived.

Charan Singh wanted to become the Prime Minister in March 1977, but he had to withdraw in favor of Morarji Desai. He never gave up his ambition and resorted to all kinds of tactics to strengthen his position so that one day he may become the Prime Minister. Even when he was removed from the Cabinet and was taken back as Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister, he consolidated his position in the government. He finally had his dream realized in July 1979, with the help of the socialists. Madhu Limaye, had raised the question of dual membership of the RSS and the Janata Party. Many Janata members had been members of the RSS long before Jan Sangh was born. Although the Jan Sangh had merged in the Janata Party, they continued to be members of both the Janata Party and the RSS. In the final analysis it was the dual membership issue that led to the fall of the Janata government. The BLD and socialist members finally walked out of the Janata Party and the government on the refusal of the Jan Sangh members to give up their dual membership. Morarji Desai resigned on 15 July 1979 being reduced to minority. Government A week later, Charan Singh, formed the government in alliance with the Chavan-wing of the Congress (U), the socialists, the outside support of Congress (I) and CPI. However, he was not destined to face the Parliament on 20 August 1979, a day before he was to seek the vote of confidence, Mrs. Gandhi withdrew the support because Charan Singh had rejected her demand to scrap the special Courts set up to prosecute her. On the advice of Charan Singh, the President dissolved the Lok Sabha and mid-term elections were announced, to the parliament of India.

4. Indira Gandhi’s Return to Power:

After the elections of March 1977, Mrs. Gandhi was not even the member of the parliament. She attended the meeting of the Congress Working Committee on 12 April 1977 after the senior Congress leaders persuaded her to attend it. She owned full responsibility for the defeat in the elections. The Congress Working Committee passed resolutions expelling Bansi Lal and reprimanded V.C. Shukla for his role in the emergency. D.K. Barooha also resigned from the president ship of the Congress. In a Four Cornered Contest to the post of the Congress President, Brahmananda Reddy having the support of Mrs. Gandhi was elected to the Congress Working Committee. These factors showed that she still had a old over the Congress.
4.1 **Reasons to come back to Power:** There were several factors that led Indira Gandhi to power again in 1980. Some of the important factors are as under:

4.1.1) Mrs. Gandhi was waiting for an opportunity to enter active politics. In July 1977, she met Acharya Vinobha Bhave at Paunara, and identified herself with the masses of the country.

4.1.2) Mrs. Gandhi visited the flood-hit areas in Delhi, and she was the first national leader to visit Belchi in Bihar in August 1977, where eleven young Harijans had been massacred by the landowners.

4.1.3) Mrs. Gandhi went to meet Jaya Prakash Narayan, who seemed overwhelmed as he came out to see her off. She visited various parts of the country with the object of acquainting herself with the difficulties and problems of the people.

4.1.4) Mrs. Gandhi was arrested on 3 October, 1977, on charges of corruption and abuse of public office. The magistrate ordered her release as no evidence was produced before the Court. Her arrest and release increased the number of her admirers.

4.1.5) After her release, Mrs. Gandhi went to Gujarat where she got overwhelming reception by huge crowds. Wherever she went, Uttar Pradesh or Bihar, large crowds greeted her as never before. She was gradually regaining her lost support.

4.1.6) Gandhi went to Cyclone devastated coastal Andhra Pradesh in November 1977, and consoled the suffering people. She accused the Central government of not doing enough towards the relief of the Cyclone affected people in Andhra Pradesh.

4.1.7) **Split in the Congress:** The swing of the popular mood in favor of Mrs. Gandhi prompted her loyalists to make her president of the Congress in the place of Brahmananda Reddy. But this proposed move could not work as planned. In the proceedings of the All India Congress Committee on 15 October 1977, there was complete chaos. The in fighting within the Congress had its impact on state politics. The congress government in Karnataka under Devraj Urs was also divided into pro and anti Mrs. Gandhi. The attempt of the Congress Working Committee to take disciplinary action against Devraj Urs, a loyalist of Mrs. Gandhi, led to a split in the Working Committee itself. There was an open talk about the possibility of a split in the Congress. Mrs. Gandhi resigned from the Congress Working Committee in December 1977 as feeling was created that she was becoming a liability to the Congress. The decision of the Congress leaders to support Sanjiva Reddy for the president ship without consulting her came as a shock to Mrs. Gandhi. The split in the Congress by Mrs. Gandhi was linked up with the events in Karnataka. Devraj Urs feared his political eclipse...
as his rival K.G. Patil was appointed as the president of the Karnataka Pradesh Congress Committee by Brahmananda Reddy. Devraj Urs exerted pressure on Mrs. Gandhi to precipitate a split in the Congress to save his political future. The National Convention of the followers of Mrs. Gandhi was held on 2 January 1978, which was attended by more than 5,000 Congressmen. Kamalapati Tripathi, the Chairman of the National Convention introduced the resolution unanimously electing Mrs. Gandhi as the President of the 'real' Congress. Thus, the faction of the Congress led by Mrs. Gandhi came to be known as Congress (I). Which became the major party the country later.

4.1.8) The Elections of 1978:- In the state elections in May-June 1977, and in 1978, when Mrs. Gandhi was the president of the congress (I), she took active part in campaigning. Due to her efforts Congress (I) came to power in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka. In Maharashtra the Congress (I) secured second position. This was an indication that Mrs. Gandhi still possessed the Charisma.

4.1.9) The Chikmagalur Parliamentary election: - Gandhi's supporters Gundu Rao, F.M. Khan, Jaffer Sharief and others convinced her that Chikmagulur was the safest seat, which would return her to the Lok Sabha. Gundu Rao, one of the ministers of Devraj Urs government, made the announcement of Mrs. Gandhi Contesting from Chikmagalur. The Janata Party put up Virendra Patil, a former chief minister of Karnataka, as its candidate against Mrs. Gandhi. The campaign was a 'do or die' for Mrs. Gandhi. George Fernandes, the union minister for industries was put in charge of the Janata campaign in Chikmagalur. Following the election in November 1978, Mrs. Gandhi won the Chikmagalur seat by a big margin.

4.1.10) Imprisonment of Mrs. Gandhi: - Soon Mrs. Gandhi entered the parliament, Madhu Limaye raised the question of privilege against Mrs. Gandhi. She was accused of obstruction, and the institution of false case against officials who were collecting information for an answer to a question regarding Maruti Limited for Fifth Lok Sabha. The committee held Mrs. Gandhi guilty of breach of privilege. The Lok Sabha sentenced Mrs. Gandhi to imprisonment till the house was prorogued and deprived her of her seat from the Chikmagalur Constituency. On 19 December 1978, Mrs. Gandhi was taken to the Tihar Jail. There was widespread protest all over the country in support of Mrs. Gandhi. The supporters of Mrs. Gandhi resorted to violence, even a plane was hijacked to get her freed. On 26 December 1978, Mrs. Gandhi came out of the Tihar Jail to the wild cheering by an adoring crowd that had gathered in front of the jailed Gandhi to power.
4.1.11) **Crisis in the Janata Government:** - As Mrs. Gandhi was gaining in popularity; the Janata government was facing unpopularity due to economic crisis. The internal contradictions within the Janata party coupled with the ambition of Charan Singh to become the Prime Minister precipitated a crisis that led to the break up of the Janata Party. Morarji Desai resigned and Charan Singh became the new Prime Minister with the outside support of the Congress (I). Before Charan Singh sought the vote of confidence, Mrs. Gandhi withdrew support to Charan Singh’s government that led to his resignation and eventually the dissolution of the Lok Sabha. In the elections held in January 1980, the Congress (I) secured 353 out of 529 seats.

4.2. **Indira Gandhi Back as the Prime Minister:** - Mrs. Gandhi once again became the Prime Minister of the country on 14 January 1980. Mrs. Gandhi was hesitant to take policy initiatives firmly with several problems that were plaguing the country. She chose her council of ministers after through consultation with her son Sanjay, who was elected from Amethi in Uttar Pradesh. As most of the experienced national leaders had deserted Mrs. Gandhi during 1977-78. Sanjay, became his mother’s closest adviser and confidant and her heir apparent. But soon the death of Sanjay Gandhi in a plane crash on 23 June 1980 devastated her. In her desperation, she tried to fill his place with her elder son, Rajiv Gandhi, who was a pilot with the Indian Airways and had contempt towards politics and corruption. He was persuaded by Mrs. Gandhi to enter politics to follow his brother's footsteps. Rajiv succumbed to his mother, and contested from Sanjay's constituency of Amethi and was appointed as the general secretary of the Congress party in 1983, after he won the Amethi Lok Sabha seat.

4.3. **Achievements:**

4.3.1) There were several problems before the new Congress government, the economy was in decline, there had been a steady decrease in the GNP, unemployment had risen rapidly, there were signs of growing unrest especially in Assam and Punjab. Immediately after returning to power, Mrs. Gandhi showed concern for 220 million victims of drought. She made arrangements to supply essential Commodities to the people. She visited drought affected states and announced Twelve-Point Relief Programme.

4.3.2) The Congress government dissolved the nine state assemblies in the opposition ruled states. Out of the nine state assemblies dissolved, those of U.P. and Orissa were led by Lok Dal chief ministers, while Bihar, Rajasthan, M.P. and Gujarat were under Janata rule. In Maharashtra, a progressive Democratic Front was in power. Tamil Nadu was under the rule of AIDMK while in Punjab Akali Dal ministry was in power. In the elections of June 1980, Congress swept the polls except Tamil Nadu, where AIDMK
retain power. The Congress was in power in fifteen out of twenty-two states.

4.3.3) The Congress government under Mrs. Gandhi nationalized six more commercial banks, by the Banking companies Act, 1980.

4.3.4) Under a Presidential Ordinance Promulgated on 21 August 1980, the industrial workers got a minimum bonus of 8.33 per cent of their annual wages.

4.3.5) In September 1980, the Government of India announced the revival and reconstitution of the National Integration Council under the chairmanship of the Prime minister to combat and eliminate the evils of communalism, linguism and all other forms of parochialism.

4.3.6) The government introduced the National Security Act in 1980 for eliminating anti-national, anti-social secessionist, communal and pro-caste elements.

4.3.7) In February 1981, the National Development Council approved the Sixth Five Year plan for 1980-85, and introduced a new package of Twenty-Point Economic Programme.

4.3.8) In the foreign policy, the second meeting of the commonwealth Heads of governments of the Asian Pacific region met in New Delhi in September 1980, in which sixteen countries participated. The conference called for a political settlement of the crisis in Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

4.3.9) In March 1983, India hosted the seventh summit of the Non-Aligned Movement with Mrs. Gandhi as its chairman.

4.3.10) She tried to improve India’s relations with the United States, China and Pakistan.

4.3.11) The dignitaries who paid official visits to India were French President Valery Giscard in January 1980, Kenneth Kaunda, president of Zambia in September 1980, President Brezhnev, President of the Soviet Union in December 1980, President Daniel T. Arap Moi of Kenya, February 1981, President of West Germany in March 1981, Prime Minister of England, Mrs. Margaret Tatcher in April 1981, Robert Mugabe, the Prime Minister of Zambia in May 1981. They emphasized on strengthening the relations between the member countries.

4.4. Failures: Although Indira Gandhi controlled the Party and Government there were certain elements, which led her to failure.

4.4.1) The continuous factionalism and infighting in the party, led the Congress Party to instability.
4.4.2) Frequent changes of the Chief Minister and corrupt practices gradually eroded the confidence of the people in the ability of the Congress to provide them a stable and efficient government.

4.4.3) This erosion of the party’s popularity defeated it in January 1984 in the elections to the state assemblies of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka.

4.4.4) The Congress government also faced a number of problems arising out of communal. Linguistic and caste conflicts.

4.4.5) The separatist movements in Kashmir, Punjab and Assam posed a serious threat to the integrity of the nation, and was to pay a heavy share to eradicate them.

4.5. Operation Blue Star and Death of Indira Gandhi - The terrorist violence in Punjab, since the independence had been increasing. The Akali Dal had achieved their own state of Punjab in 1966. In 1977, the Akali Dal scored a great victory over the Congress in both state and national elections. To undermine the Akali Dal in Punjab, Congress politicians sponsored their own Sikh fundamentalist movement led by young Jarnail Singh Bindranwale. With an attempt to completely destabilize the Akali Dal, the central government turned blind eyes as Bindranwale attacked a number of its leaders and supporters. Emboldened Bindranwale let loose a reign of terror with a group of armed followers established his headquarters at the Golden Temple in Amritsar. Bindranwale gave a call for an independent Sikh homeland, Khalistan. Those who opposed him were eliminated.

Mrs. Gandhi at last decided to act firmly against the terrorists who were holed up in the Golden Temple. On 5 June 1984, under the code name Operation Blue Star, the Golden Temple was stormed to flush out the terrorists. Over 1000 rebels were killed and around 200-300 Indian soldiers lost their lives.

The Operation blue Star deeply wounded the sentiments of the Sikhs. They felt humiliated and outraged, and held Mrs. Gandhi responsible for the desecration of the Golden Temple. This mounting sense of anger found its outlet a few months later when, on the morning of 31 October 1984, Mrs. Gandhi was assassinated by her Sikh bodyguards.

4.6. An Appraisal:- Mrs. Indira Gandhi’s rise and fall is no less than a story of adventure and misfortune Mrs. Gandhi possessed great political skill. She used all her manipulative skills to checkmate her rivals and steer the government according to her own political instinct. When she was undermined by her adversaries, she did not hesitate to engineer a split in the party. She tried to solve the socio-economic problems of the millions of rural and urban people. The nationalization of commercial banks, the military victory over Pakistan in the 1971 war, and the creation of Bangla Desh made her a legentary figure in the country. She tried to have a pliable judiciary and committed civil service. She failed to evolve
any institutional development, administrative improvement and far-reaching socio-economic change. Under Mrs. Gandhi lacked inner party democracy and most of decisions were taken centrally. To such a mighty organization and to fight the elections huge amount of money was required which, was raised from the people of the country.

Mrs. Gandhi was never spared by the Indian people for her acts of commission and omission during the Emergency. Mrs. Gandhi learned her lessons and during the brief period of Janata interregnum she once again built her popular base, and taking the advantage of the failure of the Janata experiment bounced back into power in 1980. With the return to the center stage of Indian politics, Mrs. Gandhi became more mellowed and cautious. She could not take firm action against the forces of disruption and conflict among communities and regions. The separatist forces operating in different parts of the country, became enemies and brought about her end.

5. SUMMARY:-

On 18 January, 1977 Mrs. Indira Gandhi surprised the country by her announcement that the president has been advised to dissolve the Lok Sabha and order fresh elections. Accordingly, the president dissolved the Fifth Lok Sabha on 19 January, 1977 and the elections were held in the month of March, 1977. All opposition leaders met together and constituted a new Janata Party. A Committee of nine members under the chairmanship of Morarji Desai was appointed for nomination and selecting candidates for the election. Mrs. Gandhi referred to the Janata Party as Janata Front, a mixture of clashing ideologies, which would lead in a weak centre. The opposition leaders mounted a personal attack against Mrs. Gandhi and her son Sanjay. They posed before the electorates as a choice between freedom or slavery. Consequently the Janata Party won the election with 330 seats out of 542 seats. After taking solemn oath at Rajghat to complete the task, began by Mahatma Gandhi, 81 year old Morarji Desai was declared as the next prime Minister of India. Charan Singh, Raj Narayan, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, L.K. Advani, Jagjivan Ram, H.N. Bahuguna, Madhu Dandavate, George Fernandes, and Prakash Singh Badal were the Cabinet Minister of the Morarji Desai Government.

After assuming the office, the Janata Government tried to undo all evils came in the administration during the period of emergency. The Janata Government appointed the Shah Commission to enquire into the abuse of authority and misuse of power during the period of emergency. Although, the commission submitted its report in August 1978, the Government could not take any action against Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Morarji Desai dismissed governments in nine Congress ruled states and held the fresh elections there. Except in Tamil Nadu and the West Bengal in all other states, the Janata Government secured an absolute majority. Among the important achievements of the Janata Government. The dismantling authoritarian feature, winding censor machinery, abolishing
Internal Security Act were worthy. During the Janata period economic growth was impressive; which had risen to six per cent. Mahatma Gandhi's concept of Antyodaya was translated into a practical economic project by several states under the leadership of Morarji Desai government. The food for work scheme, making available all food grains all over the country were some other popular programmes which had been undertaken by the Janata Government. However, the Janata Government could not achieve many things, which became the failures of the Government. Development of large scale industries, modern agriculture, and advancement in science and technology were neglected. Economic development was not handled; decentralisation and subsidies reduced large scale land revenue of the country. Drought, floods, petroleum price rise increased inflation. Failure of law and order situation created discontent among the people. The policy of total prohibition, auction of gold, the introduction of Religion bill in the Parliament made people suspicious about the real intension of the Government. The greatest failure of the Janata Government was that it could not complete its full five year term and collapsed under its own weight. Following the resignation of Morarji Desai as the Prime Minster on 15 July, 1979 Charan Singh became the Prime Minister of India. However, he was not destined to face the parliament. He resigned on 20 August, 1979 due to the withdrawal of support to his Government by Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Charan Singh advised the president to dissolve the Lok Sabha and hold the Mid-term elections in the country.

The fall of the Charan Singh ministry was a good chance for Mrs. Indira Gandhi to come to power again. Mrs. Gandhi began identify herself with the masses. After meeting Acharya Vinoba Bhave at Paunar, Mrs. Gandhi visited flood hit are as in Delhi: - She visited Belchi in Bihar in August, 1977 where eleven young Harijans were massacred by the landowners, Mrs. Gandhi consoled the relatives of the victims and earned their sympathies. Mrs. Gandhi’s visit to Jay Prakash Narayan created good will for her. The Janata Government arrested Mrs. Gandhi on the charges of corruption; however, the Magistrate ordered to release her as no evidence was produced before the court. Her arrest and release increased in her good will among the people. When Mrs.Gandhi visited Gujarat, Bihar, U.P. and Andhra Pradesh, large crowd greeted her never before. It means, she was gradually regaining her lost support and glory. Mrs. Gandhi engineered second split in the Congress on the pretex of extending support to Sanjiva Reddy for the president ship without consulting her. Eventually, the faction of the Congress led by her came to be know as Congress I. In 1978, Mrs. Gandhi won the Assembly election in nine states on her own, her election to the Chikmaglur Parliamentary seat from Karnataka, her imprisonment on the breach of privilege motion made her so popular that a plane was hijacked to get her freed and a record number of people were courted arrest in one day; This Popularity
led her to win the Lok Sabha election in 1980. Her Congress secured 353 seats out of 529 seats.

After becoming the Prime Minister in 1980, Mrs. Gandhi was not destined peace. Sanjay Gandhi, her younger son, who had been her close confidant in the hours of need, died in a plane crash on 23 June, 1980. She was forced to depend upon her eldest son, Rajiv Gandhi, who was a pilot with Indian Airways. Indira Gandhi persuaded him to follow his brother's footsteps. Rajiv Gandhi was elected from Sanjay's Constituency of Amethi in 1983 and was made the general secretary of the Congress. Despite several problems faced by her Government, Mrs. Indira Gandhi tried to achieve several important things in and outside India. Nationalisation of six more commercial banks in 1980, 8.33 per cent bonus to the industrial workers, and the reconstruction of the National Integration Council to combat the Communalism and Lingualism were some of important achievements of Mrs. Gandhi. The second meeting of the common wealth governments in Delhi in 1980, and the visits of heads of several countries were the achievements in the Foreign Policy field. However, Mrs. Gandhi could not solve the problems like factionalism and infighting in the Congress Party. She also faced the problem of terrorism and separatist movement in Punjab and Assam. Due to the Blue Star Campaign in the Golden Temple Amritsar, her Sikh bodyguards assassinated her on 31 October, 1984. This was the end of the most Charismatic Prime Minister of India, whose political career had been a saga of varying graph.

6. ADDITIONAL READINGS:-

1) Dr. Eugune D’souza, Modern India, Manan Prakashan, Mumbai-2004.


3) Upendra Baxi, crisis and change in contemporary India, saga publication, New Delhi- 1995.


7. QUESTIONS:-

1) Give a brief account of political developments after the revocation of the Emergency.

2) Explain the achievements and failures of the Janata party Government.

3) Account for the rise of Mrs. Indira Gandhi to power in 1980 as Prime Minister of India.

4) Assess the achievements of Mrs. Gandhi after the fall of Janata Government.
FOREIGN POLICY OF INDEPENDENT INDIA

PRINCIPLES OF FOREIGN POLICY

1. Objectives :-

- After completing the study of this unit, the student will be able to
- Comprehend the determinants or factors which influenced the foreign policy of India
- Understand Pandit Nehru’s concept of foreign policy in India.
- Explain the meaning, origin and operation of the Non-Aligned Movement.
- Comprehend the need and use of the Non-Aligned Movement in the international politics.

2. Introduction.:-

Before Independence the external relations of India were the responsibility of the British Government. After the First World War India and the British Empire were associated in discussing the terms of the Treaty of Versailles and became original members of the League of nations. During World War II Indian leaders supported the Allies against the Nazis and the Fascists. Although the India National Congress did not attach much importance to the external relations, it had passed certain resolutions regarding them. Pandit Nehru was an outstanding personality whose attention was attracted by the International affairs and moved him deeply. The liberal ideas of the Fabians of London, the colonial possessions of the European States in Asia and Africa, the white man’s supremacy in the world affairs racial discrimination in many parts of the world, economic disparities between the affluent countries of the west and the poorer people of the East, fired his imagination. He participated in the Congress of oppressed peoples in Brussels presided over by the British Labour Leader, George Lansbury. All through the sustained agitation and national struggle for wrestling political power from the British Government under Mahatma Gandhi’s unique guidance. Nehru was the one prominent person among Indian leaders who felt deeply interested in international developments’ and followed the world events with fervours. It had been remarked that Nehru was the link between the congress and the world.
3. Nehru the Chief Architect of the Foreign Policy of India.

When India attained full nationhood in 1947, Nehru became Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister of free India. His colleagues, both in the party and in the Government left the formulation of the country's foreign policy to him. As his biographer has put it that Nehru was the Philosopher, the architect, the engineer and the voice of his country's policy towards the outside world and in no other countries one man dominated foreign policy as Nehru did in India. He was the sole author and director of the country's relations in the external field. The central features of that policy bore the stamp of the ideas and circumstances which had influenced his career and attitude in public life and throughout the thirty years of the national struggle for Freedom And by no means the least important of these influences sprang from the official ideas and humanism of Gandhi whom he accepted as his leader and political guide even though their look on life differed widely.

4. Principals of Foreign Policy:

Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister, also handled the foreign policy. The principals adopted by Nehru guided the foreign policy of successive governments, not only of the Congress Party, but also of the Janata Party. India is emerging as one of the great powers in the world. She has all the necessary potential, to be great power; India is the seventh largest country in terms of territory and second in population. She has the third largest military force, fifth largest air force and full-fledged blue-water navy. India also possesses an abundance of natural resources, a large pool of scientific and technical manpower and sophisticated nuclear and space programme.

5. Determinants of Indian Foreign Policy:

Broadly speaking four elements influence the formation of nation's foreign policy. namely a) natural interest, b) power position, c) ideology d) traditional world of diplomacy has generally been given priority so far. In addition to these elements certain other factors provide foundation and direction of foreign policy. These factors are known as the determinants includes geography, historical background, political traditions, military strength, national character, national and international situation, political institution and personalities of decision makers, which are briefed under.

5.1 India occupies an important geographical position in global context. The location and size of India has given her a central position in the world politics. Nehru realized this aspect and used it as the main source of his policies. India is located on the crossroads of Asia. The major sea and air routes of the world pass through India. India's political and economic relations and security concerns depend chiefly on her command over the
Indian Ocean. Thus, the geographical size and location of India has made her a great power in regional perspective. Jawaharlal Nehru is justly regarded as the chief architect of India’s foreign policy. However, he did not start from scratch in 1947. He formulated a foreign policy on the basis of continuity with the Indian outlook on world affairs, which had developed during the national movement. While formulating India’s foreign policy he tried to emphasize this element of continuity. Nehru had remarked that India’s policy has not been some sudden bright inspiration of an individual but a gradual growth evolving from even before independence. The roots of India’s foreign policy are to be found in her civilization. The general approach to peaceful method of settling international disputes can be traced to Buddhist and Jain principles of non-violence, which was an integral part of Gandhiji’s philosophy. Besides these factors, Indian foreign policy makers were also influenced by recent ideologies like Marxism and Democratic Socialism. This partly explains why India had been closer to the Socialist bloc than the Western bloc. The above observation shows that India’s foreign policy has been a reflection of the values and traditions that have come down from the past.

5.2 According to Nehru, foreign policy is the outcome of economic policy. Rapid economic development after independence was essential due to the grinding poverty of India. In spite of being endowed with natural wealth. India remained a backward country during the British rule. In order to achieve economic progress India was compelled to depend on foreign aid and assistance. Thus, foreign help could be achieved only through a policy of non-alignment. Nehru welcomed aid from all quarters. Thus, Bhilai and Bokaro steel plants were built with the Soviet help. Rourkela plant with the help of West Germany, Durgapur plant with the British assistance and Tarapur atomic plant with the help of the United States. Because of economic compulsions and deep-rooted faith in non-violence, India’s diplomacy strived to avoid wars as far as possible. Hence, non-alignment was closely linked to India’s economic interest as it promoted peace.

5.3 A highly developed economy alone could enable a country to pursue its foreign policy based on the military strength as is being done by the United States at present. India neither has such an ambition nor economic capacity. Thus India never aimed to base her foreign policy on the basis of her military strength. As a developing country India’s priority has been to invest the major part of her resources in development rather than defense. In spite of this, India has become a regional power in terms of military capability. In the last decade, her defense budget has doubled, and India has become the dominant military power in the subcontinent. It is important to note that India’s military expansion programme started since 1963, following the Chinese aggression in 1962. Prior to that, Nehru emphasized on economic development rather than military might as the mutual relationship between India and China "as based on the principle of peaceful co-existence."
5.4 Both Foreign and domestic policies of India are interlinked. In this connection it is important to analyze the domestic conditions of India. The fact remains that Indian state system is not fully integrated. The lack of regional, economic, political, social and cultural integration has affected India's foreign policy. Indian nation is endemic with certain separatist tendencies. which project an image of internal weakness and this affects the nation's status abroad. Domestic acceptance of a foreign policy is important for its sustenance.

5.5 Another important determinant of foreign policy of any country is the international political equations. India's foreign policy makers had to take into account major international developments such as the bipolarity of a large area of the world politics in 1950s. The Indian policy makers could not have been indifferent to different phases of global power equations like the Cold War development and post-Cold War development. It is taken into consideration the rise of the USA and the USSR the giant powers in military strength and technological knowledge. The old concept of security and balance of power has taken a different turn. Fresh remedies and devices for defense and security were adopted such as the north Atlantic Treaty organization, the central Treaty Organization, the south East Asia Treaty of Friendship. Co-operation and Mutual Assistasnces, Pandit Nehru had noted these changes and boldly stood out as its uncompromising critic.

5.6 A country's foreign policy at a given time is determined by the ruling elite depending on how it perceives and responds to the prevailing challenges in domestic fields and external environment. It depends on the interpretation of national interest in light of global environment. The ruling elite plays an important role in the shaping of a country's foreign policy. The foundation of India's foreign policy was definitely laid by Jawaharlal Nehru. He dominated the Indian and international scene for seventeen years. In the informative years of the Indian nation, Nehru was the prime minister and the foreign Minister Besides Nehru. Sarder Patel Krishna Menon, Dr Radhakrishnan. K.M. Panikkar, G. B. Pant . Sardar Saran Singh, TN. Kaul D.P. Dhan, P. N. Haskar. I,K Gujral. G. Parthasarathy, Romesh Bhandari and many others, who shaped India's foreign policy.

5.7 Replying to debate on foreign affairs, Nehru remarked that Indian foreign policy is a policy inherent in the circumstances of India, inherent in the past thinking of India, inherent in the whole mental outlook of India, inherent in the conditioning of the Indian mind during our struggle for freedom, an inherent in the circumstances of the world today I come in by the mere accidental fact that during these few years I have represented that policy as foreign minister. I am quite convinced that who ever might have been in power in India, they could not have deviated very much from this policy. From 1956 to 1962 Krishna Menon was Nehru's Chief advisor on foreign policy in the cabinet. During the regime of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, few members of the cabinet spoke on foreign issues. The Janta Party that came to power in 1977 restored
democratic norms in the functioning of the cabinet. However, the old position was restored in 1980 when the congress under Mrs. Gandhi came to power. Thus, the cabinet in India did not function as the highest and collective decision making authority on the foreign policy except in certain special circumstances.

On 7 September 1946, Jawaharlal Nehru made his first official announcement on foreign policy and laid down its basic principles. Cooperation with other nations in the promotion of world peace and freedom. Close ties with Asian countries the chief objectives of India's foreign policy maintaining India's security and territorial integrity. Prosperity and progress of the country. Promotions of strength and solidarity of all Afro-Asian Countries. Denouncing colonialism imperialism and racialism. Avoidance of involvement in power block or seeking of foreign aid active role in the United Nations. Supporting the cause of disarmament.

6. The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM):

The non-alignment has been integral part of the Indian foreign policy. The Origin of the term 'non-alignment' it is said that Nehru coined and used the word for the first time, and laid down in clear terms the concept of non-alignment and adopted it as a policy.

Although Nehru had been the philosophical architect of non-alignment, he never claimed to have originated this concept. In the words of V.K. Krishna Menon Non-alignment was the residue of historical circumstances, It was the only practicable national foreign policy possible and thus approximated a national consensus. The foundation of the Non-Aligned Movement was laid by Nehru, with the help of Yugoslavia's Tito, Egypt's Nasser. Ghana's Nikrumah and Indonesia's Sukarno. The term non-alignment is confused with neutrality, neutralism, non-involvement and 'equidistance'. It is also said that non-alignment is neither a creed nor a gospel. It is only an approach to the international relations.

Nehru's basic concern in 1950 was with the division of the world into two blocs, led respectively by the United States and the Soviet Union. In his view, international peace required a different strategy for the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa if they were not to be absorbed into the bipolar blocs as powerless clients. Thus, the avoidance of excessive intimacy with either the East or the West block was the fundamental goal of Nehru's foreign policy. The Non-alignment is not a passive policy, nor is it the policy of non-involvement. It is also not a pacific policy in spite of its peaceful foundation. Non-alignment is not a policy of isolation or avoidance of closer relations with other nations. Further, it is not a middle of the road' policy or maintenance of equidistance between the super powers. Nor is it sitting on the fence' policy. Later in the 1970s, there were some Indians who argued for a truly non-aligned policy, which maintained an approximate equidistance between the two super powers. However, Nehru had rejected such a policy. He had argued that leaning to one side on specific issues was not unavoidable, but was proper as non-alignment was neither an isolationist nor neutral policy.

Like wise the non alignment is an assertion of Freedom of judgment and action, As Nehru had said "Non alignment is freedom of action which
is part of independence." In fact the essence of non-alignment is
determination and capacity to take independent decisions in international
affairs. It underscores that fact that it is a policy of peace based on the
conviction that war can be and should be avoided. In spite of this the non-
alignment should not be confused with passivity.

Nehru did not exclude temporary alignments with either bloc on a
specific issue, And argued that non-alignment allowed a country to
evaluate issues on their merit, A non-aligned government had the
responsibility to take positions upon issues of dispute The important
aspect was not whether they agreed or disagreed with the United Sates or
the Soviet Union, but rather whether it was a principled position. Nehru's
vision was to create an international environment in which as many
countries as possible joined the Non-aligned Movement so as to transform
the global political balance from a bipolar to a multi polar system in which
the newly independent countries could have a greater system in which the
newly independent countries could have a greater voice.

6.1. NAM in Operation: Nehru's interpretation of the Non-aligned
Movement was his opposition in converting the NAM into a third bloc. In
his view a tri polar world was only a slight improvement over a bipolar
world. He differed from other prominent NAM leaders who were
determined to transform the NAM into a coherent and effective power
bloc. Nehru interpreted the NAM a forum in which the non-aligned
countries could express their views effectively and achieve a broad
consensus on important issues.

Nehru's concept of non-alignment was closely related to his 'zone
of peace' strategy which was designed to free Asia from the Cold War.
The chief target of this strategy was the Southeast Asia While the Soviet
Union was interested in bringing the region under Communist influence,
the United States was keen to pursue its 'policy of containment'. India
attempted to arrange a multilateral agreement on the neutralization of the
Southeast Asia did not make much progress between 1950 and 1980.
India's interest in 'zone of peace had shifted to the Indian Ocean. The
Indian Government strongly supported the 1971 UN General Assembly
resolution requesting the non-littoral states with military forces in the
Indian Ocean, to withdraw them. India welcomed this proposal as it would
make her the dominant naval power in the northern, Indian Ocean.

6.1.1 Korean Crisis (1950-53): The end of the Second World War left
Korea divided between a Communist North controlled by the Socialist bloc
and a South Korea dominated by the Western powers. K.P.s. Menon,
Chairman of the United Nations Commission on Korea in late 1947, had
appealed the great powers to let Korea be united. However, the
superpowers did not respect India's views. When North Korea invaded
South Korea in 1950, India supported the united States in the UN Security
Council, calling for a cease-fire. However, India did not approve the
crossing of the 38th parallel by the UN forces, because it was bound to
provoke a Chinese intervention on the side of North Korea. India wanted to prevent the entry of outside powers into the conflict. When the US forces crossed the 38th parallel into North Korea without the approval of the UN, China sent troops and succeeded in pushing back Americans troops to south of the 38th parallel. At this point, Nehru once again tried to bring about an end to the war by organizing a conference. Finally a ceasefire was concluded in 1953. Krishna Menon drafted the formula that was accepted by the General Assembly of the UN.

6.1.2 IndoChina: To prevent the spread of Communism in the Southeast Asia. The US planned to provide massive aid to the French in a war that was raging in Indo-china since 1945 between the Communist Vietminh led by Ho Chi Minh and the French forces. Nehru appealed for peace, that was supported by several Asian leaders at the Colombo Conference in April 1954 Krishna Menon was sent Geneva to explain the Asian point of view. As a result, India was appointed chairman of Supervisory Commission for Indo-China in 1954, to find out the proper solution.

6.1.3 Suez Crises: In 1956 the nationalization of the Suez Canal was made by Nasser. the President of Egypt. India condemned the Anglo-French action against Egypt on the Suez Canal issue. At the London Conference in August I 956, India tried to get an advisory role for the users, and settlement of disputes in accordance with the UN Charter. The Indian proposal had a wide approval including from Egypt. When Israel supported by England and France attacked Egypt. they were severely condemned by the US and UN. After the end of the Suez Crises, Indian troops participated in large number in the peacekeeping force,

6.1.4 Hungary: The Soviet Union invaded Hungary in October 1956 to suppress an anti-Soviet uprising. This action was severely condemned by the UN and it demanded withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Hungary. However, India abstained from the formal condemnation of the Soviet Union. However. Nehru criticized the action of the Soviet Union in Hungary and did not send an ambassador to Budapest for two years to register his unhappiness. The Soviet Union reciprocated India's stand on the Soviet intervention in Hungary by abstaining from voting when the Kashmir issue came before the Security Council of the UN.

6.1.5. Congo Crisis:- Following the independence of Congo from Belgium in June 1960, its copper rich province of Katanga announced its independence from Congo. Tshombe the leader of Katanga was backed by Belgium. who sent troops to the Congolese capital on the pretext of protecting the Belgian citizens. The Prime Minister of Congo, Lumumba made an appeal to the UN, for help. The UN Secretary General, was resolving the Congolese crisis. The United States, the Soviet Union and Belgium supported their own local candidates in order to have their influence over Congo. This led to the murder of Lumumba. Fearing the situation in Congo might become more complicated, Nehru appealed the UN to play a decisive role in crisis’, withdraw the mercenaries and foreign
troops, prevalent the civil war, convene, the Congolese Parliament, and constitute a new government. Nehru further committed Indian peacekeeping forces to Congo. The UN accepted Nehru’s suggestions, and the UN Security Council adopted a resolution in February 1961. As promised India sent peacekeeping forces to Congo, and order was restored and Katanga remained as a part of Congo.

6.1.6. Chinese Aggression:- In the wake of the Chinese aggression against India in October 1962, England and the United States supported India, the Soviet Union adopted a neutral stand. The Chinese Invasion was Nehru’s most difficult hour in the practice of non-alignment movement.

6.1.7. Czechoslovakia:- Another test to the practice of the non-alignment policy came in the year 1968. When Czechoslovakia became a victim of Soviet intervention without any justification, the Government of India under Mrs. Gandhi gave no indication of protest invited the charge of double standard from the West.

6.1.8. Afghanistan:- The Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan in 1980, put Indian nonalignment to a crucial test for two reasons. In the first place, Afghanistan has been a non-alignment country Secondly. the interventionist power being the Soviet Union, the US had spearheaded the opposition. Under these circumstances non-alignment automatically became more relevant . The Indian stand was only a qualified disapproval of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

6.1.9 The Government of India extended recognition to Heng Samrin’s regime in Kampuchea. Which was installed in Kampuchea by an intervention of Vietnam a Soviet ally. Mrs. Gandhi’s decision to recognize the government in Kampuchea antagonized both China and the ASEAN Group. Mrs. Gandhi’s qualified disapproval of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and her recognition of the Heng Samrin regime in Kampuchea, made India suspect in the eyes of most of the non-aligned countries.

Non-alignment that India initially followed was based on maneuvering between the two super powers. the United States and the Soviet Union However, it gradually tended to acquire a clear anti-US and pro-Soviet stands. In spite of the pro-Soviet tilt of India’s foreign policy, Mrs. Gandhi showed her maturity in pacifying the United States. She manifested greater flexibility in the conduct of her foreign policy. her visit to the United States in 1982 greatly succeeded in improving the Indo-US relations without causing a setback to the Indo-Soviet relations.

7. Assessment of India’s Foreign Policy:

As it has already been noticed earlier that the formulation of Nehru’s foreign policy was like writing on a clean slate that the ideas, attitudes, and conventions of the pre-Independence era were put aside.
The foreign policy bore the stamp of Nehru's own political thinking and was deeply coloured as the Indian national struggle against foreign rule. This was indeed a rare instance of a great nation which was entering the international arena with a subjective ideology.

The policy of non-alignment along with the concept of the PanchShila so vigorously upheld by India's Prime Minister both at home and abroad, reached its high-water mark of prestige and recognition in the conference of Asian and African countries at Bandung in April 1955, where this approach to international affairs was enthusiastically endorsed by the participating delegations of about forty countries. On that occasion, as also earlier, China too fully subscribed to this creed. Apart from the ideological reason for non-alignment and for the condemnation of the concept of military pacts, Nehru felt much troubled at the idea foreign troops remaining on Asian soil. That is why he was keen on close cooperation among Asian countries. This even produced an unfair and uncharitable thought in the minds of many critics that he considered himself as the leader of Asia and a champion or Asian interests. It is true that he visualized Asia as an area of peace where nations would conduct their relations according to the PanchShila.

India's policy of non-alignment at its early days, was misunderstood and mistrusted in the West. It was so often confused with neutrality on the one hand and with fellow-traveling on the other, to quote the words of Alan de Russet. Indian thinking still remains the same, though many important events during the last five years have raised a spirited debate on its basic concept, both in India and abroad. It cannot be said that there is acceptance of the Indian policy in the West, but the mists of misunderstanding and mistrust has nearly cleared up in recent years. In spite of strong suspicion and unfavorable criticism, there is little doubt that it has attained a status of respectability. Non-alignment is no longer the fiction which it was in the time of John Foster Dulles.

The most powerful attack on the foreign policy of India is that India has not exercised the policy well. Whereas it has certainly evoked praise and admiration in sympathetic circles-for its idealistic content and courageous exposition-the purpose for which it was enunciated and so eloquently defended eventually failed to be realized for India itself. Although a period of fifty-eight years has been passed since Independence this country has not succeeded in solving most of its outstanding problems in the external field or in putting its relations with its neighbours on a sound basis. Pakistan is a peculiar problem. Let us also leave out the bad case of China. The relations with other countries like Ceylon, Burma, Nepal and Thailand have not responded to India's openhearted attitude. Even Indonesia has not hesitated to give the cold shoulder to its old friend. The Arab world is more or less divided and often lukewarm in its attitude towards India, notwithstanding a consistent and all-out attempt on the part of India to cultivate its good will and its
readiness to support them. In the Asian-African group, which India helped to build up in the United Nations with great zeal and a genuine sense of devotion alike to its own ideals and to their best interest, its prestige and influence does not seem to be as high as is sometimes assumed. These critics assert that India is friendless in today's turbulent world.

In fact some detractors of Indian foreign relations doubt whether the concept of non-alignment can be considered as a definite policy at all, apart from being an expression of pious wishes and laudable ideals. It can be summarized as:

7.1 Strong criticism comes from those who seriously question whether India's attitude of non-alignment is sincere. There was often, bias for one blood and undue criticism of the other. India's reactions to the Anglo-French adventure in the Suez Canal and the events in Hungary in 1956 are supported this view. Other examples are cited-Berlin, Korea, and Tibet, to name only three-to demonstrate that Indian policy is not really non-aligned. Indeed it is described as unworthy of a democratic nation. In fact on many occasions the advocates of non-alignment did not display the independence of approach and judgment which was their professed aim and purpose.

7.2 Lack of consistency is another charge brought against Indian policy and its application. The principles of complete freedom are sovereign state in its domestic and foreign policies and of respect for them, whatever they might be are the main plank in the Indian platform. Presumably for this good reason India repeatedly pleaded for the admission of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. And yet it was extremely slow indeed for many years unwilling to recognize Franco's Spain or to open diplomatic relations with that country, India's attitude towards Israel all these years cannot be defended. Indian leadership could not influence other countries in their policies and decisions.

And yet India took the bold initiative in convening an international conference in January 1949 to condemn Dutch action in Indonesia and press for the latter's independence. The earlier view that India was not in a position to influence world events gradually, possibly unconsciously, gave place to a new self-confidence. This notion coloured the vision and partly vitiated clear thinking which is an essential condition for consistency.

7.3 It is true that, in the field of international relations, it is erroneous to consider anything either absolutely good or bad. It is quite erroneous to suppose that the alternative to non-alignment can only be unconditional acceptance of the position of a major Power or military group. Intermediary or third option should be explored. This would be the more profitable course and need not be the less honorable. In any case, it should be realized that with its underdeveloped economy and inadequate military power, India was in a not position to prevent a conflict between the two mighty embattled rivals.
7.4 It is well known that the importance of the foreign policy, is slowly recognized in the country on a large scale, it is related to the character, competence, and training of the persons who are called upon to interpret and implement the foreign policy. The administrative aspect of foreign affairs has thus great importance in the formation and implementation of foreign policy. Now a days it has begun to receive the attention of the Parliament and the press which is absolutely necessary. Indeed there is considerable ignorance among the people even among educated people about the foreign policy. The correct knowledge of the functions of the Foreign Service and how best they could be discharged in the interest of the nation should be strengthened and constantly refined. The art of diplomacy which has come down from the time now has been more or less a specialization. This delicate and difficult department of public affairs started from scratch in 1947, without advantage of tradition of training or past experience. In less than fifty years of time, India had to setup diplomatic and consular missions in more than one hundred and fifty countries of the world. Considering these aspect, it can be said that India’s diplomats have been trying their level best to get on maximum advantages.

Meticulous care and complete objectivity in the selection of suitable persons for foreign assignment, strict enforcement of proper standards of integrity and performance a well-thought-out system of training and recruitment of new entrants, and lastly a just and impersonal use of reward and punishment for encouraging the worthy and the promising, warning the indolent, the unscrupulous, and the irresponsible, and even eliminating the incorrigible are broadly speaking, the essential conditions for the successful working of a public service organization. They are recognized all the world over. One would be curious to know in what respects and to what extent these methods have been systematically applied, and with what results.

The selection of heads of Missions is important. Their ability to present properly their countries image abroad based on their political ideology, cultural heritage, geographical conditions, economic plans, and historical background of the country.

There is thus a new challenge for India. With the disappearance of the Cold War and non-alignment ceasing to be a practical proposition, India should identify itself with the majority of the people of the world in accepting the wisdom of the political freedom and economic opportunity. India has an enlightened interest in peace and stability in the world. It must be a matter of pride and satisfaction to the people of the country.

Summary:

Pandit Nehru was the chief architect of the India’s foreign policy and spokesman, first as the vice President of the Interim Government and
Later as the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the independent India. It is said that Nehru's Charismatic personality played a predominant role in the formulation as well as its implementation in the international politics. Pandit Nehru made his first announcement of the foreign policy of India on All India Radio on 7 September, 1946; which was the manifestation of conscious and unconscious wishes and aspirations of millions of Indian people. He made it clear that we would take part in international conferences as a free nation with our own policy and not a satellite of another imperialist country. We would develop close direct contacts with other nations and co-operate with them in furtherance of World peace. We would keep away from the politics of various powerful groups to avoid disaster in the world. We would continue friendly and co-operative relations with England and the countries of the British Common wealth. We would send the greetings to the people of the USA and the USSR. We would establish closer bounds with the people of South-East Asia, Afghanistan, Iran, Arab world and China a great neighbour since the ages. Although these principles were formulated before the independence of India, there has been no major departure from them under any Prime Minister, who came to power so far.

For foreign policy of any country some factors provide foundation and direction. They are called determinants. They are geography, historical background, political tradition, military, nation character, national and international situation, political institutions and persons at the helm of affairs. In addition to this, it had certain characteristics as, the policy of non-alignment. While speaking on the foreign policy in Lok Sabha on 9 December 1958, Nehru said that the Non-alignment means not attachment with any military block existed in the international scenario. At the time of India's freedom in 1947, the world was divided in two power blocks as Anglo-American block and the communist block under USSR. They waged cold war through military pacts and alliances. Nehru, the founder of this non-aligned movement wanted to be independent from these blocks and establish friendly relations with all countries. Nehru said Non-alignment is different from neutrality. Non-alignment is the policy during the peace time. Non-aligned countries oppose the War. It condemned the Anglo-French war on the Suez Canal in 1956, Pandit Nehru attached much significance to this policy of non-alignment. However, neither of the blocks respected the non-aligned countries, India has some important objectives of her foreign policy as cooperation with other countries and the international organization for promoting international peace. Emancipation of colonial people. Repudiation of racialism, colonialism and imperialism. In consonance with these objectives, Nehru put his non-alignment policy in operation. In the Korean crisis of 1950-53, India had appealed the great powers to help Korea be united. However, the super powers did not respect Indian views. As Korea was divided in two camps and controlled each by the Anglo-American bloc and the communist bloc. Indo-China was also divided between communist
block headed by the Ho-Chi Minh and French colonial forces—supported by America. When the war began in Indo-China, India appealed for a cease fire in 1954. Non-aligned movement under Nehru played important role in Suez Crisis, Soviet invasion on Hungary, Congo Crisis, Czechoslovakia, Afghanistan, and Kampuchean Crisis of 1979-80. There are several circles which criticised the foreign policy of India on the basis of her failure in solving several outstanding problems in external relations some have questioned to India’s sincerity towards the non-alignment policy. The others have openly said that India has not shown consistency in the non-aligned attitude India, therefore tried to be practical and pragmatic after the Chinese aggression in 1962. There was no drastic change in the non-alignment till Nehru was alive. But during the period of Indira Gandhi in 1970-71, she signed the Indo-Soviet treaty on the basis of security of India and made the non-aligned movement strong.

9. Additional Readings:


10. Questions:

1. Examine the major factors that determined the foreign policy of Independent India.
2. Give a brief account of the Principles of independent India’s foreign policy.
3. What is Non-Aligned Movement? How did it origin?
4. Assess the major achievements of the Non-Aligned Movement.
1. Objectives:

After studying this unit the student will be able to
a) Understand the Geopolitical situation of India
b) Explain the Indo-Pakistan relations.
c) Understand the Kashmir dispute in detail.
d) Comprehend the relations between India and China.
e) Explain the border dispute between India and China.

2. Introduction:

In the formulation of the foreign policy of any country, there are some factors that are of a permanent and temporary importance. One of the factors that influences the policy makers permanently is the geopolitical situation of the concerned country. Geopolitical situation provides the geographical and political setting of the country. It tells us who its neighbours are, the interests of big powers in the neighbourhood and the historical background of the neighbours and their allies.

The region in which India is situated is known the South Asia. In India’s immediate neighbourhood lie Pakistan, the Peoples’ Republic of China, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka and Myanmar. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Tajikistan, one of the many countries that emerged from the erstwhile Soviet Union, has become India’s neighbour. Pakistan has chosen to be India’s enemy number one and India’s policy-makers cannot overlook such a political situation. Sino-Indian relations had got strained in the late fifties because of the border dispute.

As India has some enemies around her, she has some friends too, a friendship which is rooted in a common religious and cultural background. Some friendly neighbours are Nepal, Bhutan and Sri Lanka. The religious bonds of Hinduism and Buddhism have played a major role in fostering close ties between India and these countries. In addition to such cultural factors, both Nepal and Bhutan have been landlocked countries to depend upon either India or China for an access to the rest of the world. This is another reason for their friendliness with India.

3. Historical Background :-

The Indian National Congress, which spearheaded India’s freedom movement, provides a historical background to India’s foreign policy. The
party had a separate Foreign Policy Cell which was under 'Jawaharlal Nehru from its inception in the thirties. The Congress had definite views on world developments. Through its resolutions passed in the Congress sessions and the working Committee meetings, the Congress used to put forward its opposition or support to various developments. While it expressed its support to the freedom movements in the Afro-Asian countries, it also passed resolutions condemning the policies of the colonial powers. In its various resolutions the Congress had criticized the Japanese attack on Manchuria and the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. The party had even sent a doctor's delegation to China to express India's solidarity with the Chinese people. Following two points are taken in to consideration when relations with a neighbouring country are fixed.

3.1. **Strengthening the National Defense:**

There is nothing permanent in the foreign policy of a country but its national interests. National interests include national defense and the strengthening of the national economy. This is the reason why alliance systems and foreign trade constitute an important part of the foreign policy of a country. A Statement of Molotov, a Russian diplomat is often discussed about as how it served the Russia's defense interests. If national defense ceased to be the major concern of the policy-makers, then they give importance to the abstract principles, which definitely lead the country into trouble within a short span of time.

3.2. **Strengthening the National Economy:**

The policy makers have to formulate the foreign policy, keeping in mind the principal objectives of the country. The foreign policy of a country should increase its foreign trade with economically developed nations, to help improve the national economy of the country. Soviet Russia was unable to benefit herself from such trade transactions, ultimately collapsed due to its own economic stagnation. After the disintegration of the USSR, both Gorbachev and Yeltsin have supported all the US measures against Iraq in the Gulf War. Deng's China also has taken the similar stance. The reason for the one time enemies to take such a stance has been the extension of American aid to reconstruct their economies. Gorbachev and Yeltsin had also accepted a series of nuclear disarmament measures. Due to this reason India could not antagonize the two superpowers because her 40 per cent foreign trade has been with the USA and the USSR.

The need to develop strong bonds of balanced foreign trade with the Western countries had a moderate effect on Nehru's anti-colonial rhetoric. The People's Republic of China had agreed to maintain Hong Kong as a free port and was not interested in making it a part of mainland China. This was because it needed Hong Kong's Capital for modernizing China's economy. These are the economic constraints of foreign policy which no statesmen can afford to ignore.
The USA, USSR, Japan, UK and Germany had figured among the first five countries in India's foreign trade. The non aligned countries hardly formed a quarter of India's total foreign trade. Such a harsh reality puts limits to hostility of the developing countries towards the developed world. This is why non-alignment has almost been eclipsed over the years.

4. Indo-Pakistan Relations:

India's relations with Pakistan are conditioned by historical factors such as the partition of India on a communal basis, the three wars that the two-countries fought against each other and the unresolved Kashmir dispute.

India was partitioned by the British on a communal basis. The Muslim League had spearheaded an agitation for the creation of Pakistan which was opposed by the Congress up to last moment. The resolutions passed on 23 March 1940 for the creation of Pakistan, was based on communal ideology. Jinnah's pet slogan was that the Hindus and the Muslims were not two communities, but constitute two nations. Since Pakistan was created on such ideological foundation, naturally hatred for India formed the basis of Pakistan's foreign policy. India is industrially better developed and politically well administrated country while Pakistan has been desperately in search of security and national identity from the very beginning. The communal riots rocked both the countries after the partition, massacred lakhs of people and dislodged millions from their countries.

The question of the distribution of Indus waters was resolved by the signing of the Indus Water Treaty on 9 September 1960, but such amity did not last long. Pakistan joined the US-led military alliances, while India remained non-aligned. Joining the military alliances gave Pakistan much strength; which grew her antagonism towards India more and more. The growing antagonism between the two countries resulted in three wars. The first was a proxy war, fought in 1948 in Kashmir, Some tribes in Kashmir revolted against the Maharaja of Kashmir on the support Pakistan had lent. The Maharaja, however, merged the state with India) which started a war resulting in the partition of Kashmir.

4.1 The Kashmir Dispute in 1947

Some Muslim tribes revolted against the Maharaja of Kashmir and reached Srinagar, the Maharaja, Hari Singh, rushed to New Delhi for help. The Indian government told him that if he wanted India to send her army to drive away the enemy out of Kashmir, the State of Kashmir should become a part of the Indian Union. Accordingly, the Maharaja signed an Instrument of Accession, which was unconditional. In those days Nehru was under the total influence of Lord Mountbatten who wanted a plebiscite to be held in Kashmir to ascertain the wishes of the people. V.P. Menon states that at the time of the Junagadh issue, Mountbatten also wanted the matter to be taken to the United Nations Organisation for a solution.
Sardar Patel and Nehru opposed to it and the suggestion was dropped.

The Government of India was committed to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir and on its own took the issue to the United Nations Organisation on 31 December 1947. In order to take this matter to the United Nations Organisation for the solution, the fighting in Kashmir was unilaterally stopped. Maj Gen Kulwant Sing, who was commanding the Indian forces, wanted four more days to clear the invaders from the state, and then declare ceasefire. Nehru did not heed to his suggestion and stopped the fighting before the issue was taken to the United Nations Organisation. Although, Jinnah wanted his C-in-C to send Pakistani forces to fight in Kashmir, his Supreme Commander Field Marshal Auchinleck opposed to it then.

4.2 Simla Conference 1972:-

If Nehru committed a blunder in internationalizing a domestic issue, Mrs Indira Gandhi did no better when she lost an opportunity of permanently settling the Kashmir problem at the Simla conference in 1972. The Simla Conference was held after the Indo-Pakistan War of 1971, in which Pakistan was defeated. About two lakh Pakistani soldiers were languishing in the prison of India’s war camps. Some Pakistani territory in Punjab was under the Indian Control. The Simla Conference was held to solve all the problems arising out of the war. Had Mrs Gandhi insisted on Pakistani to accept the Line of Actual Control as a frontier between India and Pakistan, Mr Bhutto would have agreed to do so and the Kashmir dispute would have resolved. Before the Conference was started, the Government of India had repeatedly made public its determination to solve the Kashmir dispute. Mr. Bhutto pleaded for strengthening his hands and the democracy at home, but not committed to solve the tangle. Thus Gandhi could not impress Z.A. Bhutto and lead him to resolve the problem.

4.3 Kashmir and the Security Council

The Security council had made some efforts to solve. the Kashmir dispute in its resolution of 6 February 1948 the council ordered for withdrawal of all irregular forces from Kashmir; the restoration of law and order setting up of interim administration in the state and holding a plebiscite under the ‘authority’ of the UNO. India objected to this resolution. The Security Council then passed another resolution on 21 April 1948, permitting India to retain her forces in Kashmir to support the civilians and appoint a Plebiscite Administrator. But Pakistan did not agree with the resolution and sent its forces to fight with the Indian army. Then Security Council was forced to one more resolution on 13 August 1948 which had three plans as In part I, both India and Pakistan were asked to withdraw their troops and the armed tribesmen from Kashmir. A local administration was to be established under the supervision of the UNO, and the government of India permitted to maintain minimum forces to assist the local authorities in the observance of the law and order in the
state. Thus the cease fire took place on first Jan1949 and the Line of the Actual Control was established on 14 July 1949. Subsequently the Dixon Mission came to India under the leadership of the UNO to implement the UN resolution, but it failed to do so. because Pakistan refused to withdraw her forces from Azad Kashmir, while India ignored to hold a plebiscite in the changed circumstances. The Dixon Mission thus failed. In April 1951 the UN appointed Frank Graham one man commission as its new representative. Graham's Mediation also was failed. even then Graham recommended that India and Pakistan should solve the dispute by negotiation. In mean time Pakistan joined the US military alliances and the Soviet Union adopted a pro-India stand, thus the Kashmir question became a part of the Cold War politics which the UNO could not settle the problem till today.

4.4. The War of 1965:

The Pakistani intruders divided Kashmir in two parts. The territory under India is known as Kashmir while the territories under Pakistan is Known as Azad Kashmir. The Kashmir question can be solved if the status quo is retained. But that is not done because Pakistan is continuously helping Kashmiri terrorists and supplying them with sophisticated weapons. Pakistan has never tried to establish the self-rule in her occupied Kashmir. The communal agenda of Pakistan in Kashmir led her to fight with India on an often. The first conflict broke out in 1947, while the second conflict was fought in 1965. The war in 1965 was a short war which lasted for 21 days. This war led to the Tashkent conference and the adoption of the Tashkent declaration. According to this declaration both the countries had to agree to solve their dispute in a peaceful manner. Soviet Russia was the mediator at the conference However; antagonism between the two countries remained unabated. In 1971, the third Indo-Pak war was fought, which was lasted for eleven days. In this war Pakistan was defeated, miserably and the East Pakistan emerged as Bangladesh as an independent Country in the Map of the world. Subsequently, both the countries signed an agreement. Known as the Simla Agreement by which both India and Pakistan pledged to solve their outstanding disputes through bilateral negotiations.

4.5. Pakistan a Nuclear Power :

The first phase of the Indo-Pakistan relations lasted till the mideighties. During this period, the balance of power position in the subcontinent had largely tilted in favour of India The Simla Agreement of 1972 was the product of such a situation. Subsequently, India conducted an underground nuclear test in 1974 and joined the nuclear club, without openly admitting as nuclear power. This development promoted the leaders in Pakistan to assemble their own nuclear weapons 'in which they succeeded with the help of China in May 1983. Pakistan conducted several nuclear tests in the span of six years and possessed a short range surface to surface missiles in 1989. It is said that the Pakistanis missiles
could reach India and her all territories including cities within no time. This was boosted Pakistan to be powerful and more belligerent towards India. Even then India has been trying to maintain peace in the subcontinent.

5. Indo-Afghan Relations :-

Afghanistan has been one of the north west frontier neighbors of India. it has no lengthy border with Afghanistan as Afghanistan has with Pakistan the immediate north west frontier neighbor. Naturally Pakistan and Afghanistan developed a dispute over the boundary popularly known as the Durand Line which was fixed by the British in 1947. The dispute between the above two neighbours was advantageous for India. Because it forced Pakistan to divide her forces to defend two frontiers, one with Afghanistan and the other with India. But India never desired any serious conflict between them. India knew that Afghanistan was a weak country and might turn to USSR for help. India therefore always provided economic and military assistance to Afghanistan and made her friendly Neighbour. This friendship of India with Afghanistan brought India in convenient position when Soviet Union made direct intrusion in Afghanistan in 1979. Prime Minister Charan Singh had prepared to take a strong note of it. The general election in the country in 1980 averted this critical position of India. Indira Gandhi who became Prime minister again supported Russian position indirectly but after sometime Indira Gandhi changed her stand and called for withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan. The USSR was kind enough for soft stand of India on the Afghan issue and became a close friend of India.

6. Indo-Nepal Relations

Nepal is one of the Himalayan neighbors of India. Nepal maintained good relations with India since the ancient times. It is being in a strategic position Indian relations with Nepal are governed by some security considerations. Nepal and India signed a friendship Treaty in 1950 and established close relations between them, but king Mahendra who succeeded his father in 1955 changed his mind. He also strengthened Nepal's relation with China and made Nepal a neutral country. During the border dispute of India with China in 1962, Nepal tried to increase its importance and got sanctioned some of the demands from India. However the treaty of peace was not amended as desired by the Nepalese King. King Birendra, who came to power in 1972 insisted on India to recognize Nepal as a peace zone but due to security constrains India could not do it. Nepal is heavily dependent on India economically. India often used economic tactics to pressurize Nepal whenever Nepal turned to China for any other requirement. Although Nepal tried to find out any solution to economic dependence on India but could not succeed so far - India is helping Nepal whatever she required from India.
7. **India's Relations with Sikkim**:

Indo-Sikkim relations have been based on the policy of the British Government in India towards Sikkim before 1947. The Indo-Sikkim Treaty of 1951 made Sikkim as Protectorate of India and authorized India to look after defense, foreign affairs and communication of Sikkim. Indian political officers in Gangtok, the capital city of Sikkim helped the Namgyal dynasty ruler of Sikkim to introduce some democratic elements like elected national Assembly extensive political rights of the people and political party system in that country. But the dynastic rule never shared the rights and powers with the people which generated discontent among the sikkimese. Naturally a movement for political rights came into being in 1973. There was a pro-India trend which was emanated due to instigation of Indian officials in that country. India thought to intervene in the movement on the pretext of security of both India and Sikkim. The pro-Indian Sikkimese put a proposal of accession of Sikkim into the Indian Union in 1976. India held a referendum in Sikkim in which the sikkimese accepted a statehood of India by a large margin. Thus, Sikkim earlier neighbour of India became one of the states of the country.

8. **Indian Relations with Bhutan**:

Bhutan had friendly relations with the British India. It had signed a friendship treaty with India in 1910 and agreed to accept friendly guidance on foreign policy from India. This relation continued even after the independence of India in 1947. In 1949, Bhutan a Buddhist monarchy signed one more treaty of 1910 and kept her independence intact. But in the wake of Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1950 raised some basic defense problems in these two neighbours. When China became aggressor in 1962 Bhutan accepted all necessary security help from India. India extended every possible assistance to Bhutan in the fields of Politics and economics. Even both the neighbours signed a defense deal between them by which India shouldered the security of Bhutan. India supported Bhutan's involvement in the international forums and admission to the UNO. Although Bhutan projected herself independent in several matters and votings in the UNO and the Non-alignment Movement, India backed her as a big brother and permitted her to have her direct relations with China.

9. **India's Relations with Bangladesh**

After the partition of India in 1947, the Muslims got divided Pakistan as the East Pakistan and the West Pakistan. The west Pakistan never treated the East Pakistan cordially. The East Pakistanis decided to declare their Independence in which they sought the help of India. Consequently it became independent and came to be known as Bangladesh in 1972. Bangladesh is surrounded by Indian territory and is in the most secured position. She is not exposed to any other country on any side. Therefore India and Bangladesh signed a friendship Treaty in
1972. India and Bangladesh bear several problems in common. One of them is distribution of water of rivers Ganga and Brahmaputra. The water is a precious commodity which is needed by both the countries. Mostly Bangladesh is in desperate need of water in the dry seasons. India suggested a link canal to supply the water to the Western Bangladesh in the hours of need. Bangladesh rejected this suggestion and advised India to have a huge water reservoir in Nepal to distribute water to India and Bangladesh as and when required. But there is no green signal from Nepal. One more problem festered the relations between the neighbours is the illegal immigration of Bangladeshis to Indian territory. Although there were several rounds of talks between the two neighbours, the problem has not been solved so far.

10. Indo-Srilankan Relations:

Srilanka is a neighbour of India in the Indian Ocean. India therefore has taken much care while framing her relations with Srilanka. The historic neighbours faced no problem up to mid 1980. Although the problem of the Tamil - sinhalese dispute bedraggled the relations India often cleared her stand and helped Srilanka to overcome the problem. Even India did not object on the tie-up between Srilanka and Britain on the issue of the British retention of Trincomalee as a naval base. But India was apprehensive when Srilanka began to build relations with China in 1962. Due to geo-political factors the relations with China could not be materialized. Thus the apprehension of India about Srilankan - China honeymoon came to an end automatically. During the Pak war of 1971, India advised all neighbours mostly Maldives and Srilanka to keep away from aligning with any western powers. There was much apprehension for India in 1989 when Srilanka was trying to reach some understanding with the US for military assistance. But Indo-Srilankan accord was signed by which India shouldered the responsibility of establishing peace in the Tamil dominated Srilanka. Accordingly, India sent peace keeping force to Srilanka. Although, the Indian policy was criticized, it gathered no support in and out side of India.

11. Sino-Indian Relations:

The relationship between India and China goes back to pre-Christian era when Asoka sent Cultural ambassadors to China and other parts of Asia.

The factors which governed the friendship according to Michael Brescher were three

1) Geography, a common border of 2500 miles
2) History of two thousand years of peace and cultural relations and
3) Emotional anti-Colonialism.

When India became a British colony there was no foreign policy.
But there used to be mutual sympathies Sun-Yat-Sen was the first Chinese leader who sympathized with India and encouraged the non-cooperation Movement of Gandhiji. The Indian National congress supported the Chinese on many occasions in their struggle against Imperialism. Nehru visited China in 1939. with the sentiments of love and friendship India established diplomatic relations with the Nationalist China in 1947.

11.1. India's recognition to Communist China :-

India was one of the pioneer nations to recognize the communist China in 1949. Despite the fact, Tibet was an issue over which China suspected India. The Chinese forces penetrated in Tibet in 1950. The Tibetans appealed to the United Nations against the aggression committed by China. Nehru declared that the issue must be solved between Tibet and China.

11.2. PANCHASHEEL :-

India wanted to have good relationship with China and she worked for it consistently. India advocated for membership of China in the United Nations. According to him it was necessary 'if China was to be disciphned'. India mediated in Korea and condemned the West for branding China as an aggressor. India surrendered special rights over Tibet for the sake of strengthening the relations. So much so that China was forced to recognize the Indian view. The cordial relations led to an agreement in 1954 on Tibet by which India recognized China's sovereignty over Tibet. The preamble of the agreement contained what came to be known as Panchaseel. The policy of peaceful coexistence. Both the governments were in concord in condemning colonialism and all military pacts. The joint communiqué of the leaders on many issues showed cordiality of the two nations. The ratification of Sino-Indian agreement of 1954 in April 1955 and handing over the control of communication services of Tibet to China bore testimony of the improvement of relationship. There were cultural exchanges between the two countries so as to broaden the contact at mass level. Both attacked SEATO, Bagdad Pact and all other U.S. -sponsored military alliances. India supported the claim of China over Taiwan as legitimate and China supported India's claim on Goa. On the whole it was a period of better understanding between China and India.

11.3. Cartographical Agression:

As early as 1953 numerous maps were published by China showing large areas of NEFA, Bhutan, Ladakh, Kashmir as parts of China. When the Government of India raised the issue of cartographical aggression the Government of China replied that those maps were published by The Nationalist Government. The maps would be revised. But the Chinese government did not revise the maps at all. When CHOWEN-LAI met Nehru in Delhi in 1956 he stated that though the Macmohan line
was "not legal" he recognized the Macmohan line. In spite of the understanding there used to be minor border incidents.

The most dangerous development was the construction of a road from Sinkiang to Tibet. It is known as the AKSAI-CHIN road. The road crossed into eastern Ladakh. The government of India came to know it only in 1958. the tete-tete between CHOU and Nehru finally decided that the border issues should be settled by representatives of the two governments.

11.4. Revolt in Tibet :-

Tibet became a hot issue in the Sino-Indian relations. The Tibetans revolted and declared their independence in March 1959. The revolt was ruthlessly suppressed. Panshan Lama became their protégé, while Dalali Lama and his followers took refuge in India. The political asylum given to them was construed as an offensive action on the part of India. Border incidents and consequential causalities began to increase. The major one was at Longgu a territory deep inside India. Nehru had to request Chou-En-lai to look into the incidents personally and persuade the armed forces to withdraw. The Chinese reply was more aggressive. India was shocked. Sir Henry Macmohan was a Scottish officer. He did not invent a new Sino-Indian or Indo-Tibetan boundary. What he did was to delimit the boundary on the basis of historical and factual data.

11.5. Chinese Invasion :-

Nehru and Chou met at Delhi in April 1960 to thrash out the differences. Chou advanced his 'present actualities thesis' which meant that he was prepared to recognize Macmohan Line, in exchange for the recognition by India of China's occupation of the territories north and east of the new Aksaichin Road in Ladakh. India rejected the proposal outright. There were repeated talks in Delhi, Peking and Rangoon but the tensions were not lessened as the Chinese were adamant. It must be noted that India offered talks and China responded but there was an interruption in the channels of communication between the two.

The Sino-Indian relations became as China crossed the Sino-Indian relations became incompatible as China crossed the international boundary at the Thagla Ridge, Tibet, and Bhutan on September 8 1962. It was followed by a massive attack on territories of India on October 20, 1962. Six non-aligned nations, namely Ceylon, Burma, Cambodia, Ghana, Indonesia and the United Arab Republic made some concrete proposals known as Colombo Proposals for a settlement. The proposals were accepted by both China and India in principle; but there were difference in interpretations.

China desired to become a great power. India and China are often described as rivals in Asia. Both the countries influenced the whole area of South and South East Asia culturally. Cultural expansion could be a factor of conflict which was latent and became overt in the border disputes.
India’s is an open society whereas China’s is a closed one. It was a false dogma of China that both were involved in a test of strength. If China was able to make greater progress than India it would achieve the status of great power. It was possible that to achieve its objectives, China wanted to weaken and humiliate India. But it is doubtful whether aggression could achieve this objective.

12. Summary:

Under the British, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka were together, while Nepal, Bhutan and Maldives were outside the British Empire. Naturally, the British chalked out their foreign policy. But after the transfer of power to India and Pakistan in 1947, they began to execute their own independent foreign policy. As India occupied the centre of the subcontinent, tried to maintain hegemonic status in this region India had desired to maintain status quo and stability in the subcontinent for which she had intervened in the crisis of East Pakistan in 1971, when the stability in the region was highly at stake. Pakistan the northwest neighbour went against India on the pretext of Kashmir and fought several wars with India. The Simla conference in 1972, between India and Pakistan, prepared a framework for the solution of the Kashmir issue, but it has not been solved so far. Another northwest country, Afghanistan, played an important role in shaping Indo-Pakistan relations. Although India assisted Afghanistan with men and money in the hours of need, never wanted a serious conflict between Afghanistan and Pakistan for several reasons. In 1979, Soviet forces entered into Afghanistan. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who became Prime Minister in 1980 should have opposed the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan but she helped the Soviets indirectly, by merely calling for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan. But India has been increasingly establishing her trade, commerce and cultural relations with her northwest neighbours.

The Geographical location of the Himalayan states like Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan made them inseparable from India. Nepal had been traditionally close and occupies a strategic position between India and China. King Mahendra, who came to throne in 1955, tried to amend the peace and Friendship Treaty signed in 1950 between Nepal and India. Even King Birendra, who succeeded his father in 1972 had been of the same viewpoint. But India never wanted to amend the treaty and risk her security. By the Treaty of 1951, Sikkim became a protectorate of India. The people of Sikkim were not happy with the rulers of the Namgyal dynasty. They wanted democratic setup in the country which was beyond the reach of the Sikkimese ruler. The Sikkimese people, therefore started a political movement to merge with India in 1973 as a state of the India Union it was done formally by a special referendum in the month of April, 1975. Then onwards Sikkim has been a state of India. Bhutan, a Buddhist monarchy had signed a treaty in 1910 with the British India with some terms on foreign policy. The same position was continued after the Indian
independence also. After the Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1951, Bhutan realized the danger from China and accepted full support from India on security, political and economical issues. India therefore, sponsored Bhutan’s admission to the United Nations, and helping her generously on her requirements.

India has’ been the liberator of. Bangladesh However this liberator ship is seen evaporated. Because Bangladesh became more ambitious and not co-operating with India on several issues Out of those the problem of Ganga river water and the illegal migration of Bangladeshis to India created unrest in the northeastern territories of India. The cordial relationships between India and Sri Lanka, one of the neighbours worked well up to 1980. However the Tamil Sinhalese struggle in Srilanka created complications in the two neighbours. Sri Lanka tried to expand relations with China when Sino-Indian relations were sore but they could not carry on for a long time due to the limits of geo-political factors. India also became assertive to limit foreign involvement in the Indian Ocean and advised Maldives to reject any external access to it.

In later time India was much apprehensive that Sri Lanka might accept assistance to suppress the Tamil- Sinhalese conflict, However, such situation did not arise. Moreover, the Srilanka-India Accord was signed in July, 1987, under which India assumed the peace keeping responsibility in the Tamil dominated territories of Sri Lanka. Accordingly, India sent her peace keeping force to Srilanka and the relations between the two countries became normal with the consideration of India’s dominant role in the South Asian region.

13. Additional Readings:
3. Mohammed Ayub, India as a factor in Sino-Pakistan Relations

14. Questions:
1. Examine the India’s relations with her neighbouring countries.
2. Discuss the Indo-Pakistan relations since 1947.
3 Give an account of the Sino-India relations since t947.
4. Account for the Chinese aggression on India in 1962

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INDIA'S RELATIONS WITH THE USA & THE USSR

1. Objectives:
   After the study of this unit the student will be able to
   a) understand the Indo-US relations between 1947 and 1984
   b) comprehend how the US behaved with India when India was in conflict with China and Pakistan, and how the US increased her trade relations with India.
   c) explain the Indo-Soviet relations between 1947 and 1984.

2. Introduction:
   India’s relations with United States constituted one of the most important parts of India’s foreign policy. There has always been high expectations from the Indian side and low responses from the USA. There is only one reason that the US concentrated her attention on India and Pakistan because of their close location to the USSR and China in the subcontinent.

   In order to check the Soviet expansion the US policy-makers accepted Pakistan as their ally in this region. India had rarely attracted US attention even in the days of the British. The United States sympathy for India’s freedom movement was hardly noticed.

   When India became independent the US was involved in the Cold War politics and began to treat the non-aligned countries nastily. The Bureau of South Asia Affairs of the State Department looks after China, Japan, North and South Korea, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. The Former US Ambassador to India Ivir Chester Bowles had pointed out in an article in foreign affairs that some lower level specialists unaware about India were assigned to shape US policy towards India. No wonder, India stood neglected in the US policies. In their perspective the most important areas were North and South America, Western Europe, China, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Israel and the Middle East but not India.

3. Relations Between India and the U.S.A.
   The Cold War constituted to a very large extent the external policy environment of countries like India that made India quite uneasy as it drastically restricted her freedom of action. Though India could not play a major role in international politics due to her preoccupation with domestic problems, she sought to develop friendly bilateral relations with the United
States In this direction India established diplomatic relations, sought American Investments and technical knowledge, and developed trade links with various countries. However, it is important to note that India could not deviate from her basic principle of non-alignment while seeking friendly relations with the United States of America and other countries in the world.

3.1. Differing Global Postures:-

Both India and United States developed different global perspectives and followed different methods in the world affairs. In a bipolar world, the US became the leader of the ‘free world’ while India took a leading part in the non-aligned movement. Among the issues that divided them from the beginning was the issue of admitting People’s Republic of China to the United Nations Organization in place of Formosa. The US fought a war against North Korea in which China had intervened, after the US forces crossed the 38th parallel. Although India was neutral in the Korean war her sympathies were with China. Moreover, the non-aligned movement received a positive response from the Soviet Russia after Stalin’s death and India became pro-Soviet in the course of time. This widened the gulf between India and the US. In the Vietnam War, India condemned the American bombing, which was not liked by the Americans. In the Middle East India supported the PLO and opposed Israel. These policies also created rift between India and the United States.

However, India made considerable efforts to improve her ties with the US. Jawaharlal Nehru visited the United States in 1949 to improve the ties with the US. Notwithstanding, the relations, between the two countries did reach the expected level. The relations between the countries can be studied with the help of the following points:-

3.2 American Support for Pakistan

The most irritating development in Indo-US relations was Pakistan’s joining the US-led military alliances as the SEATO and CENTO. Pakistan became a member of the SEATO in 1955. Though this alliance was against China, the Chinese Premier, Chou En-Lai, sought an assurance from Pakistan, at the Bandung Conference, that the alliance would not be used against China. Pakistan had no fear of any Chinese aggression. The Prime Minister of Pakistan assured China that should the United States take any aggressive action or launch a global war, Pakistan would not get involved in it.

The leaders in Islamabad made it clear that they joined the US camp to get military assistance, which they would use against India. The US obviously remained indifferent to Indian protests. The US supply of Patton tanks and F 16 fighter bombers to Pakistan meant they could be used against India only.
3.3. India under conflict and the US:

Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru visited the United States for the first time in October 1949, after the establishment of the Communist regime in China. The United States took keen interest in the economic development of India and hoped that it would serve as an example to other developing nations. India’s eagerness to recognize Communist China and Nehru's questioning of the rationality of the US policy towards the French Indo-China, resulted in serious disagreement between the United States and India.

3.4. Sino-Indian conflict and the US:

India's relations with United States were based on peculiar situation. While India relied on the Soviet Union to counterbalance the US support for Pakistan she had to seek the Western help when her relations with China began to deteriorate. Thus a limited dependence on the United States was inevitable.

The Sino-Indian border dispute flared up in October 1962, the Soviet Union adopted an attitude of neutrality in spite of strained relations between her and China. Under these circumstances, Nehru was forced to compromise the non-aligned principle and request the united States to dispatch US air force to defend Indian cities. The United States also sent an aircraft carrier into the Bay of Bengal. Both the United States and England sent arms to India during the war. The unilateral ceasefire announced by China which prevented the deeper military involvement of the United States in India. The United States aid programme was stopped during the Indo-Pakistani war of 1965.

3.5. Indo-Pakistani War and the US

In 1971, The United States was friendly towards Pakistan and hostile towards India, in spite of the atrocities committed by the Pakistani troops in East Pakistan. The United States refused to apply any pressure on Pakistan to come to a political settlement with the people of East Pakistan. Although Mrs. Gandhi went to the United States In November 1971 to impress upon the US Government about the gravity of the situation the latter remained passive. When the Indo-Pakistan War broke out in December 1971 the US Government stopped all economic assistance to India and ordered the US aircraft to proceed to the Bay of Bengal to assist the Pakistani forces. These developments led to the deterioration of relations between the two countries.

The initiative for improvement in relations was even then taken by India. Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi, for instance declared in August 1972 that India was willing to patch up her relations with the United States but the Nixon Administration did not show any desire to improve the relations with India. However, the relations between the two countries began to improve after the visit of Henry Kissinger to India in October 1974.
3.6. Mrs. Gandhi and the US.

After the War of 1971, Mrs. Gandhi had a suspicion that the United States has been trying to topple her from power. On the other hand, the Americans felt that she was skillfully using the tension in the Indo-US relations to her own advantage. Mrs. Gandhi frequently referred to the US a certain foreign power creating domestic troubles for her. The role of central Intelligence Agency in the fall of Marxists government in Chile in 1973 strengthened her claims. In 1974, Henry Kissinger pointed out that friendly relations between the two countries might not sustain unless the countries ceased to criticize the United States of America. There were yet certain problems; in the improvement of the relations between the two countries as India could not evolve a policy towards improving her relations. There were serious differences between the two countries on the issues like the establishment of the United States naval base on Diego Garcia and the nuclear implosion by India at Pokhran on 18th May, 1974 which added to the tensions between the two countries. There was apprehension in the United States that India’s example might be followed by others and a nuclear war could be flared up.

3.7. The Emergency and the US :

The declaration of Emergency by Mrs. Gandhi on 26 June 1975 led to further deterioration of relations between India and the United States. American newspapers described the declaration of the Emergency as dictatorial, and called her tyrant. The State Department commented that it was entirely domestic matter of India. President Gerald R. Ford and the Secretary Kissinger had ordered the US officials not to criticize the Indira Gandhi government.

Although the criticism of the Emergency was due to the US dislike for Mrs. Gandhi and her policies, with the passage of time the US began to appreciate the brighter side of the Emergency. In August 1975, William S. Border in his article in the New York Times praised Mrs. Gandhi’s policies and pointed out that she could help millions of starving masses. The announcement of elections to be held in India in March 1977 was greeted in the United States.

3.8. The Janata Government and the US :

In the elections of March 1977, the Janata Party under the leadership of Morarji Desai came to power at the center. In the same year Jimmy Carter became the 39th President of the United States. The Carter Administration greeted the new Government in India warmly because of its happiness with the restoration of democracy in India and believed that the new government would ensure cordial relations with the United States. The Janata party had declared that ‘it stood for friendship for all’ and committed to genuine non-alignment to any power bloc. Subsequently, External affairs Minister A.B. Vajpayee declared that India did not see the relations with the Socialist countries inhibiting the search for improved
relations with the USA. The United States calculated that there would be some shift in its favour in Indian foreign policy. This is evident from a statement of President Carter on 15 December 1977 that under Indira Gandhi India’s primary orientation had shifted towards the Soviet Union. Some of Carter’s policies like to contain militarization of the Indian Ocean his expression of sympathy for the aspirations of the countries of the Third World and to reconsider the supply of planes to Pakistan were appreciated in India and was a good beginning of cordial relations between the countries.

3.9. Nuclear Implosion and the US Reaction

There were sharp differences cropped up between the two countries over India’s implosion of a nuclear device on 18 May 1974. The Carter Administration publicly committed to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. Mrs. Gandhi had given assurances in the past that India would use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. However her assurances had not been taken seriously. The Carter Administration appreciated Morarji Desai’s declaration that India would not develop nuclear weapons and would review the development of nuclear energy. This led President Carter to visit India in January 1978 which opened a new chapter in the Indo-US relations. The economic aid, suspended during the Bangladesh crisis was restored. However, Carter did not succeed in persuading the Prime Minister of India to accept international inspection of all its nuclear facilities. Desai took the position that India would not accept unequal conditions. China and France were the other two nuclear powers, which did not sign the Non Proliferation Treaty.

In 1963, there was an agreement of co-operation Between India & the us in 1963 to supply enriched uranium to India up to 1994 to the Tarapur Atomic power station. On the understanding that the plant would have uninterrupted supply of nuclear fuel from the United States, the nuclear reactor was planned and the contract for its construction was given to the United States. A contract incorporating the agreement was signed in 1966. The contract bound India not to obtain supplies of nuclear fuel from any other source. The United States was also opposed to the reprocessing of used fuel. It was opposed to it even for the purpose of research and it had turned down India’s requests in that regard. In spite of India’s reluctance to sign the NPT, Carter promised the Indian Parliament that it would authorize the sale of 7.6 tons of enriched uranium.

3.10. Developments in Iran and Afghanistan:

Despite the nuclear issue, there were two important developments’ in the world politics, in the region. One of them was the Fundamentalist Revolution in Iran in February 1979, which deprived the United States of her trusted ally in the Gulf and was a serious strategic loss to her. The other was the Soviet Union armed intervention in Afghanistan in December 1979. These two developments revived American concern,
over Pakistan’s security. This naturally increased Indian apprehensions about the reassertion of the United States in the subcontinent. In addition to this there was a possibility of the US-China Pakistan alliance which would have multiplied Indias apprehension. But the wisdom prevailed in the US and careful relations were chalked out.

3.11. Economic Co-operation Between India and the US:

Asaf Ali, India's first Ambassador to the United States was responsible for increased economic collaboration between the two countries. Asaf Ali assured the President Truman that the trade relations between India and the United States would be of immense magnitude. As a result of his assurance the trade relations between India and the United States grew rapidly.

The US economic assistance began regularly from 1951. For several years the amount of economic aid that India received from the United States constituted more than half of the total foreign aid that she had received. In 1970 the United States had given $ 8.8 billion to India, which included food products and the low-interest loans totaling $ 3 billion. However, the aid did not generate Goodwill between the two countries due to Cold War politics, Carter therefore before his visit to India had declared that restoration of strong friendship trade and commerce were very important consideration for him. Trade had been a regular feature between India and United States. The United States was India's largest trading partner, in it's foreign trade. In 1977 India's exports to the United States were worth $710 million; and the imports, $680 million. It is estimated that India's surplus might even exceed $30 million. For the first time India had a favourable balance of trade with the United States.

Naturally the United States had been the largest investor in India. The Government of India had decided that foreign investment could only be made in certain sectors. The Foreign Exchange Regulation Act permitted a foreign investor to have equity participation up to 40 percent. This was sufficient for efficient management of industry. However in high-technology fields, India was willing higher percentage of equity participation. Instead of laying down general rules India needed transfer of technology for her development. In the United States most of the technology has been owned by big Corporations. The Government of India preferred to make an outright purchase of technology where it has been feasible; but such option was not available, the Corporations had to operate within the framework laid down by the government,

Due to differences on political issues between the two countries, the progress in economic relations had been very slow. The difference in economic ideologies has also contributed to the slow growth of economic ties between the two countries. The United States follows free enterprise and market economy, Indias emphasis had been on planned economy and public sector. The official aid by the United States to India had been
only one-fifth. of her GNP. However, the situation has changed since 1982. The United States had been the largest single trading partner of India, overtaking even the Soviet Union.

4. Relations between India and U.S.S.R:-

After the independence in August 1947, India established her diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. In September 1946, Jawaharlal Nehru had joined the Government of India as Vice President of the Viceroy's Executive Council. When he, was in New York said K.P.S. Menon, the foreign secretary to the Govt. of India had gone for the first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations he was, instructed by Nehru to bring the Soviet representative there to exchange diplomatic views between India and the Soviet union, he had mentioned this matter to the Soviet Foreign Minister for their agreement and further action.

Nehru was determined to keep India out of the Cold War, when he was in Moscow on the occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution, he had noticed how Great Britain was trying to encircle, and, strangle Communist Russia in its diplomacy. In his letters from Russia Nehru wrote that British policy was to encircle Russia by pacts and alliances and ultimately to crush it, Nehru decided that whatever Britain's attitude might be India and the Soviet Union were destined to be friends. India was an Asian country, he said, and so was the Soviet Union. As soon as Jawaharlal Nehru had the power, he took steps to establish relations between India and the Soviet Union on a firm basis of amity.

In the first few years the relations between India and the Soviet Union were bedeviled partly by the legacy of suspicion lingering in India from the British days and partly by the dogmatic approach towards Marxism in the Soviet Union. Many people in India could not get over the fear that the Soviet Union was out to turn the world red.

Yet in the Stalin's time there was a growing consciousness that India was not, and would never allow itself to be a hanger -on of any-politico-military bloc Stalin himself showed his regard for India by receiving Dr Radhakrishnan soon after he assumed office as the Ambassador of India and, again, before he left, and also by receiving me, said K.P.S Menon only a fortnight before he died. The Soviet Government was particularly appreciative of India's independent stand during the Korean War and the efforts made by India to bring about peace in Korea and later in Indo-China.

4.1. New Chapter in Indo- USSR Relations:

As a matter fact with the Stalin’s death, there opened a new chapter in Indo-Soviet relations. In his first important statement as Prime Minister, in August 1953 Georgi MalenKov made an unprecedented friendly reference to India on which the friendship between the two countries was built later following the death of Stalin, the Soviet Union
took the initiative to improve her relations with India. After the independence, the relationship between India and United States was quite intimate as compared with the Soviet Union. However, the relations with the US began to deteriorate and improve with the USSR due to several following reasons as:-

1) After Nehru's visit to United States in October 1949, and his stand on international issues, which were not to the liking of the United States.

2) India was opposed to the American proposals to enter into the military alliances with the view to 'contain' the Soviet Union.

3) The military agreement between the United States and the Pakistan in 1954.

4) Pakistan's entry into the military pacts such as the SEATO and CENTO.

5) The relations between the two countries had already strained after the Pakistani intrusion into Kashmir immediately after the independence.

6) When India was in need of funds for economic development and to put up steel plants, the Soviet Union pledged financial aid for the construction of the Bhilai Steel plant.

7) The relations between India and Soviet Union was the outcome of the Cold War politics and the strategy of the United States to contain the spread of Communism.

8) Nehru who was keen to retain the independent stand of India on international issues. This independent stand of Nehru was often resented by the United States.

9) While Nehru was recognized as the champion of democratic values, his socialist leanings and his apathy to military alliances made him suspect in the eyes of the Americans.

10) Under these circumstances, the Soviets were convinced that India would not join any anti-Soviet system engineered by the United States and they could rely on India.

11) There has been a common perception between India and the Soviet Union on several issues. Like the Soviet Union India was opposed to colonialism, imperialism, racism and the exploitation in all forms. This led to them to develop good relations between them.

12) There were a number of issues on which India and Soviet Union had similar views as the Korean crisis the membership of the Peoples Republic of China in the UN, the Suez crisis, West Asia, Indo-China, and disarmament.

13) As a friendly gesture, the Soviet Union used her veto power both in 1957 and 1962 on the Kashmir issue in favour of India.

14) The Soviet Union gave full support to India on the occupation of Goa. Although there were some minor irritants between India and the Soviet Union like the Hungarian crisis in 1956. But India supported the Soviet Union in opposing the UN 'intervention. Thus helped to develop friendship between the two countries.

4.2. Nehru and the Soviet Union:

The Indo-Soviet relations began to improve after Nehru's visit to the Soviet Union in June 1955. The reception which the Soviet masses gave to Nehru was unprecedented. Nehru succeeded in allaying all doubts about India foreign policy. He convinced the Soviet leaders that the policy of Panchasheel adopted by India coincided with the new policy of 'peaceful Co-existence' pursued by the Soviet Union.
After Nehru’s visit Khrushchev and Bulganin paid the return visit to India in November 1955. During this visit Khrushchev declared that the Soviet people would share the last loaf of bread with the Indian people. He also declared that Kashmir had been one of the states of the Republic of India. Bulganin highly appreciated India’s contribution to the cause of peace. The official Soviet newspaper The Pravada termed the visit of the Soviet leaders to India is 'unforgettable' and historic. Event in the history of India and the USSR.

4.3. Soviet Attitude towards China and Pakistan

In 1962 when China launched an attack on India the Soviet Union remained neutral. Nehru appreciated the benevolent neutrality on the part of Soviet Union. Later, Khrushchev openly criticized the Chinese military aggression in December 1962. When the Indo-Pakistan war broke out in September 1965 the Soviet Union adopted a neutral stand, and warned China against intervention on the side of Pakistan. After the end of hostilities between India and Pakistan the Soviet Union played an important role as the mediator when Premier Kosygin invited Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and President Ayub Khan to Tashkent for a peace conference in February 1966.

At the conference, the Soviet took some pro-Pakistani stand. Soon after signing the Tashkent Declaration Lal Bahadur Shastri died at Tashkent Kosygin came to Delhi along with the dead body of Lal Bahadur Shastri and attended the funeral.

4.4. Friendship Treaty Between India and the USSR:

There were several reasons responsible for the Friendship Treaty between India and the USSR. Some important factors were as:

4.4.1) The Soviet Union began an economic military assistance programme to Pakistan in 1968. India was greatly distressed to Pakistan at the emerging Pak-Soviet ‘amity’.

4.4.2) India decided to counter this pro-Pakistani trend in the Soviet policy by offering some concessions to the Soviet Union but that did not work.

4.4.3) In 1969 Brezhnev had proposed his China containment policy India did not respond favourably to the Brezhnev proposal and indicated that it might accept a bilateral treaty with the Soviet Union in exchange for the termination of arms sale programme of the Soviet Union to Pakistan.

4.4.4) The civil war between the two wings of Pakistan had sent ten million refugees from East Pakistan into India. Mrs. Gandhi had tried in vain to persuade the international agencies and the United States and China to pressurize West Pakistan to have a peaceful settlement in her eastern wing.
4.4.5) In 1970 the United States supplied arms to Pakistan violating the arms embargo imposed since 1965.

4.4.6) The US Secretary of States, Kissinger went to Peking to prepare the visit of President Richard Nixon in July 1971.

4.4.7) It had no alternative but to seek security and to counter a new Washington - Peking - Islamabad Axis, India proposed a treaty with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union accepted the Indian proposal, and in mid-I 970 an agreement was reached between the two on the terms of the proposed treaty.

The Soviet Union helped India the most during the Bangladesh Crisis in 1971. The Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation was signed was made public when the Bangladesh crisis became serious, to avoid a big conflagration.

4.5. The Soviet help during the Bangladesh crisis:--

The Soviet Union helped India in this crisis as under:

4.5.1) The Soviet Union developed sympathetic attitude for the democratic movement in Bangladesh and tried to exert pressure on Pakistan to find a political solution.

4.5.2) The Soviet Union decided to support India firmly and enter into a treaty in August 1971, The joint statement issued on the occasion of the visit of the Soviet Foreign Minister. Gromyko to India in that connection. While supporting India, the Soviet Union avoided a war between India and Pakistan at that juncture.

4.5.3) When the political solution to the Bangladesh crisis could not be found the Soviet Union by the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation, provided a shield to protect India against the United States and China.

4.5.4) The Soviet Union assured India that the Soviet fleet in the Indian ocean would not allow the US to intervene in the Indo-Pakistan War and if China attacked India across the Himalayas in support of Pakistan, the Soviet Union would open another front against China in Sinkiang. This kept away the US and China from the Bangladesh crisis.

4.6. Soviet Stand during the Emergency and the Janata Government:--

In 1969, Mrs. Gandhi projected radical image of herself. The Soviet leaders believed that she represented the progressive forces in India. They appreciated her deep commitment to socialism and considered her opponents the Janata party as reactionaries, pro-western, pro-monopoly and anti-Communist. The Soviet Union supported Mrs. Gandhi during the Emergency in 1975,

The Soviet leaders decided to adjust with the Janata Government
in India and sent Foreign Minister Gromyko to India for that purpose. Both the countries reaffirmed their faith in the 1971 treaty and noted their close position on many world problems. When the Indian Prime Minister, Morarji Desai visited Moscow in October 9771 high officials including Brezhnev received him. The external affairs Minister. Atal Bihari Vaijay, gratefully reiterated the consistent support given by the Soviet Union to India in the hours of need.

4.7. Economic Cooperation:-

Since 1953, the Soviet Union had been showing sufficient interest in India’s economic development. Prior to 1953, India’s trade with the Soviet Union was nominal, but in the next five years it increased to a large extent. During Brezhnev’s visit to India in 1973! an economic cooperation for fifteen years was signed. It led to the Soviet Union to become India’s second largest trading partner in 1980,

The Soviet Union had much share in the success of the Five Year Plans in India. Besides the construction of the Bhilai steel plant in 1955, the Soviet Union cooperated with India in major industrial projects. These included steel plant at Bokaro, the Ranch heavy Engineering Works, Oil extracting and Petroleum Refineries at Barauni and Kayali,, the Madras Surgical Instruments Factory, the Anti- biotics plant at Rishikesh, the Thermal Power Stations at Hirakund, Korba, Bhakra and several other places and power equipment production such as the Heavy Electrical at Hardwar. Besides. Soviet participation in Indian agriculture led to modernization and mechanization of farming in India

4.8. Soviet Union - the Arms supplier to India:-

The Soviet Union emerged as the biggest arms supplier to India after the Chinese Invasion in 1962, as under:

4.8.1) Between 1965 and 1971, the Soviet Union supplied India $1.3 billion worth of arms.

4.8.2) India purchased from the Soviet Union transport planes helicopters and MIC-21 fighter planes, Sukhoi- 7 fighter-bomber aircraft, PT-76 amphibious tanks, T-55 medium tanks, and other military hardware.

4.8.3) In June I 980. India signed another agreement with the Soviet Union to the tune of $16 billion.

4.8.4) By the end of 1980’s India’s 28th divisions its seven hundred planes - air force, and its smaller but competent navy and air strike force were equipped by the Soviet Union.

4.8.5) India had been heavily dependent on the Soviet Union for her nuclear energy and space technology.

In addition to this the Soviet Union solved the rupee- rouble debt transaction. India had purchased some defence equipments from the Soviets on credit! the credit amount was mentioned in the Russian
currency, roubles which was worth Rs. 35000 crores. On the eve of President Yeltsin’s visit to India, the exchange rate was one US dollar to 125 Russian roubles. Yeltsin agreed to Narasiharaos deal as was in open market in India and the problem was solved. Thus the Soviet Union had been helping India in all fields and determined to carry on friendship with India.

5. Summary:

India’s relations with the US constituted one of the most important parts of India’s foreign policy. There were always high expectations from the Indian side and very low responses from the US. The beginning of the Cold War coincided with the India’s independence, which drastically restricted her freedom of action in the international fields, However, India did not deviate her principle of non-alignment while seeking good relations with the US. Although, the United States developed her interest in India, after the visit of Nehru in 1949 and the establishment of the Communist Government in China. there were several issues like India’s recognition to Communist government in China, Nehru’s questioning to the rationality of the US; policy towards the French - Indo - China, the US Pakistan Arms Assistance Agreement, Pakistan’s membership of the SEATO, CENTO and the US - Pakistan Executive Agreement of Cooperation which resulted in serious disagreement between the US and India. However, when China invaded India in 1962, the US sent her air force to defend Indian cities as was requested by India. This attitude did not last long. During the Indo- Pakistan war of 1971 President Nixon had ordered the US aircraft to proceed to the Bay of Bengal to help the Pakistani forces. Naturally, this incident led to the deterioration of relations between the two countries. Mrs. Indira Gandhi tried to patch up the relations with the US but no American President desired to pay attention toward the sincere friendship attempts of India. During the Emergoncy, which was declared by Mrs. Gandhi on 25 June 1975 the American newspapers described the declaration of emergency as dictatorial and called Mrs. Gandhi as tyrant. There were sharp differences cropped up between the two countries when India made nuclear implosion on 18 May, 1974, despite India’s repeated assurance that India would use the nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. However the US limited economic cooperation continued since 1951. In 1970 the US loaned to India to the tune of $ 8.8 billion. In 1977 India’s exports to the US were worth $ 710 million and the imports $ 680 million. Thus the US became the largest trading partner of India in the passage of time.

Although India has taken several steps to cultivate good relations with the USSR during the period of Joseph Stalin the relations between the two countries remained cool due to biased attitude of Stalin towards India. After the death of Stalin the two countries began to come together for which several factors were responsible as Nehru’s opposition to the US to enter into military alliance to contain the USSR military agreement between the US and Pakistan and the financial assistance to India by
the USSR. Nehru’s visit to the Soviet Union in 1955 and the return visit of Khrushchev and Bulganin to India in November 1955 also led to improve the relations between the two countries. In 1962, when China attacked India, the Soviet Union maintained neutrality. Nehru appreciated the neutrality on the part of the USSR. Later, Khrushchev openly criticized the Chinese military aggression on India in December 1962. When the Indo-Pakistan War began in 1965 the Soviet Union adopted the neutrality and warned China against the intervention on the side of Pakistan. The Soviet Union helped India in signing the Tashkent Declaration on the Kashmir problem India and the USSR came together to sign the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation in 1971 to terminate the arms sale programme of the USSR to Pakistan. This Treaty also helped India in the Bangladesh crisis of 1971. The Soviet Union assured India that the Soviet fleet in the Indian ocean would forbid the US intervention in Indo-Pakistan War and if China attacked on India the Soviet Union would open another front in Sinkiang against China. The USSR appreciated Mrs. Gandhi during the period of Emergency and termed her opponents as reactionaries. Due to the economic cooperation of the USSR India could erect major industrial projects as Bokaro Steel Plant, Ranchi Heavy Engineering Works, Oil and Petroleum refineries at Barauni and Kayali, Madras Factory, Anti-Biotics plant at Rishikesh, Power Stations at Hirakund, Korba, Bakra and many other plants, factory and equipment production centres. The Soviet Union has been the biggest arms suppliers of India since 1962. India purchased the arms, from the USSR between 1965 and 1971 worth $ 1.3 billion. The Soviet Union equipped India’s 28th division all air force planes, air strike forces and the naval forces India signed one more treaty in June 1980 by which the USSR helped India to the tune of $’1.6 billions, Not this much, India has been very intensely and heavily depending on the Soviet Union for her nuclear and space technology. The USSR also solved the rupee - rouble debt transaction of India and facilitated Indian industrial development in multiplicity.

6. Additional Readings:-
1) Norman D. Palmer and Howard C Perkins, International Relations, Houghton Miflin Co; Boston, USA.

7. Questions:-
1) Examine the Indian relations with the United States of America between 1947 and 1984.
2) Assess the Indian relations with the USSR between 1947 and 1984,
3) Write a detailed note on the Indo- US economic relations since 1947
4) Give a brief account of the Indo- Soviet economic cooperation between

8A

GROWTH OF COMMUNALISM AND SEPARATIST MOVEMENTS

A. Communalism :

1. Objectives :

After the completion of this unit the student will be able to :

a) Understand the meaning of communalism.
b) Explain the communalism in Indian politics.
c) Explain the communal violence in India.
d) Perceive the separatist movements carried out in Punjab and the spread of terrorism in the state.
e) Understand how the central Government handled the problem of separatist movement in Punjab and what were its consequences in the country.
f) Explain the separatist movements in the north-eastern India.
g) Explain the Naga insurrection and the Mizo insurrection.
h) Explain the language conflict in Assam and the Assamese conflict against the foreign migrants.
i) Understand the secessionist movement in Kashmir.

2. Introduction :

The religion based communalism was born in India during the later part of the nineteenth century. This communalism led to the establishment of communal organizations. In due course, these organizations converted themselves in to the political parties. The intense communalization of the Muslims resulted in the partition of India and gave birth to a Muslim country Pakistan. Even after the creation of Pakistan, communalism did not come to an end. The communal violence, which took place in various parts of the country created its deep imprint into the minds of Indian people.
Communalism comprises of three basic elements. The first element it’s the belief that people who follow the same religion have common political, economic, social and cultural interests, which has been the basic foundation of communal ideology. The second element is the secular interest of the followers of a religion, which is dissimilar from the interest of the followers of another religion. The third element is that the interest of the followers of different religion is mutually incompatible and antagonistic. It is, therefore, said that the Hindus and the Muslims cannot have common secular interest, means they are bound to be against of each other. This is the basis of the communal politics. The Muslim communalism led to the partition of the country while the Hindu communalism converted into Hindu nationalism.

2.1 Communalism: Trifurcation:-

After the two decades of the foundation of Indian National Congress, which was a true representative political organization of all sections of Indian people. A counter political organization of all India Muslims came into existence in 1906, which came to be known as the Muslim League. This was followed by the emergence of the All Indian Hindu Mahasabha, which claimed to be the representative of the Hindus in the country. In 1920, two Sikh organizations came into being. The first organizations is the Shiromoni Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee and the second is the Akali Dal. It is said that in 1920’s, there was a triplication of Indian nationhood. This development weakened the Indian National movement in some proportions. Because this stratified India into three main streams. The Muslim League rejected the claim of the Indian National Congress as the spokesman of entire India.

2.2 Hindu – Muslim Equation: -

The main objective of the Muslim League was to protect the political rights of Muslims and unify the Muslim community in India. The League often opposed the Indian National Congress and never allowed the congress to claim as the leader of India Muslims. The British Government deliberately nourished this stand of the Muslims and instigated them to pass the Lahor Resolution of 1940, which suggested partition of the country and creation of a separate sovereign home land for the Indian Muslims on the ground of separate community. The graduation of the separatism from differentiation to communalism, sprang from conflict over jobs and political favours in the stunted colonial economy. It is true that the development of differentiation to communal consciousness had acquired a mass dimension by the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

2.3 Hatred between Hindus and Muslims:-

Although the Muslims are different from the Hindus on account of their religious practices, it would be exaggeration to say that the Hindus and the Muslims were in a state of perpetual conflict and confrontation. There is evidence to show that the vast majority Indians belonging to
different religions lived together without any antipathy or bitterness. There was a process of cultural fusion throughout the medieval time. But this process of assimilation came to an end with the advent of Britishers to India. From this period onwards, the competition between the Muslim feudal and the Hindu mobility was projected as conflict between two religious communities. There was also a tension between the two communities due to uncompromising egos of clergies of the respective communities. Thus the cleavage was widened through regimentation and injection of communal ideas among the impoverished masses.

2.4 Minority Paranoia:

The Hunter commission Report had depicted the Muslims as a minority community in India. They were backward in education and inequipped to compete with the Hindus. It was further mentioned that unless there was reservation for Muslims, their political representation would be poor and the civil services would be dominated by Hindus. Sir syed, therefore said that no Muslim would secure a seat in Viceroy’s council. Whenever, the congress made efforts to induce the Muslims to join them, Sir Syed opposed the congress. He said that nothing but disaster lay in store for Muslims if they joined the congress. In his Lucknow speech Sir Syed said that whatever the election system adopted there would be as many as four times Hindus to Muslims and all their demands would be automatically sanctioned. The Muslims felt insecurity in the cultural field also. The Urdu – Hindi controversy in central Province in 1872 was the main reason for that paranoia. It is said that the congress recognized the same in the Congress Muslim League Pact, which came to be known as the Lucknow Pact in 1916. The Motilal Nehru Committee Report proposed an Indian Federation based on the principles of linguistic provinces and provincial autonomy. Elections would be held by joint electorate on the basis of adult suffrage and reservation would be practiced for religious communities for a period of ten years. But this reservation was applicable only in the provinces where Muslims were a minority. It means that the Nehru Report strived to prevent on a community dominating the other minority communities. The weightage fixed for the Muslims under the Lucknow Pact and the Montaghue Chelmsford Reforms was done away with and separate electorate was abolished. In fact the Nehru Report rightly stated that the principle of weightage had no place in the joint electorate.

2.5 The Congress and the Muslims:

The Congress had emerged as the most powerful political organization in the country. In the later part of the nineteenth century. It reflected for the first time the hopes and aspirations of the people of India and served as a main channel for the articulators of their interests. The congress proceeded on two main assumptions. The first was that all
Indians had common interests which will be preserved and promoted by a national organization. The second was that the people constituted a homogeneous group. Although the congress recognized the Muslims as a distinct religious community, it assumed that Muslims were a homogenous community with common interests and identical aspirations. Thus, the congress tried to secure their support by negotiations with their leaders. The central element of their strategy has been described by Bipin Chandra as an attempt to bring unity among the people of the country from the top. Once the top leaders of the Muslims were won over the congress was to bring the Muslim masses into the national movement, to produce the Hindu Muslim unity in the country. Even the Gandhian efforts at Hindu-Muslim unity tried to seek the same purpose. He appeared all masses irrespective of any religion. Moreover, Gandhiji participated in the Khilafat Movement and brought all Muslims into the anti-imperialist movement. It is said that the Muslims joined the congress as a matter of protection and advancement of their democrat and economic rights. Some of the Muslims leaders often criticized the congress that although the congress proclaimed its non-communal character, in practice her members participated in Hindu revivalist-activities. It also admitted communal members and offered them responsible positions in the organization. Although this took place in the initial period, the congress tried to avoid it and expressly barred the entry of communal leaders to congress in 1938.

As a matter of fact the British Government was ever willing to encourage the communal politics in the congress and the country to counter to the Indian National Congress. Right from the Simla deputation of 1906 till 1947, the British Government tried to tilt the balance towards the Muslim League, as a part of their divide and rule strategy.

2.6 Communalism and the British Government:

The British responsibility for the encouragement of communal separatism was an undeniable fact. Right from the UP elite showed their inclination to bargain loyalty for special favour, the British played the Muslim card to counter the bargaining power of the Congress. The divide and rule was the policy of Lord Curzon behind the partition of Bengal – is very well known to all Indians. In the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, Fuller had been playing two sections of the society against each other and favoured Muslims in appointments. He also induced Minto to sanction Rs. 14 Lakh loan to Nawab Salimullal of Decca as a special matter of great importance. Hunter’s Indian Mussleman’s mentioned Muslim as a homogeneous backward minority community. This assumption proved politically useful to the foreign rulers in India. Even though the communal riots created serious law and order problem to the British administration in India. The British never tried to stop them but wanted the Hindu – Muslim conflict to continue to counter the power of one community against the other. In fact, the eagerness of Willingdon to tilt the balance in favour of the Muslims led to the Communal Award of
1932. Linlithgow’s tactics of countering congress by League convinced Prime Minister Churchil that the Hindu – Muslim feud was a bulwark of British rule in India. Linlithgow preferred the Muslim League rather than the Congress. The Muslim League opposed the Quit India Movement and accused the Congress of instigating a rebellion. When the Congress threatened to continue the disobedience until India was granted independence, the British sought the support of the Muslim League to their government. Linlithgow encouraged Jinnah to come out with some positive alternatives to the federal principle which might free the Muslims from the prospective Hindu majority rule in India. The League had already been considering such alternatives but was cautious about her moves. Because the League wanted some solid assurance and sympathetic interest in such alternatives. Even before the world war II, the Secretary of the State for India gave certain assurance to Khaliguzzaman and Abdul Rahman Siddiqui in London in 1939. The League, therefore, accepted the Pakistan Resolution in its Lahor Session in 1940. Linlithgow was very jubilant at the adoption of the resolution as he could use it against the Congress demand for independence of united India.

2.7 Communalism in Indian Politics:-

Communal leaders in India were active in propagating various ideologies and consolidated their bases within their respective communities. This encouraged communalism to raise its ugly head in the society and generated communal riots in the post independent India. Jabalpur riots in 1961 led Pandit Nehru to establish the National Integration Council. Communalism began to feel its presence in the Indian politics during the mid – sixties, there were many communal riots took place during this period in the country. There were 1070 rots in 1964, 520 in 1969 and 521 in 1970. When Indira Gandhi came to power the number of communal riots considerably went down. During the period of emergency, communal leaders from both the communities were detained and the activities of communal organizations such as Jan, Sang and Jamat-Islam were totally banned. Hindu communalism in 1970s and 1980 gradually got crystallised in the Hindu nationalism based on the ideology of Hindutwa. This ideology had offered the prospect of uniting the country around those people who considered themselves Hindus. Muslims took the position that all the Muslims of South Asia constituted one nation different from the Hindus. Muslim leader emphasized that Muslims and Hindus could live together only on the principle of sharing power equally between them. Otherwise they would have to part and live in separate states. These differences led the secular nationalists to emphasize that religion and the sense of community should be removed from the Indian politics.

2.8 Communal Violence :-

The communal violence has taken place in India time to time. It is sad that the causes of the communal violence mostly have been local,
specific, accidental, incidents of minor religious disputes, celebrating of festivals and quarrels among the people belonging to rival communities. These reasons often flared up communal violence in rural and urban parts of India. As a matter of fact, where ever people of different religious groups live with minimum interaction create mutual suspicion and hatred toward each other. Under this situation a minor incident such as eve teasing may result in a communal violence on a large scale. The Government machinery has not been effective in dealing and curbing the communal violence in the country. It is said that many government officers directly or indirectly support the communal forces. This has increased the political opportunism. The political leaders do not hesitate to compromise with the communal parties or forge alliance for a short term political benefits. The political opportunism at the central and the state level accorded respectability to the political parties and indirectly legitimized communalism in the country.

Communalism is one of the dangers that India is facing since the early part of the twentieth century. Although, it has assumed dangerous proportion, the secular fabric of the Indian nation has been strong enough so far to bind the country together firmly. If the nation has to survive and progress, it is utterly necessary that basic needs of the people such as education and job opportunities should be fulfilled.

3. B. Separatist Movements

The post world War II years were charaterised by the rejuvenation of secessionist forces in India. This had much to do with the withdrawal of the British from India and the ascending aspirations of the class, religion and language groups. The Congress was to settle and assuage the grievances and wishes of all the groups in the country. But the Congress promises did not have any impact on these groups. The political leaders also have not been able to resolve the political demands of the non-Hindu and tribal minority groups. States reorganization also failed to come to concrete conclusions to satisfy the demands of the above groups. Therefore, outright separatist movements started violent confrontation with the government forces in various states like Punjab, Assam, northeast India and Kashmir, which can be studies as under:-

3.1 The Crisis in Punjab:-

The Sikhs had a peculiar dilemma, they had to struggle to save themselves from the Muslim domination. In 1870 they established the Sing Sabha Movement to spread literacy and religious awareness among the Sikhs. The Chief khalsa Dewan was formed to coordinate the Singh Sabha Movement and to unite the Sikhs. The Singh Sabha and the Khalsa Dewan dominated Sikh public life for fifty years and led the foundation for the political movements of the 1920’s when the religious and political leadership of the Sikhs was taken over by the Siromoni Gurudwara Prabhandhak Committee and Akali Dal. They were thinking of a sovereign
state like Sikh Home State where they would have their hegemony and sikh identity would be protected. On 5 June, 1943, the Shiromany Akali Dal announced the demand for Azad Punjab. Thus, the problem of Punjab can be traced in a growth of communalism in the state in the twentieth century. The Gurudwara Reform Movement of 1920s brought into existence two political organizations. One of them was the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabhandak Committee, which became the central managing committee for the Punjab Gurudwaras and began to control all Sikh Shrines and its vast – resources. The other one was the Akali Dal, which became the chief political organization of the Sikhs in the country.

3.2 Communalism in Politics :-

The demand of khalistan by the secessionist movement in Punjab was one of the greatest – challenges to the unity of India. Khalistan means the separate homeland for the Sikhs. In order to achieve the separate state, they began a reign of terror in which huge loss of lives and property took place throughout the state.

The movement took a violent turn when the then prime Minister, Indira Gandhi ordered to flush out the terrorists hiding in the Golden Temple of Amritsar in 1984. Eventually, this led to her assassination in the same year. This was so happened that the Akali Dal claimed and asserted a separate identity of the Sikhs on the ground that they were discriminated, humiliated and prosecuted for a long time by the majority people in the country. They raised the slogan of sikh religion in danger in 1953. Master Tarasing, the Akali leader said that the so – called liberty for the Sikhs was simply a change of masters from white to black. Thus, the communal sentiment was promoted by the sikh leaders in Punjab, that led the Sikhs to clash against the various groups in the state.

The crisis in Punjab was enhance by major two issues. The first issue was of the language of administration and education. The Hindus wanted Hindi as the language of administration and education while the Sikhs demanded Panjabi with the Gurumukhi script. But the Hindus were not in favour of the only Gurumukhi script, they demanded Devnagari script also. Thus, the Punjabi Language issue communalized the atmosphere in Punjab. The second issue, which precipitated the crisis was the rejection of the reorganization of Punjab on the basis of language by the Reorganisation Commission of the central Government. Consequently, the Akali Dal launched an agitation under the leadership of Master Tara Singh for a separate Punjab for Sikhs. The Jan Sangha and other Hindu organizations opposed to the demand of the Sikhs. Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister of India rejected the demand on the recommendation of Darbara Singh and Pratap Singh Kairon, the two prominent sikh leaders of the Congress. But the demand for separate Punjab was conceded by Indira Gandhi in 1966. The state of Punjab was divided into a Punjab for Sikhs and Haryana for Hindi speaking people.
3.3 Separatism in Punjab:

Following the creation of separate Punjab state for Punjabi speaking people, the Akali Dal began to control the political power in the state. But it could not secure the power through the democratic process. Although, the percentage of Sikhs had been more than 50% around 25 to 30 percent schedule caste and economically backward Sikhs were voting in favour of the Congress and other leftist parties. Naturally the Akali Dal was unable to come to power on its own strength. The Akali Dal was to form and alliance with the Jan Sangh that had opposed for the creation of separate Punjab for Punjabi speaking people. Thus, the Akali Dal policies were not approved and supported by the majority Sikhs in Punjab. This was the reason why the Akalis began to emphasis more on the aggressive communal politics. Akali Dal launched a greater and wider communal movement under the leadership of sant Longowal and submitted a long list of demands to the central Government. The terrorist groups in the state supported the demand. Thus a separatist movement to form a separate sovereign state for the Sikhs was begun.

3.4 To counter the separatist movement launched by Sant Longowal, the Congress decided to support the extremist. Sikh Sant Bhindranwale, who had been a strong compainer of Sikh orthodoxy. The terrorist activities of the All India Sikh students Federation under the leadership of Amrik Singh began in 1980. Sant Bhindranwale supported the activities of the Federation. Due to the murder of the head of the Niranskar sect, the violence spread throughout the state of Punjab in which innocent people were targeted. It is said that Giani Zail Singh, who was the Home Minister of India in 1982 began to support the activities of sant Bhindranwale. Due to the indirect support of the Congress leaders the group of Bhindraswale began to kill innocent people indiscriminately and loot shops and banks daily. The inaction of the central Government encouraged Bhindranwale to give a call for armed struggle against the central Government for realization of separate sovereign theocratic state for Sikhs. Bhindranwale shifted his base to the Golden Temple in 1982, and to the Akal Takht within the Golden Temple itself in December, 1983 with his all followers.

3.5 Blue Star Operation:

During the terrorists activities of Bhindranwale, the Akali Dal came into difficult position. Although the Akalis shared the same political ideology with Bhindranwale they could not openly support him. Even the central government did not take any firm action against Bhindranwale. This inaction did a irreparable loss to India in general and Punjab in particular. Indira Gandhi tried to negotiate with the Akali leaders like G. S. Tohra, Prakash Singh Badal and Sant Longowal but she could not succeed and stop the terrorists activities in the state. The security forces began to demoralise when Pakistan involved in these terrorists activities in India. Pakistan opened training centers for Sikh terrorist and provided them with sophisticated weapons. Even Sikhs living in other countries
extended fund and weapons for the cause of separate independent Sikh state. This brought India’s peace and unity at stake. Under these circumstances, the Government of India decided to purge the Golden Temple of the terrorists, who had been using the scared shrine as base of their activities. On 3 June, 1984, the armed forces of India under Blue Star operation surrounded the Golden Temple at Amritsar. The armed forces opened fire on 5 June, 1984 on the terrorists hiding in the Temple. In this Blue Star operation many soldiers and terrorists with Bhindranwale lost their lives. But it is proved that more than the material loss, the severe hurt to the sentiments of Sikh community had taken place due to the damage caused to the Golden Temple.

3.6 Assassination of Indira Gandhi :-

During the Blue Star operation the Akal Takht was totally razed to the ground and the walls of Harmandir Sahib were riddled with bullet marks. This caused the deep anguish among the Sikh people. They held Indira Gandhi responsible for this hurt and damage and took a vow to avenge against Mrs. Gandhi and her family. Thus, the two Sikh body guards of Mrs. Gandhi assassinated her on 31 October, 1984. This was followed by a blacklash of killing of several thousand innocent Sikhs in various parts of the country. As a matter of fact Punjab is a part and parcel of the country due to the sacrifice of innocent Hindu Sikhs and defense forces.

4. Separatist Movements in the Northeastern India

The Government of India faced several problems in her northeastern provinces. There were several tribal groups inhabiting in that area, which often clashed against each other. Among them Hindus and Muslims, linguistic groups of Assamese and Bengalis, tribal people and plain people and the large migrated population generated a number of problems which required constant attention of the government. In order to solves the tangle in that area, the Government of India reorganized the northeastern part of the country and brought into existence four new states as under:- 1) Nagaland, that was granted statehood in the year 1963. 2) Meghalaya, the tribals like Garo and Khasi were treated badly by the people of Assam, therefore, they launched an agitation and was given a statehood in 1970. 3) Arunachal Pradesh, was initially a Union Territory and then transformed into a full statehood in 1972 and named as North Western Frontier Agency. 4) Mizoram :- In 1981, it was granted the status of Union Territory and carved a full state in 1987.

4.1. Secessionist Movement of Nagaland:-

Among the secessionist movements started in the north eastern part of India, the Naga movement under the leadership of Angami Phizo attracted the most attention of the Indian Government. Because it spread throughout the area and received a mass support. The Assamese Government to which Nagland was attached did not honour the agreement signed with the Naga people.
On the plea of the breakdown of the agreement between the Naga National Council and Akbar Hydari, the Governor of Assam, the Naga leader, A. I. Phizo declared independence of the Nagas. The Indian Government rejected the declaration and began negotiations with the Naga National Council, which was in favour of total independence for Nagas. The Naga National Council ordered a self-sponsored plebiscite in 1951. But Prime Minister Nehru did not approve it. As a protest to disapproval of Nehru, the Nagas announced boycott to the general elections of 1952. The Prime Minister's visit to Nagaland in 1953 also did not succeed. When the Indian force entered Nagaland, the Naga leaders went underground and they announced the Federal Government of Nagaland in 1956. They also adopted a constitution of their own and tried to raise the issue of Nagaland at the international forum but they could not succeed. The Government declared these actions as insurgency and began to use a massive force to crush them.

But it did not serve the purpose and prolonged the insurrectionary activities of the Nagas. Despite suppression of the Naga guerillas, the Centre started negotiation with the moderate Naga leaders and agreed to form Nagaland in 1960. But the Naga leaders were not satisfied with the terms and conditions of the formation and the armed insurrection continued still further. However, Mrs. Indira Gandhi changed the stand of the center and began direct negotiation with the secessionist leaders in 1967. Indira Gandhi was in direct touch with the state politics and got elected the congress majority in the state till her tenure as the Prime Minister up to 1984.

4.2. Secessionist Movement of Mizo people :

The Mizo insurrection was led by Mizo National Front leader, L. C. Laldanga on the plea that the Assamese Government did not provide adequate relief during the famine of 1959 in the Mizo dominated area. In 1966, L. C. Laldanga declared independence of Mizoram, the Mizoland for Mizos. The central Government sent forces to suppress the insurrection of the Mizos on the line of Naga people. But within a short period, the government was constrained to separate the Mizo Hills from Assam and make it union territory. However, this development did not satisfy the Mizos and stop their secessionist activities. Therefore, Indira Gandhi began direct negotiations with the Mizo leader Laldanga in 1982. Laldanga won the subsequent Assembly election to Mizoram with the help of the centre in 1986. It is clear from this development that the central Government changed its earlier stand of not negotiation with the insurgent groups for solidifying its own position in the centre as well as in the state politics.

4.3. Insurgency in Manipur :

Manipur leaders were not happy with the policy of the central Government. It was already reeling under insurgency when it was merged
with India. Hizam Irawat, the leader of Manipur wanted to make it a Peasants Republic of Manipur and convert it into a Sovereign Socialist Republic of Manipur. Naturally this tendency led them to secessionist activities against India.

In 1964, another organization called united National Liberation Front was formed with the objective of securing secession from India. This organization formed the Revolutionary Government of Manipur. The central Government suppressed this Revolutionary government in Manipur in 1971. The people involved in this Revolutionary government split in 1975 and the Moist group of them formed people’s liberation Army, under the leadership of N. Bishweshwar. The other faction of the erstwhile Revolutionary Government formed a people’s Revolutionary Party under the leadership of Kangleipak. Both the groups worked hand in hand to seek separation from India. But the Indian Government tried to suppress the fissioparous tendencies in the state and bring them into the main stream of the country by various ways. Even then the Central Government has not been fully successful. Several insurgency activities of peoples Liberation Army are still continued.

4.4. The Language Conflict in Assam:-

The language problem in Assam was aggravated due to a number of migrants to that state and reducing the indigenous Assamese to minority. Assamese speakers constitute a majority in the countryside but in urban Assam more than 40 percent Bengali speakers and another 16 percent Hindi speakers are there. They have outnumbered all Assamese speakers in jobs and the state economy. This happened when the British Government integrated Assam into Bengal Presidency and made Bengali the medium of instruction in the school and colleges. This led the Bengali speakers to dominate in the high payment public, private and government services. They also controlled the middle class occupations and professions in the state. In this context, the language problem came to surface between the Assamese speakers and the Bengali speakers in Assam after the independence of the country. At present, the Assamese speakers demanded Assamese as the language of education and official language while the Bengali speakers have put presser on a dual language formula. This tangle developed hostility between the Assamese and Bengalis and led them to riots in Assam. The Assamese attacked the Bengalis and made them to flee from the state. Naturally, the Government declared Assamese as the medium of instructions in schools and colleges.

4.5 Assamese Agitation Against the Non-Assamese:-

Although, the Language problem in Assam was settled, the state did not destine peace for a long time. There emerged a conflict between the indigenous Assamese Hindus and the migrant Muslim Bengalis. This conflict became severe after the Bangladesh war of 1971. Following the declaration of East Pakistan as Bangladesh, a large number of Muslims
migrated to Assam, which changed the population equation drastically in the state and created instability in the government. Fearing that the illegal migrants might acquire political power in the state, a coalition of the Assam Gana Sangram Parishad and the All Assam students union launched a massive anti-illegal migration movement. This Movement commanded support from all sections in Assam and pointed out to the central Government that the 31 to 34 percent of the state’s total population was of illegal foreigners. The Movement also brought to the notice that during the period between 1979 and 1985, the political instability led to the collapse of the state government several times and imposition of Presidents rule and wastage of public money had taken place in the state. The Movement, therefore, demanded as (a) the sealing of Assam’s borders to prevent the further influx of the foreigners b) Identification of illegal migrants c) Deletion of migrants name from the electoral rolls. d) Deportation of the illegal migrants to other parts of the country. e) Postponement of the elections till this process was completed. On the failure of positive response from the central government to the above demands, the movement launched agitation, civil disobedience and strikes in the state which paralyzed the law and order in the state totally. Due to the loss of lives and property in the violence, the Government started several rounds of negotiations with the leaders of the Movement, but could not succeed in it.

4.6 The Assam Accord of 1985:-

The central Government tried to resolve the ethnic issue in Assam by identifying the illegal migrants, but it was not easy task to complete to the satisfaction of the agitators. Violence caused during the elections of 1983 was huge, which forced the central Government under Rajiv Gandhi to start fresh negotiations with the leaders of the agitation. Eventually an Accord was signed between the Central Government and the Assam Movement Leaders on 15 August, 1985, which provided for the identification, deletion and deportation of the illegal migrants from Assam. Prafulla Kumar Mohanta, the leader of the All Assam students union, became the Chief Minister after the elections held in 1985. He became the youngest Chief Minister, at the age of thirty two. Although the AASU represented all Hindus, plains tribals, tea plantation workers and Muslims of Assam and brought to an end to the long standing political problem, the state did not experience peace for a long time. Because some other insurgencies like Bodos initiated secessionist agitation for the Bodo tribals.

5. The Kashmir Problem:

Among the problems which India faced after its independence, Kashmir was one of them. India fought three wars with Pakistan on the problem of Kashmir. There are several militant organizations, which have been undertaking guerilla tactics with India. Although, India has spent much money and lost her several thousand security forces, the problem of Kashmir is still not resolved.

5.1 Genesis of the Problem:

Jammu Srinagar and Ladakh are the three districts, which form the state of Kashmir. They are distinct and different from each other in
language, religion and ethnicity. The people in Kashmir are Muslim and speak Kashmiri language. The majority people in Jammu are predominantly Hindus who speak a language belonging to the Indo-Aryan family and the people inhabiting Ladakh belong to the Tibeto–Mongoloid group who projects themselves as Buddhists. These three parts formed one political entity. In 1846, the British conquered Kashmir from the sikh ruler and handed it over to Dogra ruler Gulab Singh of Jammu for Rs 75 Lakhs. Thus Kashmir was under the rule of a Hindu King Harisingh when it was incorporated with the Indian Union. Pakistan did not agree with the Kashmir's incorporation into India on the ground that it has been a predominant Muslim populated state. Pakistan, therefore, sent Pathan tribesmen and armed forces to invade the state. On the request of Sheikh Abdullah, the leader of the National Conference, the State of Jammu and Kashmir was acceded to the Indian Union.

5.2 Three Phases of the Kashmir Problem :-

Kashmir has been granted special status under the Article 370 of the Constitution of India. Although, it has given regional autonomy, the central government has been intervening in the politics of that state more than any other provinces of the country on the ground of defence. The Indian National Congress could not establish its hold in the State of Jammu and Kashmir as she did in other states of the country. The All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, which was established in 1932 was dominant in the State. Although it was split in 1940 the faction headed by Sheikh Abdullah became the strongest in the State of Kashmir. The Kashmir problem can be studied into three phases as

5.2.1. The first phase of Kashmir problem.

This phase – was between 1947 and 1953. During this phase, Sheikh Abdullah was the Prime Minister of the state. He had close relations with the Central Government. Sheikh Abdullah was Sandwicched between the two forces as the one was the pro-Pakistani and the other one was the pro-Indian. The later force was represented by the Praja Parishad of Jammu. This force demanded the withdrawal of Article 370 which was granted to the people of Kashmir. The Hindu nationalist parties in Kashmir supported this view. Sheikh Abdullah did not like to align with any one of the forces. He tried to be distinct and assertive something beyond regional autonomy to the State of Kashmir. Fearing the consequences of this assertion, the Central government dismissed Sheikh Abdullah from the Prime Ministership of Kashmir and imprisoned him in 1953.

5.2.2 The Second phase of the Kashmir problem.

This phase began in 1953 itself and ended in 1984. During this phase, the Kashmir leadership established closer relationship with the central Government than earlier. Due this loyalty of the Kashmir leaders to the Central Government led them to receive enormous funds for the
development of Kashmir. But this relationship did not resolve the Kashmir problem and create amicable relations between the Hindus and the Muslims. On the pretext of some religious rumours, severe riots broke out in the state, which strained the relations between the Hindus and the Muslims. Although, Sheikh Abdullah was released from the prison, he was rearrested on the profession of the right of self determination. The pro-Pakistan group in Kashmir was not happy with him because he was against the merger of Kashmir with Pakistan.

5.2.2 a) Kashmir Accord of 1975 :-

Kashmir was ruled successively by Bakshi Gulam Mohammed G. M. Sadiq and Mir Qasim after Sheikh Abdullah. There were several groups functioning for various objectives as one group was pursuing the objective of plebiscite, which was represented by Sheikh Abdullah himself the other group was demanding the abrogation of Article 370 and the full merger of Kashmir with India. The Jansangh represented this group. Under such circumstances, Indira Gandhi came to power and solidified her control on all state and the central administration. She turned her attention towards Kashmir and admitted all antagonists of Sheikh Abdullah into the Indian National Congress. As the result of this policy of Indira Gandhi, the Congress won the thumping majority in the elections held in 1972 to the Kashmir Assembly. In the move to attract the Kashmiris, Indira Gandhi released Sheikh Abdullah from the prison in 1974, and signed with him an Accord of Kashmir in 1975. Under this accord, Sheikh Abdullah accepted the accession of Kashmir to India as final while the Indian Government retained the Article 370 and allowed Sheikh Abdullah to revive his National Conference. The Central Govt. appointed him as the Chief Minister of Kashmir.

5.2.2. The Third Phase of Kashmir Problem :-

Sheikh Abdullah remained as the Chief Minister of Kashmir till his death in 1982. Farooq Abdullah, the son of Sheikh Abdullah became the next chief Minister of Kashmir. But he did not keep good terms with the central government. He was often criticized as anti national leader by the Hindu groups. This was a good reason for toppling the government of Farooq Abdullah. G. M. Shah, dissatisfied son in law of Sheikh Abdullah worked out a split in the National Conference on the directives of the Central Government. Naturally, G. M. Shah was appointed as the Chief Minister of Kashmir in 1984. This was the beginning of the third phase of the Kashmir problem. G. M. Shah also was not able to run the state smoothly. There were attacks and counter attacks on Hindus & Muslims. He failed to curb the communalism in the state. Evenually, G. M. Shah was dismissed and Presidents Rule was clamped on Kashmir in 1986.

5.2.3 a Revival of secessionist – Activities :-

Rajiv Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India tried to normalize the situation in Kashmir in 1986. He wanted to revive the cordial relationship
between the Congress and the National Conference and fight the Kashmir Assembly election jointly in 1987. Rajiv Gandhi, therefore reached an accord with Farook Abdullah in 1987. Although, there was much opposition to the coalition of the Congress and the National Conference in Kashmir, Farook Abdullah managed his victory and became the Chief Minister of the state once again in the same year, i.e. 1987. However, as he managed the election, could not manage the state administration. Several complaints against the Farookh Government led the Centre to dismiss the government in Kashmir and bring the state under the President's Rule again. As a result of this event, several secessionist organisations raised their head again. Among such pro-Pakistani organizations were Hizbul Mujahiddeen and Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front. These outfits were trained, financed and armed by Pakistan to separate Kashmir from India. Thus Kashmir has been the biggest headache since the independence of the country. Although, Government has been spending much amount and ready to resolve the problem by negotiating with Pakistan, still the country is not able to do so.

6. **Summary :-**

Communalism divided the two prominent communities of India and created social instability permanently in the country. There had been a number of communal riots in the different parts of the country over a period of time which has led to massacre innocent people belonging to both the communities and suffered a huge loss of properties through arson and looting. Communalism comprises of three basic elements as first, the people following the same religion have common political, economic, social and cultural interests. This gives birth to the socio-political communities based on religion. The second, the communal ideology differs from one another religion. The third, the interest of the followers of different communities are mutually incompatible and antagonistic. It does mean that the Hindus and the Muslims who cannot have common secular interests are bound to be opposed to each other.

Although there was no substantial communalism in the Indian politics initially, the leaders of various communities built up their stand in there respective communities by propagating ideologies of their own religions. They also increased the strength of their political parties. Among such parties Jan Sangh stands first, which increased her tally in the Lok Sabha from 14 in 1962 to 35 in 1967. The Muslim separatists took the position that all the Muslims in South Asia constituted one nation different from the Hindus. They further emphasized that two nations could only live together as equals, sharing power in a single state or they would have to live in separate states. The communal riots which took place in India had various causes. In general communal riots caused due to local, special, accidental and minor religious disputes as celebrating festivals, fight among the persons belonging to rival communities. There had been the state machinery found efficient in dealing firmly the communal violence. In other
words it is said that the law enforcing agencies have become communalized because they have been supporting directly or indirectly to the communal forces for securing short term political advantages. Means the communalism developed some sort of political opportunism. If the nation has to survive and prosper, it is necessary that the basic amenities like education and job opportunities should be provided by the state. Healthy atmosphere of mutual respect and tolerance towards the religions and cultures of each other can control the communal riots.

Following the independence of India several problems of ethnic groups, specially from hilly areas came to surface. The political leadership could not solve these complicated problems for several years. Among such problems the crisis in Punjab and north eastern states attracted the attention of Indian people and forced the country to spend much revenue to resolve them.

Punjab faced a terrible threat from the secessionist demand for Khalistan, a separate state for the Sikhs. The khalistan movement initiated the reign of terror, in which several thousand people lost their lives and sustained a great loss to the property. The germs of this problem can be found in the growth of communalism in that state. The Gurudwara Reform Movement brought into existence two religious organizations. One was the shiromoni Gurudwara Prabhandak Committee, which controls all Gurudwars and its resources and the second the Akali Dal, the political party of the Sikhs. This Akali Dal tried to maintain a separate identity of Sikhs on the ground that the Sikhs were discriminated, humiliated and oppressed for a long time. They also gave a cry that the Sikh religion is in danger. They launched an agitation for separate sovereign sikh state under the leadership of Snt Longowal. To counter the demand of Longowal, the Congress supported the extremist Sant Bhindranwale, who shifted his headquarters to the Golden Temple of Amritsar. Sant Bhindranwale began to spread violence to each and every corner of the state by Killing, looting banks and jewellery shops. Indira Gandhi, in a move to purge the Golden Temple of the terrorists sent army to the Golden Temple and killed all terrorist with Bhindranwale. More than the loss of human lives, the sentiment of the Sikh community was severely hurt due to the damage caused to the Golden Temple. The terrorist vowed to take revenge against Mrs. Gandhi and on 31 October, 1984, her two Sikh body guards assassinated her. This is the terrible price India paid for the separatist movement in Punjab.

In the North eastern states also the separatist movement came into existence. In the reorganisation process four new states brought into the map of India as Nagaland, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram. Nagas had to give a long fight – under the leadership of Phizo, Mizoran fought under the leadership of Lal Denga for the separate statehood. Assam fought to finish the hegemony of Begali language over the Assamese and stop the illegal migration of Bangadeshi Muslims. Rajiv
Gandhi signed an Accord with the All Assam Students Union. As the result Prafulla Kumar Mohanta became the youngest Chief Minister of Assam. Although, the accord was signed, the secessionist activities have not come to an end.

Indian Government had also been facing the problem from the Kashmir separatists and secessionists. Although, the King Harising incorporated Kashmir with India, Pakistan did not approve it and tried to control with the help of tribals. India is trying to solve the problem of Kashmir and kept open all options. India negotiated with Pakistan for the solution but has not been able to resolve so far.

7. **Additional Readings** :-


8. **Questions** :-

1. Give a brief account of communalism in independent India.
2. Examine the factors that were responsible for the rise of communalism in India.
3. Account for the separatist and secessionist movement in Punjab.
4. Assess the rise and Growth of secessionist movement in the north eastern states of India.

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EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN

1. OBJECTIVES: -

After completing the study of this unit the student will be able to.

1) Understand the reforms carried out in the nineteenth century in connection with Indian Women.
2) Explain women in the Indian National Movement and their contribution towards it.
3) Understand the political rights and constitutional guarantee given to women.
4) Understand the economic development of Indian Women.
5) Explain the Self Employed Women and their problems.
6) Explain the women in various movements in India.

2. INTRODUCTION: -

Both European – inspired historians and the Indian texts essentialised women as devoted and self-sacrificing, yet occasionally rebellious. Women’s differences were overshadowed by their biological characteristics and they were destined to play subordinate and supportive roles. Occasionally some Indian texts write on women when their achievements are of significant by male standards. Topics interwoven with women’s lives, house-hold, religious rituals and sentiments, family, inheritance and property rights and marriage and divorce were largely overlooked. In 1970, the UNO focused world attention on the status of women. Member countries were asked to appoint committees that could gather statistics and produce report on this topic as men and women are born equal and they need to work jointly for the progress of society.

3. Position of Women in the Society: -

Position of women in Indian society differed period to period and age to age. Although it was quite satisfactory in the Rig Vedic period, it considerably transformed in the latter period and made her subservient. As a matter of fact, the position of women mainly depends upon the two important elements in the society. The first is the social philosophy and the second the social institutions developed in the passage of time.

The social philosophy initiates a particular level of the culture and the general outlook of the society; these elements help in determining the position of women. In addition to these, the social institutions have come up as family, marriage, provisions of Hindu law and the religion, which have never indicated a liberal outlook towards women. These institutions created several problems in the life of women. Except in cities, joint family is in practice every where, in which contractual marriages take place.
These marriages have brought to surface problems like incompatibility of life partner, child marriage, polygamy, and restriction on widow remarriage, divorce, sati, female slavery, and concubinage.

The practice of sati, which had a religious basis and belief that women by their self-immolation with the corpse of their husband attained such high spirit and merit that sins of their husbands were annihilated and they were raised to heaven to live in eternal union with the wife. This was the role of religion, which might have driven a number of women to perform such an ordeal of burning themselves alive. Wives were considered one's personal property, rather than a companion. Husband was the master, the lord; he would keep her with somebody against some loan. He expected her to obey his order even to swallow poison or jump into a well. This was the position of Indian women.

4. Social Reforms:

It is said that the gradual deterioration in the status of the women began during the Smriti period. In society women could not have an independent status and became entirely dependent on the men in socio-economic matters. With the passage of time women became victims of various social evils such as female infanticide, seclusion and dowry. They were denied education. These social evils and the low status of women continued since the ancient period. Due to the impact of western education and the educated Indians such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Swami Dayananda Saraswati and other social reformers, an attempt was made to liberate women from the shackles of ancient social disabilities through the socio-religious reform movements. The Brahmo Samajists sought to bring women into new roles through schools and prayer meetings. Swami Vivekananda was arguing that women could become a powerful regenerative force. Dayananda encouraged female education and condemned all evil customs. M.G. Rande, Malabari, D.K. Karve tried to educate young widows and made them teachers in girl’s schools. R.V.R. Naidu opposed the devdasi system while Pantulu worked for marriage reforms. Ishwar Chandra Vidysagar supported the female education and advocated the widow remarriage. Although, the widow remarriage Act was passed in 1856, the status of women was not changed and never received the approval of the society.

5. Women in National Movement:

Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the national movement became a mass movement since 1920. The participation of women in the national movement made a steady progress from the non-cooperation movement to the Quit India movement in 1942. During these mass movements, the women shouldered the responsibilities with running their homes, to contribute to the mite of the freedom struggle as they marched on the streets, shouted slogans, picketed shops of foreign goods and liquor, faced police lathi charge and bullets. Due to Gandhiji’s appeal the Indian
women fought shoulder to shoulder with men in the freedom Struggle of India, which enhanced their status and brought to the fore several issues related to women. The national movement was the first forum where the women participated in public life, to acquire rights and positions hitherto denied to them. It was Mahatma Gandhi who tapped the potential of women as political agitators and partners in the process of building up a nation. The national movement acted in liberating women in drastic way than the past social reforms. They showed their capability as Socialist, Communist and Militant revolutionaries. They also fought under the leadership of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose for the liberation from the British rule. The women participated in the national movement were as; in 1889 ten women attended the Indian National Congress session. In 1890 Swarnakumari Ghosal, a novelist and Kadambiri Ganguly, the first women in the British Empire to receive BA and the India’s first lady doctor attended as delegates. Saraladevi, Muthulakshmi Reddy and Amrit Kaur followed Gandhi in the movement. Sarojini Naidu, Goshiben Naoriji and Avantikabai Gokhale were attached to Rashtriya Stree Sangha. Urmila Devi, Shanti Das and Bimal Protiba Devi in Bengal and Smt. S. Ambujammal, Krishnabai Rau and Rukmani Lakshmipathy from south were ahead in the movement.

Due to this participation of women, there started changes taking place in the society and administration. The first major change was a legislation passed in 1937, the Hindu Women’s property Act. It applied uniformly to all Hindus. When a husband died leaving properly, the widow would be entitled to the same share as the sons in the property. In the case of joint family property, she would be entitled to the same interests in the property as her husband had, including the right to demand partition.

6. Indian Women in Transition: -

The Indian National Movement began to change the condition of women in the country. This change enabled women to demand the trappings of modern life, education, health care, protective legislations, civil and political rights within the framework of a social feminist ideology that constructed women more psychologically different than man. Indian women, who sacrificed for her husband and family in the past, the same habit of sacrifice now valorized the women worthy for all rights in the country.

7. Political Rights to Women: -

Following independence, attempts were made to give legal and constitutional rights to women. They granted the right to vote along with men, irrespective of their educational status or qualifications. The Constitution of India, promises to all citizens; justice, social, economic and political and equality of status and opportunity. Parts III of the Constitution have provided many provisions for preferential treatment for promoting socio-economic status of women. Directive Principles of State Policy of
the Constitution provides that the State should endeavour to eliminate inequalities in status and opportunities. Article 39 of the Constitution lays down that the State shall, direct its policy towards securing adequate means of livelihood to men and women equally, equal pay for equal work for both men and women. It is further provided that the health and strength of women should not be abused and that citizens are not forced to enter avocations unsuited to age or strength. The State should secure just and human conditions of work for women.

There are several legislations which have been passed to uplift the socio-economic status of women and a number of judicial decisions have secured socio-economic justice for women. Nehru took steps to introduce the Hindu Code Bill. A committee under the chairmanship of B.N. Rau, a Constitutional expert was set up, which prepared a tentative draft. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the law minister submitted a bill which raised the age of marriage, upheld monogamy, gave women the right of divorce, maintenance and inheritance, and treated dowry as women’s property. However, the conservative opposition led to the postponement of the Bill in spite of support from a majority of Congressmen, social reformers, and women activists. Later, the bill were passed as four Acts: the Hindu Marriage Act, the Hindu Succession Act, The Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act, and the Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act and helped change the life of women in India.

The Balwantrai Mehta Committee recommended the co-option of two women in the panchayat bodies for the welfare of women and children. However, states like Uttar Pradesh did adopt the recommendations of the committee but did not co-opt any woman. Thus the co-opted women were kept out of political power. In 1974, a committee suggested to set up statutory women’s panchayats at the village level to look after the welfare programme for women and children. The committee recommended their election and not nomination. And they in turn would depute women to the bloc and district level. After submission of the report, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh only constituted all-women panchayats. In 1978, the Ashok Mehts Committee recommended the panchayats should be the decision making instead of only implementing agencies. In order to implement this recommendation, the need for a constitutional amendment was felt. It took more than one decade for the 64th Constitution Amendment Bill, which was passed in 1992. The Act provided that at least one-third of the total seats shall be reserved for women of whom one-third shall be from the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Thus, the women at all level became part and parcel of the decision making body.

8. Women and Politics: -

Despite sporadic criticism, the Indian Government’s commitment to equality was not challenged until 1974 when ‘Towards Equality’, a report in the status of women was published. In 1971, The Ministry of Education
and Social Welfare appointed a committee to examine the constitutional, legal and administrative provocations that have a bearing on the social status of women, their education and employment and to assess the impact of these provisions. In response to the UNO’s request to prepare a report on the status of women, on the eve of International Women’s Year, 1975, Dr. Phulrenu, Union Minister for Social Welfare, appointed such committee under her own chairmanship. In the report submitted by the committee, it was mentioned that ‘the constitutional guarantees of equality and justice had not been met for women’

Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, regularly sent women abroad as ambassadors, representatives to the United Nations and to international conferences, to celebrate the women’s international year. There were many programmes organized to publicize women’s achievements. In 1975, Femina, popular magazine for modern women, published a special Independence Day issue portraying Indira Gandhi as the Goddess Durga. It means Indian women is a wife, mother and many things in contrast a volcano of seething energy of strength and power that can motivate a whole generation to change its values, its aspirations, its very concept of civilized life. It is said that the Indian women once comes out of home, she has been very quick to seize every opportunity to free herself from male domination.

Indian women can vote and stand for election to all provincial and central bodies. Indian women have been ministers, ambassadors and most volubly the Prime Minister. But their involvement falls short of the equality promised by the constitution in comparison with other countries of the world. There were the women like Masuma Begum, Renuka Ray and Durgabai, who latter became ministers. In the following elections, the number of women representatives went on increasing. Indian women held consistently 4-5 percent seats in the Lok Sabha until the 1980s and in the Rajya Sabha; women have held the seats between 7 and 10 percent. The Scandinavian countries have 30-40 percent women’s representation, which is the highest in the world. As of 1991, India’s percentage of women in parliament was 7.1 compared with the USA’s 6.4 percent, UK’s 6.3 percent and France’s 5.7 percent. Means India’s record of women in politics is impressive in comparison with other countries.

9. Women and Economic Development:

The Indian national committee on the status of women published its report, in 1974, which outlined Indian women’s rights opportunities, educational development, and political stratus. It provides a benchmark by which future developments in Indian women’s rights and status may be measured. Women workers had been the victims of mechanization. On the basis of the statistics on economic development, it can be said that women had been, adversely affected by economic development. The 1974 report found that women’s economic participation had been declining since 1921. The tendency had been not to count women as gainful
workers because much of their labour was unpaid or household work. Since women had been found in the unorganized sector, they could not earn the minimum wage and have any job security. The census data from 1961 to 1981 found that women workforce at the all-India level continued to decline, despite government programmes to generate employment for women.

The 1971, census classified women into cultivators and labourers. The number of women cultivators declined from eighteen million in 1951 to nine million in 1971. There was increase in women agriculture labourers from twelve million in 1951 to fifteen million in 1971. This clearly indicates an increase in poverty. The 1974 report found that women’s industrial employment declined from 11.43 per cent to 9.1 per cent in 1971 and it increased from 46 per cent to 49 per cent in plantation work and unorganized sector. The analysts attributed the need to provide maternity benefits, crèches, and separate sanitary facilities for women workers.

While Women’s employment in clerical administrative services and in the professions has been increasing considerably. Women in menial services, as cleaners, sweepers, have declined a lot. As a matter of fact the poor women have not been benefiting from economic development but the educated women have benefited from it. Naturally, the poor women have been marginalized in the social organization. There is much need to address the specific problems of women in the unorganized sector.

10. The Self – Employed Women’s Association (SEWA):

The Self Employed Women’s Association of Ahmedabad was started in 1972. It has a membership of over two lakh women in the country it is a trade union, which organized women working in the informal sector as head loaders, rag pickers, junk dealers, vegetable vendors, bamboo workers and handcart pullers. Before the SEWA, these poor hard-working women were at the mercy of their employers, who exploited for very low wages. Ela Bhatt, SEWA president and head of the Ahmedabad Textile Labour Association, Provided a variety of services to its poor members. It has organized demonstrations for higher wages, improved working conditions and defended members against harassment by police and middlemen. It provides a credit and savings bank, training programs, social security schemes and production and marketing co-operatives. The SEWA arose out of the needs of its members. The SEWA bank has been providing the credit to the needy and has had a much better record of repayment than other commercial banks. The SEWA has been organizing training programmes to improve production of bamboo products, painting, and embroidery and has organized marketing co-operatives to avoid exploitation by middlemen. It has drawn attention to the unorganized sector in the development process.

Another example of a grassroots organization of the poor is the Shramik Sanghatana among the Bhil tribals of Dhule district in
Maharashtra which arose in the early 1970s in response to attempted land grabs by the Gujar caste. The *Sanghatana* forced the government to cancel transfer of tribal lands, and demanded enforcement of minimum wages. The movement was led by Gandhian Sarvodaya leaders and later by Maoist activists. The *Sanghatana* established village level committees of tribal agricultural labourers. In 1972, it organized an agitation to raise the wages of day labourers. Seek the abolition of compulsory unpaid labour. The *Sanghatana* also organized the tribal women, and held its first training camp for women in 1973. The *Sangathana* urged the women, to discuss their experiences with women from other villages, to organize their own village committees, to attend night schools, and to work toward anti-liquor campaign.

11. Women and Economic Issues: -

There are many who argue that the key to women’s status is their economic position. It examined the ownership of property, control of resource, wages earned, food consumed, access to medical care and sex ratio, it is concluded that Indian women are not equals of Indian men. Questions regarding women’s lives improved so far are difficult to answer. Because historians have paid little attention to this topic.

Recent scholars challenge the modernization paradigm that the modernization has improved the life conditions for the entire population and that the women has got benefit as man. The most disturbing point of Indian society has been its different sex ratio. In 1981 Kerala reported a female to male sex ratio of 1032 : 1000, while Haryana and Punjab reported sex ratio of 870 : 1000 Most researchers agree that female survival chances are lower than those for males because of different feeding and health care. Jocelyn Kynch and Amartya Sen have drawn our attention to the combination of the lowness of the female - male ratio. The answer to this is the women’s low rate of participation in the market economy and low valuation of woman as human beings. Recent data also calls into question assumptions about the benefit to women of family prosperity that richer families would provide better food, clothing and medical care for their daughters. But it is not so. It appears that – well - off peasant families continue to spend on sons and deprive daughters, means son preference persists even in prosperous families. Female feticide is another challenge to the view that prosperity benefits females. However, women have changed, taking education, working, building organizations, striving for better working conditions, women are encouraging labour unions to take the demands of women seriously and publicize sexual harassment in the workplace. It is noteworthy that the organized women have been able to garner greater share of the sources available. Their organizations are helping them, to obtain loans-to build their business. But improved economic status does not guarantee those women who will automatically become rebels against a system that oppresses them.
12. **Women and Different Movements:**

Indian women had been playing their role in peasant, tribal, farmers', trade union and environment movements on specifically women issues. In the late sixties, there was a new political awakening, which gave rise to a number of new political movements. These were Naxalite movement, the JP movement, the Chipco movement and the anti-price rise movement. These movements also spread to Gujarat and got merged with the Nave Nirman movement influenced by Jaya Prakash Narayan. In Uttarakhand, in the hill areas of the Uttar Pradesh, women participated in large numbers in the environmental protection programme under the leadership of Sunderlal Bahuguna Known as the Chipco movement. The movement to amend the Dowry Prohibition Act of 1961 was another case where women's organizations had been able to mobilize public opinion in favor of greater justice for women. A number of women's organizations such as the *Mahila Dakshata Samiti*, run by Pramila Dandavate, who was an advocate of dowry law amendment, and *Saheli* of Delhi had been in the forefront in fighting against the evils of the dowry system. A bill to amend the Dowry Prohibition Act was demanded in order to strengthen the law against perpetrators of dowry-related crimes, which was passed in 1984. Even then the system has not come to an end. The instances are recurring more than earlier in different forms. The rape by the police in various instances such as the Mathura case in Maharashtra, the Rameeza Bee case in Hyderabad and the Maya Tyagi case in U.P. brought the entire question of custodial rape in the open.

Mathura, a fourteen year-old girl was raped in 1972 in police custody. The case went all the way to the Supreme Court, where the two accused were acquitted. At this point, four law professors wrote a letter to the Chief Justice in which they pointed out consequently, serious lacunae in the rape law. A bill was introduced in 1980 to amend the law on rape, and was passed in 1983. The new law on rape raised penalties for custodial rape by police officers and raised the punishment from two years to seven. It shifted the onus of proof from the victim to the accused and banned the publication of the victim's name. It also provided that rape trials should be held in camera, for avoiding repercussion on the life of the victim. Indian women had been gradually empowered in various fields of national life. They have been marching ahead in education, politics, social work, culture, literature, fine art and performing arts. However, compared to their number, the fractions of women who have been empowered are extremely negligible. The rural and urban divide is still quite wide and illiteracy common among the rural and urban poor women.

It would be naive to write as if all were well with the Indian women. What ever disturbed the Indian society as separatist in Punjab, terrorists in various states, communalism and the rightists have disrupted the women and their movement and their up word march. All feminists have fond it necessary to end these problems once for ever, in order to save women
from them. Indian women at the end of the twentieth century would argue that they still have to a long way to go to attain gender justice. It is important to temper the interpretation of the present with an appreciation of the enormous sacrifices Indian women have made to bring about change. It is true that women’s education and political action have altered India’s social and political landscape. Women have moved from being objects of legislation to initiators. For many women the family no longer exercises total control over their destinies. A general awakening has begun and it can not be permanently suppressed by men as usual.

13. SUMMARY:-

Men have made women subservient since the ages. It is said that the status of women during the Rigvedic period was as good as men. She was treated equally in the field of education and society, however, the position of women in the latter period differed from age to age. As a matter of fact the status of women mainly depends upon two elements as the social philosophy and the social institutions. The first element refers to the level of culture and the general outlook of the people. While latter deals with the social institutions as the nature of the family, marriage, prevailing law system, the religion and the role of women in the social activities.

Women were made subservient and entirely dependent on men. With the passage of time, women became victims of various social evils as child marriage, polygamy, sati, female infanticide and dowry. They were denied education widows were not permitted to remarry. However, the impact of western education, people like Rajaram Mohan Roy and the leaders of the Socio – Religious movements made an attempt to liberate women from the shackles of ancient disabilities. Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the national movement became a mass movements. The participation of women in it from non-cooperation to the Quit-India movement was a steady progress of them. The national movement was the first forum for women to acquire position and rights which were hitherto denied to them. The national movement acted in liberating women in a drastic way than the past Socio-Religious reform movements. This change enhanced to pass the Hindu Women’s Property Act in 1937, which applied uniformly to all the Hindus.

After the independence, women were given all legal and constitutional rights as the right to vote along with men irrespective of their educational status or qualification. The constitution promises to all citizens, justice, social, economic and political equality of status and opportunity. Part III of the Constitution have provided many provisions for preferential treatment for promoting socio-economic status of women. Under the Directive principles the state endeavors to eliminate inequalities in status and opportunities. Article 39 of the Constitution lays down that the state should secure adequate means of livelihood to men and women equally. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the Law minister under Nehru, submitted a
bill, later it passed as four Acts and empowered women variously. The Balwantrai mehata Committee on Panchayat Raj recommended the cooption of two women in the panchayat bodies at the local administration.

There had been steady empowerment of women in different fields of national life since independence. Women have been marching ahead in all field including the areas which were not open for them in the past. However compared to their number, the women who have been empowered are not enough. Moreover, there are still several long term problems in the life of women as illiteracy, inequality, unemployment, underemployment and many others. It is open secret that Indian women still have a long way to go to attain gender justice. It is important to temper the interpretation of the present with an appreciation of the enormous sacrifices Indian women have made to bring about change. It is true that women’s education and political activism have altered India’s social and political landscape. A general awakening has begun and it can not be permanently suppressed by men as they did in the past.

14. ADDITIONAL REEDINGS:-

15. QUESTIONS:-
1. Give an account of the problems faced by Indian women.
2. Examine the role of Indian women in the freedom struggle of India.
3. Assess the political rights and the constitutional guarantee in connection with Indian women.
4. Assess the contribution of women to economic development of India.
5. What are the problems of self employed women? How far did the Indian Government succeed in solving them?
POLICY OF RESERVATION

1. OBJECTIVES:
After the completion of this unit the student will be able to

1) Know the evolution of Reservation Policy in India.
2) Understand the reservation Policy in pre-independent India.

3) Explain the Reservation Policy in independent India and the Reservations under the constitution of India.
4) Know the Reservation Policy and the appointment of various commissions and their reports.

5) Understand the implementation of Reservation Policy & sporadic protest against

It in various states of the country.

2. INTRODUCTION:

It seems fortunate to examine the policy of reservations guaranteed by our constitution to the scheduled castes the scheduled tribes and backward classes. It is because the reservation policy has been questioned today. Although the policy of reservation is not orderly implemented in all states, the anti reservation agitations are increasing daily. These anti reservation agitations are pernicious and bringing about disastrous aftermaths. At such threatening and ominous occasions every one is forced to make a choice between the orderly implementation of reservations and the force against reservation. If one has to make the choice intelligently, it would seem reasonable, for making the choice of reservations and rejecting the use of force against the reservation. One has to retrace the socio-constitutional history of reservations and know the objectives of reservations. He has to do it in the context of social milieu that necessitated reservations.

The social organization of the Hindu society based on the caste, gradually it led to discrimination and exploitation of the lower castes by the upper castes from ancient to modern age. The lower strata of the society were deprived of education, social status, economic advancement and religious freedom. There had been attempts from ancient times to bring the deprived castes and classes of people into the main stream of the society. This began from Buddha who opposed Brahmanical authority.
Evolution of Reservation:

It epitomizes political representations, state employments and higher educational admissions. The purpose of reservation is to remove a set of disabilities of the Backward Castes and to promote their participation in democratic institutions.

3.1 Princely States and Reservations:

It is said that the reservation is not a British legacy. The British had adopted the policy of non-interference in the social and religious matters of the Indians. Untouchability was one such socio-religious matter for the British Government for non-interference. They expressed their sympathies but they did not take any concrete step to solve the problems faced by the untouchables. Although, the Britishers did grant some concessions and safeguards to the untouchables there began a specific change in the political situation from 1920.

In 1880, there was a notable beginning in the Baroda & Travancore Princely States, which established some schools and started scholarships for the untouchables for the first time in the country. Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur granted special scholarship and established special boarding houses for untouchable students. He also provided financial assistance to an untouchable to start a hotel in kolhapur. He did drink tea in that hotel which was indeed a very symbolic act of inducing others to take their tea in the hotel. It is well known that Shri Sayajirao Gaikwad, the Maharaja of Baroda, who had sanctioned special scholarship to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar for his studies abroad.

In 1885, the Madras Government framed a grant in aid code to regulate financial aid to educational institutions, providing special facilities to student’s belongings to the Depressed classes. In 1921, the Madras state legislative council passed a resolution for higher representations of non-Brahmins in the government services. The scheme was reviewed in 1927 and its scope was enlarged further, dividing all the communities in the state into five broad categories and earmarking separate quota for each category.

It is very heartening that on the basis of the representations of the Depressed Communities, in 1918, the Maharaja of Mysore had appointed a Committee under the Chairmanship of Sir L.C. Miller, the Chief Justice of Mysore, to recommend the adequate representations for non-Brahmins in the services of the state. In 1921, on the basis of the Miller Committee Report, the Mysore Government issued orders extending the facilities to the Depressed Communities regarding education and recruitment in state services.

In 1928, The Bombay Government set up a Committee under the Chairmanship of O.H.B. Start to identity Depressed Classes and recommend special provisions for their advancement. In 1930 the
Committee recommended the special facilities regarding education and recruitment in government services to the Depressed Classes.

At the all India level, the first systematic attempt for the welfare of the Depressed Classes was made with the introduction of Montague Chemsford Reforms in 1919. A separate representation was given to these classes on various public bodies not by elections but by nominations. Under the Reforms of 1919, very few untouchables could qualify for the restricted franchise because this was based on education and holding of property qualifications. This situation deprived the untouchables from the right to vote, the plight was continued up to the formation of the Constituent Assembly.

4. Era of Emancipation of Untouchables:

It is absolutely correct that before Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, rose on the national scene in 1919, there was no forceful and highly educated leader who could have made claims for the untouchables on the public bodies. Therefore, the era of Babasaheb Ambedkar on the Indian National scene is called the Era of emancipation of untouchables. Dr. Babasaheb started systematic efforts from 27 January, 1919 for the emancipation of untouchables. The demand for representation of the untouchable’s came late by 13 years after such demand was granted to the Muslims in 1906. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar only started reservation and prepared solid safeguards in the Constitution of India for the untouchables to bring them into the mainstream of the society.

5. The Roots of Reservation:

According to Professor Sandanshiv, the roots of reservation were prevailed in the socio-cultural conditions of the country. According to Professor Upendra Baki, the repression of the Scheduled Castes is not merely a political phenomenon but it is social and cultural process also and reservation is the effective answer to such repression. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar proved that the Indian civilization has produced the Criminal Tribes, the Aboriginal Tribes and the Untouchables, whose existance has not received the attention it deserved.

6. Reservation Policy before Independence:

In 1921, the ruler of the Mysore State, Krishna Raja Wodeyar introduced the reservation in government jobs for the non-Brahmins. The Madras Presidency also made similar reservations, in the government jobs on the basis of reservations granted by the Mysore state. The British had provided reservation of seats for the Muslims in legislatures. Untouchables were recognized as a separate group through the Communal Award of 1932. That was strengthened by the Poona pact between Mahatma Gandhi and B.R. Ambedkar, the leader of Depressed Classes. They were provided reservation of seats in legislatures. The Government of India Act, 1935, for the first time made the special provisions for these castes.
Hence, they came to be known as the Scheduled Castes. However, the reserving a quota of jobs was taken up in 1942, which was revised in 1946. In 1919 the phrase 'Depressed Classes' was brought into official language by the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms.

7. **Reservations under the Constitution:**

The Indian leaders, who fought for the freedom of the country wanted to create a modern and egalitarian state. Thus they aimed at the upliftment of the depressed strata of the society. While promoting equality of citizens, the Constitution of India accepted the idea of reservation. The ideals of the Constitution are outlined in its Preamble. The ideals reaffirm in the Directive Principles of State Policy, whereby the state is obliged to promote the welfare of the people effectively. In the pluralistic society of India the problem is that certain backward groups have to be given some preferential treatment so that justice may operate in the society.

Hence, the Constitution-makers incorporated provisions of reservation. They are meant for the special care and advancement of untouchables and tribals. In administrative language, they are called Scheduled Castes and Tribes. An article 15 and 17 of the Constitution does away with the discrimination and exclusion of the untouchables. The Article 17 declares that untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of untouchability shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law. Article 15 Says that no citizen shall, on the ground of religion, race, caste, sex be subject to any disability, or condition with regard to – (a) access to shops, public restaurants, hotels and places and places of public entertainment; or (b) the use of places of public resort maintained… out of state funds or dedicated to the use of the general public. Article 46, is for advancing the position of the weaker sections. That is, by providing special benefits for those classes who are deemed to be tribal or low-caste birth. This Article declares that the State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interest of the weaker sections, in particular the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from injustice and exploitation. Article 16 of the Constitution provides for protective discrimination in favour of backward classes which in the opinion of the state, is not adequately represented in the services. The problem, which the Court faced, is that the government’s policy is not clear about who are the consumers of protective discrimination.

8. **The Other Backward Classes (OBCs):**

The Constitution has wider category of depressed classes. The identity of the 'Other Backward Classes' has been controversial because there is no constitutional or exclusive method for their designation and determination. Only untouchables and tribals, are specifically singled out in these provisions. The Article 340 lays down that the President may by order
appoint a commission to investigate the conditions of socially and educationally backward classes within the territory of India.

8.1. Kaka Kalekar Commission: - In 1955, The Central government appointed a Kakasaheb Kalekar Commission to identify the other Backward Classes. The Kaka Kalekar Commission used four criteria for identifying the OBCs: as, low social position in the society; lack of educational advancement, lack of representation in government service; and inadequate representation in trade, commerce and industry. In the report, it was pointed out that of the 2,399 communities listed, 930 communities accounted for population of 11.5 crores with the SCs and STs making up another seven crores. When the efforts of the government to devise some workable criteria other than caste failed, it did not draw the all-India lists of the OBCs and extending reservation for any groups other then the SCs and the STs. However, in 1961 the Central government informed the state governments that they had the discretion to apply their own criteria for defining backwardness. It is said that the Government did not accept the report of the Kalekar Commission because it failed to evolve the distinct criteria to determine the backwardness. When the Government rejected the report five out of eleven members of the Commission had expressed their opposition to the decision. The Second Backward Classes Commission was appointed on 20 December, 1978. In the report submitted in 1980, the Commission has listed 3743 castes as Backward Classes. The Government has not accepted this report also and no action has been taken so far.

9. Reservation in States: -

Backward caste movements in Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra have a long history than other southern states. In the north the backward caste movements became significant only after independence. The political parties used the directives of the Central government to identify the OBCs for their own electoral gains.

9.1. Karnataka:- Although, in the 1950s the Lingayats and the Vokkaligas received recognition as backward castes, in 1970, a Backward Classes Commission suggested special concessions to the backward classes and recommended a reclassification of the backward castes, under which Lingayats were dropped from the list. Urs the Chief Minister of Karnataka, accepted the report, but modified it by adding several groups to the reservation list and increasing the overall reservation percentage from the recommended thirty-two to forty per cent. However, he accepted the de-recognition of the Lingayats as a backward community. When the Havnoor Commission recommendations were challenged in the Court, the Janata Party government, under the Chief ministership of Ramakrishna Hegde agreed to appoint the Second Backward Classes Commission in April 1983. In 1986 the Commission reduced significantly the list of backward castes, dropping all the economically, educationally, and politically favoured groups included in the
lists, notably the Lingayats and the Vokkaligas. The Government under Hegde rejected the report and got the governor to issue an ordinance bringing almost all the castes in the state within the ambit of the backward classes, which formed around 92 per cent population. The seats reserved for them were only fifty per cent. Thus, the reservation policy adopted by the Karnataka government indicates how the political parties have misused the system for their own political advantage. No government in Karnataka survives without the support of one of the two dominant groups of Lingayats or Vokkaligas. Their inclusion, along with other advanced castes, in the Backward castes, has deprived the real needy people in the state.

9.2. Tamil Nadu: - The All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam and the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam trace their origin to the Dravidian movement and were supported by non-Brahmin castes and sought the predominant positions in public life and government services in the province. The Dravida Kazhagam, was the first in post-independence India to begin a major agitation for backward caste reservations in 1950. In 1969, The DMK government appointed the First backward Classes Commission and accepted the commission’s recommendations to raise the existing reservations from 25 to 33 per cent for backward castes and from 16 to 18 per cent for the SCs and STs. In 1979, the AIADMK government of M.G. Ramachandran raised the reservations for backward castes to fifty per cent. The DMK government under Chief Minister Karunanidhi in 1989 led to a further modification. In response to a demand from the best-organized backward caste groups, the Vanniyars, the government instituted compartmental reservations.

9.3. Andhra Pradesh: - In 1970, the Congress appointed a Backward Classes Commission to broaden its base among the backward castes, and minorities: Since 1975, the state government provided reservation for ninety-two categories of backward castes. In 1986, N.T. Rama Rao raised the quota of reservations from twenty-five per cent to forty-four per cent. When the courts declared the new reservation policy unconstitutional, the chief minister withdrew the additional reservations which followed the backward-caste agitation and a statewide protest.

9.4. The North: - In the north, the elite castes of Brahmins, Rajputs and Bumihars competed with the important middle status peasant castes, like Jats, Yadavs and Kurmis, for both economic resources and political power in the countryside. After 1960 several political parties like Samyukta Socialist Party under Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia and the Bharatiya Kisan Dal or Lok Dal of Chaudhuri Charan Singh received strength from the peasant and other backward castes. Naturally they agitated for reservation for those classes.

In 1971, Congress in Bihar recommended the reservations for backward classes in government departments and in educational institutions. But nothing could come in practice. However, in 1978, the
Janata Party, Chief Minister, Karpuri Thakur, who was from the lower backward caste of barbers, announced a policy of reserving 26 per cent of jobs in state government service for the backward classes. The announcement precipitated widespread upper caste protests in the state. As a result a compromise formula was devised this introduced economic criteria into the reservation scheme.

In Uttar Pradesh, the most important land-controlling groups of castes have been the Brahmins and the Rajput clans. The important backward castes are the Ahirs, Kurmis and the Jats. During the 1960s, the SSP built a broad base of support among the backward castes. Charan Singh, the Jat leader from western U.P., became the first non-Congress chief minister of the state and received support from his own caste of the Jats and the Yadav castes. During this period, sixteen per cent of state government jobs were reserved for the backward classes.

9.5. Gujarat: - The Brahmins and the Banias dominated the Congress and the State up to 1960. The Patidars and the Kunbis, the largest and most prosperous middle peasant castes, were also important in the district organizations since the days of Sardar Patel, who was himself a Patidar. But bigger landowners resented against the dominance of the upper castes and opposed Congress. They joined the newly formed Swatantra Party during the 1960s.

In the 1972 legislative assembly elections, the Congress absorbed almost all the backward caste leaders and voters. Madhavsinh Solanki, a backward Kshatriya became the strongest state leader of the Gujarat Congress and received the chief ministership of the state. Solanki distributed the majority of the portfolios to backward castes and adopted a strategy of alliance among Kshatriyas, Harijans, Adivasis and Muslims in the 1977 elections. In 1980, Solanki as the chief minister designate pursued the strategy of the coalition of kshatriyas, Harijans, Adivasis and Muslims. Of the 140 successful Congress candidates, ninety-six came from the coalition, Solanki became the chief minister, and two-third cabinet members were from these disadvantaged groups. Thus the reservation policy was in full execution in the state of Gujrat.

In 1972, the first Backward Classes Commission was appointed. In 1976, the Commission identified eighty-two castes as backward and recommended ten percent of reservations in government services. The Congress did not implement the report, but the Janata government accepted the report in 1978, which reserved ten per cent of lower level and five per cent of higher-level government posts for the designated backward categories. The Congress which returned to power in 1980 under Solanki’s leadership, it appointed Rane Commission.

The Rane Commission submitted its report in 1983, in which the commission rejected caste as the basis for identifying backward categories and instead adopted economic criteria. It’s emphasized and
identified sixty-three occupations as backward and recommended 28 per cent reservation for persons involved in such occupations. But this policy generated some protest by anti-reservationists. Among such protest was a students strike occurred in 1975 in post-graduate medical courses in the anti-reservation agitation rioting in March 1981 more than fifty Scheduled Castes people were killed. In 1985, the Congress state government under chief minister Solanki, announced a major increase in the percentage of reservation for the OBCs from ten to twenty-eight per cent. But the increase in the reservation percentage did not stop the anti-reservation agitation. That had already begun in the medical and engineering colleges. The Solanki government was forced to resign in July 1985 and the new government cancelled the proposed increase in reservations. The new chief minister, Amarsinh Chaudhury, was a tribal and a ‘pro-reservationists’ and the Congress in Gujarat continued to be dominated by backward castes.

9.6. Maharashtra: - Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu had an early non-Brahmin movement, which led to the displacement of the Brahmins by the predominant land-controlling caste of the Marathas from the 1930s onwards. Their dominance has never allowed any increase in the reservations beyond 48 percent.

10. The Mandal Commission: -

By the mid-1970s states as Tamil Nadu and Karnataka had made moves to fix high OBC quotas in education and public employment. It had been the official policy of these states to bring under the majority population to be used for there political purpose. The Janata Party government under the prime minister ship of Morarji Desai appointed a second commission in January 1979 under the chairmanship of Bindeshwari Prasad Mandal, former chief minister of Bihar belonging to the Yadav-Ahir ‘peasant’ background. The Mandal Commission was assigned the task of establishing a formula to be used throughout the country in the task of reserving posts in Central and state Governments for OBCs.

In 1981, the Commission greatly extended the criteria of defining caste-based ‘backwardness’ and placed a total of 3,248 ‘communities’ in the OBC category that is 350 million people or 54.4 per cent of the country’s population. This was unprecedented increase in reserving 27 per cent for ‘Other Backwards’ in addition to 22.5 per cent for Scheduled Castes and Tribes which the Congress did not like. When the Congress returned to power in 1980, like the Mandal Commission’s Report was shelved and its recommendations were kept in the cold storage. However, the reservations for the OBCs remained widespread, in the south which increased OBC quotas for their benefits only.

The announcement of the implementation of reservation to the OBCs led to anti-reservation agitations in some states and cities of India. Particularly in Gujarat and Bihar. The implementation of the Mandal
Commission was challenged in the Supreme Court and the Court granted a stay order. In 1991, the Supreme Court demanded to know from the new government its position on the reservation. In response, P.V. Narasimha Rao, the prime minister announced that his government would introduce economic criteria in determining backwardness.

11. SUMMARY:-

The Social Organization of the Hindus is based on the caste which gradually led to discrimination and exploitation of the lower castes by the upper castes from the ancient to modern age. The lower strata of the society was deprived of education, social status, economic advancement and religious freedom. There had been several attempts to bring such less privileged people into the mainstream of the society. Therefore, the policy of reservation or the preferential treatment to the deprived strata in the society comes into existence. The reservation policy is not a legacy of the British Government. The British adopted the policy of non-interference in the socio-religious matters of the Indians. Hence, Indian rulers, especially Princely States started the policy of reservation first in their respective states.

In 1880, there was a notable beginning in the reservation policy by the Princely States of Baroda and Travancore who established schools and announced scholarships for the untouchable. Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj joined them and granted special scholarship and opened boardings for untouchable students. It is well known example that Shri Sayajirao Gaikwad, the Maharaja of Baroda, who sanctioned special scholarship to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar for his studies abroad. In 1885, the Madras Government framed a grant-in-aid code to regulate financial assistance to the untouchables. In 1921, the Madras Legislative Council passed a resolution for higher representation of the non-Brahmins in the government services. In 1918, the Mysore Government appointed L.C. Miller Committee for the same purpose. In the same way, in 1928, the Bombay Government set up O.H.B. Start Committee to identify depressed classes and recommend special provisions for their advancement. The Montague-Chemisford Reforms of 1919 was the first of all India level attempt to introduce separate representation on public bodies not by elections but by nominations. This followed the Era of Emancipation of Untouchables under the leadership of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. It is absolutely correct that before Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar there was no forceful and highly educated leader to make claims for the untouchables. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar prepared the Constitution of India. The Constitution is promoting equality of all citizens for which it has been accepted the idea of reservation for the special care and advancement of the untouchables and tribals in the country. Articles 15 & 17 do away with the discrimination and exclusion of the untouchables. Article 46 is for advancing the position of the weaker sections by providing special benefits. Article 16 provides protective discrimination in favour of
Backward Class, who is not adequately represented in the services. Article 340 lays down that the president can appoint a commission to investigate the depressed and backward classes in India. Under the Article 340, the Government of India appointed Kaka Kalekar Commission in 1953 to identify the other backward classes. The report of this commission did not come into execution. However, in 1961, the central government asked the state government to apply their own criteria for defining backwardness of particular people. In Karnataka, the Lingayats and Vokkaliges were declared as backward but they have been land controlling community, they were challenged in the court and were forced to be dropped from backward cases list. In Tamil Nadu, the AIADMK and DMK being non-Brahmin castes got predominant position in the services. In Andhra 92 castes have been declared as backward castes. The Backward caste movement could not get momentum in the north. In Bihar Karpuri Thakur announced 26 percent reservation to the lower castes in the Government jobs. In Gujarat the reservation policy met with anti-reservation agitations. Although, there were protest against the reservations to the lower castes, the Janata Government under Morarjee Desai appointed Mandal Commission to widen the reservation for the backward castes.

12. ADDITIONAL READINGS:-


2) Dushkin, Lelah, Scheduled Caste Polices – The Untouchables in Contemporary India.

3) Galarter Mare, Untouchability and the Law – The Untouchables in Contemporary India.


13. QUESTIONS:-

1) Discuss briefly the evolution of reservation policy in India.

2) Examine the reservation policy under the British in India.

3) Explain the reservation policy through the Constitution of India.

4) Review the reservation policy in various states in the country.

5) Give a brief account of the Other Backward Classes Commission.
1. Objectives:
After the study of this unit the student will be able to.

a) Understand the position of science and technology under the British in India.

b) Know the role of universities in the development of Science and Technology.

c) Understand the contribution of scientific instructions in the development of Science and Technology.

d) Understand the achievements in various Sciences.

e) Know the Technical education and research in the country.

f) Perceive the Indian nuclear Programme.

g) Understand the Indian Space research programme.

2. Introduction:
Science and technology had made a considerable progress in ancient India. A number of Indians made mathematics, astronomy, medicine, chemistry and other branches of science and technology much popular. There were the Indians who discovered the concept of Zero first, which have simplified various additions and calculations. The Arabian scholars accepted the concept of Zero from India. Then it was taken by Europeans. During the Renaissance in ancient India medical science and ayurveda were amalgamated and came to be known as Ayurveda later. Scientist like Sushrusha and Charak were the major contributors to other branches of science like mathematics, metallurgy and astrology also had achieved remarkable progress. Under the stewardship of people like Bhaskaracharya and Varahamihir. Ashoka's from pillar inscription has been the best example of the progress of these science in these ancient period. However, the condition of the science and technology changed radically when the Muslims from Central Asia began their invasions on India in the eleventh century. This created a confusion and insecurity in which study of science and technology was totally disregarded. This situation was continued till the establishment of the British Government in India.

3. Growth of science and Technology before Independence:
The modern science and Technology were brought to India by the
British. This was done through the introduction of the western education. Although there was some progress made during the British period in India, it was totally isolated from all people. There was no interaction with the common man. It means the common man was not taken into confidence. Naturally, the common man did not believe the scientist but the pundit. There were other factors also as:

3.1 The modern science and technology were introduced in India by foreign rulers and were practiced by the people who were under the influences of the British.

3.2) The Indian national movement opposed to everything of the British. The modern science was considered was uprooting the Indian culture.

3.3) The use of English as a medium of modern science and technology made much difference. No common man wished to study the same.

3.4) The people who worked as scientist were cut off from the society. This resulted in the failure of science to create the scientific attitude and atmosphere in India.

However, with the spread of western education and Improvement in the means of transport and communication, the isolation between the scientist and the society has been broken and several changes have been taken place in every branch of life in the country.

According to the Charter Act of 1813, The East India Company made available Rs. One Lakh per year for the education of the people in India. Although the money was not spent for the next twenty years, the company had accepted the responsibility of educating India which generated several controversies regarding the education in India. In 1835 Macaulaur, a law member of the Company announced its Minute, which recommended that the western education should be imparted to the Indian people through the English medium.

4. The Establishment of Universities in India:

The establishment of Teaching Department at Bombay, Calcutta and Madras and founding of new teaching-cum-examining universities like Banaras Hindu university, Aligarh Muslim University had considerable impact on the promotion of the research. The setting of teaching departments at the universities, university professors, lecturers, and research fellows were appointed and research laboratories were set up in universities. Thus, scholars came to work together and formed viable teams for research. The scholars also exerted a great influence on their students who, cultivated interest in scientific research.

Consequently, the level of scientific research rose during the period from 1920 to 1945 in spite of the insufficient laboratory and library facilities and lack of funds in the universities. This deficiencies were compensated
by the burning enthusiasm of the university research scholar in the country.

Calcutta became the capital of research in the country. The Presidency College, St. Xavier’s College, Calcutta University and the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science were involved in rigorous research activity.

Subsequently, the scientists of Calcutta University were responsible to spread the idea of research to other universities in India like Bombay, Madras, Lahor, Allahabad, Banaras, Patna, and Dacca in India.

The universities of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, which were established in 1857, were instrumental for holding examination and offering degrees to the students. Teaching responsibility was shouldered by the college and research work was undertaken by government departments. Although these departments used to carry research in various important branches of science, had developed several discrepancies and disadvantages as there was facility of training the research scholars and there was no coordination between the university and the research institution. The demerits were removed by the Indian Universities Act, 1904. the Act entailed on the universities to impart educational instructions and carry on the research activities on their own. Although this created a financial problem channelised research activities in a better way. Thus research got stimulation and promotion.

5. The Establishment of Scientific Institutes:

In 1854, the Woods Dispatch Recommended that the British Government should establish universities at the presidency towns of Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras. The Government as per the recommendation of the wood’s dispatch, established three universities at the above presidency towns in 1857. thus, the way was paved for the development of science and technology in India before the independence of the country.

Besides the establishment of universities, a number of scientific and research institutions were brought in for the promotion of scientific research. Sir Villiam Johnes founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784. A comprehensive research activities were undertaken by the scientific institutions which came in existence subsequently. They were Indian Association for Cultivation of Science, Indian Council of Agricultural Research, Indian Institute of Science, The National Academy of Science and The Council of Scientific and Industrial Research.

The organizations which remain in the fore-front of scientific and original research in India for several years were the Indian Congress Association, The Institution of Engineers, National Academy of Science, National Institute of Science in India and the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research. This and many other Institute like the Institute of Technology at Kharagpur, Bombay, Madras, and Delhi played an
important role on the promotion of original research in various branches of science and technology.

6. Important Achievements in Various Science:

6.1) Metrology: Metrology is developed in Europe to navigate in the high seas. It proved useful in the field of agriculture. The early Europeans brought the barometer in India to measure atmospheric pressure and temperature. They set up the first astronomical observation in Madras in 1792, for promoting the knowledge of Astronomy and Navigation in India. J.Goldingham was the scientist who prepared a Metrological Register and kept continuous record of observation in the country.

The Bombay observatory began to function in 1841. This forced the Government of India to set up a Metrological Department at Calcutta under Prof. Blanford. In 1878, it started to bring out the daily weather report. In 1960, the department brought out the first Indian Journal of Meteorology. In 1962, the Institute of Tropical Metrology was started in Pune. In 1971 a serious attention was paid to the application of space metrology in operations and research.

6.2) Mathematics: Prof. Ramchandra a well known and highly reputed mathematician. Pproduced a treatise on maxima and minima in 1850. Dr. Ganesh Prasad the father of mathematical research, passed the D.Sc. examination in 1898 and went to Cambridge University in 1900 where he took the tripos in mathematics. In 1904, when he returned to India, was appointed as an Assistance Professor of Mathematics in Allahabad. In 1914 he joined the Calcutta University as professor of Mathematics. In 1913, he became the head department of mathematics in the Banaras Hindu University. In 1919 he founded the Banaras Mathematical Society for promoting research in mathematics, Which soon earned the reputation as a research institute. In 1923, Dr. Ganesh Prasad went to Calcutta University and became the Hardinge Professor of higher mathematics. At the Banaras hindu University, V.V. Narlikar and Brij Mohan did a considerable amount of work in the theory of relativity and the theory of functions. In the same way, Prof A.C Banerji, Dr. P.L. Bhatnagar and Dr. Gonekh Prasad did a commendable work on dynamical astronomy and popularized it at the Allahabad University.

6.3) Physics: Physics is the science of the material world. Jagdish Chandra Bose pioneered research in physics at the Presidency College, Calcutta, in the nineteenth century. In 1896, he produced extremely short radio waves which was a unique achievement and was recognized by the Royal Society, London. Bose worked on electric waves, and the electrophysiology of plants.

C.V. Raman, the professor and head of the Department of Physics in the Calcutta University in 1917, made Calcutta a great center of research. His remarkable wok on molecular light led to the discovery which is known as the Raman Effect. That led him to the Nobal Prize in
1930. Among other physicists, who contributed the most to the research in physics were Prof. Meghnad Saha, Prof. D.S. Kotheri, Dr. K.S. Krishnan, and A.B. Bhatia. Prof. Meghnad Saha produced outstanding work in the field of spectroscopy, wireless and astrophysics. He founded the National Institute of Sciences and established the Saha Institute of Nuclear Physics at Calcutta University.

Prof. D.S. Khoteri did, remarkable work in astrophysics and quantum statistics at Allahabad. Dr. K.S. Krishnan produced outstanding work in Crystal physics as Krishnan’s most outstanding work in collaboration with A.B. Bhatia, was the electrical resistivities of random binary, for the nuclear physics the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research was set up in Bombay in 1945. Dr. Homi J. Bhabha was made its first Director. It became the leading center in India for research in cosmic rays. The Institution has made substantial contributions to the electronic digital computer and hydrological research, the Department of Nuclear Physics, Calcutta established cyclotron with the help of the Tatas. The Department of Atomic Energy of India achieved tremendous progress due to the first reactor Apsara. It also helped atom bomb explosion at Pokharan.

6.4) Chemistry: Chemistry is the science of the composition of matter. Both physics and chemistry are increasingly inter-related, particularly in physical chemistry. However, chemistry is fundamentally concerned with the chemical change in the composition of matter. Research in modern chemistry, was initiated in the nineteenth century at the Presidency College, Calcutta, under P.C.Ray, who conducted research in inorganic chemistry. The Indian Institute of Science, Banglore, the B.A.R.C Bombay and the National Chemical Laboratory, Poona, improved in comprehensive research Chemistry.

In physical chemistry scientists like, Dr. N.R. Dhar, J.C. Ghosh, J.N. Mukherjee and S.S Bhatnagar contributed to the maximum extent. J.M. Mukherjee’s investigations on colloids resulted the electrochemical behaviour of soil colloids, which became the first outstanding research in physical chemistry. In the same way N.R. Dhar conducted research in chloride.

6.5) Botany: Botany is the science of plants. In the twentieth century the development of other branches like morphology, ecology, Plant pathology, physiology and genetics took place. Scientist Bulter initiated research in mycology and plant pathology. Another scientist T.S. Sadasivan of Madras University became a scientist in the physiology of fungi. J.B.S Haldane did compare pensive research in Botany and earned much reputation in cytogenetics.

6.6) Zoology: Zoology is the science of animals. Since, 1916 sincere efforts were made in the research of Zoology. Other branches of zoology as zoogeography, also came to force and extensive research began, in these branches. In this activity places like Deharaadun, Jabalpur, Madras,
Poona, and Shilong, became well known centers. Notable constructions have been made in the fields of animal cytogenetics, embryology, ecology, animal food production and research in animal diseases.

The modern medicine spread in India with the establishment of the School of Native Doctors, in 1922 in Calcutta. The Sanskrit College became the teaching center of the Ayurveda in 1927. In 1840 the hospital with 100 beds was opened in Calcutta Medical College. The grant Medical College was established in Bombay in 1845. The Osmania Medical College was set up in Hayadrabad in 1846. Thus, around 20 Medical Colleges were in India in 1947.

7. Technology in India:

Application of new scientific techniques in industrial production and development is known as technology. In order to increase the industrial production, India had been using such techniques since the ancient time. It required a large number of technically trained hands in the industrial establishment. Naturally, several technical and engineering institutes were brought in to train personnel, such as the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, which was established in Bombay in 1888. The other technical institutes like the Kala Bhavan of Baroda, Engineering College of Roorki, Calcutta, Madras and Poona were noteworthy. With the passage of time, number of technical institutes in various parts of the country have mushroomed, which are offering various new courses and developing new branches of science and technology. In order to impart higher and technical education, the Govt. of India has set up institutes of Technology of Bombay, Madras, Kanpur, Delhi, Banaras, and Kharagpur. As a matter of fact Sir J.J College of Agriculture in Mumbai, has been the oldest architectural institute in the Asian Continent, which was established in 1896. The institute is catering the needs of people and helping the development of the country.

The improved means of transport and communication contributed, to a considerable extent, to the industrialisation of India. During this period foundations were laid for organized industrial development like, indigo, tea and coffee plantations, cotton, jute industries, tanning, leather factories, woolen mills, paper mills, engineering workshops, foundries, and coal in the country. Jamshedji Tata founded the Tata Iron and Steel Co, which started producing iron and steel. The Mysore Iron and Steel works and the Indian Iron and Steel Co. were established subsequently. A number of factories like, the railway wagons factory, cement factories, sugar factories were set up in which technology played a very important role.

Due to the application of technology in the production process, production of several products went up many times as the production of Coal 97%, Iron ore 400%, steel 340%, crude oil 784%, sulphuric acid 568%, bauxite 843%, aluminum 1,143%, caustic soda 1,636%, and electric power 10 million kilowatts. Thus the use of technology in the field
of agriculture created good imprint in the country

7.1) Technical Education and Research

The growth of industries and engineering required to produce technicians, engineers and technologists. The Government of India established several technological institution in the country. They began to cater the needs of technicians in textile and chemical industries of Bombay. In the nineteenth century, the Government set up four major colleges for science and technology as the College of Civil Engineering in the north, The Bengal Engineering Colleges in the east, The College of Engineering in the South and the Civil Engineering College in the West. They offered degree and diplomas in civil, mechanical, electrical engineering, agriculture, forestry, metallurgy, chemical engineering, telecommunication and architecture.

In 1965, the Birla Institute of Technology and Science came into existence, which enhanced the promotion of technological education and research. In 1964, there were 4,137 Vocational and Technical institutions, which produced lakhs of engineers and technologists. Thus, it enabled India to be self-sufficient in its own engineers and technologists to man industries in the country.

7.2) Agricultural Education and Research:

The Coimbatore College which was established in 1878 began agricultural education, but the real education in agriculture started by the Poona Agriculture College in the country in 1879. The other outstanding institutes were Allahabad Agricultural Institute and the Indian Agricultural Institute of Pusa, Bihar.

These institutes undertook the research on wheat, vegetable crops, cotton, oilseeds, and plant protection. The Institute at Pusa was shifted to Delhi in 1934 and became a fullfledged university in 1951 and which was recognized by the UGC subsequently. One of the most outstanding features of the Institute has been the Gamma Garden where developments in nuclear science, isotopes and ionizing radiations, are applied in agricultural research. The Institute has developed many superior varieties of crops and improved the quality of horticultural plants, fruits and vegetables.

The Indian Council of Agriculture Research was set up in 1929 as a statutory body in agriculture veterinary and fishery. The Indian Dairy Research Institute was founded in 1923. The institutions which were doing commendable research were as Cotton Technological Research Laboratory Bombay, Wheat Breeding Substation, Simla, Agricultural research Laboratory, Calcutta and Deep Sea Fishing Organization, Bombay.

After 1960, agricultural production was enhanced on a large scale. Naturally, the percentage of major or agricultural product increased as
Rice 75%, Cotton 75%, Wheat 86% and Jute 71%. However, India needed total green revolution to increase the production and feed the increased population. That was carried out under the direction of Dr. M.S. Swaminathan, who brought out several hybrid crops with high yield varieties. Thus, the development in technology enhanced the food production and made India self sufficient in the field of agricultural production.

8. **Indian Nuclear Programme:**

Indian began its atomic energy programme with the foundation of the Tata Institute of Fundamental research in Mumbai by late Dr. Homi Bhabha. To enhance the nuclear programme of the country, the Govt. of India established the Atomic Energy Commission in August, 1948. In 1949, the Rare Minerals Survey unit was set up, which was later converted into the Atomic Minerals Division of the Atomic Energy. It succeeded in locating substantial deposits of Uranium in Bihar. The Government established in 1954 the Atomic Energy Establishment at Trombay, Bombay with Dr. Homi Bhabha, as its Director to carry on research and co-ordinate the various activities of research and development of atomic energy of the country. Apsara, the first reactor was the most significant nuclear development of India which was set up and became critical in the history of Indian nuclear energy development.

The next landmark was the establishment of the Uranium metal Plant at Trombay, in 1959. India started Cirus with the Canadian Collaboration, under the Colombo Plan. This was the 40MW research reactor, which was started early in 1956. This reactor was absolutely essential for large-scale production of radio isotopes. After Cirus, Zerlina, one more reactor was designed and built entirely with Indian efforts in 1961, which began to work in 1962. Zerlina was followed by Purnima, Dhruba and Kamani reactors. To meet the needs of these reactors, the Govt. established the power stations at Tarapur in Maharashtra, Rana Pratap Sagar in Rajasthan, Kalpakkam in Tamilnadu and Narora in Uttar Pradesh.

Thus, India had six heavy Water Plants as, a Plutonium Plant, Nuclear Complex and four Atomic Power Stations, up to 1974. The Atomic Energy Commission of India under the guidance of H.N. Sethn’s directorship conducted the first underground nuclear explosion experiment on 18 May, 1974 at Pokhran, in the desert of Rajasthan. The nuclear countries in the world like the U.S.A; the U.K; the U.S.S.R and China began to utilize their vast resources in developing destructive weapons. But India, is carrying out her nuclear, research for the betterment of humanity and security of her people as rightly announced by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, ex-prime Minister of India, that India’s Programme of atomic energy is for peaceful purpose and related to the real needs of the Indian people.
9. Leading Scientist of India:

Among the leading scientists of the country following have made tremendous contribution in the research of science and technology.

9.1) Sir Jagdish Chandra Bose: Sir Jagdish Chandra Bose a physiologist and physicist was born on 30\textsuperscript{th} November, 1858. He was educated in Calcutta, and London. He worked professor of physical sciences at the Presidency College, Calcutta from 1885 to 1915, and became founder director of the Bose Research Institute, Calcutta.

Bose developed experimental devices to demonstrate the deep connection between light and electricity. He also demonstrated the broken glimpses of invisible light, which revolutionized the means of communication such as cable, telegraph and telephone.

Bose introduced new experimental methods and invented many delicate and supersensitive instruments, in plant physiology. For recording the growth of plants he invested an apparatus to understand the effects of air, food and drugs on plants and brought forth the responses of plant and animal tissues. As a result of this invention he was awarded Knighthood in 1916.

9.2) Sir Chandrashekhar Venkata Raman: Sir Chandrashekhar Venkata Raman the most outstanding physicist was born on 7\textsuperscript{th} November, 1888 at Trichinopoly, and graduated from Presidency College, Madras. After his post graduation he became the Palit Professor of Physics at the Calcutta university between 1917 and 1933. He was appointed as head Department of physics, at the Indian Institute of Science Banglore in 1943. In 1949 he became National Professor of Physics. In 1954 he was awarded the Bharat Ratna and in 1958 he received the Lenin Peace Prize from the U.S.S.R.

Raman was the greatest authority on the scattering of light. He discovered that the colour of light could be changed by scattering, which is known as the Raman Effect. Raman also discovered the fact that the associated colour change in a beam of light is a measure of energy, lost by incoming photos. Thus, a technique is developed for discovering the interiors of molecules and atoms one of the most significant effects of the use of molecular and atomic probing machines, such as the Raman Spectroscope. The Electron Microscope and ultra-centrifuge is that more and more artificial molecules which are so vital to industry and science, can be synthesized. Thus, he discovered the interiors of molecules, Raman Spectroscope, the Electron Microscope. Raman founded the Indian Journal of physics and the Indian Academy of sciences. He published Molecular Diffraction of Light; Mechanical Theory of Bowed Strings and Diffraction of X-rays; Theory of Musical Instruments and physics of Crystals. Due to this outstanding work he received Nobel Prize in 1930.
9.3) **Magh Nad Saha:** Megh Nad Saha was an astro-physicist, was born on 6th October 1893 in Dacca. He was educated at the University of Calcutta and the University of London. He worked as professor of Physics in the University of Calcutta and Allahabad.

Saha announced that the temperature of stars can be estimated from the spectrum of light radiated by them. Saha has been the first scientist who revealed the close connection between a star and atom to prove the stellar atmosphere a mixture of gases of ionized and other atoms. Saha was a Fellow of the Royal Society, London and members of the American Academy of Arts and Science and the Astronomical Society of America.

9.4) **Homi Bhabha:** Homi Jahangir Bhabha the father of India’s nuclear Programme, was born on 30th October, 1956, after completing his education in Bombay and Cambridge he worked as Reader at the Indian Institute of Science, Banglore and a Professor at the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay. He was Founder-Director of the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay, and the Chairman of India’s Atomic Energy Commission.

Homi Bhabha discovered the ‘Cascade Process’ in the Cosmic rays. The Cosmic rays are of two types, namely the primary and the secondary cosmic rays. When the primary cosmic rays enter the atmosphere the collide with atoms in the air and generate new nuclear particles. The particles, when move at the greater speed, are known as the secondary cosmic rays. Bhaba’s Cascade Progress is concerned with the genesis of the non-penetrating component of the secondary cosmic rays. Homi Bhabha made comprehensive contributions to Quantum mechanics.

Homi Bhabha who was the Secretary, Department of Atomic Energy, under the Prime Minister, Pandit Jawharlal Nehuru, played a very important role in the formulation of India’s policy of science and technology, particularly in the field of atomic energy. Homi Bhabha was Chairman of the International Atoms Peace Conference, held at Geneva in 1955. He was instrumental establish India’s first Atomic Reactor Apsar. Due to his hard efforts he was awarded the Adams Prize and the Padma Bhushan.

9.5) **Vikram Ambalal Sarabhai:** Vikram Ambalal Sarabhai the successor of Homi Bhabha as Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, was behind the nuclear progress and the space programmes of India. The physical Research Laboratory, which was established by him began to function in April, 1954.

Vikram Sarabhi was a Pioneer of the pharmaceutical industry in India. Sarabhai established the Indian Institute of Management and Business Administration in 1962. In order to make India a space research country, Vikram exerted his influence to establish the Space Commission,
which became reality in 1972. Due to Sarabhai only, India underwent space exploration and , the first Indian Satellite Aryabhatta was successfully launched with the aid of a Soviet rocket carrier in 1975.

9.6) Dr. Har Govind Khorana: Dr. Har Govind Khorana Nobel Prize winner of 1968, was born on 9th January 1922, in Multan. After the completion of his Ph. D. he was appointed as a professor at the Rockefeller Institute, America in 1958. he produced a number of research papers on chemical methods for synthesis of nucleotides, coenzymes and the elucidation of the genetic code.

10. Indian Space Programme:

As mentioned earlier, the Indian space Programme began with the establishment of the Indian National Committee in 1962, under the Chairmanship of Dr. Vikram Sarabhai. That was the period of space research. Every nation was competing with each other. In order to boost- India’s space research. The organisation known as Indian Space Research Organisation was established in 1969. This was followed by the establishment of the organization like, National Remote Sensing Agency and Physical Research Laboratory, which has been executing the space programmes these years. Aryabhatta , the 3 LOKG satellite was launched into the orbit in 1975. Bhaskara, the second Indian satellite was launched in 1979. then India executed one after another satellite into the orbit, After Bhaskara II Rohini and APPLE marched into the space to acquaint the world with the Indian space research.

Recognising the immense socio-economic benefits of space technology, Prof. Sarabhai decided to build our own satellite launching station in 1969. he personally took an aerial survey of the east coast of the country for that purpose and thus, the SARA Rocket Launch station came into being on the Sriharikota island. The Indian Committee for space Research (INCOSPAR), the Rocket-assisted take off system (RATO) the Indian National Science Academy and the Indian space Research Organisation were created under the department of Atomic Energy (DAE) to conducted space research in the country. The scientists like, Dr. V.R. Govarikar, M.R Kurup, A.G.Mutha Nara Yagam, D.S. Rane, T.S. Prahlad, A.R. Aeharya, S.C. Gupta, C.L. Amba Rao, and the present president of India Bharat Ratna, Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam were the back bones behind the development of the India’s space research Programme.

11. Summary:

India had achieved a considerable progress in science and technology. since, the ancient period. Among her remarkable discoveries, the concept of the decimal system using nine digits and the zero, mathematical ideas and perceptions of Aryabhata in algebra, geometry and astronomy were known world wide. Ashoka’s Pillar Inscription and the archaeological excavation are the fittest example of India’s progress in science and technology. However, the foreign invasions annihilated them.
The development of science and technology began with the establishment of the Indian Association for the cultivation of Science at Calcutta in 1876. C.V Raman, a physicist, did several experiments in Calcutta and discovered the Raman Spectra, which led him to the Nobel prize in physics in 1930. Raman used this fund for the establishment of the Raman Institute. He encouraged individual and isolated research because the British Government did not support any kind of research in India initially. Sir Jagdish Chandra Bose, another scientist, founded the Bose Institute and began extensive research in biochemistry. Scientist M.N. Shah, an astrophysicist, founded the Shah Institute of Nuclear Physics.

The Council of Scientific and Industrial Research established in 1942, amplified the scope of research in independent India. The Parliament of India passed the Scientific Policy resolution in 1958, which was used as a key to the development and prosperity of the country. The resolution stressed the need of training and orienting the budding scientists and widening opportunity of the research. In the same way, in 1982, the Government passed the Technology Policy Resolution, which rejuvenated the indigenous technology and decided to adapt the foreign technology on the basis of Indian needs and resources. In the development of science and scientific research, several universities and scientific institutes came up in the country played very vital and important role and shaped the future scientific policy of India with the help of eminent scientists of the country. There is a long list of such scientists but among them, scientists like S.S. Bhatnagar, Homi Bhabha, Vikrant Sarabhai and Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam, the present president of India, have world-wide repute.

Late Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, was a great visionary. He dreamt a very reach and powerful democratic India. In consonant with his dream, Pandit Nehru established the Atomic Energy Commission of India and appointed Dr. Homi Bhabha its first Chairman. He used the atomic energy in electricity, agriculture, industry, biology, and medicine. The Bhabha Atomic research Center set up in 1957, have reactors like Apasara, Cirus, Zerlina, Purnima, Dhruva, and Kamini which have been functional since then. In order to supervise and administer the research in the atomic energy, the Government established the Department of Atomic Energy in 1962, under the aegis of the DAE and the Chairmanship of Dr. Sethna. India conducted the first nuclear explosion of Pokhran on 18th May, 1974. India has also achieved commendable progress in space research. In 1969, the Government established the Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) under the chairmanship of Dr. Vikram Sarabhai. Under the aegis of ISRO, satellite like, Aryabhatta, Bhaskara, APPLE were launched into the orbit. The launching satellite necessitated the indigenous satellite launching vehicles, which have been built at Thumba in Kerala and Sriharikota, Orissa for the same purpose. Thus, India has achieved a lot in the development of science and technology, which made India to have
her own satellite for her security and the benefits of her people.

12. **Additional Readings:**


13. **Questions:**

1) Discuss briefly the development of science and technology under the British in India.

2) Examine the role played by universities and scientific institutions in the development of science and technology.

3) Give a brief account of the important elements in various sciences.

4) Write a note on the Indian nuclear Programme.

5) Outline the achievements of India as the third space research country in Asia.

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