Partition & its impact

Partition
• 15th August : 2nd anniversary of Japanese surrender to allied forces
• Riots : Gandhi fast in Kolkata , no celebration during
• Logic of partition
  ○ 2 nation theory, Muslim league call for Islam in danger, fear of Brahmin-Baniya raj
• Radcliffe ready with award on 9th August, Mountbatten changed mind to make award public on 15th, the more early announcement the more responsibility for peace maintenance

Impact of partition
1. India lost
   a. a large part of the fertile plains of the Punjab and also a large part of the skilled labour.
   b. waters of Indus & Brahmaputra
   c. Textile industries of Bengal
2. Human rights issues
   a. Rape & abduction of women, forced conversion and forcing into marriage
   b. Riots & killings, atrocities
3. Huge challenge of rehabilitation
4. Division of financial assets
5. India lost strategic location for reaching central Asia
• More than 500, some massive like Kashmir & Hyderabad, some tiny
• Princely state in British India
  ○ Policy of annexation renounced after 1858
  ○ Indirect rule : paramountcy
  ○ British used to extract large subsidy for administrative & military support
• New states department under Sardar Patel & Secretary V P Menon
• Govt approach guided by 3 reasons :
  ○ People of most princely states wanted to become part of the union
  ○ Govt was prepared in giving autonomy to some regions
  ○ In backdrop of partition which brought into focus the contest over demarcation of territory, integration & consolidation of territorial boundaries assumed supreme importance.
• Reason for integration :
  ○ unity
  ○ Position of princely states everywhere within & around British India
  ○ Rise of socialist congress
  ○ Leaders like JP : responsible & elected Govt in princely India
• Factors for Collapse of resistance
  ○ Lack of unity among rulers, smaller didn’t trust large states, many Hindu rulers didn’t trust Muslim rulers
  ○ Many states believe integration inevitable, sought to build bridges with congress, hope to gain say in final agreement
  ○ Mountbatten role
    ▪ Ask states to integrate
    ▪ Princely state also hope for fair settlement as Mountbatten was governor general
  ○ Pressure & diplomacy by Sardar Patel & V P Menon
    ▪ Divide & Rule : by bringing some princes on side early and unsettling the rest
    ▪ Luring by giving privy purse & allowed to retain titles
  ○ Use of force : in Junagarh & Hyderabad
  ○ Geographical compulsion of states : argued by Mountbatten
1. three sides Junagadh was surrounded by Hindu states or by India, fourth long coastline, main port Veraval
2. Muslim ruler + Hindu majority
3. Nawab decided to acceded to Pakistan
4. 2 Hindu ruler states subjected to suzerainty of Junagadh: Mangrol & Babriagarh declared independence & acceded to India
5. Nawab sent force, military occupied 2 states. Neighbouring states sent force to Junagadh frontier & appealed to India
6. India: Junagadh has 80% Hindu population, questioned accession, cut off supplies of fuel & coal, severed air & rail link, reoccupied mongrol & Babriawad
7. State people organised popular movement forced Nawab flee to Pak, Junagadh dewan Shah Nawab invited India, India agreed, plebiscite conducted: result in India favour
Earlier unification by clan of dogra Rajput

Hindu ruler, mostly Muslim population

Sheikh Abdullah created national conference: initial aim ill-treatment of Muslim by Maharaja

On 15th August Kashmir had not acceded to India/Pakistan

Maharaja asked for standstill agreement for 1 year, Pakistan formally accepted though India yet to reply. India stand always been that people wishes should be ascertain by an election.

Pakistan worried that verdict may not go in his favour, sent on 22 October, with the onset of winter, several Pathan tribesmen, led unofficially by Pakistani army officers, invaded Kashmir and rapidly pushed towards Srinagar

Looted, raped, murdered even Muslim

Maharaja appealed to India for military assistance

India signed instrument of accession & send troops, though both the National Conference and the Maharaja wanted firm and permanent accession, India, in conformity with its democratic commitment and Mountbatten’s advice, announced that it would hold a referendum on the accession decision once peace and law and order had been restored in the Valley

1 Jan 1948: India took Kashmir issue to UN, wanted UN to help clear northern parts what it said was an illegal occupation by groups loyal to Pakistan

In 1951, the UN passed a resolution providing for a referendum under UN supervision after Pakistan had withdrawn its troops from the part of Kashmir under its control. The resolution has remained infructuous since Pakistan has refused to withdraw its forces from what is known as Azad Kashmir
Muslim ruler, Nizam, Hindu majority
• Muslim elite dominated politics, Muslim nobility & Ittehad ul Muslimeen, pro nizam party insisted for independence
• Nizam entered into standstill agreement with India in November 1947
• Meanwhile situation deteriorated: protests by state congress & communists, meanwhile rural uprising led by communist confiscation of land & redistribution of land & redistribution, women also joined
• Nizam responded by unleashing a Para-military force known as Razakars on the people
• Razakars murdered, raped, looted, targeting particularly the non-Muslims
• Indian army under operation polo took complete control
before Independence, the Maharaja of Manipur, Bodhachandra Singh, signed the Instrument of Accession with the Indian government on the assurance that the internal autonomy of Manipur would be maintained. Under the pressure of public opinion, the Maharaja held elections in Manipur in June 1948 and the state became a constitutional monarchy.

In the Legislative Assembly of Manipur the state Congress wanted the merger, other political parties were opposed to this. The Government of India succeeded in pressurising the Maharaja into signing a Merger Agreement in September 1949, without consulting the popularly elected Legislative Assembly of Manipur.

On 15 October 1949 Manipur State acceded to the Indian Union as a Part C State, that later would become Union Territories— which were put directly under the administration of the center.

Rishang Keishing began a movement for representative government in Manipur in 1954.
Integration of foreign colonies

French
- At independence: Pondicherry (now Puducherry), Karaikal, Yanam, Mahe & Chandernagore were under France
- 1948: Agreement between India-France provided for election in these territories to choose their future
- Plebiscite in Chandernagore: merger
- In other enclaves: pro-French administrative machinery suppressed pro-merger group
- 1954 demonstration in Yanam & Mahe resulted in pre-merger group assuming power
- In 1954 referendum in Pondicherry & Karaikal resulted in vote for merger ratification by French national assembly
- Treaty of cession was signed in 1956, following ratification by French national assembly in 1962, de jure control of enclaves was also transferred.

Portuguese
- Daman & Diu, Dadar & Nagar Haveli & Goa under Portugal
- Resisted diplomatic solutions, amended constitution to convert its possession in India into Portuguese provinces
- Dadar & Nagar Haveli: 1954, uprising threw Portugal rule. 1961: Indian constitution incorporated it as union territory
  - Portugal attempted to send forces from Daman to reoccupy, India denied access: Portugal initiated proceedings in ICJ for access but court rejected
- Although Nehru continued for negotiated solution, Portuguese suppression of a revolt in Angola in 1961 radicalised Indian public opinion & increased pressure on Indian Govt to take military action, even African leaders put pressure on Nehru to take action in Goa
- Goa, Daman & Diu: 1955 non violent protesters met with gunfire; 1960 UN general assembly refuse to accept Portuguese overseas provinces as territories
  - Following collapse of American attempt to find negotiated solution, Indian army defeated Portugal there
  - Portugal: asked for UNSC resolution for withdrawal of Indian forces defeated by USSR veto, Portugal finally surrendered in Operation Vijay, Goa became union territory & state in 1987
- Portugal was member of NATO, USA history of intervening in case of NATO members.
Linguistic reorganisation of states

Pre 1947 boundaries drawn in haphazard manner, no heed paid for cultural or linguistic cohesion

Case for linguistic reorganisation very strong: language closely related to culture therefore to customs of people, massive spread of education can take place only through mother tongue. But this mother tongue cannot be medium of education or administration or judicial activity unless a state is formed on the basis of such predominant language

After 1919 congress, reorganised its regional branches on linguistic basis

National leadership opposed:
  - Partition created serious administrative, economic & political dislocation, leadership felt the need for national unity
  - 1948 Linguistic Provinces Commission headed by Justice SK Dhar, recommended against linguistic reorganisation as may threaten unity
  - 1948 congress appointed JVP committee (consisting of Nehru, Patel & Pattabhi Sitaramayya) advised against the creation of linguistic states for the time being
  - 1952, fast unto death by Potti Sriramullu after 58 days & violence after. Govt agreed for separate Andhra state. In 1953 Tamil Nadu also created
  - State reorganisation commission formed in 1953 (under Fazl Ali), to look into demands for other states
    - Opposed splitting of Bombay & Punjab
    - Provided for 14 states & 6 union territories
      - Telangana area of Hyderabad state transferred to Andhra, refused to allocate Madras city to Andhra.
      - Kerala was created by merging Malabar districts of old Madras presidency with Travancore Cochin
      - Certain Kannada speaking states of Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad & Coorg was added to Mysore state
      - Northern states into Bihar, UP, MP & Rajasthan. Didn’t agree to Sikh state
      - Commission rejected the demand for tribal states to be carved out of Bihar and Assam.
    - Huge opposition & violence for inclusion of Bombay into Maharashtra
• Greatest concentration in MP, Bihar, Odisha, NE India, WB, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Rajasthan. Except in NE, they constitute minorities in their home states
• Colonialism: relative isolation eroded by penetration of market forces, a large number of money-lenders, traders, revenue farmers, middlemen & petty officials invaded tribal areas and disrupted tribal tradition and Christian missionaries

**Indiatribals policy**
- Preservation of tribals people rich social & cultural heritage at the heart
- Nehru approach (Tribal Panchsheel ) was to make tribal integral part of Indian nation, even while maintaining their distinct identity,
  - Tribals have to progress, they have to progress in their own way
  - Whatever changes were needed would be worked by tribals themselves
  - Tribals rights in land & forests should be respected & no outsider should take possession of tribals lands
- Constitutional provisions
  - Duty on governor, modification of central laws
  - SC/ST commissioner
  - Tribal advisory councils
  - 6th schedule

- North East frontier Agency (NEFA) created out of border areas of Assam in 1948 as union territory
  - Named Arunachal Pradesh & granted special status in 1987

- Problems occurred in hilly areas of Assam because they had no cultural affinity with Assamese & Bengali residents of plains
  - Tribals were afraid of losing their identities
  - Attitude of superiorities & non contempt adopted by non tribals
  - Resentment against Assam Govt led to demand for separate state
  - Demand gained further strength with passage of Assam official language act, making assamese official language of state and rejecting inclusion of tribal languages in tribal districts

- In 1969 Meghalaya was craved out from Assam as a "state within a state" which had complete autonomy except for law & order for which Assam Govt was responsible
- As part if reorganisation of NE in 1972, Meghalaya became a separate state

**Nagaland**
1. Britishers administers them lightly, but conversion by Christian missionaries there
2. Nagas outside fold of congress led national movement
3. After independence Govt of India followed policy of integrating
4. Section of Nagas under A Z Phizo want independence, in 1955 they declared independence & violent insurrection, 1956: army sent for peace & restoration
5. Moderate Nagas under Imkongliba Ao, negotiated for creation of separate state in 1957, in 1963 it was formed
6. Insurgency under control but sporadic guerilla activity by Naga rebels trained in China, Burma continued

**Mizoram**
1. Unhappiness with Assamese Govt’s relief measures during famine of 1959 & passage of 1961 act making Assamese sole official language of state led to formation of Mizo National Front (MNF)
2. While participating in electoral politics, MNF created military wing which received arms & ammunition & military training from China & east Pakistan
3. In 1966 MNF declared independence from India, Govt response, insurrection crushed
4. In 1973 with less extremist mizo leaders has scaled down their demands to that of separate state of Mizoram within Indian union, the mizo district of Assam was separated from Assam & given UT status
5. Final settlement in 1986, Laldenga & MNF agreed to abandon violent activities, surrender before Indian authorities along with their arms & re-entered constitutional scheme. India granted full statehood to Mizoram with full autonomy in regard to culture, tradition, land laws etc.
6. In 1987 Laldenga became the CM

**Jharkhand**
1. Jharkhand party was formed by Jaipal Singh in 1950
2. While it demanded for separate state where tribal people will predominate, the population composition of Jharkhand was such that they would still constitute minority in it.
3. To overcome this party gave its demand a regional character by opening its membership to non-tribals.
4. In 1995 SRC rejected its demand because it didn’t pass the criteria of common language.
5. 1972 Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) revived demand for Jharkhand state. It began to assert that all older residents of Jharkhand whether tribals or non tribals were exploited, discriminated against and dominated by north Bihar & recent migration.
6. It organised several militant agitations on issues such as alienated land, money lenders exploitation, employment of tribals in mines & industries and improved working condition.

**In 1972 union territories of Manipur & Tripura also formed**

**Sikkim**
1. Status with British similar to princely states.
2. On independence, chogyal of Sikkim signed resisted full integration. India signed standstill agreement and in 1950 made protectorate. India responsibility of defense, communication & ultimate responsibility of law & order.
5. India facilitated negotiations, agreement for reduction of chogyal rule of constitutional monarch. Election: chogyal opposition won, new constitution providing for full integration, Indian constitution amended in 1975, Sikkim added as 22nd state.
1. Regional conflict in India
   • politics of the DMK in Tamil Nadu in the 1950s and early 1960s.
   • Politics of Punjab in 1980s was communalism not regionalism
   • For bringing down feeling of regionalism: linguistic reorganization of India and the resolution of the official language controversy have played a very important role in this respect. Friction between different states over the sharing of river waters: for example, between Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, Karnataka and Andhra, and Punjab and Haryana and Rajasthan. Boundary disputes have arisen out of the formation of linguistic states as in the case of Belgaum and Chandigarh. Construction of irrigation and power dams has created such conflicts

2. Economic Imbalances and Regionalism
   Under colonialism, agriculture had also stagnated, but more in eastern India than in northern or southern India
   • IPR 1956 focused on balanced growth
   • National Integration Council 1961: urged development of economically backward regions
   • Transfer of funds to backward region: finance commission
   • In the planning and location of the public sector enterprises balanced regional growth has been an important consideration
     i. Bihar and Madhya Pradesh have gained the most from such investment; Assam, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir and the north-eastern states have also benefited
     ii. Government incentives have been provided to the private sector to invest in backward areas through subsidies, tax concessions, and concessional banking and institutional loans at subsidized rates
   • One sector where the principle of the reduction of regional disparity has not been kept in view is that of investment in irrigation and subsidies to agricultural development.
     a. 1960s when the Green Revolution began and investment in rural infrastructure and technological innovation was concentrated in Punjab, Haryana and western U.P., namely, areas where irrigation was or could be made available readily dry land agriculture was neglected. The result was an increase in regional agricultural disparity. The spread of the Green Revolution technology during the 1970s to Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, eastern U.P. and parts of Rajasthan, and during the 1980s to the eastern states of Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and Assam has redressed the regional imbalance to a certain extent.
   • Migration
     a. Himachal Pradesh, Orissa, Bihar and Kerala—have benefited from out-migration just as Bengal, Gujarat and Maharashtra have benefited from in-migration.
     • the increased disparity in agriculture is also gradually getting redressed though the rain-fed dry areas are still lagging behind
   • Major reason, at the all-India level, for the continuing regional disparity has been the low rate of economic growth
   • The backward states have a lower level of infrastructural facilities, such as power, irrigation, roads, telephones, and modern markets for agricultural produce
   • Geographical factors: Maharashtra & Telangana drought, Assam floods
   • Political and administrative failure also bolsters backwardness. Bihar and U.P. are classic cases of states bedevilled by high levels of corruption, sheer bad administration, and deteriorating law and order. As a result, whatever central assistance is available is poorly utilized and often diverted to non-development heads of expenditure
   • Disparities in development also exist within each state
     • such sub-regional feelings are the movements in Telangana in Andhra Pradesh, Vidarbha in Maharashtra, Saurashtra in Gujarat, Bundelkhand in Uttar Pradesh, Darjeeling district or Gorkhaland in West Bengal, Bodoland in Assam
     • It is because of these regional feelings that Uttaranchal, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh were created out of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh
   • It is noteworthy that the politically important Hindi-speaking states of the Indian heartland—Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, with nearly 37 per cent of the seats in the Lok Sabha—are economically backward. On the other hand,
Punjab, Haryana, Gujarat and Maharashtra, with only about 17 per cent of the seats in the Lok Sabha,

- the backward Hindi-belt states wield so much political clout that it is impossible for them to accuse the central government or non-Hindi states of dominating or discriminating against them.
- Another reason for the lack of regionalism and feeling of discrimination among the poorer states has been the consciousness of their intelligentsia that their poverty and backwardness are basically the result of the actions of their own political and administrative classes. After all, feelings of deprivation and lack of progress are essentially articulated by the intelligentsia.

- Sons of the Soil Doctrine
  - it is the view that a state specifically belongs to the main linguistic group inhabiting it or that the state constitutes the exclusive ‘homeland’ of its main language speakers who are the ‘sons of the soil’ or the ‘local’ residents.
  - Unequal development of economic opportunities in different parts of the country, especially the cities, occurred in the surge of economic progress after 1952. Demand or preference for the ‘local’ people or ‘sons of the soil’ over ‘outsiders’ in the newly created employment and educational opportunities was the outcome.
  - The problem was aggravated in a number of cities or regions because the speakers of the state language were in a minority or had a bare majority. For example, in Bombay, in 1961, the Marathi speakers constituted 42.8 per cent of the population. In Bangalore, the Kannada speakers were less than 25 per cent. In Calcutta, the Bengalis formed a bare majority.
  - The ‘sons of the soil’ movements have mainly arisen, and have been more virulent, when there is actual or potential competition for industrial and middle-class jobs, between the migrants and the local, educated, middle-class youth. The friction has been more intense in states and cities where ‘outsiders’ had greater access to higher education and occupied more middle-class positions in government service, professions and industry and were engaged in small businesses.
  - such as small-scale industry and shop keeping.
  - The economy’s failure to create enough employment opportunities for the recently educated created an acute scarcity of jobs, and led to intense competition for the available jobs during the 1960s and 1970s.
  - Some groups could then take advantage of the ‘sons of the soil’ sentiment for gaining political power. This was not of course inevitable. The Communist Party refused to use anti-migrant sentiments in Calcutta because of its ideological commitment, one reason why the city has not witnessed any major ‘sons of the soil’ movement. Similarly, though Congress may have taken an opportunistic and compromising stand when faced with major ‘sons of the soil’ movements, it has not initiated or actively supported them.
  - ‘Outsiders’ have been often far more numerous in rural areas as agricultural labourers or as workers in low-paid traditional industries, such as jute or cotton textiles, than in the cities. Here, however, the ‘sons of the soil’ sentiment was absent, nor hostility towards the ‘outsiders’ manifested because no middle-class jobs were involved. The ‘locals’ also did not compete with the ‘outsiders’ for these jobs. Consequently, there has been little conflict with the ‘locals’ when there has been large-scale migration of labourers from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh to Punjab and Haryana or Bombay city, or of workers from Bihar to the jute and other mills of Calcutta, or of workers from Bihar and Orissa to the tea plantations in Assam and Bengal.
  - When people of a state, especially the middle classes, have themselves migrated, there has been little opposition to immigration. This has been the case with West Bengal, Kerala, Punjab, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh; On the other hand, ‘sons of the soil’ movements have flourished in Maharashtra, Assam and the Telangana area of Andhra Pradesh, the people of which have not had a tradition of migration.
  - parliament, though not any state legislature, can pass a law laying down the requirement of residence within a state for appointments under that state. Under political pressure and taking advantage of the ambiguity in the constitution, many states in fact reserve jobs, or give preference for employment in state and local governments and for admission into educational institutions to local residents.
  - The main argument put forward for reservation in employment and education for the local persons has been that in the states concerned they are socially, economically and educationally backward and are not able to compete with the more advanced migrant communities.
  - Reservations on grounds of residence have also been approved by the courts.
  - militant anti-migrant and ‘sons of the soil’ movements were mainly centred in the urban areas of Assam, Telangana in Andhra, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Orissa.
  - movement led by the Shiv Sena against South Indians, especially Tamils.
  - The Shiv Sena could not, however, sustain its hate-South Indian campaign or become a major political force outside Bombay city or get the support of any all-India political party. It, therefore, soon shifted its ideological base to Hindu communalism.
  - The ‘sons of the soil’ movements in Assam and Telangana.
In 1925, Congress amended its constitution to read: ‘The proceedings of the Congress shall be conducted as far as possible in Hindustani. The English language or any provincial language may be used if the speaker is unable to speak Hindustani or whenever necessary.

Gandhi and Nehru both supported Hindustani, written in the Devanagari or Urdu script. But once Partition was announced, these champions of Hindi were emboldened, especially as the protagonists of Pakistan had claimed Urdu as the language of Muslims and of Pakistan. In the end congress legislative party decided for Hindi against Hindustani, even though Nehru & Azad fought for Hindustani.

The issue of the time-frame for a shift from English to Hindi produced a divide between Hindi and non-Hindi areas.

Non Hindi speaking people main fear: Hindi’s adoption as the official language would place non-Hindi areas, especially South India, at a disadvantage in the educational and economic spheres, and particularly in competition for appointments in government and the public sector.

The constitution provided that Hindi in Devanagari script with international numerals would be India’s official language. English was to continue for use in all official purposes till 1965, when it would be replaced by Hindi. Hindi was to be introduced in a phased manner. After 1965 it would become the sole official language. However, parliament would have the power to provide for the use of English for specified purposes even after 1965.

A major weakness of Hindi protagonists: instead of developing it as means of communication, they were interested in making it sole official language, they tried to Sanskritize the language, replacing commonly understood word with little understood ones in the name of purity if language, free of alien influences. This made it more & more difficult for difficult for non Hindi speakers (or even Hindi speakers) to understand or learn new version.

Non-Hindi leaders also became less and less open to persuasion and their opposition to Hindi increased with time. One result of this alienation of non-Hindi-language groups was that they too were not open to rational arguments in favour of Hindi.

Nehru in 1959 in parliament gave assurance he would keep English as long people require it & the decision will depend upon non-Hindi speakers. Official Language act 1963: to allow continuance of English after 1965 but the act laid “English language may.....continue instead of shall. This made the act ambiguous, they did not regard it as statutory guarantee. Many of them wanted a cast iron guarantee not because they distrusted Nehru but because they were worried about what would happen after Nehru.

After Nehru death Lal Bahadur Shastri was not so sensitive towards non-Hindi groups, declared that he was considering making Hindi an alternative medium in public service examination. Many non-Hindi leaders in protest changed line of approach to the problem of the official language. The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) and C. Rajagopalachari, for example, demanded that the constitution should be amended and English should be made the official language of India.

In Jan 1965: strong demonstration by non Hindi speakers especially in Tamil Nadu by DMK.

In 1967 amendment to official language act. The Act gave an unambiguous legal fortification to Nehru’s assurances of September 1959. It provided that the use of English as an associate language in addition to Hindi for the official work at the Centre and for communication between the Centre and non-Hindi states would continue as long as the non-Hindi states wanted it, giving them full veto powers on the question. The parliament also adopted a policy resolution laying down that the public service examinations were to be conducted in Hindi and English and in all the regional languages. The states were to adopt a three-language formula.

3 language formula
1. The central government formulated the policy in 1968 with the objective of schools teaching a modern Indian language, preferably from south India, apart from Hindi and English in Hindi speaking states. In other states, the languages to be studied...
were Hindi, the local language and English.

2. The National Policy on Education — 1986 reiterated the need for the implementation of the three-language formula

3. MHA:
   a. three-language formula for schools had flopped as both Hindi speaking and non-Hindi-speaking states had not put it into practice in the right spirit.
   b. Only some states accepted the three-language formula in principle. Others made some adjustments and some changed it to an extent that it became impossible to implement it.

4. The southern states like Puducherry and Tamil Nadu, and Tripura were not ready to teach Hindi, and Hindi-speaking states did not include any south Indian language in their school curriculum. Another reason could be the fear of heavy language load in the school curriculum,

5. "In many of the Hindi-speaking states, Sanskrit, its linkage with religion became the third language instead of any modern Indian language, whereas the non-Hindi-speaking states like Tamil Nadu operate through a two-language formula."
1. Nehru: newly independent, poor countries of Asia & Africa had nothing to gain & everthing to loose by joining military blocks.
2. India therefore neither joined nor approved Baghdad pact, Manila treaty, SEATO & CENTO

Nepal
1. Signed treaty of peace & friendship in 1950, which gave Nepal unrestricted access for commercial transit through India

Burma
1. Problem of Indian settlers & long uncharted border settled amicably
by and large India did take an independent stand on various international issues and could get aid and assistance from members of both the blocs.

- Parties & group in India believed the India should be more friendly with US block
  - USA block claimed pro-democracy e.g. B R Ambedkar
  - Some parties opposed to communism, wanted pro USA policy these include Bhartiya Jan Sangh & Swatantra Party

Nehru’s role
- Foreign minister
- three major objectives of Nehru’s foreign policy were to preserve the hard-earned sovereignty, protect territorial integrity, and promote rapid economic development
- Advocate of Asian unity, India convened Asian relations conference in march 1947
- Afro Asian conference (Bandung conference) in 1955, marked the zenith of India’s engagement with newly independent Asian & African nations
- Co founder of NAM

Indonesian Independence
- Dutch attempted to re-colonise Indonesia in Dec 1948, Nehru invited states bordering Indian ocean. The conference resolved to deny all facilities to Dutch shipping & sent its resolution to UN
- Within week UNSC resolved for ceasefire & restoration of Indonesian Government

Nuclear Disarmament
- Nehru stood with Nasser (Egypt) & Tito (Yugoslavia) to call for nuclear disarmament & peace in Belgrade

Korean War
- KPS Menon (Indian foreign service) was elected chairman of UN commission on Korea
- when north Korea invaded south Korea in 1950, India supported US in UNSC condemning North Korea as aggressor
- India abstained from voting on another resolution calling for assistance to South Korea
- When General MacArthur (head of US forces under UN command) after pushing north Korea out of south Korea, crossed 38th parallel & continued towards Yalu river that separated North Korea from China. China succeeded in pushing forces back.
- India voted against USA resolution for calling China as aggressor
- VK Krishna Menon formula was accepted by UNGA
- India’s Army general thimayya mas made head of repatriation commission & Indian custodian force was responsible for repatriation of soldiers

Indo-China
- India was appointed chairman of international control commission & its work included supervision of imports of foreign armaments into Laos, Cambodia & Vietnam

Suez Canal
- India protested Britain Attack
- Indian troops participated in large numbers as peace keeping force

Hungary
- USSR intrusion in Hungary in 1956 to crush the rebellion aimed at taking Hungary out of Soviet block was condemned by UN
- India abstained from joining in this formal condemnation & received a lot of flak in the west

The Congo
- Congo barely gained her independence from Belgium in 1960 when its copper rich province of Katanga announced its independence from Congo
- After UNSC resolution, Indian armed forces successfully brought down the civil war restoring central Govt authority over Katanga
USA & Britain fears (or hopes) that India would not survive as a unit. As a result it was not considered bulwark against the spread of communism

- USA & its allies in late 1940s & early 1950s evaded a decision on the Indian charge of Pakistani aggression even after UN commission reported presence of Pakistani troops in Kashmir
- USA didn’t appreciate India recognition of communist China
- Pakistan was offered some military aid in 1952, India objections were brushed by USA with meaningless assurances that they would not be used against India. Inclusion of Pakistan in SEATO, CENTO etc.
- USA supported Portugal’s claim in 1955 that Goa was a province of Portugal & condemned India for using force

- On the contrary people-to-people relations remained friendly. Economic ties grew as the USA was source of technology and machines
- Uneasiness over Indo-US relations during 1950s
  - Pak joined US-led military alliances
  - US resented India’s growing partnership with soviet union
CPI was engaged in an insurgency against Indian state in Telangana

India's decision to stay in commonwealth was seen by soviet's as proof of Indian surrender to imperialism

USSR along with China, sent food shipment during 1951-52 drought a a time when USA was dragging its feet.

CPI was told to cool off its attack on Nehru government, signs of support on Kashmir issue began to emerge. Process speeded up after Stalin death in 1954

USSR offered to give military equipment to India in 1954 after Pak joined SEATO & CENTO, but consistent with its policy of not accepting free military aid, India refused

From 1956 used/ threatened to use, its veto in UNSC to stall resolutions unfavourable to India on kashmir

Supported India on integration of Goa in opposition to USA

When relation b/w India & China deteriorated from 1959 after Dalai Lama refugee & military clashes at border, USSR remained neutral

USSR in 1963 signed agreements for sale of arms, by which USSR became the largest arms supplier to india

USSR gain : India was important entry-point to Afro Asian world of newly independent countries who didn’t want to become US satellites & were open to Soviet friendship

1971 : India signed . Indo-soviet treaty of peace, friendship & Cooperation

Economic

India model of planning & leading role for public sector in industrialisation, especially heavy industries brought India closure to USSR. USSR help in building Bhilai & Bokaro Steel plant (which USA didn’t)
In 1950, China took over control of Tibet, after panchsheel India conceded China’s claim over Tibet
1. 1958, Dalai lama took political asylum in India after Kampa rebellion in Tibet
2. Border disputes with China erupted in 1960. talks b/w Nehru & mao tsetung proved futile
3. India claimed that the boundary was a matter settled in colonial time, but China said that any colonial decision did not apply. The main dispute was about the western and the eastern end of the long border. China claimed two areas within the Indian territory: Aksai-chin area in the Ladakh region of Jammu and Kashmir and much of the state of Arunachal Pradesh.
4. Between 1957 and 1959, the Chinese occupied the Aksai-chin area and built a strategic road there. Despite a very long correspondence and discussion among top leaders, these differences could not be resolved
5. China launched a swift and massive invasion in October 1962 on both the disputed regions. The first attack lasted one week and Chinese forces captured some key areas in Arunachal Pradesh. The second wave of attack came next month. While the Indian forces could block the Chinese advances on the western front in Ladakh, in the east the Chinese managed to advance nearly to the entry point of Assam plains. Finally, China declared a unilateral ceasefire and its troops withdrew to where they were before the invasion began.
6. VK Menon removed, Britain & USA provided arms
7. It was in 1976 that full diplomatic relations were restored between the two countries
8. Nehru’s own stature suffered as he was severely criticised for his naïve assessment of the Chinese intentions and the lack of military preparedness. For the first time, a no-confidence motion against his government was moved and debated in the Lok Sabha. Soon thereafter, the Congress lost some key by-elections to Lok Sabha
9. The growing rift between China and the Soviet Union created irreconcilable differences within the CPI. The pro-USSR faction remained within the CPI and moved towards closer ties with the Congress. The other faction was for sometime closer to China and was against any ties with the Congress. The party split in 1964 and the leaders of the latter faction formed the Communist party of India (Marxist) (CPI-M). In the wake of the China war, many leaders of what became CPI(M) were arrested for being pro-China.
10. The war with China alerted the Indian leadership to the volatile situation in the Northeast region. The process of its reorganisation began soon after the China war. Nagaland was granted statehood; Manipur and Tripura, though Union Territories, were given the right to elect their own legislative assemblies

India After Independence Page 19
India : very minimum cooperation between army & navy, navy kept in dark.

Pakistan joined the US-led military alliances led to unease in Indo-US relations during the 1950s. The US also resented India’s growing partnership with the Soviet Union.

1965 War
1. Jan 1965 : Pak launched Operation desert Hawk, tried to captured Indian territory in Rann of Kutch. June 1965, British Prime Minister Harold Wilson successfully persuaded both countries to end hostilities and set up a tribunal to resolve the dispute. The verdict, which came later in 1968, saw Pakistan awarded 910 km$^2$ of the Rann of Kutch, as against its original claim of (9,100) km$^2$
2. After its success in the Rann of Kutch, Pakistan, under the leadership of General Ayub Khan, believed the Indian Army would be unable to defend itself against a quick military campaign in the disputed territory of Kashmir as the Indian military had suffered a loss to China in 1962
3. Operation Gibraltar : august, which was designed to infiltrate forces into Jammu and Kashmir to precipitate an insurgency against rule by India. Pakistan believed that the population of Kashmir was generally discontented with Indian rule and that a resistance movement could be ignited by a few infiltrating saboteurs
4. On 1 September 1965, Pakistan launched a counterattack, called Operation Grand Slam, with the objective to capture the vital town of Akhnoor in Jammu, which would sever communications and cut off supply routes to Indian troops. It failed & India capture Haji Pir Pass
   a. USA & Britain cut off food & arms supply to both nations
   b. China declared India to be an aggressor, Soviet union sympathetic to India discouraged China from going to Pakistan's aid
5. India's opened theater of attack into Pakistani Punjab forced the Pakistani army to relocate troops engaged in the operation to defend Punjab. Operation Grand Slam therefore failed, as the Pakistan Army was unable to capture Akhnoor. India crossed the International Border on the Western front on 6 September
6. On 22 September, the UNSC unanimously passed a resolution that called for an unconditional ceasefire from both nations. The war ended the following day
7. Soviet Union hosted ceasefire negotiations in Tashkent, where Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and Pakistani President Ayub Khan signed the Tashkent Agreement, agreeing to withdraw to pre-August lines no later than 25 February 1966

1971 War
• Indira Gandhi cool & calculative, following considerations:
  ○ Monsoon : floods & marshes in Bangladesh
  ○ Winter : Himalayan passes snowbound making it impossible for China to intervene & send troops
  ○ Mukti Bahini also needed time to gain enough strength
  ○ International opinion had to be in India's favour
• Indira Gandhi 4 pronged policy
  ○ Gave sanctuary to Bangladesh government in exile
  ○ India army gave military training & aid to Mukti Bahini
  ○ Gave food, clothing, shelter to refugees
  ○ India prepared for swift action from April 1971
• USA continued to supply arms to Pakistan, China was fully supportive of Pakistan
• 1971 : India signed 20 yr. Indo-soviet treaty of peace, friendship & Cooperation. It provided for appropriate effective measures in case of either country being subjected to a military threat
• December 1971 : Pakistan's air force launched surprise attack on 8 military airfields in western India, to inflict damage to IAF & to internationalise Bangladesh issue & secure UN intervention. Anticipating attack IAF moved to inner fields
• India : to hold Pakistan at western front & wage swift war leading to Pakistani army surrender
• US : declared India aggressor & stopped all economic aid to it. UN resolution moved by it proposing ceasefire & mutual troop withdrawal were vetoed by soviet with Britain & France abstaining
• After surrender in Dacca, India : unilateral ceasefire

Shimla Agreement
• Signed in 1972 between Indira Gandhi & Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (President)
Points
- Settle differences through bilateral negotiations
- Agreement converted ceasefire line of 17 December 1971 into Line of control
- Countries to settle their differences through peaceful means
- Resume communication, postal, telegraphic etc.
- Promote travel of nationals of other country
- Resumption of trade & cooperation in economic & other agreed fields
- Exchange in S & T
  - the agreement did not agree over repatriation of prisoners of war (POW) and it was in 1974 in a separate agreement result into three way exchange of POW between Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan.

Kargill War
- Conflict drew attention worldwide: one year prior to that, both India and Pakistan had attained nuclear capability.
- In Pakistan, controversy as it was alleged later that the Prime Minister of Pakistan was kept in the dark by the Army Chief

1. Took place b/w May & July in Kargill district of Kashmir & elsewhere along the line of credit (LOC). Also referred to as Operation Vijay which was name of the Indian operation to clear the Kargill sector.
2. Cause:
   a. Infiltrations of Pakistani soldiers & Kashmir militants on Indian side of LOC
   b. During initial stages of war, Pakistan blamed the fighting entirely on independent Kashmiri insurgents, but documents left behind by casualties & later statement by Pak’s PM & Chief of army staff showed involvement of Pakistani paramilitary forces
   c. Indian Army, later on supported by the Indian Air Force, recaptured a majority of the positions on the Indian side of the LOC infiltrated by the Pakistani troops and militants. With international diplomatic opposition, the Pakistani forces withdrew from the remaining Indian positions along the LOC
3. Indian national highway (NH 1D) connecting Srinagar to Leh cuts through Kargil. It was also targeted partly terrain was conducive to preemptive strike. Any attack to dislodge from high ground in mountain valley is very difficult.
4. During winter season, due to extreme cold in snow-capped mountains areas of Kashmir. It was common practice for both Indian & Pakistani armies to abandon some forward posts on their respective sides of LOC. During Feb 1999 Pakistani army began to re-occupy the posts it had abandon on its side & Indian side of LOC. This infiltration was codenamed "Operation Badr" its aim was to sever link between Kashmir & Ladakh & cause Indian forces to withdraw from the siachen glacier. Some analysts speculated that the operation’s objective may also have been retaliation for India’s Operation Meghdoot in 1984 that seized much of Siachen Glacier
5. Indian Navy also prepared to blockade the Pakistani ports (for blocking sea based oil & trade flows)
6. Following outbreak of armed fighting, Pakistan sought American help in de-escalating the conflict. President Clinton refused to intervene until Pakistan had removed all forces from the Indian side of the Line of Control
7. Aftermath
   1. Indian government severed ties with Pakistan & increased defense preparedness
   2. Indo-U.S. relations improved, as the United States appreciated Indian attempts to restrict the conflict to a limited geographic area
   3. Relations with Israel—which had discreetly aided India with ordnance supply and materiel such as unmanned aerial vehicles
   4. Kargill Review committee was formed
   5. After few months of war Nawaz Sharif was ousted in military coup

Operation Meghdoot
1. Indian Armed Forces operation to capture the Siachen Glacier
2. The Siachen Glacier became a bone of contention following a vague demarcation of territory as per the Shimla Agreement of 1972. As a result, both nations claimed the barren heights and the Siachen Glacier
3. In the 1970s and early 80s, Pakistan permitted several mountaineering expeditions to climb the peaks in siachen region, perhaps in an attempt to reinforce their claim on the area as these expeditions received permits obtained from
the Government of Pakistan

4. Contention over the glacier was aggravated by these expeditions, through both sides asserting their claims
5. India captured 4 days before Pakistan attempt, it got intelligence information.
Nehru steered India alone to some great extent: Gandhi died in 1948, Patel (1950), Ambedkar & Rajaji left union cabinet in 1951

Contributions post independence:

- **Forging national unity**
  - Succeeded in checking disruptive forces
  - Against communalism: major role in keeping India secular after independence

- **Nurturing democracy & parliamentary structure**
  - Promoted internal democracy & debate in congress party
  - Respected & listen to opposition despite having majority

- **Education**: promoted scientific education
  - First 5 IITs in 1952
  - Assumed chairmanship of CSIR
  - Acknowledge the role of S&T
  - Atomic energy commission setup in 1948: for development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes

- **Socialism**
  - PSU temple of modern India
  - Passed hindu code bill after strict opposition in 4 different acts

- **Planning for economic development**
  - Public sector: IPR 1956

- **Opposing conservatism**
  - Hindu code bill
  - Promoted education among women

- **Foreign policy**
  - NAM
  - Panchsheel
  - Built strong image of India abroad
  - Helped end colonialism in Asia & Africa

Shortcomings:

- **Naïve assessment of China**
  - Recognising Tibet without a quid pro quo

- Taking Kashmir issue to UN, if not then Indian Armed forces would have regained whole Kashmir back

- Failure to implement uniform civil code

Armed Forces

1. Indian armed forces traditionally been non-politically & accepted civilian control & leadership
2. Nehru in particular was worried about the possibility of armed forced intervening in politics
3. To avoid this: kept size of armed forces relatively small, refusing to permit their expansion even after large scale US military aid to Pakistan. Other reasons for extremely low defense expenditure
   a. Diversion of economic resources
   b. Given absence of domestic

Elections of 1951-52: When the first draft of the rolls was published, it was discovered that the names of nearly 40 lakh women
were not recorded in the list. They were simply listed as “wife of ...” or “daughter of ...”.

Nehru Patel differences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nehru</th>
<th>Patel</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• State control of economy</td>
<td>• More friendly with capitalists</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Rajagopalachari for 1st president</td>
<td>• Harsher with pakistan</td>
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<td>1. Differed</td>
<td>• Rajender Prasad for 1st President</td>
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<tr>
<td>a. On way 1947 riots were to be handled</td>
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<td>c. Patel want right to property should be included in FR</td>
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Congress party: 1947-1964
1. Nehru Era: wide social base

Socialism in congress
- Nehru: adopted policy of extending land reforms from adoption of landlordism to fixation of ceilings on landholdings
- 2nd & 3rd FYP: further committed to socialism

Early 1960s: administrative corruption & hunger for official position
- Nehru with Kamaraj: last effort to infuse life in party. Kamaraj Plan: number of leading congressmen who were in government as union cabinet ministers or as CM in states should voluntarily resign from their post & take up organisational work in order to revitalise party. It came late, Nehru soon died, plan failed

Nehru & Patel: many times differences on questions of policy led to near breaches & offer of resignations from government by one or other, but mutual respect & affection for each other
1. Patel main leader of congress right wing, stood for abolition of landlordism but through payment of compensation
2. Both were secular
3. Differed
   a. On way 1947 riots were to be handled
   b. Relations with Pakistan
   c. Election of Purushottam Das Tandon as congress president in 1950, Patel supported Nehru didn't
   d. Patel want right to property should be included in FR

The opposition
1. The socialist party
   a. Jayapraksh Narayan, Dr Rammanohar Lohia, SM Joshi
   b. Socialist party born in 1934 remained part of congress, though it had its own constitution
   c. Socialist boycotted negotiations with congress, rejected Mountbatten Plan for independence & partition of country
   d. Early 1948 congress framed a rule that its member could not belong to another party that has its own constitution & discipline. Since socialist were not willing to dissolve their own party, left congress
   e. Socialist departure from congress weakened the left inside congress & led to Nehru being hemmed in by conservative forces in party
   f. Afterwards Nehru tried several times to bring back socialist
2. Kishan Mazdoor Praja Party
   - after losing to Purushottam das tandon for congress presidency, large number of congressmen led by Kriplani resigned from party in 1951
3. Praja socialist party (PSP).
   a. Formed by merger of above two parties
   b. Became largest among opposition parties
   c. Lohia & his group left in 1955, Acharya Narendra Dev died in 1956, Jayaparakesh Narayan withdrew from active politics in 1954
4. Swatantra Party
   a. 1959, most of leaders were old congressmen like C RajaGopalachari, K M Munshi
   b. Swatantra formation was first attempt to bring highly fragmented right wing forces together under umbrella of single party
   c. Favoured free, private enterprise & opposed active role of state in economic development
   d. Opposed nationalisation of private enterprises, extension of land reforms, especially fixation of ceilings on land holdings
   e. After death of C Rajagopalachari in 1967, most of the party leader joined Bhartiya Lok Dal in 1974, few went to congress
   f. Had small social base: industrialists, princes, jamindars & landlords, ex-landlord turned capitalist farmers
5. Socialist Party
   a. After leaving PSP, Dr Lohia formed socialist party at the end of 1955
   b. Its hallmark: political militancy
   c. Involved in agitations, disobedience movements, walkouts from legislature & disruptions of their proceedings
   d. After death of Lohia: dissidence, defections & splits
   e. Merged with PSP in 1964, break free in 1965 & merge again in 1971
6. The communist party
   a. Part of congress since 1936, but unwilling to accept congress discipline, it left party in 1945.
   b. Under soviet guidance it declared in December 1947 that Indian independence was fake & 15 August was a day of national betrayal.
   c. Feb 1948: gave a call for immediate armed uprising
      i. Continued armed struggles in Telangana which was going against Nizam since 1946 but now directed against Indian government.
      ii. Declared national railway strike in March 1949.
      iii. Party also indulged in several terrorists acts, as a consequence, the CPI was banned in several states.
   d. Formed government in Kerala (1st democratically elected communist anywhere in world) in 1957, dismissed in 1959 under Art 356.
   e. Differences sharpened between sections of society after Soviet critique of Stalin Russia-China differences & India-China 1962 war.
   f. CPI splitted in 1964, representing the earlier 'right' & 'centrist' trends as CPI, supported Russia; party representing the left trend: CPM, supported China. CPM believed necessary to start agrarian revolution & an armed struggle under leadership of working class & its party.

7. Bhartiya Jan Sangh
   a. Founded in 1951, basically a communal party.

8. Communal Parties
   a. Hindu Mahasabha
   b. Akali Dal

9. Regional Parties
   a. DMK
   b. National conference
   c. Ganatantra Parishad in Odisha
   d. All India Hill leaders’ conference in Assam
   e. Schedule caste federation in Maharashtra

10. Small left parties confined to one state
    a. Revolutionary Socialist Party (Kerala & WB)
    b. Forward Bloc (WB)
1. Under Kamaraj (congress presidency) : Shastri unanimously chosen
2. PM from 1964-1966
3. India recovering from economic implications of war with China, failed monsoons, drought & serious food crisis
4. Gave famous slogan "Jai Jawan Jai Kisan"
5. Didn’t want the war, even allowed Pakistan to have an upper hand in Rann of Kutch but acted decisively afterwards during 1965 war, decision to cross IB towards Lahore was turning point & lauded
6. Set up prime minister secretariat later called PMO
7. Indian government was the first to criticise USA bombing of north vietnam
8. Handled hindi issue inaptly
1. Peaceful transition of power after intense competition between Indira Gandhi & Morarji Desai

Fourth General Elections 1967

1. Context
   a. Rupee devaluated was seen as under USA pressure : widely criticised
   b. Failure of successive monsoon, widespread drought, decline in agriculture production, serious food shortage
   c. Non congressism : parties that were having entirely different & disparate in their programmes & ideology got together to form anti-congress fronts in some state. Ram Manohar Lohia gave this strategy the name of 'non congressism'

2. Electoral verdict
   b. Lost majority in 7 states, in 2 states defection prevented it from forming government (gave rise to expression 'Aye Ram Gaye Ram'. Only DMK formed government on its own, rest were coalition government

Split in Congress
   ○ Indira Vs. Syndicate
   ○ Syndicate :
     ▪ informal name given to group of congress leaders who were in control of party's organisation led by K.Kamraj included SK Patil, N. Sanjeeva Reddy
     ▪ Both Shastri & Indira Gandhi owned their position to support received from syndicate
   ○ These leaders expected to follow their advise. Gradually however Indira assert her position
   ○ Indira launched series of programme to give her government a left orientation. Ten point programme include social control of banks, nationalisation of GIC, ceiling on urban property & income. Syndicate leader though approved this programme but had serious reservation about this

   ○ Presidential Elections. 1969
     ▪ Syndicate nominated N. Sanjeeva Reddy as official congress candidate. Indira had reservations, retaliated by encouraging VV Giri the then VP to file his nominations
     ▪ Congress issued whip asking all congress MPs/MLAs to vote in favour of Sanjeeva Reddy. After silently supporting VV Giri, she openly called for conscience vote. Ultimately led to victory of VV Giri
     ▪ Congress expelled PM from party. Syndicate came to known as Congress (organisational) & group led by Indira Gandhi as Congress (requisitionists)

1971 election
- After the split government continued in office with support of CPI & DMK
- Indira Gandhi recommended dissolution of Lok Sabha in December 1970
- All major non communist opposition party formed Grand alliance. Gave slogan "Indira Hatao"
- Indira Gandhi gave "Garibi hatao" focussed on growth of public sector, imposition of land ceiling, abolition of privy purses
- Congress (R )-CPI alliance won more seats & votes than the congress had won in first 4 general elections
- After Bangladesh war of 1971, congress swept through all the state assembly elections in 1972
○ Passage of MRTP act 1969
○ Successful handling of Hindi official language issue
○ Authorised development of nuclear weapons in 1967
○ Foreign
  ○ India needed urgent wheat, financial aid & capital investment: she tried to build bridges with USA during her visit in 1966. Though USA promised but actual dispatches to India were irregular & came in small installment. USA wanted India to change its farm policy & also position in Vietnam.
  ○ She signed joint statement with Soviet Union demanding immediate & unconditional end to USA bombing in Vietnam
  ○ Developed closed ties with Nasser of Egypt & Tito of Yugoslavia
Success
1. Foreign
   a. Indian peace keeping forces in Sri Lanka against LTTE
   b. Helped Maldives president Maumoon Abdul Gayoom in preventing coup
   c. Advocating for cause of disarmament
   d. Fight against South African apartheid & Namibian independence
   e. India played major role in negotiating Vietnamese withdrawal from Cambodia
2. Announced national policy for education to expand & modernise higher education across India, founded Jawaharlal Navodaya Vidyalaya system
3. Operation blackboard : aimed at providing basic amenities to schools
4. His efforts created MTNL & his public call offices (PCO) helped developed telephone network in rural areas
5. Rajiv Longowal Accord
6. Anti Defection law
7. Consumer protection act for setting up of consumer courts
8. In 1988 launched Operation Black thunder to clear Golden temple of arms & gunmen
9. Successful settlement of Mizo issue, Assam accord in 1985 which was launched by Assamese people to protest against the alleged illegal migration of Bangladeshi Muslims and immigration of other Bengalis to their state
10. Set up 6 technology missions helped by Sam Pitroda
    a. Most important of it was drinking water mission
11. Computerisation programme : import duties reduced, foreign manufacturers allowed to enter home market

Failures
1. Bofors Scandal
2. Shah Bano case : appeasement
P V Narasimha Rao
1. First PM from non-Hindi speaking south India
2. Father of Indian economic reforms
3. He energised the national nuclear security & ballistic missiles program
4. Decide in 1992 to open relations with Israel
5. In 1993 he was alleged for buying MP of JMM for no confidence motion

Atal Bihari Vajpayee
1. 10th PM
2. Founder member of erstwhile Bharatiya Jan Sangh & Bhartiya Janata Party
3. 2014 : Bharat Ratna, Birthday : good governance day
4. Actively opposed emergency, jailed:
5. As foreign minister in 1977 became the 1st person to deliver speech to UNGA in Hindi
6. Prime minister
   a. Operation Shakti : 1998 underground nuclear tests
      i. Russia & France endorsed India’s right to defensive nuclear power, others including USA, Canada, Japan, Britain & EU imposed sanctions on information, resources & technology to India
   b. Pakistan
      i. Lahore Summit
         1) Early 1999 : Lahore Bus summit, broke ice due to nuclear tests
      ii. Kargil War
         1) 2001 Agra summit
      iii. Hijack of IC-814 : government forced to exchange terrorist with passengers
         iv. 2001 stand off at IB with Pakistan after 2001 parliamentary attack
   c. 2000 visit by Bill Clinton state visit : reflect major shift in USA policy in post cold war era
   d. North-South, East-West corridor, Golden Quadrilateral; Pradhan Mantri Gram sadak Yojana

Dr. A P J Abdul Kalam
1. 11th president from 2002-2007
2. Scientist & science administrator at DRDO & ISRO
3. Involved in India's civil space program & military missile development. Missile Man of India
4. Integrated Guided Missile Development Programme was started in 1982-83 under his guidance
5. Played a pivotal role in India's Pokhran-II 1998
6. Project director of India's satellite Launch vehicle (SLV-III) & successfully deployed Rohini Satellite
7. Kalam directed 2 projects : Project Devil & Project Valiant which sought to develop ballistic missiles from technology of the successful SLV program
8. Served as Chief Scientific Adviser to PM & secretary of DRDO from 1992-1999
9. People's President
CENTRAL GOVERNMENTS SINCE 1989

Period

- December 1989 - November 1990: National Front (NF), supported by Left Front and BJP
- November 1990 - June 1991: Section of NF led by Ramkarpal Janata Party supported by Congress
- June 1991 - May 1996: Congress supported by ADMK and some smaller parties
- May 1996 - June 1996: BJP minority government
- June 1996 - April 1997: United Front with Congress support
- April 1997 - March 1998: United Front with Congress support

Coalition/Parties in Government

- V.P. Singh
- Chandra Shekhar
- P.V. Narasimha Rao
- A. B. Vajpayee
- H.D. Deve Gowda
- I.K. Gujral

Screen clipping taken: 10/23/2015 11:09 AM
1. CPM had originally split in 1964 over grounds of differences over revolutionary politics (often equated with armed struggle) and reformist parliamentary politics.
2. To implement their political line, rebel CPM leaders launched a peasant uprising in Naxalbari area in 1967.
3. CPM leadership expelled them, used party organisation & government machinery to suppress them. Breakaway CPM leaders came to be known as naxalites.
4. In 1969, they broke off from the CPI (M) and a new party, Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) (CPI-ML) was formed under leadership of charu mazumdar, got Chinese government’s ideological & political support.
5. Overt acts of violence in the name of ‘annihilation of class enemies’ started surfacing thereafter in parts of different States led by the CPI-ML leaders and their cadres in WB, AP, Kerala, Bihar, UP besides Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Punjab.
6. 1971 : operation Steeplechase by mobilising Indian army
7. Various splinter groups emerged during early 1980s: Naxalites of Andhra Pradesh regrouped as the CPI-ML (Peoples’ War Group/ PWG); Bihar Naxalites rechristened themselves as the Maoist Communist Centre (MCC)
8. PWG in Andhra Pradesh succeeded in mobilising a fairly large section of the rural population some of their programmes Praja Courts’ (peoples’ courts) in which complaints against land-owners, money-lenders and even against Government official they also indulge in forcible collection of funds. Then united AP government used specially trained police units called greyhounds.
9. This forced the Andhra Maoists to vacate these areas and get dispersed in adjacent pockets in the Dandakaranya belt of Chhattisgarh and in some of the adjacent districts of Orissa
10. Meanwhile developed some expertise in IEDs which caused large number of casualties
11. State creation of resistance group from amongst tribal people called known as Salwa Judum
12. Bihar Naxalities namely Maoist communist center/MCC found their greater adversary not so much administration & police but armed gangs of landlords class- the Ranbir Sena & Bhumihar sena. Series of revenge killings
14. 2009 : Integrated action Plan by union government : economic development + increased special police funding for better containment

Building of infrastructure in naxal hit areas & deploying security forces to guard these acts as an intrusion

Any state sponsored activity in the name of development is met with hostility. Development should not reduced to build mobile towers, roads, bridges. Democratic institution are yet to take root, in many villages where maoists have sympathisers
1. By beginning of 1973 Indira Gandhi popularity began to decline
   a. Growing unemployment
   b. Rampant inflation, corruption
   c. Scarcity of foodstuff
   d. Burden of feeding refugees + cost of Bangladesh war
   e. Decline in US aid
   f. Monsoon failed in 1972-1973
      i. Drop in power generation
      ii. Fall in agriculture prices
   g. 1973 oil shock: massive increase in price of petroleum prices, cost of fertilisers
   h. In order to reduce expenditure the government froze the salaries of its employees. Caused dissatisfaction among government employees
2. Law & order deteriorated
   a. All India railway strike 1974
   b. in 1973 mutiny in UP by Provincial armed constabulary which clashed with army sent to discipline it
   c. Strikes, student protests & popular protests often turned violent
3. Gujarat Movement
   a. Jan 1974 Student movement: against rise in food grain prices, cooking oil & other essential commodities soon joined by opposition parties
   b. Strikes, looting, rioting; police excessive force, indiscriminate arrests
   c. By Feb., union government forced to ask the state government to resign, suspend assembly & impose president’s rule
4. Bihar Movement
   a. Inspired by success of Gujarat movement, student in Bihar started agitation.
   b. Students started gherao of assembly, opposition parties quickly joined
   c. JP Narayan, came out political retirement, took its leadership & gave a call for total revolution in social, economic & political sphere to establish what he considered to be in true democracy. He demanded resignation of congress government in Bihar, went beyond Bihar & organise a country wide movement against corruption & removal of congress & Indira Gandhi
   d. 1975: JP led people march to parliament, he now was supported by non-congress opposition parties
   e. June 1975: Allahabad HC passed judgement declaring Indira Gandhi election to Lok Sabha invalid. SC granted her partial stay, she now could remain MP but could not take part in proceedings of Lok Sabha
5. The Emergency
   a. At midnight electricity to all major newspaper offices were disconnected. In morning, a large number of leaders & workers of opposition parties were arrested
   b. Strikes banned, preventive detention used excessively
   c. 42nd amendment
   d. MISA passed
   e. CPI backed government
   f. Sanjay Gandhi, did not hold official position, yet he gained control over administration. His role in demolitions & forced sterilisation in Delhi became controversial.
   g. Conflict with Judiciary
      i. After Kesavanand Bharti case: the next CJI (A N Ray) was appointed after the government set aside the seniority of 3 judges. These 3 judges had given rulings against the stand of government
      ii. In ADM Jabalpur case: in the Habeas Corpus case during the Indian Emergency, four other judges agreed with the government view that even fundamental rights like the right to life stood abrogated during Emergency. Khanna’s dissenting opinion, claiming that the Constitution did not permit right to life and liberty to be subject to executive decree, is widely regarded as a landmark in Indian democracy. He was also superseded by junior for the post of CJI
   h. Public response
      i. Less crime in cities
ii. Immediate & general improvement in administration, government servants coming on time, trains on time
iii. Prices of essential goods, including foodstuff came down
iv. After 6 months of emergency
   1) Government servants & teacher became discontent because they were being disciplined in their workplaces
   2) Bureaucracy & policy got increased that was unchecked by criticism & exposure form press
   3) Denial of civil liberty began to be felt by common people: corruption & harassment by petty officials

6. After emergency Shah commission appointed by government
   a. Torture & custodial death
   b. Arbitrary relocation of people & compulsory sterilisations

7. Elections in 1977
   a. Elections held in March 1977.
   b. Major opposition parties came together & formed Janata party (INC (O), Bharatiya Lok Dal, Bharatiya Jan Sangh, Samajwadi Party)
   c. Some other congress leaders also came out & formed separate party under leadership of Jagjivan Ram, later merged with Janata party
   d. Congress lost in north Indian states, retained many seats in Maharashtra, Gujarat & Odisha & virtually swept southern states (forced relocations & sterilisations were mostly concentrated in northern states
   e. After elections competition for PM among Morarji Desai, Charan Singh, Jagjivan Ram
   f. Janata party led by Morarji Desai lost its majority in less than 18 months. Charan Singh government formed in assurance of congress fell after 4 months after congress withdrew support
   g. In 1978-79 Congress witnessed a split – Congress(I) led by Indira Gandhi and Congress(U)
      i. I for Indira & U for Devraj Urs
      ii. After 1980 elections, Janata Party split with old Jan Sangh leaders leaving to from BJP, Jagjivan Ram joining Congress (U)
   h. Fresh lok Sabha in Jan 1980: Janata party suffered comprehensive defeat. Congress came to power
   i. The experience on 1977-79 taught another lesson in democratic politics: government that are seen to be unstable & quarrelsome are severely punished by the voters

Jayaprakash Narayan
1. Founder general of congress socialist party
2. Justly renowned for his integrity, lack of ambition for office, fearlessness, selflessness & lifelong commitment to civil liberties
3. Hero of 1942 quit India movement
4. Declined to join Nehru Cabinet
5. Became a Gandhian & was involved in Bhoodan movement, negotiations with naga rebels, peace initiative in Kashmir & ensure surrender of dacoits in Chambal
6. Leader of Bihar movement, became of symbol of opposition to emergency
7. Moving force the formation of Janata Party

Emergency was seen as a black spot because:

(a) First argument is that reason of the emergency is not justified as it involved the personal interests.

(b) Thousands of opponents were jailed.

(c) Fundamental Rights like Freedom of speech, expression were suspended. Press was heavily censored.

(d) State legislature like Gujarat & Tamil Nadu where anti Indira government was in power, were dissolved by imposing Presidents rule.

(e) Sanjay Gandhi initiated widespread sterilization program to limit population growth. People were forced & sterilized against their will.
(e) Sanjay Gandhi initiated widespread sterilization program to limit population growth. People were forced & sterilized against their will.

(f) 42nd Amendment of the Constitution was passed which was called mini constitution in itself. Power of Judicial review was abandoned.

(g) Public and Private media institutions, like the national television network Doordarshan, were used for government propaganda.

(h) Many people were detained by police without charge or notification of families.

However there were several positive outcomes of the steps taken by government during the emergency. Such as:

(a) Growth in Indian Economy showed the sign of recovery.

(b) Inflation was controlled through curbing black marketing & hording.

(c) Food productivity improved as the results of green revolution started appearing.

(d) Education was promoted. Social evils like dowry were controlled.

(e) Law & order was followed strictly & administration becomes responsible to the people.

(f) Indira Gandhi Adopted 20 point programme for upliftment of urban & rural poor.

(g) But it has established the notion of democracy more firmly by expelling the government (at that time) & showed that India cannot be ruled against the will of people by any dictator.
1. 1st used in 1954 in PEPSU (Patiala & East Punjab states union) & then during the liberation movement (Vimochana samaram) to communist government of Kerala
2. Janata government dismissed 9 congress states government in 1977 for political reasons
3. Congress government dismissed 9 non congress government as retaliation
4. After the 1994 SC judgement in S R Bommai Vs. Union of India misuse of president rule was curtailed. SC established strict guidelines for imposing president's rule.
5. Since early 2000, the number if cases of imposition of president rule has come down drastically
Set up in 1979 by Janata Government under PM Morarji Desai
- To identify who qualified as an "other backward class", the commission adopted 11 criteria which could be grouped under 3 major headings: social, educational & economic
- Mandal commission judged classes on a scale from 0 to 22. All castes which had a score of 50% (i.e. 11 points) were listed socially & educationally backward & rest were treated as 'advance'
- Report submitted in 1980
- When PM VP Singh in 1989 tried to implement recommendations in 1989, massive protests, many students committed self-immolation
- Implementation: recommendation of reservation for OBCs
  - In government services: in 1993
  - Higher education institutes: in 2008

Reservations for the OBC were in existence in southern States since the 1960s. But this policy was not operative in north Indian States.
Telangana Movement

1. In 1918 Nizam government accepted that in all state services those who were born in state or had lived there for 15 years (i.e. Mulkis) would be given preference.
2. At time of merger of Telangana with AP in 1956, leaders of both regions entered gentlemen's agreement providing for retention of mulki rules in modified form.
3. The discontented in Telangana accused the government of deliberately violating the agreement. 1968 student of Osmania university went on strike. SC judgement in march 1969 declaring reservation of post under 1956 agreement to be constitutionally invalid.
4. Telangana Praja Samiti (TPS) formed to lead movement for separate Telangana state in organised manner.
5. 1971 compromise worked out under aegis of central government, under this Mulki rules continued, TPS merged with congress.
6. 1972 SC gave a judgement in October 1972 sanctioning the continuance of mulki rules.
7. September 1973, central government put forward a 6 point formula which did away with Mulki rules but extended preference in employment & education to all districts & regions of state over outsiders. 32nd constitutional amendment was passed, included the article 341D. This provided for special preference for local people in public employment to all districts in the state over outsiders.
1. SRC in 1956 rejected demand for separate state
2. Akali Dal in newly created Punjabi Suba, failed to secure majority in 1967 & later elections. Having lost the elections in 1980 & in order to widen their support base among Sikhs, Akali Dal headed by Sant Longowal submitted to PM a memorandum of demands.
3. It included religious, political & social demands & grievances including issue of sharing of Punjab’s water, transfer of Chandigarh. Implementation of Anandpur Sahib Resolution (1973) became most prominent demand
4. Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindarwale, who emerged in late 1970s as strong campaigner of Sikh orthodoxy. In his campaign he received tacit support of Punjab congress led by Giani Jail Singh, who hoped to use him to undercut the Akalis. He however to soon become a Frankenstein & turn against his erstwhile patrons
5. To protect himself he moved in 1982 in Golden Temple. From 1973 he started targeting Hindus on increasing Hindus with relative impunity as Punjab administration & police were in run down condition. He organised looting of local banks, jewellery shops & home guard armouries, the killings of Nirankari
6. Fearing arrest, in December 1983, Bhindranwale moved into the safe haven of the Akal Takht within the Golden Temple and made it his headquarters and armoury, and a sanctuary for his terrorist followers, many of whom were criminals and smugglers. He smuggled on a large scale light machine-guns and other sophisticated arms into the temple
7. Pakistan growing involvement in Punjab affairs
8. Operation blue Star in June 1984 : military operation by army. Many devotees & temple staff died in crossfire, building complex was severely damaged especially Akal Takht, even though the army has taken special care at the cost of the lives of its soldiers not to damage it.
9. 1985 : Rajiv Longowal signed the Punjab accord. Longowal was assassinated by terrorists
10. 1988 : operation Black thunder undertaken by Punjab police & paramilitary forces in 1988, which succeeded in flushing out terrorists from Golden temple
In 1970s & 1980s many sections of society became disillusioned with functioning of political parties. Failure of janata experiment & resulting political instability immediate cause

- In the long run the disillusionment was also about economic policies of state
- Benefits of economic growth uneven to sections of society
- Social inequalities like caste & gender sharpened & complicated the issue of poverty
- Gulf b/w urban-industrial sector & rural agrarian sector also there
- Forms of expression : out of party politics engage in mass mobilisation
- Middle class launched service organisation

**Dalit Panthers**
2. Against various atrocities on dalits
3. Parties supported by dalits like republican party of India were not successful in electoral politics, they remained marginal
4. DP resorted to mass actions for assertion of dalits
5. Activities
   a. Use of creativity as protest activity
   b. led to a renaissance in Marathi literature and arts
   c. protested against the brutalities of the caste system in their numerous autobiographies and other literary works published during this period

**Bhartiya Kisan Union**
1. Organisation of farmers from western UP & Haryana
2. After green revolution sugar & wheat became their major crops in the region since.
3. Cash crop market faced crisis in 1980s due to beginning of process of liberalisation
4. BKU demanded: higher government floor prices for sugarcane & wheat, abolition on inter state movement of farm produce
5. Guaranteed supply of electricity at reasonable rates
6. Similar movement Shetkari Sanghatana of Maharashtra
   a. Same debate when agriculture came under threat due to economic policies of liberalisation later WTO
7. Characteristics
   a. Rallies, demonstrations, jail Bharo (courting imprisonments)
   b. Use of caste linkages of farmers
      i. Most of the BKU members belonged to a single community. Use traditional caste panchayat in bringing together over economic issues
      ii. Despite lack of any formal organisation BKU sustain itself for long time because it was based on clan networks
8. Unlike most of the Indian farmers who engage in agriculture for subsistence, members of the organisations like the BKU grew cash crops for the market

**National Fish Workers' movement**
1. These fish workers lives threatened in major way when government permitted entry to mechanised trawlers & technologies like bottom trawling for large scale harvest of fish
2. Throughout 1970s & 1980s local fish worker organisation fought with state government (fisheries was state issue)
3. After economic liberalisation compelled them together on national level platform of National Fish workers Forum.
4. Kerala fishermen front-runner
Anti arrack movement
1. Started in Rural areas in AP, women demanding ban of sale of alcohol in neighbourhood. Women fought against mafias & government
2. Origin
   a. In interior of Dubagunta in Nellore district. Women has enrolled in adult literacy drive in early 1990s. During discussion in class women complained of increased consumption of local brewed alcohol - arrack
   b. Habit of alcoholism had taken deep roots
      - Ruining physical & mental health
      - Affected rural economy
      - Indebtness grew: men remained absent from their jobs & contractors of alcohol engaged in crime for securing their monopoly
      - Women worst suffers: collapse of family economy & violence
   c. Women in Nellore came together & forced closure of wine shop
      i. News spread: 5000 villages got inspired & met together in meetings
      ii. This spread all over state
3. Linkages
   a. Nexus b/w crime & politics (illegal)
   b. Government collected huge revenues
4. Women openly talked about domestic violence
5. women’s groups working on issues of domestic violence, the custom of dowry, sexual abuse at work and public places were active mainly among urban middle class women in different parts of the country

During whole 1980s: women’s movement focussed on issues of sexual violence against women-within family & outside. Campaign against dowry & demanded personal & property law. Movement for equal representation during 1990s: 73rd & 74th amendment

Narmada Bachao Andolan
1. Project: to be constructed in Narmada & its tributaries that flow across MP, GJ, MH. Sardar sarovar multipurpose mega scale dam. Its benefits: availability of drinking water and water for irrigation, generation of electricity and increase in agricultural production other benefits: effective flood & drought control in the region
2. Process of construction: submergence of 245 villages
3. NBA: to save Narmada, opposed construction of these dams & questioned the nature of ongoing development
4. Issue of relocation & proper rehabilitation were raised by local activists groups, then debate on the nature of ongoing developmental projects, efficacy of the model of development, demanded that there should be a cost-benefit analysis. Initially the movement demanded proper and just rehabilitation, then NBA insisted that local communities must have a say in such decision movement also asked why, in a democracy, should some people be made to sacrifice for benefiting others
5. All these considerations led the NBA to shift from its initial demand for rehabilitation to its position of total opposition to the dam
6. All these opposition more stronger in Gujarat. National rehabilitation policy formed in 2003 by government
7. Supreme Court upheld the government’s decision to go ahead with the construction of the dam while also instructing to ensure proper rehabilitation
8. Method used:
   ○ Appeals to judiciary
   ○ International level
   ○ Public rallies revival of forms of satyagraha
9. However movement could not garner much support among mainstream political parties

Lessons from popular movements
- Non party movements are neither sporadic in nature nor are these problems
- Movements came to rectify some problems: should be seen as integral part of our democratic politics
- Represented new social groups whose economic & social grievances not solved in realm of electoral politics
Popular movements ensured effective representation of diverse groups and their demands reduced the possibility of deep social conflict and disaffection of these groups from democracy.

Critics say: Strikes, sit-ins, rallies disrupt the functioning of government, delayed decision-making.

They involve a gradual process of coming together of people with similar problems, similar demands and similar expectations.

Movement for right to information
1. Movement started in 1990, when a mass-based organisation called the Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan (MKSS) in Rajasthan took the initiative in demanding records of famine relief work and accounts of labourers.
2. Demand 1st raised in Bhim Tehsil in a very backward region of Rajasthan. Villagers asserted their right to information by asking for copies of bills and vouchers and names of persons on the muster rolls.
3. On paper, such development projects were all completed, but it was common knowledge of the villagers that there was gross misappropriation of funds. In 1994 and 1996, the MKSS organised Jan Sunwais or Public Hearings, where the administration was asked to explain its stand in public.
4. Small success when they could force an amendment in the Rajasthan Panchayati Raj Act to permit the public to procure certified copies of documents held by the Panchayats. Panchayats were also required to publish on a board and in newspapers the budget, accounts, expenditure, policies and beneficiaries.
5. In 1996, MKSS formed National Council for People’s Right to Information in Delhi to raise RTI to the status of a national campaign.
6. Prior to that, the Consumer Education and Research Center, the Press Council and the Shourie committee had proposed a draft RTI law in 2002, a weak Freedom of Information Act was legislated but never came into force.
7. In 2004, RTI Bill was tabled and received presidential assent in June 2005.

Ghotala Rathyatara”, a popular theatre form evolved by MKSS

Bachpan Bachao Andolan
- Started in 1980 by Nobel Laureate Sri Kailash Satyarthi. Its focus has centred on ending bonded labour, child labour and human trafficking, as well as demanding the right to education for all children.
- So far freed 80,000 children from servitude, including bonded labourers.
- Purpose: to create a child-friendly society, where all children are free from exploitation and receive free and quality education.
- Strategy
  - Prevention: through community intervention
    - Publicise the problems of child labour to consumers
  - Protection: use Indian legislative provisions. BBA works to recover fines from employers and traffickers
  - Rehabilitation: rehabilitation remains the responsibility of the State (Govt.). Statutory rehabilitation is one of the key components of legal action. BBA’s transit rehabilitation centres
- Approaching the Supreme Court of India or various High Courts for making and enforcing policies in favour of children
  - Upholding the Constitutional validity of Right to Education
  - Prohibition of employment of children in Circuses
  - Recovery of fines and cancellation/sealing of establishments employing child labourers
  - Protection of girls being trafficked through unregulated placement agencies
- Campaigns
  - Child Labour Free India Campaign
  - Right to Education Campaign
  - Mukti Caravan
  - Child Domestic Labour campaign
  - Missing Children Campaign
Chipko Movement

Started in Uttarakhand when villagers were protesting against practices of commercial logging that government had permitted

Began in 2/3 villages when forest department refused permission to villagers to fell ash trees for making agricultural tools, however allotted same patch of land to sports manufacturer

People protested, move spread to other parts of Uttarakhand.

Larger issue of ecological & economic exploitation of region raised

Villagers demanded: no forest exploiting contracts should be given to outsiders & local communities should have effective control over natural resources

Wanted government to provide low cost material to small industries & ensure development of region without disturbing ecological balance

Women active participation:
  - Other aspect: forest contractors suppliers of alcohol to local men
    - Social issue & broadened agenda: alcoholism etc.

Government ban feeling of tree in Himalayan region for 15 years
Why Secessionist movement in TN ended (for Dravid Nadu) : after dravida realisation that
1. Secession not possible & Indian state strong enough to suppress any move towards it
2. There is no real contradiction between a regional identity & overall national identity
3. India's federal & democratic system of government provide both state & individual Tamil economic opportunities
4. Indian political system & national integration were based on acceptance of cultural pluralism
5. State have complete cultural autonomy, including control over language & other cultural affairs

In short they realise over time the concept of 'unity in diversity' is quite workable & integral part of Indian polity

Self Respect Movement
1. Movement aimed at achieving a society where backward classes have equal human rights & encouraging backward castes to have self respect in context of caste based society
2. Founded in 1925 by E V Ramaswamy
   a. Opposed Brahmin domination
   b. Reaffirmed regional pride against political, economic & cultural domination of north
3. Major tenets of Self Respect Movement
   a. No kind of inequality among people
      i. b/w rich-poor, men & women, rich & poor, different caste etc
4. Self respect marriages
   a. TN became first & only state to legalise Hindu marriages conducted without Brahmin priest

Non Brahmin movement

Dravid Nadu
1. Initially demand of Dravida Nadu propents was limited to Tamil Speaking region, but later it was expanded to include other states with Dravidian spekaers in majority (AP, kerala & Karnataka )
2. Amplified by decision by congress ministry to introduced hindi in madras school in 1938
3. Movement heightened from 1940s & 1960s. The SRC in 1956 which created linguistic states weakened the demand further
4. When under Nehru 16th constitutional amendment was passed in 1962 declaring the advocacy of secession a crime & requiring every candidate to parliament or state assembly to swear "alllegiance to constitution" & to "to uphold the sovereignty & integrity of India". The DMK immedeitely amended its constitution & gave up demand for secession
• After independence difference b/w India & other colonies: a small but independent (Indian owned & controlled) industrial base had emerged in India (from 1914-1947). Emergence of large business conglomerates like Birlas, Tata's, Singhanias, Dalmia-Jains. (unlike in African colonies)

• India had broad societal consensus
  o Self reliance
  o Rapid industrialisation based on import substitution
  o Including of capital goods industries
  o Prevention of imperialist or foreign capital domination
  o Land reforms including tenancy reforms
  o Introduction of cooperatives

• Planning
  o Under chairmanship of Nehru: national planning committee formed in 1938
  o Karachi resolution 1931: state shall control major industries, minerals, railways etc.
  o Plan for economic development of India called Bombay plan developed in 1945 by capitalist

• Industrial Policy resolution 1948: it ushered India in the system of Mixed Economy
  o Four fold classification of industries
    ▪ Strategic Industries (Public Sector)
      □ included three industries in which Central Government had monopoly. These included Arms and ammunitions; Atomic energy and Rail transport
    ▪ Basic / Key Industries (Public-cum-Private Sector)
      □ Six industries viz. coal, Iron and Steel, Aircraft manufacturing, Ship-building, Manufacture of telephone, telegraph and wireless apparatus, and Mineral oil. New industries in this category will henceforth only be set-up by the Central Government. However, the existing private sector enterprises were allowed to continue.
    ▪ Important Industries (Controlled Private Sector)
      □ Such industries included heavy chemicals, sugar, cotton textile and woollen industry, cement, paper, salt, machine tools, fertiliser, rubber, air and sea transport, motor, tractor, electricity etc. These industries will continue to remain under private sector however, the central government, in consultation with the state government, will have general control over them.
    ▪ Other Industries (Private and Co-operative Sector)
      □ All other industries which were not included in the above mentioned three categories were left open for the private sector. However, government could impose controls on these industries also if any of them was not working satisfactorily.
  o Other features of Industrial Policy 1948
    o endeavoured to protect cottage & small scale industries by according them priority status.
    o It also emphasised on establishing harmonious industrial relations;
      ▪ gave high priority to fair wage rates;
      ▪ social security to workers and their participation in management.
    o The industrial policy 1948 had acknowledged the significance of foreign capital for industrialisation of the country, but it was decided that the control should remain with Indian hands.

• 5 year plan
  o 1st plan
    ▪ Tried to complete projects at hand & to meet immediate crisis situation following end of war
    ▪ Partition, refugees
    ▪ Most of the foreign aid was used for wheat loan
    ▪ Investment in agriculture sector including investment in dams & irrigation e.g. Bhakra Nangal Dam
    ▪ High powered national laboratories set up e.g. CSIR, Atomic energy commission (1948)
  o 2nd Plan
    ▪ Nehru-Mahalanobis model
      □ Rapid development of heavy & capital industries in India, mainly in public sector
- Import substitution for self-reliance, reduction of external dependence, protecting domestic industries
- Foreign aid necessary & investment essential in initial phase to finance massive infrastructure though the objective was to do away with this need as soon as possible
- Favour for heavy industry along with promoting labour intensive small & cottage industries
- Growth with equity
  - Stress on heavy industries, due to investment in industries possibility of food shortage loomed large
  - Avadi session of congress party : socialist pattern of society
  - Most of the foreign aid used to fund iron & steel projects & general industrial development
  - Soviet aid came in public sector (core & base industries)
- Key controversies
  - Agriculture Vs. Industry
  - Public Vs. Private sector : Instead of helping the poor, the state intervention ended up creating a new middle class
  - Heavy industries in public sector - steel plants, oil refineries, manufacturing units
- Industrial licensing, price & distribution control, import restrictions shielding inefficient domestic producers, dependence on an increasingly inefficient public sector needed to be given up. But due to war, drought etc. delayed
1965-1991

Mid-1960s

- Two successive monsoon failure in 1965 & 1966
- Dependence of foreign aid increased
- US suspended its aid due to 1965 war, India's stand in Vietnam & refuse to renew PL-480
- USA & IMF wanted India to devalue rupee, adopt new agricultural strategy
- Rupee devalued but exports refused to pick up
- For meeting balance of payment crisis: drastic cut in government expenditure
- Bank nationalisation 1969, MRTP act
- Insurance was nationalise in 1972 & coal industry in 1973
- FERA passed in 1973: putting restrictions on foreign investment & functioning of foreign companies in India


- Efforts after mid 1960s: improve balance of payments situation (after less food import, improvement in exports, remittances), create food security

Till 1980s most foreign collaboration was technological collaborations

1980s: stock market emerged, early 1980s ONGC found oil at Bombay High

Need for reforms

- Structural feature bred inefficiency
  - Import-substitution
  - License-Quota Raj
  - MRTP act: was against basic principles of economies of scale, punished efficiency as company which expanded to due efficient production, good management would face restrictions once it crossed limit
  - Reservation of sectors for small scale industries
  - Public sector became inefficient: overstaffed, unionism, irresponsible trade, corruption, lack of accountability
  - Since mid 1970s virtually no exit was possible for inefficient loss making companies
- Government expenditure rising consistently: increased subsidy, salary increases, overstaffing, populist measures like loan waivers
- 1989 government gave loan waiver for farmers that cost more than ₹100 billion, rapid worsening of BoP. crisis since late 1980s
  - Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990: oil price increased
  - India's international credit rating sharply downgraded: not able to borrow money
  - Remittances decreased from middle east
  - NRI deposit in foreign exchange withdrawn
  - Government forced to sell 20 tonnes of gold to union bank of switzerland
  - Exchange reserve could finance 3 week of imports

India share in world export shrunk from 2.4% in 1948 to 0.42% in 1980 to 0.6% in 1994. Even China changed track in 1978
Economic reforms since 1990s

- The 1970s witnessed some "reform by stealth" with rupee being allowed to depreciate by pegging it to depreciating sterling
- Rajiv Gandhi did some reforms: slightly reduced Licence Raj and also promoted the growth of the telecommunications and software industries

- Exchange rate linked to market
- Liberalisation of trade
- Freer access to imports
- Dismantling industrial licensing system
- Abolition of MRTP act
- Reform of public sector
- Reform of capital market & financial sector
- Removing large no of restriction on MNCs, FDI, FII

Slowing down of economy due to east asian crisis. Russia & Japan also facing crisis situation

2000s Tata acquiring Chorus, Hindalco buying Canada's Novelis
• Agriculture growth b/w 1949-1965 : about 3%. Agriculture growth began to stagnate by 1960s
• 1962, 1965 war ; two successive drought 1965-66
• USA threatened to cancel commitment of food exports
• New Agriculture strategy : concentrating resources on regions that already had credit
• Mexican dwarf wheat, chemical fertilizer & pesticides, agricultural machinery including tractors, soil testing facilities, institutional credit
• By 1980s India self sufficient even exporting food grains to pay back loans
• Instead of the earlier policy of giving more support to the areas and farmers that were lagging behind, now it was decided to put more resources into those areas which already had irrigation and those farmers who were already well-off
• Result
  ○ Class polarization : rich peasants and the large landholders were the major beneficiaries of the process regions like Punjab, Haryana and western Uttar Pradesh became agriculturally prosperous, while others remained backward
  ○ the stark contrast between the poor peasantry and the landlords produced conditions favourable
  ○ Tenants & sharecropper who did not have security of tenure, were only losers. Owners tend to get rid of unprotected tenants to start self cultivation
  ○ Increase of income : consumerism
  ○ Surplus stock use by government in poverty alleviating programmes
  ○ Excessive withdrawal of ground water

White revolution

Green revolution

Friday, October 23, 2015
12:11 AM
Sarvodaya Movement

- Refers to the efforts of Gandhian followers to establish a Gandhian Sarvodaya concept
  - Gandhian Sarvodaya
  - upliftment/progress to all
  - Rejected western form of capitalism that replaced human labour
  - Focus on organisation and welfare of villages
  - Special focus on labourers, farmers and rural economy
- Leaders – JP, Vinoba Bhave etc.
- Components of Sarvodaya Movement:
  - Bhoodan
  - Gramdan
  - JP Movement/Total Revolution
• Passion further aroused when Sri Lanka imposed blockade in Jaffana, preventing daily necessities from reaching people.
• India sent supplies in fishing boat but Sri Lanka stopped them.
• India air-dropped supplies by transport planes, which carried Indian & foreign journalists as well. Thus Sri Lanka permitted boat.
• President Jayawardhane approached Rajiv Gandhi & Accord in 1987 signed by which northern & eastern province of Sri Lanka where Tamils were in majority would be merged into one, substantial devolution of power, LTTE will surrender arms & Indian armed forces will come to help if needed.
• Accord failed to take off because LTTE had given only reluctant consent & was not signatory, didn’t trust Sri Lankan government & refused to surrender.
• Jayawardene asked for Indian army, because Tamil guerrillas had an edge as they knew the terrain & had local support. The situation got even messier when Premdasu succeeding Jayawardhene asking Indian government to withdraw their army.
Partition: barbaric riots

• RSS, Jan Sangh, Muslim League, Akali Dal & various Christian communal groups continued to function.
• Worrisome aspect of communalism & communal violence that covered all parts of the country & all major cities, embracing even areas such as Kerala, TN, AP, WB, Odisha which were earlier believed to be immune to riots.
• With education & not so much growth of jobs: competition, rivalry & discontent.
• Moreover, changes in agriculture threw up new strata of rich & middle peasants & capitalist farmers who proved fertile ground for germination & spread of communal & casteist ideologies.
• Social anger & frustration, horrible living condition makes them easy victims of dealers of communal hatred & finds expression in spontaneous violence.
• Last few decades growing laxity of state apparatuses.
• Communal violence preceded by intense inflammatory propaganda.
• 1967 Socialist & other secular didn’t hesitate to join Jan Sangh in seat adjustments.
• 1974-75: JP permitted RSS, Jan Sangh, Jamaat-e-Islami to become backbone of his movement of total revolution against Congress & Indira Gandhi.
• Rajiv Gandhi vs. Shah Bano.
• Ram temple.
India Nuclear Program

1. Nuclear research began in India in 1944 at Tata institute of fundamental research (TIFR). Department for Atomic energy also created with Homi as its secretary
2. In 1958, Nehru authorized "Project Phoenix" to build a reprocessing plant. The plant used the PUREX process (chemical method used to purify fuel for nuclear reactors or nuclear weapons). Construction of the plutonium plant began at Trombay in 1961, and it was commissioned in mid-1964
3. In 1967, under Indira Gandhi work on the nuclear program resumed with renewed vigor
4. 1968, India refused to accept Nuclear Non-Proliferation treaty.
5. 1974, India detonated its 1st plutonium device at Pokhran, although characterised it as "peaceful nuclear device". Test called Smiling Buddha. Utmost secrecy was maintained
6. As a reaction NSG was formed
7. 1988 Rajiv Gandhi stressed for nuclear disarmament
8. India wanted to conduct nuclear test in 1995 but American got to know about it & put pressure on India to stay behind
9. India officially went nuclear in 1998, conducting 5 nuclear tests(1 fusion, 4 fission bombs) under operation Shakti
   a. US imposed sanctions; Japan, Norway, Sweden & Denmark suspended aid. France, Russia & Germany continued normal economic relations with India
10. Reason: India was surrounded by nuclear weapon state, China had nuclear weapon & had developed long delivery system. Moreover with China collusion & help Pakistan became nuclear weapon state & developed long delivery system even named it provocatively Ghauri, the notorious invader. Also US nuclear ship around India with base in Diego Garcia (near Maldives). Kazakhstan, Ukraine & Russia had major nuclear weapon

![India's nuclear plan](image-url)

Pressurized Heavy water reactors

Uranium + Deuterium oxide  |  Plutonium

Fast Breeder Reactors

Plutonium-Uranium mixed oxide  |  Uranium 233

Thorium based reactors

Thorium-uranium 233  |  energy
1. Integrated Guided Missile Development Programme: for research & development of comprehensive range of missile. Managed by DRDO & Ordinance factory board.
2. Started in 1982-83 under leadership of Dr. A P J Abdul Kalam & ended in 2008 after these strategic missile was successfully developed. Last missile developed was Agni-3 in 2007
3. In early 1980s, DRDL (Defence research & development Laboratories) developed competence in fields of propulsion, navigation & manufacture of materials.
4. Abdul Kalam was earlier project director of SLV-3 programme was asked to lead.
5. The missiles developed under the programme were:
   - Short-range surface-to-surface ballistic missile Prithvi
   - Intermediate-range surface-to-surface ballistic missile Agni
   - Short-range low-level surface-to-air missile Trishul
   - Medium-range surface-to-air missile Akash
   - Third generation anti-tank missile Nag
6. Interim test range in Balasore (Odisha) was developed
7. After test firing of Prithvi & Agni in 1988 & 1989, MTCR decided to restrict access. IGMDP team formed consortium of DRDO laboratories, industries & academic institutions to build sub-system parts etc.
8. In 1998, India & Russia signed agreement to design, develop, manufacture and market a Supersonic Cruise Missile System completed by 2006. BrahMos is a supersonic cruise missile that can be launched from submarines, ships, aircraft or land. It is the world's fastest cruise missile and is 3.5 times faster than the American subsonic Harpoon cruise missile.
1. Formed in 1969, head Dr. Vikram Sarabhai
2. Managed by Department of Space under PMO
3. ISRO 1st satellite Aryabhatt, launched by Soviet union in 1975
4. 1980 : Rohini was 1st satellite to be placed in orbit by Indian-made launch vehicle, SLV-3 (headed by Abdul Kalam)
5. ISRO subsequently developed 2 rocket : PSLV for launching polar vehicles & GSLV for launching geosynchronous orbit.
6. Satellite system like GAGAN & IRNSS deployed
7. 2014 : ISRO successfully used indigenous cryogenic engine, earlier USA put pressure on Russia not to give cryogenic technology to India.
8. ISRO sent first mission to Moon, Chandrayan-I
   a. 2013 launched Mars Orbiter Mission which successfully entered mars
9. Commercial arm Antrix
10. Has launched foreign satellites also
11. Many institutes under it
    a. Vikram Sarabhai Space centre : Thiruvananthapuram
    b. Satish Dhawan Space centre : Sriharikota
    c. Antrix corporation
    d. Physical Research Laboratory : Ahmedabad
    e. Semi conductor Laboratory : Mohali
• Raja Ram mohan roy started questioning social orthodoxy
• Since 1920s struggle women participation increased
  ○ They had been in peasant movements & trade union struggles
• All India women’s conference formed founded in 1926
• Statutory support given though Hindu Code Bill in 1950s, 4 act passed. Earlier whole bill opposed led to Ambedkar resignation
  ○ Hindu marriage act
  ○ The hindu succession act
  ○ The hindu minority & guardianship act
  ○ Hindu adoption & Maintenance act
• Shah bano case, SC granted for maintenance, furore among conservative muslim sections, Rajiv Gandhi introduce bill to negate the judgement

Women movement post independence
1. 1954 : communist women left All India women's conference to form the national federation of Indian women, which became party forum & not a broad united platform for women.
2. Women have also played an important role in peasant, tribal, farmers, trade union & environment movements & this has enabled them to raise women's issue within them. Tebhaga movement had separate platform for Nari Bahini
3. Women participation also quite significant in Telangana movement
4. Also participation in Naxallite movement, Chipko movement, anti price movement. Mass participation had a liberating effect
5. Women wing of Textile labour association (TLA), SEWA(Self-Employed Women's association) became independent, founded by Ela Bhatt
6. Movement in Shahada tribal area of Dhulia district in Maharashtra in 1972. movement for drought relief & land in bhil tribal women began militant anti-liquor campaign
7. Bhopal Gas peedit Mahila Udyog Sangathan
8. Issue of custodial rape in 1980, law made it more heinous crime than other forms of rape
9. Agitation against what was called sati but looked like murder of Roop Kanwar
10. Government came up with national prespective plan for women in 1988, which had detailed plans for women’s health, education & political participation
11. Literacy rate increased
12. 1993 panchayti ral bill: 33% reservation

Women forgo their right to rights in parental property. Custom of partilocal residence(residence in husband's home) is very largely responsible. This is also one reason women have refused to give up dowry because it is only chance of getting their parental property
Telangana Peasant movement

- Peasant in telangana suffered extreme feudal type oppression at hands of jagirdars & deshmukhs
- Communist began to organise peasants into gram sabhas & formed guerilla bands for attacking razakars camps & protecting villagers
  - Armed mostly with slings, sticks & stones & later crude country made guns
- After Indian army moved in to clear out razakars, communist decided not to give up their arms & disband their guerilla bands but going to fight a liberation war with pro-imperialist bourgeois Nehru government
- Army successfully flushing out activists from villages
- Jagirdari Abolition regulation & Hyderabad Tenancy & Agricultural lands act passed

Patiala Muzara Movement

- Muzara or tenants movement
- Biswedars (local term for landlord) initially had limited revenue collecting rights, but due to their growing influence in administration, succeeded in claiming propriety status
- New tenants consider that new landlord had no legitimate right to the land which belonged to tenant for generations
- Movements by Akali & Praja mandal movements in 1920s but repressive atmosphere in Patiala made any political activity extremely difficult, some change after congress ministries formed in many provinces
- 1939 popular movement emerged & open confrontation between muzaras & biswedars, numerous armed clashes.
- Praja Mandal was sympathetic to communists & tenants cause, extended support.
- Repression decreased after formation of PEPSU
- After formation of congress ministry in 1951. Agrian reforms committee was set up. PEPSU tenancy(temporary provision ) act was promulgated which protected against eviction

Naxalbari, WB

- 1st non congress united front government was sworn in WB comprising the CPI, CPM & Bangla congress. It decided to expedite implementation of land reforms
- Charu mazumdar in Naxalbari area of Darjeeling did not believe that land reform was possible through legal methods.
- He & his associates Kanu Sanyal organised peasants, gave a call for ending landlord's monopoly on land, land distribution through peasants committee.
- Around 15000-20000 peasants became nuclei of armed guards, who occupied land, burnt land records, declared debts cancelled
- Persuasion was tried with CPM government, CPM asked leaders to get surrenders all persons wanted by police. But leaders incited peasants against police. Vicious cycle attack on police, police repression, further clashes and so on
- CPM ultimately condemned dissent leaders & expelled them
- Later CPI(Maoist formed)

Srikakulam, AP

- Exploitation by state & landlords of tribal people; communist mobilisation
- Focus : access to forests produce, better wages & land distribution
- Similar to naxalbari

New Farmer's movement

- In 1980s with road & rail roko agitation in Nasik by Shetkari Sangathana of Sharad Joshi.
- Sharad Joshi articulated ideology of movement in terms of India vs. Bharat or urban, industrial India Vs. rural, agricultural India
- 1986 in UP Mahinder Singh Tikait, head of jat panchayat or khap, presided over gathering of lakhs of villagers before which CM forced to appear in person for reduction of electricity bills
- Also movements by Bhartiya Kisan union in Punjab & UP, Kedut Samaj & Kisan sangh in Gujarat
- Basic understanding of these movements rested is that government keeps agriculture price at an artificially low in order to
provide cheap food & raw materials to urban areas. Consequently disparity in industrial prices farmers had to pay high prices for industrial goods.

- Major focus in 1980s only to demand fair price for agriculture produce & lowering & elimination of government dues such as canal water charges, electricity charges, interest rates & principal of loans etc.