

# GENERAL STUDIES

## **Post Independence History of India**

General Studies Monograph Series by GKTODAY

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## INTRODUCTION

The syllabus of General Studies Paper-I of Civil Services Mains Examination includes "Post-independence consolidation and reorganization within the country." This generally refers to the merger and acquisition of the princely states and then reorganization of the states via the 1956 act. However, the GS Paper-1 of UPSC Mains Examination 2013 had a few questions which expand the scope of the subject and demand us to study the major events that happened in India after Independence. The questions pertaining to post-1947 history of India included:

- Critically discuss the objectives of Bhoodan and Gramdan movements initiated by Acharya Vinoba Bhave and their success.
- Write a critical note on the evolution and significance of the slogan "Jai Jawana Jai Kisan".
- Analyse the circumstances that led to Tashkent Agreement in 1966. Discuss the highlights of the agreement.
- Critically examine the compulsions which prompted India to play a decisive role in the emergence of Bangladesh.

Taking clue from above questions, the content of this monograph has been compiled to suitably include the major events in post independence history from 1947 to 1984. The current version is 3<sup>rd</sup> revision of previous documents by GKTodday on the same topic.

Readers may send their feedback and suggestions on GKTodday's Monograph series via email to [suresh@gktoday.in](mailto:suresh@gktoday.in)

Note: The content of this monograph is annotated with footnotes. Footnotes refer to a **Model Question** based on particular section.

## MODEL QUESTIONS

1. "Although the principle of religious majorities was followed for the partition of India, yet it was full of practical problems." Examine.
2. "The political competition between the Congress and the Muslim League and the British role led to the decision for the creation of Pakistan." In the light of the above statement, discuss various consequences of the partition of India.
3. "Creation of Pakistan did not end communalism but in many ways helped it penetrate deeper in Indian society than ever before." Critically analyze
4. In 1947, India was neither a state proper nor a state in the accepted sense of "nation-state." Discuss throwing light on various problems that India faced as a newly independent country.
5. Discuss the various phases of relations of the British with the princely states of India. What was the major shift from the policy of "subordinate isolation" to "subordinate union"?
6. What do you mean by Suzerainty? How suzerainty was exercised upon the princely states during British India?
7. "The only purpose of these princely states was to "serve as a sink to leave all the corrupt matter that abounds in India". Discuss the above statement and the context in which it was made.
8. Through its carrot and stick policy, the Indian State was able to merge almost all regions, communities and princely states. Amplify.
9. What is meant by 'Privy Purses' ? Why did Indira Gandhi insist on abolishing them in 1970 ?
10. Examine the circumstances in which Princely state of Hyderabad was merged in India.
11. Examine the circumstances in which Princely state of Junagarh was integrated in India.
12. Differentiate between the Integration and Merger of the Princely states. What was the net result of these two processes?

13. Discuss the events that led to rise in demand of linguistic states in India? What was the outcome of the States Reorganization in 1956?
14. In 1947 when India became independent, a popular vote in Sikkim rejected joining Indian Union. Discuss the circumstances that led Sikkim to become India's full-fledged state.
15. Integration of Pondicherry in the Indian Union was in striking contrast to the Goa case. Elucidate.
16. The essence of Nehru's economic ideology was that it was not communist but was essentially democratic-socialist. Discuss.
17. Critically examine the land reform program launched by Government of India immediately after independence throwing light on its outcomes.
18. Trace the origin and evolution of the non-aligned movement. What are its objectives?
19. Discuss the reasons to why the developing countries came together under the NAM umbrella after the Second World War. Bring out briefly the stages of major developments in international politics which prepared and shaped the non-aligned movement.
20. The way Jawaharlal Nehru conceived Nonalignment was a strategy and not a doctrine. Discuss critically.
21. "India not only helped to shift the world focus from the politics of confrontation to cooperation and co-existence, but also drew the world's attention to terrorism, disarmament, human rights, NIEO, etc." In the light of this statement critically assess the role played by India in the NAM Movement.
22. While enumerating its basic tenets, critically analyze the relevancy of Panchsheel in today's politics.
23. Examine the key developments in India's foreign policy during Nehru Era.
24. "The conduct of foreign affairs is an outcome of a two-way interaction between domestic compulsions and prevailing international climate." Discuss the statement in the light of India's foreign relations in 1960s.
25. What does the term 'syndicate' mean in the context of the Congress Party of the sixties? What role did the syndicate play in the Congress Party?
26. Examine the circumstances which led to Indo-Pak war of 1965. Discuss its key outcomes.
27. Analyse the circumstances that led to Tashkent Agreement in 1966. Discuss the highlights of the agreement.
28. Write a critical note on the evolution and significance of the slogan "Jai Jawana Jai Kisan".
29. Critically examine the circumstances in which India needed to devalue the Rupee in 1966. To what extent it was able to alleviate the economic crisis of the day?
30. Examine the grave economic crisis prior to the fourth general election of 1967. Assess ' the verdict of the electorate based on the election.
31. Present a critical overview on the outcomes of 1971 Indo-Pakistan war.
32. What were the major conflicts between the Parliament and the Judiciary during the leadership of Indira Gandhi? Discuss.
33. Discuss the major findings of the Shah Commission of Inquiry.
34. Critically assess the tenure of Indira Gandhi as prime minister of India and its impact on domestic and foreign policy of India.
35. Who were Dalit Panthers? To what extent they were able to stop the economic and social oppression of the Dalits
36. Critically discuss the nature of the Bhoodan movement and its contribution to Indian society.
37. Examine the significance of Chipko movement in the conservation of the environment.
38. Write a critical note on role of Lok Satta Movement in strengthening the democracy in India.
39. Write a short note on Chilka Bachao Andolan.
40. Write a note on the Silent Valley National Park and its contribution to environment.

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## UNIT-1

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# Independence and Partition

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On 15 August 1947, the British India was divided into two sovereign states of the Dominion of Pakistan and the Union of India. This was the outcome of a some seven years of process, which actually started in 1940- when the Muslim League propounded the "**Two-Nation Theory**". This theory said that India is not one but two nations viz. Hindus and Muslims. It was also the *disastrous result of the political competition between Indian National Congress, Muslim League and the British* in those days.

### Religion as basis of Partition<sup>1</sup>

The actual partition was accomplished by the so called 3 June plan or Mountbatten Plan announced by Mountbatten on 3 June 1947. The major points of this plan were as follows:

- Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims in Punjab and Bengal legislative assemblies would meet and vote for partition. If a simple majority of either group wanted partition, then these provinces would be divided.
- Sindh was to take its own decision.
- The fate of North West Frontier Province and Sylhet district of Assam was to be decided by a referendum.
- India would be independent by 15 August 1947.
- The separate independence of Bengal was ruled out.
- A boundary commission to be set up in case of partition.

Thus, the principle of religious majorities was followed for the partition. However, there were several difficulties of this division. Such difficulties are discussed below:

#### Problems of East and West

India did not have a single belt of Muslim Majority areas. There were two areas of concentration, one in the west and one in the east. So, though division produced two countries, it actually resulted in three geographical pieces. The east Pakistan later became Bangladesh.

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#### Merger of NWFP

Not all Muslim majority areas wanted to be in Pakistan. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the undisputed leader of NWFP staunchly opposed to the two nation theory. But ultimately the NWFP was made to merge with Pakistan against the wish of these leaders.

#### Difficulties related to provinces of Punjab and Bengal

Punjab and Bengal were the two Muslim majority provinces of British India. But there were many large areas within these provinces which had non-Muslims in majority. Thus, it was decided that these two provinces would be bifurcated according to the religious majority.

### Consequences of Partition<sup>2</sup>

Partition of India resulted in one of the largest, most abrupt, unplanned and tragic transfers of human population that history has known. 14.5 million people crossed the borders to what they hoped was the relatively safer country for them. Its various consequences were as follows:

#### Communal Riots

Various estimates say that between 2 to 10 Lakh people were ruthlessly butchered on both the sides. There were killings and atrocities on both sides of the border. Cities like Lahore, Amritsar and Kolkata became divided into "communal zones".

#### Refugee Problems

Minorities on both sides of the border fled their homes and often secured temporary shelter in "refugee camps". Thousands of woman were abducted on both sides of the border. In many cases women were killed by their own family members to preserve the "family honour". Many children were separated from their parents. Many could not manage to cross the border and found that they had no home. For many, life was now meaning to live in refugee camps.

<sup>1</sup> "Although the principle of religious majorities was followed for the partition of India, yet it was full of practical problems." Examine.

<sup>2</sup> "The political competition between the Congress and the Muslim League and the British role led to the decision for the creation of Pakistan." In the light of the above statement, discuss various consequences of the partition of India.

### Administrative and Financial constraints

Ironically, the partition was not only the division of properties, liabilities and assets or a political division of the country but also division of financial assets and liabilities. But neither Pakistan nor India was ready to handle such as massive transfer of population.

### Communalism

Although Pakistan was formed on the ground of religion but in India, partition had also created severe conflict between Hindus and Muslims.

## Partition and Communalism<sup>3</sup>

Creation of Pakistan did not end communalism but in many ways helped it penetrate deeper in Indian society than ever before. There are several reasons mostly directly rooted in the politics that led to the partitioning of India. This is evident from the following:

- Firstly, Pakistan was established as a **Muslim Homeland** but it did not become the home of entire Muslim population. It was created out of few Muslim dominated provinces and districts. A large number of Muslims from Princely states and British India remained in India. Many of them were illiterate and had no voting rights, thus no role played in the formation of Pakistan. But since they were Muslims, it was presumed that they supported the cause of Pakistan. Thus their very presence within India is seen as an anomaly. This led to tensions.
- Secondly, the various state and non-state actors in Pakistan including the organized Jihadi groups have perpetrated the violence in India. An average Indian Muslim is seen as their supporter by extremist Hindu groups.  
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- The establishment of Pakistan gave legitimacy to the idea that any community could demand a separate homeland on religious grounds. So, we had problems of Khalistan, Nagas and the Kashmiri Muslims.
- The problem of Kashmir is deeply rooted in communalism. It led to expulsion of Non-Muslims from Kashmir valley.

Due to these reasons, communalism has penetrated Indian society deeper than it ever had before independence.

## Problems at the time of Independence<sup>4</sup>

The first challenge was to shape a nation. In 1947, a free India emerged as a new state in the international state system, but it was neither a state proper, connoting a well-defined territorial entity nor a state in the accepted sense of "nation-state". This was mainly because the Indians at that time had meekly accepted the Indian subcontinent as their own "Nation". In fact Sardar Patel had to use numerous tactics to revive the patriotism among numerous princely states. In this way, the Modern Nationalism had not yet fully reached the country. The major problems to shape a nation were as follows:

- Princely States had yet to be fully absorbed
- The issue of independence-demanding frontier tribes, such as the Nagas, had yet to be resolved
- Borders with China, Pakistan had yet to be settled

Further, the country had to face the major political problem of handling the 10 million refugees that came from Pakistan after partition. The other challenges were enumerated as below:

- Challenge to establish democracy, development and welfare of the masses. India had opted for representative democracy, based on the parliamentary form of government. The new country had to

<sup>3</sup> "Creation of Pakistan did not end communalism but in many ways helped it penetrate deeper in Indian society than ever before." Critically analyze

<sup>4</sup> In 1947, India was neither a state proper nor a state in the accepted sense of "nation-state." Discuss throwing light on various problems that India faced as a newly independent country.

inculcate the democratic values. It was also required to evolve effective policies for economic development and eradication of poverty and unemployment.

All these challenges required a deliberate effort which India put in accommodating social differences, establishing a welfare state and by democratising political institutions.

### **Partition and the Economy**

The partition of India had an abrupt and immediate impact on the economy. For instance, the areas that constituted Pakistan were surplus producers of Wheat, Cotton and Jute but were deficit of coal and sugar and had hardly any cotton or jute mills, while the territories that were left in India, were grain-short and needed all the cotton and jute for its Jute Mills.



## UNIT-2

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# The Consolidation of Princely States

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The British ruled India with two administrative systems. One was the British Indian “provinces” and another was the “Princely States”. These princely states, numbering 562 at the time of independence were spread in an area of over 7 Lakh square miles and some of them - such as Hyderabad, were even bigger than UK. *About 60% of the Indian subcontinent's territories were provinces and rest 40% were princely states.*

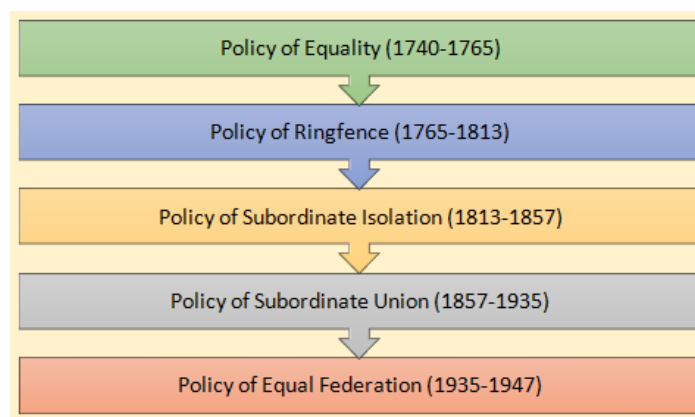
- The words Princely State, Native State or Indian State are synonymous. They were *nominally sovereign entities* of the British Indian Empire, and were not directly governed by the British. The rulers of these states were under the indirect rule by the British and were subject to *the suzerainty or paramountcy of the British crown*. The legal status of princely states comes from the "Interpretation Act 1889" whereby:
- British India means all territories and places within British Crown's dominions, governed through the Governor-General of India or through any governor or other officer subordinate to the Governor-General of India.

India means British India together with princely states that were under the suzerainty of Crown. The Crown exercised suzerainty through the Governor-General of India.

The provinces were the “**British territories**” completely under the British control. The princely states were the states ruled by local king or raja adorned by honorary titles such as Raja, Maharaja, Rana, Maharana, Nawab, Nizam, Badhsah etc. These rulers were subjected to British Empire.

### Evolution of relations of British India and Princely states<sup>5</sup>

For almost two centuries British ruled India in such a way that they developed two administrative systems which best suited to their own colonial interest. These two types of administrative systems were basically a result of the British East India Company's consistent attempts to annexe the whole Indian subcontinent and make it a British territory. However, it was not a matter of months or years, but decades of evolution of the relationship between the Princely states and British India. The relationships between the British India and the Princely states can be divided into following five periods, each having a distinct policy as its own hallmark. These policies are shown in the below graphics:



#### Policy of Equality (1740-1765)

- During 1740-1765 via this policy, the British East Indian Company wanted to uplift its status from traders to rulers and struggled to get an equal status at par with the Indian princes.

#### Policy of Ringfence (1765-1813)

- During 1765 to 1813, the British struggled to safeguard their territories from the Indians / others (e.g. Afghans, French, Dutch etc.) by developing ring-fence or buffer states around those territories. Subsidiary alliance system was a hallmark "Policy of Ringfence".

<sup>5</sup> Discuss the various phases of relations of the British with the princely states of India. What was the major shift from the policy of “subordinate isolation” to “subordinate union”?

### Policy of Subordinate Isolation 1813 to 1857

- Post 1813, the British brought many of the princely states under the suzerainty in such a way that the princely states would remain free in internal matters but dependent on British for external affairs; although direct annexation also continued via different tactics. This period of making the princely states subordinate to the East India Company and isolating them on external matters is called "Policy of Subordinate Isolation". The idea was also to isolate the princes so that they better serve as sinks of corruption. It also prevented them from squabbling against each other and against the British at the same time.

### Policy of Subordinate Union (1857–1935)

- On November 1, 1858, the Queen Victoria's Proclamation was delivered, which finally brought a halt to the territorial expansion of British. The rulers of princely states were given immunity from annexation but their legal status was changed now.
- While the British monarch assumed the direct responsibility of India, the rulers of princely states were declared her feudatories. Now, the British paramount could interfere in the internal matters of the states in the "interest of the public and princes".
- The princely states were now no independent entities and they were legally integral part of the British India. This policy was called "Policy of Subordinate Union".

### Policy of Equal Federation (1935–1947)

- After the enactment of Government of India Act 1935, the princely states were invited to join the loose federation of India. The states were however were absolutely free to join or not to join this federation.
- This is called "Policy of Equal Federation". The British thus stopped the process of annexing the Indian territories from 1858. Instead, they made agreements with the ruling families and made them the nominal rulers of their respective kingdoms.

## Dominion and Suzerainty<sup>6</sup>

The clear differentiation between the terms "dominion" and "suzerainty" are provided by jurisdiction of the courts of law. While the British dominions were under the law enacted by the British Parliament, and the legislative powers those laws vested in the various governments of British India, both central and local, the law in the princely states existed under the authority of the respective rulers of those states.

- Technically, the princes did not come under the Indian Government at all; nor did they come under the British Government. They were subordinate only to the Sovereign and the Viceroy, **not because** he happened to be the head of the Indian Government **but because** of his capacity as a representative of the Crown.
- The viceroy, on his part exercised the tenuous control over the princely states through a glamorous hierarchy of the officials. These officials were the members of the **Indian Political Service**. At that time, the officials of the Indian Political Service were the highest paid servants of India.

## Life under the Princely States<sup>7</sup>

The Indian princes who lived an extravagant lifestyle, were better in terms of security in comparison to other independent rulers of those times. For example, a prince could kill somebody (among his subjects) without coming under any law. If his subjects dared to rebel, the British troops would come, fire a few shots and scare those scoundrels. Thus, the prince was left with authority to kill or torture at his own leisure.

<sup>6</sup> What do you mean by Suzerainty? How suzerainty was exercised upon the princely states during British India?

<sup>7</sup> "The only purpose of these princely states was to "serve as a sink to leave all the corrupt matter that abounds in India". Discuss the above statement and the context in which it was made.

According to **Lord Elphinstone**, the only purpose of these princely states was to *“serve as a sink to leave all the corrupt matter that abounds in India”*. The keeper of elephant was higher in rank in comparison to the state engineer. Similarly, the keeper of harem was more powerful than the prime minister! The centuries old feuds and jealousies manifested them into trivial yet pompous personas, who kept a number of race horses, mistresses and Rolls Royce.

These princes lived in abodes of unsavoury and kept their territories insulated with the winds of changes that were taking place in British India. Some of them had bred so much of indolence and flattened ego that they virtually considered no challenge for themselves. Their processions, darbars, military parades and other types of pageantries left little time or money to build roads, hospitals or other things general well being of the masses.

Some of them had claimed that they were from celestial origin. For example, the Maharaja of Alwar used to provide proofs that he belonged to Lord Ram's clan, and once denied to shake hands with George V, whom he considered an infidel. However, it was the threat of dire consequence, which made him to shake hands with that same infidel.

### British India and Indian India in 1947

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When the British left India in 1947, our country was divided into British India and Indian India i.e. the Princely states..

- The British India comprised 9 Governor's provinces, 5 chief Commissioner's provinces and some other areas such as tribal areas and frontier regions.
- The Indian India was comprised of some 562 princely states. Some of them were big, some of the medium and some of them were very small in size and poor in resources.

The 3 June Plan, which divided India did not deal with the question of the princely states but only British India. However, Mountbatten had advised them against remaining independent and urged them to join one of the two new dominions. With the enactment of the Indian Independence Act, all these princely states technically became free, thus making Nehru's fear of Balkanization of India virtually true. *They were technically sovereign, because of the lapse of paramountcy of the British Crown on 15.8.1947 under Article 7(1) of the Indian Independence Act 1947.* These states were completely independent and **free to join either India or Pakistan or remain Free**. Apart from the princely states, there were some territories in the control of France such as Pondicherry and Portugal such as Goa.

### Problems in Unification of Princely States

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The herculean task was the “Political Unification” of the country to make it a truly nation state. The problem was compounded by two formidable handicaps.

- Firstly, the government was faced by a highly fragmented and communalized society that had yet to be welded into a nation.
- Secondly, government had to deal with the immense social, economic, and political problems inherited from the British and exacerbated by partition. The British had left with all it up to the princely states to work out their relationship with the free India.

The moment the independence comes, the Congress launched a systematic drive to integrate the princely states. The handlers, as we all know, were Sardar Patel and V. P. Menon, the resourceful ICS officer of the British India, who was serving as Secretary in States Ministry.

An elaborate plan was made and the states were merged in India one by one, acquiring *de facto* or *de jure* control over them. Implementing such plan was not an easy task as the indolent princes were reluctant to cede their so called recently acquired freedom.

So, **Jawaharlal Nehru** issued an unmistakable threat: *any princely state that opted to stay out of the new India would be declared as “hostile state” and would be so treated.*

At the same time, Nehru and his colleagues also proceeded to reassure the princes that what they were being called upon to relinquish was what they had never enjoyed- **an independent status**. The Congress made it clear that it had *no intention to swallow the interests of the princes*, not at least without their consent. All a prince was required to do was to just sign the “**Instrument of Accession**” and that was it! By signing the instrument of accession, he conceded to free India to control over those items which were always reserved for the British; namely the Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communication.

This was the so called **carrot and stick policy**<sup>8</sup> and did wonders. The message had reached to the princely rulers and they rushed to New Delhi and signed the instrument. Some of the princely states were happy and uniformly enthusiastic to join the Union, but some of them such as Hyderabad, Travancore, and Junagarh etc. said they would neither join India nor Pakistan. They opted for their independence. But in any case, within a period of two years and without the use of force except in some cases, the unification of India was achieved with friendly persuasion and some judicious sabre rattling.

### Privy Purse<sup>9</sup>

The Government of India had agreed to pay the princes and their heir's annual pensions. Thus, 'Privy Purse' was the form of grant or government allowance given to the rulers and their families. This grant was decided on the *extent of revenue and potential of the merging state*.

Then, they were also let to hold their honorary titles, other symbols of their order such as flying their own flags and so on. Here, we should note that at that time, these arrangements in favour of the princes were made to be permanent. *It was also decided that the Privy Purses could not at any time be “increased, or decreased” for reason or whatsoever*. The Privy Purse arrangement was so important that it found place in the Constitution of India.

Though the amount paid on privy purses was insignificant, yet it started being opposed. Indira Gandhi insisted on abolishing the Privy Purses because hereditary privileges were not in consonance with the principle of equality and social and economic justice laid down in the constitution of India. In the 1967 elections, Indira Gandhi supported the demand that the government should abolish Privy Purses. As a follow up the government tried to bring a constitutional amendment in 1970 but it was not passed in the Rajya Sabha. It then issued an ordinance which was struck down by the Supreme Court. Indira Gandhi made this a major election issue in 1971 and got a lot of public support. Following its massive victory in the 1971 election, the constitution was amended to remove legal obstacles in the way of abolition of Privy Purses.

Thus, *what could never be increased or decreased for reason whatsoever* was **abolished forever**. Thus, Raj left, and Princely India died. What was newly born was an independent India, one nation, after centuries of oppression and exploitation.

### Merger of Hyderabad<sup>10</sup>

Even before India could officially declared independent, the state of Hyderabad had already started sending trade representatives in European countries and *started negotiating with Portugal to buy or lease Goa* or to access its sea, as it was going to be a new landlocked nation.

At that time, the Nizam of Hyderabad, Osman Ali Khan was world's richest person. The State of Hyderabad had its own army, airline, telecommunication system, railway network, postal system, currency and radio broadcasting service etc. Its only problem was that it would be surrounded by India on all sides. But still, the Nizam of Hyderabad wanted to remain independent. It was not a practical idea because:

- It was almost impossible to remain independent and hostile (possibly) within the heart of Indian Dominion.
- Majority of the population of Hyderabad (Hindus 85% , Muslims 12%, Hindus wanted to be with India) wished to accede to the Indian dominion as other 562 states.

<sup>8</sup> Through its carrot and stick policy, the Indian State was able to merge almost all regions, communities and princely states. Amplify.

<sup>9</sup> What is meant by 'Privy Purses' ? Why did Indira Gandhi insist on abolishing them in 1970 ?

<sup>10</sup> Examine the circumstances in which Princely state of Hyderabad was merged in India.

The Nizam wanted that Hyderabad must remain an independent state and stand on an equal footing to India and Pakistan. In June 1947, a Firman was issued by the Nizam which announced that on the transfer of power, his state would be resuming independence.

*This is what was termed a "legalistic claim of doubtful validity" by the Government of India, because lying at the heart of India; it could be used by the alien forces which would threaten India's peace and security. The government of India mandated the merger of Hyderabad with India.*

This was followed by a series of negotiations. The Nizam first of all approached the British with a request to consider Hyderabad as an **Independent Constitutional Monarchy** under the British Commonwealth of Nations. This request was not approved. Then, India's Home Minister Sardar Patel requested the Nizam Government of Hyderabad to sign the instrument of accession. This request was out rightly refused and Nizam declared Hyderabad an Independent State on 15 August 1947.

A discussion was held between Governor General of India Lord Mountbatten and Sardar Patel and Patel was advised to resolve the issue without using force. So Government of India offered a "**Standstill Agreement**" to the Government of Hyderabad assuring that status quo would be maintained and no use of force would be taken up.

However, only guarantee that Hyderabad would not accede to Pakistan was given in contrast with the explicit guarantee by the princely states of accession to India. The negotiations started. India's envoy was KM Munshi and Hyderabad's envoys were Prime Minister Laik Ali (Mir Laik Ali was the last Prime Minister of Hyderabad.) and Sir Walter Monckton.

Accusations were launched by the envoys of Hyderabad that India was setting up armed barricades on all land routes and was isolating their "Country". India retaliated that Hyderabad was importing arms from Pakistan and had stationed a Bomber in Pakistan.

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In June 1948, Mountbatten prepared the "**Heads of Agreement**" deal, which basically offered an autonomous status to Hyderabad with internal autonomy and external affairs to be handled by India.

The Government of India approved this plan but Nizam (his Prime minister and his council which were later termed as vultures by Nizam) refuted this idea too. They wanted Full independence and a dominion status under the commonwealth. Meanwhile, Nizam also approached US and UN for Intervention.

When the negotiations going on there was a fear of possible Hindu-Muslim communal riots. The Nizam was feared of Hindu Uprising and to suppress it, he ordered the creation of a voluntary militia which were called **Razakars**. There were approximately 2 lakh Razakars joined within months. The escalations between the Razakars and Hindus started. The communist party of India, under the banner of **Andhra Mahasabha** led the **Telangana Rebellion**, which began in the Nalgonda district and quickly spread to the Warangal and Bidar districts. The peasant farmers revolted against the Nizam rule. They demanded an end to the Bonded labour and writing off the debts.

The Nizam's army which included the mercenaries such as Arab, Muslims, Pathan and Rohillas and the irregular force of Voluntary Razakars started getting ready for a battle. Hyderabad reportedly received arms from Pakistan and Goa (which was under Portuguese at that time). It is reported that the Nizam received arms supplies from Pakistan and from the Portuguese administration based in Goa. In 1948, Sidney Cotton, an Australian aerial photographer & trader served by organizing airlifts of armaments, supplies and medicines from Pakistan into Hyderabad State during the advance of the Indian Army.

Government of India received information that Hyderabad was arming itself and was getting ready to ally with Pakistan if any war between India and Pakistan happens in future. *At this point, Sardar Patel described the idea of an independent Hyderabad as an ulcer in the heart of India - which had to be removed surgically.*

Government of India was also irked with the statement of **Mir Laik Ali** that "*India thinks that if Pakistan attacks her, Hyderabad will stab her in the back. I am not so sure we would not*". He also made a statement "*If India attacks us I can and will create turmoil throughout India. We will perish but India will perish also.*"

The use of Force was inevitable. The Indian military received the directions to seize and annex Hyderabad. It was led by Rajendrasinghi, DSO and plan was prepared by Lt. Gen E.N. Goddard, the Commander-in-Chief of the



Southern Command. The operation was named "**Operation Polo**" and the **plan of Lt. Gen E.N. Goddard was called "Goddard Plan"**.

The Indian Army started capturing inch by inch causing heavy casualties to the Hyderabad forces. The operation ended with the Surrender of Hyderabad on 18 September 1948. Hyderabad was annexed in India. Hyderabad state forces and Irregular forces suffered combined losses of 1,863 killed, 122 wounded, and 3,558 captured.

The surrender of Hyderabad brought an end to the Nizamat. The Nizam was given a ceremonial post of Rajpramukh in 1950. In 1956, state was reorganized on linguistic basis and Nizam resigned from the office. Many officials fled to Pakistan and settled there, but Nizam remained in India. Nizam Osman Ali Khan was elected to the Indian Parliament twice from Kurnool and Anantapur Lok Sabha constituencies in 1957 and 1962 respectively and was member of various parliamentary committees. Mir Laik Ali, the last prime minister of Hyderabad died in oblivion in New York in 1971. Thus was the story of accession of Hyderabad in India.

Another such princely state was Travancore, which started approaching west to show importance of its Thorium Reserves. The state acceded to India after some initial reluctance.

### Merger of Junagarh<sup>11</sup>

The Nawab of Junagarh Mohammad Mahabat Khanji III, wanted to accede to Pakistan despite having no common border with Pakistan. Two states in suzerainty of Junagarh viz. Mangrol and Babariawad rebelled and Nawab acquired them militarily. Some other states reacted and they asked the Government of India to intervene. A government in exile was formed by Samaldas Gandhi. A referendum was held in February 1948, in which 99% voters favored its merger with India. Indian forces cut off supplies to Junagarh and acquired the territories which had acceded to India. The Nawab fled to Pakistan, after emptying the state treasury and later the court of Junagarh requested Government of India to take over.

First, Junagadh was made part of Saurashtra State. Then on November 1, 1956, Saurashtra became part of Bombay State. Bombay State was split into the linguistic states of Gujarat and Maharashtra in 1960, and Junagadh is now a district of Gujarat.

### Accession of Kashmir and origin of Kashmir Problem

Jammu and Kashmir was largest of the Indian Princely States. The Hindu maharaja of Kashmir ruled over a heterogeneous population of 4 million, 77 percent of which was Muslim, but since his state bordered both dominions of Pakistan and India, Maharaja thought he could play off one country against the other, join neither of them, and make his state wholly independent.

On 15 August 1947, Maharaja Hari Singh offered to sign a Standstill Agreement with Pakistan as well as India, which Pakistan signed but India did not. Pakistan wanted to merge Kashmir with itself. So, it sent raiders to back the Muslims in southwest Kashmir to revolt against the maharaja.

Since Maharaja knew that he might need to turn to Nehru for help, on September 29, 1947, he released National Conference party (NCP) leader Sheikh Abdullah, the nationalist Muslim leader from jail in order to gain popular support. In October 1947, thousands of Pathan tribesmen from northwest Pakistan, armed and guided by the Pakistani army, entered Kashmir; on October 24, when the raiders were well within the state and closing in on Srinagar, the Maharaja asked Delhi to provide military assistance; Abdullah also urged that Delhi do so.

Nehru stated that unless some agreement is signed, India couldn't send its army to a state where it has no legal standing. Accordingly, a treaty of accession was drafted with the promise of **Article 370** in Indian Constitution for safeguard of the people of the state. According to the accession treaty, India was to look after *defense, external affairs, communication and currency* while the local assembly was given powers to decide on all other matters. Similarly, the provisions of part VI of Indian constitution were not to be made applicable to Jammu & Kashmir and it was allowed to have its own Constitution. On the basis of such accession, around 100 fighter planes of Indian Air Force came into action to drive out the raiders. India was able to tack back Srinagar as well as Valley,

<sup>11</sup> Examine the circumstances in which Princely state of Junagarh was integrated in India.

however, by that time; Pakistan had already taken one third of Kashmir. The struggle continued for months and there was a fear of full fledged war. Here, India made a strategic mistake.

The government of India on the basis of a suggestion by Lord Mountbatten referred the Kashmir problem to United Nations Security Council on 30 December 1947, requesting the UNSC for vacation of aggression by Pakistan. This decision was a blunder because instead of taking note of aggression; the UNSC sided with Pakistan and rechristened the problem as *India-Pakistan dispute*.

The UN passed some resolutions. On the basis of one such resolution; India and Pakistan accepted a ceasefire on 31 December 1948 which still prevails and the state was effectively divided along the ceasefire line. According to Nehru, the dirty game was played by Britain and US behind the scene.

Meanwhile, Sheikh Abdullah was installed as head of a reconstituted government of Kashmir. In 1951, the UN passed a resolution which asked for a referendum under UN supervision so that the people of Kashmir could decide their own fate. But one of the conditions of the referendum was that Pakistan had to withdraw its troops from the part of Kashmir under its control. *Pakistan refused to withdraw its forces and we refused to hold any referendum*. Since then, India has successively amended its constitution to make Kashmir as its integral part.

The Jammu & Kashmir council of ministers was to be headed by a Prime Minister (in place of Chief Minister of Indian states) and the constitutional head of the state was Sadar-i-Riyasat. In due course, the Prime minister was changed to Chief Minister and Sadar-e-Riyasat was changed to Governor and gradually the reach of Indian constitution was extended to Jammu & Kashmir. The Pakistan occupied Kashmir, though named Azad Kashmir, has remained dependent practically in all matters on Pakistan.

## Result of Integration and merger<sup>12</sup>

Two processes integration & merger of states was used for territorial adjustments in free India immediately after freedom. The integration involved combining of two or more princely states, while merger involved merging small states with neighbouring British Indian Provinces so that a viable size can be created. The following was the result of the Integration and Merger

- 216 states were merged with the neighbouring British Indian provinces and **they were called Part A states**.
- 275 states were integrated and made new viable units and they were called Part B states
- 61 princely states which were not covered by any of the above categories due to circumstances **were constituted as part C states**
- The islands of Andaman and Nicobar were placed in a separate category part D.

This process took place before constitution of India came into effect. When the constitution of India was adopted by the constituent assembly, the states were in 4 parts were as follows:

- **Part A States:**
- Assam, Bihar, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Madras , Orissa, Punjab, United Provinces , West Bengal
- **Part B States:**
- Hyderabad, Jammu & Kashmir, Madhya Bharat , Mysore, PEPSU (Patiala & East Punjab States Union) , Rajasthan , Saurashtra, Travancore-Cochin
- **Part C States:**
- Ajmer, Bilaspur, Bhopal, Coorg, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh , Kutch , Manipur, Tripura, Vindhya Pradesh
- **Part D states**
- Andaman & Nicobar Islands.

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<sup>12</sup> Differentiate between the Integration and Merger of the Princely states. What was the net result of these two processes?



The above arrangement of Indian states into four categories momentarily solved the problem of political integration. But, there was an increasing feeling for division of states on linguistic basis. The division of the country in Part A, B, C & D was also cumbersome and it was done away with later.

### Demand for linguistic States<sup>13</sup>

In India, the demand for states on linguistic basis was not new. The Montague-Chelmsford Reforms had favored the formation of linguistic based provinces for the first time. Among the leaders, Annie Besant opposed the idea of formation of linguistic states; however Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi favored it. Gandhi favoured it because he believed that use of linguistic sensibilities of the people would help in better mass organization. The All India Congress Committee officially accepted the principle of the "**Linguistic Reorganization of States**" in its Nagpur Session in 1920. The same was reiterated by the leadership of Congress before the Indian Statutory Commission of 1927 and had suggested the creation of Utkal, Andhra, Karnataka on this basis. The same was also supported by the Nehru Committee in 1928. The election manifesto of the Congress promised in 1946, to create provinces on linguistic basis.

Thus, with such a history, problems started occurring in various parts of India for the organization of states on the basis of language. The problem was immense and the leaders knew the magnitude of the problem. However at this juncture (independence onwards), Gandhi as well as Ambedkar opposed the creation of states on linguistic basis. The JVP Committee (**Jawaharlal-Vallabhbhai Patel – Pattabhi Sitaramaiya**) committee was formed in 1948. This committee also came out with opposition to formation of linguistic states.

But, that could not appease the people. Later the **Linguistic Provinces Commission** was appointed to study the problem by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, on June 17, 1948 under the chairmanship of Justice S N Dhar. Justice SN Dhar was a judge of Allahabad High Court and it was called **Dhar Commission**. Dhar Committee found it "inadvisable to reorganize the states on linguistic basis". This recommendation was accepted by the cabinet. Thus, JVP committee as well as Dhar Commission, both refuted the idea of linguistic states.

### Creation of Andhra State

The Telugu speaking people wanted to have their own Telugu state, soon after the creation of Bihar and Orissa in 1912. The Andhra Mahasabha was formed in 1913, but the dream of having own language state remained a dream for the Telugu speaking people for 50 years. A veteran congressman **Potti Sriramulu**, went on fast unto death on October 19, 1952. After 56 days of fast, he succumbed to the fasting and died on December 15, 1952. His death triggered large scale violence in the state and this led to Government of India to create India's first state on Linguistic Basis that is Andhra State (Not Andhra Pradesh, which was a product of State Reorganization Act) on October 1, 1953. Thus, we see that the first linguistic state was formed under political pressure, pumped by the death of a popular leader due to fasting.

### States Reorganization

A chain reaction was triggered in India after creation of Andhra State. After creation of Andhra State, we see the people of India raising their voices loudly to create more states in their own languages. The demand for linguistic states was so huge that the political leadership was not in a position to resist it and thus, the "**States Reorganization Commission**" on December 22, 1953 by Jawaharlal Nehru. The States Reorganization Commission was headed by Justice Fazal Ali. This **Fazal Ali Commission** submitted its recommendations on September 30, 1955. The commission recommended the reorganization of the country in **16 states and 3 centrally administered areas.**

Not all the recommendations were accepted. But the recommendations were accepted to have done away with the cumbersome division of country in part A, B C & D states, and instead have two categories viz. States and Union territories. This was followed by the States Reorganization Act, passed on 1 November 1956. Thus, India was now a union with 14 states and 7 union territories. They were as follows:

<sup>13</sup> Discuss the events that led to rise in demand of linguistic states in India? What was the outcome of the States Reorganization in 1956?

**Outcome: States of India: 14**

- **Andhra Pradesh:** Andhra was renamed Andhra Pradesh, and enlarged by the addition of the Telangana region of erstwhile Hyderabad State.
- **Assam:** No change of boundary in 1956.
- **Bihar:** No change of boundary in 1956.
- **Bombay State:** The state was enlarged by the addition of Saurashtra and Kutch, the Marathi-speaking districts of Nagpur Division of Madhya Pradesh, and the Marathwada region of Hyderabad. The southernmost districts of Bombay were transferred to Mysore State. (In 1960, the state was split into the modern states of Maharashtra and Gujarat.)
- **Jammu and Kashmir:** No change of boundary in 1956.
- **Kerala:** Formed by the merger of Travancore-Cochin state with the Malabar District of Madras State and adding southern part of Travancore (kanyakumari) to Madras state.
- **Madhya Pradesh:** Madhya Bharat, Vindhya Pradesh, and Bhopal were merged into Madhya Pradesh, and the Marathi-speaking districts of Nagpur Division were transferred to Bombay State.
- **Madras State:** The state was reduced to its present boundaries by the transfer of Malabar District to the new state of Kerala. The southern part of Travancore (kanyakumari district) was added to the state. (The state was renamed Tamil Nadu in 1969.)
- **Mysore State:** Enlarged by the addition of Coorg state and the Kannada speaking districts from southern Bombay state and western Hyderabad state. (The state was renamed Karnataka in 1973.)
- **Orissa:** No change of boundary in 1956.
- **Punjab:** The Patiala and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU) was merged into Punjab.
- **Rajasthan:** Rajputana was renamed Rajasthan, and enlarged by the addition of Ajmer-Mewara state.
- **Uttar Pradesh:** No change of boundary in 1956.
- **West Bengal:** No change of boundary in 1956.

**Union Territories**

- Andaman and Nicobar Islands
- Delhi
- Himachal Pradesh
- Lakshadweep
- Pondicherry
- Tripura
- Manipur

This position however did not last long.

- The pattern of 14 states and 7 UTs underwent further change in 1960, when Bombay was divided on the basis of language into Maharashtra and Gujarat. India now had 15 states.
- In 1961, yet another new state was created when the Nagaland (territorial provisions) Regulation was promulgated by the President. The areas comprising the Naga Hills and Tuensang Area assumed the name of Nagaland and thus Nagaland became the 16<sup>th</sup> state of India.
- In 1966, Punjab was reorganized and two states viz. Punjab and Haryana were born in 1966. India now had 17 states.
- In 1970, the Union territory of Himachal Pradesh was made a full fledged state. Thus, India had now 18 states.

- In 1971, Manipur and Tripura were given the state of states. In the same year, Meghalaya that was a part of Assam up till now was made a separate state. In 1975, Sikkim acceded to India and was given a status of Indian state. Thus, India was now having 22 states.
- In 1987, Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram became states on 20 February, followed by Goa on 30 May, while Goa's northern exclaves of Daman and Diu became a separate union territory.
- In 2000 three new states were created; Chhattisgarh (1 November 2000) was created out of eastern Madhya Pradesh, Uttaranchal (9 November 2000), since renamed Uttarakhand, was created out of the Hilly regions of northwest Uttar Pradesh, and Jharkhand (15 November 2000) was created out of the southern districts of Bihar.
- On 2 June 2014, Telangana was separated from Andhra Pradesh as a new 29th state of India.
- The Union Territories of Delhi and Pondicherry have since been given the right to elect their own legislatures. Delhi is technically an administered union territory, but the political administration of the NCT of Delhi today more closely resembles that of a state of India with its own legislature, high court and an executive council of ministers headed by a Chief Minister.

### Merger of Sikkim<sup>14</sup>

Sikkim was being ruled for more than 300 years by **Chogyals**. In 1947 when India became independent, a popular vote in Sikkim rejected joining Indian Union. However, Chogyal Tashi Namgyal was successful in getting a special status of protectorate for Sikkim. This was in face of stiff resistance from local parties like Sikkim State Congress who wanted a democratic setup and accession of Sikkim to the Union of India.

The treaty signed between India and Sikkim ratified the status of Sikkim as a protectorate with Chogyal as the Monarch. Chogyal Tashi Namgyal died in 1963 and was succeeded by his son Palden Thondup Namgyal. By the beginning of 1970 there were rumbling in the political ranks and file of the State, which demanded the removal of Monarchy and the establishment of a democratic setup. This finally culminated in wide spread agitation against Sikkim Durbar in 1973.

On 8th May, 1973, there was a historic agreement between the Chogyal, the leaders of the political parties representing the people of Sikkim and the Government of India.

The Government of Sikkim Bill was passed on May 11, 1974. Chogyal promulgated this Bill on the 4th July, 1974 as the Government of Sikkim Act, 1974. By Constitution 35th Amendment Bill on 22nd February, 1975 a Tenth Schedule was added in the constitution. This amendment act was called Constitution (Thirty-fifth Amendment) Act, 1974. Also, a new article 2A was inserted after article 2 of the constitution of India.

Article 2A read as follows:

*Sikkim to be associated with the Union*

Part A of The Tenth Schedule read as follows:

#### TERRITORIES OF SIKKIM

1. Sikkim. ---Sikkim comprises the following territories, namely:-

The territories which, immediately before the coming into force of the Government of Sikkim Act, 1974, were comprised in Sikkim.

Accordingly Government of India became solely responsible for the defense and territorial integrity of Sikkim and for the conduct and regulation of the external relations of Sikkim, whether political, economic or financial.

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<sup>14</sup> In 1947 when India became independent, a popular vote in Sikkim rejected joining Indian Union. Discuss the circumstances that led Sikkim to become India's full-fledged state.

However, there was a complete collapse in the administration in Sikkim. The Chogyal was proving to be extremely unpopular with the people. In 1975, the Kazi (Prime Minister in Sikkim) appealed to the Indian Parliament for a change in Sikkim's status so that it could become a state of India.

In April, the Indian Army took over the city of Gangtok and disarmed the Palace Guards. A referendum was held in which 97.5% of the voting people (59% of the people entitled to vote) voted to join the Indian Union. A few weeks later, on 16 May 1975, Sikkim officially became the 22nd state of the Indian Union through Constitution 36th Amendment Act and the monarchy was abolished.

Constitution 36th Amendment act was passed on 16th May, 1975. Through this act First Schedule (which lists the states and territories on of India, lists any changes to their borders and the laws used to make that change) was amended and Sikkim was entered on entry 22. A new article 371 F was also added in the Constitution which provided for some special provisions with respect to State of Sikkim. In the same act, 4th schedule was also amended and after entry 21, Sikkim was added at entry 22. Thus, the Article 2A, which was added by 35th amendment act was repealed by this 36th amendment act and Schedule 10 was also omitted.

Since 10th Schedule was omitted as Sikkim became India's fully fledged state, the Constitution (Fifty-second Amendment) Bill, 1985 again added a New 10th Schedule which was related to **Anti Defection Law**.

### Integration of Goa and Pondicherry<sup>15</sup>

The British departure from India had left behind several small French and Portuguese colonial enclaves. The biggest was Goa, with a population of about 650,000 in 1950, of which 800 were Portuguese and other Europeans.

Apart from Goa, Portugal also held three tiny enclaves located in Saurashtra-Daman, Diu, and Haveli. French had five possessions (Pondicherry, Karikal, Yanam, Mahe and Chandernagore), biggest being Puducherry.

After attaining Freedom, Government of India opened negotiations with Portugal and France for the transfer of these territories to the Indian union. The people of French enclave Chandernagore chose to get united with India in a 1952 referendum. The issue with France was resolved amicably by 1954.

However, Portugal took an inflexible stand and India was unable to persuade it by Diplomatic means. Meanwhile, Lisbon in 1951 amended its constitution and converted its possessions in India into an overseas province of Portugal. With this amendment, Portugal closed all discussions regarding the reversion of these territories to India. The Government of India kept stressing for peaceful means but national sentiment demanded some kind of forceful action. In 1955, a new twist was brought into the cold war. In that year, Soviet premier, Nikolai Bulganin, and the first secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Nikita Khrushchev, visited New Delhi and made a statement that India had every right to take over the Portuguese colonies. On the other hand, the U.S. secretary of state, John Foster Dulles issued a joint statement with the foreign minister of Portugal, confirming that Goa was a province of Portugal. This statement was taken by India seriously and it ordered Portugal to close its embassy in New Delhi. Ultimately, in 1961, despite a barrage of criticism from the U.S.-led Western camp, India moved troops into Goa liberated the state from Portugal in 26 hours.

## UNIT –III

<sup>15</sup> Integration of Pondicherry in the Indian Union was in striking contrast to the Goa case. Elucidate.

# Jawaharlal Nehru

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Jawaharlal Nehru, who remained Prime Minister of India for 17 years was the central figure in Indian politics for much of the 20th century. He is India's longest serving Prime Minister and considered to be the architect of the modern sovereign, socialist, secular, and democratic republic of India.

## Nehru's Economic Policy<sup>16</sup>

In 1950s, the objective of the economic policy was to raise the per capita income via agrarian reforms and rapid industrialisation. Such a decision had been taken as early as 1938 when Nehru was chairman of the **National Planning Committee** constituted by Subhas Chandra Bose during his short and ill fated tenure as Congress President.

Nehru was an economic modernist, who believed that rapid industrialisation was the most effective way to win the battle against mass poverty. This ideology was in stark contrast with the economic vision of Gandhi centred on household production.

The essence of Nehru's economic ideology was that it was not communist but was essentially democratic-socialist. It was primarily based on the premise that state should intervene in such a way that country develops rapidly and increases its wealth so that poverty could be eliminated. He wanted to introduce, encourage, and oversee the development of large-scale as well as small-scale economic enterprises. The large scale to be publicly owned and the small scale to be run cooperatively. Little room was left for private sector to contribute to the overall growth of the economy.

The so called Nehru-Mahalanobis strategy was a vehicle to achieve this objective. Its centred around building machines as fast as possible because basic input in all lines of production was the capital goods. It's cornerstone was the soviet style Five Year Plans and its theoretical basis was **Import substitution industrialization (ISI)**.

### Major Reforms and Their Outcomes

- The government abolished giant landholdings but efforts to redistribute land by placing limits on landownership failed.
- Nehru's attempts to introduce large-scale cooperative farming were failed because Zamindars once formed the core of the powerful right-wing of the Congress.
- Government was able to enhance agricultural production until the early 1960s due to collective impact of various campaigns such as Grow More Grains of 1940s, bringing additional land under cultivation, launching few irrigation projects, establishment of agricultural universities. However, true impact was seen only several years after death of Nehru in the form of Green Revolution.
- As discussed above, Nehru took India on the path of Mixed economy whereby government controlled public sector would co-exist with the cooperative / private sector. Accordingly, basic and heavy industries were established under the control of the government. Investment was primarily focussed on steel, iron, coal, and power sectors. Government adopted subsidies and protectionist regimes to promote the development of such industries.
- The policy of Non-alignment helped Nehru to receive aid from both the power blocs. This helped in building India's industrial base from scratch. For example, Steel mill complexes were built at Bokaro and Rourkela with assistance from the Soviet Union and West Germany.
- Between 1950 to 1965, India's per capita income increased by roughly 1.5% while Industry grew 7.0 per cent annually.

<sup>16</sup> The essence of Nehru's economic ideology was that it was not communist but was essentially democratic-socialist. Discuss.



Import substitution industrialization (ISI) Policy

For the rapid development of the Industries, Nehru adopted the Import substitution industrialization (ISI) model which was popular among developing countries those days.

This policy advocated replacing the foreign imports with domestic production. It is based on the premise that country should reduce its foreign dependency via local production to be sold in local market. In this policy, state leads the economic development via nationalization, subsidization and protection of vital industries.

This policy of Nehru was criticized on the basis that it killed the international competitiveness of its manufacturing industries and marred India's trade with rest of the world. The policy was abandoned many years after Nehru's death due to liberalization and forced structural adjustment programs of IMF / World Bank.

## Land Reforms<sup>17</sup>

Jagirdars and Zamindars exploited the peasantry and perpetuated feudalism. Immediately after independence (December 1947), the government of India established an **Agrarian Reforms Committee**. This committee made its two major recommendations to the Constituent Assembly that:

- Land system associated with jagirdars and zamindars must be ended
- A ceiling should be imposed on land holdings to reduce disparities in the rural economy.

These recommendations became the basis of directive principle in Article 39 of the Constitution, which said that the state shall ensure that the "economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment.

### Jagirdar Versus Zamindar

Jagirdar was a holder of a jagir (a parcel of land) assigned to him (not to his family) for life by the ruler in return for services rendered (it would revert to the state after his death), while a zamindar was a tax collector who kept back a certain amount of the collection as his income but had no proprietary right over the estate he controlled. In practice, the jagirdars and zamindars established hereditary rights over their jagirs and estates and they became petty rulers who wielded judicial and police powers over the peasants.

The land reform programme launched by the Government can be divided into three steps as follows:

- The first step targeted the Jagirdars and Zamindars. Land was kept a state subject in the constitution. Working on the guiding principle from central government, the state legislatures passed zamindari abolition bills. Via such bills, the Jagirdar and Zamindar was allowed to keep only that land which was actually being cultivated under their personal direction. Rest of the land was distributed to those who were actually cultivating it. The positive result was that government directly got in touch with the cultivators. However, its negative fallout was more enormous. The zamindars turned themselves into farmers and thus a class of rich farmers emerged in India. Thus, this step could not eliminate tenancy or ameliorate the condition of the landless labor.
- The second step targeted to impose ceilings on land holdings. However, this issue lacked consensus. Many of the legislators sitting in the state assemblies were holding large patches of land and were reluctant to launch any such legislation which would deprive them of their lands. Thus, ceilings were though introduced but they varied from state to state. Further, the bigger landowners were able to circumvent the law via various ways, for example, dividing the land and transfer parcels of it to relatives and friends. The net outcome of this step was that the government almost ran out of surplus land for redistribution to the poor.
- In the third step, government introduced cooperatives that would help the weaker sections of the rural community by providing credit and assistance with marketing and processing. They had little impact on lives of the poor.

<sup>17</sup> Critically examine the land reform program launched by Government of India immediately after independence throwing light on its outcomes.

In summary, the land reform program though succeeded in eliminating the jagirdars and zamindars, but failed to redistribute land or bring relief to the tenant farmer and the landless labor.

## Nehru's Foreign Policy

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### Non-alignment Movement<sup>18</sup>

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In the Cold War era, a few leaders from the developing world, concerned over being drawn into the power struggle between the USSR and US blocs called for a movement where they would not have to be aligned to either side. This is called Non-alignment. The term was first used in 1953 by V K Krishna Menon, India's Representative at the United Nations, who charted a third course between the USA and the Soviet Union.

The same term "non-alignment" was used by Jawaharlal Nehru in his speech in 1954 in Colombo. But as early as in late 1940s, Nehru had spelt out the strategy behind the phrase, first in Constituent Assembly debates and later in Parliament.

In a radio broadcast in 1946, Nehru said, "*We shall take full part in international conferences as a free nation with our own policy and not merely as a satellite of another nation.*"

### Genesis of NAM<sup>19</sup>

NAM, a synonym of South-South Cooperation was created as a loose coalition of small and middle-sized nations of the developing world, mostly former colonies. Colonialism and the influence of the West were the common concerns of all of them.

It originated from **AfroAsian Conference** or the **Bandung Conference** of 1955 of 18-24 April 1955 in Indonesia, however, it was formally initiated at the Belgrade Conference in 1961.

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The founding fathers of the movement were:

- Josip Bros Tito of Yugoslavia
- Sukarno of Indonesia
- Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt
- Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, and
- Jawaharlal Nehru from India.

The non-aligned countries despite their inner contradictions, their oft-differing needs, their lack of military muscle and power, and their economic backwardness, had become some kind of a force to reckon with and at least one significant factor in international affairs. Since 1961, NAM grew, but with the end of cold war, its political importance went into oblivion.

The question is why these countries came together? The answer is as follows:

- The Second World War was followed by rapid decolonization that brought into existence numerous nation states in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean. Most of them were small or mid-sized but under developed.
- All of them faced herculean tasks of nation building, tackling internal dissents and coping with poverty / underdevelopment.
- The WWII also led to outbreak of the cold war, which resulted in the hostility between two major powers US and USSR. It was further fuelled when US adopted policy of containment of communism and USSR started supporting the national liberation movements.
- This resulted in military pacts and counter-pacts, an increase in arms race, gradual polarization of the world into different blocs, and the threat of nuclear war.

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<sup>18</sup> Trace the origin and evolution of the non-aligned movement. What are its objectives?

<sup>19</sup> Discuss the reasons to why the developing countries came together under the NAM umbrella after the Second World War. Bring out briefly the stages of major developments in international politics which prepared and shaped the non-aligned movement.



- The states which had recently acquired their freedom did not want to belong to neither of the camps. So, they envisioned a position of neutral non-alignment.

### Nehru's Rationale Behind NAM<sup>20</sup>

At the time of India's freedom, Cold War had already gripped the world and dragged the European colonies in Asian and Africa into itself. Nehru, who also held the external affairs portfolio, hated imperialism and respected socialism. He was convinced that India should remain non-aligned and have friendly, cooperative relations with both blocs.

The core rationale was that, the *very sense of India, with its history and civilisation attributes, demands the pursuit of an independent foreign policy*. Decisions relating to India's vital interests should not be externally determined. Maintaining and, if possible, expanding the country's strategic autonomy is a continuing objective.

Via Nonalignment, Nehru proposed that India should avoid entering into "other people's quarrels", unless, and this is important and "our interest is involved". Nehru once said that "*We should either be strong enough to produce some effect or we should not interfere at all*", which demonstrates a realistic awareness of the limits of India's ability to influence events. Nehru also did not rule out entering into an alliance if that proved necessary: "*We are not going to join a war if we can help it: we are going to join the side which is to our interest when the time comes to make the choice.*"

The way Jawaharlal Nehru conceived Nonalignment was a strategy and not a doctrine. For Nehru, the non-alignment was a strategy designed to maximise newly independent India's gains from the world system.

Nonalignment did not mean to choose to become a hermit kingdom. Nehru kept the West open for trade and aid, while on the other, it avoided alienating the two communist powers in India's immediate neighbourhood, China and the Soviet Union. By adopting a policy to be friendly to all, Nehru hoped to receive critical necessary foreign aid at that time.

The policy was also just a way of making it clear that India would act in her interests first rather than the interests of Washington, Moscow, or Peking (Now Beijing).

It's interesting to note that Nehru's nonalignment policy was dubbed "immoral" by Dulles, the Secretary of State, United States. The NAM policy was totally unacceptable to US camp which was a crusader against communism.

During the Korean war as well as Vietnam war, despite resistance from both ends, Nehru doggedly pursued the mediatory role and to help resolve the problem of the repatriation of American and Korean prisoners-of-war. In the 1954 Geneva conference, India also played a significant role to bring about a settlement between France and Vietnam.

However, gradually India became closer to USSR. After 1954, when the United States extended military aid to Pakistan, India had to turn to other countries for its military hardware. This strengthened the American view that Pakistan was a friendly country and India an unfriendly one, though not an enemy.

### Principles and Objectives of NAM

NAM's main principles are what are popularly known as "Panchsheel", though these were originally formulated by Chinese premier Zhou Enlai in the context of Sino-Indian relations.

The five principles are:

- Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty;
- Mutual non-aggression;
- Non-interference in each other's internal affairs;
- Equality and mutual benefit
- And peaceful co-existence.

Key Objectives of NAM were to promote:

- Peace and disarmament, especially the reduction of tensions between the major powers.
- Independence, including the right of self-determination of all colonial peoples and the right of equality between all races.

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<sup>20</sup> The way Jawaharlal Nehru conceived Nonalignment was a strategy and not a doctrine. Discuss critically.

- Economic equality, with an emphasis on restructuring the existing international economic order, particularly with respect to the growing and persistent inequality between the rich and the poor nations.
- Cultural equality, with an emphasis on restructuring the world information and communication order, and opposing cultural imperialism and the Western monopoly of information systems.
- Universalism and multilateralism through strong support for the United Nations system.

### Relevance of NAM

With the end of the cold war, the emphasis of NAM shifted from Political Issues to economic issues. Strategically, it has lost its relevance and new organizations denoting South-South Cooperation have taken its place such as BRICS, IBSA etc. Non-alignment still contains some core values and end-using ideas. These values are in:

- Liberalisation of third world economies for rapid development of the countries of south now remains the main concern of NAM.
- Issues like democracy, disarmament, human rights and neo-colonialism are as relevant today as earlier.
- Efforts that in the era of globalisation, liberalism and explosion of Information Technology (IT), the developed and developing nations derive the maximum benefit and are not allowed to be exploited.

### Assessing India's role in Non-Aligned Movement<sup>21</sup>

India is the one of the architects and founders of NAM. India has played an important role in giving shape, form and direction to the NAM.

- India's first PM Jawahar Lal Nehru was initiator for NAM movement. In his first speech to the nation referring to India's role in the world, Nehru declared on Sept.. 7 1946 that *"we propose as far as possible to keep away from the power politics of groups aligned against one another"*. He observed that *"we are in no camp and no military alliance. The only camp we should like to be is the camp of peace which shall include as many countries as possible."*
- Under Nehru's leadership India played a significant role to oppose and eliminate colonialism and Imperialism and was successful to some extent in the Korean crisis, Congo Crisis etc.
- In 1954, India propounded the concept of coexistence under Panchsheel. Later, these Panchsheel principles became the bedrock of the NAM.
- In order to help the Least Developed Countries in their sustainable economic development India advocated the establishment of a **New International Economic Order** [NIEO].
- India was elected as the chairperson of the movement and hosted the NAM summit in Delhi in 1983 under Indira Gandhi.
- India fought racism in a determined way. The eighth summit in 1986 under Rajiv Gandhi, an 'Africa Fund' was established with the objective of assisting Frontline states in southern Africa.
- In 1989, India proposed the establishment of a **Planet Protection Fund** in its 9th summit.
- The 12th NAM summit of 1998 endorsed India's stand on terrorism.

#### New International Economic Order

New International Economic Order came into force in 1974 (May 1). It was basically a bundle of proposals by the developing countries which was put through UNCTAD and aimed to emphasize upon replacing the Bretton Woods System, which was biased towards the Developed countries such as United States only. A non-legal, non-binding Restrictive Business Practice Code was adopted through NIEO in 1980 and the Common Fund for Commodities came in force in 1989. However, later NIEO became irrelevant.

In this way, India not only helped to shift the world focus from the politics of confrontation to cooperation and co-existence, but also drew the world's attention to terrorism, disarmament, human rights, NIEO, etc.

<sup>21</sup> "India not only helped to shift the world focus from the politics of confrontation to cooperation and co-existence, but also drew the world's attention to terrorism, disarmament, human rights, NIEO, etc." In the light of this statement critically assess the role played by India in the NAM Movement.

During Chinese premier Zhou Enlai's visits to India and Myanmar in 1954, a joint statement was issued and initiated Panchsheel, the five principles of peaceful existence.

#### Basic principles of Panchsheel

- Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty;
- Mutual non-aggression;
- Non-interference in each other's internal affairs;
- Equality and mutual benefit
- And peaceful co-existence.

#### Necessity of Panchsheel at that time:

Young nations wanted to preserve their Independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity. To establish relations with other nations on equal footing. To get protection from external invasions. So it is no surprise that first Asia-Africa conference at Bandung, Indonesia in 1955 adopted these principles.

#### Relevance of Panchsheel in present day global politics:

Panchsheel withstood the test of time and is equally, if not highly, relevant in present day global politics. Key reasons:

- To firmly safeguard sovereign equality among all states and stand against interfering in other countries' internal affairs.
- To actively seek peaceful and common development in order to realize our common dream.
- To promote the New Security Concept featuring mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and coordination, and advocate common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security.
- To fully respect diversity of the world and encourage various civilizations, cultures and religions to respect one another.
- To push the process of multi-polarisation and support larger representation and influence of developing countries in international affairs.

### India's Foreign Affairs During Nehru Era

#### Nehru's First Visit to US

During the 1950s, the core subjects of US foreign policy were –

- Potential Danger from USSR and China
- Freedom and Peace through NATO and military alliances
- offering USAID to toe their line, a pure commercial approach with a want of business in other countries.

The US Camp was mainly interested in crusading against communism and Nehru, who represented a self respecting country was disgusted by this ideology. But India was in dire need of foreign aid. Nehru's policy was such that without entering into conflict, India receives the much needed aid from both sides.

In such backdrop, Nehru had visited US for the first time as India's Prime Minister in October 1949. But the chilliness of USA towards India was more or less seen in suspicion by India during those times. India was viewed by United States as a weak and backward country which was in dire need of Financial Resources. USA also over expected from India that it would accept the American line of policy, but Indian commitment in Non Alignment and independence was a different approach in its foreign policy. India perhaps over expected from US taking it as a champion of democracy that would support the largest democracy.

#### China Policy in Early 1950s

In 1949, China emerged as a Communist state under Mao Zedong. India, in the impression of importance of its relations with the neighbour, decided to give full recognition to China in 1949. This decision was not at all

<sup>22</sup> While enumerating its basic tenets, critically analyze the relevancy of Panchsheel in today's politics.

welcomed by the US, as this decision would help USSR against US. This decision was also against the policy of containing communism by United States. US stood as a leading supporter for Taiwan (Republic of China), which India did not recognize. So, India and USA were 180 degree in their attitude towards the Communist China.

### India-US-Pakistan

In April 1954, USA entered into an alliance with Pakistan. On 8 September 1954, Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) was signed. This was created to block further communist gains in South East Asia. Pakistan joined SEATO as well giving a clear indication of its support to United States. After this Pakistan started getting huge military support from USA and this was something not acceptable to India, as India took it as extension of Cold War to Indian subcontinent. This policy of America became a major hindrance between Indo US relations and this shadowed the goodwill between India and US for a long term. India was assured that military aid to Pakistan was not to be used against India, but this assurance could not satisfy Indian People.

### India -USSR

In the decade of fifties, India initiated its friendly relationships with USSR. Indian Prime minister's visit to Russia and return visit of Soviet leaders irked USA. In Late 50s USA came in open support to Pakistan on Kashmir Issue. The chances of bright India US relations were almost lost and the chances of bright India USSR relations appeared. By the end of 50's decade, US had started regarding India as a Pro-soviet country.

### India's Tibet Policy

British left with a policy of sustaining Tibet as a buffer zone and also Tibet's *de facto* independent status under Chinese suzerainty. After 1949, the PRC came into being and India urged China to let Tibet be an autonomous region. But in 1950, Twenty Thousand People's Liberation Army troops entered into Tibet and ended its independent status. Tibet was now occupied by China and this highlighted the issue of India-China border.

During his visit to China in 1954, Jawaharlal Nehru raised the issue of inaccurate border alignment in some Chinese maps to which Chinese premier Zhou Enlai. Enlai replied that those maps were reproductions of the old Kuomintang maps and that the Chinese government had had no time to revise them. The Panchsheel Agreement was signed in 1954 and waves of Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai developed. On April 29, 1954 India virtually gave up all the extra-territorial rights and privileges that it had inherited from the British Indian government and recognized Tibet as part of China.

### Chinese Aggression

By 1960s, India had started realizing the growing Chinese imperil on our borders. This was time to cultivate some good relations with US. In 1961, John F Kennedy became US president. He was an open supporter of India's friendship with US. His victory in US presidential elections raised a new hope for better India US relations. In 1962, China invaded India and this was the time when Kennedy administration improved and cultivated friendly relations with India. The Chinese aggression was not expected and was against the principle of Panchsheel and the slogan of *Hindi Chini Bhai Bhai*. The foreign policy of Nehru also came under sheer criticism for the first time. During the war, US came with help in the crisis (but this help came too late, too little) and it was appreciated by Indian people.

However, the US help was limited. This was because Nehru firmly declared that India would never compromise on policy of Non Alignment.

#### Key Developments in India's Foreign Policy During Nehru Era<sup>23</sup>

- During the entire tenure of Nehru, India's relations with United States remained cold and full of mutual suspicion. The only exception to this was the early 1960s, when Kennedy was US president. This was mainly because of India's policy of NAM and US's preoccupation with containment of communism and military pacts.
- In the same period, India championed NAM Movement but due to proximity and direct support of Pakistan by United States, India relatively moved closer to USSR. Pakistan had entered into an alliance with US in 1954.

<sup>23</sup> Examine the key developments in India's foreign policy during Nehru Era.

- India's Stand on Key Issues of 1950s
  - India supported USA's mature stand on Suez Crisis
  - India refused to criticize Russian intervention in Hungary
  - India opposed American involvement in Lebanon
- Further, India also compromised its position on China, mainly to keep good relations with a neighbour. India not only recognized the Communist China in 1949 but also recognized Tibet as a part of China. Further, India's signing Panchsheel agreement with China, India's Refusal to allow US planes to fly over India *en route* to Indo-China were some of the factors that damaged the India US Relations. Further, Nehru also charged SEATO as veiled US imperialism. Many of Nehru's decision backfired when China invaded India. The foreign policy of Nehru also came under sheer criticism for the first time. During the war, US came with help in the crisis (but this help came too late, too little) and it was appreciated by Indian people. However, the US help was limited. This was because Nehru firmly declared that India would never compromise on policy of Non Alignment.
- India's proximity with USSR helped a lot both economically as well as militarily. The Soviet Union gave India substantial economic and military assistance during the Khrushchev period, and by 1960 India had received more Soviet assistance than China had. In 1958, Khrushchev proposed a summit conference on the Middle East. In this conference, India was included but China was not.
- In 1960, India bought some military equipments from USSR. However, during the India China war USSR declared to remain neutral. This gave a setback to India. But later when USSR wanted China's support on Cuban Missile Crisis, China backed out. This again made the USSR to keep a friendship with India.

### Chinese Aggression<sup>24</sup>

Despite the fact that ..

- India was among the first countries to end formal ties with the Taiwan and recognize the PRC as the legitimate government of Mainland China.
- India recognized Tibet as Part of China
- The rhetoric of *Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai* and Panchsheel had created an positive atmosphere between the two nations,
- India invited China in the 1955 Bandung conference and helped on world stage

the activities of China on border remained hostile. Further, China alleged that India is helping the separatist activities of Tibetans and gave shelter to Dalai Lama.

The Aksai chin area was the main issue behind the 1962 war. In 1958, China had published a map showing the Aksai Chin plateau on the western stretch of the border as part of its territory. For military purposes, China had also built a road through it to connect Lhasa with Ürümqi, the capital of Xinjiang. When India objected to it, Beijing not only declared that that area was part of China, but also laid claim to additional thousands of square miles of Indian territory in North East Frontier Agency (now Arunachal Pradesh). China said that that it was usurped by Britain. In this way, all signs of friendship evaporated tension escalated.

But Nehru never believed China would go to war. China invaded India without declaring a war. On October 20, 1962, Chinese troops came through the high passes in the northeast and across the border in the high plateau of the northwest and surprised Indian troops, killing anyone who came to their way.

The Aksai Chin region is a vast desert of salt flats around 5,000 meters above sea level, and Arunachal Pradesh is extremely mountainous with a number of peaks exceeding 7000 meters. According to military doctrine, to be

<sup>24</sup> "The conduct of foreign affairs is an outcome of a two-way interaction between domestic compulsions and prevailing international climate." Discuss the statement in the light of India's foreign relations in 1960s.

successful an attacker generally requires a 3:1 ratio of numerical superiority over the defender; in mountain warfare this ratio should be considerably higher as the terrain favours defence. China was able to take advantage of this as the Chinese Army had possession of the highest ridges in the regions. The high altitude and freezing conditions also caused logistical and welfare difficulties. Many of 3128 soldiers of India were killed because of not the wounds but the freezing cold.

After humiliating India for around a month, China declared a unilateral ceasefire and marched back to the line of actual control in the Arunachal Pradesh while keeping much of the territory they had occupied in the Aksai Chin.

After realizing the lacunae in India's defence preparedness, Nehru turned to world leaders for help. Ironically, quickest response came from United States and not any NAM country. At a time, it appeared that India was going with US camp, so USSR, which hitherto remained neutral promised to immediately deliver the MIG-21s, which it had promised to deliver before the war.

Nehru could never recover from this slap delivered to his commitment to NAM and Panchsheel.

### Consequences of 1962 war

The conduct of foreign affairs is an outcome of a two-way interaction between domestic compulsions and prevailing international climate. The Sino-Indian war is best example to support it.

- The euphoria around peaceful coexistence and *Hindi-Chini bhai bhai* vanished in thin air
- India's status in international community declined, India was perceived now as a weak and non-important country.
- India learnt a lesson that greatness lies in military strength not commitment to peace.
- A temporary sense of unity and nationalism was infused in Indian public.
- Pakistan got an opportunity to exploit the deteriorating relations between India and China. It drew closer to Beijing made a defence agreement. In 1963, it demanded that India should transfer entire of Kashmir to Pakistan.



## UNIT –IV

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# Lal Bahadur Shastri

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In 1964, Jawahar Lal Nehru died. On his death, an informal coterie of five regional party leaders, called **Syndicate** organized by K. Kamaraj, the president of the Congress, selected Lal Bahadur Shastri as the 'interim' prime minister. Indira Gandhi was added to Shastri's cabinet as minister for information and broadcasting.

### The Syndicate<sup>25</sup>

Syndicate, as mentioned above, was the informal name given to a group of powerful and influential leaders from within the Congress. It was led by **K. Kamaraj**, former Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu and the then President of the Congress Party. It included powerful leaders like S.K. Patil, S. Nijalingappa, N. Sanjeeva Reddy and Atulaya Ghosh.

Syndicate played a decisive role in the installation of both Lal Bahadur Shastri and Indira Gandhi as the Prime Ministers in the 1960s. This group had a decisive say in Indira Gandhi's first Council of Ministers and also in policy formulation and implementation.

When the Congress split in 1969, Kamaraj became the leader of the Indian National Congress (Organisation) in Tamil Nadu. The party failed poorly in the 1971 elections. With this, Syndicate lost its importance and prestige. Other members joined Congress (R) led by Indira Gandhi.

### Indo-Pak War 1965<sup>26</sup>

Immediately after Nehru's death Pakistan started mobilizing its forces against India. In those days, Pakistan was equipped by the United States with sophisticated modern weapons, such as Patton tanks and F-86 Sabre jets. Further, Pakistan's morale was really high with a recently signed defence alliance with China.

The military leaders in Pakistan thought that it could easily defeat a weak and ill prepared India, which was easily humiliated by China recently. When war was declared, indeed India was not ready with it.

Initially Pakistan attacked the outposts in remote Rann of Katch, saying that they are in Pakistan's territory. Once the Pakistani tanks rolled in Rann of Katch for more than ten miles, Pakistan did a China and proposed a cease-fire; and allowed a UN commission to demarcate the border.

The above was a diversionary tactic. The real Target was Kashmir. By August 1965, thousands of violations of the cease-fire were reported. At that time, Pakistan thought that it could surprise India by capturing Srinagar airport and foment an anti-Indian uprising of the state's Muslim majority. However, it was wrong in both of its estimates. It could neither capture Srinagar nor garnered support from Kashmiri Muslims.

In mid of August 1965, Shastri publicly declared that *force would be met with force and ordered the Indian army to push the Pakistani troops disguised as civilian volunteers, out of Kashmir*. This led to a full scale war.

In the war, Pakistani army was humiliated. Around 450 of its tanks destroyed and Indian troops reached the outskirts of Lahore. However, both sides accepted a cease-fire on September 23, 1965 under the auspices of the United Nations. At this stage, USSR stepped in and invited Shastri and Pakistani president Muhammad Ayub Khan to Tashkent to work out a peace agreement. Shastri negotiated an agreement with Ayub, but before he could return home, he died on January 10, 1966.

### Tashkent Agreement<sup>27</sup>

#### Circumstances that led to Tashkent Agreement

The international efforts to bring down the conflict between the two countries started in September 1965. The UN military observer had confirmed infiltration from Pakistani side and direct involvement of Pak army in Jammu & Kashmir. However, despite that, US urged India and Pakistan that they should allow UN secretary general to solve the issue. The US took an impartial stance but did not cut military supply to Pakistan. Further, India was upset because Pakistan used US weapons against India despite an assurance that they US origin weapons to Pakistan will not be used against India.

<sup>25</sup> What does the term 'syndicate' mean in the context of the Congress Party of the sixties? What role did the syndicate play in the Congress Party?

<sup>26</sup> Examine the circumstances which led to Indo-Pak war of 1965. Discuss its key outcomes.

<sup>27</sup> Analyse the circumstances that led to Tashkent Agreement in 1966. Discuss the highlights of the agreement.



At the same time, Pakistan was also upset from US because it did not come in open for supporting its Kashmir cause.

On 4 September 1965, the UN Security Council met and passed a resolution calling on both governments to go for immediate cease-fire and to equally respect the ceasefire line and withdraw the armed forces, of both sides. In the second week of September 1965, the UN Secretary-General U. Thant visited Islamabad and New Delhi. He called for an immediate and unconditional stoppage of hostilities by 14 September 1965. The response of the Government of India was immediate. It accepted proposal and demanded that once the hostilities ceased, Pakistan should withdraw its infiltrators and troops from Jammu and Kashmir and other parts of India. Pakistan wanted a ceasefire with its troops and infiltrating cadres remaining where they were, while India should withdraw its troops from the Punjab (Lahore). Further, Pakistan wanted UN military presence in Kashmir. It demanded that India should agree to a plebiscite in Kashmir.

Thus, Pakistan was much more obdurate than India, despite the fact that India had a winning position in the battle field. Meanwhile, USSR issued an appeal to ceasefire and offered to mediate the dialogue. India as well as Pakistan did not want to displease USSR and thus agreed for talks. This led to Tashkent summit.

### Stance of India and Pakistan:

- India was clear that it would not allow the status of Kashmir as an integral part of the Indian republic to be a subject of discussion at the conference.
- Pakistan's objectives were exactly the opposite, the most important being to re-open the question of Jammu and Kashmir's accession to the Republic of India.
- Pakistan desired India to vacate all the strategic passes its troops had captured. Pakistan was not willing to give any assurance about not using force to change the status of Jammu and Kashmir.

### Highlights of the agreement

The Tashkent Agreement was signed by the Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and Pakistan's General Ayub Khan in January 1966. it provided for

- Restoration of normal and peaceful relations between India and Pakistan.
- Reaffirmation of their obligations under UN charter to settle their disputes through peaceful means.
- Agreement to base their relations on the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of each other.
- Meetings at the highest level as also at other levels to discuss matters of direct concern to both.

### Outcome of Tashkent Agreement

Although the Tashkent declaration was tagged as a diplomatic victory for India and USSR and a failure for Pakistan, yet, the people of neither Pakistan nor India were happy with the Tashkent declaration. India was not happy because:

- Despite at a winning position in the battlefield, India gave in to USSR pressure.
- It did not solve issue of Kashmir.
- Sudden demise of PM Shastri led to various conspiracy theories.

Pakistan was not happy because:

- Pakistan could not reopen the issue at international level.

Tashkent Declaration did not signify the beginning of an era of normality and reasonableness between India and Pakistan. There was a feeling in India that the government should not have gone to the Tashkent Conference without demonstrating military superiority in clear and categorical terms by capturing a couple of major Pakistani cities.

## Jai Jawan Jai Kisan<sup>28</sup>

Lal Bahadur Shastri gave the slogan *Jai Jawan, Jai Kisan* on the wake of the first real Indo-Pak War in the Ram Lila Maidan of Delhi. Those were the days of foodgrains scarcity as well as external threats. The slogan symbolised the country's resolve to face the challenges of these crises.

It's worth note that Amul Milk Cooperative's White revolution, which was aimed to promote and supply milk in the country- took place under his leadership. When there was shortage of food in the country, Shastri was the one who urged people to give up one meal a day so that the food saved could be distributed among those deprived of it.

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<sup>28</sup> Write a critical note on the evolution and significance of the slogan “Jai Jawana Jai Kisan”.

## UNIT –V

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# Indira Gandhi

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Indira Gandhi served as Prime Minister of India for three consecutive terms between 1966 to 1977 and then a fourth term between 1980 to 1984, before she was assassinated. She had started working in Congress Party from 1955 as member of the working committee. In 1959, she was elected to the post of Party president. She served as minister of information and broadcasting in the Shastri cabinet.

### Indira's Accession to Power

The death of Lal Bahadur Shastri was sudden and unexpected unlike that of Jawaharlal Nehru, who passed away barely 19 months ago. This time, syndicate had again faced the task of choosing new leader for India.

The succession of Nehru by Shastri was quickly worked out but this time the issue came into open. The syndicate under K Kamaraj was still intact but situation had changed. In 1964, Shastri was chosen on the basis of consensus. But in 1966, there were at least two contenders. One was **Morarji Desai**, who was considered to be from right wing within the party. Another was **Gulzari Lal Nanda** who threw his Gandhi cap in the ring.

However, the Syndicate wanted someone pliable to keep a grip over the high office. Morarji Desai was not of that kind. Syndicate wanted to choose shy, inexperienced Indira to be Prime Minister. The elections of Congress Parliamentary Party were held and Indira Gandhi won by 355/169 against Morarji Desai. In 1967, the Congress party won by a slim majority. Due to this, she needed accept Morarji Desai as her deputy prime minister.

### Economic Crisis of 1960s<sup>29</sup>

From 1947 till 1956-57, the India had a current account surplus. By the time first five year plan ended, the trade deficit increased from 3.8% to 4.5% of GDP. Due to this, the government imposed the exchange controls. This was the first BoP crisis, ever India faced, after independence. However, in 1965, when India was at war with Pakistan, the US responded by suspension of aid and refusal to renew its **PL-480** agreement on a long term basis. The idea of US as well as World Bank was to induce India to adopt a new agricultural policy and devalue the rupee. The Indira Gandhi government decided to devalue the Rupee. Rupee was thus devalued by 36.5% in June 1966. This was followed by a substantial rationalization of the tariffs and export subsidies in an expectation of inflow of the foreign aid. The BoP improved, but not because of inflow of foreign aid but because of the decline in imports.

#### Consequences of 1966 devaluation

In 1966, inflation caused Indian prices to become much higher than world prices. The Indian goods became more expensive and foreign goods became cheaper. This led to increase in imports and decrease in exports. Further, Government of India had a budget deficit problem and could not borrow money from abroad or from the private corporate sector, due to that sector's negative savings rate. As a result, the government issued bonds to the RBI, which increased the money supply. As India continued to experience deficits in trade and the government budget, the country was aided significantly by the international community (Including US). In the period of 1950 through 1966, foreign aid was never greater than the total trade deficit of India except for 1958. Foreign aid was substantial and helped to postpone the rupee's final reckoning until 1966. India's war with Pakistan in late 1965 led the Pak Friendly countries such as US to withdraw foreign aid to India. In 1966, foreign aid was cut off almost completely. India was told, that she had to liberalize its restrictions on trade before foreign aid would again materialize. The response was the politically unpopular step of devaluation accompanied by liberalization. When India still did not receive foreign aid, the government backed off its commitment to liberalization.

However, this led to rise of popular discontent in India. There was a price rise in all commodities and people started protesting against the increase in prices of essential commodities, unemployment, etc. The communist and the socialist parties launched struggles for greater equality.

In this backdrop of heightened popular discontent, the fourth general election was held in 1967.

#### Fourth General Elections 1967<sup>30</sup>

This was also the first time when Congress was facing electorate without Nehru.

<sup>29</sup> Critically examine the circumstances in which India needed to devalue the Rupee in 1966. To what extent it was able to alleviate the economic crisis of the day?

<sup>30</sup> Examine the grave economic crisis prior to the fourth general election of 1967. Assess 'the verdict of the electorate based on the election.'

## Verdict

The election verdict was not in favour of the Congress. The results jolted the Congress both at the national and state levels. Half the ministers in Indira Gandhi's cabinet were defeated. The political leaders, who lost in their constituencies, included Kamraj in Tamil Nadu, S.K. Patil in Maharashtra, Atulya Ghosh in West Bengal, K.B. Sahay in Bihar etc.

Congress lost majority in as many as seven states. This was also the first time that in eight states coalition Non-congress governments were formed.

## Second Indo-Pakistan war

In 1970 Awami League, the largest East Pakistani political party, led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, won a landslide victory in the Pakistan's national elections. An overwhelming victory of Awami League in East Pakistan (which comprised 60 percent of the population of Pakistan) resulted in jubilation in East Pakistan because it appeared that the Bengalis were at last going to share power in their country and no longer be treated as second-class citizens.

However, the government of Pakistan, instead of working out a compromise solution with Rehman decided to imprison him and suppress the Bengali movement for greater autonomy by allowing the Punjabi- and Pathan-dominated Pakistani army to go on a rampage in Dhaka, the capital of East Pakistan.

In this suppression it was estimated that 100,000 people were killed, resulting in weakening of Bengali resistance and further leading to a civil war. Due to this civil war nearly 10 million Bengalese fled East Pakistan and turned up as refugees in India.

### India and East Pakistan crisis suraj winner | rajawat.rs.surajsingh@gmail.com | 19254

Civil war in East Pakistan had put India in an awkward predicament. The only option India had was military intervention to tackle this situation. But India was not able to go on war with Pakistan, as it may have provoked a reaction from the United States and China, who were the allies of Pakistan and its arms suppliers.

At the height of the East Pakistan crisis triangular relationship was more than confirmed when the national security adviser to US President flew from Pakistan to Beijing on a secret mission to work out a rapprochement with China.

After this US warned India that, the United States would not come to India's aid if the Chinese intervened in a Pakistan-India war.

India under leadership of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was not intimidated by any of these developments and prepared several very wise moves for the inevitable confrontation with Pakistan.

**Treaty of Peace:** In order to counter the Pakistan-China United States menace, India signed a twenty-year Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation with the USSR in 1971. This treaty included a clause that two nations come to each other's aid in the event of a security threat.

**Indira Gandhi's three-week foreign trip:** She went to Belgium, Austria, England, France, West Germany, and the United States, to appraise the heads of these states on the gravity of the situation and to explain to them why the crisis was not a "conspiracy by Hindu India," as Pakistan claimed it to be.

She also explained why India needs to take drastic action in East Pakistan as 10 million refugees were becoming a threat to India's security and a drain on her resources.

### Indo-Pakistan War and Liberation of Bangladesh

On 31<sup>st</sup> December 1971, Pakistan made a pre-emptive air strike against Indian air bases in Punjab, manifestly to warn India that if it interfered in Bengal it would have to fight on two fronts. Thus starting war between two neighbours. On December 4, the Indian army entered East Pakistan in support of the Bengali people's Mukti Bahini (Liberation Army), and on December 6, Delhi recognized the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

By December 16 war was over after Pakistan army's surrender (93,000 officers and soldiers) to the Indian commander in charge of the East Pakistan operations.

After liberating Bangladesh, India withdrew all its forces from Bangladesh, leaving Rehman to establish the government of independent Bangladesh.

In this war, the Indian armed forces had been equally successful on the western front and captured 5,000 square miles of enemy territory.

United States tilt toward Pakistan and entry of the U.S. Seventh Fleet into the Bay of Bengal during did not had any impact on India from liberating Bangladesh. This was partly due to the fact that Soviet Union had supported Bangladesh and Indian armies, as well as the Mukti Bahini during the war, to weaken the rivals United States and China. India was assured that if there is a confrontation with US or China, USSR would take countermeasures as enshrined in the Indo-Soviet friendship treaty signed in August 1971.

Moreover, on 6 December and 13 December 1971, the Soviet Navy dispatched two groups of ships, armed with nuclear missiles, from Vladivostok. They trailed U.S. Task Force 74 in the Indian Ocean from 18 December until 7 January 1972.

### **Outcome of the war<sup>31</sup>**

The result of the war was defeat of Pakistan and Liberation of Bangladesh. This was a great time for India's rising as a power in South Asia and very close relations between India and USSR. India's resounding victory made it preeminent power in South Asia. Apart it increased popular stature of Indira Gandhi. It cut Pakistan down to half its former size.

However, there were some negative outcomes also. *The emergence of Bangladesh only proved that the 1947 partition had not exhausted the vigor of the communal forces of national disintegration.* It provided an encouraging example to secessionist groups in India. It also provoked a humiliated Pakistan to seek revenge on India by supplying the Sikh and Muslim insurgents in Indian Punjab and Kashmir with funds, military training, weapons, and a safe haven. The situation in Punjab in the 1980s and in Kashmir in the 1990s became so critical that, for all practical purposes, it took on the proportions of an internal war. But these troubles were still a long way off and cast no shadow on India's euphoria of 1971.

## **Shimla agreement**

Shimla Agreement was signed at Shimla, India, by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the President of Pakistan, and Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India on the night of July 2nd, 1972. The agreement was much more than a peace treaty seeking to reverse the consequences of the 1971 war (i.e. to bring about withdrawals of troops and an exchange of PoWs). For India, some of the favorable outcome with this agreement are:

- Both countries will settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations.
- In the treaty it was agreed that both nation in the future neither country would resort to war over Kashmir and that the issue of Kashmir would be resolved bilaterally, without involving the United Nations or other powers.
- The agreement converted the cease-fire line of December 17, 1971 into the Line of Control (LOC) between India and Pakistan and it was agreed that neither side shall seek to alter it unilaterally, irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations.
- The agreement paved the way for diplomatic recognition of Bangladesh by Pakistan.
- It enabled India to end the tenure of the UNMOGIP (United Nations Military Observers Group in India and Pakistan), as it was charged with maintaining peace along the 'ceasefire line' established by the Karachi Agreement (1949), which no longer is valid.

### **Lack of foresight by Indian Leader and deadlocks**

Via article III of the agreement said that *the two countries had resolved to settle their differences by peaceful means through 'bilateral negotiations' or by any other peaceful means mutually agreed upon between them.* This clause opposed third party intervention and insisted on bilateral mechanism for resolution of issues between India and

<sup>31</sup> Present a critical overview on the outcomes of 1971 Indo-Pakistan war.



Pakistan. However, some of the decisions taken as part of Shimla agreement have led to loss of a golden opportunity to resolve the issue of Kashmir on permanent basis.

The two major decisions taken by New Delhi, and incorporated into the Shimla Agreement that drew most flak were to return the territories captured by India across the international border and to return the 93,000 (mostly military but also civilian) prisoners of war (POWs) to Pakistan without a written agreement for converting 'Line of Control' (LoC) to International boundary. Lack of proper border resolution between India and Pakistan is one of the major reasons for ongoing turmoil in Jammu and Kashmir. Ongoing ceasefire violations, Kargil war could have been prevented if the agreement was drafted with more foresight and maturity. Thus:

- Pakistan did not agree with India's view and seek UN intervention in Kashmir issue.
- While signing this treaty, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi may have included a settlement of the Kashmir issue. However she being conscious of Bhutto's insecure political position in Pakistan did not insisted.
- 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.
- The agreement has not prevented the relationship between the two countries from deteriorating to the point of armed conflict, most recently in the Kargil War of 1999.
- In Operation Meghdoot of 1984 India seized most of the inhospitable Siachen Glacier region where the frontier had not been clearly defined in the agreement (possibly as the area was thought too barren to be controversial), this was considered as violation of Shimla Agreement by Pakistan.

However, after signing this treaty Indira Gandhi had regained international respect for India.

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### Indira's Popularity and Elections 1971

Apart from a resounding victory over Pakistan, the government of Indira Gandhi had made conscious attempts to project its socialist credentials. Indira Gandhi vigorously campaigned for implementing the existing land reform laws and 'undertook further land ceiling legislation. In order to end her dependence on the other political parties, she wished to strengthen her party's position in the Parliament and sought a popular mandate for her programmes. Due to all these factors, Indira Gandhi and her government was seen not only as the protector of the poor and the underprivileged but also as a strong government.

With this in mind, she recommended the dissolution of the Lok Sabha in December 1970. The results were outstanding. With 352 seats, Congress was now in power in almost all the states and restored its dominance. It was also popular across different social sections.

### Emergency 1975

During 1973–75, political unrest was created against the Indira Gandhi government across the country by her opponents. Various movements against Indira Gandhi's government included the **Nav Nirman movement** of Gujarat, *Bihar Chatra Sangharsh Samiti* movement under the support of Gandhian socialist Jayaprakash Narayan also referred to as JP.

In April 1974, in Patna, JP called for "total revolution", asking students, peasants, and labour organizations non-violently transform Indian society. Railway-employees union, the largest union in the country, also went on a nationwide strike. This strike was brutally suppressed by the Indira Gandhi government, which arrested thousands of employees and drove their families out of their quarters.

### The Allahabad High Court Verdict

Raj Narain, who had been defeated in parliamentary election by Indira Gandhi, lodged cases of election fraud and use of state machinery for election purposes against her in the Allahabad High Court. On 12 June 1975, the Allahabad High Court invalidated the result in Gandhi's constituency on the grounds of electoral malpractices.

The verdict took away her parliamentary seat and she ought to resign. She appealed to Supreme Court for reversal of the decision. On 24 June 1975, SC upheld the High Court judgement and ordered all privileges Gandhi received as an MP be stopped, and that she be debarred from voting. But she was allowed to continue as Prime

Minister. The next day, JP organised a large rally in Delhi, where he said that a police officer must reject the orders of government if the order is immoral and unethical as this was Mahatma Gandhi's motto during the freedom struggle. Such a statement was taken as a sign of inciting rebellion in the country. JP denounced Indira Gandhi for establishing a fascist dictatorship, demanded that she resign voluntarily. On the same day, Indira Gandhi requested President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed to issue a proclamation of a state of emergency.

### **Proclamation of Emergency**

For proclaiming emergency government cited threats to national security, as a war with Pakistan had recently been concluded. Due to the war and additional challenges of drought and the 1973 oil crisis, the economy was in bad shape. The Government claimed that the strikes and protests had paralysed the government and hurt the economy of the country greatly. Thus internal emergency under Article 352 of constitution was declared. Indira Gandhi's action was hardly meant to strengthen democracy; she had not consulted the members of her cabinet before approaching the president.

### **Decisions During emergency**

Indira Gandhi government devised a '20-point' economic program to increase agricultural and industrial production, improve public services and fight poverty and illiteracy, through the discipline of the graveyard.

Government by using extraordinary powers launched a massive crackdown on civil liberties and political opposition. Government used police forces across the country to place thousands of protestors and strike leaders under preventive detention.

**Electoral Laws:** Parliament amended the electoral law and exonerated Indira Gandhi of the offenses for which she had been found guilty by the judiciary of the country.

### **Amendments in Constitution**

Indira Gandhi also amended the Constitution to deny the courts not only the power to review a presidential Proclamation of Emergency (38th Amendment) but also the right to consider electoral disputes involving the president, the vice president, the prime minister, and the speaker of the Lok Sabha (39th Amendment).

Another amendment, the 42nd, permitted the government to prohibit "anti-national" activities and further reinforced the powers of the prime minister in relation to those of the legislature and the judiciary.

Especially concerned with issues of overpopulation. Indira Gandhi government initiated a birth control program, chiefly employing sterilisation, primarily vasectomies. Quotas were set up that enthusiastic supporters worked hard to achieve.

### **Life Under Emergency**

The following points summarize life under emergency in India.

- Detention of people by police without charge or notification of families.
- Abuse and torture of detainees and political prisoners.
- Use of public and private media institutions, like the national television network Doordarshan, for government propaganda.
- Forced sterilisation.
- Destruction of the slum and low-income housing in the Turkmen Gate and Jama Masjid area of old Delhi.
- Large-scale and illegal enactment of laws (including modifications to the Constitution).

The Emergency years were the biggest challenge to India's commitment to democracy, which proved vulnerable to the manipulation of powerful leaders and hegemonic Parliamentary majorities.



## Parliament Judiciary conflicts During Indira Regime<sup>32</sup>

Before the declaration of emergency it was a period when the government and the ruling party had many differences with the Judiciary. In summary, three constitutional issues had emerged which led to a conflict between judiciary, legislature (Parliament) and the executive.

First issue was that if the Parliament can abridge Fundamental Rights? The Supreme Court said it cannot.

Second issue was that if Parliament can curtail the "right to property by making an amendment? Again, the court said that Parliament cannot amend the constitution in such a manner that rights are curtailed.

Parliament amended the constitution saying that it can abridge Fundamental Rights for giving effect to Directive Principles of State Policy. But the Supreme Court rejected this provision also.

This led to a crisis as far as relations between the government and the judiciary were concerned. This is very much proved in the famous Kesavananda Bharti case. In this case, the court gave a decision that there are some basic features of the constitution and Parliament cannot amend these features. Besides, two more developments added to the tension between the judiciary and the executive.

Immediately after the Supreme Court's decision in 1973 in the Kesavananda Bharti case, a vacancy arose for the post of the Chief Justice of India and the government set aside the seniority of three judges and appointed justice A.N. Ray as the Chief Justice of India. This appointment became politically controversial because all three judges who were superseded had given a ruling against the stand of the government.

Another jolt came as the ruling of the High Court which declared Indira Gandhi's Lok Sabha election invalid.

In this way, the constitutional interpretations and political ideologies were getting mixed up rapidly.

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## Janata Party's Government

On 18 January 1977, Indira Gandhi called fresh elections and released all political prisoners who were arrested during emergency. Thus, Emergency officially ended on 23 March 1977 after completing nearly 21 months.

The opposition Janata movement's campaign warned Indians that the elections might be their last chance to choose between "democracy and dictatorship."

In the Lok Sabha elections after elections, Indira Gandhi and her son Sanjay both lost their Lok Sabha seats, as did all the Congress Candidates in Northern states such as Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Many Congress Party loyalists deserted Mrs. Gandhi.

The Congress was reduced to just 153 seats, 92 of which were from four of the southern states.

The Janata Party's 298 seats and its allies' 47 seats (of a total 542) gave it a massive majority. Morarji Desai became the first non-Congress Prime Minister of India. However, Janata Party's Government under leadership Morarji Desai lasted only to 2 years. During this time Indira Gandhi again split the congress into Congress (I) and Congress (R). Those who were loyal to Indira Gandhi became part of her faction i.e. Congress (I) while those who were disloyal to Indira were called Congress (R).

In 1980 Lok Sabha elections, Congress (I) under leadership of Indira Gandhi became victorious. She again became the Prime Minister and remained office till her assassination.

## Shah Commission of Inquiry<sup>33</sup>

The Shah Commission was appointed in May 1977 by the Janata Party Government. It was a Commission of Inquiry headed by Justice J.C. Shah, retired Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of India. It was set up to investigate

- several aspects of allegations of abuse of authority, excesses and malpractices committed and action taken in the wake of emergency, proclaimed on 25th June 1975.

<sup>32</sup> What were the major conflicts between the Parliament and the Judiciary during the leadership of Indira Gandhi? Discuss.

<sup>33</sup> Discuss the major findings of the Shah Commission of Inquiry.

- The Commission examined various kinds of evidences and called scores of witnesses to give testimonies. This included Indira Gandhi who appeared before the Commission but refused to answer any question.

Indira Gandhi used the Shah commission as a forum to present herself as a victim of persecution.

The findings of Shah Commission in the form of reports were tabled in the two houses of parliament. The investigations by Shah Commission after the Emergency found out that there were many 'excesses' committed during the emergency. It estimated that nearly one lakh eleven thousand people were arrested under preventive detention laws. Several restrictions were put on the press sometimes without proper legal sanctions. It also mentioned that general manager of the Delhi Power Supply Corporation received verbal orders from the offices of the Lt. Governor of Delhi to cut electricity to all newspaper presses at 2 a.m. on 26 June 1975.

## Khalistan Movement

### Background

In the 1977 elections, a coalition led by the Sikh-majority Akali Dal came to power in Punjab.

In order to split the Akali Dal and gain popular support among the Sikhs in Punjab, Indira Gandhi's Congress helped bring the orthodox religious leader Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale to prominence in Punjab politics.

Later, Bhindranwale's organisation **Damdami Taksal** became embroiled in violence with another religious sect called the Sant Nirankari Mission, and he was accused of instigating the murder of the Congress leader Jagat Narain.

After being arrested in this matter, Bhindranwale disassociated himself from Congress and joined hands with the Akali Dal. In July 1982, he led the campaign for the implementation of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution, which demanded greater autonomy for the Sikh-majority state.

Meanwhile, a small section of the Sikhs including some of Bhindranwale's followers, turned to militancy in support of the Khalistan movement, which aimed to create a separate sovereign state for the Sikhs.

In 1983, Bhindranwale and his militant followers headquartered themselves in the Golden Temple, the holiest shrine of the Sikhs, and started accumulating weapons.

After several futile negotiations, Indira Gandhi ordered the Indian army to enter the Golden temple in order to subdue Bhindranwale and his followers.

In the resulting Operation Blue Star, the shrine was damaged and many civilians were killed.

The State of Punjab was closed to international media, its phone and communication lines shut.

To this day the events remain controversial with a disputed number of victims; Sikhs seeing the attack as unjustified and Bhindranwale being declared the greatest Sikh martyr of the 21st century by Akal Takht (Sikh Political Authority) in 2003.

### Assassination of Indira Gandhi

On 31 October 1984, Indira Gandhi's two personnel bodyguards, Satwant Singh and Beant Singh, shot her with their service weapons in the garden of the Prime Minister's residence at 1 Safdarjung Road, New Delhi. She died in this incident.

## Assessment of Indira Gandhi as Prime Minister<sup>34</sup>

### Foreign Affairs

- India had gained self-sufficiency in food production under leadership of Indira Gandhi. Thus, India was no longer dependent on the American food grain aid which often forced New Delhi to accept humiliating demands from Washington.
- Indira Gandhi's masterful handling of the East Pakistan crisis, leading to the establishment of Bangladesh in 1971, had raised India's status as a major regional power, as did the exploding of a nuclear device in 1974.
- In 1983, Indira Gandhi successfully hosted the meeting of the nearly one hundred Non-Aligned Nations. It was considered as a high point in Indira Gandhi's foreign policy, and she displayed her leadership capacity by using the conference to reactivate the languishing north-south dialogue and more important, to promote south-south cooperation.
- In 1983, India's first move toward regional cooperation, when it formally inaugurated the scheme for South Asian Regional Cooperation (SARC) was under her leadership.

### Internal Affairs

- Being a powerful leader and declaring internal emergency created negative image of her.
- However, declaring fresh elections after emergency and accepting defeat in the elections, showcased Indira Gandhi's love for the country and faith in Democratic system.
- However some have criticized her for destroying or subverting most of the institutions of Indian democracy.
- Further this resulted in increase of governability crisis in India.
- During and after Indira Gandhi's term, law and order were perverted and the administrative services replaced standards of integrity and impartiality with bias and corruption.

### Green Revolution

- To deal with India's food shortage problems, Indira Gandhi expanded the emphasis on production of inputs to agriculture that had already been initiated then PM Jawaharlal Nehru.
- In 1966, on a concerted drive to increase food production by introducing high-yielding varieties of hybrid wheat and rice seeds in favourable areas and ensuring that fertilizers and water (required for hybrid varieties) would be available to the farmers in those areas
- The Green Revolution in India subsequently culminated under her government in the 1970s and transformed the country from a nation heavily reliant on imported grains and prone to famine to being largely able to feed itself, and become successful in achieving its goal of food security.

### Nationalisation of Banks

- After becoming Prime Minister, Gandhi expressed the intention of nationalising the banks in a paper titled, "Stray thoughts on Bank Nationalisation" in order to alleviate poverty.
- 1969, she nationalised fourteen major commercial banks.
- After the nationalisation of banks, the branches of the public sector banks in India rose to approximate 800 percent in deposits, and advances took a huge jump by 11,000 percent.
- Nationalisation also resulted in a significant growth in the geographical coverage of banks; the number of bank branches rose from 8,200 to over 62,000, most of which were opened in the unbanked, rural areas.
- Gandhi also nationalised the coal, steel, copper, refining, cotton textiles, and insurance industries. Most of these nationalisations were made to protect employment and the interest of the organised labour. The remaining private sector industries were placed under strict regulatory control.

<sup>34</sup> Critically assess the tenure of Indira Gandhi as prime minister of India and its impact on domestic and foreign policy of India.

- During the 1971 war against Pakistan, foreign-owned private oil companies had refused to supply fuel to the Indian Navy and Indian Air Force. In response, Gandhi nationalised oil companies in 1973.

### **Social reforms**

- **Privy purses:** Parliament amended the constitution in order to pass law to abolish the privy purses of the dethroned princely families.
- The principle of equal pay for equal work for both men and women was enshrined in the Indian Constitution under the Gandhi administration.
- **Redistribution program-** In order to alleviate poverty, she embarked on a massive redistribution program. These programs included the provisions of rapid enforcement of land ceilings, housing for landless labourers, the abolition of bonded labour and a moratorium on the debts of the poor.

### **Language policy:**

- Indira Gandhi in order to put herself as a leader with a pan-Indian vision made a constitutional amendment that guaranteed the use of both Hindi and English as official languages
- This led to establish the official government policy of bilingualism in India and satisfied the non-Hindi speaking Indian states.

### **National security**

- In the late 1960s and 1970s, the Indian army had crushed the militant Communist uprisings in the West Bengal after following the orders of Indira Gandhi. The communist insurgency in India was completely suppressed during the state of emergency
- She also played important role in curtailing the Mizo uprising which took place against the government of India and overran almost the whole of the Mizoram region. Today, Mizoram is considered as one of the most peaceful states in the north-east.
- Indira Gandhi unleashed a powerful military offensive in the 1970s while responding to the insurgency in Nagaland. Finally, a massive crackdown on the insurgents took place during the state of emergency ordered by Gandhi. The insurgents soon agreed to surrender and signed the Shillong Accord in 1975.

### **Nuclear Program of India**

- Indira Gandhi had authorised the development of nuclear weapons in 1967, in response to the Test No. 6 by People's Republic of China.
- Gandhi had seen these tests as Chinese nuclear intimidation; therefore, Gandhi promoted creation of nuclear arsenal for promoting India's stability and security interests as independent from those of the nuclear superpowers.
- In 1974, after authorization from Indira Gandhi, India successfully conducted an underground nuclear test, unofficially code named as "Smiling Buddha", near the desert village of Pokhran in Rajasthan.
- She also committed that this test will help for industrial and scientific use.

UNIT –VI

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# Select Social Movements in Independent India

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## Dalit Panthers<sup>35</sup>

Dalit Panthers were the Dalit communities who had experienced caste injustices for a long time. They formed a militant organisation by the name, Dalit Panthers in 1972 in Maharashtra.

They were mainly fighting against the perpetual caste-based inequalities and material injustices that the Dalits faced in spite of constitutional guarantees of equality and justice.

The Dalits faced atrocities over minor symbolic issues of caste pride. So effective implementation of reservations and other such policies of social justice was their main demand.

The Dalit Panthers resorted to mass action and their activities were mostly centred around fighting increasing atrocities on Dalits in various parts of the state. Legal mechanisms proved inadequate to stop the economic and social oppression of the Dalits.

## Bhoodan and Gramdan Movement<sup>36</sup>

Bhoodan or Land Gift Movement was a voluntary land reform movement, started by Acharya Vinoba Bhave in 1951 at Pochampally village in Telangana. This village is now known as Bhoodan Pochampally.

### Key Points:

- This movement was to secure voluntary donations of land and distribute it to the landless. Later, it put a demand of 1/6 share of land from all land owners.
- In 1952, the movement had widened the concept of Gramdan (village in gift) and had started advocating commercial ownership of land. First village gifted under Gramdan was from Uttar Pradesh. Second and third, which happened three years later belonged to Odisha.

### Nature of the movement

We note that Vinoba Bhave is known as spiritual heir of Gandhi. Bhoodan movement was directly influenced by Sarvodaya movement of Gandhi. Its mission was to persuade the wealthy landowners to voluntarily give a fraction of their land to the landless people. The gifted land could not be sold. In effect, landless labourers were being given a small plot of land on which they can settle, as well as grow some of their own food.

Various state governments had passed Bhoodan acts which generally stipulated that the beneficiary had no right to sell the land or use it for a non-agricultural purpose- including forestry. If he/she fails to cultivate the land for over a year or tries to use it for some other non-agriculture activities, the government has the right to confiscate it.

To persuade the landowners, Vinoba Bhave walked across India. He also wanted peasants to give up using bullocks or tractors or other machines for agricultural purposes. This was called '**rishi-kheti**'. JP Narayan withdrew from active politics to join Bhoodan movement in 1953.

By 1960s the movement had lost its flame despite its considerable initial promise. Though not very much successful, yet the movement made a significant contribution by creating moral ambience, putting pressure on landlords, created conditions favourable to landless. Bhoodan movement led to a total of 1 million acres of land donation and distribution among the poor in post-independence Era in India.

## Chipko Movement

The Chipko movement means hugging trees to protect them from being felled. It was based on Gandhian principals of satyagraha and non-violent resistance. The movement began in March 1974 in Reni village, in Chamoli district, Uttarakhand with aim to create awareness of rapid deforestation.

<sup>35</sup> Who were Dalit Panthers? To what extent they were able to stop the economic and social oppression of the Dalits

<sup>36</sup> Critically discuss the nature of the Bhoodan movement and its contribution to Indian society.



On March 26, 1974, a group of peasant women in Reni village acted to prevent the cutting of trees and reclaim their traditional forest rights, which were threatened by the contractors assigned by the state Forest Department. Leader of this movement was Sunderlal Bahuguna. However, The term Chipko was originally used by Chandi Prasad Bhatt.

Chipko's most active mass participation was of female villagers and was a very novel aspect of the movement. Chandi Prasad Bhatt was awarded the Ramon Magsaysay Award in 1982, for his contribution in the movement. Sunderlal Bahuguna was awarded the Padma Vibhushan in 2009.

### Response of Government

After the movement began, the news soon reached the state capital, where then state Chief Minister, Hemwati Nandan Bahuguna, set up a committee to look into the matter. This committee eventually ruled in favour of the villagers.

This became a turning point in the history of eco-development struggles in the region and around the world.

The movement achieved a victory when the government issued a ban on felling of trees in the Himalayan regions for fifteen years in 1980 by then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, until the green cover was fully restored.

### Legacy of Chipko movement<sup>37</sup>

Chipko activists also protested against limestone mining in the Doon Valley (Dehra Dun) in the 1980s, as the movement spread through the Dehradun district, which had earlier seen deforestation of its forest cover leading to heavy loss of flora and fauna.

Finally quarrying was banned after years of agitation by Chipko activists, followed by a vast public drive for afforestation, which turned around the valley, just in time.

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Also in the 1980s, activists protested against construction of the Tehri dam on the Bhagirathi River, which went on for the next two decades.

They also formed **Beej Bachao Andolan** i.e. the Save the Seeds movement that continues to the present day.

United Nations Environment Programme report mentioned, Chipko activists started "working a socio-economic revolution by winning control of their forest resources from the hands of a distant bureaucracy which is only concerned with the selling of forestland for making urban-oriented products."

The Chipko movement became a benchmark for socio-ecological movements in other forest areas of Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan and Bihar.

In September 1983, Chipko inspired a similar, Appiko movement in Karnataka state of India, where tree felling in the Western Ghats and Vindhyas was stopped.

In Kumaon region, Chipko took on a more radical tone, combining with the general movement for a separate Uttarakhand state, which was eventually achieved in 2000.

In recent years, the movement not only inspired numerous people to work on practical programmes of water management, energy conservation, afforestation, and recycling, but also encouraged scholars to start studying issues of environmental degradation and methods of conservation in the Himalayas and throughout India.

### Lok Satta Movement<sup>38</sup>

Lok Satta movement, launched by Jayaprakash Narayan, a former I. A. S. officer and renowned activist from Andhra Pradesh. Dr. Narayan resigned from the IAS in 1996 to found the Lok Satta Movement.

The movement was started in 1996 with the founding of Lok Satta, a non-governmental organization (NGO). In 2006, the movement was transformed into Lok Satta Party.

<sup>37</sup> Examine the significance of Chipko movement in the conservation of the environment.

<sup>38</sup> Write a critical note on role of Lok Satta Movement in strengthening the democracy in India.

According to Lok Satta, the specific reforms derived from the above generic principles must be in conformity with the following basic principles of democracy:

- Freedom
- Self-governance
- Empowerment of citizens
- Rule of law
- Self-correcting institutional mechanisms

### **Key points of Movement**

- Democratization of political parties to make them open, member-controlled, transparent, and accountable in all aspects.
- Electoral reforms to make elections truly democratic, fair and transparent; to facilitate and promote participation of the best men and women in India's political process; and to curb electoral mal-practices.
- Balanced distribution of functions between the union and the states and local governments, together with allocation of adequate resources and devolution of powers commensurate with their functions.
- Effective decentralization of governance through empowerment of local governments as participative tiers of constitutional, democratic governance, and direct empowerment of people as stakeholders wherever feasible.
- Effective functioning of legislature, executive and judiciary at all levels, with appropriate checks and balances.  
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- Measures for speedy, efficient, affordable, and accessible justice to people.
- Measures to make bureaucracy truly accountable, responsive, and efficient at all levels.
- Institutional checks to prevent abuse of office, including freedom of information for transparent governance; insulation of crime investigation and prosecution from partisan pulls and political vagaries; creation of an effective, independent anti-corruption mechanism; and creation of an independent mechanism for appointment of constitutional functionaries.

Some of the important contributions of Loksatta are in following reforms:

- Disclosure of criminal antecedents of candidates, which finally led to the candidate disclosure law in 2003.
- Improvement in voter registration after years of struggle and relentless pursuit.
- Political funding law in the wake of Tehelka scam.
- Strengthening the anti-defection provisions.
- Limiting the size of the Cabinet.
- Promoting Right to Information Act
- Local Courts law enacted in 2009.
- Autonomy of cooperatives through the 97th Constitutional amendment.
- A sound Lokpal Legislation.

### Chilika Bachao Andolan<sup>39</sup>

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Chilika Bachao Andolan was a fishermen led movement in early 1990s against the *Integrated Shrimp Farm Project (ISFP)*, a joint venture agreed upon by the Tata Iron and Steel Company and Government of Orissa for intensive prawn cultivation and export.

The primary reason behind the movement was the clash of interests between the fishermen and non-fishermen community. While fishermen were low caste, landless people, non-fishermen were higher caste, landholders. Many of the non-fishermen had taken up fishing to supplement their income because the productivity of the land is low due to salinity, erratic monsoon and lack of irrigation facilities. With this backdrop, the Integrated Shrimp Farm Project envisaged the creation of an artificial lake inside Chilika by enclosing the landmass with a 13.7 kms long ring embankment. This artificial lake was to be divided into a number of ponds in which the prawns are to be nurtured and reared commercially.

This threatened the livelihood of traditional fishermen due to conversion of traditional fishing sources into culture fishery. It also affected the ecosystem.

### Silent Valley Movement<sup>40</sup>

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Save Silent Valley was a social movement aimed at the protection of Silent valley in Kerala. It was started in 1973 against a hydroelectric project in the valley. This movement lasted for a decade and the net result was that valley was declared as Silent Valley National Park in 1985.

The valley became a focal point when the Kerala State Electricity Board decided to implement the Silent Valley Hydroelectric Project (SVHEP) centred on a dam across the Kumhipuzha River.

If implemented this project would have threatened the virgin rainforest of an area of 8.32 sq. km and affected the lion tailed macaque's population. The issue was brought to public attention initially by Romulus Whitaker, the founder of the Madras Snake Park and the Madras Crocodile Bank. After a decade long battle finally the government of India dismissed the Hydroelectricity project and the Silent Valley forests were declared as National Park.

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<sup>39</sup> Write a short note on Chilika Bachao Andolan.

<sup>40</sup> Write a note on the Silent Valley National Park and its contribution to environment.