

FEATURES OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

Unit Structure

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1.0 OBJECTIVE

In this Unit, the student will understand

- Framing of the Indian Constitution & working of the Constituent Assembly
- The main features of Indian Constitution
- The contribution of India with a successful Constitution

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was not only the first Prime Minister of India but also considered as the main architect of modern India. As a President of the Indian National Congress, he made continuous efforts to fulfil his many duties to bring change in India post-independence. He was keen to bring a uniform subtle country and therefore the establishment of Constituent Assembly was a sincere attempt to frame the Constitution of India. The All-India Congress committee meeting in 1927 provided a platform to discuss the complex constitutional problems of the country and find out the possible solutions to such problems. The Motilal Nehru Report on the Constitution of India in 1928 was a guide for the future Constitution of free India and in 1936 a resolution was passed during the Congress Session at Faizpur in 1936 to convene a Constituent Assembly representing all sections of people to frame the Constitution of India.

The approach of Nehru was to have parliamentary democracy was totally supported by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar as the Chief architect of Constitution of India. India came a long way. The freedom struggle, community challenges, assimilation of every cast in the country was not an easy task therefore, the Constitution of India which sought to establish a sovereign, secular, democratic republic to secure its citizens justice, liberty, and equality.

India got its independence on 15th August 1947 but accepted the dominion status in the British Commonwealth and adopted its Constitution on 26th January 1950. With the adoption of Constitution, India became the sovereign republic. Nehru requested as head of the interim government and Rajendra Prasad became the first President of India. Lord Mountbatten was the last Viceroy of India and served as the first governor-general of Independent India. Rajagopalachari succeeded Lord Mountbatten in 1948. On 26th January 1950, Rajendra Prasad replaced Rajagopalachari and he became the first President and head of state of the republic of India.

Nehru mentioned that Constitution of India should be framed in such a way which promote true nationalism, integrate the various parts of creeds and religions and empower the nation to be launched into real internationalism. In this unit, we shall explore the historical background of the Constitution of India and its salient features.

1.2 THE SALIENT FEATURES OF CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

The Constitution of India was adopted by the Constituent Assembly in November 1949, and it came into force on 26th January 1950 establishing India as a sovereign, democratic and republic. Though the Constitution of India borrowed Constitution philosophies from the West but represent truly the aspirations of India leaders. It promotes the welfare of the people by securing and promoting a social order with justice, social, economic, and political to build the institutions of national life.

India which has a history of agony, challenges and adversity post-independence was determined to establish a secular state. Therefore, a need was felt that after independence, there would be a concrete political practice which popularized the notions of parliamentary democracy, republicanism, civil liberties, social and economic justice etc. India was always dreamt for Swaraj and it was not given to Indians by the Britishers. The freedom fathers of India were statesman and introduced the Constitutional reforms on their own initiatives. The continuous efforts of pressure tactics and intellect of Indian nationalists provided certain rights to citizens in 1861, 1892, 1909, 1919 and 1935. However, in every act, there was certain shortcomings and did not fulfil the democratic demands of Indians. Still the Constitutional makers kept the base of Constitutional legacy of the pre-independence period after independence and wrote the Indian Constitution with its legacy which proved the independent credentials of India's efforts to build its own constitution.

1.3 MAKING OF THE CONSTITUTION

By independence we have lost the excuse of blaming the British for anything going wrong. If hereafter things go wrong, we will have nobody to blame except ourselves.

– Dr. B.R. Ambedkar:

The Constitution of India was a not a day effort. It has been built through ages gradually. The Constitutional developments in India started from 1880s and 1890s and the demand for responsible government reached in the form of self-determination at the end of the 20th century.

The Home Rule Movement started by Tilak and Annie Besant during the period of First World War was an effort to awaken Indians for their rights and freedom against the British rule. The Congress-Muslim League Pact of 1916 demanded the four-fifths of the members of the provincial legislatures be elected 'by the people on as broad a franchise as possible'. **(Ref – Bipin Chandra p. 34)**. The 1919 act of dyarchy was not acceptable by Indians which was set up with an assertion that the 'timing and pace' of Constitutional reform would be decided by the British alone. After the end of non-Co-operation movement in 1922, the Swaraj Party was established by a section of Congressmen with an objective to contest the elections. This was no doubt, was a renewed vigour for Constitutional battle. The efforts undertaken by the Congress members to play an active role in politics and bring the changes in India for the rights through constitutional reform was a bold decision. Motilal Nehru was summoned as a representative in the Central Legislative Assembly in Round Table Conferences on 8th February 1924. He was asked to recommend for the protection of rights and interests of important minorities as a scheme of a Constitution for India. It further suggested that the Constitutional scheme for India would be ratified by newly elected Indian legislature and then sent to the British parliament to be embodied in a statute. This is quite remarkable because it was for the first time the demand for Constitution and procedure for its adoption were mentioned clearly.

On 7th July 1925, Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State had given challenge to Indians to produce a constitution on the ground of fair measure of general agreement among the great people of India. Post the boycott of Simon Commission, Lord Birkenhead reiterated the challenge and Congress accepted the challenge. The All-Parties Conference was called in May 1928 to appoint a committee under Motilal Nehru to establish the principles of the Constitution of India. The Nehru Report of 10 August 1928 was an outline of a draft Constitution of India. it visualised the important aspects of today's Constitution such as parliamentary system with full responsible government; joint electorates with time-bound reservation of seats for minorities; securing fundamental human rights; freedom of conscience, free profession and practice of religion; the right of free expression of opinion; right to assemble peacefully without arms; to form associations or unions; equal rights for men and women; and right to free elementary education. The State secular character was listed as fundamental right and Nehru report also

recommended that the 'redistribution of provinces should take place on a linguistic basis.' The Nehru Report was followed by a boycott of the Simon Commission. In December 1929, the Congress declared complete independence and launch of Mass Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930 made it clear that Indians were not satisfied with anything less than the right to frame their own Constitution via a Constituent Assembly based on the widest possible franchise. Jawaharlal Nehru articulated the idea in 1933 based on the suggestions of M.N. Roy. In June 1934, Congress Working Committee rejected White Paper and resolved to set up a constitution drawn up by a Constituent Assembly elected based on adult suffrage or as near it as possible.

Congress kept on demanding the Constituent Assemble repeatedly frequently after 1934 and incorporated in their election manifesto from time to time. In August 1937, the Congress Working Committee accepted a draft resolution prepared by Acharya Kriplani and passed a resolution in all the Congress Provinces – Bombay, Madras, U.P., Bihar, Orissa, Central Provinces, North West Frontier Province and Sind to repeal and replace the Government of India Act 1935 by a constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly and introduced in the Central Legislative Assembly. Congress ministries resigned in 1939 following the outbreak of the Second World War in protest for being made a party to the war without eliciting their opinion or consent. Gandhiji in his article titled 'The Only Way', declared about his enthusiasm to set up the Constituent Assembly. The 'August Offer' by Viceroy Linlithgow in 1940 was an attempt to secure India's cooperation in the War effort and for the first time consented to frame the new Constitution by Indians themselves (though not solely). The August Offer further suggested to 'set up a body representative of the principal elements in India's national life to devise the framework of the new Constitution post the war. Congress launched in 1940 the individual Civil Disobedience campaign to register its protest being a party of the war without its consent. In March 1942, Winston Churchill, the prime minister of Britain sent Sir Stafford Cripps, a member of Labour Party to the War Cabinet and for the first time, there was a discussion in regard to setting up of the Constituent Assembly. The Cripps proposals were significant in many aspects as for the first time, it was clearly accepted that the Constitution would be the sole responsibility of Indians. However other aspects of Cripps proposals which had divisive potential, were not accepted by the Congress and it was failed. India was adamant for setting up its own Constitution through Constituent Assembly. There was no stone unturned to register their protest. Therefore, soon after the war ended in Europe in May 1945, a White paper was issued followed by the Shimla Conference in June- July 1945. The Viceroy Lord Wavell announced the India policy of the new government on 19 September 1945 to convene a constitution making body as earliest. On 19 February 1946, The British government declared a Cabinet Mission was sent to resolve the issue of freedom and Constitution making.

The Cabinet Mission on 16 May 1946 announced a scheme to setting up a constitution making machinery. It further decided that the newly elected legislative assemblies of the provinces were to elect the members of the

Constituent Assembly based on one representative for roughly one million of the population. The Sikh and Muslim legislators were to be elected based on their populations. There were also many details about procedures and suggestions about the Union powers and the provinces. The grouping of provinces into sections A, B, and C.

Section A consisted of Madras, Bombay, Bihar, U.P., the Central Provinces and Orissa.

Section B and Section C consisted of Punjab, NWFP, Sind in the West, Assam and Bengal in the East.

The scheme also proposed that the Constituent Assembly after meeting to elect the Chairman. The Provincial representatives in their respective sections should first decide the Constitution of the constituent provinces. Based on the completion of the process of representatives of all the provinces and princely states were to meet to settle the Constitution of the Union. It also mentioned about the Union of India to deal with foreign affairs, defence, and communication. Congress finally nevertheless decided to put forth an argument and accepted the scheme with a view that outright rejection would again delay the process of transfer of power. The Muslim League at every stage was not in favour of the Constituent Assembly before and after it was constituted.

1.4 THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Before the setting up the Constituent Assembly Nehru expressed his hope to form a assembly with a task through a new constitution to feed the starving people and fullest opportunity to develop himself/herself according to their fullest capacity in the free world.

In the Constituent Assembly, there were 389 members out of which 296 members were from the British India and 93 from the princely Indian states. Initially, all members of the Constituent Assemble were British however post elections which were held in July-August 1946, out of 210 seats which were allotted in the general category, Congress won 199 along with 3 out of the 4 Sikh seats from Punjab. Congress also won 3 out of the 78 Muslim seats and the 3 seats from Coorg, Ahmer-Merwara and Delhi. The total Congress tally was 208. The Muslim League won 73 out of the 78 Muslim seats.

Later, The Congress Working Committees instructed Constituent Assemble to include the representatives of Scheduled Castes, Parsis, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, tribals and Women in the Congress list for the general category. With lots of deliberations and positive gestures, the first session of the Constituent Assemble was scheduled on 9 December 1946. Dr. Sachchidanand Sinha became the provisional president. The first session was attended by 270 members. Dr. Rajendra Prasad was elected the permanent chairman, an office later designated as President of the Assembly on 11 December 1946. On 13 December 1946,

Jawaharlal Nehru moved his famous objective resolution which was debated till 19 December 1946. It was passed in January 1947.

On 3rd June after the announcement of Mountbatten plan and decision of partition, completely altered the perspectives of the Constituent Assembly. After India became independence on 15th August 1947, the Constituent Assembly became a sovereign body and responsible for framing the Constitution to make ordinary laws. The work of Constituent Assembly was organised into **five stages: - (p.41)**

1. Committees were asked to present reports on basic issues.
2. B.N. Rao the Constitutional advisor, prepared an initial draft based on the reports of these committees and his own research into the Constitutions of other countries.
3. Drafting committee, chaired by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar presented a detailed draft Constitution which was published for public discussion and comments.
4. The draft Constitution was discussed, and amendments proposed.
5. The Constitution was adopted.

1.5 ROLE OF DR. BABASAHEB AMBEDKAR IN MAKING OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

The contribution made by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar has been exemplary by drafting the Constitution of India. Dr. Ambedkar was the first Law Minister of India and considered as the Father of the Indian Constitution. He was very clear while mentioning that the political democracy cannot stay longer unless the base is social democracy. Social democracy is nothing but it is a way of life and recognises liberty, equality and fraternity as the principles of life. He affirmed to set up a democracy on the basis of equality and dignity in the people's life. Framing a secular constitution was not an easy task post-independence. But the wisdom, perseverance and acumen of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was aptly reflected logically in the chapters of the Constitution of India. He is also popularly known as the chief architect of the Indian Constitution. On August 29, 1947, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was appointed as the chairman of the drafting committee, constituted by constituent Assembly to draft the Constitution of free India. The legal scholars who were actively involved in framing the Constitution of India along with Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar such as Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, Sardar Patel, B.N. Rao, Alladi Krishnaswamy Ayyar etc. were impressed by his idea, knowledge and vision of secular state.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, speaking after the completion of his work found the constitution workable and strong enough to hold the country together both in peace and adverse times. There is no one supreme before the Constitution of India. the justice prevails for all at social, political and economic level irrespective of any religion, castes and creed. Pandit Nehru

wholeheartedly acknowledged the efforts of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and expressed that it would not have been possible to frame the constitution with care without him.

Apart from Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, every Congress leader such as Asaf Ali, K.T. Shah, D.R. Gadgil, K.M. Munshi, Humayun Kabir, R. Shanthanam, N. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar worked with the team and gave timely suggestions for improvement in the important features in the Constituent Assembly.

Jawaharlal Nehru's Objective Resolution was the philosophy and basic features of the Constitution. Sardar Patel played a decisive role to bring the representatives of the princely states into the Constituent Assembly. Rajendra Prasad won the title of impartial and dignified President of the Assembly, Maulana Azad brought his scholarship wisdom with due importance.

G. Austin in his book the '**Indian Constitution**' expressed the role played by Congress while framing the constitution and mentioned that the Constituent Assembly was a one-party body and one-party country. The Assembly was the Congress and the Congress was India. The elected members in both provincial and national also put forth their contribution and suggestions. He further explained that quote, "One might assume, aware of the character of monolithic political systems in other countries, that a mass party in India would be rigid and narrow in outlook and that its powerful leadership would silently dissent and confine policy and decision-making to the hands of the select few. In India the reverse was the case. The membership of the Congress in the Constituent Assembly and outside held economic, social and political views ranging from the reactionary to the revolutionary, and it did not hesitate to voice them. The leaders of the Assembly, who played the same role in the congress and in the union government, were national heroes and had almost unlimited power; yet decision making in the Assembly was democratic. The Indian Constitution expresses the will of the many rather than the needs of the few." (p.8-9)

Overall, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's contribution were crucial in the making of the Indian Constitution. His vision and values continue to shape India's democracy and social fabric to this day.

Check Your Progress

- 1) Elaborate the importance of Constituent Assembly before the adoption of Constitution of India.

- 2) Explain in Brief the significant role played by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar in framing of the Constitution of India.

- 3) The process of framing the Constitution of India was not an easy task. Explain in brief the making of Constitution and its salient features.

1.6 THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION: MAIN FEATURES

Federal Structure:

The Indian Constitution is not rigid in terms of its federal or unitary structure. G. Austin in his book mentioned that Constituent Assembly was aware of the challenges which India had post-independence therefore, while using the sources of federation from other countries such as United States, Canada, Switzerland, and Australia, the approach was liberal and termed by A.M. Birch and others as 'cooperative federalism'. The term defined as increasing interdependence of federal and regional governments without destroying the principle of federalism. After partition decision, India moved in the direction of a federation with a strong centre. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar aptly explained the term 'Union of States' rather 'Federation of States' because the federation is Union and it is indestructible. He further states though the country and its people may be divided into different States for administration convenience, the country is one and whole and living under a single imperium derived from a single source. The Constitution of India also specifying legislative powers clearly between the Union and the states and contains three lists of subjects: Union list, State list and Concurrent list. The Union list subjects can be legislated upon by the union parliament; state list subjects by state legislatures, and concurrent list come in purview of both union and state lists. However, in case of conflict between Union and state legislation then Union law will prevail. However, there are provisions to convert it into a unitary or quasi federal system under specified exceptional circumstances. The flexible structure of Constitution enabled the Constitutional framework to accommodate the wide variety of centre-state relationships.

b) Fundamental Rights:

The constitution guarantees, certain fundamental rights to every citizen of India, such as the right to equality, freedom of speech and expression and

the right to life and liberty. These rights are enshrined in Part III of the constitution and are justiciable meaning that citizens can approach the court if their fundamental rights are violated.

Institutions of Governance:

The President:

The President of India is a Constitutional head. He is head of the State but not of the Executive. He represents the nation but not rule the nation. The elected President is the symbolic head of the state. The President is conferred with enormous powers but to be exercised in accordance with the Cabinet advice. The President of India has a power to appoint various high functionaries such as judges of the higher courts, governors, ambassadors, the Attorney-General, the Comptroller and Auditor General of India etc on the advice of the Cabinet. He is also the supreme commander of the armed forces and can issue ordinances when parliament is not in session. The term of President election is for five years, and is eligible for re-election. He can also be removed through impeachment for Constitution violation. The elected members of both Houses of Parliament and of State Legislative Assemblies participate in the process of election of President by a method of proportional representation through single transferable vote of each MP or MLA with a value corresponding to the population represented by him.

Vice-President:

Vice-President of India is also elected for five years by both Houses of Parliament but is not a member of any legislature. He also acts as the chairperson of the Rajya Sabha and can act as the President if the existing President dies in office, absent due to illness or any other reason, removed or resigns according to the Article 65 of the Constitution of India.

The Council of Ministers and the Prime Minister:

The Council of Ministers are the executives headed by the prime minister. Prime Minister is appointed by the President the leader of the party who has a majority in the Lok Sabha or confidence of the majority of the members of the Lok Sabha. Other ministers are selected by the prime minister and appointed by the President. The council of minister is collectively responsible to the Lok Sabha. Nehru described the prime minister as the 'linchpin of Government'. Prime minister is the link between the President, the Cabinet and the parliament. He has enormous powers of patronage. All the cabinet meetings are chaired by the prime minister.

The Parliament;

The Indian parliament has two legislatures – the upper house being called the Rajya Sabha or the Council of States and lower house the Lok Sabha or the House of the People. The Rajya Sabha has 250 members of whom 238 members are elected by elected members of the state legislative

assemblies or Vidhan Sabhas via a system of proportional representation by means of single transferable vote and another 12 are nominated by the President on the advice of the government, to represent different fields such as education, social media, sports etc. every two years, one third of Rajya Sabha members are retired but every individual member has a term of six years which makes Rajya Sabha, a permanent body. The Vice-President of India is the chairperson and deputy chairperson is elected by Rajya Sabha members amongst themselves.

The members of Lok Sabha are elected by people of India for the term of five years. It may be dissolved in case of emergency and its term can be extended for one year at a time but not beyond six months after the emergency.

There is also another important feature in India's Constitution related with constituencies which are territorial and single member and divided among states in proportion to the population. The reservation for other castes is also defined in proportion to their population in that particular state. There are no separate electorates.

Lok Sabha has maximum seats is 552 out of which 550 represent territorial constituencies and two are nominated by the Anglo-Indian community. The Lok Sabha is chaired by the Speaker who is elected by members from amongst themselves.

The Parliament has extensive legislative powers and to become a law of any bill, it needs to be in accordance with both the houses on presidential assent. Thus, the Constitution has empowered parliament as an institution with great dignity and provided privileges to its members according to their positions.

The Government in the States and Union Territories:

The centre position of parliament, President and Prime minister also laid down by the Constitution as the system of government at the state level with the chief minister and his council of ministers with legislative power and responsible to the state legislature. The expectation of setting up the position of government while framing the Constitution was that governors would be 'people from outside-eminent people, sometimes people who have not taken a great part in politics. An eminent educationist or a person in other walks of life' (p.59 **Chandra Bipin**).

All states have legislative assemblies which consists of not more than 500 and not less than 60 members. A few states have second chambers or legislative councils. States have rights to legislate on items in the State list. For concurrent list, the Union law stands however states also legislate on items in the concurrent list.

The Union Territories are directly administered by Lieutenant Governors appointed by the President.

Local Government:

The Directive principle of state Policy laid down that states should take steps to organise village panchayats (Article 40). There is a need to set up local self-governing bodies. The Balwantrai Mehta Committee (1956) recommended to set up Panchayati Raj with three levels of representative bodies. The gram panchayat at the village level was to be elected by all adult residents of the village, panchayat samiti at the block level and Zilla parishad at the district level.

The Judiciary:

Article 124-147 and 214-237 of the Constitution lay down the system of justice in India. The judiciary is the upholder of the Constitution and every detail related with the method of appointment, the years of service, qualifying conditions, powers of each court, size of the bench, pay and perquisites, and others all was specified in the Constitution.

The Supreme Court at its apex came into existence in January 1950. The chief justice of Supreme Court was appointed by the President after consultation with such judges of the Supreme Court and the High Courts as may be thought necessary. They hold office till the age of sixty-five. To enforce the rights related with Fundamental rights, a person can straightway appeal to the Supreme Court without going through the judicial hierarchy.

Directive principles of state policy:

Principals of state policy, which provide guidance to the government in matters such as Social Welfare, economic development and environmental protection. These principals are enshrined in Part IV of the constitution and are not justiable, meaning that citizens can not approach the courts if the governments fails to implement them.

High Courts in the states have powers over all the subordinate courts in their jurisdiction. All the other subordinate courts are directly under the control of the High Court. District judges are appointed by the governor in consultation with the High Court.

The Administrative Services:

The Constitution in Part XIV: services under the Union and the States laid down the Union and state legislation and provided Constitutional guarantee against arbitrary dismissal. The Article 315 ensures fairness in recruitment and provided independent Public Service Commissions for the Union and for each state. The commissions are given the task related with recruitment, appointment, promotion, transfer and disciplinary action against civil servants. The all-India services have been a significant force for national integration. The Constitutional safeguards were given to encourage independence and integrity in the bureaucracy. This is important to avoid any political pressure.

Constitutional Amendments:

The constitution can be amended, but the process for amending the constitution is elaborate and requires the approval of a two-thirds majority in both houses of Parliament. This ensures that the constitution remains a living document that can adopt to changing times and aspirations of the people.

Check Your Progress

1) What are the main features of the Indian Constitution?

1.7 CONCLUSION

The quote of G. Austin is quite significant in terms of Constitution framing and its importance which is as quotes, “India would do as she had done for centuries; take what she desired from other cultures and bend it to her needs”.

The framers of Indian Constitution borrowed from other Constitution the key features of the Indian Constitution so that the base of constitution should be based on successful implementation and modified according to the exotic plants and homegrown. The Constitution of India is significant in terms of its democratic structures, framework of responsible government, balance between elected legislatures, functional executives, and vigilant judiciary are important aspects. The Constitution of India not only protect the Fundamental Rights of freedom of speech and expression, including the freedom of the press, freedom of association, including the right to join political parties of one’s choice and form trade unions etc. The Constitution of India is flexible and amended its own laws from time to time according to the needs of the society. Thus, the Constitution of India also considered as a book of social change. As Rajendra Prasad, the first President of India said while framing the Constitution that a constitution can only be as good as the people who work it. The Constitution of India, with testing times, commands respect in diversity and complexity. The clear and transparent commitment of Constitution for a democratic, secular, egalitarian and civil libertarian society provide the significant aspects of maintaining law and order and unity in diversity in country.

1.8 SUMMARY

The first Prime minister of India Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru is considered as the main architect of modern India. The Motilal Nehru Report on the

Constitution of India was like a guide for the future Constitution of free India. The approach of Nehru was to have parliamentary democracy was totally supported by Dr. Ambedkar as the Chief architect of Constitution of India. On 26th January 1950, the Constitution of India came into force and the sovereign republic of India was established.

The contribution made by Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar has been exemplary by drafting the Constitution of India. Dr. Ambedkar was the first Law Minister of India and considered as the Father of the Indian Constitution. He is also popularly known as the chief architect of the Indian Constitution. On August 29, 1947, Dr. Ambedkar was appointed as the chairman of the drafting committee, constituted by constituent Assembly to draft the Constitution of free India. The legal scholars who were actively involved in framing the Constitution of India along with Dr. Ambedkar such as Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, Sardar Patel, B.N. Rao, Alladi Krishnaswamy Ayyar etc. were impressed by his idea, knowledge and vision of secular state. The several features of Indian Constitution related with federal structure, appointment, selection and election of key administrative positions such as President, Prime-minister, Council of ministers, Chief ministers, Judges of the courts, and administrative set up etc. are important and significant to maintain the integrity and uniformity of nation. Apart from these, the Constitution of India also protect the fundamental rights of citizens and provide the directive principles of state policy to maintain the moral, ethics and integrity of the nation.

1.9 QUESTIONS

- 1) Discuss the stages of development of the Indian constitution.
- 2) Analyse the main features of the Indian Constituion.

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INTEGRATION AND REORGANIZATION OF STATES

Unit Structure

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1 Introduction
 - 2.1.1 Accession of Junagarh
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2.0 OBJECTIVES

After completion of the unit, students will be able to understand

- Efforts undertaken for integrating Indian States post-independence
- The problems and challenges faced by Indian government to integrate and reorganize the Indian states
- The history of making Indian states post-independence.

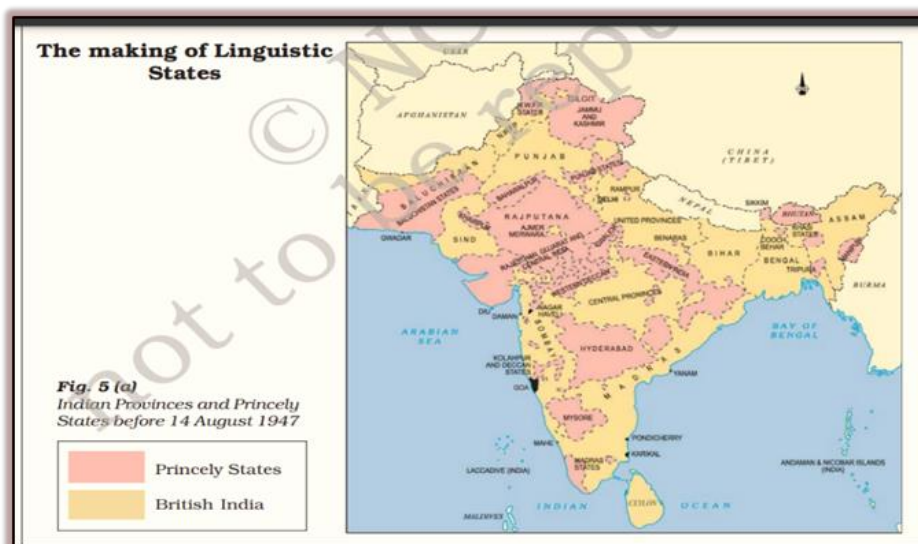
2.1 INTRODUCTION

India after independence dreamt for a nation of life and freedom. India on 15th August 1947 took the pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and humanity. Independence with joy also accompanied with many challenges. The people and the political leadership fueled by an optimism worked to handle the challenges. The leaders such as Sardar Patel, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Rajendra Prasad, C. Rajgopalachari

worked relentlessly to shape a new India. these leaders were committed to the values of democracy, civil liberties, secularism, and independent economic development, anti-imperialism, social reforms and many more.

Sardar Patel and his team did a thoughtful work while unifying under one administration, post-partition India and the princely states. India became as an independent dominion in the British Commonwealth of Nations. There were 565 princely states within its boundaries. When British left India, the future of the princely states became a matter of concern. The announcement of the Independent Dominion in the British Commonwealth of Nations and lapse of the British Paramountcy under the Indian Independence Act left the daunting task of unity of princely states and it had been advised them to join either Pakistan or India or to remain independent. India decided to tackle this issue with sensitivity and maturity. The challenges of free India led to the urgent requirement of arranging essential defenses and security requirements of the country. India was dealing with internal and external danger. On external front, to protect the boundaries of the nation from external aggression and internally, the task to prevent the balkanization of the country and unity of integration of princely states. Therefore, the Government of India appealed to the princes of states to take the conscious decision and integrate themselves with either India or Pakistan. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the deputy Prime Minister of India with Jawaharlal Nehru and trusted officials, took the task and advised the princely states to not to ignore realities and make an effort to raise the country to new greatness. On 27th June 1947, the States Department Committee was set up under the Prime-minister ship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to deal with integrity of princely states, headed by Sardar Patel and Dr. V.P.Menon, secretary who was an able administrator and bureaucrat. The task of integrating Princely states was very complicated as every state at that time had small states for e.g., Orissa had 26 small states. Saurashtra region of Gujrat had 14 big states etc. Government divided the task into three agendas mentioned as below:

- Princely states accession on “Defense, External affairs and Communication”.
- Signing of standstill agreement
- To set up advisory council for the States’ department and
- To maintain and efficient administration to provide adequate health and services.



Source – Figure 1: - <https://ncert.nic.in/ncerts/l/hess206.pdf>

Lord Mountbatten, the Governor general of India at that time, conducted a meeting of 75 greatest of the princes on 25th July 1947 and he successfully persuaded the Maharaja of Gwalior, Bikaner, Baroda, Indore, Jodhpur and many others to sign the instrument of accession. Instrument of Accession was a legal instrument which was first established by the Government of India Act of 1935 and used in 1947 to integrate the princely states within British paramountcy to accede to either India or Pakistan post partition of India on the ground of defense, external affairs and communications. As a result of persuasion and constructive approach, almost all the princely states acceded to India before independence except three Junagarh, Hyderabad and Kashmir. We shall study their accession one by one: -

Check your progress

1. Define the instrument of accession and why was it compulsory for the Princely States to Sign it?

2.1.1 Accession of Junagarh:

Junagarh was a small state on the coast of Saurashtra surrounded by Indian territory and it had not geographical contiguity with Pakistan except for the South and South-west. The history of Junagarh state documented it as Rajput state under the Chudasama dynasty until 1472-73. The state later captured by Mughals and administered by Sherkan Babi, an officer under the Subah. Sir Mahabatkhan Rasulkhanji, last Nawab of Junagarh, was a descendant of Sherkan Babi. During the meeting with Lord Mountbatten, Junagarh was represented by the constitutional advisor of the Nawab

Dewan Nabi Baksh and he gave impression to accede to India. However, early in 1947, the Dewan invited Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto, from Karachi Muslim League to join the State Councils of Ministers in Junagarh. In May 1947, Mr. Bhutto took over the position of Dewan in the absence of its Dewan due to his medical treatment in abroad. India, sent the Instrument of Accession to Nawab for signing but did not receive a reply upto 12th August 1947. As India was waiting for the reply, a news came in the press about the accession of Junagarh to Pakistan and its Nawab announced accession of his state to Pakistan on 15th August 1947 even though people of the state, Hindu desired to join India. The rulers of other state in Kathiawar condemned the Junagarh accession to Pakistan and asked Nawab of Junagarh to reconsider his decision. But the Nawab did not reply positively. Due to the request of Jamsaheb of Nawanagar who came to Delhi and narrated the harassment incidents of people of Kathiawar, Government of India decided to ensure the security of the country and maintaining law and order in Kathiawar. Indian troops were sent in Junagarh. However, before the Indian troops entered Junagarh, the Nawab of Junagarh fled to Karachi with his family and then Dewan Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto invited the Indian government to intervene. Indian troops thereafter marched into the state. A plebiscite was held in the state in Junagarh in February 1948 and went in the favour of joining India. The Executive council was set up on 1st June 1948. Junagarh under a special act of the state administration, elected seven representatives on a wide franchise to the Constituent Assembly for the Union. Junagarh integrated with Saurashtra on 20th February 1949 at a simple ceremony in which the Chief Secretary of Saurashtra took over the charge from the administrator of Junagarh.

Check your progress

1. Do you think, accession of Junagarh was an easy process? What would have the current situation in Junagarh, had it not been acceded by India?

2.1.2 Accession of Hyderabad:

Hyderabad was the largest state in India and completely surrounded by Indian territory. The ruler of Hyderabad carried the tittle, 'Nizam'. The Nizam of Hyderabad declined to accede to India and desired to be an independent status. But the Government of independent India was knowing the importance of Hyderabad to be integrated in India because of its geographical contiguity. In November 1947, the Government of India had signed a stand-still agreement with the Nizam, hoping that while the negotiations proceeded, the Nizam would introduce representative government in the state, which would make the task of merger easier. But

the Nizam had other plans. He alleged that the Indian government was controlling essential services and on the other hand India claimed that the government of Hyderabad was divesting itself to its Indian securities. The Nizam was building up his military strength. He also engaged the services of the leading British lawyer Sir Walter Monckton, a friend of Mountbatten, to negotiate the government on his behalf. He was determined to create pressure on India to accept his sovereignty or acceding to Pakistan.

The attempt of Nizam had created a strong internal situation in the territory and there were other political developments took place within the state. The growth of militant communal organization, Itihad ul Muslimin and its para-military wing, the Razakars had crippled the state on one hand and on the other, on 7th August 1947, the Hyderabad state congress launched a powerful satyagraha movement and went to the Jail to convince Nizam to join the Indian Union. As a result, the attack of Razakars and repression by the state authorities, thousands of people fled the state and took shelter in temporary camps in Indian territory. This unrest situation convinced the Government of India about the unrest situation in Hyderabad and undermine peace in the whole of India.

By June 1948, Sardar Patel wrote to Nehru and strongly recommended to take strong actions to set up responsible government inspite of provocations by the Nizam and the Razakars and patience of Government of India of several months. Finally, on 13 September 1948, the Indian army moved into Hyderabad. The Nizam, left with no choice surrendered and acceded to the Indian union in November. The Indian army retained Nizam as former ruler of the State or its Rajpramukh and given a privy purse of five million rupees along with permission to keep his immense wealth.

After successful accession of Hyderabad, Patel with elation wrote to Suhrawardy on 28th September quote, *“on the question of Hyderabad, the Indian Union Muslims have come out in the open on our side and that has certainly created a good impression in the country.”* (Ref. Chandra Bipin p.no. 76).

2.1.3 Accession of Jammu and Kashmir:

The Indian Independence Act on 3rd June 1947 made it clear that integration of Princely states was necessary. The major concern of integration of Kashmir. Jammu and Kashmir, a biggest area in India bordered on both India and Pakistan. Its ruler Hari Singh was a Hindu and indecision to join either India or Pakistan. Immediately after the transfer of power, he did not sign India and Pakistan and desired to be continue as an independent ruler. The Government of Jammu and Kashmir announced for standstill agreement with both India and Pakistan. Pakistan signed a standstill agreement but India asked for some more time to understand its implications. The relations between Kashmir and Pakistan were not in good terms. The Indian political leaders wanted the people of Kashmir to decide whether to link their fate with India or Pakistan. Gandhiji also

supported this and in August 1947, he declared that Kashmir was free to join either India or Pakistan according to the will of the people.

However, Pakistan was continuously building the pressure on Government of Jammu and Kashmir into acceding and cutting off the supply of essential commodities like food, petrol and others. The Government of India, on a request sent the essential commodities to meet the immediate necessity to avoid the complete breakdown in Srinagar. On 22nd October 1947, several Pathani tribesmen, led unofficially by Paksitani army officers, started an all-out invasion and sent a large number of tribal raiders like Afridi, Waziri, Mahsud and Swasthi along with Pakistan soldiers. They had captured important areas and pushed towards Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir. On 24th October, the Maharaja, in a state of panic appealed to India for help and military assistance. Nehru at this stage did not favour accession without ascertaining the will of the people and a meeting of defense council was called on 25th October under the chairmanship of Lord Mountbatten. Mountbatten advised India to send its troops under international law to Kashmir only after the state's formal accession to India. After that on 26th October, Maharaja signed the instrument of accession to India and India announced to hold a referendum on the accession decision once peace and law and order restored in the valley. The Indian troops fled to Srinagar and on 27th October 1947, the Royal Indian Air Force planes, an operation took place and saved Srinagar.

Jinnah got impatient and invited Nehru and Lord Mountbatten at Lahore for a conference to discuss the Kashmir problem. Nehru did not go to Lahore. Mountbatten on 1st November flew to Lahore to meet Jinnah and conversation between them was inconclusive. Nehru on 2nd November broadcasted a message and showed his readiness to have a referendum in Kashmir under United Nations. On 3rd November Sardar Patel and Baldev Singh, defense minister visited Srinagar and strengthened Indian army.

The tribesmen in West Pakistan were continuously creating troubles to the citizens. Finally, the Kashmir operation referred as the “**Battle of Jawans**” was started in the last week of December 1948 and Government of India accepted the cease fire when the members of United Nations Commission visited New Delhi and Karachi provided Pakistan also assured of immediate effective reciprocal action from their end. With the assurance of Pakistan, the cease fire was ordered by both Army commands with immediate effect from 1st January 1949.

Check your progress

1. Why Hyderabad integration was a difficult task for Government of India? Elaborate your answers.

2. Whether Kashmir Instrument of Accession was necessary? Why is there a continuous fight between India and Pakistan over Kashmir issue? Elucidate the answer.

2.2 REORGANIZATION OF STATES

2.2.1 Introduction:

The reorganization of the Indian states on the basis of language, came immediately after independence. The British while departing from India, haphazardly drew the boundaries of provinces. The importance of drawing boundaries on the basis of language or culture was not given. **Bipin Chandra**, a famous historian was of the view that the reorganization of states on the basis of language was a major aspect of national consolidation and integration. The formation of state on the basis of language is useful for manifolds such as for administrative units, preserving culture, using medium of mother tongue for education, judicial activity and democracy. After independence, India faced many serious administrative, economic and political dislocation. The other problems like princely states integration, continuous warlike situation with Pakistan and Kashmir issue, the leadership felt that nation's importance is to consolidate its unity. Also, they were convinced that if the efforts undertaken to redraw the internal boundaries might dislocate administration and economic development, regional and linguistic rivalries and damage the unity of the country. Nehru, echoed his words for national security on 27th November 1947 as quote, *'First things must come first, and the first thing is the security and stability of India'*.

2.3.2 Need for the Linguistic Organization of states:

The need for the linguistic reorganization of states is mentioned below: -

1. It is important to form the linguistic states for educational, judicial and administration activities of people through regional language and literature;
2. The importance of mother tongue was recognized by Congress in 1919 and 1921 when congress undertook political mobilization and amended the constitution and reorganized its branches on a linguistic basis.

3. Gandhiji suggested the redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis was necessary to grow of provincial languages in their full height.
4. To avoid any threat of division and separatism.
5. To accommodate regional demands and foster the culture and integrity of the nation.
6. To adopt unity in diversity and follow the principles of democracy. It will also help to bring more unity and togetherness in nation as a whole.

2.2.3 The Linguistic Provinces Commission 1948:

The linguistic reorganization of India was raised during the Constituent Assembly. In 1948, under the Justice S.K.Dar, a commission was appointed to enquire into the desirability of linguistic provinces. The Dar commission did not favour to build the nation on the basis of linguistic convenience and decided not to incorporate in the constitution. The commission report was not satisfactory especially in the South and the problems remained politically active.

Check your progress:

1. Do you think reorganization of states on the basis of language necessary? Analyze its advantages and disadvantages.

2.2.4 The JVP Committee and its Role:

The Congress understood that the Dar commission did not satisfy the majority of Indians therefore in December 1948, to please the vocal votaries of the linguistic states, Congress appointed a JVP committee which consists of its members Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramaya. This committee considered to be a 'Coldwater therapy'. Though the committee accepted the recommendation made by Dar commission and did not favour the creation of linguistic states, it did not oppose any popular demand too. The report further stated that on the basis of linguistic demand and involvement of other language groups in agreeable terms then in that case, a new state could be formed. As a result, the JVP report followed by the popular movements for states' reorganization all over the country and demand was intensified in the coming times.

2.2.5 Creation of the State of Andhra Pradesh:

After JVP report, the demand for a separate Andhra state for the Telugu people became popular. The JVP accepted that a strong case for the

formation of Andhra out of the Madras presidency existed. However, the Andhra leaders were not willing to concede Madras in spite of its belonging to linguistic and geographical grounds to Tamil Nadu. The difference between the Tamil and Telugu speaking Andhra's led the clashes between them and there was protest in the Telugu speaking areas of the old Madras province, which was covered under the areas of Tamil Nadu, parts of Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Karnataka. The Vishal Andhra movement was called to separate the Telugu speaking areas from the Madras province and supported by all the linguistic reorganization of then Madras province. Nehru was not in favour of such demands but on 19th October 1952, when a popular freedom fighter Potti Sriramulu was died after the indefinite fast of 58 days to fulfill the demand for a separate Andhra followed by mass agitation, hartals, strikes, violence all over Andhra, the Government accepted the demand for a separate state of Andhra which came in October 1953. Tamil Nadu was also created as a Tamil speaking state.

2.2.6 The formation of States Reorganization Commission (SRC):

The success of Andhra gave an opportunity to other linguistic groups as well to agitate for their own state to form the boundary on linguistic basis. Nehru was not in favour of redraw the map of India on the basis of violence. Therefore, to meet the demand, Nehru appointed the States Reorganization Commission (SRC) in August 1953. The SRC committee consisted of Justice Fazl Ali, K.M. Pannikar and Hridayanath Kunzru as its members. The commission was asked to examine the reorganization of states on the basis of language 'objectively'. The commission worked almost for two years and faced with meetings, hartals, demonstrations, agitation and hunger strikes. The SRC submitted its report in October 1955 and suggested to create the boundaries in nation on the basis of different languages.

The SRC recommendations were accepted and SRA (States Reorganization Act) was passed by Parliament in November 1956. **The points which were states in SRA as follows: -**

- a) The SRA provided for the creation of 14 states and 6 centrally administered Union territories.
- b) It also stated that the Telangana area of Hyderabad state to be transferred Andhra.
- c) The state of Kerala was formed by merging the Malabar district of the old Madras Presidency with Travancore Cochin.
- d) In the Mysore state, the certain Kannada speaking areas of the state of Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad and Coorg were added.
- e) The boundary of Bombay state was expanded and states of Kutch and Saurashtra were merged along with Marathi speaking areas of Hyderabad with it.

- f) The formation of Madhya Pradesh, Vindhya Pradesh, Bhopal and certain territories carved out from Rajasthan, Patiala and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU) was added to the state of Punjab. Ajmer was given to Rajasthan.

- g) The 14 states were divided into **Group A and Group B**.

Under **Group A** the states of Andhra Pradesh, Bombay, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Mysore, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, and West Bengal whereas on **Group B** Jammu and Kashmir was given special status.

The 6 Union territories were Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Tripura and Lacadives.

- h) India was grouped into five zones with a zonal council. In **the Northern zone there** were Punjab, Rajasthan, Jammu and Kashmir, the Union territories of Delhi and Himachal Pradesh. The **Central zone** had Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. The **Eastern Zone** states were comprised of Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Assam, Nagaland and union territories of Manipur and Tripura. The **West zone** had Maharashtra and Gujarat since 1960 and the **Southern zone** states were Andhra Pradesh, Madras, Mysore, and Kerala.
- i) The Delimitation committee was formed to identify the population figure and reservation of seats for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in every state of the Lok Sabha and the state legislative assemblies.

Check your progress:

1. Explain the formation of states Reorganisation Commission (SRC)

2. Describe the provisions of States Reorganisation Commission (SRC)

2.2.7 Bifurcation of the Bombay State into the Maharashtra and Gujarat:

The Maharashtra were not satisfied with SRA and a widespread riot broke out. 80 people were killed in police firing in January 1956. There was

widespread protest across the cities from all strata of the society including farmers, students, workers, unions, businessmen. Government under pressure, in June 1956 decided to divide the Bombay state into Maharashtra and Gujarat states however, the move of government was opposed by the Maharashtrians. Nehru, considering the feeling of the masses, decided to formation of bilingual grater Bombay which was not accepted by Maharashtra and Gujarat. The Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and Maha Gujarat Janta Parishad launched the movements into the states. In Maharashtra, the demand for the creation of unilingual Maharashtra with Bombay as its capital were arose. C.D. Deshmukh, the finance minister in the Central Cabinet resigned from his office. The Gujaratis, in fear to be in the Minority were not ready to give up their demand for Bombay city. Violence were everywhere and spread to Ahmedabad which led to the death of 16 persons and injured of 200 people in police firings. The popular agitation was continued for five years and the Government finally agreed in May 1960 to divide the state of Bombay into Maharashtra and Gujarat wherein the Bombay city was included in Maharashtra and Ahmedabad became the capital of Gujarat.

2.2.8 Creation of Punjab and Haryana:

In 1956, the states of PEPSU were merged with Punjab which had three languages Punjabi, Hindi and Pahari. There was a continuous demand for a separate Punjabi Suba in the part of states where the majority of population was speaking to Punjabi. The demand was so strong that it turned into communal issue. The Sikh groups led by the Akali Dal and the Hindu groups led by the Jan Sangh used linguistic issue as a communal politics. The continuous demand of a Sikh state, got mixed with religion. Nehru and the Congress leaders were clear to oppose the demand of a separate state based on the agenda of religion or communal grounds. The SRC also rejected its demand. The Akali Dal under its leader Sant Fateh Singh continued its agitation for a separate state for the Sikhs and ultimately in 1966 under the leadership of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the division of Punjab took place into two Punjabi and Hindi speaking states of Punjab and Haryana. The Pahari speaking districts of Kangra and a part of the Hoshiarpur districts merged with Himachal Pradesh. Chandigarh became the joint capital of Punjab and Haryana and Union territory.

Thus, with the struggle of almost ten years and continuous strife and agitation, more or less India created many states on the basis of language and gave the larger room for a greater participation by the people.

Though the reorganization of states on the basis of language led to many adverse situations in country but according to the political scientist, *Rajni Kothari* it has also rationalized the political map of India without weakening its unity. It has also created a homogenous political unit and cemented integrated influence of the nation.

Though the reorganization of states on the basis of language could not be considered as an effort to completely cementing the state and central relationship because it also led the disputes related with boundaries

between different states, linguistic minorities and economic issues such as sharing of waters, power and surplus food.

Check your progress?

- 1) Narrate in Brief the existence of Bombay and Gujrat as separate state?

- 2) Do you think the creation of state on the basis of language was essential? State your answer with suitable explanations

2.3 CONCLUSION

India decided to build its own destiny and never given up the multifold challenges which were existing from all areas. Post-independence, Nehru and Congress leaders were determined to unite and integrate India. The period from August 1947 to 1950 was a challenging one but a progressive one. Integrating the princely states, tackling the problems of partition and communal holocaust, building the future of country with democracy, establishing a equal society with written constitution were a dream of every Indian. The Indian leaders with their astute statesmanship showed their zeal and commitment to provide a peaceful state. Within 21 months, integration of the princely states was done which brought a great change in life of people politically and socially through responsible government and industrial development.

Similarly, the reorganization of Indian states on the basis of language and culture was not an easy task. It has defined the politics of the states but did not affect on the federal structure of the Union. The struggle for existing of separate states on the basis of religion and culture strengthened the existence of many cultures and religion. Though, the struggle of separate states were also painful and difficult to tackle sometimes, the government of India had clear mindset which focused on the development of nation.

2.4 SUMMARY

Thus, it is observed in this chapter that India had faced multiple challenges post-independence but established the unity and integrity of the nation with strong determination and courage. The lapse of British paramountcy post the act of 1947 left the princely states indecisive which led to the growth of challenges and problems. However, the able leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel, V.P.Menon, and others managed the task

skillfully. The unity of 565 princely states was a daunting task and challenges received from the states of Junagarh, Hyderabad and Kashmir were enormous. The sacrifices of Indian Jawans and life of citizens were painful and difficult to narrate. India followed the principles of democracy and peace in every step and proved that India is a country of progress and development. Junagarh was acceded by India after the plebiscite according to the wish of its people to merge with the Indian Union. The Nizam of Hyderabad dreamt of being independent but when it started facing trouble because of the Pakistan troops, the Indian troops were sent and after that Hyderabad was acceded to the Indian Union. Kashmir challenge and struggle is continued till today because of the interest of India and Pakistan. the ceasefire was announced from both the sides but still the situation is not in good condition.

2.5 QUESTIONS

1. Why the integration of Princely States was necessary for India? Explain.
2. Discuss the role played by Sardar Patel to integrate the Princely states in India?
3. Analyse the process of integration into Indian Union.
4. Explain in detail the efforts undertaken by India to tackle the situation in Hyderabad.
5. Explain in detail the integration process of Jammu and Kashmir?
6. Analyse the challenges faced by Indian government while dealing with the integration of Princely states in India.
7. Why did the demand of Reorganization of states on the basis of language occur? Comment.
8. Explain in brief the JVP committee and SRC Commission.
9. Review the formation process of the states. Post States Reorganization act,.

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SOCIO-ECONOMIC REFORMS AND FOREIGN POLICY

Unit Structure

- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Social Reforms during Nehru Era
 - 3.2.1 Land Reform
 - 3.2.2 Abolition of Untouchability
 - 3.2.3 Reforms for Women Emancipation
 - 3.2.4 Reforms through Education
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- 3.3 Economic Reforms during Nehru Era
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 - 3.4.1 India and its International relations from other Countries Post-Independence
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3.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit will help to understand the reader about

- Various Socio-Economic changes during Nehru era post-independence
- The foreign policy of India post-independence
- Challenges faced by Indian government to bring socio-economic changes in India
- The relations of India to other countries post-independence
- The philosophy of India's foreign policy

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Jayprakash Narayan, before forming the Socialist party worked with Nehru for decades. According to him Nehru apart from being a politician, also had the soul of a poet, kind heart and sensitive mind and felt the agony of poverty and human misery. He was bold and had a courage to put his ideas into practice. Nehru has a dream of bring the whole picture of

India's future-agricultural, industrial, social and economic to put into a single framework of thought and action. He aspired for equality of all people and attains their standard of living in the society. His ideas of social change based on the socialism borrowed from the Fabians, Marx and Gandhi. Based on his idea, the Congress in 1955 passed a resolution and adopted the "socialistic pattern" of society. It is important to understand the ideas of socialism through Nehru lens rather in the current contexts of free market approach.

The socio-economic reforms during Nehru era can not be studies in isolation. The social development and economic development go hand in hand. Therefore, post-independence, India which was facing many challenges in terms of dealing with its poverty, and backwardness of industrial development, Nehru came up with a democratic-socialist model which focused on economic development of nation for removal of poverty and raising the standard of living. The socio-economic reforms during Nehru era should be looked at nation's economic development and economic arena.

3.2 SOCIAL REFORMS DURING NEHRU ERA

Post-independence, though India was battling on many fronts, the most important reforms were expected in the social arena. The national integration and political stability were the prior agendas of India. The Constitution of India embarked a journey of social change and the Article 36 of the Directive Principles of State Policy stressed to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting a social order based on justice, economic, and political in all the institutions of the national life. The **socialistic pattern of society** was introduced in 1955 and was accepted by the Congress in its Avadhi session and later incorporated in second and third five years plan's objective. There were series of social reforms introduced during Nehru era which are as follows: -

3.2.1 Land Reform:

Post-independence, the Congress established an Agrarian Reforms Committee in December 1947. Previously, the land system was associated with jagirdars and zamindars. The Article 39 of the Constitution ensured for no concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment. The zamindari abolition bills which was proposed in 1950 eliminated jagirdars and zamindars and brought the government in direct contact with all cultivators, who were below poverty line and benefited from lower taxes and state programmes such as public works, education, and health. In the second step of land reforms, government-imposed ceilings on land holdings and third step were to introduce cooperatives to help the weaker sections of the rural community by providing credit and assistance with marketing and processing. In 1959, Nehru got the Congress to pass resolution voluntary cooperatives run by Village panchayats. He introduced the concept of cooperative farming. Though the land reforms did not get success as expected, it eliminated the jagirdars and zamindars in some extent.

3.2.2 Abolition of Untouchability:

Government of India incorporated a provision abolishing untouchability. The Anti-Untouchability Law in 1955 made the practice of untouchability punishable and a cognizable offence. Government also proposed for reservations in educational institutions and government employment in favour of Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs) and other weaker sections of society. Government also provided special facilities such as scholarships, hostels accommodation, grants, loans, housing, healthcare and legal aid services. A Commissioner of SCs and STs were appointed to monitor the effective implementation of such measures and constitutional provisions.

Labour Reforms:

Jawaharlal Nehru was committed to improving the condition of workers and initiated several measures to protect their rights. The Industrial Disputes Act was passed in 1947, which provided for the settlement of industrial disputes through arbitration and conciliation. The Minimum Wages Act also passed in 1948, which was ensured that workers were paid minimum wage.

3.2.3 Reforms for Women Emancipation:

A country like India which has a huge civilization to worship women, also witnessed the exploitation and violence against women in social arena. Women's groups and organizations were continuously demanding the revision of laws regarding women's rights in the family. Nehru, as a firm supporter, took a major step towards in this direction and moved in parliament in 1951 **The Hindu Code Bill**. The government passed the bill in the form of four separate acts which introduced monogamy and the right to divorce to both men and women, raised the age of consent of marriage and gave women the right to maintenance and to inherit family property.

3.2.4 Reforms through Education:

According to the census of 1961, there were only 16.6 percent of total population was literate and in rural families, it was only 6 %. The Constitution of India in 1961 provided free and compulsory education to every child upto the age of 14 and later the target was shifted in 1966. Government kept the huge budget for education development which was increased from Rs. 198 million in 1951-52 to Rs. 1462.7 million in 1964-65. Nehru urged all state governments to keep the sufficient budget in education development as it is a base for nation's development. Nehru period witnessed the rapid expansion of education. It is registered that the enrollment in schools between 1951-61 were doubled for boys and tripled for girls. The number of students enrolled for secondary schools were also increased from 7,288 to 24,477. There was total 18 universities at the time of independence but by 1964, it has rose to 54. Nehru since beginning worked hard to remove the shortage in education level at society and put greater emphasis on its development especially in primary education.

3.2.5 Community Development Programme:

The community development programme and Panchayati Raj were introduced in 1952 and 1959. The basic objective for launching these two programme for the welfare of the state and changing the quality of life of the people. In 1952, the community development programme reached to 55 development blocks in which each bloc consists of about 100 villages with a population of sixty to seventy thousand. This programme covered all aspects of rural life related with agricultural methods, communications, health and education. However, the success of the programme was far from achieving its true result and in 1957, Balwantrao Mehta Committee was established to evaluate which has strongly criticized its bureaucratization and lack of popular involvement. On the basis of committee's recommendation, the Panchayati Raj was set up to democratize the process and decentralization was established in rural and district development administration in 1959. The three-tier was set up in which gram panchayat (directly elected village); panchayat samitis (indirectly elected bloc level panchayats); and district level zilla parishads. Nehru got enthusiastic. Along with Panchayati Raj, there were thousands of cooperative institutions such as cooperative banks, land mortgage banks, and service and market cooperatives, which were autonomous and managed by elected bodies.

The introduction of Panchayati raj and cooperative institutions brought a change in the outlook of the people and initiated the process of creating better human beings.

Overall, Nehru era was characterized by commitment to social reform and the promotion of social welfare. Nehru recognized the importance of addressing social inequalities, health care and labour reforms. These reforms laid the foundation of India's progress and development in the years to come.

Check your Progress

1. What were the social reforms undertaken during Nehru Era?
Elaborate with suitable examples

3.3 ECONOMIC REFORMS DURING NEHRU ERA

The Indian economic scenario post-independence was very dismal. Majority of the population were living in mass poverty and there was shortage of labour capital, machinery capital, infrastructure, energy production, inadequate banking system and negligible participation of women in economy and governance. Considering the current scenario,

Nehru was committed to set up a coordinated programme of planned development and this approach was institutionalized with the set up of National Planning Commission (NPC) in March 1950. The setting up of NPC had an objective for assessment, utilization and if possible, augmentation of 'material, capital and human resources. Commission's first task was to prepare the six-year plan of economic development of India for the Commonwealth Consultative Committee for South and Southeast Asia, popularly known as the Colombo plan. The five year plans - a reflection of India's admiration of the Soviet model became a fixture of India's development policy.

The National Planning Commission was a strong institution and extra constitutional body of experts, not accountable to the parliament. The first five-year plan (1951-1956) began with a limited resources and equally divided between the public and private sectors. While introducing the first plan in Parliament, Nehru said that he supported large-scale industries but the most important thing which needs to be developed at that stage was the village and cottage industries. **The first five-year plans** were critical considering the condition of India post-independence; however it has achieved several laudable results such as increase of 17.5 percent national income; a 10.5 percent rise in personal income; 11 million tons of extra food; a 660 percent increase in the fleet of locomotives; a 400 percent increase in the holding of railway wagons; a 168 percent increase in engineers; and many more. The industrial growth index rose from 105 in 1950 (base year 1946) to 170 in 1956. The commencement of huge multipurpose dam projects such as Bhakra-Nangal, which produced the required electricity in the country in 1950 along with increasing the land under irrigation by 1.3 million acres were huge achievement.

The second five-year plan (1957-1961):

envisioned the 'socialistic pattern' and closer to Nehru's notion of socialism. This second plan which is celebrated as Nehru-Mahalanobis plan (Prof. P.C. Mahalanobis played a leading role in drafting the second plan) focused on the rapid development of heavy and capital goods industries in India mainly in the public sector. Nehru adopted his model and focused on rapid industrialization and emphasis on heavy industries producing basic machines and heavy metals. The major objective is to achieve self-reliant with heavy investment strategy for a strong and self-reliant economy and avoiding dependence on imports of essential machinery and equipment. The second five-year plan focused on raising national income, rapid industrialization, large expansion of employment opportunities and reduction of inequalities in income and wealth and distribution of wealth among stakeholders. In the second five-year plan, India embarked its journey of industrial development and three steel mills were set up in Bhilai, Durgapur and Rourkela for the steel production. The coal production and addition of extra railway lines were also built up. India allocated \$ 4.8 billion to the private sector. Homi Bhabha became the first head of the Atomic Energy Commission in 1957 and TIFR was also established. India also offered scholarship to the exceptional young students to contribute in the nuclear power industry. The focus of India

was to enhance its development at all levels which include atomic energy, heavy machinery, aircraft, and shipbuilding. The second five-year plan was continued in the Third plan (1961-66) which was mentioned as “**socialistic pattern of society**”. In this, the shift in favour of heavy industry was combined with promoting labour intensive and small and cottage industries for the production of consumer goods. The basic objective is to make India self-sufficient in food grain production with limited foreign aid. India during this time, faced Indo-China war in 1962 wherein the focus was shifted to defense, but the aid provided by the United States and the Soviet Union compensated the fund shortage. India faced another war during this period was Indo-Pakistan in 1965 which impacted on the development plan due to the lack of aid of the United States and diversion of national funds to war. India devalued the rupee by 36 percent to gain foreign exchange which made the thwarted industrial production due to the expensive imports. India in spite of facing such huge difficulties did not give up, and observed that steel production increased from 4.3 million tons to 7 million tons and India enhanced its ranking and went till 7th rank as an industrialized country of the world. Thus, the economic reforms during Nehru were an honest attempt to put in the center of democratic socialism and strategy for economic development. India, inspite of all difficulties and challenges, embarked a journey and growth for nation’s development through economic reforms and achieving sustainable development.

The Third Five Year Plan (1961-1966):

The Third Five Year Plan was launched during the Nehru era in 1961 with the objective of achieving rapid industrialization and economic development in India. The plan was formulated against the backdrop of a rapidly changing global economy, with an emphasis on promoting self-reliance and reducing dependence on foreign aid.

Some of the key features of the Third Five Year Plan were:

Investment in Heavy Industries: The plan placed a strong emphasis on investment in heavy industries such as steel, machinery, and chemicals. The goal was to build a strong industrial base that would provide a solid foundation for future economic growth.

Agricultural Development: The plan also focused on agricultural development, with an emphasis on increasing productivity and improving the living standards of farmers. Measures such as the introduction of high-yield seeds and the expansion of irrigation facilities were undertaken to achieve this objective.

Infrastructure Development: The plan placed significant emphasis on infrastructure development, with investments made in the construction of roads, railways, and airports. This was aimed at improving connectivity and promoting economic growth in remote areas.

Employment Generation: The plan also had a strong focus on employment generation, with the aim of creating job opportunities for

millions of people in the country. The emphasis was on promoting labour-intensive industries and providing training and skill development programs.

Education and Health: The plan recognized the importance of human capital development and made significant investments in education and health. The emphasis was on improving the quality of education and expanding access to health care facilities.

The Third Five Year Plan was successful in achieving its objectives, with significant progress made in industrial development, agricultural growth, and infrastructure development. The plan laid the foundation for India's rapid economic growth in the years to come and was instrumental in transforming India from a primarily agrarian economy to a modern industrial economy

Check your Progress

1. What were the economic reforms undertaken during Nehru Era?
Elaborate with suitable examples.

3.4 INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY POST-INDEPENDENCE

“What does independence consist of? It consists fundamentally and basically of foreign relations. That is the test of independence. All else is local autonomy. Once foreign relations go out of your hands into the charge of somebody else, to that extent and in that measure, you are not independent”.

Jawaharlal Nehru during a debate in the Constituent Assembly in March 1949.

The Constitution of India in its Article 51 the Directive Principles of State Policy laid down the principle of ‘promotion of international peace and security’. It further stated that the state shall endeavour to promote international peace and security and maintain honourable relations between nations along with fostering respect for international law and treaty in the dealings of organized people with one another and settlement of international disputes with arbitration. India, a nation born in the backdrop of the world war and division of boundary line which led to the creation of another country, decided to be patient and conduct its foreign relations with an objective to respect sovereignty of all other nations and achieve security through maintenance of peace. There are many factors which influence the nation's foreign policy. It could be either internal or external. India decided to pursue an independent foreign policy post 1947 politics. Nehru who was the prime minister and country's first foreign

minister was the principal architect and advocate of an independent foreign policy. His idea was well depicted in the form of non-alignment and organizational cohesion through the non-alignment. Post second world war, world countries were divided into two groups – one led by the USA and the western powers and the other by the Soviet Union. Nehru was aware that a country like India rather being a part of any group must focus on align the development needs of the nation which were to fight against poverty, illiteracy and disease and establishing peace. Therefore, India neither joined nor approved the Baghdad pact, the Manila treaty, SEATO, and CENTO. India was able to pursue the peace on the basis of its neutral foreign policy.

The foreign policy of India was based on the principles of

Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence:

(Panchsheel which was based on the Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, Mutual non-aggression, Mutual non-interference, Equality and mutual benefit, and Peaceful co-existence.

Policy of Non-Alignment:

Non alignment is the most important feature of India's foreign policy and considered to be universal principle for staying equidistant from the two super powers. The post cold war, emergence of USA and Soviet Union camp in 1950s, also saw the emergence of new Asian and African nations. Non -alignment should not be confused with neutrality of non-involvement in international affairs or isolationism. The term non alignment stands for taking an independent stand on international issues according to each case without coming under the influence of any military bloc. India got many supporters in developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America as the non-alignment policy of India provided them an opportunity as well to bear the political pressure post cold war and focus on nation's development. The first Asian relations Conference in 1947 was convened in New Delhi for the idea of Asian solidarity. Second Asian relations conference which was convened in 1949 discussed the independent status of Indonesia and opposed colonial rule in other countries. The Bandung conference in 1955 attended by 29 countries of Asia and Africa focused on Afro-Asian unity. In conference, there were ten principles proposed out of which five principles were based on the Nehru's idea of Panchsheel. The leaders who attended the conference pledged to work together for colonial liberation, peace, cultural, economic and political cooperation among developing countries. The Non-Alignment Summit was held in 1961 at Belgrade.

Distance from two camps:

As we have already studied that India followed the principle of distancing themselves for joining any powerful camps post-independence and pursued the dream of a peaceful world and contributed human resources to the UN peacekeeping operations. India decided to maintain distance from military alliances led by US and Soviet Union against each other. Though

the NAM was a difficult foreign policy approach, India considered this as an ideal policy. Due to its independent stand on various international issues, India could get aid and assistance from members of both the blocs. Pakistan joined the US military alliances. US was not happy about India's independent initiatives and the policy of non-alignment and growing partnership with the Soviet Union.

Check your Progress

1. What were the basic principles of Nehru's foreign policy during the Nehru era?

3.4.1 India and its International relations from other Countries Post-Independence:

Korean War:

Post World War II, Korea was divided into two parts wherein a Communist North was controlled by the Socialist camp and a South Korea by the Western Powers. K.P.S. Menon, Chairman of the United Nations Commission on Korea in late 1947, in his report to the UN appealed for Korean Unity. North Korea invaded South Korea in 1950. India supported the US in the UN Security Council and condemned North Korea attack and demanded for ceasefire however, India kept her away from voting for setting up of unified command. General MacArthur, head of US forces under UN command pushed North Korean forces out of South Korea without the UN approval. US was very aggressive at that time and continued towards the Yalu River, that separated Korea from China. Chou-En-Lai, the Chinese prime minister warned the western powers through the Indian ambassador to China, K.M. Panikkar. China sent its armed volunteers and pushed back American troops which resulted huge Chinese, Korean and American casualties. India tried its best to make both the parties to be agreed for ceasefire and finally Krishna Menon a Neutral Nation Repatriation Commission was set up.

Indo-China:

India since beginning post-independence always maintained a friendly relation with China. India was the first country to recognize the communist government post Chinese revolution in 1949. Nehru was impressed from China's struggle to come out of the western domination and helped the new government at international forum. Though, there were some political leaders who were not sure of China's loyal friendship with India, Nehru was completely in believe that China would not attack on India. The Chines border was guarded by para-military force and not the army. India and China both enunciated the Panchsheel, five principles

of peaceful co-existence together on 29 April, 1954 which was considered a step in the direction of strong relationship between the two countries. Through this treaty, India recognized China's rights over Tibet. Hindi-Chini bhai-bhai was a major slogan and the leaders of both the countries were greeted by large and friendly crowds in their respective countries. However, during the visit of Tibetan spiritual leader Dalai Lama along with the Chinese Premier in 1956 led Nehru knew about the worsening situation in Tibet and suppression of Tibetan culture. China ensured India about the greater autonomy of Tibet than any other region of China. In 1958, there was an armed uprising in Tibet against China's occupation. Chinese forces suppressed the revolt. In 1959, Dalai Lama crossed over into the India border with thousands of refugees and sought asylum which was granted to him. However, he was not allowed to set up a government in exile and carrying any political activities. The Chinese government strongly protested the move. Many Tibetans crossed the border and settled in various parts in India. Dharmashala in Himachal Pradesh became the largest refuge settlements of Tibetan refugees. Many political leaders and parties in India supported Tibetan's independence. China created the Tibet autonomous region, an integral part however Tibetans opposed the Chinese claim and opposed to be a part of China. China was convinced that India was allowing anti-China activities to take place within India. There was another dispute which rose between these two countries related with their boundary line. China claimed Aksai-chin area in the Ladakh region of Jammu and Kashmir and much of the state of Arunachal Pradesh in what was then called NEFA (North Eastern Frontier Agency). China, between 1957 and 1959 occupied the Aksai-chin area and built a strategic road there. China also launched a massive invasion in October 1962 on both the disputed regions. China captured Indian Aksai-chin area in the Ladakh region of Jammu and Kashmir and much of the state of Arunachal Pradesh in what was then called NEFA (North Eastern Frontier Agency). On 20th October, thirteen forward posts were captured by the Chinese in the western sector. Nehru wrote two letters to US president and asked for military help. He also requested for Britain assistance. After 24 hours later, the Chinese declared ceasefire and withdrew its troops. The Chinese invasion was a big blow on India's self-respect. It induced a sense of national humiliation and also the sense of nationalism. Some of the top commanders either resigned or retired. V. Krishna Menon, then Defence minister had to leave the cabinet. Nehru was criticised at national and international front. The Chinese invasion exposed the lack of military preparedness of India and also alerted the Indian leadership to the volatile situation in the Northeast region. India soon began the process of its reorganisation post the Chinese war and many states like Nagaland, Manipur, Tripura were granted statehood and right to elect their own legislative assemblies.

Indo-Pakistan:

The difficult relations which characterized Indo-Pak relations was a great source of sadness to Indian political leaders especially Nehru and Indians in general. A country which has common history, geography, culture, problems, challenges, agony, suffering should have come together to

support each other and developed a cooperation. Nehru tried his best to bring unity and personally visited Pakistan in 1953. India post-independence also faced the challenges related with the Kashmir issue and ceasefire was declared in 1949. However, the Kashmir issue was always an unresolved issue between these two nations. India on one hand followed the philosophy of non-Alignment whereas on the other hand Pakistan integrated into the US western alliance system via membership of SEATO, CENTO, the Baghdad Pact and a military pact with US in 1954. India since beginning was cleared to not join any camps whereas Pakistan was more than willing to be in the camp of US and western allies. India had a tough time to protect its position in UN on Kashmir issue. The Soviet Union understood the policy of India's non-alignment and supported India on Kashmir issue. From 1956 onwards, the Soviet Union used its veto-powers in the UN Security Council to not accepting all resolutions on Kashmir unacceptable to India.

India- Congo:

India helped Congo to maintain its integrity and independence. Congo gained its independence on 30 June 1960 from Belgium. Its copper rich province Katanga announced its independence and backed by Belgium. The Prime minister of Congo Lumumba appealed to the UN, US and USSR for help. The tactics of these superpowers led to the murder of Lumumba which shocked the entire world. Nehru compelled the UN to stop the civil war and added the willingness of India to commit troops for the purpose. The UN agreed. On 21st February 1961, the Security Council adopted a resolution and Indian armed forces ended the Civil war and restored the authority of the central government over Katanga. India's non-alignment policy helped newly-independent countries of Africa and Asia and strengthen their role in multilateral bodies such as the UN.

Check your Progress

1. Explain in brief the relations of India with other foreign countries especially with China and Pakistan post-independence.

2. Do you think, the Indo-China war was necessary? Explain your answer with suitable examples.

3.5 SUMMARY

The Nehru era saw many upheaval changes and challenges in India post-independence. He can be correctly called as an architect of modern India. Nehru was a democrat, socialist, humanist, visionary, and a human. Nehru inspite of having complex and difficult situation in India, did not loose his patience and rooted the cause of many socio-economic and strong foreign policy in India. In Bipin Chandra book, he is called as the Renaissance man, a product of the Enlightenment with his commitment to rationality, humanity, respect for the individual, independence of spirit and secularism. His commitment for the growth of India as a nation could be observed in his letter addressed to the chief ministers in 1954 which stated that, "If India is to be really great, as we all want her to be, then she is not to be exclusive either internally or externally. She has to give up everything that is barrier to growth in mind or spirit or in social life."

Post-independence consolidation, unity, integrity and strengthening India as a nation was a challenge. The world which was divided into two super blocs, the philosophy of Nehru's non aligned developed India outside the world and did not bring country under the direct influence of the superpowers. Nehru till his death, pushed back the penetration of any outside agencies on India's political and economic structure. Nehru's foreign policy was extraordinary phenomena. He used his foreign policy to strengthen and defend India's national interests to develop self-reliance, self-confidence and the pride nation to set up world peace.

Nehru also proposed many socio-economic reforms such as building socialism, education development, village development, eradicating zamindari system, women emancipation and planned for economic development through the five-year plans.

3.6 CONCLUSION

Thus, it is concluded that Nehru wanted to build an independent self-reliant economy with economic strength and capacity to resist economic and political domination. He put a great emphasis on rapid industrialization, agricultural self-sufficiency, planning, public sector, and heavy capital good industry, minimum use of foreign capital and aid, development of science and technology and technical modernization, training of a technical and scientific cadre and atomic energy was largely seen in Nehru's efforts with his trusted political leaders. India during his period transferred herself from a colonial to an independent economy. Nehru as first prime minister of India faced with many challenging tasks but he dealt with challenges. He executed each task and rooted the values, approaches, objectives, goals, and an outlook which made them an integral part of the ethos of Indian people. Geoffery Tyson one of his biographers remarked quotes, "if Nehru had been a different kind of man, India would have become a different kind of country".

3.7 QUESTIONS

1. Analyze in details the education status in India pre- and post-independence.
2. Describe the key reforms introduced by Nehru for educational development in India post-independence.
3. Explain in brief the types of social reforms introduced during Nehru era in India?
4. Do you think, the social reforms which were undertaken post-independence brought changes in society? Explain with suitable examples.
5. Analyse the key economic reforms introduced in three five-year plans in India?
6. Elaborate India's Principle of Non-Alignment post-independence and its key features.

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POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS AFTER NEHRU ERA; GREEN REVOLUTION (1964 CE – 1984 CE)

Unit Structure

4.0 Objective

4.1 Introduction

4.1.1 Political Development in India post- Nehru

4.1.2 Phases of Political Development in India

4.2 Green Revolution

4.2.1 Introduction

4.2.2 Need for Green Revolution

4.2.3 Achievements of Green Revolution

4.2.4 Analyses of Green Revolution

4.3 Summary

4.4 Conclusion

4.5 Questions

4.6 References and Additional readings

4.0 OBJECTIVE

This Chapter will help reader to understand: -

- The progress steps undertaken by India post Nehru
- The challenges faced by India in economy and importance of green revolution
- Emergence of political parties and their reasons of existence

4.1 INTRODUCTION

India after independence focused first to reconstruct the nation. There were a series of constitutional reforms initiated by the British government with limited democratic rights in order to draw the selection sections of Indian society into the business of governance. During the time of freedom movement, all strata of communities participated in the countrywide agitations and post-independence, they all aspired to develop a new cultural, intellectual and aesthetic movements within society. India was keen to have a democratic nation and practice liberal practice for sound governance. The Constitution of India was not only a written document for Indians but was a dream of a just and equal society. India made all the possible efforts to set up a link between the institutions of

popular representation, and great strength on democratic institution to ensure the firm establishment of representative politics within India.

India was aware of its background of tragedy and partition. The Constitution which was adopted in 1950 represented the plurality of diversity and protection of unity, secularism and administrative efficiency. Therefore, the concept of secularism and federalism were adopted in the Constitution of India at a very early stage itself. The political development of India was always rooted in her past. Therefore, post-colonial political economy of India was neither capitalist nor feudal but was a mix of the two.

The Preamble of the Constitution of India established the foundation of the socialistic pattern of society and state remained the important agency. The Directive Principles of State Policy encouraged the goal of the Indian polity is to be a welfare state to achieve equality, justice, dignity of the individual and maintaining unity and integrity of the nation. The fundamental rights of citizens enshrined in the Constitution of India is an essence of an individual rights and justice. To make sure, the economy of nation to be also progressed, a regulatory regime was required, consisted of public sector expansion, control over markets, private economic activities, foreign exchange and import controls. The political economy of nation had its roots in the ideology of socialism and nationalism. Jawaharlal Nehru supported the idea of industrialization and planning for sustainable economic development of India.

The new government was well aware about the importance of Indian Civil Services (ICS). The ICS were succeeded by IAS (Indian Administrative Service) because of its efficient role in conducting Indian administration according to the rules and regulations. Nehru considered its importance for the security and stability of India. Patel also strongly supported their existence and his views were reflected in building the clause in the Constitution of India's Article 311 wherein the removal, dismissal or reduce of rank of civil servant protected. The parliamentary system of government and election of executive through the citizens of India made them responsible towards them. Thus, India's political development during Nehru era was stable, progressive and one-party dominance. However, post-Nehru, the system started breaking down and it was evident in 1969 when Mrs. Indira Gandhi faced opposition strength and she ignored the party and centralised the power and authority. India faced the darkest phase of democracy and suspension of all rights given to the citizens by the Constitution of India.

4.1.1 Political Development in India post- Nehru:

India since independence was profound in terms of its vision towards democracy and secularism. After the sad demise of Nehru, there was a need to have a stable and strong successor. There was a group of political leaders, known as Syndicate, formed in 1963 consisted of K. Kamraj, the Congress president, Atulya Ghosh of Bengal. S.K. Patil of Bombay, N. Sanjeeva Reddy of Andhra Pradesh, and S. Nijalingappa of Mysore. Mr.

Lal Bahdur Shastri was chosen by them due to his humble and polite nature. He was also very popular in the party. Mr. Shastri was a man of principle and believed in the philosophy of '*Saada Jeevan, Ucch Vichar*'. He was sworn as prime minister on 2nd June 1964. His tenure was short-lived and since joining, he focused on various aspects to stabilize the agriculture and economy of the nation. He also followed the policy of non-alignment while dealing foreign countries. The Indo-Pak war which occurred in 1965 was a painful event. Mr. Shastri was very proactive to deal with it and confronted 'invasion by infiltration' successfully. His stand during war and diplomacy made him national hero and dominant political figure. The war was inconclusive and reached to an agreement as Tashkent agreement in Soviet Union on 4th January 1966. Mr. Shastri died because of cardiac arrest on 19th January 1966. He served as a prime minister for 19 months.

After the death of Mr. Shastri, Mrs. Indira Gandhi became the next prime minister after receiving the support from Congress leaders. There was a secret ballot in the Congress Parliamentary party held on 19th January 1966 to choose the prime minister between Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. Morarji Desai. She defeated him and secured 355 votes to 169. Mrs. Gandhi post coming to power, dealt with many challenges and adversaries at political, economic, social, and international level. The linguistic creation of states and regional politics tested the nation's image as a peaceful state. The famine and draught situation disturbed the growth of nation as an economic state. The war between India, Pakistan and China challenged the military strength of nation. The growing inflation, administrative expenditure and internal and external challenges were widening. India dealt with issue diplomatically and carved the path of nation's development and progress calmly. The politics also saw the paradigm shift in terms of its approach and defining the parties. There were many political parties emerged and started focusing to take the advantage of nation's mass discontent and agitations. The opposition political parties such as CPM, Socialists, Jan Sangh emerged as a strong rival to congress. The year 1966 witnessed factionalism and party politics. Parliament became a place of commotion, indiscipline and disturbances. Mrs. Gandhi also termed as 'goongi gudiya' by Mr. Rammanohar Lohia which was an objectional remark for the prime minister. Though at political level the situation was brimmed and disrespectful, citizens of India were awakened to exercise their voting rights. It is observed that during the fourth general elections in the Lok Sabha and the State assemblies, which was held in February 1967, voters who turned out were high in the percentage and it was around 61.1 percent. Party politics, factionalism and groupism became the new dynamics and congress as an umbrella party started losing its control over the others. The other parties or coalition parties were also not loyal to each other. It is witnessed that between 1967 and 1970, nearly 800 assembly members crossed the floor and nearly 155 of them were rewarded with ministerial offices. Congress split in 1969 and created into two groups: Congress (R-Requisitions) and Congress (O). Mrs. Gandhi gradually started becoming powerful and gaining the trust of masses. This period also witnessed that no political parties would be successfully if they

would not see the existing problems and situations at broader level. The various steps undertaken by Mrs. Gandhi at social, political and economic level such as nationalization of Indian banks, abolition of privy purses, appointment of Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices (MRTP) Commission to check the concentration of power in the hands of a few leading business families, launching of the five-year economic plan and many more stabilized the situation in India. The opposition parties focused to attack on her at individual level and she counter attacked while focusing her campaign and ideology based on the national issues and emphasis on social change, democracy, secularism and socialism. She also focused on public sector growth, imposition of ceiling on rural land holdings, urban property, and abolition of princely privileges. Mrs. Gandhi won the election with majority. India faced another major political crisis which broke out in East Pakistan (Bangladesh). India settled the matter with its valour, determination, courage and bold military actions. India also signed a 20-year Indo-Soviet treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation. Congress under Mrs. Gandhi again came into one-person power and she initiated many developments related with mixed economy, banks nationalization, strengthen planning commission and planning mechanism. Parliament also got the power to abolish privy purse and titles of the princely state rulers through the amendment of 24th and 25th. Government tried to take all the effective measures to make sure that the Indian economy and Indian polity go hand in hand. The continuous challenges and changes at social and economic level impacted the political development in India.

Check your progress

1. State in brief the changes in politics post-independence?

2. What is the coalition government and why did it form? Explain in brief.

4.1.2 Phases of Political Development in India:

According to Partha Chatterjee, the whole political development in India is divided into four sections from the period from 1947 to 1960, from 1967 to 1977, from 1977-1984 and in the last week of the year following the election in 1984.

From 1947- 1967:

As it has been widely observed and agreed that the first 20 years of Indian politics was a congress dominant party. It is mentioned by Morris-Jones that the dominance of congress existed with competition but without a trace of alternation. Congress was ruling because of the available consensus in party and opposition parties were just pressure parties. All the major political leaders were skilled, farsighted and committed for nation's development. The experienced leaders who had seen the nation before independence too were aware of available challenges and problems. They were getting the support of masses and aspired to execute the ideas. The fabric of closeness and knotting it together had connected the state and society and developed India as an integrated institution. Congress was able to maintain plurality because of its diverse nature and flexibility to absorb groups from outside the party. They were able to prevent other parties as well to gain the strength. Though, the birth of many other political parties happened, congress was always able to lead from the front till the time of Nehru's prime ministership.

From 1967 to 1977:

The period 1967-1977 saw many upheaval changes in India and its political developments. Due to changes in the socio-economic and demographic profile of the polity and the mobilization of new recruits and groups into the political process has given rise to the development of new and more differentiated identities and patterns of political cleavage. This focused on government performance. Because of the changes, the dominant party model shifted its focus towards building the differentiated structure of party competition. In 1967 election, congress lost power in six states and led the to the emergence of opposition parties into market place. This also witnessed that the competition that had previously occurred within the Congress was now bought into the realm of interplay conflict. After 1964, the power of state level congress leaders had become both greater and more apparent. There was also a dramatic split of the Congress in 1969 and led Mrs. Gandhi won the election of 1971.

From 1977 to 1984:

The third phase was the most difficult and challenging period of India's politics. The defeat of Mrs. Gandhi and reentry into politics with the support of masses and need to fulfil the social, economic and political gaps witnessed the dynamic changes in the political development of the nation. The period of 1977 to 1984 was known as the period of awakening and decay. There was an abrasive conflict between political parties which was marked by decay and fragmentation within parties. The period was registered as awakening period because of the citizens got conscious and aware about their rights as voters and understood the logic of electoral politics. The voters became more assertive and competitive. The democracy ruled but governance became weak. Parallely, there was decay of political institutions to respond rationally, creatively to pressures from

society. These combinations of awakening and decay generated five changes as by products which are as follows: -

1. Election result:

Post-emergency, the citizens shown the power of democracy. Congress under Mrs. Gandhi lost the power and coalition government came in power. However, when it was observed that they were also unable to perform, citizens again voted for Congress on the ideas of social change and reform according to the societal expectations and needs. Thus, it was cleared that citizens voted for progress and development rather aspiring one person. The assertiveness and expectations of the masses have increasingly demanded response.

2. The **change for democracy** and people's rights were visible in the government and political agenda. The upliftment of masses and social action are crucial and all the other coercive power was asked to be isolated to maintain order.
3. Whenever, the response emerged or shown, that political party as a supreme power, the response was bitter and tough. The **society and politics can not be separated**.
4. In spite of saying so, there is always a **need to clear the boundaries** of political parties and their base at national level and many Indian states.
5. At the end, the emergence of **various regional parties in 1980s** in several states and no uniform coordination between the Centre and states resulted various other issues and conflicts at political level.

Check your progress

1. Analyze in brief the various phases of political development in India?

4.2 GREEN REVOLUTION

4.2.1 Introduction:

India since Nehru years till his death focused on institutional reforms and not on the technological base for agriculture. The first plan of economy gave the weightage to agriculture and irrigation for total 31 percent. India came up with massive irrigation and power projects like the Bhakra-Nangal, numerous agricultural universities and research laboratories fertilizer plants etc. G.S. Bhalla one of the major scholars of the Green Revolution mentioned that the qualitative technological transformation in

India named as the green revolution which came after Nehru's death however, the technological development was laid during Nehru's times. The Green revolution were considered as a period of new agricultural strategy. Due to the massive growth of India's population, there was a shortage of food in mid 50s and 60s. India was importing foods and under the agreement with US, India was importing food from the US under the PL-480 scheme in 1956. It was around three million tonnes and it was increasing from year to year. The Chinese invasion and Pakistan war along with the two successive draughts in 1965-66 led the fall of agricultural output by 17 percent and food output by 20 percent. India was getting dependent on foreign foods and number of tonnes imports were increasing every subsequent year. Thus, considering the current scenario of mid 60s, the focus of India was to be food self-reliant.

4.2.2 Need for Green Revolution:

The new Agricultural strategy was beginning to implement by then the prime minister Lal Bahadur Shastri, Food minister, C. Subramaniam, and Indira Gandhi. The world bank appointed Bell Mission recommended transition and US favoured this. The high-yield variety seeds (HYV) Mexican dwarf wheat proved to be scientific, chemical fertilizers, pesticides, agricultural machinery including tractors, pump sets etc, soil testing facilities, agricultural education programmes and institutional credit were identified. Around 32 million acres of land was thus chosen for cultivation on top priority.

Government established the Agricultural Price Commission in 1965 to assure the farmers at sustained remunerative prices. The many benefits which were given to farmers significantly rose the total gross capital formation in agriculture. The rate of increase in the gross irrigated area rose from 1 million hectares per annum during the seventies. Similarly, there was a significant growth electrical, diesel pump sets, tube wells consumption of chemical fertilizers, etc. As a result, it has impacted in foodgrain production rose by 35 percent. The green revolution in India became successful and put an end of India's 'begging bowl' image. India also started exporting buffer food stocks.

Green revolution helped India to increase its agricultural yields and growth since independence. It also generated a rapid increase in the marketable surplus of foodgrains. It also enabled the internal procurement of food by the government and the building up of large food stocks. It also made India self-reliance and liberation from PL-480.

4.2.3 Achievements of Green Revolution:

The first phase of green revolution from 1962-65 to 1970-73 an all-India compound growth rate was 2.08 % per year. In the second phase from 1970-73 to 1980-83, the green revolution spread to other parts of the country notable eastern UP, Andhra Pradesh, parts of Karnataka, Tamilnadu and many more. The third phase was 1982-83 to 1992-95, it has reached to the lower growth areas of eastern region of West Bengal, Bihar, Assam and Orissa. The growth of food production in the southern

region also increased more than the northern regions. There were a series of programmes such as the Rural Works programme (RWP), Small Farmers Development Agency (SFDA), Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers Scheme (MFAL), Crash Scheme for Rural Employment (CSRE), The Employment Guarantee Scheme (ESG), were launched. All these schemes were useful for farmers and gave loans to them through institutional credit cooperative societies, land development banks, nationalized commercial banks, agriculture refinance corporation etc.

Thus, the green revolution was considered to be one of the most impactful initiatives undertaken by the Indian government.

4.2.4 Analyses of Green Revolution:

According to **Antony Usha and others (2019)** the green revolution in India which was started in the 1960s and introduced high yield varieties of rice and wheat to increase food production. The objective was to end hunger and poverty in India. The measures undertaken by the Government increased the production of rice, wheat, pulses and other crops and led India towards self-sufficiency of food in the country. The dramatic transformation of agriculture practices and use of new methods of cultivation and inputs improved the food growth in India and made an attempt to bring the significant changes in the agricultural growth. The main component of green revolution such as use of High Yielding Variety of Seeds (HYV); Application of fertilizers, manures and chemicals; Multiple Cropping Patterns; Mechanization of farming; Better Infrastructure facilities; Price Incentives and better financial assistance resulted quantitative and qualitative development in the agriculture in India.

Check your progress

1. What is Green Revolution?

2. Why India decided to go for Green Revolution? Analyze the achievements of Green Revolution.

4.3 SUMMARY

A careful study of the electoral trends in India reveals that the India is a fragmented country. The state and politics are not two different identities. The party politics and social change are interlinked and interconnected. The political mobilization of masses faced the competitive politics. The careful study of Indian politics from the period of 1947-1984 narrated the history of electoral politics, nation identities, democracy and introduction of adult suffrage in independent India. Thus, in the word of Partha Chatterjee and other historians which state that the Indian politics is not merely a laboratory for different kinds of experiments involving diverse social groups; it is also an arena of diverse social, economic and political activities that are hardly comprehensible if conceptualized in ethnocentric theoretical paradigms.

William S. Gaud of United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in 1968 coined the word 'Green Revolution' in 1968. This term was used to introduce new technology to be introduced in the developing nations to increase agricultural productivity. The High Yielding Variety of seeds were introduced by International Maize and Wheat Improvement Centre, Mexico and the international Rice Research Institute (IRRI), Philippines, respectively. Indian scientists tested varieties of wheat and rice in 1962 and 1964 respectively. And then it was taken for cultivation during the crop year of 1965-1966. Apart from high yielding variety of seeds, it has also introduced the new agricultural practices such as use of chemical fertilizers, pesticides, tractors, water pumps etc. this has resulted well and the food production of India went from 50 million tonnes in 1950 to 79 million tonnes in 1964 and later to 95.1 million tonnes in 1968.

4.4 CONCLUSION

Constitution was drafted and adopted after an elaborate and detailed discussion by its founders and leaders. It had taken 2 years 10 months to prepare the Constitution of India and translate the nationalist and democratic aspirations of an independent polity after the British departure. The 1950s constitution focused to establish a liberal democratic polity in structural and procedural terms. It is important to understand the political development of India in its larger context. The Congress as an umbrella party, emergence of various other coalition governments, revival of congress and again the dominance of other political parties were the important features in political system in India and a lesson as well. India saw a political development which was conceptualized on the basis of Nehruvian goal of 'unity in diversity'. Cultural pluralism, diverse background, different states, social cultures, added the vibrant features of existence. However, as the society progressed the single party majority was no longer feasible. The coalition party perhaps the only institutional mechanism to accommodate the identities at regional and sub-regional levels. Multicultural nationalism was another political development which came and existed that cannot be reversed.

Therefore, Indian politics is a very complex admixture of various influences, drawing on the past as well as present experiences and there is therefore no straightforward way to easily delimit its domain.

Another important part of this unit is about understanding the success of the Green Revolution in India in terms of using high yield variety of seeds and introduction of new methods of agriculture practices. There were many agencies and institutions were involved for the process such as the government of India, international agricultural research institutions (IRRI and CIMMYT), multilateral and bilateral donor agencies (Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, and USAID), and the farmers. The Ministry of Food and Agriculture and the Indian Council of Agricultural Research (ICAR) relentlessly executed the task of smooth transmission and distribution of new technology to farmers.

4.5 QUESTIONS

1. Analyse the political developments in India and its impact on India's democracy.
2. Compare the political development in India between the period from 1947-64 and 1964-85. What are significant differences?
3. Is Green Revolution in India a success? Critically Analyse.

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ABOLITION OF PRIVY PURSES AND TITLES, NATIONALIZATION OF BANKS; THE EMERGENCY

Unit Structure

5.0 Objective

5.1 Introduction

5.1.1 Process of abolition of Titles and Privy purses of the Princely Rulers?

5.2 Nationalization Banks

5.2.1 Introduction

5.2.2 Process of Nationalization of Banks

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5.3 The Emergency

5.3.1 Background of the Emergency

5.3.2 Gujrat and Bihar Movements

5.3.3 Differences with Judiciary

5.3.4 Declaration of Emergency

5.3.5 Consequences of Emergency

5.3.6 Public Response to the Emergency

5.3.7 Surprise Elections 1977 and Lifting of the Emergency

5.4 Summary

5.5 Conclusion

5.6 Questions

5.7 References and Additional Readings

5.0 OBJECTIVE

This chapter will help the reader

- To understand the various initiatives undertaken by the Government of India post-Nehru.
- To analyse Challenges and Problems faced by India during the abolition of titles and privy purses.
- To find out the process of nationalisation of Banks and necessity of doing so.
- To know the reason of imposition of emergency.

- To analyse the consequences of emergency and lessons learnt of emergency for Indian democracy.
- To explore the various changes introduced to fulfil the social, economic and political goals of the nation.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

India after independence and lapse of British Paramountcy worked hard to consolidate India as a nation and integrated princely states in India. In previous chapter, we have seen the efforts undertaken by political leaders to integrate the princely states and challenges faced into it. India, a strong ardent of democracy and justice, made sure the accession of princely states into the independent dominions must be achieved via a constitutionally guaranteed exchange mechanism under which an annual privy purse was allowed to retain by the princely rulers as their personal properties and received the privileges like exemption of central taxes, provincial arrests and import duties. These privileges and offers have given them the rights and control over the land. Several princes were also labelled as 'Rajpramukh' (governor) of states. It is also noticed that they were in some states emerged as the mass leaders. India while moving towards progress and institutionalization of land reforms, brought the ten-point socialist program in 1967 under Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

Under these two-point socialist programme, efforts were undertaken to bring the reforms which would benefit the largest sections of society such as control of banking institutions; nationalization of general insurance; export and import trade; distribution of food in public; removal of monopolies and concentration of economic power; limits on urban incomes and property; land reform implementation and end of princely states privileges and privy purses.

5.1.1 Process of abolition of Titles and Privy purses of the Princely Rulers?

The process of integration of the Indian states post-independence was not an easy one. It was complex and difficult. Sardar Patel and his team worked meticulously to solve the problems without much blood bath and followed the process of constitutional mechanism and reciprocal function. Those princely states during integration decided to merge their states with India was assured to receive privy purse, a specific amount of money annually to them and their successors. These money to them and their successors were granted under Article 291 of the Indian constitution. The amount of privy purse was determined on the basis of state's revenue, status under British rule. It is observed that the total amount of privy purses was amounted in 1970 approximately 58 crore rupees. The highest privy purse was received by the ruler of Mysore which was around 26 lakhs per annum and lowest amount by the ruler of Kotadia i.e., 192 rupees per annum. The article 362 of the Indian constitution also bestowed them some customary privileges and official recognition as princely rulers. As the article stated and recognized them by the President of India as

prince or the chief of a state as the ruler. The official titles, rights to conduct their ceremonial durbars, official vehicles and inviting dignitaries and many more were their privileges which made them elite and exclusive than the citizens of India. Apart from these, they also received the exemption from the operation of Indian laws, jagirdari system, grant from states of the marriage expenses of their family members and concessions from some process of the court of law. While signing the instrument of accession with India post-independence, they had also signed the merger agreement under which they had handed over the all authority of the states to the Indian government. There were few states who did not sign merger agreement earlier however, by 1949, except J &K, all the states had signed the merger agreement and given control to the Indian states. This merger agreement given the power of Indian government to implement 'one nation, one policy'. Thus, India which accepted and followed the merger agreement under federal structure had to take a stand to abolish any privileges to any citizens of India and treat them equally before the Constitution.

Therefore, to protect the rights of the Constitution of India, India brought the 26th Amendment act in 1971 under Mrs. Indira Gandhi as Prime minister who stated that quote, 'the concept of rulership, with privy purses and special privileges unrelated to any current functions and social purposes, is incompatible with an egalitarian social order.' This act abolished all the privileges, titles and privy purses of the princely rulers. The article 291 and 362 were also deleted from the Indian Constitution and the President of India no longer recognized any of the princes as chief of the rulers.

Check Your Progress

1. Explain in detail the specific features of the Constitution of India and 26th Amendment Act?

5.2 NATIONALIZATION OF BANKS

5.2.1 Introduction:

India decided to nationalize its fourteen private sector banks on 20th July 1969. The idea of social control found its first voice in 1967. The Economic Programme Committee of the All-India Congress Committee (AICC) submitted its report in 1948 and recommended to nationalize banking and insurance for establishing a just social order. This recommendation was endorsed in April 1948's meeting in Bombay and Jaipur in December 1948. However, nothing has been discussed on this after that. The political, social and economic development of India was

disturbing because of the invasion of China and Pakistan. India post Sino war in March 1963 faced a huge budgetary cost and there was shortage of resources and funds for the third plan. It was a critical period because the challenge in India was not related with economy alone but also impacted on public and political morale. Inflation started increasing, forex reserves were low and general dissatisfaction with the government. India faced challenges like the death of Nehru, intense succession battle of Congress, Lal Bahadur Shastri's prime ministership and Indo-Pakistan war (1965), monsoon failure, famine and drought, toll of public finances and death of Lal Bahadur Shastri (due to cardiac arrest) in Tashkent. These unwanted and sudden disaster movement in Indian politics impacts the fate of nation and its dream for planned economy as well.

After his death of Lal Bahadur Shastri, when Indira Gandhi came in power at that time, she was not an independent ruler and considered as a leader of the 'syndicate'. She has reluctantly accepted the offer. In the 1967 general election, the Congress lost a large number of seats in Parliament due to war, famine, political uncertainty, and economic distress. Mrs. Gandhi was pushing hard to battle internally in the party wherein she has to project her image strongly and come out of the 'syndicate' pressure. She chose to put her firm in control and started supporting the poorest through various social programs. Bank nationalization was also one of her agenda. Bank nationalization was one of her election agenda in 1967 to bring banking institutions under social control to serve the cause of economic growth effectively and to make credit available to the producers in all fields wherever it is needed. Her demands of nationalization were not supported by the internal team of Congress however, it was her firm stand to not to lose before the opposition. As a result, Congress party splits into two factions, one led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi (Revolutionary) and other by Syndicate. The later labeled as anti-people and pro-rich. Indira Gandhi also assumed the portfolio of Finance ministry to drive her end effectively. The strong leadership, political acumen and bold decision of Mrs. Gandhi determined India to hold the process of Bank nationalization.

5.2.2 Process of Nationalization of Banks:

After losing many seats in Parliament during the 1967 general elections, in the meeting of Congress committee on May 1967, party started introspecting their stand on 'democratic socialism'. Bank nationalization became one of the crucial agenda to discuss. Some leaders favoured nationalization to ensure credit facilities for deserving units from small-scale sector or the large sector. Some leaders opposed the idea. A third group were neutral and favoured social control of banks and nationalization of general insurance. Finally, the Congress Working Committee (CWC) decided for increased participation in banking, foreign trade, insurance and foodgrains distributions. The first step was to set up the control of Reserve Bank's over scheduled banks. It was also suggested to modify the lending portfolios of banks to the middle and lower middle sectors of industry, trade and agriculture etc. Leaders like Y.B. Chavan, Jagjivan Ram and Kamaraj favoured for immediate implementation of the promise made in the Congress manifesto regarding banks social control.

Morarji Desai then deputy prime minister asked to adopt a cautious approach. V.A. Pai Panandikar, advisor in the Finance ministry was asked to present a report and conduct a study based on Congress Working Committee's resolution on social control over banks.

5.2.3 The Pai Panandikar Report:

In August 1967, Pai Panandikar submitted its report and suggested the following points:

- The amendment of existing banking legislation is required to achieve the ten-point economic programme to fulfil the objectives of social control.
- There is a need to take a step towards social control of banks to provide credit to certain specified and special sectors.
- Government should have a voice to appoint bank directors.
- A national commission should be set up to study the organization and structure of banking. Thus, Banking Commission was set up.
- Industrial planning and licensing policy committee was set up by the Planning Commission to advocate state control of banking.
- Report also pointed about the inadequacy of the policies and practices of commercial banks in mobilizing deposits and channeling funds towards the priority sectors.
- Report further suggested to establish a coordination between the Bank and the government.

Based on report and frequent interaction with RBI and government, a draft bill names as 'Banking Laws (Amendment) Bill 1967' were proposed. The bill was introduced in the Lok Sabha on 23rd December 1967. The bill proposed amendment of certain provisions of the Banking Regulation Act, 1949, the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1934, and the State Bank of India Act, 1955 in view of social control over banks. Also, it proposed to set up a National Credit Council to discuss and assess credit priorities on an all-India basis. The government resolution took place on 22nd December and it was published in the Gazette of India on 23rd December 1967. After a frequent deliberations, suggestions and reconsiderations the bill received the assent of the President of India on 28 December and came into force from 1st February 1969. The important provisions of the act are as follows: -

- The boards of directors in banks should have special knowledge or practical experience in the areas of accountancy, agriculture, rural economy, small scale industry, cooperation banking, economics, finance and law and their numbers should be a total of 51 percent.
- Foreign banks should have an advisory board consists of Indians.

- The Reserve Bank of India were given powers to appoint, removal or terminate the appointment of the chairman with necessary approval.

5.2.4 Nationalisation:

On 9th July 1969, Indira Gandhi through Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, minister for Industrial development suggested for nationalisation of major banks against the social control of banks policy by Congress.

The Banking Companies (Acquisition and Transfer of Undertakings) Ordinance stated the acquisition and transfer of the undertakings of certain banking companies to serve the needs of economic development of country in align with national policy and objectives. The fourteen major banks were nationalised on 19th July 1959 with a condition to have deposits exceeding Rs. 50 crores with immediate effect. The acting President of India gave his assent in absence of then President V.V. Giri who died a few months ago.

Banks Nationalization Chronology:

- 1955 – State Bank of India nationalized.
- 1959 – 7 subsidiaries nationalized and associated with SBI.
 1. State Bank of Bikaner and Jaipur
 2. State Bank of Hyderabad
 3. State Bank of Indore
 4. State Bank of Mysore
 5. State Bank of Patiala
 6. State Bank of Saurashtra
 7. State Bank of Travancore
- 1969 – 14 major commercial Banks nationalized on 19th July 1969.
 1. Allahabad Bank
 2. Bank of Baroda
 3. Bank of India
 4. Bank of Maharashtra
 5. Canara Bank
 6. Central Bank of India
 7. Dena Bank
 8. Indian Bank

9. Indian Overseas Bank
10. Punjab National Bank
11. Syndicate Bank
12. UCO Bank
13. Union Bank of India
14. United Bank of India

The nationalisation of banks was analysed differently by different people as it was mentioned that nationalisation had brought the confidence of masses into the banking system and mobilised private savings through banks. Savings were used for public borrowing and credit needs. Later in 1980, Mrs. Indira Gandhi proposed to nationalise six more commercial banks under the Banking Companies (Acquisition and Transfer of Undertakings) Ordinance, 1980 amounted to not less than Rs. 200 crores. These banks were:

1. Andhra Bank
2. Corporation Bank
3. New Bank of India
4. Oriental Bank of Commerce
5. Punjab & Sindh Bank
6. Vijaya Bank

Mrs. Gandhi found this very important and stated that the purpose of nationalisation to make sure that economy was heightened and serve the needs of the economy development. It also envisioned to promote the people welfare in conformity with the policy of the state. The bill received President's assent on 11 July 1980. Mrs. Gandhi said the whole process of nationalisation timing as the timing which she did not choose but by her adversaries. She further elaborated by saying that she was driven to the wall and had no option.

Check your progress

1. Why Nationalization of Banks considered as an important political decision by Mrs. Gandhi? Explain with suitable examples.

2. What is the difference between Bank's social control and nationalisation?

5.3 THE EMERGENCY

5.3.1 Background of the Emergency:

Indira Gandhi emerged as the strong personality in Indian politics post 1967 elections. The congress party also became bitter and polarized. There were many initiatives undertaken by the government for which the supreme court found violative of the Constitution. Congress at this period was trying to be authoritative. Wherever the opposition of Congress was happening, it was perceived against the principles of democracy and parliamentary supremacy. The internal differences of opinion within the party also created many factions and complex situations. During the elections of 1971, the congress had given the slogans of Garibi Hatao but still there were not much improvement in the economic condition in the country. The Bangladesh crisis, refugee aid, war with Pakistan, stoppage of all aid to India by US, increase of oil prices at international market, increase in the prices of commodities and inflation caused many problems in the life of the people. The increase of unemployment growth and low growth of industries in the rural areas impact the nation's economy. Government also froze the salaries of its employees to reduce the expenditure which caused further dissatisfaction among government employees in 1972-73. The decline in agricultural productivity, failure of monsoon, continuous protests against government by opposition parties, students' unrest, increase in the activities of Marxist groups in West Bengal created an overhaul situation in the nation.

5.3.2 Gujrat and Bihar Movements:

Students started protesting in Gujarat and Bihar, both of which were Congress ruled states in 1974. This agitation of students started against rising prices of food grains, cooking oil, other essential commodities and against corruption in high places. The students' protest was joined by major opposition parties and became widespread leading to the imposition of President's rule in the state. The opposition parties took the advantage and started demanding for fresh elections to the state legislature. Morarji Desai announced for an indefinite fast in demand of fresh elections. Under the extreme pressure of students protest, assembly elections were held in Gujrat in June 1975. The result was not in favour of Congress.

Similar movement of protest came in Bihar in March 1974 against rising prices, food scarcity, unemployment and corruption. The students; community invited Loknayak Jayprakash Narayan (JP) to lead the student

movement. He accepted to lead the movement and decided to lead it on non-violent basis. This movement had national appeal and supported from all walks of life. JP movement also known as Total revolution (Sampoorna Kranti) to establish the true democracy in the social, political and economic levels. The non-violent tactics such as strikes, gheraos, bandhs etc. were organized in protest against the Bihar government. There was a slogan spread out which says that quotes, 'Sampoorna Kranti ab nara hai, bhavi itihas hamara hai'. Here, the government refused to resign. Loknayak JP spread the Bihar movement to other parts of the country and led the peoples' march to Parliament. His action against the government were supported by the opposition parties such as BJP, Jan Sangh, Congress (O), the Bhartiya Lok Dal, the Socialist Party and others. Loknayak JP was projected as an alternative to Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Parallely, there was also a railway strike in 1974 by the National Coordination Committee led by George Fernandes for fulfilling the demands of employees related to bonus and service conditions. The Government did not favour these demands. The employees of railways went on strike in May 1974. Government declared the strike illegal and arrested its leaders. The territorial army was also deployed to protect railway tracks. Though the government was successful to suppress the strike, the labour unrest was obvious.

5.3.3 Differences with Judiciary:

There were three constitutional issues had emerged and questions related with the protection of fundamental rights of people; amendment of the Constitution to curtail the property rights of people and abridging fundamental rights for giving effect to Directive Principles. The famous Keshavananda Bharti Case also favoured the court decision to not to change the basic features of the Constitution which cannot be amended by the Parliament. It was also observed that post the Keshavananda Bharati case in 1973, when there was a vacancy for the post of the Chief Justice of India, Government set aside the seniority of three judges and appointed Justice A.N.Ray as the Chief Justice of India. The three judges went against the government and the climax was to declare Indira Gandhi's election invalid by the High Court. People who were close to the prime minister made up their opinion that judiciary and bureaucracy needed to be aligned to the vision of the executive and the legislature.

5.3.4 Declaration of Emergency:

Justice Sinha of the Allahabad High Court on 12 June 1975 declared Indira Gandhi's election to the Lok Sabha invalid. There was a petition filed by Raj Narain, a socialist leader and challenged the election of Indira Gandhi on the ground of corruption charges. The judgement came against Mrs. Indira Gandhi and stated that she would not remain the prime minister unless she gets elected again as an MP in six months' time. The order of Supreme Court after the judgement of High court granted her to remain an MP but could not take part in the Lok Sabha proceedings. There was a nation-wide protest against Mrs. Gandhi and opposition parties under Loknayak Jaiprakash Narayan asking for resignation and massive

demonstrations. On 25th June 1975, the government announced that there was threat to internal disturbances and invoked article 352 of the Constitution. This article gave the power to the government to declare emergency and suspension of federal distribution of powers. This article also gives the power to the government to restrict or curtail fundamental rights during the emergency. The government gets the special powers during emergency. The prime minister of India recommended President of India to impose emergency and it had been immediately implemented. Emergency brought the state of status quo in people's mobility. The electricity connection of newspaper offices was disconnected. A large number of leaders and workers of the opposition parties were arrested. A special cabinet meeting was called on 26th June at 6 a.m. wherein government had centred the power and asked all leaders to cooperate. The other salient activities which disturbed the democratic rights of people of India during the Emergency are as follows: -

- During Emergency, government had banned the demonstration of strikes, put leaders in jail, and suspended the freedom of the press.
- Newspapers were not allowed to publish any news item without the prior permission of government and introduced the press censorship.
- The political parties like Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and Jamait-e-Islami were banned.
- The fundamental rights of the Citizens of India were also seized including the right to move the court for restoring their fundamental rights.
- The preventive detention was also taken placed wherein the government was able to detain any person on the ground of apprehension to commit an offence.

5.3.5 Consequences of Emergency:

Thus, it was observed that Emergency was a danger state wherein the rights of people were suspended. Instead of allowing people to analytically criticise and giving them a power to showcase their suggestions, government had used the disturbing power curbing activity which had given the negative environment. Many cases were filed in the High Court and Supreme court on behalf of the arrested persons but government went ahead of their decision to arrest any people without even informing them as well. The power of judiciary itself was contradicting. The High Courts on one hand allowed people to go for a write petition of habeas corpus wherein a person can challenge his/her detention but on the other hand, the Supreme Court over ruled the High Courts and accepted the government's plea. In April 1976 Supreme Court announced the judgement in favour of government's plea and gave them power to curb the citizen's right to life and liberty. Many political leaders went underground and launched overall protests. There were few newspapers who stood courageous and demonstrated their protests against censorship. The Indian Express and the Statesman left blank spaces in newspapers related with censored news

items. Magazines like the Seminar and Mainstream shut down by them. Many journalists were arrested. Writers like Shivrama Karanth (Kannada), and Fanishwarnath Renu (Hindi) returned their Padma Bhushan and Padma Shri awards to the government on the ground of suspension of democracy. The Parliament also introduced significant changes to the Constitution and amendment was made related to the non-challenge of the elections of Prime Minister, President and Vice-President. Duration of the legislatures was termed for six years than previous five years. It was further suggested to postpone elections by one year. Thus, effectively, instead of 1976, elections would hold in 1978.

5.3.6 Public Response to the Emergency:

People initially who supported or responded with passivity the Emergency, found it unpopular only at the beginning of 1976. However, the illusion of positive benefits from emergency eroded from mind 1976 when India suffered badly on economic growth. The decline of Agricultural output, rampant of corruption, hoarding of grains for black marketing, slow progress of poor welfare, limits on workers' wages, bonus and dearness allowances and their rights of strike made people unhappy. The government and teachers were also unhappy because of controlling their work on the ground of discipline and forceful sterilization. Emergency also made people see the increased power of the bureaucracy and the police. Denials of civil liberties of common people and delay in lifting emergency generated fear among the minds of people against the autocratic nature of government's actions. The introduction of amendments, insertion of 42nd amendment in the Constitution and conflict of judiciary and executive powers viewed by the intelligentsia, teachers, journalists, professionals and small-town lawyers in September 1976 as an effort to subvert democratic rights of the people.

Emergency also witnessed the extra- constitutional centre of power in the hands of Mr. Sanjay Gandhi, youngest son of Mrs. Gandhi who was controlling the parallel activities during emergency without holding any portfolio in the cabinet. By April 1976, he was being obeyed by ministers and bureaucrats and emerged as the leader of the Youth Congress. In July 1976, Mr. Gandhi put forward his four-point programmes such as prohibition of dowry at the time of marriage; practice family planning; plant trees and promote literacy. There was an abnormal action promoted by the government which was pushed by Mr. Gandhi to control the population and compulsory sterilisation was performed. Teachers, workers, employees of the governments were assigned the fixed number of quotas and had to motivate the people to undergo sterilization. People who were residing in rural areas faced the worst and resisted everyday against the forceful activity of sterilisation. The slum clearance in the name of beautification of cities also repressed the poor people in India.

5.3.7 Surprise Elections 1977 and Lifting of the Emergency:

Mrs. Gandhi surprised the country with her sudden announcement of Elections of the Lok Sabha to be hold in March on 18th January 1977.

Apart from the announcement, she had also released the political prisoners, removed press censorship and all restrictions imposed during the Emergency. The sudden announcement of election whether it was a political move or nature's instant instinct became the reason of analysis by many historians and thinkers. **Marry C. Carras**, her biographer argued that Mrs. Gandhi throughout her life was a strong proponent of liberal democracy. Her movement of lifting emergency was an attempt to prove the world about her inherent philosophy of democracy and people's rights. Another writer however, put forward other view as lifting emergency by Mrs. Gandhi was not her principle of democracy opinion but her inability to bear the pressure and burnt of the masses. Another argument also proposed about her misread the people's opinion, misinformation by sycophants and intelligence agencies. She was confident about her win in the elections to legitimize the emergency. However, the election results were not in favour of Congress at all. On 16th March, elections were held in a free and fair atmosphere. Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Sanjay Gandhi lost their seats and Mrs. Gandhi accepted the defeat with 'due humility'.

Bipin Chandra stated that the whole era of emergency, JP movement, announcement of free elections by Mrs. Gandhi and her defeat was remarkable achievement of Indian democracy. He further observed that the years of 1975-77 were the years of 'test of democracy' and Indian people passed the test with full distinction. (p.260)

Check your progress

1. Do you think Emergency was necessary in India? What were the key feature during Emergency?

2. Why Emergency was considered as 'test of democracy' by Historian Bipin Chandra? Elaborate your answer with suitable examples?

5.4 SUMMARY

Post-independence, India was very straightforward in terms of keeping its expectations to establish a democratic, equal and secular state. The rajas of princely states enjoyed the supremacy and control over lands and property. After the integration of princely states, government had allowed them to maintain their property, titles and privy purses. However, when started

making their economic plans, it was necessary for them to acquire the rights on land and develop its infrastructure. Therefore, the government of India abolished their titles and privy purses in democratic structure and brought the 26th amendment act in 1971. The article 291 and 362 of the constitution of India was also deleted wherein the recognition of princes as chief of rulers were removed. Similarly, the nationalisation of banks was also another step taken by the Government of India with an intention to provide the credit facilities to the poor masses of India so that more development and progress could be taken place. The process of nationalisation spanned over two times i.e., 1969 and 1980. Though, there were divergent views on it, finally government was successful to do so. Later on, the country was pushed towards the darkest phase of democracy and emergency was implemented. The rights of people were curbed and first time, in the Indian history, the emergency was imposed to curb the internal disturbances or oppositions.

5.5 CONCLUSION

Thus, the changes in the political, social and economical levels at this chapter brought not only transformation and transactional phases in India but also experimented the various phases towards leading the country to built a social and equal society. The political leaders amended the constitution of India to bring changes, curb resistance and fulfil their aspirations but people of India demonstrated their resistance through their power of vote during elections and participation in rallies. The other political leaders or opposition parties took the advantage of situations but were also conscious to bring social reforms to protect the rights of people and their citizens. The whole era and period of this phase focused on Mrs. Indira Gandhi's leadership. Though she had a basic intention to bring about radical socio-economic change and justice, she was failed to achieve as per her promise. All the changes in society and economy at some extent was desirable, however the process was painful and test of democracy.

5.6 QUESTIONS

1. Describe in detail the process of abolition of titles and privy purse.
2. Do you think government of India may introduce the amendment in the Constitution of India? Explain the process.
3. Explain the objective of nationalisation of banks.
4. Many historians and thinker considered emergency as the darkest phase in the history of India? Do you agree? Support your answer with suitable examples/
5. Examine the political development during the period of 1969 to 1984 as the period of one person rule.
6. Assess the challenges faced by India post Nehru's death at society, economic and political level..

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JANATA GOVERNMENT; RETURN OF CONGRESS TO POWER; FOREIGN POLICY

Unit Structure

- 6.0 Objective
- 6.1 Introduction Janta Government
 - 6.1.1 Introduction – Politics and Lok Sabha elections after Emergency
 - 6.1.2 Janta Government and the appointment of Shah Commission
 - 6.1.3 Janta party in Crisis and the revival of the Congress
- 6.2 Return of Congress to Power and Role of Mrs. Indira Gandhi
- 6.3 Foreign policy of India between the period of 1964 CE – 1984 CE
 - 6.3.1 Introduction
 - 6.3.2 India's Foreign Policy after Nehru
 - 6.3.3 Mrs. Indira Gandhi Tenure
- 6.4 Summary
- 6.5 Conclusion
- 6.6 Questions
- 6.7 References and Additional readings

6.0 OBJECTIVE

This chapter will help the reader

- To understand the Indian politics after emergency
- To find out the dynamics in Indian politics
- The changes in Congress party under Mrs. Gandhi
- The efforts undertaken by the government of India to strengthen the democracy of India
- The emergence of India as a developing country through its foreign policy

6.1 INTRODUCTION JANTA GOVERNMENT

6.1.1 Introduction – Politics after Emergency:

The period of emergency both exposed the strength and weakness of India's democracy. It has given many lessons and strengthened the faith towards democratic rights. Mrs. Gandhi imposed emergency on the

ground of '*internal disturbance and threat of chaos and order*' but the provision of emergency contradicted her interpretations and it is stated that it could only be proclaimed on the grounds of '*armed rebellion*' and on the advice of President which must be given in writing by the Council of Ministers. The rights of civil liberties were understood by people and judiciary also became active to protect the civil liberties of individual. The most important lesson from emergency period was learnt by the Congress government post announcement of elections of the Lok Sabha and defeat of Congress. The merger parties of opposition which comprised of Congress (O), Jan Sangh, Bhartiya Lok Dal and Socialist Party formed the Janta Party. Other political leaders of Congress Jagjivan Ram, H.N. Bahuguna and Nandini Satpathy came together and formed the Congress for Democracy (CFD) party, later merged with the Janata party. All of them came together to fight to Congress in the month of March elections to the Lok Sabha. Jayprakash Narayan became the symbol of restoration of democracy. As a result, the Janata Party and its allies won the elections and won 330 seats out of 542 seats. The response of voters were varied from states to states. The Janata government came in power. Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Sanjay Gandhi also lost their seats from Rae Bareilly and Amethi.

6.1.2 Janta Government and the appointment of Shah Commission:

There was a strong competition among the party leaders over prime ministerial issues. There were three aspirants for the post of Prime minister – Morarji Desai who was a rival of Mrs. Indira Gandhi ever since 1966-67, Chaudhary Charan Singh, socialist leader from UP and Bhartiya Lok Dal and Jagjivan Ram a senior minister in the Congress government. The matter referred to Jayprakash Narayan and J.B. Kriplani who favoured Morarji Desai to be the prime minister of India and he took an oath on 23rd March at the age of 81. N. Sanjeeva Reddy became the President in July 1977.

The Janta government immediately started taking appropriate steps to dismantle all the authoritative features of emergency and restore the liberal democracy. All the suspended rights and freedom were restored to the press, political parties and citizens. The 44th Constitutional amendment was implemented to repeal all the provisions which had disturbed the liberal rights of Citizens through the Constitution of India under 42nd Amendment. Judiciary also got its structure back and enjoyed its supremacy over executive powers of the state.

In May 1977, Janata party government appointed a Shah Commission headed by **Justice J.C. Shah**, retired Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of India. The report was constituted to enquire the various allegations against the government during the time of emergency proclaimed in June 1975. These allegations and complaints including arrests, censorship, urban clearance, sterilisation programme and abuse of authority. The commission enquired rigorously and documented the testimonials of witnesses. The commission also called Mrs. Indira Gandhi who appeared before the enquiry but refused to answer any questions. There were two

interim reports of the Shah commission and one final published report in 1978. The report of Shah Commission verified the actual situations faced by people during the emergency which was painful, and out of democratic rights of people.

6.1.3 Janta party in Crisis and the revival of the Congress:

Though the Janata Party came in power as an alternative and made significant changes to restore democracy however, it had soon begun to decline due to their non performance in administration, implementing development policies, providing social justice.

They were in power for a short period of time till July 1979. The decline of Janata party happened for many reasons as follows: -

- They were unable to deal social tensions in rural areas;
- Wide prevalence of caste tensions and violent attacks on other castes in northern India;
- Increase of communal violence, growing agitations, lawlessness and violence which were impacting the daily lives of society;
- Unable to deal with economic underdevelopments;
- Though the government launched some positive programme as well such as 'food for work' programme to improve village infrastructure, they had made no efforts to fulfil its other demands for land reform and payment of higher wages to agricultural labourers;
- The inflationary impact on economy was increasing due to low rates of growth;
- Janata government tried to align with non-alignment policy of India and worked for strengthening ties with US and Britain and moderating its close relation with the Soviet Union but the tenure of Janata government was very short;
- Janata government was unable to hold its leaders as well together. There was no direction, unity of command both at the centre and the states. As Janata government was a mix of many other political parties, they all supported each other to fulfil their objectives and agendas. The party lost its essence of existence and became a victim of factionalism, manipulation and personal ambitions of its leaders. As a result, the party was split and under Morarji Desai lost its majority in less than 18 months. Another government under Charan Singh with the support of Congress party lost its power in four months due to withdrawal of support from the Congress government.

On the other hand, Congress also witnessed split and revival. Congress again split in two parts i.e. Congress (I-Indira) and Congress (U-Devraj Urs). The February 1978 elections in Karnataka and Andhra witnessed the victory of Congress (I). Indira Gandhi during the period of her, out of

power focussed more to reform her image and kept on advocating the social and economic development. People also started looking at her and considered her as their saviour Indira Amma or mother India. The elections which were held in January 1980, Indira Gandhi proved her popularity again and people gave a massive support to Congress (I). Congress won 353 seats out of 529 seats.

Check your progress

1. Why Janata Party unable to remain in power inspite of wining the elections? What is your learning?

6.2 RETURN OF CONGRESS TO POWER AND ROLE OF MRS. INDIRA GANDHI

Congress came in power once again after winning the elections of 1980 after thirty-four months. Mrs. Indira Gandhi became the prime minister once again. The majority of Congress proved in almost all the states and Congress predominantly came in power in fifteen states out of the twenty-two states. Congress was under the full control of Mrs. Gandhi and people again started expecting her to provide the solutions of all the problems in India. Indira Gandhi faced many internal and external adverse situations in all those years without power. This time she had an approach of hesitation and consciousness. After the death of her son Sanjay Gandhi in flying a plane on 23rd June 1980, she tried to fill his place with her elder son Rajiv Gandhi who got elected as an MP and became the general secretary of the party in 1983.

The second inning of congress was also full of confusion and indecisiveness. Congress slowly started projecting as weak organisational structure. There was continuous civil war within the state units of the party and the state governments. Congress party suffered serious defeat in the assembly elections of Andhra and Karnataka in 1983. In Andhra, Telugu Desham Party won under the film start turned politician N.T. Rama Rao and in Karnataka, Janata led front won 95 seats against the 81 seats of Congress out of 224 assembly seats.

Congress also faced the communal, linguistic and caste conflicts. The communal tensions in Kashmir, Assam and Punjab led India suffered more and due to delay tactics of government and less attention to these states communal tensions increased communal riots, and hostility against each other. There were also instances of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes' atrocities. India, tried to revamp the task of planning and economic development through strengthening public sector and economic liberalization. Government through its efforts controlled the inflation and

raised the rate of economic growth to over 4 percent per year with a large increase in agriculture and petroleum production. Congress under Mrs. Gandhi also focussed to strengthen the foreign relations which we will discuss in detail in the next section of unit. On 31st October 1984, Mrs. Gandhi's long tenure as prime minister of India came to an end when she was assassinated by her bodyguards over the issue on sending troops in Golden temple to curtail the militants and terrorist situations in India. Her son Rajiv Gandhi nominated the next prime minister by Congress Parliamentary Board immediately after her death and he became the next prime minister of India.

Check Your progress

1. Why Congress was unable to sustain its power? What was the approach of Mrs. Gandhi in her second tenure as prime minister? Explain with suitable examples.

6.3 FOREIGN POLICY OF INDIA BETWEEN THE PERIOD OF 1964 CE – 1984 CE

6.3.1 Introduction:

India post-independence was very clear and firm to maintain a strong and neutral foreign policy. According to **J.N.Dixit**, India's foreign policy could be studied in four different chronological phases due to changes in international context and national events. These four phases are as follows: -

1. First phase from 1947-1964
2. Second phase from 1964-62
3. The third phase from 1962 till mid-80s
4. The fourth phase from mid 1980s till date.

The **first phase** was to deal with its territorial consolidation. India focussed on integration of its princely states, recovering the trauma of partition and creation of another country i.e., Pakistan. Dealing with Hyderabad and Kashmir and maintain the panchsheel and non-alignment foreign policy was a major concern for India. India-Pakistan situational war for Kashmir increased the pressure of India throughout the phase and later as well.

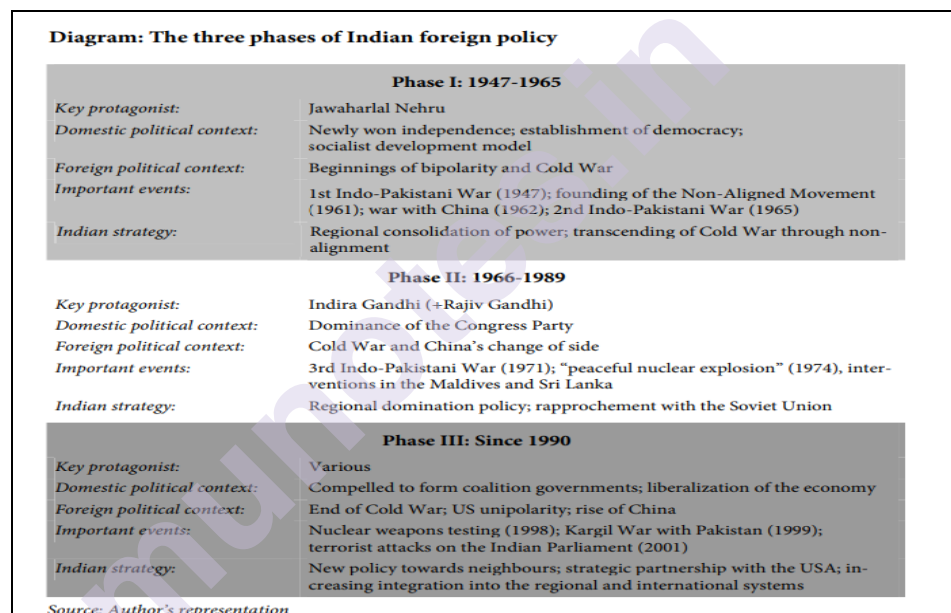
The **second phase** was to focus more on defining the world India's political and strategic worldview and clearing its stand for western allies

led by United States of America and the Socialist and Communist group of nations led by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).

The **third phase** was a period of war. India faced the invasion of China, Pakistan and Bangladesh. The war at international level also defined the national politics and interference of various regional parties to maintain peace and order in society. India continuously tried to maintain and strengthen its foreign policy but the internal disturbance in nation kept on troubling the situations.

The **fourth phase** was portraying the image of India a strong nation and advocates of democracy and secularism. There were many large numbers of states in Asia and Africa. India tried to maintain its political influence in these countries for their own strategic and economic interests.

Rauch Carsten (2008) presented a diagrammatic representation of India's foreign policy: -



Mondel Saptarshi (2021):

In the research found Indira Gandhi's foreign policy, a successful attempt in the context of external affairs. Mrs. Gandhi was the first prime minister to condemn external terrorism. She was considered a leader of South Asia in a larger context. She had not only made an attempt to unite India at its national boundary but also against the external dangers and disturbances. As a prime minister of peace, she was very pragmatic to maintain peaceful application of foreign policy. But before we discussed the tenure of Mrs. Gandhi and her role to maintain India's foreign policy, in between India also witnessed other political leaders who tried to shape the relations of India at foreign context. We shall study their roles as well in brief.

Check your progress

1. What are the different phases in India's foreign policy? Explain in brief.

6.3.2 India's Foreign Policy after Nehru:

After Nehru's sudden demise in 1964, Lal Bahadur Shastri became his successor. His short tenure focused more to dealing with India's neighbourhood and faced the biggest war in India i.e., history of India and Pakistan in 1965. During his tenure, India first criticised the US bombing of North Vietnam. The Kashmir issue kept on coming. Pakistan tested India's response and occupied the marshy Rann of Kutch in April 1965. The Rann of Kutch territory bordered the Arabian Sea and Gujrat. India was hesitant to respond due to the nature of the terrain. The dispute was referred to international arbitration by mutual consent on Britain's intervention. Pakistan tried to disturb the peace while sending its well-trained infiltrators into the Kashmir valley. Shastri was cautious of Pakistan's approach. He ordered the army to cross the ceasefire and seal the passes through which the infiltrators were entering in India. Pakistan, on 1st September started attacking India in the Chhemb sector which was situated in the south-west of Jammu and Kashmir, India's only road link with Kashmir and sharing the borders towards Lahore and Sialkot. USA and Britain decided to not to interfere and left them on their own to deal with destiny. China considered India as an aggressor. Soviet Union was only the country who was empathetic to India. UN security council asked both the countries to maintain ceasefire. On 23rd September, it came into effect and war was inconclusive. The fight with Pakistan was a test to India's democracy. Shastri became national hero and dominant political figure.

On 4th January 1966, Shastri and General Ayub Khan, president of Pakistan met in Tashkent in Soviet Union to sign the Tashkent declaration. This declaration made both the parties to be agreed to withdraw from all occupied areas and return to their pre-war positions. India found this condition very unfavourable because it also meant to withdraw from the strategic passes from Kashmir through which Pakistan infiltrators may made a move and enter in Kashmir. India was not in position to lose the Soviet Union support over the Kashmir issue in the UN security council and supply of defence equipment. Shastri with a heavy heart, accepted the agreement and died due to cardiac arrest on 10th January for being the prime minister of India for the tenure of nineteen months.

Check your Progress

1. Discuss the foreign policy of India post-Nehru and role of Lal Bahadur Shastri as a prime minister during India-Pakistan war of 1965?

6.3.3 Mrs. Indira Gandhi Tenure:

Mrs. Gandhi succeeded Lal Bahadur Shastri as the Prime Minister. She stayed in Indian politics for a longer period of time and considered only the prime minister of India post-Nehru who was equally powerful at national and international context. While dealing with nation's politics, **her stand on Bangladesh** war gave her incarnation image of 'Durga'. Dealing with Bangladesh issue was not less than a rollercoaster ride for India. In 1970, post December democratic election, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP) won in West Pakistan and Awami League won in East Pakistan with absolute majority. The leader of Awami league was Sheikh Mujibur Rehman and he was not invited as the Prime minister of Pakistan by Yahya Khan, military dictator in Pakistan. On the other hand, he imposed military law. Shaikh Rehman was arrested and imprisoned in West Pakistan. The population of East Pakistan resisted the situation and demonstrated strikes, bandhs, riots against the military dictatorship. Military was brutal towards the masses and violated human rights in the world history. The mass massacre was performed. Brutal atrocities and painful violence and systematic genocide of Hindus in East Pakistan was reported. As a result, 12 million Bangladeshis, Muslims and Hindus came to West Bengal especially in Calcutta as refugees. India faced problems in terms to maintain economy and peace in West Bengal. Indira Gandhi went on western countries tour to let the world know about the tragedy of East Pakistan and prepared the army for military intervention. The army wanted this intervention during winter to take the benefit of natural situations. Pakistan attacked on 3rd December 1971. India, with its profound force and preparation, intervened heavily. As a result, East Pakistan was liberated and Bangladesh was born. The 90000 Pakistani troops were surrendered and India won the war. India signed the Shimla agreement with Pakistan. This agreement proposed that both the countries to resolve their differences by peaceful means; respect each other's national unity and territorial integrity. It also encouraged to not assist any acts which would disarm the peace of the nation. Due to this agreement, Pakistan regained its territory which was lost during War. India also released Prisoners of War and gained assurances of good behaviour in return. The opposition party particularly Bhartiya Janata Party criticised India's move.

Check your progress

1. Analyse the Bangladesh War of 1971

2. What was the key points of Shimla Agreement of 1972?

Another foreign relation which was maintained in this period was an **Indo-Soviet treaty of peace and friendship in 1971** between India and Soviet-Union and this treaty agreed on 'immediate mutual consultations' of both the parties during military threat. The treaty also proposed to adopt the effective measures and acceptance of the policy of 'non-alignment' which was introduced by India. This treaty was a strong move by India to maintain its position at global level and find an ally during threatening situation which was faced by India from time to time from its neighbour invasion.

Mrs. Gandhi proved her valour again in the history of India for her strong determination to take the country to a major power. The conduct of nuclear test in 1974 in Pokhran was a great achievement of success. India was under continuous pressure of conducting nuclear tests after China conducted the test in October 1964. Shashti was indecisive but his external affairs minister, Swaran Singh favoured the idea to acquire nuclear capability. India authorised Atomic Energy Commission in 1964 to work on the bomb design. India conducted the test to prove its nuclear capability and claimed it as peaceful nuclear explosion. The move to conduct nuclear test was basically to project India as a self-reliant nation for her security and response to the pressure of world country leaders.

During the post elections of emergency in India, Mrs. Gandhi was out of power and Janata government became the leader of India under Morarji Desai as the Prime minister of India. Mr. Charan Singh succeeded him for a six months term in 1979. Mrs. Gandhi again came in power in January 1980. During the short tenure of non-Congress party, there was no significant development in India's foreign policy. A major foreign policy event that took place in 1979 when nation was facing the election process in December 1979. The military intervention of Soviet Union in Afghanistan, and declining the advice of India to withdraw its troops to non-aligned country portrayed Soviet Union 'a danger to India'. The US also asked India to support them to get Russians out of Afghanistan to

perform bombing in Vietnam in response to the Soviet Union's military intervention in Afghanistan. India did not get agree to cooperate with the US against the Soviets. Americans in response to India went to Pakistan for support. Pakistan supported America and sent weapons to Afghan guerrillas (mujahidins). Pakistan received the military and economic aid package of \$ 7.4 billion. This had created a more chaos in the country and in the name of religion, since then Jihad continued.

Check your progress

1. What was the key achievement of India in foreign policy during the period of 1964-1984?

6.4 SUMMARY

India witnessed dramatic changes in politics and foreign policy. The period of 1964-1984 was largely based on one-person rule in politics and nation and that was Mrs. Indira Gandhi. As Bipin Chandra in his book while making an evaluation acknowledged that she was a complex person. On one hand, she was a naïve, simple and straightforward on the other hand, she was unpredictable and complex. During her almost 16 years of power she had made remarkable contribution, contradictions in her political and personality approach.

The challenges of India's politics shaken the world. There were many challenges through which India dealt firmly and assertively. The entry of Janata government in the Indian politics was not a sudden or temporary phase. It was a response of citizens of India to keep the democracy alive and established the supremacy of the Constitution of India. The emergency proclamation and seizing of Indian rights was not appreciated by the masses even though the towering personality of Mrs. Gandhi was very fascinating and admiring. Congress revived and corrected its mistake at some extent. The dwindling condition of the Janata government put them again out of power and established Mrs. Gandhi again on power. However, the second phase of Mrs. Gandhi was short-lived and forced her to take the tough decision within the country to deal with regional politics and fanaticism in the name of religion.

India also made an attempt to save its democratic principles and sustainable position at world level through its non-alignment policy. The non-alignment policy of India was to bring the peace at world and also not to involve in any other nation's aspirations due to its own unstable conditions. Despite of enormous diversities and forces, India remained a united country and dealt with all the adverse situations boldly and courageously. India had not only maintained the good or neutral

associations with its foreign allies but also safeguarded its territorial integrity despite external threats and pressures mounted through military threats, invasions and internal political challenges.

6.5 CONCLUSION

The politics of India and politics of world which represented in foreign policy were full of challenges and complex. The debacle of Congress power, entry of Janata government, again coming to power by Congress government and maintaining a strong and neutral foreign policy was not an easy task. The phase of 1964 -1984 CE also saw the major transformations of many political leaders who played the supportive rule during this tenure but later became the political leaders. Indira 1.0 and Indira 2.0 were two different personalities. Mrs. Gandhi in her first phase of leadership from 1966-1977 CE was subservient, cautious, calm and patient but in her second phase from 1980-1984 CE, she was more courageous, bold and astute politician. But in both the phases, she has dealt with administration swiftly.

The foreign policy of India witnessed many changes on account of many factors. The changes happened due to the international environment with the end of the Cold War, relations with US and USSR, continuous invasion from Pakistan, India-China war etc. The domestic changes and entry of coalition government also formed its own perspectives. Having said so, no one would deny that the core principles of foreign policy of India was pure, practical and relevant. India never said no to maintain friendly ties with any foreign countries, however, it was very clear that India would not fall pray and support any country without taking its due consideration and own response.

6.6 QUESTIONS

1. What is Coalition government? Describe the process of the formation of Janata Government.
2. In spite of involving many political parties and leaders, Janata government tenure was short-lived? Explain.
3. Analyse the role of Mrs. Indira Gandhi as a leader of the nation.
4. Explain in brief the foreign policy of India from the period of 1964 CE- 1984 CE.

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POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS FROM 1984 – 2000

Unit Structure

- 7.0 Objectives
- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Major Happenings during Rajiv Gandhi Period
- 7.3 Rajiv – Longowal Accord
- 7.4 Operation Black Thunder
- 7.5 Assam Accord
- 7.6 Bofors Scandal
- 7.7 National Government Under V.P. Singh
- 7.8 Mandal Commission Report
- 7.9 Ram Janmabhoomi Issue And Fall Of National Front Government
- 7.10 Chandra Shekar As The Prime Minister
- 7.11 General Election Of 1991
- 7.12 Assassination Of Rajiv Gandhi
- 7.13 Economic Reforms
- 7.14 National Security
- 7.15 Political Developments Since 1996
- 7.16 Decisive Moments As Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee
- 7.17 Conclusion
- 7.18 Summary
- 7.19 Questions
- 7.20 References and Additional Readings

7.0 OBJECTIVES

To understand the political development from 1984 to 2000

- Development of the government under different Prime Ministers
- Reforms introduced by the Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi
- Need to form the National Front government
- Reforms and Scandals during P.V. Narsimha as a Prime Minister
- General Election of 1996 & 1998 and various events during that period.

7.1 INTRODUCTION

7.1.1 Rajiv Gandhi as a Prime Minister:

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, was assassinated by two of her Sikh bodyguards, Satwant Singh and Beant Singh, to avenge the military attack on the Golden Temple during Operation Blue Star. Rajiv Gandhi who was in West Bengal was impressed by Sardar Buta Singh and President Zail Singh to succeed his mother as Prime Minister within hours of her murder. Rajiv Gandhi who was elected in Lok Sabha of the Parliament only in 1982, not had much political experience. But his youth and inexperience were considered as advantageous by many people were tired of the inefficiency and corruption of many politicians. There was hope and aspiration among the people who were looking for progressive policies and a fresh start to resolve the country's long-standing problems.

As the harbinger of a generational change in the country, Rajiv Gandhi received the biggest mandate in the nation's history. He ordered general elections to the Lok Sabha, the directly elected house of the Parliament, as soon as mourning for his slain mother was over. In that election, riding on the sympathy wave over the assassination of Indira Gandhi, the Congress got a much higher proportion of the popular vote than in the preceding seven elections and captured a record 401 seats out of 508. Rajiv Gandhi took oath as the Prime Minister on 31 December 1984 at the age of 40 and became the youngest Prime Minister of India.

7.2 MAJOR HAPPENINGS DURING RAJIV GANDHI PERIOD

Anti-Defection Law:

Rajiv Gandhi's first action as Prime Minister was passing the anti-defection law in January 1985. The 52nd amendment to the Constitution added the Tenth Schedule which laid down the process by which legislators may be disqualified on grounds of defection.

It lays down the process by which legislators may be disqualified on grounds of defection by the Presiding Officer of a legislature based on a petition by any other member of the House. A legislator is deemed to have defected if he either voluntarily gives up the membership of his party or disobeys the directives of the party leadership on a vote. This implies that a legislator defying (abstaining or voting against) the party whip on any issue can lose his membership of the House. The law applies to both Parliament and state assemblies.

According to this law, an elected Member of Parliament or legislative assembly could not join an opposition party until the next election.

Economic Policies:

Rajiv Gandhi initiated a series of reforms. He tried to loosen the Licence and Permit Raj which gradually led to the considerable reduction of

government restrictions on foreign currency, travel, foreign investment and imports. He reduced tax on technological industry, reformed import policies related to telecommunication, defence, and commercial airline. He put emphasis on introduction of contemporary technological advances in various sectors, thus modernizing industries to attract higher foreign investment in the economy.

Progress in Technology:

Rajiv Gandhi encouraged the science and technology which resulted in a major expansion of the telecommunications industry and India's space programme, and gave birth to software industry and information technology sector.

Rajiv Gandhi employed former Rockwell International executive Sam Pitroda as his adviser on public information infrastructure and innovation. During his period in office, public sector telecom companies MTNL and VSNL were developed. According to Pitroda, Rajiv Gandhi's ability to resist pressure from multi-national companies to abandon his plan to spread telecommunication services has been an important factor in India's development. According to news website One India, "About 20 years ago telephones were considered to be a thing for the use of the rich, but credit goes to Rajiv Gandhi for taking them to the rural masses". Pitroda also said their plan to expand India's telephone network succeeded because of Rajiv Gandhi's political support. Gandhi's government also allowed the import of fully assembled motherboards, which led to the price of computers being reduced. Therefore, the seed for the Information Technology (IT) revolution was also planted during Rajiv Gandhi's time.

The Shah Bano Case:

The 1985 Shah Bano judgment was a landmark in India's constitutional history, with vexed questions flaring up about the role of a secular state in matters of religion, the disorderly intersection of religious principles and individual rights as enshrined in a liberal democracy, and the gendered perspective on the need for reform in Muslim personal law.

Shah Bano in April 1978 filed a petition in a court in Indore, demanding maintenance from her divorced husband Mohammed Ahmad Khan, a well-known lawyer. The two had married in 1932 and had five children—three sons and two daughters. Shah Bano's claim was premised under Section 123 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973, which stipulates that a man will have to provide for his wife during the marriage and after divorce if she cannot sustain herself financially on her own.

However, Khan contested the claim on the grounds that the Muslim Personal Law limited the payment of maintenance till only the period of iddat. Iddat is a period, usually of three months, which a woman must observe after the death of her husband or a divorce before she can remarry.

In April 1985, the Supreme Court of India upheld the decision of the High Court that ordered the payment of maintenance to Shah Bano. The then

Chief Justice Y.V. Chandrachud said that the moral edict of Section 125 was to provide a quick and summary remedy to a class of persons who are unable to maintain themselves and that morality cannot be clubbed with religion.

However, caught between the protesting Muslim clergy, who were backed by the All-India Muslim Personal Law Board, and the Hindu right wing that had leaped on the verdict to push for a uniform civil code, the then Rajiv Gandhi government passed the Muslim Women (Protection on Divorce) Act, 1986, essentially overturning the Supreme Court verdict. Counted as one of Rajiv Gandhi's most misguided decisions, the Shah Bano moment deeply antagonised the Indian middle class and powered the Hindu right wing's subsequent attempts to pillory and erode the ideals of Nehruvian secularism.

Another failure of Rajiv Gandhi was when, he ordered reopening of Ram Janmabhoomi temple, which was locked since 1948 to please the Hindus. This decision too placed Rajiv Gandhi in a precarious predicament. While the reopening of the temple caused anxiety among the Muslims, the reversing the court judgement in the Shah Bano Case upset the Hindus.

7.3 RAJIV – LONGOWAL ACCORD

Rajiv Gandhi soon initiated negotiations with the Akali leaders in the belief that a settlement with them would provide a lasting solution to the Punjab problem. The result of this policy, however, was that the advantage acquiring from Operation Blue Star was lost. After their release the Akali leaders were divided, confused and disoriented. Many of them, including Longowal, tried to consolidate their position vis-à-vis the terrorists by taking recourse to militant rhetoric. Finally, in August 1985, Rajiv Gandhi and Longowal signed the Punjab Accord. The government conceded the major Akali demands and promised to have others reviewed. In particular, it was agreed that Chandigarh would be transferred to Punjab, a commission would determine what Hindi-speaking territories would be transferred from Punjab to Haryana, and an independent tribunal would adjudicate the river water dispute. Elections for the state assembly and the national parliament were to be held in September 1985.

On 20 August, the day Longowal announced that the Akali's would participate in the elections, the terrorists assassinated him. The elections were, however, held on time. Over 66 per cent of the electorate voted as compared with 64 per cent in 1977 and 1984. The Akalis secured an absolute majority in the state assembly for the first time in their history.

The Akali government, headed by Surjit Singh Barnala, was however from the beginning ridden with factionalism and, consequently, immobilized. Its most important administrative step was the release of a large number of peoples accused of terrorist crimes, most of whom re-joined the terrorist ranks, giving terrorism a major fillip. The militant groups soon regrouped taking advantage of the soft policies of the Barnala government. There was, over time, resurgence in terrorist activities, and the state government,

ridden with factionalism, was unable to contain them. Consequently, the central government dismissed the Barnala ministry and imposed President's Rule over Punjab in May 1987.

7.4 OPERATION BLACK THUNDER

In May 1988, Gandhi launched the Operation Black Thunder to clear the Golden Temple in Amritsar of arms and gunmen. Two groups called National Security Guard and Special Action Group were created. They surrounded the temple in a 10 days long siege during which the extremists' weapons were confiscated. Congress leader Anand Sharma said, "Operation Black Thunder effectively demonstrated the will of Rajiv Gandhi's government to take firm action to bring peace to the Punjab".

7.5 ASSAM ACCORD

Rajiv Gandhi's prime – ministership marked an increase of insurgency in northeast India. Mizo National Front demanded independence for Mizoram. In 1987, Rajiv Gandhi solved this issue by giving the status of states to Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh, which were earlier union territories. Rajiv Gandhi also ended the Assam movement, which was launched by Assamese people to protest against the alleged illegal migration of Bangladeshi Muslims and immigration of other Bengalis to their state, which had reduced the Assamese to a minority in the state. Under these circumstances, Rajiv Gandhi signed the Assam Accord on 15 August 1985. According to the accord, foreigners who came to the state between 1951 and 1961 were given full citizenship but those who arrived there between 1961 and 1971 did not get right to vote for the next ten years.

7.6 BOFORS SCANDAL

Rajiv Gandhi had to face the worst phase in his prime ministership due to the so called Bofors Scandal. On 18 March 1986, India signed a Rs. 1, 437 – crore deal with Swedish arms manufacturer. AB Bofors for the supply of 400 Howitzer guns with 155 mm calibre for the Army. A year later, on 16th April 1987, a Swadesh radio channel alleged that the company had bribed top Indian politicians and defence personnel to secure the contract. The scandal rocked the Rajiv Gandhi led government in the late 1980s . On 22nd January 1990, the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) lodged an FIR against the then president of Bofors Martin Ardbo, the alleged middleman Win Chadda and the Hinduja brothers for criminal conspiracy, cheating and forgery.

The first charge sheet in the case was filed on 22nd October 1999, against Win Chadda, Ottavio Quattrocchi, the then defence secretary S.K. Bhatnagar, Martin Ardbo and the Bofors company. A supplementary chargesheet was filed against the Hinduja brothers on 9 October 2000.

The Bofors Scandal greatly damaged the reputation of Rajiv Gandhi as 'Mr. Clean', and led to the decline of his popularity as the opposition used the Bofors Scandal to tarnish his image.

Check your progress

- 1) Describe the contribution of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi as a Prime Minister of India.

7.7 NATIONAL GOVERNMENT UNDER V.P. SINGH

V.P. Singh, who was defence minister in the Congress government was sacked from the cabinet because of his suspicious motives against Rajiv Gandhi, with regard to Bofors defence deal. V.P. Singh, floated an opposition party named Jan Morcha. Later, on 11 Oct 1988, Jaya Prakash Narayan, V.P. Singh founded the Janata Dal by the merger of Jan Morcha. V.P. Singh was elected the president of the Janata Dal. An opposition coalition of the Janata Dal with regional parties including the Dravida Munnetra Kazhgam (DMK), Telugu Desam Party, and Asom Gana Parishad, came into being, called the National Front, with V.P. Singh as the Convenor, NT Rama Rao as President, and P. Upendara as General Secretary.

The National Front fought 1989 General Elections and he was supported by BJP and the leftist parties from outside. The National Front with its allies, earned a simple majority in the Lok Sabha and decided to form the government. V.P. Singh sworn in as India's next Prime Minister on 2 December 1989.

V. P. Singh faced his first crisis within few days of taking office, when Kashmiri militants kidnapped the daughter of his Minister, Mufti Mohammad Sayyed, V.P. Singh's government agreed to the demand for releasing militants in exchange of Mufti Mohammad Syyed's daughter. With an attempt to end the storm of criticism that followed, on the insistence of the Bhartiya Janata Party, V.P. Singh appointed Jagmohan Malhotra, a former bureaucrat, as the Governor of Jammu and Kashmir.

7.8 MANDAL COMMISSION REPORT

V.P. Singh decided to implement the recommendations of the Mandal Commission which suggested that a fixed quota of all jobs in the public sector be reserved for members of the historically disadvantaged called Other Backward Classes (OBC). This decision led to widespread protests among the upper caste youth in urban areas in northern India.

7.9 RAM JANMABHOOMI ISSUE AND FALL OF NATIONAL FRONT GOVERNMENT

One of the coalition partners in the National Front Government, the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) was moving its own agenda forward to gain support for the majority community in the country. It planned to promote the Ram Janmabhoomi agitation, which served as a rallying cry for several radical Hindu organisations. The Party President, L.K. Advani, with Pramod Mahajan, undertook the Rathayatra from Somnath in Gujarat to Ayodhya in Uttar Pradesh, with the intention of garnering support from the Hindu Community. However, before he could complete the rathayatra by reaching the disputed site in Ayodhya. L.K. Advani was arrested on V.P. Singh's orders at Samastipur on the charges of disturbing the peace and stimulating communal tension.

The action of V.P. Singh prompted the BJP to withdraw support to the National Front government. V. P. Singh faced the vote of no confidence in the Lok Sabha. However, V. P. Singh's Government lost the vote of confidence in the Lok Sabha and he resigned on 7 November 1990.

7.10 CHANDRA SHEKAR AS THE PRIME MINISTER

Chandra Shekhar who was the member of Janata Dal left immediately with his own supporters after the V.P. Singh's government lost the vote of confidence and formed Samajwadi Janata Party. With the support of the Congress, Chandra Shekar won the confidence motion and was sworn in as the Prime Minister.

Within short period (seven months) in the spring of 1991, former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi decided to precipitate a new election and withdrew the support to Chandra Shekar government forced him resign from the office of Prime Minister on 6 March 1991.

7.11 GENERAL ELECTION OF 1991

The 1991 General Election was held because the previous Lok Sabha had been dissolved just 16 months after government formation. The National government falling apart, the Congress managed to make the most of the polarisation by getting the most seats and forming a minority government.

7.12 ASSASSINATION OF RAJIV GANDHI

A day after the first round of polling took place on 20 May 1991, former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated while campaigning for the Congress at Sriperumbudur in Tamilnadu. The remaining election days were postponed until mid-June and voting finally took place on 12 and 15 June 1991.

The Congress party did poorly in the pre-assassination phase of election where as it swept the post-assassination phase of the election. The end result was a minority Congress-led government led by P.V. Narsimha Rao.

P.V. Narsimha Rao as Prime Minister formed Minority Congress Government on 21 June, but which gradually achieved a majority, and lasted a full five year term.

P.V. Narsimha Rao was the first person outside the Nehru-Gandhi family to serve as the Prime Minister for a complete term of five years. His cabinet included Sharad Pawar, himself a strong contender for the Prime Minister's post, as Defence Minister and Manmohan Singh as his finance minister.

Check your progress

- 1) Review the achievements of National Government under the leadership of V.P. Singh as a Prime Minister.

7.13 ECONOMIC REFORMS

P.V. Narsimha Rao's major achievement generally considered to be the liberalization of the Indian economy. The reforms were adopted to avoid the impending international default in 1991. The reforms progressed furthest in the areas of opening up to foreign investment, reforming capital markets, deregulating domestic business, and reforming the trade regime. His government's goals were reducing the fiscal deficit, privatization of the public sector, and increasing investment in infrastructure. Trade reforms and changes in the regulation of foreign direct investment were introduced to open India to foreign trade while stabilizing external loans. P.V. Narsimha Rao's Finance Minister Manmohan Singh, an acclaimed economist, played a central role in implementing these reforms.

7.14 NATIONAL SECURITY

P.V. Narsimha Rao strengthened the national nuclear security and ballistic missiles programme which ultimately resulted in the 1998 Pokhran nuclear tests during the prime ministership of Atal Bihari Vajpayee. P.V. Narsimha Rao increased military spending, and strengthened the Indian Army to fight the emerging threat of terrorism and insurgencies, as well as Pakistan and China's nuclear potentials. It was during his term that terrorism in the Indian state of the Punjab was finally defeated. Also, incidents of plane hijackings, which occurred during P.V. Narsimha Rao's time ended without the government conceding the terrorists demands. He launched the 'Look East' foreign policy, which brought India closer to ASEAN. He decided to maintain a distance from the Dalai Lama in order to avoid aggravating Beijing's suspicions and concerns, and made successful overtures to Tehran. The 'Cultivate Iron' policy was pushed

through vigorously by him. The crisis management of P.V. Narsimha Rao was highly esteemed after Mumbai Bombings on 12 March 1993.

The major thing which went wrong during his tenure was demolition of Babri Mosque in Ayodhya on 6 December 1992 by the 'Kar Sevaks' that plunged the country in a major crisis. Massive rioting spread across all major city including Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata, Ahmadabad, Hyderabad, Bhopal and it became very difficult to control the struggle and to bring the peace.

7.15 POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS SINCE 1996

Since the General Elections of 1996 there up an unclear mandate and resulted in a hung parliament. H.D. Devegowda and I.K. Gujral become Prime Minister for short period. After the fall of the two United Front governments between 1996 and 1998, Lok Sabha was dissolved and fresh General Election was held in 1998.

National Democratic Alliance (NDA), was formed and made Atal Bihari Vajpayee as Prime Minister. Since it is coalition government, lasted only 13 months due to withdrew of All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK). Since the NDA government was unable to come up with the required numbers to form government, the Lok Sabha was once again dissolved and fresh elections were held in 1999.

In the 1999 General Election, the BJP led NDA won 303 seats mainly after the Kargil operations and formed a government with Atal Bihari Vajpayee as a Prime Minister of India for the third time.

7.16 DECISIVE MOMENTS AS PRIME MINISTER ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE

In December 1999, Indian Airlines flight IC 814 from Kathmandu to New Delhi was hijacked by terrorists and flown to Taliban ruled Afghanistan. Due to extreme pressure, the government released terrorists Maulana Masood Azhar, Mushtaq Ahmed Zargar and Omar Saeed Sheikh to secure release passengers on the aircraft hijacked from Kathmandu.

In March 2000, Bill Clinton, the President of the United States visited India. It was a milestone relation between the two nations. Vajpayee and Clinton had wide-ranging discussions on bilateral, regional and international developments. A vision document on the future course of Indo-U.S. relations was signed during the visit.

In addition to these various other incidents to be mentioned during his period were – Agra Summit of July 2001, Gujarat Riots, December 2002, Parliament Attack, December 2001 and Composite Dialogue between Vajpayee and Musharraf in Islamabad during SAARC summit. In spite of challenges and problems, the NDS government under the leadership of Atal Bihari Vajpayee continued till 22 May 2004.

7.17 SUMMARY

The period from 1984 to 2000 was a time of significant political development in India. This period witnessed a significant changes and upheaval in India. The country underwent economic social reforms, while also grappling with issues, economic social reforms, while also grappling with issues such as caste politics, regionalism and communal tensions. This developments set the stage for further changes in years to come.

7.19 QUESTIONS

1. Explain the achievements and failures of the Rajiv Gandhi government?
2. Who formed the National Front government? and state the circumstances.
3. State in brief the reasons for the failure of National Front Government.
4. Trace the emergence of Atal Bihari Vajpayee as the Prime Minister of India.
5. Asses the period of P.V. Narsimha Rao as a Prime Minister
6. Write short notes on the following:
 - a. Bofors Scandal
 - b. Mandal Commission Report
 - c. Ram Janmabhoomi Issue
 - d. Kargil War
7. Examine the India's relations with her neighbouring countries.
2. Discuss India's relationship with Afghanistan and Pakistan.
- 3 Give an account of the Sino-India relations since t947.
4. Discuss India's relations with Bangladesh and Sri Lanka.

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Political Developments From
1984 – 2000

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RELATION WITH NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES

Unit Structure

- 8.0 Objective
- 8.1 Introduction
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- 8.3 Strengthening The National Defense
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8.0 OBJECTIVE

- Understanding India's geo-political situation.
- Does it strategic neighbourhood or its geographical one?
- Management of relations with its neighbours.
- India's border dispute with neighbouring countries.
- Economic relations with neighbouring countries.

8.1 INTRODUCTION

In the formulation of the foreign policy of any country, there are some factors that are of a permanent and temporary importance. One of the factors that influences the policy makers permanently is the geopolitical situation of the concerned country. Geopolitical situation provides the geographical and political setting of the country. It tells us who its neighbours are, the interests of big powers in the neighbourhood and the historical background of the neighbours and their allies.

The region in which India is situated is known the South Asia. In India's immediate neighbourhood lie Pakistan, the Peoples' Republic of China, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka and Myanmar. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Tajikistan, one of the many countries that emerged from the erstwhile Soviet Union, has become India's neighbour. Pakistan has chosen to be India's enemy number one and India's policy-makers cannot overlook such a political situation. Sino-Indian relations had got strained in the late fifties because of the border dispute.

As India has some enemies around her, she has some friends too, a friendship which is rooted in a common religious and cultural background. Some friendly neighbours are Nepal, Bhutan and Sri Lanka. The religious bonds of Hinduism and Buddhism have played a major role in fostering close ties between India and these countries. In addition to such cultural factors, both Nepal and Bhutan have been landlocked countries to depend upon either India or China for an access to the rest of the world. This is another reason for their friendliness with India.

8.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Indian National Congress, which spearheaded India's freedom movement, provides a historical background to India's foreign policy. The party had a separate Foreign Policy department which was headed by 'Jawaharlal Nehru' from its inception. The Congress had definite views on world developments. Through its resolutions passed in the Congress sessions and the working Committee meetings, the Congress used to put forward its opposition or support to various developments. While it expressed its support to the freedom movements in the Afro-Asian countries, it also passed resolutions condemning the policies of the colonial powers. In its various resolutions the Congress had criticized the Japanese attack on Manchuria and the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. The party had even sent a doctor's delegation to China to express India's solidarity with the Chinese people. Following two points are taken in to consideration when relations with a neighbouring country are fixed.

8.3 STRENGTHENING THE NATIONAL DEFENSE

There is nothing permanent in the foreign policy of a country but its national interests. National interests include national defense and the strengthening of the national economy. This is the reason why alliance systems and foreign trade constitute an important part of the foreign policy of a country. A Statement of Molotov, a Russian diplomat is often discussed about as how it served the Russia's defense interests. If national defense ceased to be the major concern of the policy-makers, then they give importance to the abstract principles, which definitely lead the country into trouble within a short span of time.

8.4 STRENGTHENING THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

The policy makers have to formulate the foreign policy, keeping in mind the principal objectives of the country. The foreign policy of a country should increase its foreign trade with economically developed nations, to help improve the national economy of the country. Soviet Russia was unable to benefit herself from such trade transactions, ultimately collapsed due to its own economic stagnation. After the disintegration of the USSR, both Gorbachev and Yeltsin have supported all the US measures against Iraq in the Gulf War. Deng's China also has taken the similar stance. The reason for the one time enemies to take such a stance has been the extension of American aid to reconstruct their economies. Gorbachev and Yeltsin had also accepted a series of nuclear disarmament measures. Due to this reason India could not antagonize the two superpowers because her 40 per cent foreign trade has been with the USA and the USSR.

The need to develop strong bonds of balanced foreign trade with the Western countries had a moderate effect on Nehru's anti- colonial rhetoric. The People's Republic of China had agreed to maintain Hong Kong as a free port and was not interested in making it a part of mainland of China. This was because it needed Hong Kong's Capital for modernizing China's economy. These are the economic constraints of foreign policy which no statesmen can afford to ignore.

The USA, USSR, Japan, UK and Germany had figured among the first five countries in India's foreign trade. The non-aligned countries hardly formed a quarter of India's total foreign trade. Such a harsh reality puts limits to hostility of the developing countries towards the developed world. This is why non-alignment has almost been eclipsed over the years.

It goes without saying that the first priority in the foreign policy of any country is the management of relations with its neighbours. A stable neighbourhood strengthens a country's foreign policy posture an unstable and troubled neighbourhood saps its ability to act forcefully and effectively on the international stage. The credibility of a country's regional and global posture is undermined if it is seen as embroiled disputes and conflicts with neighbours. The time and energy spent in controlling events in the neighbourhood is at the cost of pursuing wider interests at the regional and global level.

Today, in the age of globalisation, differ and pressures operate, and these could be helpful or harmful depending on circumstances. The s is that countries cannot act in their neighbourhood as they please depending on local advantage equations. Outside forces will be there to provide a counterbalance, because a particular country mi to bring an external power into the neighbourhood to reduce the weight of a perceived regional hegemony or external powers themselves, impelled by balance of power considerations or policies of containment, may intrude into the region on their own and manipulate their local partners for large strategic purposes.

Check your progress

- 1) Discuss the main objective towards India's relation with neighbouring countries.

8.5 INDO – PAKISTAN RELATIONS

India's relations with Pakistan are conditioned by historical factors such as the partition of India on a communal basis, the three wars that the two-countries fought against each other and the unresolved Kashmir dispute.

India was partitioned by the British on a communal basis. The Muslim League had spearheaded an agitation for the creation of Pakistan which was opposed by the Congress up to last moment. The resolutions passed on 23 March 1940 for the creation of Pakistan, was based on communal ideology. Jinnah's pet slogan was that the Hindus and the Muslims were not two communities, but constitute two nations. Since Pakistan was created on such ideological foundation, naturally hatred for India formed the basis of Pakistan's foreign policy. India is industrially better developed and politically well administrated country while Pakistan has been desperately in search of security and national identity from the very beginning. The communal riots rocked both the countries after the partition, massacred lakhs of people and dislodged millions from their countries.

The question of the distribution of Indus waters was resolved by the signing of the Indus Water Treaty on 9 September 1960, but such amity did not last long. Pakistan joined the US-led military alliances, while India remained non-aligned. Joining the military alliances gave Pakistan much strength; which grew her antagonism towards India more and more. The growing antagonism between the two countries resulted in three wars. The first was a proxy war, fought in 1948 in Kashmir, some tribes in Kashmir revolted against the Maharaja of Kashmir on the support Pakistan had lent. The Maharaja, however, merged the state with India) which started aware resulting in the partition of Kashmir.

8.6 THE KASHMIR DISPUTE IN 1947

Some Muslim tribes revolted against the Maharaja of Kashmir and reached Srinagar, the Maharaja, Hari Singh, rushed to New Delhi for help. The Indian government told him that if he wanted India to send her army to drive away the enemy out of Kashmir, the State of Kashmir should become a part of the Indian Union. Accordingly, the Maharaja signed an Instrument of Accession, which was unconditional. In those days Nehru was under the total influence of Lord Mountbatten who wanted a

plebiscite to be held in Kashmir to ascertain the wishes of the people. V.P. Menon states that at the time of the Junagadh issue, Mountbatten also wanted the matter to be taken to the United Nations Organisation for a solution. Sardar Patel and Nehru opposed to it and the suggestion was dropped’.

The Government of India was committed to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir and on its own took the issue to the United Nations Organisation on 31 December 1947. In order to take this matter to the United Nations Organisation for the solution, the fighting in Kashmir was unilaterally stopped. Maj Gen Kulwant Singh, who was commanding the Indian forces, wanted four more days to clear the invaders from the state, and then declare ceasefire. Nehru did not heed to his suggestion and stopped the fighting before the issue was taken to the United Nations Organisation. Although, Jinnah wanted his C-in-C to send Pakistani forces to fight in Kashmir, his Supreme Commander Field Marshal Auchinleck opposed to it then.

Simla Conference 1972:

If Nehru committed a blunder in internationalizing a domestic issue, Mrs Indira Gandhi did no better when she lost an opportunity of permanently settling the Kashmir problem at the Simla conference in 1972. The Simla Conference was held after the Indo-Pakistan War of 1971, in which Pakistan was defeated. About two lakh Pakistani soldiers were languishing in the prison of India's war camps. Some Pakistani territory in Punjab was under the Indian Control. The Simla Conference was held to solve all the problems arising out of the war. Had Mrs Gandhi insisted on Pakistani to accept the Line of Actual Control as a frontier between India and Pakistan, Mr Bhutto would have agreed to do so and the Kashmir dispute would have resolved. Before the Conference was started, the Government of India had repeatedly made public its determination to solve the Kashmir dispute. Mr. Bhutto pleaded for strengthening his hands and the democracy at home, but not committed to solve the tangle. Thus Gandhi could not impress Z.A. Bhutto and lead him to resolve the problem.

Kashmir and the Security Council:

The Security council had made some efforts to solve the Kashmir dispute in its resolution of 6 February 1948 the council ordered for withdrawal of all irregular forces from Kashmir; the restoration of law and order setting up of interim administration in the state and holding a plebiscite under the 'authority' of the UNO. India objected to this resolution. The Security Council then passed another resolution on 21 April 1948, permitting India to retain her forces in Kashmir to support the civilians and appoint a Plebiscite Administrator. But Pakistan did not agree with the resolution and sent its forces to fight with the Indian army. Then Security Council was forced to one more resolution on 13 August 1948 which had three plans as In part I, both India and Pakistan were asked to withdraw their troops and the armed tribesmen from Kashmir. A local administration was to be established under the supervision of the UNO, and the government

of India permitted to maintain minimum forces to assist the local authorities in the observance of the law and order in the state. Thus, the cease fire took place on first Jan 1949 and the Line of the Actual Control was established on 14 July 1949. Subsequently the Dixon Mission came to India under the leadership of the UNO to implement the UN resolution, but it failed to do so. because Pakistan refused to withdraw her forces from Azad Kashmir, while India ignored to hold a plebiscite in the changed circumstances. The Dixon Mission thus failed. In April 1951 the UN appointed Frank Graham one man commission as its new representative. Graham's Mediation also was failed. even then Graham recommended that India and Pakistan should solve the dispute by negotiation. In mean time Pakistan joined the US military alliances and the Soviet Union adopted a pro-India stand, thus the Kashmir question became a part of the Cold War politics which the UNO could not settle the problem till today.

The war of 1965:

The Pakistani intruders divided Kashmir in two parts. The territory under India is known as Kashmir while the territories under Pakistan is Known as Azad Kashmir. The Kashmir question can be solved if the status quo is retained. But that is not done because Pakistan is continuously helping Kashmiri terrorists and supplying them with sophisticated weapons. Pakistan has never tried to establish the self-rule in her occupied Kashmir. The communal agenda of Pakistan in Kashmir led her to fight with India on an often. The first conflict broke out in 1947, while the second conflict was fought in 1965. The war in 1965 was a short war which lasted for 21 days. This war led to the Tashkent conference and the adoption of the Tashkent declaration. According to this declaration both the countries had to agree to solve their dispute in a peaceful manner. Soviet Russia was the mediator at the conference However; antagonism between the two countries remained unabated. In 1971, the third Indo-Pak war was fought, which was lasted for eleven days. In this war Pakistan was defeated, miserably and the East Pakistan emerged as Bangladesh as an independent Country in the Map of the world. Subsequently, both the countries signed an agreement. Known as the Simla Agreement by which both India and Pakistan pledged to solve their outstanding disputes through bilateral negotiations.

Pakistan a Nuclear Power:

The first phase of the Indo-Pakistan relations lasted till the mid-eighties. During this period, the balance of power position in the subcontinent had largely tilted in favour of India. The Simla Agreement of 1972 was the product of such a situation. Subsequently, India conducted an underground nuclear test in 1974 and joined the nuclear club, without openly admitting as nuclear power. This development promoted the leaders in Pakistan to assemble their own nuclear weapons 'in which they succeeded with the help of China in May 1983. Pakistan conducted several nuclear tests in the span of six years and possessed a short-range surface to surface missiles in 1989. It is said that the Pakistanis missiles could reach India and her all territories including cities within no time. This was boosted Pakistan to be

powerful and more belligerent towards India. Even then India has been trying to maintain peace in the subcontinent

India and Pakistan relations after Gujral doctrine:

The new realities of international and regional politics have brought home to Pakistan the realisation that it can be no longer invite intrusive powers like the USA and China to help and sustain its confrontationist policy against India. Pakistan too realize that it is better to lower its level of tension with India in order to get on with the process of development by promoting trade and commercial relations with India. India's Gujral doctrine created some unilateral and confidence building measures in favour of Pakistan. Therefore, Pakistan has started secretarial level talks with India. To build the confidence-building measures between the countries, what India offers Pakistan today is constructive cooperation in trade and business for mutual benefit and prosperity. India is willing to accommodate Pakistan's demand for more concessions in trade, tariff and transit facilities. It is also ready to open border trade between the two Punjab's. This would help both sides and perhaps Pakistan more than India.

Now the ball is in the court of Pakistan; it is for its leadership to respond. That response will decide the future of Pakistan and perhaps of the South Asian region also. Pakistan needs to come out of the traditional mind-set and respond positively to India's overtures.

Check your progress

- 1) Review the Indo and Pak relations. With special reference to Kashmir dispute

2. Write a note on Simla conference 1972.

8.7 INDIA AND AFGHANISTAN

Afghanistan has been one of the north west frontier neighbours of India. it has no lengthy border with Afghanistan as Afghanistan has with Pakistan the immediate north west frontier neighbour. Naturally Pakistan and Afghanistan developed a dispute over the boundary popularly known as

the Durand Line which was fixed by the British in 1947~The dispute between the above two neighbours was advantageous for India. Because it forced Pakistan to divide her forces to defend two frontiers, one with Afghanistan and the other with India. But India never desired any serious conflict between them. India knew that Afghanistan was a weak country and might turn to USSR for help. India therefore always provided economic and military assistance to Afghanistan and made her friendly Neighbour. This friendship of India with Afghanistan brought India in convenient position when Soviet Union made direct intrusion in Afghanistan in 1979 Prime Minister Charan. Singh had prepared to take a strong note of it. The general election in the country in 1980 averted this critical position of India. Indira Gandhi who became Prime minister again supported Russian position indirectly but after sometime Indira Gandhi changed her stand and called for withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan. The USSR was kind enough for soft stand of India on the Afghan issue and became a close friend of India.

8.8 INDO – NEPAL RELATIONS

Nepal is one of the Himalayan neighbours of India. Nepal maintained good relations with India since the ancient times. It is being in a strategic position Indian relations with Nepal are governed by some security considerations. Nepal and India signed a friendship Treaty in 1950 and established close relations between them, but king Mahendra who succeeded his father in 1955 changed his mind. He also strengthened Nepal's relation with China and made Nepal a neutral country. During the border dispute of India with China in 1962 Nepal tried to increase its importance and got sanctioned some of the demands from India. However, the treaty of peace was not amended as desired by the Nepalese King. King Birendra, who came to power in 1972 insisted on India to recognize Nepal as a peace zone but due to security constraints India could not do it. Nepal is heavily dependent on India economically. India often used economic tactics to pressurize Nepal whenever Nepal turned to China for any other requirement. Although Nepal tried to find out any solution to economic dependence on India but could not succeed so far – India is helping Nepal whatever she required from India.

8.9 INDIA AND BHUTAN

India and Bhutan share a unique and time-tested bilateral relationship, characterized by utmost trust, goodwill and mutual understanding. The special relationship has been sustained by a tradition of regular high level visits and dialogues between the two countries. Bhutan had friendly relations with the British India It had signed a friendship treaty with India in 1910 and agreed to accept friendly guidance on foreign policy from India. This relation continued even after the independence of India in 1947. In 1949, Bhutan a Buddhist monarchy signed one more treaty of 1910 and kept her independence intact. The basic framework of India Bhutan bilateral relations is the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation signed in 1949 between the two countries and revised in February 2007.

But in the wake of Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1950 raised some basic defense problems in these two neighbours. When China became aggressor in 1962 Bhutan accepted all necessary security help from India. India extended every possible assistance to Bhutan in the fields of Politics and economics. Even both the neighbours signed a defense deal between them by which India shouldered the security of Bhutan. India supported Bhutan's involvement in the international forums and admission to the UNO. Although Bhutan Projected herself independent in several matter and voting's in the UNO and the Nonalignment Movement, India backed her as a big brother and permitted her to have her direct relations with China.

Check your progress

1) Comment on the Indo- Nepal relations.

2. Describe the relations between India and Bangladesh.

8.10 INDIA AND BANGLADESH

After the partition of India in 1947 the Muslims got divided Pakistan as the East Pakistan and the West Pakistan. The west Pakistan never treated the East Pakistan cordially. The East. Pakistanis decided to declare their Independence in which they sought the help of India. consequently, it became independent and came to be known as Bangladesh in 1972. Bangladesh is surrounded by Indian territory and is in the most secured position. She is not exposed to any other country on any side. Therefore, India and Bangladesh signed a friendship Treaty in 1972. India and Bangladesh bear several problems in common. one of them is distribution of water of rivers Ganga and Brahmaputra. The water is a precious commodity which is needed by both the countries. Mostly Bangladesh is in desperate need of water in the dry seasons. India suggested a link canal to supply the water to the Western Bangladesh in the hours of need. Bangladesh rejected this suggestion and advised India to have a huge water reservoir in Nepal to distribute water to India and Bangladesh as and when required. But there is no green signal from Nepal. One more problem festered the relations between the neighbours is the illegal immigration of Bangladeshis in to Indian territory. Although there were

several rounds of talk between the two neighbours, the problem has not been solved so far.

8.11 INDIA AND SRI LANKA

Sri Lanka is a neighbour of India in the Indian Ocean. India therefore has taken much care while framing her relations with Sri Lanka. The historic neighbours faced no problem up to mid-1980. Although the problem of the Tamil - Sinhalese dispute bedraggled the relations India often cleared her stand and helped Sri Lanka to overcome the problem. Even India did not object on the tie-up between Sri Lanka and Britain on the issue of the British retention of Trincomalee as a naval base. But India was apprehensive when Sri Lanka began to build relations with China in 1962. Due to geo-political factors the relations with China could not be materialized, Thus the apprehension of India about Sri Lanka - China honeymoon came to an end automatically. During the Pak war of 1971, India advised all neighbours mostly Maldives and Sri Lanka to keep away from aligning with any western powers. There was much apprehension for India in 1989 when Sri Lanka was trying to reach some understanding with the US for military assistance. But Indo-Sri Lankan accord was signed by which India shouldered the responsibility of establishing peace in the Tamil dominated Sri Lanka. Accordingly, India sent peace keeping force to Sri Lanka. Although, the Indian policy was criticized, it gathered no support in and outside of India. It is a clear warning to every ethnic community that India will not support any secessionist activity anywhere in the region. India is not interested in further bifurcating the Indian subcontinent. India will not only not encourage, but condemn civil war, terrorism or any type of insurgency in the area and help to put an end to such activities, not only in Sri Lanka and Kashmir, but in Afghanistan too.

8.12 SINO – INDIAN RELATIONS

The relationship between India and China goes back to pre-- Christian era when Asoka sent Cultural ambassadors to China and other parts of Asia.

The factors which governed the friendship according to Michael Brescher were three

- 1) Geography, a common border of 2500 miles
- 2) History of two thousand years of peace and cultural relations and
- 3) Emotional anti-Colonialism.

When India became a British colony there was no foreign policy.

But there used to be mutual sympathies Sun-Yat-Sen was the first Chinese leader who sympathized with India and encouraged the non-cooperation Movement of Gandhiji. The Indian National congress supported the Chinese on many occasions in their struggle against imperialism. Nehru visited China in 1939. with the sentiments of love and friendship India established diplomatic relations with the Nationalist China in 1947.

Though initially India's relations with China were very cordial and the two countries developed friendly relations. Tibet became a hot issue in the Sino-Indian relations. The Tibetans revolted and declared their independence in March 1959. The revolt was ruthlessly suppressed. Panchen Lama became their protégé, while Dalai Lama and his followers took refuge in India. The political asylum given to them was construed as an offensive action on the part of India. Border incidents and consequential casualties began to increase. The major one was at Longju a territory deep inside India. Nehru had to request Chou En-lai to look into the incidents personally and persuade the armed forces to withdraw. The Chinese reply was more aggressive. India was shocked. Sir Henry McMahon was a Scottish officer. He did not invent a new Sino-Indian or Indo-Tibetan boundary. What he did was to delimit the boundary on the basis of historical and factual data.

India also signed Panchsheel expressing faith in principles of mutual respect for each other's domestic affairs, mutual benefit and equality; and peaceful co-existence. In the spirit of Panchsheel the two countries co-operated and desisted from intervening in each other's affairs. The Sino-Indian relations became as China crossed the Sino-Indian relations became incompatible as China crossed the international boundary at the Thagla Ridge, Tibet, and Bhutan on September 8, 1962. It was followed by a massive attack on territories of India on October 20, 1962. They withdrew unilaterally on November 21, 1962. Six non-aligned nations, namely Ceylon, Burma, Cambodia, Ghana, Indonesia and the United Arab Republic made some concrete proposals known as Colombo Proposals for a settlement. The proposals were accepted by both China and India in principle; but there was difference in interpretations.

China desired to become a great power. India and China are often described as rivals in Asia. Both the countries influenced the whole area of South and South East Asia culturally. Cultural expansion could be a factor of conflict which was latent and became overt in the border disputes. India's is an open society whereas China's is a closed one. It was a false dogma of China that both were involved in a test of strength. If China was able to make greater progress than India it would achieve the status of great power. It was possible that to achieve its objectives, China wanted to weaken and humiliate India.

The relations between the two countries further tense following open support to Pakistan in its conflict with India in 1965 and 1971. In short on account of China's occupation of vast Indian territories and open support to Pakistan against India, the relations between the two countries are in a place which is strained.

However, serious efforts to improve relations between India and China started in 1981. It resulted in the provision to confer on each other 'most favoured nation' status and to increase bilateral trade. During Prime Ministership of Rajiv Gandhi both countries announced a joint communique that they had agreed to develop their relations actively in several fields and work hard to create a favourable climate and conditions

for a fair and reasonable settlement of the boundary question. They also agreed to set up a joint working group on boundary questions as well as a joint group on economic relations, trade, science and technology. Further, a series of high-level exchanges took place which greatly contributed to the building of trust. As a result, the hostility between the two countries showed a decline while their trade increased.

A further bid to improve relation between the two countries was made in February 1992 when the Foreign Secretaries of the two countries agreed to establish a hot line between the border personnel twice a year as a part of series of confidence building measures.

In September 1993 the two countries reached an accord for Maintenance of Peace and Tranquillity along the line of actual control and decided to set up an expert group comprising of experts from military and foreign ministries under the aegis of the Joint Working Group to complete the task of full delineation of the line of actual control. The two countries also agreed to hold regular meetings between military commanders in the Eastern and Western Sectors. They agreed to inform each other about all significant military exercises in the two sectors.

In August 1997, at the meeting of India-China Joint Working Group the two countries not only exchanged instruments of ratification in respect to Confidence Building Measures agreement, but also addressed themselves to the issue of Sino-Indian border and clarifications on the Line of Actual Control. In April 2000 India and China celebrated 50th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations and reiterated their commitment to improve their ties. Despite growing understanding between the two countries there are still several irritants in their relations.

Check your progress

- 1) Highlight on Sino-Indian relations.

8.13 SUMMARY

Under the British, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka were together, while Nepal, Bhutan and Maldives were outside the British Empire. Naturally, the British chalked out their foreign policy but after the transfer of power to India and Pakistan in 1947, they began to execute their own independent foreign policy. As India occupied the centre of the sub-continent, tried to maintain hegemonic status in this region India had desired to maintain status Quo and stability in the subcontinent. Actually, what is feared by our neighbours is India's size. They feel that it is a giant state and will behave like a giant. That perception makes them

uncomfortable towards us. The Post-Cold War orientation of India's new foreign policy of good neighbourliness under the Gujral doctrine will project the weight and size of India as an asset to these countries. It seems to a large extent that India has been successful in generating this confidence in its neighbourhood except in Pakistan.

The Geographical location of the Himalayan states like Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan made them inseparable from India. Nepal had been traditionally close and occupies a strategic position between India and China. King Mahendra, who came to throne in 1955, tried to amend the peace and Friendship Treaty signed in 1950 between Nepal and India. Even King Birendra, who succeeded his father in 1972 had been of the same viewpoint. But India never wanted to amend the treaty and risk her security. After the Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1951, Bhutan realized the danger from China and accepted full support from India on security, political and economic issues. India therefore, sponsored Bhutan's admission to the United Nations, and helping her generously on her requirements. India has been the liberator of Bangladesh. However this liberator ship is seen evaporated. Because Bangladesh became more ambitious and not co-operating with India on several issues. Out of those the problem of Ganga River water and the illegal migration of Bangladeshis to India created unrest in the north-eastern territories of India. The cordial relationships between India and Sri Lanka, one of the neighbour's worked well up to 1980. However, the Tamil Sinhalese struggle in Sri Lanka created complications in the two neighbours. Sri Lanka tried to expand relations with China when Sino-Indian relations were sore but they could not carry on for a long time due to the limits of geo-political factors. India also became assertive to limit foreign involvement in the Indian Ocean and advised Maldives to reject any external access to it.

In later time India was much apprehensive that Sri Lanka might accept assistance to suppress the Tamil- Sinhalese conflict. However, such situation did not arise. Moreover, the Sri Lanka-India Accord was signed in July, 1987, under which India assumed the peace keeping responsibility in the Tamil dominated territories of Sri Lanka. Accordingly, India sent her peace keeping force to Sri Lanka and the relations between the two countries became normal with the consideration of India's dominant role in the South Asian region. Good relations between India and its neighbours depend not only on wise policies on our side but, equally, the pursuit of wise policies by our partners, with Pakistan and China and other external interests not allowed to upset the building of positive equations to mutual advantage.

8.14 CONCLUSION

Overall, India's relationship with its neighbouring countries is a mix of cooperation and occasional tensions. India, being one of the largest and most popular countries in the world has a significant role to play in shaping of geo-political land scape of South Asia. As the regional power, India plays an important role in maintaining peace and stability in South

Asia, and its relations with its neighbours will continue to be a key factor shaping the regions's future.

8.16 QUESTIONS

1. Examine the India's relations with her neighbouring countries.
2. Discuss India's relationship with Afghanistan and Pakistan.
3. Give an account of the Sino-India relations since 1947.
4. Discuss India's relations with Bangladesh and Sri Lanka.

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LIBERALIZATION, PRIVATIZATION AND GLOBALIZATION

Unit Structure

- 9.0 Objective
- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 Need for NIP
- 9.3 New Industrial Policy (NIP) Of 1991:
- 9.4 Features of NIP
- 9.5 Liberalization
- 9.6 Advantages of Liberalization
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- 9.9 Features of Privatization In India
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- 9.11 Disadvantages of Privatization
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9.0 OBJECTIVES

- Need of New Economic Policy
- Concept and meaning NIP
- Features of NIP
- Understanding of Liberalization with its features, Advantages and Disadvantages.
- Understanding of privatization with its features, Advantages and Disadvantages.
- Understanding of Globalization with its features, Advantages and Disadvantages.

9.1 INTRODUCTION

India had introduced mixed economy after independence as per the new industrial policy resolution (IPR) of 1948, and adopted the concept of the 'Five-year Plan' from Russia with a aim to provide fast development in Indian economy. With the gradual liberalisation of the 1956 Industrial policy in the mid-eighties the tempo of industrial development started picking up. But the industry was still feeling the burden of many controls and regulations. For a faster growth of industry, it was necessary that even these impediments should be removed. Realising various drawbacks, the Government of India announced the New Economic Policy (NEP) 1991 under the Late Prime Minister Mr. Narasimha Rao. The policy has brought comprehensive changes in economic regulation in the country. The NEP is commonly known as the LPG or Liberalization, Privatisation and Globalisation. As the name suggests, the reform measures were made in different areas related to the industrial sector.

9.2 NEED FOR NEP

In 1947, India was a new country racked by pains of the Partition and the dire poverty of her people. For economic arrangements, the Constitutional Assembly considered the idea of declaring India a socialist nation. However, socialism was not just in the air but also in the hearts and minds of most intellectuals and political leaders. Unlike in the Soviet Union and China that abolished private property and put the government directly in charge of all economic affairs, India followed a middle path. The Indian state implemented central planning with myriad controls over prices and quantities to achieve a "socialist pattern of society."

Development of the License Raj:

- Industrial Policy Resolution, 1948: government monopoly was established in armaments, atomic energy, railroads, minerals, iron & steel industries, aircraft, manufacturing, ship building and telephone and telegraph equipment
- Industrial Policy Resolution, 1956: extended the preserve of the government from 17 industries to a further 12 industries.
- 1956: Life Insurance business nationalized
- 1969: Large commercial banks nationalized
- Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act, 1970: designed to provide the government with additional information on the structure and investments of all firms with assets of more than Rs 200 million, to strengthen the licensing system. This was done in order to decrease the concentration of private economic power, and to place restraints on business practices considered contrary to public interest.

1973: General Insurance business nationalized:

Over the years, the central and state governments formed agencies and companies engaged in finance, trading, mineral exploitation, manufacturing, utilities and transportation like Hindustan Insecticides, Ashoka Hotel Corporation, Tyre Corporation of India, Air India, GAIL, SAIL, ONGC, etc.

Rajiv Gandhi Government and New Industrial Policy:

Rajiv took a number of initiatives which could be called the first steps in economic reforms. Rajiv was the first prime minister to signal a new approach to the private sector. The symbolic steps were accompanied by efforts to create an environment conducive to private investment. Tax rates were lowered with a promise of stability. Rajiv saw telecom connectivity not as a demand of upper-income groups in urban areas, but as something that was equally important for those in rural areas. The real telecom revolution happened only a decade later, when mobile telephony became possible and the sector was opened for private-sector service providers. But it was in the Rajiv years that telecom became a priority area. Privately managed STD booths were a major innovation that made a huge difference to the lives of many people. He was an early advocate of computerisation, pushing for its induction in different parts of the government. He also contributed to India's subsequent emergence as a software player. The aim of his reforms was lifting the economy of the country to a more proficient level. All these economic reforms led to the overall economic growth for the country.

9.3 NEW INDUSTRIAL POLICY (NIP) OF 1991:

Due to continuous increase in government expenditure, high growth of imports, insufficiency of foreign exchange reserves and high level of inflations, India decides to take a historical step of changing trade in 1991. It embarked on a comprehensive reform of the economy. Out of Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization the first two are policy strategies and the third one is the outcome of these strategies. When P.V. Narsimha Rao, became Prime Minister, he took bold measures to rejuvenate the economy and to accelerate the pace of development. Dr. Manmohan Singh who was the finance minister under the Government of India headed by P.V. Narsimha Rao implemented the reform policies. Further, the Government of India announced its New Industrial Policy (NIP) on 24 July 1991.

Objectives of NIP:

The New Industrial Policy, 1991 seeks to liberate the industry from the shackles of licensing system. Drastically reduce the role of public sector and encourage foreign participation in India's industrial development.

- Liberalising the industry from the regulatory devices such as licenses and controls.

- Providing support to the small-scale sector.
- Increasing competitiveness of industries for the benefit of the common man.
- Ensuring running of public enterprises on business lines and thus cutting their losses.
- Providing more incentives for industrialisation of the backward areas, and
- Ensuring rapid industrial development in a competitive environment.
- To ensure the increment in exports and liberalize imports.
- To increase the domestic and foreign demand of Indian goods
- To use the latest technology in order to make Indian industry more competitive in the world market.
- To increase the foreign exchange reserve
- To liberate the private sector, to work independently
- To increase employment opportunities.
- To increase innovations and developing a competitive culture among the industries in India.

To turn Indian economy into the market economy by removing unwanted restrictions in the economy.

The New Industrial Policy has made very significant changes in four main areas viz., industrial licensing role of public sector, foreign investment and technology and the MRTP act.

Check your progress

1) Discuss the new Industrial Policy of 1991.

1) Discuss the objectives of New Industrial Policy of 1991.

9.4 FEATURES OF NEP

The NEP have salient features which are

- Liberalization
- Privatization
- Globalization

All these three are known as LPG.

9.5 LIBERALIZATION

The idea of liberalization relaxes the industrial sector from all the restrictions on domestic economic activities along with the trade relation with foreign countries, resulting in benefit to the economy of India. Liberalization releases the thread of the economy from bureaucracy and restrictions imposed by the state. This policy seeks to provide greater freedom to the businessman by reducing the governmental control instruments. The entrepreneur now is not required to get any approval from the government for setting up any new industry, trade and business venture.

Main features of liberalization in India:

Deregulation of Industries:

The government has removed the industrial licensing requirement from all industries except for a short list of 18 industries; which number has been now reduced to only six industries. The six industries are alcohol, cigarettes, industrial explosives, defense products, drugs and pharmaceuticals, hazardous chemicals and certain others reserved for the public sector irrespective of how big investment is involved, have been freed from the provisions of compulsory licensing. The exemption from licensing will be particularly helpful to many dynamic small and medium entrepreneurs; who have been unnecessarily hampered by the licensing system.

Amendments in MRTP (Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices) Act:

With a view to ensuring higher productivity and competitive advantage in the international market; the interference of the Government through MRTP was restricted.

There would now be no need for the firms covered under MRTP, to obtain prior approval of the government for establishment of new undertakings, mergers and amalgamations, expansion of operations and appointment of certain directors. In fact, the new industrial policy unshackled many of the provisions which acted as brakes on the growth of large private corporate sector. The Central Government has enacted a new law, the Competition Act, 2002, for upholding competition in the Indian market.

Reforms in Foreign Exchange Management:

The Central Government has abolished FERA (Foreign Exchange Regulation Act) and enacted FEMA (Foreign Exchange Management Act). Under the liberalized exchange management system, value of rupee is determined by the market forces of demand and supply.

Exporters are free to sell their foreign currency in the open market; while the importers can freely buy it from the market. This is called free convertibility of rupee.

Financial Sector Liberalization:

- (i) Restrictions on operations of foreign banks were eased and new ones were allowed to enter.
- (ii) There has been liberalisation of the regulations with respect to listing of companies on the stock exchanges.
- (iii) New private banks were allowed operations, infusing competition into the financial system.
- (iv) Case reserve ratio and statutory liquidity ratio have been brought down in stages, giving the bank an increased capacity to create credit.
- (v) Banks and non-banking financial companies have been permitted to enter the insurance business.
- (vi) Liberalisation of rates of interest i.e. these are to be determined by the free play of the forces of demand and supply, and not by the decision of the RBI (Reserve Bank of India).

Foreign Investment:

Earlier maximum limit of foreign equity participation was 40% for industrial units open to foreign investment.

Under the new economic liberalisation policy, the following concessions were allowed:

- (i) Foreign equity participation was raised to 51% for 34 high priority industries.
- (ii) Government also added another list of 9 industries for which automatic approval up to 74% would be allowed.
- (iii) 100% foreign equity is permitted in cases of mining; projects for electricity generation, transmission and distribution; ports; harbours; oil refining; all manufacturing activities in SEZs (Special Economic Zones) and some activities in telecom sector.

Foreign Technology:

The Government will provide automatic approval for technology agreements related to high priority industries within specified parameters. Indian companies will be free to negotiate the terms of technology transfer with their foreign counterparts, according to their own commercial judgement.

Public Sector Policy:

Public sector has shown a very low rate of return on capital invested. Most of public sector enterprises have become a burden rather than being an asset to the nation.

New industrial policy, 1991, has classified public sector units into three categories:

- (i) Those which fall in the reserved area of operation or are in the high priority areas or are generating good profits. These units should be strengthened.
- (ii) Those which may be faltering (becoming weaker) at present but are potentially viable; must be reconstructed.
- (iii) Those which are chronically sick and incur heavy losses must be closed down or their ownership passed on to the private sector.

9.6 ADVANTAGES OF LIBERALIZATION

1. Increased the foreign exchange reserve
2. Helped to increase foreign investment
3. Increase in consumption
4. Helped to control price
5. Helped to keep a check on corruption
6. Reduced dependence on external commercial borrowings.

9.7 DISADVANTAGES OF LIBERALIZATION

1. Increase in Unemployment
2. Result in loss of domestic units
3. Resulted in unbalanced development
4. Increased dependence of foreign nations.

Check your progress

1) Analyse the main features of liberalization

2) Examine the advantages and disadvantages of liberalization

9.8 PRIVATIZATION

This is another feature of New Industrial Policy of 1991. Privatization refers to transfer of ownership, property or business from the government to the private sector is termed as privatization. The government will not be the owner of the entity or business. The public sector is experiencing various problems, such as efficiency and profitability, mounting losses, excessive political interference, lack of autonomy, labour problems, delays in completion projects and many more. All these factors forced to introduce Privatization.

The process in which a publicly-traded company is taken over by a few people is also called privatization. The stock of the company is no longer traded in the stock market and the general public is barred from holding stake in such a company. The company gives up the name 'limited' and starts using 'private limited' in its last name. Privatization is considered to bring more efficiency and objectivity to the company, something that a government company is not concerned about.

9.9 FEATURES OF PRIVATIZATION IN INDIA

- Greater autonomy was given nine PSUs referred to as 'Navaratnas' (ONGC, HPCL, BPCL, VSNL, BHEL, BALCO, HCL, HZL) to take their own decisions.
- The number of industries reserved for the public sector were reduced in a phased manner and at the end it become only 3 that is Railways, Atomic energy and specified minerals. Due to this Private sector has entered in many fields and it increased competition for the public sector forcing greater accountability and efficiency.
- To reduce the financial burden on the government finances, disinvestment policies were introduced. It opened up markets for

private firms, which eventually leads to better capital markets and efficient allocation of resources. It raised money to facilitate long-term government goals of growth and development of the country.

9.10 ADVANTAGES OF PRIVATIZATION

- Helped to reduce the burden of the government
- Made public sector units more competitive
- Improved performance in the organization and employees.
- Better customer service.
- increased the industrial growth
- privatization enhanced management of a company.
- Increased the foreign investment

9.11 DISADVANTAGES OF PRIVATIZATION

- The private sector can manipulate their monopoly and neglect social costs.
- The public does not have any control or administration of private companies.
- There was a political pressure.
- Greater disparities in income and wealth
- Lack of welfare measures.
- Increased in rural unemployment.
- Unassured in terms of the success rates of any individual unit, due to which many private sector companies suffer huge losses.

Check your progress

1) Review features of privatization in India.

2) Write a note on advantage and disadvantages of privatization.

9.12 GLOBALIZATION

This is one of the features of New Industrial policy of 1991. Globalization means integrating the domestic economy with the world economy. Globalization refers to a process where the free flow of goods and services across the political boundaries is allowed. It means opening up of the economy for FDI and by creating favourable socio-economic and political climate for global business. It reflects the continuing expansion and mutual integration of market frontiers and the rapid growing significance of information in all types of productive activities and marketization are the two major driving forces for economic globalization.

9.13 FEATURES OF GLOBALIZATION IN INDIA.

Liberalization:

It stands for the freedom of the entrepreneurs to establish any industry or trade or business venture, within their own countries or abroad.

Free trade:

It stands for free flow of trade relations among all the nations. Keeping business and trade away from excessive and rigid regulatory and protective rules and regulations

Globalization of economic activity:

Here economic activities are in the process of integrating the domestic economies with the world economy.

Liberalization of import-export systems:

It stands for free flow of goods and services across borders.

Foreign Exchange Regulation Act (FERA):

Foreign Exchange Regulation Act was liberalised in 1993 and later Foreign Exchange Management Act (FEMA) 1999 was passed to enable foreign currency transactions. India signed many agreements with the WTO affirming its commitment to liberalize trade such as TRIPs (Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights), TRIMs (Trade Related Investment Measures) and AOA (Agreement on Agriculture)

9.14 ADVANTAGES OF GLOBALIZATION

- Tremendous growth in trade in goods and services
- Brought new opportunities to access the markets and technology and it led to increase in productivity.

- Increased global competition in goods and services and that resulted in higher standard of living of the people
- Development of service sectors.
- Raised the level of FDI.
- Expansion of market
- Helped in maintain world peace by bringing the countries closer.

9.15 DISADVANTAGES OF GLOBALIZATION

- Growing inequality by increasing specialization and trade.
- Increasing of the unemployment rate
- Exploitation of labour
- Caused environmental pollution
- Failed to preserve the old tradition, customs and culture.
- Gap between the rich and the poor.
- Local industries could not compete with their global counterpart.
- Few employments opportunity for unskilled labours in a global environment.
- Agriculture witnessed a negative growth rate of employment.

Check the Progress

1. Describe the features of globalization in India.

2. Comment on the advantages of globalization in India.

9.16 SUMMARY

Liberalisation, privatization and globalization (LPG) are a set of economic policies that were introduced in the early 1990s. The main objective of those policies was to open up the Indian economy to the world and promote economic.

9.17 CONCLUSION

LPg policies had a significant impact on the Indian economy and their legacy can still be seen today. While the policies were successful in promoting economic growth and integration with the global economy, their impact on social welfare and income distribution remains a matter of debate.

9.18 QUESTIONS

1. Explain the need to introduce New Economic Policy 1991
2. Describe the features of New Economic Policy 1991.
3. Give an account of the liberalization of the Indian economy.
4. Discuss in brief liberalization, privatization and globalization.
5. Assess the impacts of New Industrial Policy 1991 growth by reducing government control and increasing private sector participation.

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GROWTH OF COMMUNALISM AND SEPARATIST MOVEMENTS

Unit Structure

- 10.0 Objectives
- 10.1 Introduction
- 10.2 Communalism: Origin and Growth
- 10.3 Communalism and Separatist Movements: The Crisis in Punjab
- 10.4 Separatist Movements in the Northeastern India
- 10.5 Summary
- 10.6 Questions
- 10.7 References and Additional Readings

10.0 OBJECTIVES

After the completion of this unit the student will be able to

- Understand the meaning of communalism and its role in politics
- Recognize the separatist movements in Punjab and the spread of terrorism in the state.
- Explain the separatist movements in North east
- Understand the secessionist movement in Kashmir.

10.1 INTRODUCTION

Communalism is the creation of conflict between two communities on the basis of religion. Since colonial times, the question of Communalism has been an important social, as well as political, question in India. Even in the post-independence period, it seems to have existed as a burning social and political issue, undermining the cultural diversity of the country. The complexity of this question increased when democratic politics became prevalent in the post-independence period. The discussion of Communalism seems to have been predominantly around Hindu-Muslim riots on the one hand, and on the other hand, the understanding of history, the treatment of religion, the formation of secular nationalism. Communalism threatened the stability and integrity of the country. In Kashmir and Punjab, communal and separatist forces increased violence and the common people had to suffer a lot.

10.2 COMMUNALISM: ORIGIN AND GROWTH

According to Bipin Chandra, communalism comprises of three basic elements. The communal forces argues that people who follow the same

religion have common political, economic, social and cultural interests, which has been the basic foundation of communal ideology. The second element is the secular interest of the followers of a religion, which is dissimilar from the interest of the followers of another religion. The third element is that the interest of the followers of different religion is mutually irreconcilable. Hindus and the Muslims cannot have common secular interest, means they are bound to be against of each other. This thinking is the base of the communal politics. The Muslim communalism led to the partition of the country while the Hindu communalism converted into Hindu nationalism.

After the foundation of Indian National Congress, a counter political organization of all India Muslims came into existence in 1906, which came to be known as the Muslim League. This was followed by the emergence of the All India Hindu Mahasabha, which claimed to be the representative of the Hindus in the country. In 1920, two Sikh organizations came into being. The first organizations is the Shiromoni Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee and the second is the Akali Dal. This development weakened the Indian National movement in some proportions. Because this stratified India into three main streams. The Muslim League rejected the claim of the Indian National Congress as the spokesman of entire India.

Communal leaders in India were active in propagating various ideologies and consolidated their bases within their respective communities. This encouraged communalism in the society and generated communal riots in the post independent India. Jabalpur riots in 1961 led Pandit Nehru to establish the National Integration Council. Communalism began to feel its presence in the Indian politics during the mid-sixties, there were many communal riots took place during this period in the country. There were 1070 riots in 1964, 520 in 1969 and 521 in 1970. When Indira Gandhi came to power the number of communal riots considerably went down. During the period of emergency, communal leaders from both the communities were detained and the activities of communal organizations such as Jansangh and Jamat-Islam were banned. Hindu communalism in 1970s and 1980 gradually got crystallized in the Hindu nationalism based on the ideology of Hindutwa. This ideology had offered the prospect of uniting the country around those people who considered themselves Hindus. Muslims took the position that all the Muslims of South Asia constituted one nation different from the Hindus. Muslim leader emphasized that Muslims and Hindus could live together only on the principle of sharing power equally between them. Otherwise they would have to part and live in separate states. These differences led the secular nationalists to emphasize that religion and the sense of community should be removed from the Indian politics.

Communal Violence:

Communal violence is the outcome of communal politics. Communal violence mostly have been local, specific, accidental, incidents of minor religious disputes, celebrating of festivals and quarrels among the people

belonging to rival communities. These reasons often flared up communal violence in rural and urban parts of India. As a matter of fact, where ever people of different religious groups live with minimum interaction create mutual suspicion and hatred toward each other. Under this situation a minor incident such as eve teasing may result in a communal violence on a large scale. The Government machinery has not been effective in dealing and curbing the communal violence in the country. It is said that many government officers directly or indirectly support the communal forces. This has increased the political opportunism. The political leaders do not hesitate to compromise with the communal parties or forge alliance for a short term political benefits. The political opportunism at the central and the state level accorded respectability to the political parties and indirectly legitimized communalism in the country. Communalism is one of the dangers that India is facing since the early part of the twentieth century. Although, it has assumed dangerous proportion, the secular fabric of the Indian nation has been strong enough so far to bind the country together firmly. If the nation has to survive and progress, it is utterly necessary that basic needs of the people such as education and job opportunities should be fulfilled.

Communalism in Contemporary Times:

In the post-independence period, religious fanaticism or intolerance issues became acute till today. Fanatical forces in both Hindu and Muslim societies are the reason behind all these developments. The Indian Constitution embraced the principle of secularism. Accordingly, India was declared a secular nation. But India's secular social and national integration continued to suffer. Hindu-Muslim communal organizations have been spreading extreme caste hatred in recent times. Communalism is equally fatal for minorities and majority of the population. After the 1984 elections, communalism began to grow in Indian politics. At the same time, this was the failure of the so-called progressive and secular Rajiv Gandhi government. Because the Congress indirectly nurtured Muslim and Hindu communalism. BJP leader L. K. Advani took out a Rath Yatra across the country. On December 6, 1992, The Babri Masjid was demolished by kar sevaks. After 1992, there have been large-scale riots in the country in which both Hindu and Muslim communities suffered major losses.

According to Bhaskar Bhole, it is a constant effort of communal politics to hold a particular society responsible for all problems. Hindus are not the only ones responsible for communal riots in India. The Muslim fanatical forces have little to do in promoting repressiveness and bigotry in the Muslim community and spreading tribalism and Hindu hatred among them. Muslim communalism is promoted by religious revivalist movements like Jamaat-e-Islami, Tablik, Jamaat-e-Ulema, SIMI, Jamaat-e-Islami, Hizbul Mujahideen, All India Muslim Law Board, Jamaat-e-Tulba, Majlish Mashawarat, etc. Therefore, just as Hindu bigotry is responsible for growing tribalism, Muslim bigotry is also responsible. Whether it is the Shah Bano case, the Uniform Civil Code or the question

of theology, or some religious leaders in the society, the ulema (religious leaders) are opposed.

Check your progress

1. Explain Origin and Growth of Communalism.

10.3 COMMUNALISM AND SEPARATIST MOVEMENTS: THE CRISIS IN PUNJAB

After the independence, Congress tried to settle the grievances of all the groups in the country. But the Congress promises did not have any impact on separatist groups. The political leaders also have not been able to resolve the political demands of the non-Hindu and tribal minority groups. States reorganization also failed to come to concrete conclusions to satisfy the demands of the above groups. Therefore, separatist movements started violent confrontation with the government forces in various states like Punjab, Assam, northeast India and Kashmir.

The Sing Sabha Movement was initiated to spread literacy and religious awareness among the Sikhs in 1870. The Chief khalsa Dewan was formed to coordinate the Singh Sabha Movement and to unite the Sikhs. The Singh Sabha and the Khalsa Dewan dominated Sikh public life for fifty years and led the foundation for the political movements of the 1920's when the religious and political leadership of the Sikhs was taken over by the Siromoni Gurudwara Prabhandhak Committee and Akali Dal. They were thinking of a sovereign state where Sikh identity would be protected. On 5 June, 1943, the Shiromany Akali Dal announced the demand for Azad Punjab. Thus, the problem of Punjab can be traced in a growth of communalism in the state in the twentieth century. The Gurudwara Reform Movement of 1920s brought into existence two political organizations. One of them was the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabhandak Committee, which became the central managing committee for the Punjab Gurudwaras and began to control all Sikh Shrines and its vast resources. The other one was the Akali Dal, which became the chief political organization of the Sikhs in the country.

Communalization of Politics:

The demand of khalistan by the secessionist movement in Punjab was one of the greatest challenges to the unity of India. Khalistan means the separate homeland for the Sikhs. In order to achieve the separate state, they began a reign of terror in which huge loss of lives and property took place throughout the state. The movement took a violent turn when the then prime Minister, Indira Gandhi ordered to flush out the terrorists

hiding in the Golden Temple of Amritsar in 1984. Eventually, this led to her assassination in the same year. This was so happened that the Akali Dal claimed and asserted a separate identity of the Sikhs on the ground that they were discriminated, humiliated and prosecuted for a long time by the majority people in the country. They raised the slogan of Sikh religion in danger in 1953. Master Tarasing, the Akali leader said that the so called liberty for the Sikhs was simply a change of masters from white to black. Thus, the communal sentiment was promoted by the Sikh leaders in Punjab that led the Sikhs to clash against the various groups in the state.

The crisis in Punjab was enhance by major two issues. The first issue was of the language of administration and education. The Hindus wanted Hindi as the language of administration and education while the Sikhs demanded Panjabi with the Gurumukhi script. But the Hindus were not in favour of the only Gurumukhi script, they demanded Devnagari script also. Thus, the Punjabi Language issue communalized the atmosphere in Punjab. The second issue, which precipitated the crisis was the rejection of the reorganization of Punjab on the basis of language by the Reorganization Commission of the central Government. Consequently, the Akali Dal launched an agitation under the leadership of Master Tara Singh for a separate Punjab for Sikhs. The Jan Sangha and other Hindu organizations opposed to the demand of the Sikhs. Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister of India rejected the demand on the recommendation of Darbara Singh and Pratap Singh Kairon, the two prominent Sikh leaders of the Congress. But the demand for separate Punjab was conceded by Indira Gandhi in 1966. The state of Punjab was divided into a Punjab for Sikhs and Haryana for Hindi speaking people.

Separatism in Punjab:

Following the creation of separate Punjab state for Punjabi speaking people, the Akali Dal began to control the political power in the state. But it could not secure the power through the democratic process. Although, the percentage of Sikhs had been more than 50% around 25 to 30 percent schedule caste and economically backward Sikhs were voting in favour of the Congress and other leftist parties. Naturally the Akali Dal was unable to come to power on its own strength. The Akali Dal was to form and alliance with the Jan Sangh that had opposed for the creation of separate Punjab for Punjabi speaking people. Thus, the Akali Dal policies were not approved and supported by the majority Sikhs in Punjab. This was the reason why the Akalis began to emphasis more on the aggressive communal politics. Akali Dal launched a greater and wider communal movement under the leadership of sant Longowal and submitted a long list of demands to the central Government.

The terrorist groups in the state supported the demand. Thus a separatist movement to form a separate sovereign state for the Sikhs was begun. To counter the separatist movement launched by Sant Longowal, the Congress decided to support the extremists. Sikh Sant Bhindranwale, who had been a strong compainer of Sikh orthodoxy. The terrorist activities of the All India Sikh students Federation under the leadership of Amrik

Singh began in 1980. Sant Bhindranwale supported the activities of the Federation. Due to the murder of the head of the Nirankari sect, the violence spread throughout the state of Punjab in which innocent people were targeted. It is said that Giani Zail Singh, who was the Home Minister of India in 1982 began to support the activities of Sant Bhindranwale. Due to the indirect support of the Congress leaders the group of Bhindranwale began to kill innocent people indiscriminately and loot shops and banks daily. The inaction of the central Government encouraged Bhindranwale to give a call for armed struggle against the central Government for realization of separate sovereign theocratic state for Sikhs. Bhindranwale shifted his base to the Golden Temple in 1982, and to the Akal Takht within the Golden Temple itself in December, 1983 with his all followers.

Blue Star Operation:

During the terrorist activities of Bhindranwale, the Akali Dal came into difficult position. Although the Akalis shared the same political ideology with Bhindranwale they could not openly support him. Even the central government did not take any firm action against Bhindranwale. This inaction did a irreparable loss to India in general and Punjab in particular. Indira Gandhi tried to negotiate with the Akali leaders like G. S. Tohra, Prakash Singh Badal and Sant Longowal but she could not succeed and stop the terrorist activities in the state. The security forces began to demoralise when Pakistan involved in these terrorists activities in India. Pakistan opened training centers for Sikh terrorist and provided them with sophisticated weapons. Even Sikhs living in other countries extended fund and weapons for the cause of separate independent Sikh state. Under these circumstances, the Government of India decided to purge the Golden Temple of the terrorists, who had been using the scared shrine as base of their activities. On 3 June, 1984, the armed forces of India under Blue Star operation surrounded the Golden Temple at Amritsar. The armed forces opened fire on 5 June, 1984 on the terrorists hiding in the Temple. In this Blue Star operation many soldiers and terrorists with Bhindranwale lost their lives. But it is proved that more than the material loss, the severe hurt to the sentiments of Sikh community had taken place due to the damage caused to the Golden Temple.

Assassination of Indira Gandhi:

Blue Star operation caused the deep anguish among the Sikh people. They held Indira Gandhi responsible for this hurt and damage and took a vow to avenge against Mrs. Gandhi and her family. Two Sikh body guards of Mrs. Gandhi assassinated her on 31 October, 1984. This was followed by a backlash of killing of several thousand innocent Sikhs in various parts of the country. As a matter of fact Punjab is remained integral part of the country due to the sacrifice of Hindus Sikhs and defense forces.

Check your progress

1. Explain Communalism and separatism in Punjab.

10.4 SEPARATIST MOVEMENTS IN THE NORTHEASTERN INDIA

The Government of India faced several problems in her northeastern provinces. There were several tribal groups inhabiting in that area, which often clashed against each other. Among them Hindus and Muslims, linguistic groups of Assamese and Bengalis, tribal people and plain people and the large migrated population generated a number of problems which required constant attention of the government. In order to solves the tangle in that area, the Government of India reorganized the northeastern part of the country and brought into existence four new states as under:- 1) Nagaland, that was granted statehood in the year 1963. 2) Meghalaya, the tribals like Garo and Khasi were treated badly by the people of Assam, therefore, they launched an agitation and was given a statehood in 1970. 3) Arunachal Pradesh, was initially a Union Territory and then transformed into a full statehood in 1972 and named as North Western Frontier Agency. 4) Mizoram :- In 1981, it was granted the status of Union Territory and carved a full state in 1987.

The Kashmir Problem:

Separatist movement in Kashmir is one of the problems which India faced after its independence. India fought three wars with Pakistan on the problem of Kashmir. There are several militant organizations, which have been undertaking guerilla tactics with India. Although, India has spent much money and lost her several thousand security forces, the problem of Kashmir is still not resolved

Origin of the Problem:

Jammu Srinagar and Ladakh are the three districts form the state of Kashmir. They are distinct and different from each other in language, religion and ethnicity. The people in Kashmir are Muslim and speak Kashmiri language. The majority people in Jammu are predominantly Hindus who speak a language belonging to the Indo-Aryan family and the people inhabiting Ladakh belong to the Tibeto – Mongoloid group who projects themselves as Buddhists. These three parts formed one political entity. In 1846, the British conquered Kashmir from the sikh ruler and handed it over to Dogra ruler Gulab Singh of Jammu for Rs 75 Lakhs. Thus Kashmir was under the rule of a Hindu King Harisingh when it was incorporated with the Indian Union. Pakistan did not agree with the

Kashmir's incorporation into India on the ground that it has been a predominant Muslim populated state. Pakistan, therefore, sent Pathan tribesmen and armed forces to invade the state. On the request of Sheikh Abdullah, the leader of the National Conference, the State of Jammu and Kashmir was acceded to the Indian Union.

The first phase of Kashmir problem:

This phase lasted between 1947 and 1953. During this phase, Sheikh Abdullah was the Prime Minister of the state. He had close relations with the Central Government. Sheikh Abdullah was Sandwiched between the two forces as the one was the pro-Pakistani and the other one was the pro-Indian. The latter force was represented by the Praja Parishad of Jammu. This force demanded the withdrawal of Article 370 which was granted to the people of Kashmir. The Hindu nationalist parties in Kashmir supported this view. Sheikh Abdullah did not like to align with any one of the forces. He tried to be distinct and assertive something beyond regional autonomy to the State of Kashmir. Fearing the consequences of this assertion, the Central government dismissed Sheikh Abdullah from the Prime Ministership of Kashmir and imprisoned him in 1953.

The Second phase of the Kashmir problem:

This phase began in 1953 itself and ended in 1984. During this phase, the Kashmir leadership established closer relationship with the central Government than earlier. Due to this loyalty of the Kashmir leaders to the Central Government led them to receive enormous funds for the development of Kashmir. But this relationship did not resolve the Kashmir problem and create amicable relations between the Hindus and the Muslims. On the pretext of some religious rumours, severe riots broke out in the state, which strained the relations between the Hindus and the Muslims. Although, Sheikh Abdullah was released from the prison, he was rearrested on the profession of the right of self-determination. The pro-Pakistani group in Kashmir was not happy with him because he was against the merger of Kashmir with Pakistan.

The Third Phase of Kashmir Problem:

Sheikh Abdullah remained as the Chief Minister of Kashmir till his death in 1982. Farooq Abdullah, the son of Sheikh Abdullah became the next chief Minister of Kashmir. But he did not keep good terms with the central government. He was often criticized as anti-national leader by the Hindu groups. This was a good reason for toppling the government of Farooq Abdullah. G. M. Shah, dissatisfied son in law of Sheikh Abdullah worked out a split in the National Conference on the directives of the Central Government. Naturally, G. M. Shah was appointed as the Chief Minister of Kashmir in 1984. This was the beginning of the third phase of the Kashmir problem. G. M. Shah also was not able to run the state smoothly. There were attacks and counter attacks on Hindus & Muslims. He failed to curb the communalism in the state. Eventually, G. M. Shah was dismissed and President's Rule was clamped on Kashmir in 1986.

Check your progress

1. Trace first phase of separatist movement in Kashmir.

2. Review the second and third phase of separatist movement in Kashmir.

Revival of secessionist Activities:

Rajiv Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India tried to normalize the situation in Kashmir in 1986. He wanted to revive the cordial relationship between the Congress and the National Conference and fight the Kashmir Assembly election jointly in 1987. Rajiv Gandhi, therefore reached an accord with Farook Abdullah in 1987. Although, there was much opposition to the coalition of the Congress and the National Conference in Kashmir, Farook Abdullah managed his victory and became the Chief Minister of the state once again in the same year, i.e. 1987. However, as he managed the election, could not manage the state administration. Several complaints against the Farookh Government led the Centre to dismiss the government in Kashmir and bring the state under the President's Rule again. As a result of this event, several secessionist organizations raised their head again. Among such pro – Pakistani organizations were Hizbul Mujahiddeen and Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front. These outfits were trained, financed and armed by Pakistan to separate Kashmir from India. Thus Kashmir has been the biggest headache since the independence of the country. Although, Government has been spending much amount and ready to resolve the problem by negotiating with Pakistan, still the country is not able to do so. On August 5, 2019, a proposal to remove Article 370 of the Constitution was introduced in the parliament of India. The Presidential Order states that all the provisions of the Indian Constitution apply to Jammu and Kashmir. This meant that the separate constitution of Jammu and Kashmir was abolished. The order is said to have been issued with the "consent of the State Government of Jammu and Kashmir", which apparently meant a Governor appointed by the Central Government.

10.5 THE IMPACT OF COMMUNALISM AND SEPARATIST MOVEMENTS

The impact of communalism and Separatist Movements on India's socio-political landscape has been significant. The issue has led to the violence, displacement and loss of life and property and have created deep seated division among different communities. However, the Indian government has taken steps to address the issues and engaging in dialogue with separatist groups to find peaceful solutions to their demands.

10.6 SUMMARY

Communalism divided the two prominent communities of India and created social instability permanently in the country. There had been a number of communal riots in the different parts of the country over a period of time which has led to massacre innocent people belonging to both the communities and suffered a huge loss of properties through arson and looting. Communalism comprises of three basic elements as first, the people following the same religion have common political, economic, social and cultural interests. This gives birth to the socio – political communities based on religion. The second, the communal ideology differs from one another religion. The third, the interest of the followers of different communities are mutually incompatible and antagonistic. It does mean that the Hindus and the Muslims who cannot have common secular interests are bound to be opposed to each other.

10.7 CONCLUSION

Communalism and Separatist Movements continue to be major challenges for India. It is important for the Indian Government and civil society to work together to address these issues and promote peace, harmony and inclusivity among all communities

10.6 QUESTIONS

1. Give a brief account of communalism in independent India.
2. Examine the factors that were responsible for the rise of communalism in India.
3. Account for the separatist and secessionist movement in Punjab.
4. Assess the rise and Growth of secessionist movement in the north eastern states of India.

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WOMEN EMPOWERMENT AND POLICY OF RESERVATION

Unit Structure

- 11.0 Objectives
- 11.1 Introduction
- 11.2 A Journey of Women Empowerment in India
- 11.3 Women in Indian National Movement
- 11.4 Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's Role in emancipation of women
- 11.5 Policy of Reservation
- 11.6 Progression of Reservation policy
- 11.7 Reservations under the Constitution
- 11.8 The Mandal Commission
- 11.9 Summary
- 11.10 Questions
- 11.11 References and Additional Readings

11.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- Recognize the reforms carried out in the nineteenth century in connection with Indian Women.
- Realize the political rights and constitutional guarantee given to women.
- Understand the economic development of Indian Women.
- Know the reservation Policy in pre-independent India.
- Explain the Reservation Policy in independent India.

11.1 INTRODUCTION

Empowerment of women is very essential to brighten the future of the family, society and the country. Women need a new and more empowered environment so that they can make their own right decisions in every field, whether they belong to themselves, their family, society or the country. The real meaning of women empowerment in India is to educate them and give them freedom so that they can make their own decisions in any field. Women and the lower classes have been remained victim of social system based on caste and religion. Mahatma Phule described women of all castes and lower castes as Shudras and Atishudras (Depressed group). Hence, the social reformers worked for emancipation of women and depressed caste.

Both these group lacked representation in social and political structure of the country. The idea of reservation came out of this. Reservation to women and depressed castes is a step for representation to the groups hitherto denied the opportunity.

11.2 A JOURNEY OF WOMEN EMPOWERMENT IN INDIA

In order to understand the present status of women it would be necessary to study the process of women empowerment from the pre-independent era.

Position of Women in the Society:

Position of women in Indian society differed from age to age. The general condition of women was derogatory in early 19th century. The women were treated as inferior and put in chains of unjust religious customs and traditions. The high caste women suffered due to the heavy restrictions on their day to day life. The social evils like sati, prohibition on widow remarriage, child marriage and prohibition of women education made their life miserable. The orthodox forces prevailed on the Indian society at larger extent. The killing of female child, burning the widows, forced widowhood and many other inhuman practices were carried by the people. The lower castes and women from upper castes as a widow and child bride were subject to suffer by religious hypocrisy and traditional orthodox forces in society.

Social Reforms before Independence:

The gradual deterioration in the status of the women began during the Smriti period. In society women could not have an independent status and became entirely dependent on the men in socio-economic matters. With the passage of time women became victims of various social evils such as female infanticide, seclusion and dowry. They were denied education. Due to the impact of western education and the educated Indians such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Mahatma Jotirao Phule, Swami Dayananda Saraswati and other social reformers, an attempt was made to liberate women from the shackles of ancient social disabilities through the socio-religious reform movements. The Brahmo Samajists sought to bring women into new roles through schools and prayer meetings. Swami Vivekananda was arguing that women could become a powerful regenerative force. Mahatma Jotiro Phule started first public school for girls in 1848. Dayananda encouraged female education and condemned all evil customs. M.G. Rande, Malabari, D.K. Karve tried to educate young widows and made them teachers in girl's schools. R.V.R. Naidu opposed the devdasi system while Pantulu worked for marriage reforms. Ishwar Chandra Vidysagar supported the female education and advocated the widow remarriage. Although, the widow remarriage Act was passed in 1856, the status of women was not changed and never received the approval of the society.

Check your progress

1. Give an account of the problems faced by Indian women.

11.3 WOMEN IN INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Indian national movement became a mass movement since 1920 under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. The participation of women in the national movement made a steady progress from the non-cooperation movement to the Quit India movement in 1942. During these mass movements, the women shouldered the responsibilities such as march on the streets, raising slogans, picketing shops of foreign goods and liquor, facing police lathi charge and bullets. Due to Gandhiji's appeal the Indian women fought shoulder to shoulder with men in the freedom Struggle of India, which enhanced their status and brought to the fore several issues related to women. The national movement was the first forum where the women participated in public life, to acquire rights and positions hitherto denied to them. Mahatma Gandhi understood the potential of women as political agitators and partners in the process of building up a nation.

The national movement acted in liberating women in drastic way. They showed their capability as socialist, communist and militant revolutionaries. They also fought under the leadership of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose for the liberation from the British rule. In 1890 Swarnakumari Ghosal, a novelist and Kadambiri Ganguly, the first women in the British Empire to receive BA and the India's first lady doctor attended as delegates. Saraladevi, Muthulakshmi Reddy and Amrit Kaur followed Gandhi in the movement. Sarojini Naidu, Goshiben Naoriji and Avantikabai Gokhale were attached to Rashtriya Stree Sangha. Urmila Devi, Shanti Das and Bimal Protiba Devi in Bengal and Smt. S. Ambujammal, Krishnabai Rau and Rukmani Lakshmipathy from south were ahead in the movement.

Check your progress

1. Examine the role of Indian women in the freedom struggle of India.

Political Rights to Women:

Following independence, attempts were made to give legal and constitutional rights to women. They are granted the right to vote along with men, irrespective of their educational status or qualifications. The Constitution of India, promises to all citizens; justice, social, economic and political and equality of status and opportunity. Parts III of the Constitution have provided many provisions for preferential treatment for promoting socio-economic status of women. Directive Principles of State Policy of the Constitution provides that the State should endeavour to eliminate inequalities in status and opportunities. Article 39 of the Constitution lays down that the State shall, direct its policy towards securing adequate means of livelihood to men and women equally, equal pay for equal work for both men and women. It is further provided that the health and strength of women should not be abused and that citizens are not forced to enter avocations unsuited to age or strength. The State should secure just and human conditions of work for women.

11.4 DR. BABASAHEB AMBEDKAR'S ROLE IN EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar rendered great service to all the women by his emphasis on equality. As a Labour minister in Viceroy's Executive Council (1942-1946), he enacted various laws especially for the betterment of women. Because of his efforts, working women got the full pay maternity benefit. The preamble of the constitution of India promises to secure to all citizens justice. Parts III and IV of the constitution have provided these objectives which contain many provisions providing for preferential treatment for promoting social status of women and children. As a Law Minister, Dr. Ambedkar submitted a Hindu Code Bill which sought to raise the age of marriage, upheld monogamy, gave women the right of divorce and right to inherit property of fathers. However the conservative opposition to the radical proposals led to the postponement of the Hindu Code Bill. Dr. Ambedkar resigned in disgust due to attitude of the conservative members of the Constituent Assembly. Later sections of the Bill were passed as four distinct Acts which gave women various rights.

Political representation to women:

In 1974, a government committee suggested to set up statutory women's panchayats at the village level to look after the welfare programme for women and children. The committee recommended their election and not nomination. And they in turn would depute women to the bloc and district level. After submission of the report, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh only constituted all-women panchayats. In 1978, the Ashok Mehta Committee recommended the panchayats should be the decision making instead of only implementing agencies. In order to implement this recommendation, the need for a constitutional amendment was felt. It took more than one decade for the 64th Constitution Amendment Bill, which was passed in 1992. The Act provided that at least one-third of the total seats shall be reserved for women of whom one-third shall be from the

Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Thus, the women at all level became part and parcel of the decision making body.

Women and Economic Issues:

The economic condition of women is not improved drastically as far as ownership of property, control of resource, wages earned, food consumed, access to medical care and sex ratio are concerned. Most researchers agree that female survival chances are lower than those for males because of different feeding and health care. Jocelyn Kynch and Amartya Sen have drawn our attention to the combination of the lowness of the female-male ratio. The answer to this is the women's low rate of participation in the market economy and low valuation of woman as human beings. Recent data also calls into question assumptions about the benefit to women of family prosperity that richer families would provide better food, clothing and medical care for their daughters.

Check your progress

1. Which political rights were safeguarded for women in India after independence?

2. Describe women's economic condition in India?

11.5 POLICY OF RESERVATION

The constitution of India promises to all citizens, justice, social, economic and political equality of status and opportunity to all citizens including deprived castes. Reservation is an affirmative action plan in India. Historically disadvantaged groups get representation in education, employment, government schemes, scholarships and politics. Based on the provisions of the Constitution of India, it recommends the central government and the states and territories of India to "reserve certain percentages of seats for socially and educationally backward citizens in educational admissions, employment and political institutions.

11.6 PROGRESSION OF RESERVATION POLICY

Reservation policy before Independence:

In 1885, the Madras Government framed a grant in aid code to regulate financial aid to educational institutions, providing special facilities to student's belonging to the Depressed classes. In 1918, the Maharaja of Mysore had appointed a Committee under the Chairmanship of Sir L.C. Miller, the Chief Justice of Mysore, to recommend the adequate representations for non-Brahmins in the services of the state. In 1921, on the basis of the Miller Committee Report, the Mysore Government issued orders extending the facilities to the Depressed Communities regarding education and recruitment in state services. At the all India level, the first systematic attempt for the welfare of the Depressed Classes was made with the introduction of Montague Chelmsford Reforms in 1919. A separate representation was given to these classes on various public bodies not by elections but by nominations. Under the Reforms of 1919, very few untouchables could qualify for the restricted franchise because this was based on education and holding of property qualifications. This situation deprived the untouchables from the right to vote, the plight was continued up to the formation of the Constituent Assembly.

In 1921, the Madras state legislative council passed a resolution for higher representations of non-Brahmins in the government services. In 1921, the ruler of the Mysore State, Krishna Raja Wodeyar introduced the reservation in government jobs for the non-Brahmins. The Madras Presidency also made similar reservations, in the government jobs on the basis of reservations granted by the Mysore state. In 1921, the ruler of the Mysore State, Krishna Raja Wodeyar introduced the reservation in government jobs for the non-Brahmins. The Madras Presidency also made similar reservations, in the government jobs on the basis of reservations granted by the Mysore state. The British had provided reservation of seats for the Muslims in legislatures. Untouchables were recognized as a separate group through the Communal Award of 1932. That was strengthened by the Poona pact between Mahatma Gandhi and B.R. Ambedkar, the leader of Depressed Classes. They were provided reservation of seats in legislatures. The Government of India Act, 1935, for the first time made the special provisions for these castes.

The scheme was reviewed in 1927 and its scope was enlarged further, dividing all the communities in the state into five broad categories and earmarking separate quota for each category. Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur granted special scholarship and established special boarding houses for untouchable students. He also provided financial assistance to an untouchable to start a hotel in Kolhapur. He did drink tea in that hotel which was indeed a very symbolic act of inducing others to take their tea in the hotel. It is well known that Shri Sayajirao Gaikwad, the Maharaja of Baroda, who had sanctioned special scholarship to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar for his studies abroad. The British had provided reservation of seats for the Muslims in legislatures. Untouchables were recognized as a separate group through the Communal Award of 1932. That was

strengthened by the Poona pact between Mahatma Gandhi and B.R. Ambedkar, the leader of Depressed Classes. They were provided reservation of seats in legislatures. The Government of India Act, 1935, for the first time made the special provisions for these castes.

Check your progress

1. Examine the reservation policy under the British in India

11.7 RESERVATIONS UNDER THE CONSTITUTION

In post Independent era, the Indian leaders wanted to create a modern and egalitarian state. They aimed at the upliftment of the depressed strata of the society. While promoting equality of citizens, the Constitution of India accepted the idea of reservation. The ideals of the Constitution are outlined in its Preamble. The ideals reaffirm in the Directive Principles of State Policy, whereby the state is obliged to promote the welfare of the people effectively. In the pluralistic society of India the problem is that certain backward groups have to be given some preferential treatment so that justice may operate in the society.

Hence, the Constitution-makers incorporated provisions of reservation. They are meant for the special care and advancement of untouchables and tribals. In administrative language, they are called Scheduled Castes and Tribes. An article 15 and 17 of the Constitution does away with the discrimination and exclusion of the untouchables. The Article 17 declares that untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of untouchability shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law. Article 15 Says that no citizen shall, on the ground of religion, race, caste, sex be subject to any disability should be discriminated. Article 46 stands for providing special benefits for those classes who are deemed to be tribal or low caste birth. This Article declares that the State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interest of the weaker sections, in particular the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from injustice and exploitation. Article 16 of the Constitution provides for protective discrimination in favour of backward classes which in the opinion of the state, is not adequately represented in the services. The problem, which the Court faced, is that the government's policy is not clear about who are the consumers of protective discrimination.

The Other Backward Classes (OBC):

The Constitution has wider category of depressed castes. The identity of the Other Backward Classes has been ambiguous and not clear because

there is no constitutional or exclusive method for their designation and determination. Only untouchables and tribals, are specifically singled out in these provisions. The Article 340 lays down that the President may by order appoint a commission to investigate the conditions of socially and educationally backward classes within the territory of India.

Kaka Kalekar Commission:

In 1955, The Central government appointed a Kakasaheb Kalekar Commission to identify the other Backward Classes. The Kaka Kalekar Commission used four criteria for identifying the OBCs: as, low social position in the society; lack of educational advancement, lack of representation in government service; and inadequate representation in trade, commerce and industry. In the report, it was pointed out that of the 2,399 communities listed, 930 communities accounted for population of 11.5 crores with the SCs and STs making up another seven crores. When the efforts of the government to devise some workable criteria other than caste failed, it did not draw the all-India lists of the OBCs and extending reservation for any groups other than the SCs and the STs. However, in 1961 the Central government informed the state governments that they had the discretion to apply their own criteria for defining backwardness. It is said that the Government did not accept the report of the Kalekar Commission because it failed to evolve the distinct criteria to determine the backwardness. When the Government rejected the report five out of eleven members of the Commission had expressed their opposition to the decision. The Second Backward Classes Commission was appointed on 20 December, 1978. In the report submitted in 1980, the Commission has listed 3743 castes as Backward Classes. The Government has not accepted this report also and no action has been taken so far.

Check your progress

1. Explain the reservation measures in the Indian constitution.

2. Trace the development of OBC reservation.

11.8 THE MANDAL COMMISSION

By the mid-1970s states as Tamil Nadu and Karnataka had made moves to fix high OBC quotas in education and public employment. It had been the official policy of these states to bring under the majority population to be used for their political purpose. The Janata Party government under the prime minister ship of Morarji Desai appointed a second commission in January 1979 under the chairmanship of Bindeshwari Prasad Mandal.

The Mandal Commission was assigned the task of establishing a formula to be used throughout the country in the task of reserving posts in Central and state Governments for OBCs. In 1981, the Commission greatly extended the criteria of defining caste-based backwardness and placed a total of 3,248 communities in the OBC category that is 350 million people or 54.4 per cent of the country's population. This was unprecedented increase in reserving 27 per cent for Other Backwards in addition to 22.5 per cent for Scheduled Castes and Tribes which the Congress did not like. When the Congress returned to power in 1980, like the Mandal Commission's Report was shelved and its recommendations were kept in the cold storage. However, the reservations for the OBCs remained widespread.

V. P. Singh, prime minister of India announced 27 % reservation for other backward castes in 1990. The announcement of the implementation of reservation to the OBCs led to anti-reservation agitations in some states and cities of India. Particularly in Gujarat and Bihar. The implementation of the Mandal Commission was challenged in the Supreme Court and the Court granted a stay order. In November 1992, the Supreme Court upheld the decision of OBC reservation.

11.9 SUMMARY

Women were made subservient and entirely dependent on men. The impact of western education, people like Rajaram Mohan Roy, Mahatma Jotirao Phule and the other leaders made an attempt to liberate women from the shackles of ancient disabilities. The participation of women in it from non-cooperation to the Quit-India movement was a steady progress of them. The constitution promises to all citizens, justice, social, economic and political equality of status and opportunity. The lower strata of the society was deprived of education, social status, economic advancement and religious freedom. There had been several attempts to bring such less privileged people into the mainstream of the society. Therefore, the policy of reservation or the preferential treatment to the deprived strata in the society comes in to existence.

11.10 QUESTIONS

1. Assess the political rights and the constitutional guarantee in connection with Indian women.
2. Examine the reservation policy under the British in India.

3. Discuss briefly the evolution of reservation policy in India.
4. Explain the reservation policy through the Constitution of India.
5. Give a brief account of the Other Backward Classes Commission.

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SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN CONTEMPORARY INDIA

Unit Structure

- 12.0 Objectives
- 12.1 Introduction
- 12.2 Indian Space Research Programme
- 12.3 Atomic Energy Commission
- 12.4 Defence Research Development Organization (DRDO)
- 12.5 Green Revolution
- 12.6 White Revolution
- 12.7 C-DOT and Telecom Revolution
- 12.8 IT Revolution and Railway Computerisation
- 12.9 Blue Revolution
- 12.10 Science and Technology in the Health Sector
- 12.11 Summery
- 12.12 Questions
- 12.13 References and Additional Readings

12.0 OBJECTIVE

In this Unit, the Student will understand-

- Ancient, medieval and modern developments in science and technology
- Achievements of various Indian scientist
- Indian Space Research Programme and their achievements
- Green Revolution and White Revolution and their impact.
- IT Revolution and its significance
- Science and Technology in the Health Sector

12.1 INTRODUCTION

There was a widespread misconception among educated people that science originated only in Europe. Alchemists from Arab nations were occasionally mentioned, but India and China were barely recognised. But the reality remains that India is the nation of Kanad, Vishwamitra, C.V. Raman, Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam, and last but not least, Vishwamitra.

The growth of science in India throughout the ancient period has caught the attention of academics in the 20th century thanks to the activity of the Indian National Science Academy and other learned bodies. These studies and investigations make it clearer that India has always been a scientific nation, from Vedic times to modern eras, with the typical oscillations that might be expected of any nation. We don't actually come across any civilizations that gave knowledge and science the same elevated status as India did, with the possible exception of ancient Greece.

The Muslim reign which started from 13th century A.D. and lasted for almost 500 years, which came to an end after significant advancements in many fields of science and technology. There was a flourishing of sciences including mathematics, medicine, astrology, and astronomy. It is also true that kings and other state officials did not promote science as a state policy in mediaeval India. It is regrettable that science and technology were not properly pursued while they were being developed in Europe. Although enormous monuments, observatories, and writings were translated, the volume was too low by the time of Emperor Aurangzeb's death in 1707. It is also regretful that science and technology were not vigorously pursued while they were being developed in Europe. Although enormous monuments, observatories, and writings were translated, the volume was too low by the time of Emperor Aurangzeb's death in 1707. Compared to the west during this time In spite of this entire obstacle the sciences managed to survive and continued to flourish and still thriving at its own pace.

Before independence, numerous groundbreaking works have been produced in India by well-known scientists. In addition to the state-led initiatives, there were a lot of other private ones from people and political leaders who were zealous "nationalists" at the time. The formation of organizations like as the Indian Institute of Science, the Indian Institute for the Cultivation of Science, the Bose Institute, and others. Both in terms of scientific productivity and scientific collaboration, these institutions were quite successful. The foundation of contemporary science in India is still held by these colonial-era institutions. Indian scientists achieved significant advancements during the Indian Renaissance around the beginning of the 1900s, which was a time of the independence movement. After the nation gained its independence in 1947, this intrinsic aptitude to perform creatively in science was supported by an institutional system and a strong state backing. Since that time, the Indian government has made every effort to build a state-of-the-art infrastructure for science and technology.

The Nobel prize was established in 1901, four Indians have triumphed in bringing honour to their country. It was given out in recognition of exceptional achievement in the domains of economics, literature, peace, physiology or medicine, and physics, chemistry. Indians who have earned the prestigious award include Chandrasekhara Venkata Raman for physics in 1930, Har Gobind Khorana for physiology or medicine in 1968, Subrahmanyan Chandrasekhar for physics in 1983, and Venkatraman Ramakrishnan for chemistry in 2009. Thus Department of Science and

Technology played a vital role in the promotion of science and technology in India.

India has developed nuclear power plants, obtained nuclear weapon capability, launched missions to the moon and Mars, created satellites, and developed a variety of missiles to demonstrate its firepower over the previous few decades. These are without a doubt all wonderful accomplishments of Indian scientists and technologists. India is now self-sufficient in producing food, milk, fruits and vegetables, pharmaceuticals, and vaccinations thanks to scientific research and kind public policy. The lives of common Indians have both directly and indirectly been impacted by all of this, which has had significant social and economic effects. Technology advancements in communications and information have allowed for accurate weather forecasting and cyclone early warning, saving thousands of lives. All of them are outcomes of investments made in scientific research shortly after independence and a network between science and politics established decades before. In 1947, 0.1 percent of the GNP was allocated to scientific research. Within a decade, it increased to 0.5 percent. In addition to establishing scientific institutes, scientists like Homi Jehangir Bhabha, Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis, and Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar contributed to the development of the country's policies.

Early in the 1960s, when satellite applications were still in the experimental stage even in the United States, India began its space research efforts. Dr. Vikram Sarabhai, the man behind the inception of the Indian space programme, was quick to see the advantages of space technologies for India after the live broadcast of the Tokyo Olympic Games by the American satellite "Syncom-3" across the Pacific demonstrated the power of communication satellites.

The Indian National Committee for Space Research, led by Dr. Sarabhai and Dr. Ramanathan, was established by the Department of Atomic Energy in 1962 as a first step. Later, on August 15, 1969, the Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) was established. The development of space technology and its application to varied national needs is ISRO's main goal. It ranks among the six largest space agencies worldwide. In 1972, the Department of Space (DOS) and the Space Commission were established, and on June 1 of that year, ISRO was placed under DOS.

Since its inception, the Indian space programme has been carefully planned and contains three different components, including satellites for remote sensing and communication, a space transportation system, and application programmes. The Indian National Satellite (INSAT) for communications, television broadcasting, and weather services, as well as the Indian Remote Sensing Satellite (IRS) for resource management and disaster support, have both been established as key operational systems.

12.2 INDIAN SPACE RESEARCH PROGRAMME

ISRO is a significant organisation in India that leads the country's efforts to advance space science research while simultaneously making significant contributions to the country's growth through initiatives in the fields of education, agriculture, communication, and defence. The Indian Space Research Organization, also known as ISRO, was established in 1969 to support the creation of an independent Indian space programme. Currently, it is among the six largest space agencies in the world. Through a network of centres, offices, and research institutes spread across the nation, ISRO maintains one of the largest fleets of remote sensing (IRS) and communication (INSAT) satellites to serve the needs of the country. The following are some of the tasks performed by ISRO such as: satellite broadcasting, weather forecasting, disaster management, geographic information systems, navigation, cartography (maps), telemedicine, and remote learning.

The space era began in the 1960s with space research. Each nation was competing with the others in space research. Jawaharlal Nehru created the Indian National Committee for Space Research (INCOSPAR) under the Department of Atomic Energy in 1962. (DAE).

Dr. Vikram Sarabhai, a renowned scientist, who was called as 'Father of Indian Space research' played a significant part in this advancement. He recognised the value of space research and was convinced of its ability to advance a country.

Indian Space Research Programme began at Thumba Equatorial Rocket Launching Station (TERLS) located at Thumba near Thiruvananthapuram. Thumba was chosen as a rocket launch site because it is located where the earth's geomagnetic equator passes through. Thumba is located near the earth's geomagnetic equator. The first sounding rocket was launched from TERLS on November 21, 1963. The US provided the first rocket, a Nike-Apache. A sounding rocket is a rocket used to measure the upper atmosphere's physical characteristics. The Satellite Telecommunication Earth Station was set up at Ahmedabad on January 1, 1967 and India's first indigenous sounding rocket, RH-75, was launched on November 20, 1967.

In 1969, the INCOSPAR evolved into ISRO. The Department of Space was established in 1972, ISRO joined it and has remained a part of it ever since. The Space Department reports directly to the Prime Minister of the country.

The Satellite Instructional Television Experiment (SITE), which was carried out in 1975–1976, was carried out. It was hailed as "the world's largest sociological experiment." The "Kheda Communications Project (KCP)" was the one that came after it. It served as a field laboratory for the transmission of need-based and location-specific programme in Gujarat State.

On April 19, 1975, the first Indian satellite, Aryabhata, was launched. It was launched from the former Soviet Union.. It gave India the foundation for learning about and designing satellites. The ISRO and Post and Telegraphs Department (P&T) collaborated on the Satellite Telecommunication Experiments Project (STEP), which used the Franco-German Symphonie satellite, from January 1, 1977, to January 1, 1979. STEP was intended as a follow-up to SITE, which concentrated on television, and was for telecom experimentation. On June 7, 1979, Bhaskara-I, an experimental earth observation satellite, was launched into space. On April 10, 1982, the Indian National Satellite System (INSAT)-1A was launched. This method was used for meteorology, broadcasting, and communication. On March 17, 1988, the IRS-1A, the first operational remote sensing satellite of India, was launched.

On April 18, 2001, the Geosynchronous Satellite Launch Vehicle (GSLV)-D1 launched its first test flight from Sriharikota carrying the GSAT-1 satellite. It was created with the larger, more demanding geosynchronous communication satellites in mind. On October 22, 2008, the CHANDRAYAAN-1 spacecraft was successfully launched by PSLV-C11 from Sriharikota. Chandrayaan-1 is a spacecraft that is exploring the Moon scientifically. In Sanskrit and Hindi, the term Chandrayaan, which refers to the lunar spacecraft, means "Chandra- Moon, Yaan- vehicle". The first planetary research and exploration mission from India is called Chandrayaan-1. Up till August 28, 2009, Chandrayaan-1 was in operation for 312 days. On November 5, 2013, PSLV-C25 successfully launched the Mangalyaan spacecraft for the Mars Orbiter Mission from Sriharikota.

On July 22, 2019, the GSLV MkIII-M1 rocket, a satellite launch vehicle, launched the Chandrayaan-2 spacecraft from the Satish Dhawan Space Centre in Sriharikota in Andhra Pradesh. It is India's second lunar mission, called Chandrayaan-2. It has a Rover, Lander (Vikram), and Orbiter that are all completely indigenous (Pragyan). The Vikram lander contains the Pragyan Rover. The science packages of Chandrayaan-2 will help us to comprehend the Moon's history and evolution in greater detail.

12.3 ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION

The Department of Atomic Energy (DAE) was setup on August 3, 1954 under the direct charge of the Prime Minister through a Presidential Order. Subsequently, the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) was constituted inside the Department of Atomic Energy in line with a government resolution dated March 1, 1958. A copy of this Resolution was also placed on the Lok Sabha's table by the Prime Minister Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru) on March 24, 1958. According to the Resolution creating the AEC, the Secretary to the Government of India's Department of Atomic Energy serves as the Commission's ex-officio Chairman. On the Chairman of the AEC's recommendation, and following the Prime Minister's consent, the other members of the AEC are chosen for each year.

12.4 DEFENCE RESEARCH DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION (DRDO)

The government of Independent India setup the Defence Science Organization in 1948 to advise and assist the Defence Services on scientific problems and to undertake research in areas related to defence. The Defence Research & Development Organization (DRDO) was setup in 1958, by

merging the units of Defence Science Organization with the then existing Technical Development Establishments of the three Services. Subsequently, a separate Department of Defence R&D was formed in 1980, to improve administrative efficiency. The Department's goal is to make defence systems and weaponry technologically independent. To achieve this, the Department is required to design, develop, and oversee the production of cutting-edge weapon systems, platforms, sensors, and auxiliary equipment to meet the needs of the Armed Forces as well as to offer support in areas of military sciences to increase the combat effectiveness of the troops. Center for Military Airworthiness and Certification, the Department of Defence Research and Development carries out numerous R&D projects and programmes (CEMILAC). Additionally, it oversees the Aeronautical Development Agency (ADA), a department-funded organisation working on the design and development of light combat aircraft (LCA). These facilities and laboratories operate on many programmes and projects in the areas of engineering systems, agricultural and life sciences, advanced materials and composites, naval research and development, and weaponry, missiles, combat vehicles, electronics and instrumentation. In certain areas, they also run specialist training programmes. The programmes are carried out by a staff of over 30,000 people, including over 6,000 scientists and engineers, who work on various programmes, which are funded by a budget of roughly Rs. 30,000 million.

Apart from all these there were several other defining contributions of Indian science and technology since 1947:

12.5 GREEN REVOLUTION

In 1947, India produced about 6 million tonnes of wheat which was grossly inadequate to meet the total demand forcing the country to depend on large scale imports. With measures such as land reforms, improvements in irrigation facilities, fertilizer production and Intensive Agriculture District Programme, wheat production rose to 12 million in 1964 – which was still insufficient to feed all Indians. While all this was going on, plant breeder Benjamin Peary Pal at the Indian Agriculture Research Institute was working on improving wheat varieties to achieve disease resistance and yield. The first breakthrough came in 1961 when a dwarf spring wheat variety with the Norin-10 dwarfing gene – developed by Normal Borlaug in Mexico – was grown in IARI. It had reduced height but long panicles. Later semi-dwarf varieties were grown in farmers' fields, yielding great results. These developments led to launch of the High Yielding Varieties

Programme covering not just wheat but rice, maize, sorghum and pearl millet. The All India Coordinated Wheat Research Project under Pal remains an outstanding example of agriculture research. By 1970, wheat production went up to 20 million tonnes and rice production to 42 million tonnes.

Thus, the adoption of genetically improved seeds, which produced hybrid crops more suited to severe climates, more responsive to fertilisers, and overall more high-yielding and efficient, was another significant technological innovation that altered agriculture during the Green Revolution and made India self-sufficient in foodgrain production in the decades to come.

12.6 WHITE REVOLUTION

At the time of the independence, India was not only importing foodgrains but also milk products like baby food, butter and cheese. In 1955, India was importing 3000 tonnes of infant food and 500 tonnes of butter from European dairy producers. Under Tribhuvandas Patel's direction, the Kaira District Cooperative Milk Producers Union Limited was established in 1946, which marked the beginning of the dairy movement. Verghese Kurien arrived in Anand in 1949 to fulfil the requirement set down in the bond he had previously made with the government, which called for him to pursue a higher education in America on a government scholarship. He persisted, and in 1950 he was appointed general manager of the cooperative. The dairy had to deal with inconsistent milk production. The dairy was faced with an issue of varying milk production since surplus milk would not find buyers. As the buffalo milk cannot be processed into milk powder, European dairy companies were unwilling to give up their technology. Young dairy engineer H. M. Dalaya, who collaborated with Kurien in Anand, conducted tests to show how buffalo milk might be turned into milk powder. In order to create powder from buffalo milk for the first time ever, Dalaya put together an apparatus utilising a spray paint gun and an air heater. Later, he demonstrated that a machine sold in stores, the Niro Atomizer, could accomplish the same task. The nation of India became self-sufficient as a result of this, which also provided the groundwork for a national milk grid and the country's dairy revolution.

12.7 C-DOT AND TELECOM REVOLUTION

Like most other industries, the telecom sector also relied on supplies from global businesses, and new technology could not enter the market due to exorbitant costs and a lack of foreign exchange. Only a small number of businesses had the switching technology, which was seen as strategic. In the 1970s, India had a lengthy waiting list for a phone line, and connectivity in rural areas was terrible. The Telecom Research Centre (TRC) launched the first attempt to create an indigenous electronic exchange in the 1960s, and the first success came in 1973 with the creation of a 100-line electronic switch.

At about the same time, scientists at the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research (TIFR), along with those from IIT Bombay, developed a digital Automatic Electronic Switch for the army. These initiatives gained momentum in 1984 when the government, under the direction of Sam Pitroda, formed the Centre for Development of Telematics (C-DOT) by combining scientific teams from TRC and TIFR. Indians created a rural telephone exchange that could function in extreme temperatures and without air conditioning. The monopoly of multinational goliaths was broken and rural areas quickly gained connectivity thanks to the open transfer of technologies created in the public sector to private businesses. Numerous developing countries adopted C-DOT exchange.

These initiatives gained momentum in 1984 when the government, under the direction of Sam Pitroda, gathered scientific teams from TRC and TIFR to form the Centre for Development of Telematics (C-DOT). Indians created a rural telephone exchange that could function in extreme weather and without air conditioning. The monopoly of multinational goliaths was broken and rural areas quickly gained connectivity thanks to the open transfer of technologies created in the public sector to private businesses. Numerous developing countries adopted C-DOT exchange.

12.8 IT REVOLUTION AND RAILWAY COMPUTERISATION

IT revolution and railroad computerization: IBM and ICL, two global corporations, controlled India's data processing market in the decades following independence. These two companies' data processing equipment was used by the government, the public sector, the armed forces, and research institutions.

These companies brought old and discarded machines to India and leased them at high rentals. India needed latest computers for applications like National Sample Surveys, nuclear reactor development and other research. In order to break the monopoly of big companies and spur indigenous software and hardware development, the Department of Electronics was established in 1970. Public sector companies like Electronics Corporation of India Limited (ECIL), Computer Maintenance Corporation (CMC) and state electronics development corporations were established. As a result, private industry benefited from the acquired skills and knowledge. The Railways' 1986-launched passenger reservation programme was the industry's first significant use of information technology. It was the largest experiment of its kind that showed how technology can enhance productivity, reduce corruption, and impact millions of people's lives without requiring them to own a digital device.

12.9 BLUE REVOLUTION

The 'blue revolution' refers to adoption of a set of measures to boost production of fish and other marine products. Adoption of a series of initiatives to boost the production of fish and other marine goods is referred to as the "blue revolution." The Fish Farmers' Development

Agency was officially established in 1970 as part of the Fifth Five-Year Plan, marking the beginning of the initiative. Later, to support aquaculture in several states, similar development organisations were established for brackish water development. All of this was done to introduce new methods for breeding, raising, and marketing fish as well as to start producing other marine products including prawns, oysters, seaweed, pearls, and other marine items utilising new methods and scientific inputs. Numerous novel technologies created by research facilities affiliated with the Indian Council of Agriculture Research (ICAR) have been disseminated to fish farmers across the nation.

Robotics:

It is the branch of technology that deals with the design, construction, operation, structural depositions, manufacture and application of robots. Today, robotics is rapidly growing field and it is continue in research, design, and build new robots that serve various practical purposes such as Military Robots, Industrial Robots, Agri-Robots, Medical Robots , Domestic Robots etc.

12.10 SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN THE HEALTH SECTOR

Scientific advancements and their practical applications have improved people's health and slowed the trend of high mortality and fertility rates in India. In the Indian context, science and technology laid the groundwork for the largest-ever cumulative advancements in human health over the previous century. In 1950-51, there were only 725 Primary Health Centres and in 1999, these rose to 22,446. According to the Rural Health Statistics-2019, the country has 30,045 PHC that are operational in both urban and rural locations. It represents a significant victory for India.

The 2019–21 National Family Health Survey (NFHS–5) has provided a conflicting picture of the nation's health indicators. On the one hand, it shows a decline in infant mortality rates (IMR) (40.7 in NFHS 4 to 35.2 in NFHS 5) and 0 (49.7 in NFHS 4 to 41.9 in NFHS 5), but on the other, it shows a rise in anaemia among women and children, which will have an effect on malnutrition in the future. The life expectancy of an average Indian was 33 years in 1951 which increased to 69.66 years in 2019.

Drugs and vaccines manufacturing:

Manufacturing of pharmaceuticals and vaccines: Due to Indian companies' ability to provide both developing and developed nations with affordable pharmaceuticals and vaccinations, India is now referred to as the "pharmacy of the world." The Indian pharmaceutical business has come a long way since the days when foreign corporations predominated and pharmaceuticals were prohibitively expensive. The federal government founded Hindustan Antibiotics Limited in 1954, followed by the Indian Drugs and Pharmaceuticals Limited (IDPL), with help from the Soviet Union, in an effort to loosen the grip of international firms. Along with

national labs like the National Chemicals Laboratory (NCL), the Regional Research Laboratory Hyderabad (now known as the Indian Institute of Chemical Technology), and the Central Drug Research Institute, these public sector organisations were crucial in developing the knowledge base and human resources needed.

The Patent Act of 1970 allowed for the creation of duplicates of patented medicines using different manufacturing techniques simply because it is the only recognised process patents. CSIR labs developed processes for a range of drugs – ciprofloxacin, diclofenac, salbutamol, omeprazole, azithromycin etc. – and transferred the technology to private companies. All of this contributed to the growth of domestic R&D and manufacturing capabilities over the following two decades.

Control of Communicable Diseases:

The number of deaths from diseases like Malaria, Smallpox, Tuberculosis, has been declined.

Smallpox: Since April 1977, India has been free of this disease. The health care programme had made significant progress.

Malaria: At the time of independence, malaria claimed the lives of more than 10 lakh people annually. We were able to control it because of advances in science and technology, along with greater planning. In 1958, the government launched the National Malaria Eradication Programme, which was a significant step in combating the disease.

Polio: India received 'Polio-free certification' from World Health Organization on 27 March 2014, with the last polio case being reported in Howrah in West Bengal on 13 January 2011.

Tuberculosis: The National TB Control Program was established in 1955 to combat the disease. In different parts of the nation, new TB hospitals have been established. In April 1977, the revised national tuberculosis control programme was introduced. In order to eliminate tuberculosis in India by 2025, the National Strategic Plan for Tuberculosis Elimination (2017–2025) aims to achieve a rapid drop in TB burden, morbidity, and death.

Ayushman Bharat Digital Mission (ABDM): It was launched in September 2021 is a necessary intervention to enable a National Digital Health Ecosystem. There are numerous ramifications for how this mission is carried out. For example, developing a digital health ecosystem will make it possible to establish health provider registries, assisting in the eradication of quack medicine. Digital prescriptions can aid in preventing patients from being prescribed by unlicensed doctors. The creation of an individual health ID for each person, the advantages of documenting patient case histories, diagnostic tests performed and their results, test intervals, etc., all of which are lost in a pen-and-paper system and suffer from patient ignorance. Even the "Make in India" project is also promoting the domestic production of medical devices and aids in

reducing the cost to patients of items like implants and stents, which were previously imported.

Thus, with technologically driven advances, the Indian healthcare sector is becoming increasingly appealing to investors.

CoWIN Platform:

The platform, which handled 2.5 crore vaccines in a day at a load of more than 800 vaccinations per second during the epidemic, has proven to be effective in India. Without it, India would not have been able to reach the milestone of 100 crore vaccines in such a short period of time.

India has released its CoWIN Platform, a digital platform for the Covid19 immunisation effort, open-source so that any nation may utilise it. Perhaps for the first time ever, a nation made a software platform created by its public sector available to the entire world.

Despite not getting much support India's pushed for COVID vaccine patent waiver, medicines at WTO.

This strategy demonstrates how India views the globe as one big family and translates the guiding principle of "Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam" while also highlighting the significance of healthcare in the development of a nation.

Simply expressed, technology is a means of harnessing and exploiting our knowledge of nature and resources to enhance human welfare, the environment, or engage in other socio-economic activities.

12.11 SUMMARY

India has made significant strides in science and technology in recent years, positioning itself as a key player in the global scientific community. India has also developed its own regional navigation system called NavIC (Navigation with Indian Constellation), which provides accurate positioning and timing services within the country and the surrounding region. Indian scientist and their important role played in the advancement of all factors of science and technology in Indian and also global level. However, there is still a lot of work to be done to ensure that these advancements benefit all segments of the population and help to drive inclusive economic growth.

12.12 QUESTIONS

1. Describe in details various experiments of Indian Space Research program.
2. Write a note on the Defence Research Development Organization (DRDO).
3. Discuss the role of science and technology in white and green revolution.

4. Analyse the impact of Telecom and IT revolution.
5. Review the role of science and technology in the development of health sector.

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EDUCATION

Unit Structure

- 13.0 Objectives
- 13.1 Introduction
- 13.2 Modern Education in India: The Evolution of the System through various policies
- 13.3 The Education related development programmers
- 13.4 Description of the education system in India, from earlier stages to Graduation & Post-Graduation, Graduation
- 13.5 The New Education Policy
- 13.6 India's Educational Governing Bodies
- 13.7. Summary
- 13.8 Questions
- 13.9 Reverences and Additional Readings

13.0 OBJECTIVES

In this Unit, the Student will understand-

- Various Education commissions and their achievements in pre and post independence period.
- Government's education related programs
- India's Educational Governing Bodies and their functions
- Concept and various provisions of The New Education Policy

13.1 INTRODUCTION

Education is the process of acquiring knowledge, skills and attitudes through various forms of learning. The term 'Education' comes from the Latin words: 'Educare' and 'Educere'. Educare means to inculcate, nourish, and bring forth the sublime qualities in a child. Educere means to lead out. It's a powerful instrument to inculcate the true sense and scientific temper that defines the mental perception of humans. A person with scientific perception is open-minded and does not take anything for granted. Traditional Hindu education was limited to Brahmin families and favored high-caste boys. This elitist trend continued under Mughal and British rule. Nehruvianism sought to address social inequality through socialist policies and the promotion of secularism. Development efforts in India have been focused on reducing poverty, improving infrastructure, and increasing access to education and healthcare, among other things. However, the effects of elitism have persisted in some sectors of Indian society, hindering efforts to achieve more equitable development. The

growth of education in modern India can be traced back to the colonial period when the British introduced a modern education system to India. However, it was only after India gained independence in 1947 that the country witnessed significant growth in education.

13.2 MODERN EDUCATION IN INDIA: THE EVOLUTION OF THE SYSTEM THROUGH VARIOUS POLICIES

The education system in India has undergone significant changes over the years, from ancient times when education was limited to a select few, to the modern era where education is a fundamental right for all citizens. This evolution of the education system has been driven by various policies and initiatives taken by the government.

Pre-Independence Era: Before India gained independence in 1947, education was limited to a few elite sections of society, and the majority of the population was illiterate. However, various social reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Mahatma Pule and others, advocated for the spread of education to all sections of society.

Macaulay's Minute on Education (1835): Lord Macaulay, the then Governor-General of India, introduced the English education system, which aimed at producing a class of people who could serve as intermediaries between the British rulers and the Indian population. This system laid the foundation of the modern education system in India, and English became the medium of instruction in schools and colleges.

The Wood's Dispatch (1854): The Wood's Dispatch is also considered as 'Magna-Carta' of English Education in India. It aimed at the expansion of the education system in India, especially in rural areas, and the establishment of universities in different regions of the country.

The Government of India Act (1919): This act is also known as the 'Montagu-Chelmsford' Reforms, introduced a system of provincial autonomy in education, which allowed provinces to set up their own universities and educational institutions.

Post-Independence Era: After gaining independence, India's government made education a fundamental right, and various initiatives were taken to ensure that education reached all sections of society.

In Post-independence, the Indian government made education a top priority and established several educational institutions at all levels, from primary to higher education. The first Five Year Plan (1951-56) laid the foundation for the development of education in the country by focusing on increasing access to education, reducing illiteracy rates, and improving the quality of education. The government also appointed several commissions to review and recommend changes to the education system in the country. These commissions included:

The Radhakrishnan Commission (1948-1949): This commission was headed by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan and was tasked with examining the state of university education in India. The commission recommended the establishment of a University Grants Commission (UGC) to provide financial support to universities and to promote higher education in the country. Also this commission recommended the establishment of new universities, the reorganization of existing universities, and the introduction of new disciplines and courses.

The Mudaliar Commission (1952-1953): The Government of India established the Secondary Education Commission on 23 September 1952 under the chairmanship of Dr. Lakshmanaswamy Mudaliar. It was called the Mudaliar Commission after him. This commission was headed by Dr. A.L. Mudaliar and was tasked with examining the medical education system in India. This commission was appointed to review the state of secondary education in India and to make recommendations for its improvement. The commission recommended the establishment of new secondary schools, the improvement of curriculum and teacher training, and the promotion of vocational education. The commission recommended the establishment of a centralized medical council to regulate medical education in the country.

The UGC (1953): The UGC was established based on the recommendations of the Radhakrishnan Commission. The UGC is responsible for providing financial support to universities and colleges in India. It promotes the research and maintain the standards in higher education in India

The Govt. of India acThe Kothari Commission (1964-1966): This commission was headed by Dr. D.S. Kothari and was tasked with examining the state of education in India. The commission recommended a number of reforms, including the expansion of primary education, the establishment of vocational and technical education programs, and the introduction of a common curriculum for all students up to the 10+2 level.

National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT): NCERT was established in the year 1961 by the Government of India, with the aim of improving the quality of school education in the country. Its headquarters is located in New Delhi, India. NCERT is an autonomous organization that works under the Ministry of Education, Government of India. Its primary objectives include conducting research in various aspects of education, developing educational materials and resources for students and teachers, providing training and support to teachers, and promoting innovations in the field of education. NCERT is also responsible for developing the National Curriculum Framework (NCF) for school education in India

Based on the recommendations of these commissions, the government of India has framed several educational policies over the years, including the National Policy on Education 1968, the National Policy on Education 1986, and the National Education Policy 2020. These policies have aimed

to improve the quality of education in India and to make it more accessible and inclusive for all students.

National Policy on Education 1968:

This policy was introduced to provide a comprehensive framework for the development of education in India. The policy aimed to promote national integration, social and gender equality, and the development of scientific and technological capabilities. The policy also introduced the concept of "Operation Blackboard" to provide basic facilities to primary schools.

The NPE 1968 aimed at providing free and compulsory education for all children up to the age of 14 years.

The policy recommended the establishment of a common educational structure, which would integrate vocational and academic streams.

It advocated for a national system of education, with the medium of instruction being the mother tongue or the regional language at the primary level.

The policy emphasized the need for the education system to be relevant to the socio-economic needs of the country.

It called for the promotion of science education and the development of scientific temper among the masses.

The NPE 1968 also highlighted the importance of education in promoting national integration and social cohesion.

National Policy on Education 1986:

The NPE 1986 aimed at improving the quality of education in India and making it more relevant to the needs of the country.

The policy emphasized the need for a decentralized system of education, with greater involvement of local bodies, community organizations, and parents in the management of schools.

It recommended the introduction of a 10+2+3 system of education, with 10 years of general education followed by two years of specialized education and 3 years of higher education.

The policy highlighted the importance of teacher training and professional development.

It called for the introduction of vocational education at the secondary level to provide opportunities for gainful employment.

The NPE 1986 also emphasized the need to promote education among disadvantaged groups, including girls, SCs, STs, and minorities.

National Curriculum Framework (2005):

This framework was introduced to provide a roadmap for the development of a new curriculum for school education in India. The framework emphasized the need to promote critical thinking, creativity, and problem-solving skills among students.

National Education Policy 2020:

The NEP 2020 aims at transforming the education system in India and making it more inclusive, holistic, and flexible.

The policy emphasizes the importance of early childhood care and education, with a focus on the development of cognitive, social, and emotional skills.

It recommends a new 5+3+3+4 curricular and pedagogical structure, with five years of foundational education, followed by three years of preparatory education, three years of middle education, and four years of secondary education.

The policy highlights the importance of multidisciplinary and vocational education, with a focus on experiential learning and the development of 21st-century skills.

It calls for the introduction of a new regulatory framework for higher education, with greater autonomy and accountability for institutions.

The NEP 2020 also emphasizes the need to promote research and innovation in education and to harness the potential of technology for teaching and learning.

In conclusion, the National Policy on Education 1968, the National Policy on Education 1986, and the National Education Policy 2020 represent significant milestones in the development of the education system in India. These policies have aimed at improving access to education, promoting quality and relevance, and addressing the needs of a changing society. The NEP 2020 represents a major shift in the education system in India, with a focus on a more flexible and holistic approach to learning that prepares students for the challenges of the 21st century.

The Government of India also made efforts to bring the marginalized groups into the mainstream of education. It has implemented various educational programs over the years to provide access to education to all, especially to children from marginalized sections of society.

Check your Progress:

1) Review the various education commissions in pre-independence era.

2) Describe the various education commissions and their provisions.

13.3 THE EDUCATION RELATED DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMERS

Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA):

Launched in 2001, Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan aimed at providing free and compulsory education elementary education to all children in the age group of 6-14 years and reducing the dropout rate. The program focused on bringing marginalized groups such as girls, children with disabilities, and children from socially and economically disadvantaged backgrounds into the mainstream of education. SSA provided support for infrastructure development, teacher training, and curriculum development. The program also focused on promoting community participation in education and improving the quality of education.

District Primary Education Programme (DPEP):

Launched in 1994, the District Primary Education Programme aimed to provide access to quality education to all children in the age group of 6-14 years. The program was implemented in a phased manner across 272 districts in India, covering around 85% of the country's rural areas. The main objectives of the program were to provide universal primary education, reduce dropout rates, and improve the quality of education. Under the program, the government provided financial and technical assistance to states for infrastructure development, teacher training, and curriculum development. The DPEP played a vital role in improving the education system in India, leading to an increase in enrollment rates and a reduction in the gender gap in primary education.

Operation Blackboard or Operation Digital Board (ODB):

Operation Blackboard was Launched in 1987 to improve the quality of primary education by providing essential infrastructure and basic amenities such as blackboards, chalk, and desks in government schools across India.

In 2019, The Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) has launched Operation Digital Board (ODB) in place of Operation Blackboard, to leverage technology in order to boost quality education. The objective of the program was to enhance the quality of education by providing digital classrooms, e-resources and teacher training to schools

across the country. ODB aims to have digital and interactive boards in every classroom. The main objective of ODB is to provide a 360-degree solution for digital learning, which included not only the provision of digital boards but also teacher training, assessment tools, and e-content. The initiative aimed to transform traditional classrooms into interactive and engaging learning spaces, where students could learn using digital tools and resources.

Mahila Samakhya Scheme:

This scheme was launched in 1988 with the aim of empowering women through education. The scheme focuses on mobilizing and empowering women from marginalized communities to participate in social and economic activities. The scheme uses a participatory approach, where women are involved in planning, implementation, and monitoring of the programme. The scheme provides for a range of activities such as literacy classes, vocational training, and health care services.

Special Girl-Oriented Program:

Launched in 1992, the Special Girl-Oriented Program aimed to provide access to education to girls from socially and economically disadvantaged backgrounds. The program aimed to promote the enrollment and retention of girls in schools by providing them with a conducive learning environment. The program provided support for the construction of girls' schools, the provision of textbooks, uniforms, and scholarships, and the introduction of special programs for girls' education. The program also aimed to empower girls by promoting gender equality and providing them with life skills education.

Mid-Day Meal Scheme (MDMS):

Launched in 1995, the Mid-Day Meal Scheme aimed to provide free meals to children in government schools across India. The program was introduced to promote enrollment and retention of children in schools, especially those from socially and economically disadvantaged backgrounds.

In 2021, it was renamed as 'Pradhan Mantri Poshan Shakti Nirman' scheme (PM Poshan Scheme) and it also covers students of balvatikas (children in the 3–5-year age group) from pre-primary classes. Provides Millets (nutri-cereals, which include Jowar, Bajra, and Ragi, are rich in minerals and B-complex vitamins, as well as proteins and antioxidants,) to every child within the age group of six to fourteen years studying in classes I to VIII who enrolls and attends the school. The scheme provides a hot and nutritious meal to children every school day, which has significantly contributed to reducing the dropout rates and improving the health and nutrition of children.

Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya (KGBV):

KGBV is a scheme launched in 2004 aimed at providing education to girls from disadvantaged sections of society in rural areas. The scheme focuses on setting up residential schools for girls from Class VI to Class VIII. The schools provide a safe and enabling environment for girls to learn and grow. The scheme provides for a range of facilities such as boarding and lodging, health care, and uniforms to the students.

National Programme for Education of Girls at Elementary Level (NPEGEL): This programme was launched in 2008 with the aim of providing quality education to girls in elementary schools in educationally backward blocks. The programme focuses on improving access to education, reducing gender disparities, and enhancing the quality of education for girls. The scheme provides additional resources such as teachers, teaching-learning materials, and other facilities to the schools.

Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan (RMSA):

Launched in 2009, Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan aimed to improve access to secondary education for all children in the age group of 14-18 years. The program focused on bringing children from socially and economically disadvantaged backgrounds into the mainstream of education by providing support for infrastructure development, teacher training, and curriculum development. RMSA also aimed to promote vocational education and skill development to enable children to acquire relevant skills for employment.

National Scholarship Portal (NSP):

Launched in 2015, the National Scholarship Portal is a one-stop platform for all scholarships offered by the government of India. The portal aims to provide financial assistance to students from socially and economically disadvantaged backgrounds to pursue their education. The portal offers scholarships for students pursuing higher education, technical education, and research.

The Right to Education Act (2009):

This act made education a fundamental right for all children in the age group of 6-14 years, and the government was required to provide free and compulsory education to them.

The evolution of the education system in India has been shaped by various policies and initiatives taken by the government, with the aim of providing education to all sections of society. These programs have played a crucial role in bringing marginalized groups into the mainstream of education, promoting equity and inclusivity in the education system. However, despite these efforts, there are still significant challenges in ensuring quality education and equal opportunities for all.

Check your Progress:

1. Describe the concept and nature of Sarv Shiksha Abhiyan and Mid day meal.

2. Comment on the Operation Blackboard or Operation Digital Board.

13.4 DESCRIPTION OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM IN INDIA, FROM EARLIER STAGES TO GRADUATION & POST-GRADUATION, GRADUATION

Pre-Primary Education:

Usually for children aged 3 to 6 years

Focuses on early childhood development, play-based learning, and socialization

Not mandatory but becoming increasingly common

Primary Education:

For children aged 6 to 11 years

Mandatory and free in government schools

Curriculum includes language, math, science, social studies, and physical education

Secondary Education:

For children aged 11 to 16 years

Divided into two stages: middle school (classes 6-8) and high school (classes 9-10)

Curriculum includes more specialized subjects such as Science, Maths, history, geography, economics, and additional languages

Higher Secondary Education: For children aged 16 to 18 years (classes 11 & 12)

Specialisation in Arts, Commerce, Science, MCVC (Minimum Competency Vocational Courses) or Diploma Courses

Students prepare for Board Exams at the end of class 10 and 12

Higher Education:

Higher education: generally of three levels:

After completing secondary education, students can pursue higher education in colleges and universities

Includes Undergraduate, → Postgraduate → MPhil/PhD (Doctoral Programs). To cater to the requirements of higher education, the government has introduced Rashtriya Uchhatar Shiksha Abhiyan (RUSA).

Undergraduate programs are typically 3-4 years long, while postgraduate programs can be 1-2 years or longer

Fields of study include science, engineering, medicine, business, law, arts, and humanities

Post-Graduation:

Students who have completed their undergraduate program can pursue a postgraduate program

Includes Master's degree and PhD (Doctor of Philosophy)

Generally, a Master's degree is 2 years long and a PhD can take 3-5 years or more

Involves specialized study and research in a specific field of interest

Overall, the Indian education system is designed to provide a broad range of knowledge and skills to students, starting from the early stages of childhood and progressing to higher education opportunities.

13.5 THE NEW EDUCATION POLICY

The New Education Policy (NEP) of India was introduced in 2020 and is applicable from 2023. It is a comprehensive framework for the development of education in India, aiming to transform the education system and make it more inclusive, equitable, and accessible to all. The NEP covers various aspects of education, including early childhood education, school education, higher education, vocational education, and adult education.

Under the NEP, the focus is on a holistic and multidisciplinary approach to education, with an emphasis on experiential and inquiry-based learning. The policy aims to promote critical thinking, creativity, and problem-

solving skills among students, along with a strong foundation in core subjects like math, science, and languages.

In terms of higher education, the NEP aims to transform universities into multidisciplinary institutions, offering a wide range of undergraduate and postgraduate programs. The policy also emphasizes the importance of research and innovation in higher education and aims to create a robust ecosystem for research and development in India.

Overall, the NEP is a significant step towards modernizing and transforming the education system in India and preparing the youth for the challenges of the 21st century.

The description of the education system in India, from earlier stages to graduation and post-graduation, according to the NEP:

Early Childhood Education (ages 3-8):

The NEP emphasizes the importance of early childhood education and aims to ensure that all children in this age group have access to quality pre-school education. The focus is on developing cognitive, social, emotional, and physical skills through play-based and activity-based learning.

Foundational Stage (ages 9-12):

The foundational stage includes classes 1-5, and the focus is on building foundational literacy and numeracy skills, as well as critical thinking and problem-solving abilities. The NEP emphasizes the use of mother tongue or regional language as the medium of instruction in this stage.

Preparatory Stage (ages 13-15):

The preparatory stage includes classes 6-8 and aims to provide a broad-based education that includes languages, mathematics, science, social sciences, art, and physical education. The NEP emphasizes the need for experiential and multidisciplinary learning in this stage.

Secondary Stage (ages 16-18):

The secondary stage includes classes 9-12, and the focus is on providing a holistic education that prepares students for higher education and the workforce. The NEP proposes a flexible and multidisciplinary curriculum that allows students to choose subjects based on their interests and aptitudes.

Higher Education (Graduation and Post-Graduation):

Higher education in India includes undergraduate (UG) and postgraduate (PG) programs. UG programs typically last for three years, while PG programs can range from one to three years depending on the field of study. The NEP proposes several reforms for higher education, including a shift towards a more multidisciplinary approach, greater emphasis on

research and innovation, and the promotion of vocational education and skills development.

Overall, the NEP aims to transform the education system in India by providing a more flexible, multidisciplinary, and inclusive approach to learning, from early childhood education to higher education.

Check your progress:-

1. Describe the various recommendation of New Education Policy, 2020

13.6 INDIA'S EDUCATIONAL GOVERNING BODIES

In India, the education sector is governed by a variety of boards and councils at the state, national, and international levels. Each of these educational governing bodies has its own set of objectives, policies, and procedures for regulating and promoting education in the country. Some of the most prominent educational governing bodies in India are:

Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE):

CBSE is a national level board of education in India for public and private schools, managed and controlled by the Union Government of India. It conducts two major examinations – All India Secondary School Examination (AISSE) for class 10th and All India Senior School Certificate Examination (AISSCE) for class 12th. It also provides curriculum, textbooks, and teaching aids to schools. CBSE is headquartered in New Delhi and is considered to be one of the most prestigious boards in the country. CBSE also conducts several other exams like Joint Entrance Examination (JEE) and National Eligibility cum Entrance Test (NEET).

Indian Certificate of Secondary Education (ICSE):

ICSE is a private, non-governmental board of school education in India that conducts examinations for class 10th and 12th. The ICSE syllabus is considered to be more comprehensive and challenging than the CBSE syllabus.

International Baccalaureate (IB):

The International Baccalaureate (IB) is an international educational foundation headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland. It offers a range of programmes for students aged 3 to 19 years, including the Primary Years Programme (PYP), Middle Years Programme (MYP), and Diploma Programme (DP). IB has a presence in several countries, including India.

The IB program is designed to develop critical thinking, communication, and research skills in students.

Council for the Indian School Certificate Examinations (CISCE):

CISCE is a private, non-governmental board of school education in India that conducts examinations for class 10th (ICSE) and 12th (ISC). The CISCE syllabus is considered to be more comprehensive and challenging than the CBSE syllabus.

State Government Boards:

Each state in India has its own board of education that regulates and oversees the education system in that state. These boards conduct exams for secondary and senior secondary levels, and issue certificates to successful candidates. Some of the popular state boards are Maharashtra State Board of Secondary and Higher Secondary Education (MSBSHSE), Tamil Nadu Board of Secondary Education, and Gujarat Secondary and Higher Secondary Education Board, and Uttar Pradesh Madhyamik Shiksha Parishad (UPMSP).

National Open School (NOS):

The National Institute of Open Schooling (NIOS), formerly known as the National Open School, is a board of education under the Ministry of Education, Government of India. It provides education through distance learning mode and conducts exams for secondary and senior secondary levels. The board aims to promote education among those who could not complete their formal education due to various reasons.

These are some of the most prominent educational governing bodies in India. Each of them has a unique role in regulating and promoting education in the country. These educational governing bodies are responsible for setting syllabus, conducting exams, providing certifications, and maintaining standards for education in their respective regions. They play a crucial role in ensuring that the education system in India is of high quality and meets the needs of students and society.

University education in India is an important aspect of higher education. It plays a crucial role in the country's development and progress. It is considered as the next step after completing secondary education, and it offers students the opportunity to specialize in their chosen field of study.

As on 16 November 2022, the UGC lists 459 active state universities. Universities by state and type:

State Total

State Universities 459

Deemed Universities 127

Private Universities 430

In India, universities can be divided into several categories, including:

Central Universities: These are universities established by the central government of India, such as the University of Delhi and Jawaharlal Nehru University.

State Universities: These are universities established by the state governments of India, such as the University of Mumbai and University of Calcutta.

Deemed Universities: These are institutions that are granted the status of a university by the University Grants Commission (UGC), such as the Birla Institute of Technology and Science and Tata Institute of Social Sciences.

Private Universities: These are universities that are established by private entities, such as Amity University and Manipal University.

Distance Education: It allows students to pursue education from anywhere, at any time, and at their own pace.

Some of the popular distance education universities in India include Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU), Institute of Distance and Open Learning (IDOL) at the University of Mumbai, Yashwantrao Chavan Maharashtra Open University (YCMOU), Delhi University School of Open Learning, Sikkim Manipal University etc. These universities offer a wide range of courses and programs at the undergraduate, postgraduate, and diploma levels. Due to its flexibility and accessibility Distance Education has become very popular.

The COVID-19 pandemic has brought significant changes to the education system in India, including distance education. With the closure of educational institutions, distance education and E-Learning has emerged as a viable alternative to traditional classroom-based education. One of the challenges of university education in India is the limited availability of seats in top universities, leading to intense competition among students. Another challenge is the need to ensure that university education is affordable and accessible to all, regardless of socioeconomic status or background. Overall, university education in India is a critical component of the country's growth and development, and efforts are being made to improve its quality and accessibility.

Apart from regular education, India offers a wide range of professional courses in various fields, including engineering, medical, and management etc. that can help individuals to acquire specialized skills and knowledge in their respective domains. The duration of professional undergraduate courses is typically of three to four years, while postgraduate courses can last up to two years. In addition to classroom instruction, universities in India also offer various extra-curricular activities, such as sports, cultural events, and student clubs and societies. These activities help students to

develop their skills and interests and to become well-rounded individuals. Here are some examples of popular courses in each of these fields:

Engineering:

Bachelor of Technology (B.Tech) in Computer Science Engineering, Electronics and Communication Engineering, Mechanical Engineering, Civil Engineering, etc.

Master of Technology (M.Tech) in various specializations

Bachelor of Engineering (BE) in various fields

Medical:

Bachelor of Medicine and Bachelor of Surgery (MBBS)

Bachelor of Dental Surgery (BDS)

Doctor of Medicine (MD)

Master of Surgery (MS)

Bachelor of Ayurvedic Medicine and Surgery (BAMS)

Management:

Master of Business Administration (MBA)

Post Graduate Diploma in Management (PGDM)

Bachelor of Business Administration (BBA)

Executive MBA (EMBA)

There are numerous professional courses available in India, offered by various universities and institutions. Some of the popular professional courses in India are:

Law courses - LLB, LLM, BA LLB, BBA LLB, etc.

Accountancy courses - CA, CS, CMA, etc.

Architecture courses - B.Arch, M.Arch, etc.

Design courses - Fashion Design, Interior Design, Graphic Design, etc.

Pharmacy courses - B.Pharma, M.Pharma, etc.

Journalism and Mass Communication courses - BA Journalism and Mass Communication, MA Journalism and Mass Communication, etc.

Education courses - B.Ed, M.Ed, etc.

These are just a few examples of the many professional courses available in India. Students can choose the course based on their interests, skills, and career goals. There are also many other professional courses available

in India, including architecture, design, journalism, and more. Students can choose the course that best fits their interests and career goals. Overall, India's rich and diverse education system offers a plethora of professional courses that cater to the needs of different learners and industries, making it a great destination for pursuing higher education and professional development.

In recent years, the growth of education in modern India has been driven by the adoption of technology in education. The government has launched several initiatives to promote digital education, such as the Digital India campaign and the National Digital Library of India. The COVID-19 pandemic has further accelerated the adoption of technology in education, with schools and universities adopting online learning platforms to ensure continuity of education during the pandemic. But inspite of all these efforts.

Check your Progress

1. Write a note on the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE) and Indian Certificate of Secondary Education (ICSE)

13.7 SUMMARY

In conclusion, all these educational policies and programs have been instrumental in improving the education system in India, providing access to quality education to all, and reducing the gender gap in education. Despite their success, there is still a long way to go in ensuring that every child in India has access to quality education. Overall, it is crucial to continue working towards providing quality education to all children in India and reducing the gender gap in education. This requires a sustained effort from all stakeholders, including the government, educators, parents, and civil society.

13.8 QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the various education related commissions and their achievements in pre- and post Independence period.
2. Describe the various governments education related development program and their impacts on Indian education system.
3. Analyse the role of India's Educational Governing Bodies in Pre-primary to Higher education system.

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