

# PARTITION

## Unit Structure

- 1.0 Objectives
- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Background
- 1.3 Partition and Independence
- 1.4 Effects/consequences -political, social and economic
- 1.5 Analysis -was the partition necessary or avoidable?
- 1.6 Conclusion
- 1.7 Summary
- 1.8 Questions
- 1.9 Additional Reading

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## 1.0 OBJECTIVES

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

1. The background of independence which came along with painful partition
2. Effects and consequences of partition
3. The struggle of India after independence
4. The base of building India

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## 1.1 INTRODUCTION

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The birth of new India after the end of colonial empire symbolized the beginning of a new free India. A free India, which was a dream of many freedom fighters, considered a new ray of hope. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel gave expression to this prospect soon after his release from prison in 1945: ***“Today, it is Quit India; tomorrow it will be Quit Asia and then Quit Africa”***. The freedom of India resembles the struggle of Mahatma Gandhi which was begun in South Africa and Nelson Mandela in that very country. The victory of human spirit and picture of new India in August 1947 duly led to the victory of human dignity 40 years later.

The celebration of India’s independence also narrates the palpable failure of human civilization and manhood in the form of gruesome violence. It is very irony to note that the freedom movement which was started and taught the path of Satyagraha and non-violence had also witnessed the cruelest, painful and tragic form of freedom and spell of gruesome violence. Thus, Indian freedom in the words of **Dr. Shekhar Bandyopadhyaya**, came with a sense of loss caused by the partition, which was a *‘Primordial Divide – a divide i.e., 58 years young and 5000 years old.*

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## 1.2 BACKGROUND OF PARTITION

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### 1.2.1 The Two Nation Theory and the Demand for Pakistan by Muslim League

Muhammad Iqbal, the poet and political thinker, was recognized as the originator of the idea of a separate Muslim State for the Indian Muslims and seems to be responsible for developing the necessary emotional content of the movement. In the words of Muhammad Iqbal during Pan-Islamism movement declared at the Allahabad session of the All-India Muslim League in 1930 quote, “I have no hesitation in declaring that if the principle that the Indian Muslim is entitled to full and free development on the lines of his own culture and tradition in his own Indian homeland is recognized as the basis of a permanent communal settlement... I would like to see the Panjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within the British empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim state appears to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India.” (Sherwani Latif, 1977).

In 1933, a Cambridge undergraduate student Mr. Rehmat Ali coined the word Pakistan and visualized the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province (also called Afghan Province), Kashmir, Sind, and Baluchistan as one nation for Indian Muslims. The word Pakistan is the acronym of initial of first four and last of the fifth. Rahmat Ali was very clear in his mind and emphasized that Hindu and Muslims are two separate nations. He further stated that the religion, culture, history, tradition, literature, economic system, law of inheritance, succession and marriages are fundamentally different from those of the Hindus. These differences are not just confined to the broader principles but in the minute daily lives. There is no question of Hindu and Muslim living together and exchanging family vows. Mr. Ali was very determined to separate Hindu and Muslims.

In March 1940 Mohammad Ali Jinaah echoed the separate nation for Muslims at the Lahore session of the Muslim League and sealed the thinking of creating a separate nation in the form of Pakistan. The Muslim League passed the resolution : “ it is stated the considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Moslems unless it is designed on the following basic principle viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Moslems are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute ‘independent states’ in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign...” this resolution did not specify the areas in the proposed state of Pakistan.

In 1942, Mr. Jinnah met Professor Coupland and explained him that Pakistan would be “a Moslem State or States comprising North West Frontier Province, Punjab, and Sind on the one side and Bengal on the

other”. In his proposal, at that time, he did not mention Baluchistan and Assam, nor did he claim Kashmir and Hyderabad. However, on 12 May 1946 in Cabinet Mission plan, the Muslim League demanded to bring together six Muslim provinces in one group and their names were Panjab, North-Western Frontier Province, Baluchistan, Sind, Bengal and Assam.

### **Check your progress:**

Do you think that the two-nation theory was important? Think and explore.

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### **1.2.2 The Hindu Mahasabha**

In December 1910 a meeting was held of the leading Hindus at Allahabad and it was decided that all India-Hindu Mahasabha should be formed. In April 1915, All India Hindu Sabha was formed at Haridwar. The Lucknow Pact which came in 1916 recognized the existence of various separate communities whose interested could only be safe-guarded by proposing communal electorate and weightage in representation to Muslims in their minority provinces with acceptance of permanent statutory Muslim majority in the Punjab and Bengal.

The British imperial policies developed a climate for the growth and emergence of many community organizations. The community organizations which were established to promote and look after the welfare of a particular community, indirectly promoted the vested interests of British Government from serving the personal ambition of opportunistic leadership. Apart from Hindu Mahasabha, the establishment of other political parties such as Muslim League, the Akali Dal and etc. sowed the seeds of partition at broader level.

The communal riots in Malabar and Multan followed by suspension of the first Non-cooperation Movement in 1922 caused huge losses to Hindus both in lives and property. Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, advocated the need for establishing Hindu Mahasabha in the protest of Hindus in self-defense and to counter the move of Muslim league for the Muslim representation in the elected bodies. Malviya also emphasized the socio-cultural mission of the Hindu Mahasabha. The aim of establishing the Hindu Mahasabha was also to curb the evil practices of Hindu society such as child-marriage, casteism, untouchability etc. In 1928 under the leadership of V.D. Savarkar, the Mahasabha developed a political programme. It was Savarkar who popularized the concept of Hindu Rastra. Savarkar was determined in his approach while considering as a land of Hindus having only one nation i.e., the Hindu nation. He also popularized the thought “one man, one vote”. The language of country should be based on the majority of population speaking language. After V.D. Savarkar,

Dr. S.P. Mookerji became the next leader of Hindu Mahasabha and imparted it a more national outlook. The slogan of Akhand Hindustan to counter the demand of Pakistan for Muslim League was raised by the Hindu Mahasabha.

The demand of Pakistan was hardened by Muslim League after hearing the voice of many other political organizations who were demanding for Hindu race, Hindu culture, Hindu civilization and Hindu Rashtra however, there is no deny in the fact the Muslim was the first ever political organization to come into existence. This has become more infectious after the other organizations came into existence.

### **1.2.3 Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's views on Indo-Pak Partition and Social Concern**

Kamble and Dhavaleshwar (2014) in their research analyzed that Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was very assertive on the issue of settlement of community or minority questions before the British leave India. Dr. Ambedkar in his book "Thoughts on Pakistan in 1941" thoroughly examined the demand for Muslim league to have separate nation, reasons of Hindu case for united India; and impact of separate nation on nation's resources etc.

Dr. Ambedkar also had a great social concern about integrated India. His thoughts on social change after partition of India have remarkable evidences in Independent India and Pakistan. He had very logically explained the reasons for separate nation demand by Muslim league and suggested that it was extremely crucial to sort out the social and economic matters before the partition. He was against of communal aggressions which lead to political aggressions and demanded for secular outlook and cooperation to solve the social, economic and development concern.

### **1.2.4 The Second World War and Pakistan Plan**

**August Offer 1940** – The British Government in 1940 under Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy of India at that time, in response to the Congress for offering full co-operation declared the 'full independence in India' and formation of a Provisional National Government at the Centre. The Viceroy also planned to set up a constitution making body after the war. The assurance was also given to the minorities that the British Government would not agree to any system of government whose authority was directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. The Muslim League welcomed the August offer and passed the resolution stating that the partition of India is the only solution of the most difficult problem of India's future constitution.

**1.2.5 Cripps Mission (1942)** – The Cripps Plan (March-April 1942) declared the form of new constitution and the draft declaration of the British Government to create a provision for acceptance of the new constitution of India to be framed after the end of the war, subject to the condition which is as follows:

“Any province of British India might refuse to accept the new Constitution and choose to retain its existing constitutional position; provision being made for its subsequent accession to the Indian Union if it so decided.”

“With such non-acceding provinces, if they so desired, the British Government would be prepared to agree upon a new constitution, giving them some full status as the Indian Union.”

But the Muslim League rejected the demand of Cripps mission and demanded for Pakistan.

**1.2.6 Wavell Plan (1945)** – Lord Wavell, who became the Viceroy of India in 1942 was asked to present a formula for the future government of India that would be acceptable to both the Indian National Congress and the All- India Muslim League for a smooth transition of power. Lord Wavell, after discussion with the senior authorities in London came up with a definite plan of action which was officially made public on 14<sup>th</sup> June 1945 by the secretary of State for India Mr. L.S. Amery. The key points of Wavell plan talked about the acceptance of Cripps Mission without change or qualification. The plan also proposed to reconstitute the Governor-General’s Executive Council and given all the portfolios to Indians except the Commander-in-Chief and Viceroy himself. It further proposed to have a balanced representation of the main communities in the council. Lord Wavell organized a conference and invited political leaders of India in Shimla in June-July 1945 to sort out the differences between Congress and the Muslim League. But unfortunately, they were unable to resolve the differences which was advocated by Mr. Jinnah on the ground for considering Muslim League only the Muslim representatives in the Council, and opposed Congress nominating Muslim members. Due to the differences between both the political parties, Lord Wavell announced the breakdown plan of the conference for the safe withdrawal of the British government from India but it was in vain and the Wavell Plan could not become successful for attaining the freedom of independence.

### **1.2.7 The Cabinet Mission 1946**

In the elections of 1945-46. The Muslim league captured the majority of Muslim seats in all the provinces except the North West Frontier Province. The Muslim League secured 75 % of Muslim votes. The election portrayed Muslim league as a strong political party.

The Cabinet Mission has its members Lord Pathick Lawrence (Secretary of State), Sir Stafford Cripps (President of the Board of Trade) and Mr. A.V. Alexander (First Lord of the Admiralty). They all reached in India in March 1946. They had intense discussion with Indian leaders of all parties and groups on the issue of interim government and procedures for framing a new constitution giving freedom to India. As both the parties still seemed to be indecisive in terms of fundamental issue of the partition or the unity of India, the mission put forward its own plan for providing a solution to the constitutional problem in May 1946.

The Cabinet Mission Plan which was around 9 pages long and had 24 points. It had many points which covered such as it rejected the demand for Pakistan and suggested to form a Central Government in charge of Foreign Affairs, Defense and Communication. It also discussed to form the existing provincial assemblies into three sections: Section-A: Madras, Bombay, Central Provinces, United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa (Hindu-majority provinces) Section-B: Punjab, North-West Frontier Province and Sindh (Muslim-majority provinces) Section-C: Bengal and Assam (Muslim-majority provinces). The plan further stated that a constituent assembly was to be elected by provincial assemblies by proportional representation (voting in three groups—General, Muslims, Sikhs). This constituent assembly would be a 389-member body which had 292 members from provincial assemblies, 4 from chief commissioner's provinces, and 93 members from princely states. However, The Congress was not keen on the idea of the groupings of provinces on the basis of Hindu-Muslim majority and vying for control at the centre. It also opposed the idea of a weak centre while the Muslim League did not want any changes to the proposals.

Since the plan was not accepted, a new plan was proposed by the mission in June 1946. This plan proposed the division of India into a Hindu-majority India and a Muslim majority India later to be renamed Pakistan. A list of princely states was also made that could either join the union or remain independent. The Congress Party under Jawaharlal Nehru did not accept the second plan. Instead, it agreed to be part of the constituent assembly. Jinnah and the League objected to the new central government. Mr. Jinnah geared to agitate for Pakistan and urged Muslims to demand Pakistan by any means. He called for 'Direct Action Day' on 16 August 1946; This call led to widespread communal rioting in the country with 5000 people being killed on the first day in Calcutta. Communal riots spread to many other areas notably Noakhali and Bihar. There was a call for the partitioning of the country on account of the riots. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was one of the first Congress leaders to acknowledge the inevitability of the partition as a means to stop the brutal violence.

Finally, the Interim Government formed on September 2, 1946 under the leadership of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru. The Muslim League was refused to join initially but later joined on 26 October 1946, with an objective to 'wreck from inside'. Finally, all the Muslim League refused to join the Constituent Assembly.

**1.2.8 Atlee's Statement on 20 February 1947:** - Prime Minister Attlee considering the current deadlock scenario in India announced in the House of Commons the definite intention of the British Government and stated that the British will transfer the power to responsible Indian hands "*by a date not later than June 1948.*" In case, the Muslim League still not show its co-operation to the British Government, then the British government would have "to consider to whom the powers of the Central Government in British India would be handed over, on due date, whether as a whole to some form of Central Government for British India, or in some areas to

the existing Provincial Governments, or in such other way as may see more reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian people”.

**Check your Progress:**

- 1) Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar dreamt for secular state. In his book, he has logically explained the scenario of India at that time. Do you think, the secular state was possible?

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- 2) Analyze Cripps Mission, Wavell Plan and Cabinet Mission Plan. Do you find any difference in all these plans?

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- 3) In which session of Muslim league Jinnah demanded separate nations for Muslims?

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### **1.3 Mountbatten Plan of Partition of India on June 3, 1947**

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Lord Mountbatten, the Viceroy of India post Lord Wavell, in March 1947 offered a plan for the partition of India on June 3, 1947. The plan stated about the referendum in the North West Frontier Province to decide whether they would like to join India or Pakistan. A referendum was also to be held in the Muslim-majority district of Sylhet (Assam) to decide whether the district would join East Bengal or remain part of Assam. It further stated that the legislative assemblies of Bengal and Punjab were to meet in two sections or parts to decide by a simple majority whether the province was too partitioned or not. The result of referendum was in the form of partition in the Hindu members of the Panjab and Bengal Assemblies. East Bengal and West Panjab decided to join Pakistan while West Bengal and East Panjab decided to join India. The referendum in Sylhet district of Assam and the North West Frontier Province decided to join Pakistan. Mountbatten’s next task was to appoint two Boundary commissions – one for Bengal and Panjab under Sir Cyril Radcliffe, to delineate the international frontiers within a strict time frame of not more than six weeks.

**The Indian Independence Act and Partition of India** – The Indian Independence Act passed by the British parliament in July 1947 and set up two independent dominions of India and Pakistan with effect from 15 August 1947. The 14/15<sup>th</sup> August 1947, dawned the dual reality of Independence and partition in India. As it is mentioned in the historian Bipin Chandra's book on "*India's Struggle for Independence*" p.504 **stated that quote**, "*Nehru's eyes were on the light on the horizon, the new dawn, the birth of a free India.*" Its further quote, '*At the stroke of the midnight hour when the world sleeps India shall awake to light and freedom.*' His poetic words, '*Long years ago, we made a tryst with destiny,*' reminded that people that their angry bewilderment today was not the only truth. There was a greater truth – that of a glorious struggle, hard-fought and hard-won, in which many fell martyrs and countless others made sacrifices, dreaming of the day India would be free. That day had come. The people of India saw that too, and on 15 August -despite the sorrow in their hearts for the division of their land danced in the streets with abandon and joy".

Pakistan became independent on 14<sup>th</sup> August 1947 with its capital Karachi and Jinnah became the first Governor General of the Dominion of Pakistan. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru sworn in as free India's first Prime minister and Mountbatten handed over power by reading a King's message.

The map of India can be seen on <https://omniatlas.com/maps/southern-asia/19470815/> during the time of partition in 1947.

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#### **1.4 Consequences of the Partition with Independence**

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Immediately after independence, there were many leaders who were not in a mood to celebrate. Gandhiji did not participate in the celebration movement and observed his day of fasting and prayer. The nationalist Muslims were also felt betrayed. Maulana Azad in his book *India Wins Freedom (1957)* revealed about his unhappiness too. The same was for Hindu Mahasabha wherein Veer Savarkar spoke about the Akhand Hindustan. Thus, the freedom which came with ray of hope also brought the uncertainty in the life of people and for divided country especially in the minds of minorities particularly in Punjab and Bengal. What felt worst was the aggravated case of communal violence and human displacement in the history of India. It is noted that about one million people were killed and seventy-five thousand or more women were raped. Trains full of killed bodies travelled across the border in both the directions. 10 million people or more than that have become homeless and tasted the bitter consequences of partition. The consequences of partition also seen the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi on 30 January 1948 by a militant Hindu nationalist. However, whatever has been stated for partition and independence, we may still feel its impact and evident as it has impacted on the aspects of society and state in the region. The independence cum partition was a defining moment which has altered the destinies of people in both the sides. The birth of India and Pakistan produced long term

consequences which were immediate and painful. The consequences of partition are as follows: -

a) **Communal Riots: -**

The seeds of Muslim communalism as Akbar Ahmed argues that the concept of Pakistan was “*irresistible and widespread among the Muslims*”. Though India and Pakistan had accepted the partition to avoid any civil war, unfortunately the violence happened in such a way that even no one was spared including man, women, and children. They all were slaughtered in cold blood, looted and faced tyranny. When partition was announced, both Muslims and Sikhs were unhappy. The Sikhs occurred huge losses in the form of Lahore, Lyallpur, and Montgomery districts which they had developed with their hard work. Neatly 40 % of the entire Sikh community became homeless and poor. Muslims attacked them and drove them out to seek refuge in India.

The partition of Bengal triggered violence in Noakhali. The people of Bengal along with Bihar and Calcutta faced the toughest brutality and loss of life. Gandhiji, to establish a peace, stood as a supreme moral force and mentor. He started moral persuasion in the affected regions of India. Durgadas, a famous historian remarked,

*“Foreign observers noted that he achieved many battalions of troops would have failed in restoring amity.”* The presence of Gandhiji in Bengal in August 1947 at some level has solved the difficult situation. Lord Mountbatten acclaimed him as “the one-man boundary force” that saved Bengal from chaos and monarchy.

b) **Refugees – the bitter story: -**

When Pakistan was created, it contained 60 million Muslims, and left behind another 35 million non-Muslim India. Historian Ayesha Jalal (1985) raised an important question: “how did a Pakistan come about which fitted the interests of most Muslims so poorly?” Immediate after partition, the 6 million refugees of Sikh and Hindus migrated to India. By November 1947, the wave of migration was almost over. It was surmised that about 80 lakh refugees across the boundaries. The migration and movement of people from both the borders created a very difficult situation to provide them safety, shelter and livelihood. Refugee camps were set up in all the leading states of India. Government faced many problems. The history has recorded the painful killing, murder and humiliation of human kind during the independence. It was not possible for government to solve this human crisis at their level only. The refugees, together has solved the problem of the refugees themselves and healed the bitterness of anguish and suffering of partition. Though, we remember the independence cum partition as a moment which has seen many painful stories of mankind, there is no deny of the fact that the moment also led the humanity and helped the people to understand the values of communal harmony and togetherness.

c) **Assassination of Mahatma Gandhi: -**

The year 1948 did not start well for India. According to Indo-Pak accord of 1947 along with the clause of including the withdrawals of Pakistan raiders from Kashmir, it had been decided that India had to pay a sum of Rs. 550 million to Pakistan. The release of money to Pakistan was promised in two instalments. The first 20 crores were already given to them but the remaining amount were not given to them and became a matter of conflict between the home minister of India and the Prime minister of Pakistan because of the invasion of Kashmir by self-styled liberators with the support of Pakistani army. The government of India, for this reason decided to withhold the amount. Lord Mountbatten considered this act as a violation of the mutually agreed conditions and he informed Gandhiji about it. Gandhiji, on ethical ground agreed with the Viceroy's opinion. Gandhiji considering the current scenario of India, started fast in Delhi with firm determination to "Do or Die". The migration of Hindus from Pakistan who suffered killings of relatives, kidnapping, abduction, and rape of women etc. has created a very sensitive situation. The local Hindus with shock and anger and the humiliating treatment to Hindus in Pakistan angered them and mutual animosity increased from both the sides resulting Delhi a nightmare state of violence and riots. The actions and reactions of both the communities deepened the pain of Gandhi and caused a deep anguish to him. The Gandhi's announcement of fast unto death was mixed up with his opinion and release of Rs.55 crore to Pakistan by the government of India came during his period of fast. The Hindu fundamentalist did not take this on a positive way and unfortunately, Gandhi was assassinated on 30<sup>th</sup> January 1948 by Mr. Nathuram Godse's bullets during an evening prayer ceremony at Birla House in New Delhi. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru announced his death to the world that, 'light has gone out of our lives.' The death of Gandhi was a great loss to the country and the whole nation mourned the death of the father of the nation.

d) **The Kashmir imbroglio: -**

The Kashmir imbroglio is the bitter legacy and long-drawn bilateral dispute of partition which is continued even today after the 75 years of independence. Citizens of Jammu and Kashmir is continuously facing the struggle for their existence since many decades. Post-independence, India had not only to fulfil the interest of its masses, the future of princely states under British India was also a very crucial factor to look upon them. There were around 560 princely states and Kashmir was one of them. Maharaja Hari Singh from Kashmir delayed his decision as the last king of independent Kashmir was the root cause of the conflict. The invasion from Pakistan with Poonch Pathan tribal invasion made Maharaja insecure and he asked for India's help. Maharaja on 26<sup>th</sup> October

1947 signed the “Letter of Instrument of Accession to India” and Kashmir joined the Indian Union. Pandit Nehru announced on 2<sup>nd</sup> November 1947 about the plebiscite in Kashmir but it did not take place. India claimed that people are happy and there is no demand from their side for plebiscite whereas Pakistan opposed the view and put the view that elections were not fair and people waited for governance issues like roads, infrastructure, electricity and other issues. The conflict in Kashmir was further complicated by the eruption of a popular movement by the Muslims in the Kashmir valley, coupled with armed insurgency since 1987. Security analysts look upon such situation as one of the most challenging and disturbing till today and look upon this territory as one of the most dangerous flashpoints in the world today. It is still considered today an “unfinished business of partition” and took a heavy toll on peace and stability in the region.

e) **Accession to Indian Princely States to the Indian Union: -**

on 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947, most princely states except Hyderabad, Junagarh and Kashmir had acceded to India. Hyderabad and Junagarh both with Muslim rules and Hindu majority populations later integrated with India. We shall study in detail about the integration of princely states in further Units.

f) **Environmental costs of Partition:**

Water Sharing between Bangladesh and India: - The boundary line in 1947 introduced ‘hydro-politics’ or conflict over water which has created differences and rivalry between the two states over issues such as equitable sharing of water, shifting courses of rivers, flood control, harnessing of hydro-electric power and related ecological and developmental issues. The interest of India to use of Ganga water to the port of Calcutta surfaced tensions between these two communities in 1951. In 1961, the government wanted to construct barrage at Farakka on the Ganges to flush silt from the lower reaches of the river to ensure the continued viability of the port by India which threatened to aggravate the already available complex problems of water management. In 1971, East Pakistan gained independence and India played an important role in expelling Pakistani troops in the liberation struggle. India was successfully able to persuade Bangladesh to construct Farakka Barrage which was pending since many years. By 1975, the construction work got over. This has led to morphological changes in the rivers, intrusion of sea water into surface water, serious damage of crops etc. Thus. The boundaries continue to exact a heavy toll in terms of environmental and social costs which had imposed extraordinary hardships on the people of the region.

g) **Problems of “Minorities” –**

The Muhajirs in Pakistan: -

The problems of minorities in Pakistan had been continued to be seen as one of the most unavoidable ethnic tensions which has been the hallmark of the relationship between the original population of the region and the newcomers. ‘Muhajirs’ refer to Urdu-speaking people, located in Karachi and Hyderabad, became refugees’ post-independence. The large-scale influx of Karachi in the cosmopolitan commercial and port city. Karachi’s population increased from 3, 50,000 to 1,119,598 from 1941 to 1961. Sind province was considered as a centre of Muhajirs immigration. The percentage of available Muhajirs was recorded as 57 % in Karachi, 65 % in Hyderabad and 55 % of total population of Sakkur were refugees. The history of Muhajirs brought the new perspectives in terms of ethnic identity. Because, the presence of Muhajirs on two different boundaries have constantly pushing their identities as also their allies and adversaries.

h) **Problems of Minorities – the Muslims in India: -**

In the words of Paul Brass, *‘the conditions of the Muslims in north India and the nature of Muslim demands underwent a profound change.’* The creation of Pakistan and the bitter communal violence came up with a partition and mutual animosity between Hindus and Muslims. The leaders of India had played a crucial role for building the outlook and mind set of masses on Hindu and Muslim unity. Though the Nehru, remained secular in his outlook, many other ministers in the Congress unapologetically harboured deep rage and bias outlook. This has impacted on Muslims in India.

i) **Partition in Memories and Literature: -**

Partition was cruel, barbarous and humiliation. It was a dark phase of human history. Many authors and historians recorded the pain and phase of partition such as

**G.D. Khosla** the first author to record the violent event describe it as an event of *‘unprecedented magnitude and horror’*.

**Salman Rushdie**, India born author stated it as *‘something of colossally horrible proportions and as one of the century’s great tragedies.’*

**Mushirul Hasan** recorded it *‘a complex and convoluted tragedy ‘which cast its lengthy shadows of two generations’ and marked the breakup of centuries old social order in which communities lived in mutual co-existence’*.

**Ashok Bhalla** stated it as *‘the single most traumatic experience in our recent history, an experience which ‘coarsened our social sense, distorted our political judgements and deranged our understanding of moral rightness’*.

Apart from historians, there were many novelists and counter-narrative writers felt the anguish of millions of masses and expressed through their writings. The novelist Ms. **Jyotirmoyee Devi** dedicated her classic novel '**Epar Ganga Opar Ganga** (1967) for those women who suffered during the partition.

**Urvashi Butalia's** work '*the other side of silence*' and **Ritu Menon and Kamla Bhasin's** work on '*Borders and Boundaries-Women in India's Partition*' contributed on partition and its consequences. Other creatives work on partition such as **Suvir Kaul's** '*Partition of Memory*' and movies made on partition such as **Tamas, Ghadar, Pinjar, Bharat** etc. narrated from time to time the feelings of bewilderment and loss of dislocation to the horrific experiences.

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## 1.5 ANALYSIS -WAS THE PARTITION NECESSARY OR AVOIDABLE?

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The historian **Dr. Shekhar Bandyopadhyaya** in his book "*From Plassey to Partition*" put the observation of **Howard Brasted and Carl Bridge**, the historians who are considered to be polarized on the question whether freedom was seized by the Indians or power was voluntarily transferred by the British as an act of positive statesmanship. Many people have interpreted the phase of partition differently. Indians found the partition with a sense of loss caused by the partition while Muslims in Pakistan believed partition itself meant freedom. For some Pakistani historians narrated that the creation of Pakistan was a liberating experience and long due. The seeds of partition were sown in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and from time to time, the elite actors assertively raised the demand of Pakistan which became the reality in 1947. Akbar Ahmed therefore, in his work observed that the concept of Pakistan was '*irresistible and widespread among the Muslims*'. However, the works of Uma Kaura (1977), Stanley Wolpert (1984), R.J. Moore (1988), Ian Talbot (1988), Mushirul Hasan (1993, 1997), Sucheta Mahajan (2000), despite having the differences in their writings on emphases, nuances and semantics, the congress and its leaders stood for a united secular India but it was the Jinnah and his Muslim League advocated the '*two nation theory*' and ultimately brought the avoidable vivisection of the subcontinent. However, there are further argument which also mentioned that even though, it was Jinnah who might have first floated the idea of Pakistan but the as Sumit Sarkar admitted that it is not sure if he had the same bargaining autonomy once the mass mobilization campaign began in 1944 for Muslim nationhood. However, Ayesha Jalal (2000) traced and balance the view while stating that the informed cultural identity for nationhood in the minds of north Indian Muslims did not become a demand for exclusive statehood until the late summer of 1946. **Mushirul Hasan** in his ultimate analysis mentioned that it was 'the colonial government which created a Muslim community in its own image and allowed its war time ally, the League, to transform a segmented population into a 'nation' or a '*juridical entity*'.

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## 1.6 CONCLUSION

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The fate of partition and celebration of freedom was seen parallelly in the history of India. After 75 years of independence, there are still many unfinished agenda between India and Pakistan. The liberation came with horrible experiences of torture, pain and struggle. Having said so, the progress after freedom and the spirit of India's enthusiasm to establish its own identity on political, social and cultural level brought the significant move.

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## 1.7 SUMMARY

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The British who ruled India since many years finally decided to go back and proposed their systematic withdrawal through their various plans such as August Mission, Cripps Plan, Wavell Pan, Cabinet Mission Plan, Mountbatten Plan. However, Muslim and their demand for separate nation in the name of Pakistan was determined. The communal politics were also very high in nature. The two-nations theory and systematic efforts for the creation of Pakistan was noted. The division of India in two parts took place in 1947. After independence, the memory of partition did not come with a pleasant experience and its impact was seen on the politics, society, culture and living of people. The thought of partition which was in mind but came in reality with the systematic efforts of colonial rulers and local political leaders.

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## 1.8 QUESTIONS

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- 1) Explain in detail the consequences of Partition? Was it Avoidable? Explain in Detail
- 2) Who coined the term Pakistan first and what is Two Nation theory?
- 3) What is the meaning of 'Muhajirs' and problems faced by them in terms of their identity and existence?
- 4) Please explain in detail the role of Mahatma Gandhi in the freedom movement and reason for his assassination?

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## 1.9 ADDITIONAL READINGS

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# INTEGRATION AND REORGANIZATION OF STATES

## Unit Structure

### Integration of Princely States

#### 2.0 Objectives of the Unit

- 2.0.1 Introduction
- 2.0.2 Meeting of 75 Greatest Princes
- 2.0.3 Accession of Junagarh
- 2.0.4 Accession of Hyderabad
- 2.0.5 Accession of Jammu and Kashmir

#### 2.1 Reorganization of States

- 2.1.1 Introduction
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- 2.1.9 Creation of Punjab and Haryana

#### 2.2 Conclusion

#### 2.3 Summary

#### 2.4 Questions

#### 2.5 Additional Readings

## Integration of Princely States

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### 2.0 OBJECTIVES OF THE UNIT

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

1. The efforts of Indian Government to integrate princely states in India
2. The history of birth of many states in India
3. The struggle undertaken by various leaders for the formation of states
4. The necessity of establishment of various states on the basis of language
5. The Growth of India post-independence and challenges faced by Indian Government

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## 2.0.1 INTRODUCTION

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When on 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947, India became Independent Dominion in the British commonwealth of Nations, one of the largest unresolved problems facing was the presence of 565 princely states within its boundaries. To unite them or to work with them was a very daunting task. The actual problems of country of partitioning India were emerged under the Indian Independence Act, by which the British paramountcy on the Indian states was to lapse, and advised them to join either Pakistan or India or to remain independent. Atlee's announcement on 20<sup>th</sup> February 1947 was supported by Jinnah on 18<sup>th</sup> June 1947 to create the existence of separate state in the challenging times. The adverse situation of the country could well be explained in **A.P. Thornton's** words, quote,

*“At the far side of empire another country lay. Many new flags flew over it. Many new men held authority in many parts of it, but for all its unfamiliarity. It was still a country and much like that which had already travelled a country populated by controllers and controlled.”*

It was easy enough for British parliament to declare the lapse of their paramountcy and called them a ‘*bunch of nitwits*’ but such declaration would not wipe out the fundamentals of which paramountcy rested. The government of India after departure of British, did not cease to be the Supreme power in India. There was an urgent requirement for arranging essential defenses and security requirements of the country. The challenges were many in the country. On one hand, the efforts were undertaken to protect the boundaries of India from external aggression, and on the other hand, the task was also to prevent the balkanization of the country and stop any possible nuisances of the states by Pakistan. The onwards process of integration of Indian states were based on three points

- 1) The very small states should merge with neighbouring states or provinces. For example, The Deccan states should merge with Bombay. The Chhattisgarh states with the Central provinces and the Orissa states with the Orissa province.
- 2) States like Tripura and Manipur were placed under the Central administration.
- 3) Some states were joined for the creation of Union of States as the Union of Kathiawar (Saurashtra) states.

The Government of India made an appeal to the princes to integrate with either India or Pakistan. To build a new fabric into old materials, the wisdom word of **Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel** could be remembered quote, *“it will be folly to ignore realties, and facts take their revenge if they are not faced squarely and well.”* He further stated in his letter to the Princely rules in 1947 that, *“We are at a momentous stage in the history of India.”*

*By common endeavour, we can raise the country to new greatness, while lack of unity will expose us to unexpected calamities. I hope the Indian States will realize fully that if we do not cooperate and work together in the general interest, anarchy and chaos will overwhelm us all, great and small, and lead us to total ruin”.*

Under the Prime- ministership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Indian government set up States Department Committee on 27<sup>th</sup> June 1947 to deal with Princes, headed by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the deputy Prime minister and home minister of India and they both invited Dr. V.P. Menon to become the secretary who was diplomatically genius.

The Interim Government before independence took an active step to make sure the integration of princely states in India. The India National Congress have started taking the possible steps to avoid any possible division of India into small sizes. Sardar Patel played a historic role for integrating all the princely states in India and did not hesitate to take the bold decision if required. He was astute, bold, dynamic and diplomatic. Though his style, he was able to bring most of them into the Indian union. Though it looks easy, it was a very complicated task which required skillful persuasion. Just to make it understand and more clarity about the challenges and process of integration, every state at that time in India had small states. For e.g., Orissa had 26 small states. Saurashtra region of Gujrat had 14 big states, almost 119 small states and many other different administrations. The government had started working on three agendas mentioned as follows: -

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

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## **2.0.2 MEETING OF 75 GREATEST PRINCES**

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The call of Lord Mountbatten’s meeting of 75 greatest of the princes on 25<sup>th</sup> July 1947 as Leonard Mosly writes, “Was probably the most spectacular example of Mountbatten’s skill, charm and tremendous act of persuasion.” He successfully persuaded the Maharaja of Gwalior, Bikaner, Baroda, Indore, Jodhpur and many others to sign the instrument of accession. As a result of the constructive approach of Mountbetten and determination of Patel and Menon out of 565 Princely states, 561 Indian states acceded to India before India became independent on 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947. There were few princely states like Jodhpur and Travancore, who wanted to start a careful princes’ movements and contacted Jinnah was convinced by Patel and Menon with the interference of Viceroy to sign the instrument of accession. Nehru himself confessed it one of the dominant phases of India’s history and Patel started democratization process to build

a powerful and welfare states. Accession of the Princely States of Junagadh, Hyderabad, and Kashmir proved more difficult than the rest. Let's look at the cases one by one.

### Check your progress

According to you, what is the instrument of accession and why was it given to Princely states?

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### 2.0.3 ACCESSION OF JUNAGARH:

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Junagarh was an important state in the group of Kathiawar state. It was bounded almost entirely by other Indian states except for the South and South-West. Junagarh was a Rajput state under the Chudasama dynasty until 1472-73. It was later captured by Mughals and felled in the hands of Sherkhan Babi, an officer under the *subah*. The last nawab of Junagarh was a descendant of Sherkhan Babi. The Nawab of Junagarh during the time of integration was Sir Mahabatkhan Rasulkhanji. During the time of meeting with Lord Mountbatten, the constitutional advisor of the Nawab and brother of Dewan Nabi Baksh represented Junagarh and gave impression that his intention was to advise Nawab to accede to India.

Early in 1947, The Dewan, Abdul Kadir Mohammad Hussain invited Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto, a politician of Muslim League of Karachi 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 who went abroad for medical treatment. The Nawab of Junagarh soon came under the influence of Muslim League. The instrument of Accession was sent to Nawab for signing but there was no reply received from India up to 12<sup>th</sup> August 1947. As Indian government was awaiting the reply, a news item in the press came was to accede Junagarh to Pakistan and on 15<sup>th</sup> August, the Government of Junagarh announced their accession to Pakistan. The government of Junagarh telegraphed later about the accession of Junagarh by Pakistan. This came as a surprise to India because considering the Junagadh's geographical contiguity, the composition of its population, and the need for consulting the views of people with regard to accession, the accession of Junagarh by Pakistan was not a welcome move. The rulers of others state in Kathiawar condemned the accession of Junagarh to Pakistan with once voice. The Jam Saheb of Navanagar, and rulers of Bhavnagar, Morvi, Gondal, Porbandar, and Wakener made protest and asked Nawab of Junagarh to reconsider the decision. But the Nawab did not reply positively. The Jam Saheb of Nawanager came to Delhi and narrated the incidents of harassment and agitation of people of Kathiawar. He requested Government of India to take immediate and effective's steps to ensure peace in Kathiawar states. The government of India decided to ensure the security of the country and maintaining law and order in Kathiawar. Indian troops were sent in Junagarh with a condition to not to

occupy Junagarh territory. However, before the Indian troops entered Junagarh, the Nawab of Junagarh fled to Karachi with his family. Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto (Dewan) of Junagarh started his negotiations with Samaldas Gandhi, an able administrator of India. On 7<sup>th</sup> November 1947. The Muslims of Junagarh persuaded him to hand over the administration direct to the Government of India through the regional commissioner and wrote a letter to Buch, Regional Commissioner of Western India and Gujrat states. The Indian government telegraphed a letter to Pakistan stressed that the Government of India were acceding to the request of Dewan of Junagarh to avoid disorder and chaos. The Government of India also further wished to find a solution in accordance with the wishes of the people of Junagarh.

On 9<sup>th</sup> November, Buch went to Junagarh to take over the administration. Captain Harvey Jones, senior member of the Junagarh State council, acted a pilot of the convoy followed by Brigadier Gurdial Singh. The Dewan, Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto, left for Karachi the previous day. A meeting was called on 10<sup>th</sup> November to consider the dramatic developments in Junagarh. The Government of India convinced to have plebiscite in Junagarh. The Pakistan Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan on 11<sup>th</sup> November sent a telegram to India's prime minister and demanded of immediately withdrawal of Indian forces, and stoppage of the activities of the Provisional Government. Nehru replied strongly on the letter about acceding of Junagarh by India is not with force and resentment, but with a request of the Dewan and the Junagarh State Council. Nehru also emphasized in his long letter, about the essence of the government of India's policy was swift stabilization of the situation and to settle the issue, necessary to go for a plebiscite.

Finally, the Government of India hold a referendum in regard to the accession. The polling took place on 20 February 1948 under a senior judicial officer of the ICS C B Nargarkar. Out of the total of 2, 01,457 registered voters, 1, 90, 870 exercised their right to vote. Of this number, only 91 votes favoured for accession to Pakistan. India respected the decision of masses and once the referendum concluded the process of democratization started in Junagarh. The Executive council was set up on 1<sup>st</sup> 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 20<sup>th</sup> 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**

Imagine, if Junagarh would not have been integrated in India, what would had been the current situation there in today's times?

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## 2.0.4 ACCESSION OF HYDERABAD

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Hyderabad, the largest of the Princely States was surrounded entirely by Indian Territory. Some parts of the old Hyderabad state are today parts of Maharashtra, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. Its ruler carried the title, 'Nizam', and he was one of the world's richest men. On the eve of independence, several large states, including Hyderabad, had declined to join either India or Pakistan. Each state presented its own unique problems, but the Government of independent India believed that the accession of Hyderabad to the Indian Union was ineluctable. As early as June 1947, Nehru had warned he would 'encourage rebellion in all states that go against us. In the new Indian Government, the accession of the subcontinent's second largest princely state was viewed as a foregone conclusion because Hyderabad could not be independent except in name, given its geographical position. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, India's Home member and Minister for States remarked, 'Hyderabad is, as it were, situated in India's belly. How can the belly breathe if it is cut off from the main body?' In the summer of 1948, as India's statesmen, especially Patel, began to hint of an invasion, the British encouraged Taylor C. Sherman to India to avoid using force, but repeatedly declined the Nizam's requests to intervene on his behalf. In the months preceding independence, however, Nizam Mir Osman Ali Khan Bahadur had refused to accede to either India or Pakistan. He attempted, instead, to maneuver his state towards independence, from where he could negotiate an alliance with India, rather than amalgamation into India. To avoid accession, the Nizam's government had signed a Standstill Agreement with the Government of India. The accord provided that relations between the state and the Indian Union would remain for one year as they had been prior to independence. India would handle Hyderabad's foreign affairs, but Indian Army troops stationed in Secunderabad would be removed. Soon after the agreement had been struck, however, each side began to accuse the other of violating its terms. The Nizam alleged that the Indian government was imposing an informal embargo by using its control over railways leading into the state to deny the territory vital goods, especially arms and medical supplies. India claimed that the government of Hyderabad was edging towards independence by divesting itself of its Indian securities, banning the Indian currency, halting the export of ground nuts, organizing illegal gun-running from Pakistan, and inviting new recruits to its army and to its irregular forces, the Razakars. These moves were regarded in Delhi as part of a 'comprehensive plan to break up the economic cohesion of India.'

While the Nizam attempted to maneuver himself towards independence, the internal situation in the territory was deteriorating. The state had been crippled by communist insurgents on the one hand, and forces loyal to the Nizam of Hyderabad on the other. To a limited extent, Congress volunteers engaged in Satyagraha had contributed to the internal disorder by disrupting courts, filling jails, and engaging in sabotage with the aim of convincing the Nizam to join the Indian Union. As stories of the conflict in the state spread in India, and refugees fled into the surrounding Indian

provinces, the Government of India concluded that the unrest threatened to undermine peace in the whole of India.

When, in 1947, the authorities in Hyderabad refused to accede to either dominion, many opposition parties in the state called for the Nizam to join the Indian Union. The Congress launched a Satyagraha, and encouraged students to leave schools, and lawyers to boycott courts. More radical members of the Hyderabad State Congress planned acts of sabotage, organized raids against government property and communications, and authorized their members to take action in 'self-defense', with weapons if necessary. According to an Indian government note in March 1948, 'the educational institutions function no more, the law courts are barren and the commercial life is shattered.'<sup>17</sup> As many as 21,000 congressmen were said to have been arrested. However, the Hyderabad State Congress Party was divided organizationally along regional lines, and ideologically between socialists and liberals; its impact on the internal situation in the state, therefore, was more limited than that of the communists.

The fight between the communists and forces loyal to the Nizam, by contrast, was characterized in the spring of 1948 as 'a people's revolt on the one side and fascist orgy and anarchy on the other'.<sup>20</sup> Its roots were in the insurgency begun in 1944- 1945 in the Nalgonda and Warangal districts, known as the Telangana area, in the east of the territory. Forces loyal to the Nizam of Hyderabad sought to repress this communist movement. These forces comprised of police and military as well as local members of the Razakars. The Razakars, headed by Kasim Razvi, were a paramilitary organization comprised of volunteers who were said to be as enthusiastic as they were undisciplined. Razvi and his volunteers were associated with the Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen, a political party with considerable influence over the Nizam and dedicated to maintaining Muslim rule in Hyderabad. Both communists and forces loyal to the Nizam employed brutal measures to strike against their enemy and intimidate villagers into collaboration. According to a pamphlet that the Government of India had drawn up for public consumption, between 15 August 1947 and 13 September 1948, the communists had murdered 2000 people, attacked 22 police outposts, destroyed village records, manhandled 141 village officials, seized 230 guns, eight revolvers and one rifle, looted or destroyed paddy worth Rs70, 000, robbed cash and jewellery worth Rs10, 43,668, and destroyed 20 customs outposts. While the primary fights up until early 1948 had been between the communists and the Nizam's forces, in May 1948, the Nizam and urban members of the communist party struck an improbable tactical alliance against a common enemy, the 'bourgeois' Indian Union. According to the agreement, which aimed to bolster the fight for the independence of Hyderabad, the Nizam amnestied communists from jails, cancelled outstanding arrest warrants and lifted the ban on the party. During the summer of 1948, the Razakars continued to seek out and eliminate the enemies of the regime. They targeted not only Hindus, but Muslims whose loyalty was in doubt. As it became clear that negotiations with the Indian Union were stalemated, they also courted confrontation with Indian forces. Their raids against trains and villages in Madras, the Central Provinces (CP) and Bombay

raised panic in these provinces. In July, Razakars killed six Indian Army troops in an ambush near the Indian enclave of Nanaj. Equally, there were allegations that Indian troops crossed Hyderabad's borders as they gave chase to Razakars. The Government in Delhi concluded that the increasing influence and violence of these unruly volunteer paramilitaries proved that the Nizam had lost control over his own territory. These battles threatened to spill into Union territory in more than one way. First, refugees fleeing the disorders escaped into Indian Territory to form large camps in the provinces of Madras and Bombay. Some estimates put the number of refugees at 40,000 in CP alone. Secondly, though the fault lines in the conflict did not run neatly along religious lines, the perceived 'communal' nature of the fighting threatened to revive Hindu-Muslim tensions in India. The Nizam's government tended to privilege a few thousand Muslims, leaving an underclass of poor Muslims. Nationalist Muslims in the State tended to oppose the Nizam, while, as far away as Delhi, the Socialist Party enrolled Muslim volunteers to agitate against the Nizam. At the same time, the Depressed Classes Association and Depressed Classes Conference in Hyderabad had joined hands with the Nizam in June 1947 to fight against incorporation into the Indian Union, because they believed accession would entail domination by caste Hindus. As the violence of the Nizam's forces increased in Hyderabad, Hindu nationalists called on Muslims throughout India 'to give proof of their loyalty to the Indian Union, 'by opposing the Nizam's regime. Clearly, the subtleties and complexities of the Hyderabad situation were being folded into all-India communal politics. The Government of India, therefore, concluded that the unrest in Hyderabad threatened to destabilize 'the communal situation in the whole of India'. In the volatile international situation in South Asia in the year following independence, Nehru had been reluctant to use force to bring Hyderabad into the Indian Union. The Indian economy was suffering a crisis of inflation, accompanied by a panic in the gold market, which impelled the Government of India to re-impose controls on textiles and other essential commodities. In addition, the autumn of 1948 was a tense time for the militaries on the subcontinent. Pakistan had admitted that its troops were present in Kashmir, and Nehru was writing of being at war with its neighbour, albeit an undeclared one. India feared that any move against Hyderabad would prompt a military response from Pakistan. Though Pakistan had no plans to protect Hyderabad with arms, India did not know this. Moreover, the new government in India was trying to calm tensions after the violence of partition, and struggling to provide for millions of refugees. The situation in Hyderabad, they concluded, must be resolved before it adversely affected India's internal and international security

On 13 September 1948, therefore, the Government of India declared a state of emergency, and sent its troops into Hyderabad State. During the 'police action', the Indian Army entered Hyderabad with the objective of forcing the Nizam to re-install Indian troops in Secunderabad to allow them to restore order in the state. The Nizam surrendered in four days, and the Government of India appointed Major-General J.N. Chaudhuri as Military Governor. Delhi decided that the Nizam could retain his position

as Rajpramukh, though law-making and enforcement power rested with the Military Governor. In this way, Hyderabad was brought into the Indian union. Sardar Patel joyfully wrote, *“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.”*

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### **2.0.5 ACCESSION OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR**

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After the announcement of 3<sup>rd</sup> June, Lord Mountbatten was particularly concerned about Kashmir. Jammu and Kashmir, a biggest area in India had a large Muslim population ruled over by Hindu Maharaja. Kashmir's border on both India and Pakistan. Maharaja Hari Singh was in indecisive mood and confused to join either India or Pakistan. Immediately after the transfer of power, he did not sign an instrument of accession and showed his interest to remain independent. He was toying with the idea of an 'independent Jammu and Kashmir'.

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 time to understand its implications. The relations between Kashmir and Pakistan were not cordial. The Government of Jammu and Kashmir complained about the continuous building of pressure by Pakistan into acceding and cut off the supply of food, petrol and other essential commodities. The government of India, on a request by the government sent the essential commodities to meet the immediate necessity of preventing a complete breakdown in Srinagar.

Pakistan also started building the military pressure in the form of hit and run border raids. The Mehr Chand Mahajan as Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir complained to the British Prime minister about the breaking of standstill agreement by Pakistan and discontinued supplies of essential articles. The British Prime minister did not reply and Pakistan reasoned for delay in dispatch of the essential supplies to the shortage of coal and widespread disturbances in East Punjab.

On 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1947, Pakistan started an all-out invasion and sent a large number of tribal raiders like Afridi, Waziri, Mahsud and Swasthi along with Pakistan soldiers. The raiders captured important areas and reached Muzaffarabad along with all the Muslim soldiers of the state and marched towards Baramulla. Brigadier Rajinder Singh fought against the raiders with approximately 150 men and moved towards Uri. They fought for two days but later on they all were cut to pieces in this action. The raiders continued and moved. On 24<sup>th</sup> October they captured Mahura power house from where the electricity was supplied to Srinagar. As a result, the city of Srinagar was plunged into darkness. The government of India received a desperate appeal of help from the Maharaja. On 25<sup>th</sup> October, a meeting of the defense council was taken place under the chairmanship of Lord Mountbatten. The committee considered the request of Maharaja for arms and ammunition and reinforcement of troops. Lord Mountbatten suggested for no immediate action. Mr. V.P. Menon was asked to reach at Srinagar and he met the Prime Minister of the State. After meeting the Maharaja

and understanding the plight of Kashmir, Mr. Menon pointed out the necessity of saving Kashmir from the raiders. Lord Mountbatten pointed out that without signing the letter of accession. It would not be proper to send Indian troops. If the Maharaja was agreed to sign the accession treaty, then Indian troops could be sent to the rescue of the State. He further said that accession in view of the composition of the population, should be conditional on the will of the people and a plebiscite should take place after the raiders had been driven out of the State and law and order had been restored. Nehru and other ministers agreed the suggestions. Maharaja gave the responsibility to Shaikh Abdullah with Mehr Chand Mahajan, his Prime Minister. He signed the instrument of Accession. The Indian government accepted the accession of Jammu and Kashmir subject to the proviso that a plebiscite would be held in the state when the state will be restored and come back to normalcy. The Indian troops fled to Srinagar. On 27<sup>th</sup> October 1947 by the Royal Indian Air Force planes, an operation took place and saved Srinagar. Never in the history of warfare, was such phenomenal success operation concluded with such a short notice. Jinnah got impatient after hearing of the entering of Indian troops in Kashmir and he invited Nehru and Lord Mountbatten to Lahore for a conference to discuss the Kashmir problem. Nehru did not go to Lahore but when Mountbatten was getting ready to go to Lahore on 30<sup>th</sup> October, the Government of Pakistan issued a statement in which they characterized the Kashmir accession as being 'based on fraud and violence and as such cannot be recognized.' This news had provoked the Pathan raiders.

On 1<sup>st</sup> November Lord Mountbatten and Lord Ismay flew to Lahore to meet Jinnah. Jinnah asked for withdrawal of Indian troops and considered the accession of Kashmir to India was a result of violence. Lord Mountbatten explained him the real situation and past activity. Jinnah then proposed that both sides withdraw their anger at once. Lord Mountbatten suggested a plebiscite under the auspices of the United Nations Organization but Jinnah had a difference of opinion and pressed for a plebiscite to be held under the joint control and supervision of the Governor General of India and Pakistan. The conversation between both of them were inconclusive. Nehru broadcasted a message on 2<sup>nd</sup> November and declared his readiness to have a referendum when peace and the rule of law had been established under United Nations. Sardar and Baldev Singh, Defense minister visited Srinagar on 3 November and decided to strengthen the Indian army. A new divisional headquarter was establish in Jammu and Kashmir division. The army was instructed to recapture the Baramulla. On 8<sup>th</sup> November, when Indian troops entered the city, the devastation by the raiders were anguish and painful. Out of normal population of 14,000 only one thousand were left. The Indian army was going ahead to dislodge the raiders. By 11<sup>th</sup> November, it had reached the heights of Uri and tribesmen withdrew without firing a shot and gave up Tangmarg and Gulmarg. On 21<sup>st</sup> November Nehru made a statement in Parliament and repeated his promise that people of Kashmir should be given a chance to decide their future.

Meanwhile Sardar Patel and Baldev Singh (defense minister) revisited Kashmir and reported to the Defense committee that there was large

concentration of tribesmen in West Pakistan. The government of India formally asked the Government of Pakistan to deny the raiders but there was no positive support received from Pakistan. Major general Kalwant Singh took up the appointment of Chief of general staff and stationed in Kashmir on 1<sup>st</sup> May 1948. The Jammu and Kashmir force was split into two divisional commands. Major General K.S. Thimmayya was a General officer Commanding, Srinagar division and late Major General Atma Singh as General Officer Commanding, Jammu division. Major General Thimmaya’s outstanding achievement was the successful execution of his daring plan to relieve Leh and Ladakh valley from the raiders and Major Atma Singh and his men had relieved Poonch.

The Kashmir operation had been referred as the “Battle of Jawans”. In the last week of December 1948, the United Nations Commission’s members visited New Delhi and Karachi and put forward the proposals for holding of a plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir after normal conditions. The government of India had readily accepted the cease fire of Indian troops provided Government of Pakistan could give an assurance of immediate effective reciprocal action from their end. The Pakistan did the assurance. As a result, the cease fire was ordered by both Army commands and took an effect from 1<sup>st</sup> January 1949.

**Check your progress**

1. Do you think, the process of integration was necessary? State with reasons.

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2. Analyze the advantage and disadvantage of integration of Indian princely states in India.

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**2.1 REORGANIZATION OF STATES**

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**2.1.1 INTRODUCTION**

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After the independence, India had faced the tyranny of partition. India worked relentlessly to unite India and dealt with adverse situations. However, after partition and integration of princely states, India’s struggle after independence did not come over yet. The next challenge was to draw the internal boundaries of the Indian states. To draw the boundary was not just an administrative division. It was extremely crucial to draw the

boundary so that the linguistic and cultural plurality of the country should also be reflected without affecting the nation's unity. **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.

Before Independence, during the rule of Britishers, the state boundaries were drawn only on the basis of their administrative convenience. The national movement had rejected these divisions and promised for linguistic principle as the base for the state formation. However, things changed after independence and partition. As the nation was facing the challenges all the sides, the need for the formation of states on the basis of language was not felt and the leaders decided to postpone the matters. Gandhiji on January 1948 said that, '*If linguistic province is formed, it will also give a fillip to the regional language. It would be absurd to make Hindustani the medium of instruction in all the regions and it is still more absurd to use English for this purpose.*'

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### **2.1.2 NEED FOR THE LINGUISTIC REORGANIZATION OF STATES**

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The need for the linguistic reorganization of states was felt on the following grounds: -

1. To make educational, judicial and administrative activities relevant to the people through regional language and literature;
2. The importance of mother tongue was realized since independence and since 1921, on the advice of Mahatma Gandhi, Congress started organizing regional branches on a linguistic basis.
3. It was felt that if the states are organized on the basis of language and culture, it will build the cohesiveness and unity among the masses together.
4. The creation of boundaries on the basis of regional and linguistic claims of all region, will reduce the threat of division and separatism.
5. The accommodation of regional demands and the formation of linguistic states were also seen as more dramatic.
6. The linguistic states brought the acceptance of the principle of diversity. The diversity is the crucial aspects of democracy in India. Democracy, in other words, was associated with plurality of ideas and ways of life. The boundaries will bring more unity and togetherness.

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### **2.1.3 THE LINGUISTIC PROVINCES COMMISSION 1948**

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The Constituent Assembly in 1948 appointed the linguistic provinces commission headed by Justice S.K. Dar to enquire into the desirability of

linguistic provinces. The Dar Commission expressed its view that the organization of Indian states on the basis of language might threaten the unity and integrity of the nation. The nationalism and sub-nationalism might work as cross-purpose. Apart from it, the commission also felt that it might cause administrative inconvenience. Thus, on the basis of recommendation issued by the Commission, the constituent assembly did not include the linguistic principle in the constitution.

**Check your progress:**

Analyze the importance of Reorganization of states post-independence and reason for it?

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### **2.1.4 THE JVP COMMITTEE**

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The supporters of the reorganization of the provinces on linguistic lines, especially in the South were disappointed from the Dar Commission report. Therefore, in December 1948 the Congress appointed a three members committee comprising of Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramayya (JVP) committee. The JVP committee report was considered as a ‘Coldwater therapy’. The committee accepted the recommendation made by Dar commission and stated that if other language group did not have any objection, then a new state would be created. However, the committee also emphasized the focus of nation on unity, national security, and economic development. Yet the congress leadership would not oppose any popular demand. The JVP report was followed by popular movement for States’ reorganization all over the country and the demand was intense in the coming times. Many Indian states were created because of it and reorganization of states were taken place.

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### **2.1.5 CREATION OF THE STATE OF ANDHRA PRADESH**

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Well, there is no clarity of the question however, these were the questions which had been asked many times in the past and current times. Rajagopalachari’s ministry in Madras after the first general election was not cordial. The differences between the ministers especially with T. Prakasam (Andhra Kesari) led the clash between the Tamils and Telugu speaking Andhra’s. There was a protest in the Telugu speaking areas of the old Madras province, which was covered the areas of Tamil Nadu, parts of Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Karnataka. The ‘Vishal Andhra’ movement (as the movement for a separate Andhra was called) demanded for the separation of Telugu speaking areas from the Madras province. Almost all the political parties favoured the linguistic reorganization of then Madras province. Nehru however at initial times showed his firm

attitude to not to surrender before such tactics but when the movement got momentum and Potti Sriramulu, a Congress leader and a veteran Gandhian, went on an indefinite fast that led to his death after 56 days, a mass agitation started which resulted violent outbursts and people came on the streets. Many people lost their lives in police firing. In Madras, to support the movement, many legislators resigned their seats and protested.

This caused great unrest and resulted in violent outbursts in Andhra region. People in large numbers took to the streets. Many were injured or lost their lives in police firing. In Madras, several legislators resigned their seats in protest. Finally, on the basis of the report of Justice Wanchoo, the Madras state was created on 1<sup>st</sup> October 1953 for the Tamil Speaking people.

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### **2.1.6 THE STATES REORGANIZATION COMMISSION (SRC)**

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The creation of state of Andhra Pradesh gave a tough time to Indian government as the demand for the formation of other states have also started coming. The Kannada speaking state comprising of old Mysore state and including areas then part of Bombay and Hyderabad states also asked for separation and creation of states. Nehru and his cabinet at initial phase resisted and decided not to entertain for the creation of states according to language. However, when during his one visit at Belgaum, he was greeted with Black flags, then he constituted the States Reorganization Commission under the chairmanship of *Justice Fazi Ali, Sardar K.M. Pannikar and Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru*. They were asked to examine the condition of current scenario, historical background of the states who were demanding for separation, mechanism for strengthening unity and integrity of the nation, the social, political, economic and administrative considerations etc. The commission had to face a number of demonstrations, hunger-strike agitations and clashed. The SRC submitted its report on 10<sup>th</sup> October 1955 and suggested to create the boundaries in nation on the basis of different languages. **The SRC Act was passed in November 1956 and following points were stated: -**

- a) The SRC act led the creation of 14 states and 6 centrally administered Union territories.
- b) The New state Andhra Pradesh was created and added the region of Telangana from Hyderabad state.
- c) The Malabar district of the old Madras Presidency with Travancore Cochin was merged and the state of Kerala was formed.
- d) The Mysore state was formed after adding the existing states of Mysore certain Kannada speaking areas of the State of Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad and Coorg.
- e) The boundary of Bombay was expanded after merging the states of Kutch and Saurashtra and the Marathi speaking areas of Hyderabad and Andhra Pradesh.

- 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) Further, India according to the act was grouped into five zones with a zonal council. Country in **the Northern zone** 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 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. The SRC act had main purpose to act like as an advisory body to discuss the issues and representation of their in the council on the basis of their common interest and existence.
- i) The Delimitation committee was also created to determine the population figure and the reservation of number of seats for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in each state of the Lok Sabha and the state legislative assemblies.

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### **2.1.7 BIFURCATION OF THE BOMBAY STATE INTO MAHARASHTRA AND GUJARAT**

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The people in Bombay were not satisfied with the SRC act of 1956 and grouping of Bombay with Hyderabad and Andhra Pradesh. A widespread riot took place in Bombay for the separation of Maharashtra and Gujarat. In January 1956, nearly 80 people were killed in Bombay city in police firing. The movement was supported by businessman, students, workers, farmers etc. which led to the Central government to decide in June 1956 to divide the Bombay city into two linguistic states of Maharashtra and Gujarat. The government also decided that Bombay to be formed as a separate administered territory. This led a strong opposition from the Maharashtrians. Nehru, then suggested for the formation of bilingual greater Bombay. The suggestion of Nehru met with a strong opposition from both Maharashtra and Gujarat. The Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and Maharashtra Gujarat Janta Parishad demanded Bombay as their capital. There was no any concrete conclusion came and struggle continued for five years. Finally, the Central government decided to resolve the issue and bifurcated the state of Bombay into Maharashtra and Gujarat. Bombay became the capital of Maharashtra and Ahmedabad of Gujarat. The official sanction was given to the creation of the states of

Maharashtra and Gujarat through the Bombay Reorganization Act 1960 which came into existence on May 1, 1960.

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### **2.1.8 CREATION OF PUNJAB AND HARYANA**

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When the states of Punjab were created by the merger of Patiala and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU) in 1956, the linguistic principle was not given due consideration. As a result, the new state of Punjab became a trilingual state – Punjabi, Hindi and Pahari. There was agitation in the Punjabi speaking area for a separate Punjabi Suba.

**The following demands were made by Punjabi Suba under the leadership of Akali Leader Master Tara Singh: -**

- As there is a cultural difference exist from the Hindus on various ground, living all these three languages together may have issues;
- It is important for Punjabi to have a right of self-determination in social, religious, political and other matter;
- Finally, the demand should meet with legitimate rights.

However, the Hindu communalists opposed the demand for a Punjabi Suba and denying Punjabi was their mother tongue, the Sikh communalists were determined to create a Sikh state, claiming Punjabi written in Gurmukhi as a Sikh language. Even though the demand was supported by a section of Congress and the communist party, it had got mixed up with religion. Ultimately, the issue assumed communal overtones. Though, Nehru was opposed the idea of creation of a Punjabi state along with large sections of Congress stating it a communal demand for a Sikh majority state ‘dressed up as a language plea’. Nehru and leaders of Congress were clear for not creating a state on the religion or communal grounds. The SRC also rejected the demand. The Akali Dal under Sant Fateh Singh continued its agitation for a separate state for the Sikhs. Finally, in 1966. Mrs. Indira Gandhi agreed to the division of Punjab into two Punjabi and Hindi speaking states of Punjab and Haryana, with the Pahari speaking districts of Kangra and a part of the Hoshiarpur district merged with Himachal Pradesh. Chandigarh was made the joint capital of Punjab and Haryana and made a Union Territory.

#### **Check your progress?**

Find out Whether the formation on states on the basis of language, strengthen the nation or weaken the nation?

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## 2.1.9 MINORITY LANGUAGES

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**Bipin Chandra** in his book ‘India After Independence’ explained the concept of minority languages. A large number of linguistic minorities, who speak a language other than the main language or official language of India was existing in the states. It is estimated around 18 percent. As per the census of 1971, the percentage of linguistic minorities to total population ranged from 4 in Kerala to 34 in Karnataka, 3.9 in Assam to 44.5 in Jammu and Kashmir. The existence of minorities language people was the question of their safety, assimilation with majority speaking language people in the states where they belonged to and to give them the fair treatment. It was necessary to promote the integration with major language group of a state and give them the confidence that there would not be any discrimination against by the majority on the basis of language and culture. Majority also needs to be assured that linguistic minority would not generate or build any separatists sentiments and they would develop a degree of state royalty.

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## 2.2 CONCLUSION

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The efforts undertaken for the integration of states between August 1947 to 1950 was praiseworthy. Within 21 months, integration generated a great change in political and social life of people through responsible government and industrial development. The new independent government had many challenges. But the commitment and able leadership of India brought the progress and unionization of the most challenging task Integration refashioned the political map of India. It is called as ‘**bloodless revolution.**’

Similarly, the reorganization of Indian states on the basis of language and communities documented another 10 years of continuous struggle. Many historians regarded states organization as a ground of national integration. Though, it was thought that linguistic reorganization of states may weaken the federal unity of the states, many of the states have shown the unity with the nation. It is believed that through the reorganization of states on linguistic lines, the national leadership removed a major grievances and States reorganization regarded as clearing the ground for national integration. To quote the political scientist, **Rajni Kothari**, “*In spite of the leadership’s earlier reservations and ominous forebodings by sympathetic observers, the reorganization resulted in rationalizing the political map of India without seriously weakening its unity. If anything, its result has been functional, in as much as it removed what had been a major source of discord, and created homogenous political units which could be administered through a medium that the vast majority of the people understood. Indeed, it can be said with the benefit of hindsight that language, rather than being a force for division has proved a cementing and integrating influence.*”

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## 2.3 SUMMARY

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Post -independence, India had a major challenge to not only deal with the plight of nation but also to unionize the Princely states who had been advised to join either India or Pakistan. Many princely states decided to surrender for better future and prosperity but the over ambitious and unrealistic aspirations of three states created a challenge for India to establish a democracy to build a powerful and welfare state. The three states were Junagarh, Hyderabad and Kashmir. Junagarh was acceded by India after the plebiscite took place and population of Junagarh favoured Indian Union. Hyderabad dreamt of being an independent under its Nizam and entered into standstill agreement with Pakistan and India. But when the Nizam's government started a number of troubles for Indian Union, the military troops entered into Hyderabad. After that Hyderabad was surrendered and brought into the Indian Union. The struggle in Kashmir was painful and continue even today. The Maharaj Hari Singh's indecisive mood and later to sign the accession treaty did not augur well with the Pakistan. The attack and capture of many important places of Jammu and Kashmir by the tribesman brought the nightmare in Kashmir. The interest of India and Pakistan on the Kashmir state made the people of Kashmir suffered. The Indian troops worked hard and finally the ceasefire was announced from both the sides.

Bipin Chandra is of the view that the reorganization of states on the basis of language was a major aspect of national consolidation. The reorganization on the basis of language was felt necessary because of linguistic identity has been a strong force in all societies. It believed that language diversity would give a birth to strong political current issues linked to language and access to job opportunities, educational and economic development and access to political power. Though the Indian leaders were essentially opposed the idea of linguistic states but growing agitation with the support of local leaders led the creation of states on the basis of language. Many states post-independence like Andhra Pradesh, Bombay, Gujrat, Punjab, Haryana, Nagaland, Himachal Pradesh, Manipur, Tripura, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh etc. were created. States' reorganization played a crucial role. Though it did not resolve all the problems relating to linguistic minorities and economic issues, but it has removed a major factor affecting the cohesion of the country.

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## 2.4 QUESTIONS

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- 1) Why the Integration of Princely States were necessary for India?
- 2) How did India tackle the problems of accession to Junagarh?
- 3) Why Jammu and Kashmir were the difficult state for Integration of Indian States?
- 4) Do you think the integration of Indian States was successful? Explain in Brief.
- 5) Analyze and examine the impact of creation of linguistic states for the nation development?

- 6) Why the state of Andhra Pradesh became the first state to have its identity as separate state on the basis of Language?
- 7) Elucidate in detail the role of States' Reorganization Act for creating the state on the basis of language?

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## 2.5 FURTHER READINGS

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## **INDIAN CONSTITUTION, DEMOCRACY AT WORK, SEPERATIST MOVEMENT AND REGIONAL POLITICS**

### **Unit Structure,**

- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 The Historical Background of the Indian Constitution
- 3.3 Framing/Making of the Constitution
- 3.4 The Philosophy of Constitution
- 3.5 Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles
- 3.6 Indian Democracy at Work
- 3.7 Consolidation of India as a Nation – Regional Politics
- 3.8 Politics in the Sates and separatist movement
  - a) Telangana and Andhra Pradesh
  - b) Assam
  - c) Jammu and Kashmir
  - d) Punjab Crisis
- 3.9 Conclusion
- 3.10 Summary
- 3.11 Questions
- 3.12 Additional readings

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### **3.0 OBJECTIVES**

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#### **In this Unit, the reader will understand**

- 1) Framing of the Indian Constitution & working of the Constituent Assembly
- 2) The main features of Indian Constitution
- 3) The contribution of India with a successful constitution
- 4) Efforts undertaken to deal with regional politics
- 5) Efforts undertaken to prevent separatist movements
- 6) The concept of unity and integrity for nation building

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### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

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The constitution of India came on 26<sup>th</sup> January 1950 and known as Republic Day. Since 26 January 1930, India has witnessed wherein 1000s of people across the different states in India came together and took the independence pledge. The inception of republic day is marking of the continuity between the struggle for independence and the adoption of the

Constitution that made India a Republic. The process of evolution of constitution was not an easy process. In this unit, we shall study the framing of the Indian constitution, its main features and working of democracy under Indian constitution. The role of India's key political leaders would also be discussed briefly in this unit.

While functioning within the political and economic framework of the Indian union, there were many changes which were experienced on social basis and it has also reflected at the state level. Despite the federal structure of Indian constitution and supreme power were given to the center, the role of central power while executing some plans and policies were limited. **Alam Tabrej (1999)** define, "*regionalism is a manifestation of socio-economic and cultural forces in a large setup. It is a psychic phenomenon where a particular part faces a psyche of relative deprivation. It also involves a quest for identity projecting one's own language, religion and culture. In the economic context, it is a search for an intermediate control system between the centre and the peripheries for gains in the national arena*".

When we talk about national politics, it cannot be looked in isolation. The nation is the outcome of aspirations, movement and determination to people to create a boundary which give them an identity and justify their existence. However, the desire of creating a boundary give an opportunity to voice the opinions and to be heard as well but it also invites the challenges and adversity. The unit also discussed the emergence of many states in India and disturbances occurred. The regional politics was not a concept which came sudden, it was an old concept and its genesis was existed before independence and got many manifestations after independence. The political parties have gained the maximum possible and exploited the sentiments of local people, there comparative backwardness and underdevelopment for the purpose of gaining political power. (Alam Tabrez p. 15) People fought over ethnicity, religion, language, caste, political autonomy, economic disparities, and often a combination of all these. This unit also discussed in details few separatist movements which was an extension of regional politics and created another war like situations within the Indian Territory.

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### 3.2 THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

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The Constitution of India was not a result of political revolution but of the continuous research and deliberations of the body of eminent representatives of the people who wanted to improve the existing system of administration. For the study purpose, the reference of Government of India act 1858 is important to understand because that was the period when the British crown assumed sovereignty over India from the East India Company and Parliament enacted under the direct rule of the British Government. The entire machinery of administration was bureaucratic and totally unconcerned about public opinion in India. The Indian Councils Act 1861 provided the Governor General's Executive Council certain

additional non-official members, while transacting legislative business as a Legislative Council. But this Legislative Councils was neither representative nor deliberative in any sense. Even for initiating legislation in these Provincial Councils with respect to many matters, the prior sanction of the Governor- General was necessary. The Indian Councils Act of 1892 was improvement in the Act as regards to the state of affairs between Indian and Provincial Legislative Councils. The Act was explained by the Under Secretary of State for India thus:

*“To widen the basis and expand the functions of the government of India, and to give further opportunities to the non-official and native elements in Indian society to take part in the work of the Government.”*

The introduction of Morley-Minto Reforms Act 1909 was important in terms of representation of non-official members in the provincial legislative councils and election was introduced in the Legislative councils at the Centre. The act also provided for the first time the separate representation of the Muslim community which sowed the seeds of separatism and led the partition of the country. The Montague-Chelmsford Report 1919 which led to the formation of the Government of India Act, 1919 introduced Dyarchy in the Provinces, Relaxation of central control over the provinces, and the Indian legislature made more representative. The electorate was however arranged on a communal and sectional basis further extension of 1909 act. While under all the previous acts, the government of India was unitary, The Act of 1935 prescribed a federation, taking the Provinces and the Indian States as units. It also gave provincial autonomy, divided legislature powers within the Provincial and Central Legislatures, dyarchy at the centre, etc. However, it did not confer the “Dominion Status” which was promised by the Simon Commission in 1929.

In pursuance of the Indian Independence Act, the Government of India Act 1935, was amended by the Adaptation Orders, both in India and Pakistan, in order to provide an interim constitution to each of the two Dominions until the Constituent Assembly could draw up the future constitution. (Basu Durgadas p. 12)

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### 3.3 FRAMING/MAKING OF THE CONSTITUTION

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*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.*

– B.R. Ambedkar

The process of the making of the Constitution began many decades before 26 January 1950 and has continued abated since. Its origins lie deeply embedded in the struggle for independence from Britain and in the movements for responsible and constitutional government in the Princely States. (Chandra Bipin p.31)

The Constitution of India just not narrate the rights of citizens from political perspectives, it has the genesis and heart of the national movement's contribution too. The struggle of Indian leaders during their freedom struggle and injustice imposed on their rights of expression, representation of the masses in parliamentary structures etc. were well protected and elaborated in details in the Indian Constitution. The Indian Constitution also talked about the demand that India's political destiny should be determined by Indians themselves and the statement made by Gandhiji in 1922:

*“Swaraj...will not be a free gift to the British Parliament. It will be a declaration of India's full expression. That it will be expressed through an Act of Parliament is true. But it will be merely a courteous ratification of the declared wish of the people of India even as it was in the case of the Union of South Africa...The British Parliament, when the settlement comes, will ratify the wishes of the people of India as expressed not through the bureaucracy but through her freely chosen representatives. Sivaraj can never be a free gift by one nation to another. It is a treasure to be purchased with a nation's best blood. It will cease to be a gift when we have paid dearly to it.” (Ibid p.32)*

The Constituent Assembly which had been elected for undivided India, held its first meeting on 9<sup>th</sup> December 1946 and again came on 14<sup>th</sup> August 1947 as the sovereign Constituent Assembly for the Dominion of India. As the Constituent Assembly was not elected on the basis of universal adult franchise and only the representative in character as the Congress demanded, it was essential to see that it reflects the diversity of perspectives present in the country. The special features of the Constituent Assembly were as follows: -

1. Each province and each Indian State or group of states were allotted the total number of seats proportional to their respective populations roughly in the ratio of one to a million. As a result, the provinces were to elect 292 members while the Indian States were allotted to a minimum of 93 seats.
2. The seats in each province were distributed among the three main communities, Muslim, Sikh and General, in proportion to their respective populations.
3. Members of each community in the Provincial Legislative Assembly elected their own representatives by the method of proportional representation with single transferable vote.
4. The method of selection in the case of representatives of Indian States was to be determined by consultation.

As a result of the Partition under the Plan of June 3, 1947, a separate Constituent Assembly was set up for Pakistan. The representatives of Bengal, Punjab, Sind, North Western Frontier Province, Baluchistan and the Sylhet district of Assam were ceased to be the members of Constituent Assembly of India. The fresh election took place in new provinces of West

Bengal and East Punjab. The assembly appointed a Drafting Committee on 29<sup>th</sup> August 1947 under the chairmanship of Dr. Ambedkar. The draft Constitution of India was published in February 1948. The draft was discussed clause by clause and meeting took place in November 1948, October 1949 and 14<sup>th</sup> November 1949. On 26<sup>th</sup> November 1949, the Constitution received the signature of the President of the Assembly and was declared as passed. The provision relating to citizenship, elections, provisional Parliament, temporary and transitional provisions, were given immediate effect, i.e., from November 26, 1949. The rest of the Constitution came into force on the 26<sup>th</sup> January 1950 and this date is referred to in the Constitution as the Date of its commencement.

### Check your progress:

Narrate the historical background of the framing of Indian constitution.

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## 3.4 THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE CONSTITUTION

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The Constitution of India lays down a set of rules to which the ordinary laws of the country must be protected. It has provided a framework for a democratic and parliamentary form of government. The historic Objective Resolution of January 22, 1947 of Pandit Nehru underlined the philosophy of Indian Constitution. In the words of **Pandit Nehru**, the aforesaid resolution was “*something more than a resolution. It is a declaration, a firm resolve, a pledge, an undertaking and for all of us a dedication.*”

**Adult Suffrage** – Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, a constitutional expert, who was an active member for framing of the Constitution, said:

“*The Assembly has adopted the principle of adult franchise with an abundant faith in the common man and the ultimate success of democratic rule...the only alternative to adult suffrage was some kind of indirect election based upon village community or local bodies. That was not found feasible.*” The beauty of adult suffrage is that it forces the most elitist of candidates to seek the favour of the vote to the humblest voter.

**Preamble** – The preamble is a very unique part of the constitution in the sense that it represents the entire constitution in its written words and it is a vital part of the constitution. The preamble contains the basic features of the constitution. The Preamble summarizes the aims and objects of the Constitution:

“We, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a SOVEREIGN, SOCIALIST, SECULAR, DEMOCRATIC, REPUBLIC and to ensure to all its citizens:

JUSTICE, social, economic, and political;

LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

EQUALITY of status and opportunity, and to promote among them all;

FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of individual and the unity and integrity of the nation

In our CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY this twenty-sixth day of November, 1949, do hereby ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE TO OURSELVES THIS CONSTITUTION.”

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### **3.5 FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND DIRECTIVE PRINCIPLES**

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The philosophy which was envisaged in the preamble was also highlighted in fundamental rights in part III of the constitution and ensured liberty of expression, faith and worship, equality of opportunity and the like. The Fundamental Rights are divided into seven parts: the right of equality, the right of freedom, the right against exploitation, the right to freedom of religion, cultural and educational rights, the right to property and the right to constitutional remedies. These fundamental rights are crucial for individual and to protect the fundamental rights, an individual may go to the court and appeal for the violation of rights, if any. The courts have right to decide whether these rights have indeed been infringed and to employ effective remedies including issuing of writs, of habeas corpus, mandamus, prohibition, quo warranto and certiorari.

The Directive Principles, excluded from the purview of courts, they are in the nature of guidelines or instructions issued to future legislatures and executives. The Article 38 which convey the essence of the Directive Principles as “the State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic, and political shall inform all the institutions of the national life.” The Directive Principles also directed on adequate means of livelihood, equitable distribution of material resources, avoidance of concentration of wealth and means of production, compulsory primary education, equal pay for equal work, establishment of common civil code, organize village panchayats, improve standard of living, promote educational and other interests of SC and ST and other weaker sections, provide free legal aid, protect and improve the environment and safeguard the forest and wild life of the country etc.

Thus, if we analyze and observe, then the Preamble, the fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State Policy have made it clear that the aim of the constitution is to create a condition for the building of an egalitarian society wherein each and every individual’s freedom was secure. It is an amalgamation of providing rights so that a person may lead a dignified life and it also talks about freedom with responsibilities and social change.

## Role of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar in making of the Indian Constitution

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. According to him quote, *“Political democracy cannot last unless there lies at the base of...social democracy. What does social democracy mean? It means a way of life which recognizes liberty, equality and fraternity as the principles of life...”*. He believed that a democracy to be set up which provides equality and dignity in the life of people. Making of the constitution of India post-independence was a difficult and complex task, but the statesmanship and wisdom of Dr. Ambedkar reflected logically in the chapters 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. Dr. Ambedkar, speaking after the completion of his work, said quote: *“I feel the Constitution is workable; it is flexible and it is strong enough to hold the country together both in peace time and in war time.”* The justice for one and all are necessary in social, economic and political level. Recognizing the exceptional contribution of Dr. Ambedkar in drafting of the constitution, Pt. Nehru expressed that it would not have been possible to frame the Constitution with care without Dr. Ambedkar.

### Check your Progress

- 1) Why do we call Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar the “Chief Architect” of the Indian constitution?

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- 2) What is the basic feature of preamble?

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### 3.6 INDIAN DEMOCRACY AT WORK

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Democracy is a government of the people, to the people and by the people. There are two categories in democracy – direct democracy and representative democracy. In direct democracy the citizens are directly responsible for making public decisions. Such democracy is possible for small group of people for example community organization. But when the population is large like India. The representative democracy is the right solution. The citizens through their right to vote, select their representative in their constituency or area. In India, representative democracy is applied at all levels wherein people select their representatives in Panchayats, Municipal Boards, State Assemblies and Parliament. But for a successful execution of democratic rights and development of country, people should participate and involve in making decisions more regularly. The power of people should not mean casting a vote every five years. It means participation in democracy and decentralized governance. In participatory democracy, the members of the group or community participate collectively to make the major decisions. The Indian Constitution which reflected the complexity and plurality of country with an intent on securing social justice as guarantee. The basic norm of India comes through its constitution. The laws are made as per the procedure prescribe in the Constitution. These laws are implemented by the authorities specified by the Constitution. The Supreme Court is the highest interpreter of the Constitution. If we closely observe the Constitution, its acts and inserted amendments from time to time, the democratic rights of Indian citizens are well preserved and complexity and plurality of nation are also considered while framing the constitution. However, the process of democracy is not easy especially in complex society like India which has a long history of inequality based on caste, community and gender. There is no deny to the fact that the efforts undertaken by Indian government to make the democracy at work immediately after independence is fabulous. The introduction of Panchayati raj, women reservation, tribal rights, SC and ST act, handling of disputes on water, education and many other areas and creation of law for the implementation of fundamental duties from time to time showed the determination of government to work towards the rights of people and bring equality in the society. But as we mentioned that India has a representative democracy and the voice of the masses are heard through its elected people who belongs to political party. The aim of political party is to achieve governmental power and use that power to pursue a specific programme. Political parties are based on the societal understanding and how it ought to be. They are the ones, who represent the interest of different groups according to its representation by political parties. Different interest group work towards influencing political parties. If the interest is not fulfilled, they create another political party or pressure groups to pursue specific interests in the politics. Every region has their own needs and aspirations. The regional political parties raise the voice of their region and make an effort to be heard. However, the regional politics sometimes bring the complex situation and drift the objectives of nation.

We shall discuss further now the regional politics and emergence of separatist movements in India, which may consider another struggle of existence post-independence.

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### 3.7 CONSOLIDATION OF INDIA AS A NATION – REGIONAL POLITICS

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The concept of regionalist is explained by Bipin Chandra, a famous historian states that the demand for a separate state within the Indian union for an autonomous region within an existing state, or for devolution of power below the state level, may be objected to on several practical grounds, but not as a regionalist, unless it is put forward in a spirit of hostility to the rest of the population of a state. If the interests of one region or state are asserted against the country as a whole or another region or state in a holistic manner and conflict is promoted on the basis of such alleged interests it can be dubbed as regionalism.

**Rasheed Uddin Khan** has developed following criteria for recognizing a region in India. "*Maximum homogeneity within and maximum identify without*". Where homogeneity is to be established on ten counts:

- (i) Language dialect
- (ii) Social Composition (communities/states)
- (iii) Ethnic groups.
- (iv) Demographic features,
- (v) Area (geographic contiguity),
- (vi) Cultural pattern,
- (vii) Economy and economic life,
- (viii) Historical antecedents,
- (ix) Political backgrounds and,
- (x) Psychological make up felt consciousness of group identify.

Regionalism is expressed as a common sense of identity and purpose by people within a specific geographical region. It unites people and bring the sense of brotherhood and loyalty. However, the excessive attachment to one's region against the nation's objective bring the great threat to the nation's survival and its unity and integrity of the country.

The politics of regionalism was not new in India. Its roots went back the days of colonial policies. The different mind-set, attitudes and favours by the British government to available various political parties have already sown the seeds of separate identity. The emergence of many political parties on the basis of caste were such an example. The British's exploitative economic policies neglected some regions, which promoted economic disparities and regional imbalances. The movement raised by DMK and known as Dravida movement or the non-Brahmin movement in 1940s was resulted into the demand of a separate and independent Tamil state. As a result, the emergence of several other parties like the Telugu Desham Party in Andhra Pradesh demanded the separate statehood. The

period of 1950s and 1960s witnesses mass mobilization which turned into a violent character for the demands of statehood. During our study of reorganization of states, we have seen that how the linguistic commission worked to accommodate the demands of people for the separate state on the basis of language. The creation of many states which ultimately led the outbreak of political regionalism in India and demand for a separate state. Many states and acts were created later on the basis of demand of states creation in 1970s and 1980s. In 2000s, the formation of three new states Chhattisgarh out of Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand out of Bihar and Uttarakhand out of Uttar Pradesh allowed due to a sense of regional deprivation. The states of Telangana created in 2014.

#### Impact of Regional Politics on India

- It led to the rise of many regional parties
- Focused on regional issues and create a sense of identity for the development.

The excessive form of regionalism led to the growth of violent separatist movements which create an internal security threat. For e.g., Kashmir militancy, Telangana movement, Punjab crisis etc.

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### 3.8 POLITICS IN THE STATES AND SEPARATIST MOVEMENT

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As we have studied already the creation of states on the basis of language and emergence of regional politics and its impact, here we shall discuss the cases in few states wherein the separatist movements were distinct and violent too.

#### A. Telangana versus Coastal Andhra –

Andhra a single linguistic cultural region surrounded by political conflict and sub-regional movements based on inequality in development and economic opportunities. Andhra was created as a separate state in 1953 and in November 1956, the Telangana state was merged with Andhra Pradesh. Though, there were reservations from Telangana Congress leaders for the merger with Andhra Pradesh, the hope was to cement the Telugu people culturally, politically, and economically. Telangana being an underdeveloped state developed a movement for separate state of Telangana in 1969 based on their belief that a separate state would solve the regional imbalance and exploitations of Andhra region.

The separatist sentiment was also based on the opinion of injustice and discrimination in employment in state institutions. The major issue regarding the separatist movement was occurred because of the Mulki rules. At the time of merger with Telangana in Andhra in 1956, the leaders of the two regions had evolved a 'gentlemen's agreement' and agreed that a fixed share of places in the ministry for Telangana leaders, and preference of students from Telangana in admission to educational institutions would be given. The

unsatisfied youth of Telangana accused government for not fulfilling their demands and agreement orders and demanded for expansion of education in Telangana to bring a large number of teachers from Andhra region. Towards the end of 1968, students went on strike, and massive violent agitation came against the judgement of a Supreme Court in March 1969 declaring the reservation of posts under the 1956 agreement to be constitutionally invalid. The agitation soon became widespread and joined by non-gazette government employees, teachers, lawyers, businessmen and other sections of the middle class. The Telangana Praja Samiti (TPS) was formed to lead the movement in systematic manner. A large number of local leaders of Swatantra, Samyukta Socialist Party and Jan Sangh supported the demand. The centre tried to sympathize and instructed state to adopt a sympathetic attitude towards Telangana's economic demands and to redress their grievances. In between the movement got called off and loosen its interest however, the movement again got revived after the winning of elections by Telangana Praja Samiti. The TPS succeeded in winning 10 out of 14 Telangana seats in the 1971 elections to the Lok Sabha. In 1972, a judgement from Supreme Court which states sanctioning the continuance of Mulki rules.

The people of Telangana took the initiatives in organizing meetings, strikes and demonstrations, and demanded the repeal of the Mulki rules and other acts of alleged discrimination against Andhra government employees. The doctors, engineers, teachers, lawyers, big landowners, and rich peasants too took an active part in the agitation. The prime minister announced a compromise formula on 27 November and state that Mulki rules will be modified and will be continued in Hyderabad city till 1977 and the rest of Telangana till 1980. But the Telangana leaders did not satisfy the plan and demanded for the separate state for Andhra region. The movement continued in many places with disturbances and threat to harmony. The central government to pacify the movement, put forward a six-point formula which did away the Mulki rules but extended preference in employment and education to all districts of the states over outsiders. The 32<sup>nd</sup> Constitutional amendment was passed to implement the formula. In case of Telangana and Andhra regions, the central government took a firm stand and successfully opposed the demand for bifurcation of the state and accommodated the two regional demands in Andhra. The reason for successfully accommodation of the demand of Andhra and Telangana was not communal but economic in nature.

## **B) Turmoil in Assam –**

The reason for separatist movements in Assam were as follows: -

1. The Assamese had a strong complain that the reason for their underdevelopment was because of the continuous neglect of their existence by the central government and discrimination

against allocation of central funds and location of industrial and other economic enterprises. Also, as Assam was famous for its tea, crude oil and plywood industries, the share of revenues received from Assam products, were not given to the states. The labourers in Assam were also mostly non-Assamese.

2. Assamese raised their protest against discrimination, and demanded for a greater share for Assam in the revenues derived from tea and plywood industries, Assam revenues, royalty for crude oil, construction of more bridges over the Brahmaputra river, creation of railway link between Assam and the rest of India, requirement for the buildup of industrialization of the state by both the state and the central governments, and employment of Assamese in central government services and public sector.
3. As it is documented that since colonial times and for several years after independence, Bengalis settled in Assam and occupied dominant position in all the important government and public services. The Assamese youth felt disadvantaged and were unable to face the competition with Bengali speaking middle class for jobs. According to Assamese, the success of Bengali and availability in larger number in Assam gave them a threat in preserving their culture and language.
4. Thus, the deprivation, poverty and feeling of insecurities within the state discontented middle class Assamese and they started a movement in the fifties demanding for the preference of Assamese in the recruitment and making Assamese the sole official language and medium of instruction in schools and colleges. The demand of Assamese led to the gradual development of hostility between the Bengali and Assamese. In July 1960, a tragic language riot took place. Bengalis were looted and attacked in rural and urban areas. Bengalis also reciprocated the violence. Within few months' times, the state assembly passed a law and made Assamese the sole official language and Bengali remained the additional language in Cachar, in 1972, Assam was made the sole medium of instruction in Guwahati University.
5. As the Assamese language became the official language, there were many other tribes in the state which demanded separation from the Assam and it hampered the process of evolution of the Assamese identity.
6. Over the years, the demographic profile of Assam was also got changed. The illegal migration from other parts of India had surfaced in 1979 when the large number of Bangladeshi became voters in the state. The All-Assam Students Union (AASU) and the Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (Assam

People's Struggle Council), formed a coalition and started anti-illegal migration movement in Assam. The demand of the movement to seal the borders of Assam to prevent inflow of migrants, identify the illegal migrants and delete their name from the voters list, and postpone the lection till the time it is executed. The movement was so strong that elections could not take place in 14 out of 16 parliamentary constituencies.

7. The period from 1979 to 1985 was a period of political instability, collapse of state governments, imposition of President's Rule, constant violence and agitation, frequent strikes etc. which not only paralyzed the civil life but broke the ethnic violence.
8. The Central government made an effort to hold an election in 1983 which led to the boycott of elections because of the non-fulfillment of demands. Nearly 3000 people died in state-wide violence. The election was a complete failure. The 1983 violence had a grave impact on both sides. Both the sides decided to negotiate. Under the prime minister ship of Shri Rajiv Gandhi, an accord was signed with the leaders of the movement on 15Aguut 1985. The central government also promised to provide them the legislative and administrative safeguards to protect the cultural, social and linguistic identity and heritage of the Assamese people. Finally, the separatist movement of Assam was solved by the central government without giving its communal colors and twist.

### C. **The Kashmir Problem -**

We have studied in the previous units too, the challenges which India faced post-independence for the integration of Jammu and Kashmir in the Indian Territory. Pakistan continuously claimed Kashmir on the ground of a Muslim-majority state. India, after signing the instrument of accession considered Kashmir a very basic character of the Indian state and society. India was quite aware of the outcome of separatist movement of Kashmir. **Joseph Korb**, a member of the United Nations Commission on India and Pakistan in his writing in 1954 stated that Kashmir had become the battleground and Kashmir dispute was uncompromising and struggle of two concepts of political organizations.

Immediately after Kashmir's accession in October 1947, India was ready for plebiscite to take a final decision by the people of Kashmir. India had put a condition before Pakistan to vacate their troops in Kashmir before a plebiscite. Till the end of 1953, India was ready to cooperate and abide by the results of plebiscite if the peaceful relationship be created in India and Pakistan. But the plebiscite could not be held because of the reason of not withdrawing the Pakistani troops from Pakistan held Kashmir and also the cold war between India and Pakistan. India also came to

know about the virtual military alliance between United States and Pakistan in 1953-54. The Indian government since 1956, made it clear and took a firm stand. The Indian government stated about the changes in the relationship between India and Pakistan completely. As Kashmir has signed the instrument of accession with India therefore Kashmir has been an irrevocable and integral part of the nation. Despite saying so, to maintain peace, Nehru accepted the status quo and accepted the ceasefire line or line of control (LOC) as permanent international border.

Under the Instrument of Accession signed in October 1947, article 370 granted a temporary special status to Jammu and Kashmir in the Indian union of the Constitution of India. The state gave the control to Indian union only in defense, foreign affairs, and communications. The state was also given a freedom to have its own constituent assembly and own Constitution, along with its own flag and election of its own head of the state called Sadr-e-Riyasat. The chief minister of Jammu and Kashmir was designated as prime minister. The Article 370 dealt with states relation with the Centre and not with its accession to the union, which was complete.

In 1956 on the ground of modification of instrument of accession by the Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir, the state's special status was liquidated. The jurisdiction of union institutions, along with parliament authority to make laws over the state has been extended. A few sections of Kashmiris were not happy with the erosion of the provisions relating to the state's autonomy. Also, the Article 370 called for a popular movement in Jammu region of the state for full accession to India, a greater share for Jammu in government services and separation of Jammu from Kashmir. The movement soon became the communal tensions because of the division of state being divided on religious lines – Kashmir being Muslim majority and Jammu being Hindu majority. In Jammu, Jammu Paja Parishad was leading the movement which was later merged with Jan Sangh. Jan Sangh raised the agitation to all India level. The unfortunate death of Jan Sangh President Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, due to a heart attack in a Srinagar Jail on 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1951 led the movement in a wider scale and the Praja Parishad played into the hands of communal pro-Pakistan elements in Kashmir (Chandra Bipin p.320).

Thus, from early 1950s till date, Kashmir has become tarnished image on India's secularism. Kashmir since independence, suffered a political, social and economic instability. Lack of sound administration, the growth of corruption and nepotism, the fraud in electoral politics, violation of human rights, continue station of India army on the border of Kashmir etc. have created unhealthy and disturbance environment in Kashmir.

#### D. **The Punjab Crisis –**

The unfortunate separatist movement which has shaken the secularism and harmony of people, is none other than the Punjab crisis. Before 1947, communalism in Punjab was amongst Muslims, Hindu and Sikhs. After August 1947, it has become between Hindu and Sikh. Two major issues which sowed the seeds of communalism and hatred in Punjab. The first one was a state language. The Hindu wanted Hindi and Sikh wanted Punjabi in the Gurumukhi script. The Government tried to resolve and divided the Punjab into Punjabi and Hindi linguistic zones. But the Hindu opposed the decision to study Punjabi along with Hindi. The Sikhs were firm to use Gurumukhi as the script for Punjabi. This became a major bone of contention between Hindu and Sikh communalists.

The second issue was of Punjabi Suba. The State Reorganization Commission (SRC) earlier rejected the demand for the creation of Punjab with Punjabi speaking people. However, after a great deal of negotiations, in 1956, the government of India with Akali Dal accepted the merger of Punjab and PEPSU. However, Akali under the leadership of Tara Singh demanded the formation of Punjabi Suba. He was firm for a separate state for Sikhs because of the majority of population were Sikhs. The other political parties like Jan Sangh, Harijan Sikhs etc. opposed the demand. The demand of Sikhs for a separate state was not only opposed by Nehru but the two stalwart Sikh leaders of the Congress, Pratab Singh Kairon and Darbara Singh also. Later the change in leadership of Akali Dal from Tara Singh to Fateh Singh convinced Nehru on the ground of demand for Punjabi Suba only based on language and major political and social organizations in Haryana demanded a separate Hindi-speaking state and merger of Kangra with Himachal Pradesh. During the leadership of Smt. Indira Gandhi, Punjab divided into two states. Chandigarh was made a Union territory and served as a capital to both to Punjab and Haryana.

However, Akali Dal was not satisfied and kept pressurizing to the central government. Mrs. Gandhi in 1970 under their pressure awarded two Punjab tehsils Fazlika and Abohar, with Hindu majority transferred to Haryana. This decision was also not accepted by the Akali Dal. Parallel to Akali militancy, terrorism also started making its appearance in Punjab in 1981. Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindarwale, a Sikh orthodox started terrorist campaign with All India Sikh Federation, headed by Amrik Singh on 24<sup>th</sup> April, 1980 with the assassination of the head of the Nirankari sect. This was followed by killing of many Nirankaris, Congress workers and Akalis. Bhindarwale, to protect himself moved in Guru Nanak Niwas; s sanctuary in 1982 and from where he was campaigning the terrorism in Punjab. He became a central figure in Punjab politics. He was continuously getting more aggressive on the demand of separateness and sovereignty of Sikhs. Fearing his arrest, in December 1983, he moved into the safe haven of the Akal Takht

within the golden temple and made its headquarters and armory. Under his guidance, the Khalistanis, the extremists, the militants and the terrorists gradually transformed terrorism into an armed uprising.

It is very irony to see that the extremists who were asking for the Punjabi and Sikhs rights, killed the maximum number of Sikhs to settle the fear in the minds of citizens. Around 55 percent of Sikhs were killed from 1981 to 3 June 1984 were Sikhs. The historians observed that the reason for the growth and challenges ousted by Akali Dal was the indecisive leadership in Centre. The weak-kneed policy followed by Indira Gandhi sent wrong signals to the terrorists and the people of Punjab. By June 1984, the situation had been escalated and terrorist activity was surged in mountain. More and more gurudwaras were being fortified and turned into arsenals. The riots in north India, anti-Sikh riot in Haryana were also adding fuel to the fire. Finally, by the end of May 1984, The Government of India undertook the military action, code-named Operation Blue Star. The Operation Blue Star resulted the death of Bhindarwale and many of his followers. But the operation produced a deep sense of anger and outrage among Sikhs all over the country. There was an emotional outburst. In spite of having many criticisms and critical analysis, Operation Blue Star established the faith of people on government and put an end to Bhindarwale and his gang. After Operation Blue Star, it was assumed that now the violence will be stopped and life would set in normal condition but it did not happen. Following Operation Blue star, the terrorists vowed against Indira Gandhi and her family which resulted in the unfortunate assassination of Mrs. Gandhi on 31<sup>st</sup> October 1984 by two Sikh members of her security guard.

Finally, a hard policy against terrorism was followed in mid-1991 onwards and by 1993, Punjab finally became free from terrorism.

### **Check your progress**

Do you think that the reorganization of India states on the basis of language was the reason for the birth of regional politics?

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## **3.9 CONCLUSION**

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India got its constitution which is the charter of Indian unity. The constitution of India has provided a framework for social, economic and political development for the growth of nation and its development. The Indian Constituent Assembly drafted the constitution that expressed the aspirations of the nation. They did their work with fully effectiveness and tried to accommodate the needs of society from all levels. The accommodation was embodied in the constitution, consensus was the aim

of the decision-making process. The Assembly also made the Constitution with an intention that the Constitution of India would bring to Indians the liberty, equality, fraternity and justice. **G. Austin** stated the though the constitution of India has borrowed from foreign sources, it is not almost entirely of non-Indian origin. The author further argues that the Indian Constitution since its inception worked well and kept the faith of people intact for their rights and life. Although the safety of democracy is never assured, the Constitution from time to time let the disturbance elements understood that law is supreme.

The emergence of various political parties and regional politics became active post-independence. As the desire of local leaders to come on power and rule the state/nation, the federal and democratic structure of Constitution gave these people lots of aspirations and disturbances also in the nation. The separatist movements and violent behavior of local leaders to be above the law again gave the tough times to India and showed the unfortunate phase in the history of country. The individual separatist movement of state for their class, caste, economy, religion and politics disturbed the integrity of nation and gave threat to communal harmony.

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### 3.10 SUMMARY

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The Constitution of India was not a result of political revolution but of the continuous research and deliberations of a body of eminent representatives of the people who wanted to improve the existing system of administration. We have studied the past acts before independence and how it played an important role for Indian Independence Act June 1947. After Independence, the leaders were clear to establish a democratic, secular and integral nation and did their best while incorporating various laws, policies and framework for a democratic India. However, the regional politics and separatist movements by many states in India had continuously challenged the Constitution of India and people's rights. The Indian government from time to time gave a strong signal to the disturbance element and shut them with strong force. However, the cost was very expensive of a democratic nation wherein the life of leaders were ended, and state machinery was paralyzed.

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### 3.11 QUESTIONS

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- 1) Do you think Constitution of India was successful to establish in Democracy? Explain with suitable examples.
- 2) What are the differences in fundamental rights and fundamental duties?
- 3) What was the major issue in Punjab and why the separatist movement turned violent?
- 4) What is the philosophy of the Indian Constitution?
- 5) What is Telangana movement and why is it necessary to study in detail?

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### 3.12 ADDITIONAL READINGS

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## COMMUNALISM AND SECULARISM

### Unit Structure

- 4.0 Objective
- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Communalism & Secularism: Definition and Meaning
- 4.3 Characteristics of Communalism
- 4.4 Communalization of the Indian Polity
- 4.5 The brief history of controversy
- 4.6 Challenges in Indian Secularism
- 4.7 Conclusion
- 4.8 Summary
- 4.9 Questions
- 4.10 Additional Readings

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### 4.0 OBJECTIVE

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After reading this unit, the reader will understand

1. The meaning of communalism and Secularism
2. Characteristics of communalism and Secularism
3. The impact of communalism in the Indian Democracy
4. Secularism in the Indian Constitution
5. The different views on communalism

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### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

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**Communalism** is a word which has special connotations in South Asia. Communalism signifies the riots between Hindu and Muslims, Hindu and Sikhs, Assamese and Bengalis etc. Basically, the term communalism is described as riots between Hindus and Sikhs or upper caste. Hindu and Dalit riots are not communal riots. So, it is considered as an ideology or behavior that is likely to incite or lead to a Hindu-Muslim riot.

India before and after independence, faced the continuous violation and riots between Hindu and Muslims across the country. It was a civil war which was not accepted in the civil society. The end of war was the result of India and Pakistan. To understand the communal challenges faced by India, the historical and structural sources of nation uniqueness must be understood.

After Partition, India saw the worst phase of humanity and barbaric behavior of fundamentalists, which created a havoc in the nation. The leaders tried their best to establish a peace environment, but it took a huge toll in the nation. The exodus, rehabilitations and division of borders between Hindu, Muslim and Sikhs were continuously disturbing the nation

unity and sowing the seeds of communalism and communal politics. Thus, communalism have been forever the nightmare of the Indian polity.

The crisis of Congress as a party brought the political instability since 1960s and when the Congress party splits, the decline of congress has given an opportunity to other political parties to take a lead and spread their ideology. The growth of many political parties with their first agenda for nation development, transitioned their appeal and diverted the sentiments of masses on the basis of caste and religion. Apart from leaders, the administration machinery of the nation had also made the situation worse by their inactions and sometimes partisanship in dealing with communal riots.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime minister of India on 24<sup>th</sup> January 1948 expressed his desire for one national outlook. Mahatma Gandhi rejected the secularism ideology but advocated for a secular state which should be detached from the religious concerns of the people. According to him, ‘those who say that religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what religion means.’ Religion was the source of absolute value and constituted in social life. The inseparability of religion in politics and state is required to limit the state role to secular welfare and to allow it no admittance into the religious life of the people.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar explained secularism in the following words quote; “It (secular state) does not mean that we shall not take into consideration the religious sentiment of the people. All that a secular State means is that this Parliament shall not be competent to impose any particular religion upon rest of the people. This is the only limitation that the Constitution recognizes” (Pylee, 2007).

Jawaharlal Nehru was the main architect in the relation between state and religion in India. The ideal state according to Nehru was first and foremost democratic, but also socialist because of its bad economic situation and secularist because of the cultural and religious diversity. Nehru also advocated to develop a liberal outlook in India, it is imperative to first work on increasing the quality and level of education and scientific temper among Indian masses. Thus, the Indian secularism was pursued by Indian political leaders for the separation of two realms in the public. One was the political realm wherein the political actors are advised to speak and act in certain way which will protect and preserve the interest of national unity, non-preference and the rationalities and imperatives of the state. The other is cultural realm, wherein community could celebrate their own culture and its own myth and exclude others, if they want. India, a culturally rich country, is a preserver of culture of people. It is therefore, important that political and cultural realm needs to be demarcated properly so that it should not be contaminated by unilateral celebration of one community or the representation of only one particular interest of the community.

### Check your progress

- 1) What is the difference between communalism and secularism?

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- 2) Explain in brief the reason of problem of communalism occurs in India?

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## 4.2 COMMUNALISM & SECULARISM: DEFINITION AND MEANING

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**Communalism:** Communalism, communal parties and organizations are part of political environment. The politician used the communal appeal for mobilization of electoral votes. Similarly, the historians defined secularism from societal and political contexts.

**Chandra Bipin (2000 p.433)** defines communalism is an ideology based on the belief that the Indian society is divided into religious communities whose economic, political, social, and cultural interests diverge and are even hostile to each other because of their religious differences.

**Seth (2000:17)**, it signifies inter communal rivalries and social tension, economic, political or cultural differences of the rulers and the ruled. It is an ideology which determines the gradual evolution of relationships between two communities both within and without their respective folds.

**Yerankar (1999:26)** argues that community and communal are two different concepts. The former is used to express the fellowship of relations or feelings, common character, agreement and sharing a common culture and space. The latter means an expression of heightened sense of community feelings. Since it is associated with a religious community, it implies exclusive loyalty to one's religion and all its related dimensions.

**Vanik Achin (1997.34)** stated that communalism was first used by British colonialists to describe colonies like India and Malaysia, where substantial religious minorities existed alongside a religious majority. The colonial use of the term gave it a negative connotation of bigotry, divisiveness, and parochialism, thus helping to justify its civilizing mission.

**Sabrewal (1996:130)** argues that communalism as a concept emerged due to the fact that members of a multi-religious society had to witness and confront the behavioral pattern practiced by specific community per se. It clearly shows that the term multi religiosity may sound unique as a Sociological proposition, however the differences need to be understood.

**Dixit (1974:1)** argues that communalism is a political doctrine which makes use of religio-cultural differences to achieve political ends. When,

on the basis of religio- cultural differences, a community initiates political demands deliberately, then communal awareness turns into communalism.

Thus, it is understood that communalism is above all a belief system through which a society, economy and politics are viewed. Ultimately, the excessive use of communalism in politics give the birth to communal politics and it then talked about anti-racism, anti-semitism, and fascism. There is a vast difference between communal ideology and communal violence. The communalism is an ideology which spread the communal ideas and modes of thought however the communal violence is the long-term cause of communal violence and it usually occurs when communal thinking reached a certain level of intensity and the atmosphere is built up of communal fear, hatred, animosity and anger. To express communal ideology, there is not violence occur but communal violence cannot exist without violence. The communal ideology is like a disease and communal violence is like its symptoms. Generally, it is ignored or deny about the presence of communal ideology unless the violence breaks out. The communalists are spreading communal belief system but not necessarily communal violence.

### **Secularism**

According to K.N. Panikkar, “the Indian concept of **secularism** is an idealization of 19<sup>th</sup> century universalist ideas. In practice, the Indian state does not disassociate itself from religion. But it only pretends to do so by having an idea of neutrality”.

Parth Chatterjee defined three principles as the characteristics of a secular state. The first principle is the **principle of liberty** which means that the state to permit the practice of any religion, with limitations set by certain basic rights and also provide protection. The second principle is the **principle of equality**, which means everyone is equal before the law. The third principle is the **principle of neutrality** which mention that the state does not give preference to religious over non-religious and develop a ‘wall of separation’ doctrine. The state does not involve itself with religious affairs or organizations. Thus, secularism oppose the inter-religious domination. It does not talk about enforcement or coercion of one religion to another. It believes in unity, equality and tolerance. It believed in peace and harmony. India in its core soul, the Constitution maintained its stand and followed the policy of secularism in theory and at certain extent, in practice too.

The Preamble of the Indian constitution clearly define the India as a sovereign socialist secular democratic republic that secures for all its citizens: social, economic and political justice; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; equality of status and of opportunity; and promotes among them all fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the Nation. Article 30 grants special status to the state of Jammu and Kashmir where Muslims constitute an overwhelming majority and Article 30 [1] permits religious and linguistic minorities to establish and run their own educational institutions. The Constitution of India also discusses the role of religion within the state. The religious rights were put into the Constitution to

avoid any religious turmoil which occurred in the past. Article 15, Part III Fundamental rights, the Indian Constitution refers right to equality and it prohibit the state from discriminating any citizen on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. The Constitution also in article 292 prohibiting electoral reservations on the basis of religion and outlaws the establishment of a special electorate for Muslims (article 32). Apart from these, the India constitution incorporate the several provisions in Part III (Articles 14, 16, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, and 30), PART IV (Article 44) and IVA (clause (e)). Although the word 'secular' was first time inserted in the Preamble of the Constitution by the 42nd (Amendment) Act, 1976, it was already there in the Indian Constitution. The 42nd Constitutional (Amendment) Act of 1976 stated that 'secular' means a republic in which there is equal respect for all religions.

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### 4.3 CHARACTERISTICS OF COMMUNALISM

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These are the following characteristics which communalism has: -

- a) Communalism is an ideology which has social base and it is rooted and developed with the socio-economic and political background and conditions. However, the function of communalism is destructive and distorted.
- b) Communalism comes and enter into the struggle as the remedy of solutions but it itself is a social malady. It undermines the real struggle for changing the conditions.
- c) Though India followed the democratic and secular path to build the nation, the logic of the favourable soil provided reason for the growth of communalism. The struggle of region, for the physio-psychological needs created a rift and communalism.
- d) Though, communalism fight starts on the basis of economic problems, the roots of its grow are not economics. The religion, language, culture, caste etc. were seen as the cause of growing communalism.
- e) The communal problems disturbed India post 1947 because people post-independence wanted a new unifying, anti-divisive goal or vision and looking for a future with opportunities and development. Unfortunate, the vision did not get fulfil in a common nation- wide endeavor especially after the seventies. It resulted the spur of communalism and communal type movements which successfully destroyed India's unity and hampered all efforts of social and economic development.
- f) Therefore, to eliminate the social conditions which favored the cause of communalism, it is necessary to do a social analysis with great care.

### Check your progress

1) What are the characteristics of Communalism?

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2) Explain in brief the principle of neutrality in secularism.

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### 4.4 COMMUNALISATION OF THE INDIAN POLITY: -

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As we have studied that the Congress enjoyed the supremacy in Indian politics and played a major role for the shaping of India post-independence. The contribution made by many learned and far-sighted leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, Shri Rajendra Prasad and many more was the reason for continuation of stability and modernity of nation. However, after the death of many political leaders, there was a political vacuum and political instability. The era of ‘one party dominance’ at center had gone. The future of India had become far more open minded and unpredictable. The emergence of two political parties at the center, considered to be the alternative to Congress rule was the Janata Party (1977-80) and Janata Dal (1989-90). The politics of coalition and forming the party to rule the nation were the reason for the growth of communalism. There were many secular parties, groups and individuals have often permitted the intrusion of religion into politics and retreated it in the face of the communal onslaught. Congress allied with Muslim league in Kerala in the early 1960s. Communist party allied with Muslim League and Akali Dal in Punjab in the late sixties, in 1967, the socialists and other parties joined with Jan Sangh and formed non-congress government states in North India. In the Total Revolution movement which was launched by Shri Jayprakash Narayan in 1974, there were many political parties which were its parts like RSS, Jan-Sangh, and Jammata-e-Islami against Congress and Indira Gandhi. In 1977, Jan Sangh became a part of Janata party. In 1989 elections, Janata Dal formed a government at the Centre with the support of BJP. The movement of Indian politics from 1970s onwards was a soft approach towards communal parties and groups which had brought the negative consequences and legitimized communalism. The secularists also vowed before the communal sentiments and gave them all types of concessions making them respectable. For example, the revoke of Supreme Court judgement in Shah Bano Case by Rajiv Gandhi through constitutional amendment opened the gates of the disputed Ayodhya-mosque temple in 1986. The declaration of Mohammad Prophet’s birthday, a holiday by V.P. Singh in 1990 to please Muslims did not go well with Hindu communalists and the communal tensions in country got aggravated.

The **Babri Masjid and Ram Janmabhoomi** issue became an importance case study on the communal politics based on religion and repercussion of such violence on nation.

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## 4.5 THE BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CONTROVERSY IS AS FOLLOWS

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Babur built a Mosque at Ayodhya in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. Some Hindus claimed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century that it was the Mosque was built on the site which was a place where Shri Ram was born and Shri Ram temple was existed on the place earlier. But the issue did not take a communal turn till the time in December 1949, when a district magistrate permitted a few Hindus to enter the mosque and install idols of Sita and Ram there. Sardar Patel and Nehru condemned magistrate's orders, but the U.P. government supported the decision. To avoid any communal tension and fear, the mosque was locked and barred it to both Hindus and Muslims. The situation was accepted by all as a temporary solution for the period of dispute in the court. But, in 1983, Vishwa Hindu Parishad stated a campaign and demanded the liberation of the Ram Janmabhoomi, which would entail the demolition of mosque and construction of Ram temple in its place. The secular parties ignored it and did not do anything on it. All of a sudden, on 1 February 1986, the district judge reopened the mosque, gave Hindu priests its possession, and permitted Hindus to worship there. As a result, the communal riots started all over the country. Soon, Hindu and Muslim communal groups such as Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) and Babri Masjid Action Committee were started fighting against each other. The inaction of many secular parties since many years added fuel to the fire. In 1989, the VHP organized a mass movement to start the construction of Ram temple at the site where the Babri mosque stood. The Lok Sabha took place and as a result, the indirect alliance of Janata Dal and its left allied with BJP increased its strength from 2 in 1984 to 86. The new government formed under V.P. Singh was relying on the support of BJP, CPI and CPM. BJP officially adopted as its objective to construct the Ram temple at Ayodhya. In 1990, the BJP organized a Rath yatra headed by its president L.K. Advani. The yatra roused communal passions and resulted many communal riots in many places. Thousands of volunteers from BJP-VHP gathered at Ayodhya in October 1990, despite the UP government under Mulayam Singh Yadav banning the rally. The police did fire on the volunteers who disobeyed the orders of UP government and banning the rally. Many of the volunteer got killed and 100s of them got injured.

The BJP thereafter withdrew their support from V.P. Singh and election again too place in 1991 after the falling of V.P. Singh government. After elections, BJP emerged as main opposition to Congress. BJP also formed its governments in four states – U.P., Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh. BJP-VHP to gain further political mileage organized a huge rally of over 200,000 volunteers at Ayodhya on the site of Babri masjid on 6 December 1992. The chief minister of U.P. Kalyan Singh gave an assurance to the Supreme Court that the mosque could be

protected. The BJP leaders also seconded the assurance in the Parliament. However, they were unable to keep their assurance and promise. The system, administration, law and order were paralyzed. Communal riots, worst and wider since 1947, broke out in many parts of the country. The Bombay, Calcutta and Bhopal states affected most. And violence lasted nearly a month. According to a report, nearly 3000 people were killed in the riots all over India. The communal politics post this event continued to grow politically. In the 1996 elections to the Lok Sabha, BJP won seats while in 1998, it succeeded in winning seats and forming a government with the help of its allies.

The example of Babri Masjid-Ram Janmabhoomi issue appears to be religious issues but in reality, it is not so. In fact, communalists are not interested in religion, they are interested in manipulations and exploration of religion and religious identity. They communalized the mind of people for their political ends. The cases of violence in the name of communalism in Ayodhya, Punjab, Assam, Andhra Pradesh, North-East, Bombay and many other states proved that religious differences are not as much as responsible for communal violence. In fact, the moral and spiritual values of all religions go against communal values. What is undesirable is the intrusion of religion into politics and affairs of the state which is undesirable.

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#### **4.6 CHALLENGES IN INDIAN SECULARISM**

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Post-Independence, India was firm to not allow any disturbing elements which challenged the unity of India. However, it was faced tremendous adversity and challenges to fulfil its agenda of socialism and development. Nehru's period was the balanced period and all efforts were undertaken to curb the communal tensions. The separation of state on the basis of language was more for economical than religion however, there were fundamentalist who created a havoc situation, the nation was clear in its stand and approach. The ruling party was strong and unified and able to control the sub-group or party. However, since 1960s, due to the emergence of many new states, the provincial got more freedom which weakened the strength of centre supremacy ultimately brought the politics of accommodation and bargaining between different political parties. Later, during India Gandhi's prime-ministership, the emergence of congress into two parts, declined the support for Congress as a party at provincial and regional level. Post 1960s, the power was centralized in Indian politics and all powers was centralized at executive level. The authoritative and centralized tendency, the indecisive gesture by government while dealing with many state level problems like Punjab crisis, and violence at state level grew unrest and agitation movement started by the oppressed classes. The emergency period was the difficult period in the Indian history. The power was curbed, the rights were withdrawn, the state was imposed with President's rule, the houses were burnt, the voices were curbed etc. many historians and thinkers found the emergency period as undemocratic and centralized system in maintaining a balance between different sections and interests divided regionally and locally. Emergency has impact on the Indian politics and Congress rule.

Janata Party came in 1977. The vote-bank politics came into surface. The laws, policies, decisions were brought to please one section of community over the other eroded the notion of secularism. The pseudo-secularism came into the surface which ultimately questioned the integrity of nation and threat in the society to live in harmony and peace. The closing phase of Mrs. Gandhi faced the atrocities and communal riots in large numbers. Because of the communal violence, it is reported that number of districts affected was more in number as compare to 61 in 1960 to 250 in 1986-87. After Mrs. Gandhi, the period from mid-1980s to 2000 was also a period which had witnessed the major question of India's secularistic outlook. The incident of Babri-masjid demolition and Bombay riots were the plight of nation and disturbing narration of agony and suffering of secular nation's citizen who faced the non-secular actions and violence in free India.

### Check your progress

Do you still think that there are many challenges faced in Indian secularism? State with examples.

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## 4.7 CONCLUSION

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India saw a worst phase in its development at all levels. Communalism was always a set back to the growth of nation. But there is no exaggeration to say that, despite the growth of communalism, communal parties and groups, India has a healthy secular society. Though the disturbing elements challenged the Indian society and polity, it is not yet the dominant mode of thought of the Indian people. Even, if the communalists were successful in diverting the minds of people through their influence and power, the people of India have shown their discontent either not participating in the elections or rejecting them outwardly. The unity of Indian people on the secular mind-sets are the ones which keep the momentum of hope and freedom continue. In the words of Bipin Chandra (p. 443), "no parts of the country are an aggressive majority arranged against a beleaguered minority."

When two different cultures and communities exist together within the same country, a democratic state aspire to follow the concept of secularism. India is a secular state. The definition of secularism is to keep the state separate from religion politics. Secularism also proposes a mode of governance in which the state would be neutral in religious matters and will not tilt it in favour of a particular religion. The Constitution of India has certain provisions to protect the minority rights. But the interpretation of the clause of Constitution of India is necessarily to be done in the right manner. It is important for a state to be secular in the right perspective. A state should not form any legal alliance with any religion. A secular state should form a principle from non-religious source. There should not be

suppression. Discrimination, oppression, on the basis of caste, gender, class, etc.

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## 4.8 SUMMARY

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Communalism is a new concept. What was new which we understood was its interpretations and impact for diverting the philosophy of the Indian Constitution. The nation has suffered a lot. There was misconception which states that communalism occurred because of religion. The case of Babri Masjid and Ram Janmabhoomi controversy was an example of manipulating the religious sentiments for the political gains. However, inspite of major blow to India's democracy the people consciousness posed a major barrier to the spread of communalism in rural and urban areas.

India decided to be a secular state. The challenges which India faced was communal, economic and political. But, India in its every step dealt with adverse situation with able leadership and acumen political leaders. The challenges related with post-partition, integration of the states, reorganization of states on the basis of language, drafting the Constitution of India, working in democratic principles and vision, established a sectarian outlook. The Indian government did in every possible manner to create a unified government and society. However, the emergence of many political parties and individual aspirations, the basis of Indian politics kept on changing which had also impacted on the social life. The demand of separate state which had a base of progress and prosperity, converted into chauvinistic patriotism which resulted into communal violence, and terror. Thus, the indecisive centre politics post 1960s, emergence of many religious parties, and aspiration of individual leaders, hatred politics etc. had contributed for the failure of Indian secularism and democracy.

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## 4.9 QUESTIONS

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- 1) What is the communalism?
- 2) What is the meaning of Communalism? Explain in detail.
- 3) Do you think, communal politics are responsible for the divide of nation? Explain with suitable examples?
- 4) What is Secularism?
- 5) Why is Secularism essential for India? Please elaborate.

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## 4.10 ADDITIONAL READINGS

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## MIXED ECONOMY AND LAND REFORMS

### Unit Structure

- 5.0 Objectives
- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 History of Mixed Economy
  - 5.2.1 Definition of Mixed Economy
  - 5.2.2 Philosophical and Socialistic Principles
  - 5.2.3 Characteristics of Market Economy
  - 5.2.4 Characteristics of Command Economy
  - 5.2.5 Characteristics of Traditional Economy
- 5.3. Characteristics of Mixed Economy
  - 5.3.1 Advantages of Mixed Economy
  - 5.3.2 Disadvantages of Mixed Economy
  - 5.3.3 Features of Mixed Economy
  - 5.3.4 How is a Mixed Economy Different from Free Markets
  - 5.3.5 Conclusion
- 5.4 Bhoodan Movement
  - 5.4.1 Ideas of Vinoba Bhave
  - 5.4.2 Purpose & Aim
  - 5.4.3 The main objectives
  - 5.4.4 Achievements
  - 5.4.5 Drawbacks
  - 5.4.6 Post Bhoodan Movement
- 5.5 Gramdan
- 5.6 Questions
- 5.7 Additional Reading

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### 5.0 OBJECTIVES

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- 1) The objective of this topic is to give the basic understanding of the mixed economy
- 2) The various patterns and stages of mixed economy.
- 3) To reflect upon the socialist movement of equality of land distribution.

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### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

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**Mixed economy**, in economic terms is a market system of resource allocation, commerce, and trade in which the free markets co exist along with government intervention. A mixed economy may emerge when a government intervenes to disrupt free markets by introducing state-owned enterprises. The primary examples could be public health, or education systems, subsidies tariffs and taxes policies. Alternatively, a mixed economy can emerge when a socialist government makes exceptions to the

rule of state ownership to capture economic benefits from private ownership and free market incentives. A combination of free market principles of private contracting and the socialist principles of state ownership or planning is common to all mixed economies.

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## 5.2 History of Mixed Economy

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In addition to taking a variety of forms, mixed economies have come about from a variety of motives and historical causes. The British Corn Laws of the early 1800s, for example, were government interventions in the free market to protect native agricultural interests by limiting imports. The laws encouraged foreign protectionist responses and resulted in higher food and labour costs at home, which in turn led to an invigorated *laissez-faire* and free trade movement. However, at roughly the same time, abuses of factory workers led to government intervention to reform labour conditions for women and children.

In developed Western economies between the late 1800s and early 1900s, most political economists and governments believed that social prosperity progressed best in economic systems composed of free markets, in which social and monetary order was protected by the actions of governmental and banking institutions.

In developed Western economies, the historical development of the mixed economy is the evolutionary change of the free market concept as it adapted to avoid the risks of widespread social unrest and potential revolutionary socialist change.

Mixed economies also arose in many countries that formerly had centrally planned and socialist economies. The mixed economies in modern China and Russia, for example, evolved from communist systems that were too inefficient to compete in the modern global economy. The social experience of the Chinese and Russian people during that process was a profound testament to the personal difficulties and turmoil that people endure when a country makes a transition to a mixed economy. India under the leadership of its first Prime Minister Jawhar lal Nehru also adopted mixed economy.

As the historical examples suggest, mixed economies have public, private, legislative, judicial, and regulatory components. There is not a single ideal, standard, or typical set of economic features, and the mix may vary from country to country.

As per the neoclassical theory, mixed economies are less effective than pure free markets, but government intervention advocates that the basic conditions needed for free-market efficiencies, such as fair knowledge and rational market participants, cannot be met in practice.

### 5.2.1 Definition of Mixed Economy

Mixed economy is a system that combines characteristics of market, command, and traditional economies. It benefits from the advantages of all

three while also experiencing some of the disadvantages. A mixed economy combines the advantages and disadvantages of three different types of economies: market, command, and traditional economies. It's the most flexible system. Most of the world's major economies are now mixed economies. A mixed economic system is a framework that incorporates both capitalist and socialist elements. A mixed economic system preserves private property and allows a degree of economic independence in capital use but also enables governments to intervene in economic activities to accomplish social goals.

Globalization makes it difficult for command or traditional economies to avoid becoming a mixed economy. One reason is that most countries' leaders realize that their people are best served through international trade.

According to the theory of comparative advantage, a country prospers when it exports what it does best and imports what another country does best. That's why many countries import oil from Saudi Arabia, clothing from China, and tequila from Mexico.

Another reason is that the free market is the basis for the global economy. No single government controls it. World organizations have implemented some regulations and agreements, but there is no world government with the power to create a global command economy.

### **5.2.2 Philosophical and Socialistic Principles**

Many economists and political philosophers have argued in favour of government action to enforce the ordinary rules of law in economic matters. For example, Scottish social philosopher and political economist Adam Smith and later Austrian-born British economist Friedrich Hayek, noted the important role of government in assisting the functioning of markets by preventing violence and fraud, protecting property and public safety, enforcing contracts, and providing public infrastructure utilities that would otherwise be unprofitable. In a mixed economy, however, there is a presumption that government must go beyond this limited role to improve distributive justice in society. Smith wrote that such intervention violated the ethical principle that indicates that economic efficiency is the best long-term path to social progress. Hayek also objected to such government intervention because he believed it to be economically inefficient, though even more important in his view was the inevitable tendency for the mixed economy to be politically abusive individual liberty.

Despite those philosophical and moral objections, almost all modern economic systems in the world today are mixed economies. While the globalization of the world economy limits government intervention in free trade, governments still retain mechanisms for social welfare exceptions to the free market rule. At times, politicians have attempted to invoke such exceptions for reasons of parochial interest or political expediency.

Public policy-making in mixed economies frequently must balance the concern for individual liberty with the need for a fair, equitable, and just society. Balancing those concerns with integrity and procedural justice requires the participation of diverse social segments as stakeholders in an ongoing and dynamic search for a fair and appropriate economic system. For that reason, the success of the mixed economy depends on the integrity of governmental and social support for ethical principles of compassion, empathy, and respect for individual and minority rights. Without such support, the mixed economy can turn into a system of coercive government manipulated by powerful stakeholders.

### 5.2.3 Characteristics of Market Economy

To understand how mixed economies work, it's important to first understand how each of the three types of economies it combines—market, command, and traditional economies—works.

A market economy has six defining characteristics. The law protects ownership of private property.

1. Everyone is free to live, work, produce, buy and sell whatever they choose (as long as it's legal).
2. Self-interest drives the buying and selling of goods and services, including employment. Sellers want the highest price, and buyers want the best value for their money.
3. The law protects competition.
4. Prices are allowed to float along with supply and demand.
5. The primary role of government is to make sure that everyone has free access to a free market.

### 5.2.4 Characteristics of Command Economy

1. There is an annual federal budget that outlines the government's priorities and takes the place of a central plan.
2. Congress guides the allocation of resources. Taxes discourage some activities while subsidies encourage others.
3. Government spending follows the country's priorities.
4. The government owns a monopoly in important national industries. The federal government uses regulations to support economic priorities, such as agriculture.

### 5.2.5 Characteristics of Traditional Economy

A traditional economy relies on agriculture, hunting, and fishing. American traditions support the family farm. That has led to millions in agricultural subsidies. This is despite the predominance of a few global agribusinesses. Laws and treaties also protect the fishing industry.

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## 5.3 CHARACTERISTICS OF MIXED ECONOMY

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A mixed economy has three of the following characteristics of a market economy. First, it protects private property. Second, it allows the free market and the laws of supply and demand to determine prices. Third, it is driven by the motivation of the self-interest of individuals.

Most mixed economies have some characteristics of a command economy in strategic areas. It allows the federal government to safeguard its people and its market. The government has a large role in the military, international trade, and national transportation.

The government's role in other areas depends on the priorities of the citizens. In some, the government creates a central plan that guides the economy. Other mixed economies allow the government to own key industries. These include aerospace, energy production, and even banking.

The government may also manage health care, welfare, and retirement programs.

Most mixed economies retain characteristics of a traditional economy, but those traditions don't guide how the economy functions.

### 5.3.1 Advantages of Mixed Economy

A mixed economy has the advantages of a market economy. First, it distributes goods and services to where they are most needed. It allows prices to measure supply and demand.

Second, it rewards the most efficient producers with the highest profit. That means customers get the best value for their dollar. Third, it encourages innovation to meet customer needs more creatively, cheaply, or efficiently.

Fourth, it automatically allocates capital to the most innovative and efficient producers. They, in turn, can invest the capital in more businesses like them.

A mixed economy also minimizes the disadvantages of a market economy. A market economy could neglect areas like defense, technology, and aerospace. A larger governmental role allows fast mobilization to these priority areas.

The expanded government role also makes sure less competitive members receive care. That overcomes one of the disadvantages of a pure market economy which only rewards those who are most competitive or innovative. Those who can't compete remain at risk.

### 5.3.2 Disadvantages of Mixed Economy

A mixed economy can also take on all the disadvantages of the other types of economies. It just depends on which characteristics the mixed economy emphasizes.

For example, if the market has too much freedom, it can leave the less competitive members of society without any government support.

Central planning of government industries also creates problems. The defense industry could become a government-subsidized monopoly or oligarchy system. That could increase the country's debt, slowing down economic growth in the long run.

Successful businesses can lobby the government for more subsidies and tax breaks. The government could protect the free market so much that it doesn't regulate enough. For example, businesses that were too big to fail could be bailed out by the government if they started going bankrupt.

### 5.3.3 Features of Mixed Economy

- A mixed economy combines the advantages and disadvantages of three different types of economies: market, command, and traditional economies.
- To understand how a mixed economy works, it's important to first understand each of the three types of economies it combines.
- Most countries have a mixed economy these days as a result of globalization.
- A mixed economic system synthesizes the elements of a market economy and the elements of a command economy.
- In a mixed economic system, free markets co-exist with government intervention, and private enterprises co-exist with public enterprises.
- The advantages of a mixed economy include efficient production and location of resources, as well as improvement of social welfare.
- A mixed economy is an economic system that combines elements of a capitalist, market-based system, with a socialist, command economy system. It mixes elements such as private property rights, free trade, and privatization, with socialist elements such as regulation, the welfare state, and re-distribution.
- A mixed economy is a combination of a capitalist market-based system, and a socialist, command economic system.

### 5.3.4 How is a Mixed Economy Different from Free Markets

Mixed economic systems are not laissez-faire systems because the government gets involved in planning the use of certain resources and can exercise control over private sector enterprises. Governments can seek to redistribute wealth by taxing the private sector and using tax funds to further social goals.

Common examples of government intervention in mixed economies include trade security, subsidies, targeted tax incentives, fiscal stimulus, and public-private partnerships. They inevitably create economic fluctuations but are instruments for achieving specific goals that, given their distortionary impact, can succeed.

### 5.3.5 Conclusion

Most modern economies feature a fusion of two or more economical systems, with economies falling along a spectrum at some point. The public sector is working side by side with the private sector but may start competing for the same limited resources.

Mixed economic systems do not prevent the private sector from seeking profit, but regulate business and can nationalize industries which provide a public good.

For instance, the U.S. is a mixed economy, leaving ownership of the means of production in mostly private hands but incorporating elements, such as agricultural subsidies, manufacturing regulation, and partial or full public ownership of some industries, such as letter delivery and national defence.

All known historical and modern economies actually fall somewhere on the mixed-economy spectrum. Pure socialism, as well as pure free markets, represent only theoretical constructions.

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## 5.4 BHOODAN MOVEMENT

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With the independence India faced many economic set-ups among all agriculture was the major one. There were many patterns of land Revenues existing; with unequal distribution of land. Majority of the agricultural peasants were landless and a few landholders had the land by which they explained the par & illiterate masses which indirectly affected the Indian economy. There were two ways to meet the land reforms. Abolition of Zamindari with compensation has been suggested as one of the solutions. It was estimated that Rs. 450-500 crores will be required to abolish Zamindari this figure was so staggeringly large that some people have been led to think of taking over zamindar without compensation. At this critical movement Vinoba Bhave shown a 3<sup>rd</sup> way & this was fittingly been christened by him as the Bhumidan-yojana or land gifts mission.

### 5.4.1 Ideas of Vinoba Bhave :

The land gift or Bhoodan Yojana was started by Acharya V.B. in 1951. Acharya as movement was a moral appeal to the land owning classes in the country to donate apart of their holdings for the landless workers of the society. The underlying idea of the mission was “that every son of the soil; i.e. every man must have a right and acclaim on mother earth, in the same way as he has over air & water.

As Vinobaji said “ through Bhoodan Yojana I intent to solve the land problem which is the main problem for the whole of Asia; through non-violence; love & peace by preparing people’s minds for it which would be voluntary action. He said “we have to go from village to village from door to door & make the people understand the basic ideal behind Bhoodan. It should be done till all understands us. All will become equals.“Bhoodan is not a movement; but on ascension the more you climb up the larger is the vision that opens out before you. He fixed the target of 50 lakh acres during a period of 5 years; but then subsequently it was revised & made 25 lakhs acres within the 2 years.

**5.4.2 Purpose & Aim:** The purpose of Bhoodan Movement “to serve as break on the revolutionary struggle of the movement. This movement consists in the donation of land which later is to be distributed among the landless & land poor peasants. We can cite another & even more definite statement made by him at the close of 1951 on the aims & purposes of the movement. He said “If land owning people do not part with land & a proper atmosphere for reform legislation is not created; the 3<sup>rd</sup> alternative would be a bloody Revolution may attempt is to prevent such a violent development & after my experience in Telangana & in lip. I am convinced that peaceful methods can succeed. He launched the movement as an alternate to the forcible seizure & re-distribution of landlords by rebellions peasant’s in Telangana.

**5.4.3 The main objectives were :**

- 1) Land belongs to all & its use ought to be as universal as that of air & water. Individual ownership ought to be eliminated to the minimum.
- 2) Possessors of land owning greater quantity than they could personally till ought to share it with the landless designing to cultivate it.
- 3) To create the atmosphere for the elimination of economic inequality shares their lands with landless brothers.

**5.4.4 Achievements :** Vinobaji received the first donation of land on 18<sup>th</sup> April, 1951 in the village of Pochampalli. But April & June of that year he visited more than 200 villages in Telangana getting land donations totaling 12,200 acres. During its early years the movement achieved comparative success. The movement was favorably received in the west because it was regarded as a successful way of combating communist ideology in India. Thus there was taking place a non-violent Revolution which may well solve many of the ills from which Indian Agriculture suffers. Acharaya Bhave decided to distribute to Harijans at least 1/3<sup>rd</sup> of the land gifts received by him. The improvement that occurred in the situation in Telangana has to a great extent been due to the diligence of Acharaya. Among the rich donors may be mention the names of Nizam who has given 3654 acres & RSS leaders of Jaunpur Shri Yadavendraji who gifted 2,000 acres. The gifts made U.P. & Hyderabad account for almost the whole of gifts made so far. Bhoodan is not a revolutionary activity. It aims to bring about a radical change in society. It wants to create real equality.

**5.4.5 Drawbacks :** During the first 5 years 10 lakhs access land acquired. Next 5 years 20,000 acres. The end of 1956 the movements come down. The landlords regarded their participation in the Bhoodan Movement purely as publicity. A good part of the land received proved unfit, for cultivation & some of it was donated at the expense of its actual owners. The weekly Blitz had an interesting report on this matter.” 9,000 acres of land was contributed to the Bhoodan Samiti by landowner in Lucknow district in the last 3 years only 100 acres are not traceable. It goes without saying that the Bhoodan Movement cannot solve the land-longer problem of India’s peasantry.

#### **5.4.6 Post Bhoodan Movement**

Though the land was given to peasants after donations; but the fact was the peasant were thrown out of donated land or the landlord took back the lands after the Bhoodan movement went out of the villages or the peasant were not co-operation for seeds etc. & land given was bad quality. At the time of possession a particular acre was donated but that was not the actual area the land was less than that. No one can doubt the sincerity of purpose & the tremendous amount of missionary zeal put in the movement & by mobilizing a group of follower’s & devotees like Jayprakash Narayan to the movement. The problem of land - huge is still very big dimension. As D.D. Karve has rightly termed the movement a Quixotic Approach i.e. an unselfish approach. There are indeed very few examples when one sees some super-natural being managing the affairs of man & the origin of the land gifts missions of Acharya V.B. bear a sample testimony to this fact.

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### **5.5 GRAMDAN**

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The purpose of gramdan is to create ideal villages with an ownership vested in the village community as a whole. The meaning of Gramdan is a solemn resolve made by the villagers to manage their own affairs. They will take all the decisions hence for the. It is their law which will prevail in their village. They will decide how land should be grown. As said by V. Bhave “Gramdan is a beginning & not an end. It has only a firm foundation on which a new society can be built up you can form a village Republic who you are self-sufficient. Gramdan does not aim at breaking the villages on the contrary it is an attempt to extend it to the whole village. Gramdan solves problem of Rural Indebtedness. After the Gramdan even the outstanding debt will be taken over by the village community. Attempt will be made to reduce it by negotiations with the money-lenders & whatever remains would be paid by annual installments by the whole village. No one will be free to raise new loans individually. Even marriages would be celebrated by the village community. Pvt. Ownership on land will end. No debts will be incurred for a marriage in the family. The whole village will contribute towards expenses. Gramdan Substitutes a wider ownership in place of the narrow ownership. Individual ownership is the root cause of our unhappiness & slavery. If individual ownership in land is ended a new co-operative & collective social life will emerge.

As Vinobha Bhave said “If started the Bhoodan & Gramdan movements for these very purpose that separated hearts”, of the people, should once more be united. If every village prospers, the country prospers & attains glory.

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## 5.6 QUESTIONS

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- Q1) Define mixed economy and the characteristics
- Q2) Identify the advantages and disadvantages of mixed economy
- Q3) Define Bhoodan and Gramdan movement. Critically examine the success of these movements.
- Q4) Discuss the different types of mixed economy with its philosophical and historical evolution.

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## 5.7 ADDITIONAL READING

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- 1) Dutt & Sundaram: Indian Economy
- 2) Alak Ghosh: Indian Economy its Nature & Problems
- 3) Grover: Modern Political Thinkers
- 4) D.R. Gadgil : Planning & Economic policy India

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## FIVE YEAR PLANS

### Unit Structure

- 6.0 Objectives
- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 History of Planning
  - 6.2.1 Definition of Planning
  - 6.2.2 Objectives of planning
- 6.3 First Five Year Plan
  - 6.3.1 Achievements
  - 6.3.2 An Appraisal
- 6.4 Second Five Year Plan
  - 6.4.1 Achievements
  - 6.4.2 Appraisal
- 6.5 Third Five Year Plan
  - 6.5.1 Achievement
  - 6.5.2 Appraisal
- 6.6 Annual Planning
- 6.7 Review of Twenty years of Planning
- 6.8 Fourth Five Year Plan
- 6.9 Socialistic Pattern of Planning
- 6.10 Role of Jawahar lal Nehru
- 6.11 Summary
- 6.12 Questions
- 6.13 Additional Reding

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### 6.0 OBJECTIVE

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- 1) The purpose of the study is to expose the students about the genesis of planning in India.
- 2) The study will help the students to draw comparative studies on the various plans
- 3) The understanding of the role of planning commission in India

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### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

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Planning means powerful organized action a technique or means for achieving on end. As Prof. Robbins states “to plan is to act with a purpose to choose & choice is the essence of eco activity”. Planning is just an instrument on a technique which can help the promotion of growth 4 attainment of other social ends. An unplanned economy is subject to cyclical fluctuation. A planned economy can lead to a steady growth.

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## 6.2 HISTORY OF PLANNING

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Economic planning for a country is a 20<sup>th</sup> century phenomenon. Soviet Russia was the pioneer & successful implementer of economic planning for its rapid economic development after the 1917 Revolution. Impressed by the spectacular effect of the marvelous success of the planning of the Soviet economy less developed countries of the world also resorted to planning for their economic development. The first attempt to write about systematic planning in India was made by Mr. Visvesvaraya when he published in 1934 his book planned Economy for India. In March 1950 the Indian planning Commission was appointed with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as its Chairman. In July 1951, the commission presented the draft outline of the 1<sup>st</sup> Five Year Plan covering the period from April 1, 1951 to March, 1956.

### 6.2.1 Definition of Planning

Economic planning implies a rational exploitation of available economic resources of a nation by the state, with a view to achieving certain predetermined ends of general welfare betterment. As Dalton says economic planning; in its widest sense “is deliberate direction by persons in charge of large resources, of eco activity towards choose ends” (planning is a dynamic process). Thus economic planning is a conscious & carefully thought one process initiated by the state, for estimating the potential wealth of the country & for utilizing the available resources as efficiently as possible with a view to fulfill some definite long term objects.

### 6.2.2 Objectives of planning:

An unplanned economy is like a ship moving rudderless on uncharted seas with no fined destination & unlikely to reach it. A planned economy on the other hand, represents a much more determinate of resources specifying goods to be achieved.

The major objectives are:

- 1) To increase prod to the maximum possible extent so as to achieve higher level of National income & P.C.I.
- 2) To achieve full employment
- 3) To reduce inequalities of income and wealth.
- 4) To provide social justice.

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## 6.3 FIRST FIVE YEAR PLAN (1<sup>ST</sup> APRIL 1951 - MARCH 1956)

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The plan primarily aimed at increased productivity & reduction of inequalities. A mixed economy based on welfare ideals. It was decided

that in such a mixed economy public & Pvt. Sectors should function side by side as an integral parts of a single organism. The objectives were

- 1) To rehabilitate the Indian economy devastated by the effects of the Second World War & partition of India.
- 2) To solve the food crises & increase the agricultural production with 44% of total income.
- 3) To check inflationary tendencies.
- 4) To build eco overheads such as network of roads; railways & also construction & hydro - electric works.
- 5) To achieve 11% increase in the National income.
- 6) To reduce inequalities of income.

As the 1<sup>st</sup> Plan rightly mentioned we are convinced that without a substantial increase in the product of food & raw materials needed for industry it would be impossible to sustain a higher tempo of industrial development, the plan outlay Rs. 2,356 crores allocation. The purpose of the plan was to improve yield in agriculture so as to generate an agricultural surplus fundamental to economic development. The low priority given to large scale industries & these developments was left entirely on Pvt. Sector.

### **6.3.1 Achievements**

- 1) Agriculture & food grains: Agricultural production targets were not only reached but even exceeded National Income rose by 18% per capita income (PCI) by 11% food grains production increased by 20%. 16 million over major irrigation & 10 million minor & medium irrigation rose to 139 million with growth rate of 8%.
- 2) Community Development: Projects were also achieved with creating of village panchayat & Co-operatives; irrigation works both major & minor; rural electrification special progress for welfare of backward & tribal classes.
- 3) During the plan period steps were taken in all states to abolish zamindar system of tenure; Reform of Tenancy legislation protecting the rights or tenants.
- 4) Transport & Communication facilities were also developed - 380 miles of new railway lines were set up.

### **6.3.2 An Appraisal**

The First Five year plan was of ground preparing 'type'. It gave its primary attention to the achievement of economic stability & elimination of shortages of food & basic resources. Due to good monsoons sound foreign reserve position increased and the capability in the production was high. The plan was started in April 1<sup>st</sup> 1951 but the commission presented the draft in July 1951. The First plan did not modelise or visualize any new plans, but took up all the existing public works. The first plan neglected

the entire field of large scale industries. Not only crop planning was absent, but also there was no provision for system of crop insurance in the first plan. Despite these minor defects the First plan deserves a good deal of commendation as it was the first experiment of developmental planning for uplifting the lagging Indian economy. It was eventually a rehabilitation plan to bring into year the Indian economy ravaged by war & partition to remove the shortages that existed in the economy to build a sound base for more rapid evidence in future. It introduced a new dynamic element in a long static & stagnant situation.

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## 6.4 SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN

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The second Five year plan was conceived in an atmosphere of economic stability. Agricultural targets had been achieved, now it was felt that the economy had reached a stage where agriculture be assigned a lower priority & promote the development of heavy & basic industries. The basic philosophy of the Second plan was to give big push to the take-off stage. The announcement of industrial policy of 1956 accepted the establishment of a socialistic pattern of society as the goal of economic policy.

### Objectives :

- 1) Rapid increase in National income so as to raise the standard of living in the country (by 25%)
- 2) Rapid industrialization with particular emphasis on the development of basic & heavy industries. Investment in basic industries creates demands for consumer goods.
- 3) A large expansion of employment opportunities.
- 4) To reduce in equalities in income & wealth

### The plan was divided into Two parts:

- a) **It included the core project: Involving** an outlay of Rs. 4,500 crores the core projects included the steel projects, coal schemes railway development projects; port develops important power projects & other programs directly related to increase in agricultural production.
- b) The second part included the rest of the schemes involving. An outlay of investment was Rs. 6,750 crores.

### 6.4.1 Achievements

- 1) **Heavy Industries:** A total Rs. 900 croes were allotted. The industrial projects covered almost all basic industries such as iron & steel; coal fertilizers, heavy engineering & heavy electrical equipment. The setting up of the 3 steel plants at Durgapur, Bhilai & Rourkela. The expansion of the Chittaranjan locomotive works & the integral coach factory were some of the important projects.

- 2) Small industries: The performance was rather poor & disappointing; in spite of direct support & indirect subsidies by the govt; the handloom industry miserably failed to deliver the goods - its actual product figure was less than half; than fixed.
- 3) National incomes increased by 19.5% as per the target of 25%.
- 4) P.C.I increased by 8%.
- 5) Transport & Communication: The emphasis on transport was necessary both for the purpose of unification of territories for linking the Key products centers with the remote villages & towns. This was such developments which opened up new market; induce new investments & accelerate the process of growth.
- 6) In agriculture & community development emphasis was placed and diversification of agriculture production. Food grain production was to be steeped up to 75 million tons.
- 7) Increase in chemical fertilizers seed multiplication forms, land reclamation schemes.

#### **6.4.2 Appraisal**

The Second plan though an ambitious yet a rather unfortunate plan it passed through stresses & strain in the economy

- (1) The prices of food grains rose all over the country
- (2) The foreign exchange balance came down from Rs. 700 crores in 1955-6 to 100 crores at the end of the plan
- (3) Failure was noticeable in agriculture front & plus unfavorable monsoon from 1957-60 also kept agriculture production low.
- (4) All the 3 public sectors plants of steel were much behind the schedule.

It would have been much better if at the time of the formulation of the Second plan; the volume of investment in the heavy industries was slightly reduced & the released capital utilized for the expansion of the organized consumer goods industry. This would have checked the inflation by producing an increased supply of consumer goods & would have created gainful productive & economic employment opportunities to the unemployed.

One factor stand at very clear the absolute expenditure in each particular item was greater in the Second plan than in the first plan

## **6.5 THIRD FIVE YEAR PLAN (1960-61 TO 1965-66) :**

The working of the Second plan had shown that rate of growth of agriculture product was the main limiting factor in Indian economic development & thus the experience of the first 2 plans suggested that agriculture be assigned a top priority. The 3<sup>rd</sup> plan emphasized that agriculture product should be expanded as far as possible & rural economy be diversified to reduce the pressure of population on agriculture it also lead to adequate stress on the development of basic industries. Setting of goals on self-reliant & self-generating economy. The amount allocated was 10,400 crores. The objectives of plan were

- 1) To increases in National income of 5% per annum.
- 2) To achieve self-sufficiency in food grains & increased agriculture product to meet the requirements of industry & exports.
- 3) To expand basic industries like steel chemical industries; fuel & power & establish machine building capacity.
- 4) To utilize to the fullest possible extent the man power resources of the country & to ensure a substantial expansion in employment opportunities.
- 5) To establish progressively greater equality of opportunity & bring about reduction in disparities in income & wealth & a more even distribution of economic powers.

### **6.5.1 Achievement**

- 1) National income declined by 4.2% which was targeted for 5% per annum.
- 2) Industrial product during the 5 year period had grown at an annual average rate of 5% as against the targeted rate of 14% per annum. Thus the rate of growth of even industrial output also tagged behind.
- 3) Unemployment at the end of the Second plan was estimated at about 7 million over the 3<sup>rd</sup> plan the labour force increased by 17million.
- 4) The price Index of food articles rose.
- 5) The price of industrial raw materials & manufactures rose.

### **6.5.2 Appraisal**

The Third plan was not successful due to following major factors, Chinese invasion of India 1962 & the start of the hostilities with pack in 1965 affected the course of development lack of co-ordination between the centre & the state governments led to certain serious problems in plan implementation.

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## 6.6 ANNUAL PLANNING (1966-67 TO 1968-69)

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During the 3<sup>rd</sup> plan period several difficulties seriously disturbed the Indian economy. The aggression of China in 1962 & hostilities with Pakistan in 1965 resulted in heavy commitment on defense. This was coupled with the drought of 1965-66 which necessitated heavy imports of food grains to meet the situation of famine. The failure of crops also led to a fall in the production of those industries which depended for raw materials on agriculture. As a result of all those factors the price level rose sharply.

Devaluation of the rupee on June 6, 1966 tended to push up the prices of imported articles & manufactured goods. It was decided by the National Development Council that the new 4<sup>th</sup> Plan should commence from 1968-70. To fill the gap Annual Plan from 1966-69 in 3 terms was formulated the outlay was of the order of Rs. 6,626 crores for 3 plans.

### **Achievement :**

#### **First plan**

- (1) Food grain production at 76 m tones fell short of the target of 97 m tones
- (2) In industrial sector target were not reach the productive rose normally by 0.3%
- (3) The saving ratio to decline from 10.3% to 8.2% in 1965-66.

**Second plan :** Fortunately during 1966-68 process of recovery set in for National income rose by 8.9%. This improvement rose from good harvest & adoption of new agriculture strategy & good monsoon.

**Third Plan:** At the end of the Third annual plans i.e. on the eve of the Fourth plan the economic stability provided favorable conditions for carrying the economy forward in the 4<sup>th</sup> plan.

### **Review of Twenty years of Planning:**

The first 3 years of the first plan were devoted to the problems of partition; refugee rehabilitation; the effects of the Korean War & to the creation of institutional arrangements & to Connect rural India like the community development.

The process of development under planning started some where about 1954-55 the period since then can be broadly divided in 2 parts:

- (1) 1954-55 to 1963-64
- (2) 1964-65 onwards.

## Steady Growth:

During 1965-55 to 1964-65 the National Income grew at an annual average ratio of 3.5%. However the population also grew at the rate of 2.2% to 2.4%. Thus the P.C.I of grew at the rate of about 1.3% per annum. In other words the level of living improved though slowly; but steadily during the period. Exports grew at the rate of 32% but the needs of industrialization necessitated a sharp increase in imports & an average imports rose at the rate of 7.5% per annum. Thus the trade balance which was unfavorable in 1954-55 become favorable in 1964-65. The ratio of net saving to net National income rose to 12% in 1963-65. The Chinese aggression in 1962 focused the attention of the govt. of India to the urgent need for stepping up expenditure on defense. Another important development was the continues pressure of inflationary tendencies to raise prices; reduce saving potential; slow down the rate of increase in National income & unemployment the number of educated unemployed on the live register of employment exchanges touched a record of 1 million in 1967. Food grains output has been steadily increasing at the rate of 5.6% per annum after 1968-69.

Annual Growth Rate					
	Objectives	1954-55 to 1964-65	1964-65 to 1969-70	1969- 70	1970
1)	National Income	3.5%	2.3%	7.3%	4.6%
2)	Indian of Industrial output (1960 = 100)	7.9%	4.1%	7.0%	5.6%
3)	Indian of agricultural output (1949-50=100)	3.1%	-0.1%	--	5.0%
a)	Food grains	2.8%	1.1%	5.9%	5.0%
b)	Non-food grains	3.9%	2.3%	--	--
4)	Indian No. of whole sale price (1952-53 = 100)	4.7%	7.4%	3.7%	5.1%
a)	Food grains	6.5%	7.6%	3.6%	1.8%
b)	Industrial raw materials	4.8%	9.4%	14.5%	8.8%
c)	Manufacturers	3.1%	5.8%	8.1%	7.6%
5)	Cost of living in Indian for Industrial workers (1949=100)	4.7%	6.5%	1.4%	4.8%
6)	Money wages (factory workers) (1961=100)	3.5%	9.0%	--	--
7)	Money Supply	7.6%	9.2%	10.7%	11.8%

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## 6.8 FOURTH FIVE YEAR PLAN (1969-74)

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The years of annual planning is euphemistically described as the period of 'plan holiday'.

### **Objectives:**

The Fourth plan set before itself two principal objectives viz 'Growth with stability' & progressive achievement of self-reliance.

- 1) Attaining a growth of National Income of 5.5% per annum. Food product was expected to grow by 31%.
- 2) To bring about eco stability with efforts to stabilize food grains prices & the price level in general. For stabilizing food prices the plan aimed at intensive food product by the adoption of intensive agriculture development program.
- 3) To achieve self-reliance by reducing the foreign aid net & interest payments to half. A sustained increase of exports by about 7% a year.
- 4) Achieving social justice & equality.
- 5) To create more employment opportunities in the rural & urban sectors & also raising the level of income of the weaker sections of the society.
- 6) Reorganization of Economic institutions.

The new plan proposed on outlay of Rs. 24,882 crores.

**An Appraisal:** the wide divergence between the planned target's & realized levels of growth in practically all sectors indicates that the 4<sup>th</sup> plan has been a total failure.

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## 6.9 SOCIALISTIC PATTERN OF PLANNING

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The task before the Indian planners has always been not merely to get better results within the existing framework of eco & social institutions; but to would & re-shape them in such a manner that they would enable the country to full realize wider & deeper social values. A plan is a conscious effort on the part of a people to galvanize all the forces working in the society so as to faster social as well as individual development. What an unplanned society achieves over a long planned. A planned society should be able to achieve in a short period.

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## 6.10 ROLE OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

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It was because of Nehru's profound interest for a long time that the planning commission was set up in March 1950. Nehru labored great deal on the draft resolution of the govt. particularly on the portion of objectives of planning. In order to have the continuity & permanency of the commission; the objectives of it were linked up with the fundamental rights of the citizens & the Dir. Principle of state policy as enunciated in the constitution. Nehru regarded planning as an ever following stream) only than there was a rhythm of expansion in the development of the people. He stated "planning is a continuous process & cannot be isolated for short period." His strategy of planned eco development for overcoming eco backwardness gave a boost to eco growth in various sectors. His contribution in accelerating the pace of modernization in India's predomination traditional society will always remain indebted to Nehru who tried to convert India's mainly agriculturist society into an industrialized society & succeeded to a great extent in creating the requisite infrastructure for this purposes.

Nehru's intention for introducing First Five Plan is that he wanted class differences to be ended & eco e.g. to be achieved. Towards this end; he propagated rapid industrialization; strong agriculture economy; controlled & mixed economy; community development & loud reforms aimed at revolutionizing the basis of India's rural economy. The Second plan has at times been criticized for over - emphasizing industries but Nehru's rationale was that without industrialization & technology it would not be possible to create employment opportunities.

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## 6.11 SUMMARY

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As rightly said "planning is not a once for all exercise for a 5 year period; it requires a continual watch on current or incipient & trends, systematic observations of technical economic & social data & adjustments of programs in the light of new requirements

Planning without a sound social philosophy is like a steering ship without any knowledge of its destination with two important things planning can be successful

- (1) Powerful philosophical basis of planning so to enthuse the masses.
- (2) An efficient administrative set up to implement the policies formulated.

Thus it was the great soul of J. Nehru which gave definite & unambiguous lead towards the socialist planning in India in order to ameliorate the conditions of her vast populace. His farsighted vision of socialist planning has lead India; though slowly but steadily on the path of prosperity & social justice. The Indian planning was eventually used by Nehru to integrate India under a planning development, on the country as a whole which bounds every state & makes a nation. Unless Indian

population will be checked, until then it will lead to a major eco drain. The plans failed to solve the problem of poverty; unemployment, inequalities of income & wealth & growth of population.

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## 6.12 QUESTIONS

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- Q.1 Review in brief the objects of economic planning & their realization through 5 years plan?
- Q.2 What were the objectives of the 5 years plans during the Nehru era? How far did the plans succeed?
- Q.3 Examine the nature of 5 years plans & explain their impact on the Indian economy.
- Q.4 Review in brief the objectives of economy planning & their realization through 5 years plan.

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## 8.13 ADDITIONAL READING

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- 1) Dutt & Sundaram: Indian Economy
- 2) Alak Ghosh: Indian Economy its Nature & Problems
- 3) Grover: Modern Political Thinkers
- 4) D.R. Gadgil : Planning & Economic policy India

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## **AGRARIAN AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT**

### **Unit Structure**

- 7.0 Objectives
- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Achievements in Agriculture
- 7.3 Green Revolution
  - 7.3.1 What is Green Revolution?
  - 7.3.2 Conditions prevalent
  - 7.3.3 The New strategy
  - 7.3.4 Result
  - 7.3.5 Effects of the Green Revolution
  - 7.3.6 Solution to failures (like all Revolution)
  - 7.3.7 Conclusion to Green revolution
- 7.4 Introduction to Industrial policy
  - 7.4.1 Definition Industrial Policy
  - 7.4.2 Division of Industries
  - 7.4.2 Division of Industries
  - 7.4.4 Schedules
  - 7.4.5 Failure of I.P. of 1956
  - 7.4.6 Conditions of Indian economy
  - 7.4.7 Industrial progress during 5 year plan
  - 7.4.8 Absence of a proper distribution
  - 7.4.9 Distortions or Imbalance in Industrial Pattern
- 7.5 Summary
- 7.6 Questions
- 7.7 Additional Reading

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### **7.0 OBJECTIVES**

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- 1) The objective of this module is to give insight about our agricultural and industrial policies post-independence.
- 2) To draw comparatives of the economic growth in both the sectors
- 3) To study the Green revolution as a successful experiment to improvise the agriculture production

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### **7.1 INTRODUCTION**

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Independent India inherited a predominantly a grain economy from the colonial period. Throughout the post-independence product agriculture has

been the core part of the Indian economy has provided a livelihood to the greater part of the population. The increase in agriculture product is attributable to 3 factors.

- a) Increase in area under crops.
- b) Improvement in the cropping pattern i.e. substitution of higher value, yielding crops for lower yielding ones.
- c) Improvement in crop yielding's.

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## **7.2 ACHIEVEMENTS IN AGRICULTURE: THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTORS THAT HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO IMPROVEMENT IN CROPPING INTENSITY ARE:**

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- 1) **Irrigation** : It makes possible to raise crops during the dry seasons also, the construction of various major & minor irrigation facilities; down etc. have reduced the dependence of Indian farmer on monsoons.
- 2) **Use of fertilizers** : It enables to regenerate & regain the strength of the soil in terms of plant nutrients with the Green Revolution many chemicals & pesticides came into market for higher production. Like high yielding varieties & quality seeds.
- 3) **Arrangements of crop rotation** : Suitable systems of crop rotation are adopted in the same field in such a way that different crops draw plant nutrients from the soil in the difficult proportions. The practice of zoom cultivation has been banned which declines the yielding capacity of soil.
- 4) **Selective mechanization** : With the introduction of new scientific & technological equipment's the production has been affected positively especially the time taken in harvesting one crop. Preparing the soil for the next crop & saving or planting this crop in time is now easily possible.
- 5) **Shorter maturity period of a crop** : Agriculture research has made it possible to evolve varieties with a shorter maturity period thus facilitating multiple cropping.

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## **7.3 GREEN REVOLUTION**

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Agriculture is the main stay of the Indian economy & even after 30 years of eco planning & concerted efforts at industrialization agriculture holds a key position in the Indian content. 7 Out of every 10 persons directly depend upon agriculture. According to 1971 census; 68.7% of the working population in India is engaged in agriculture.

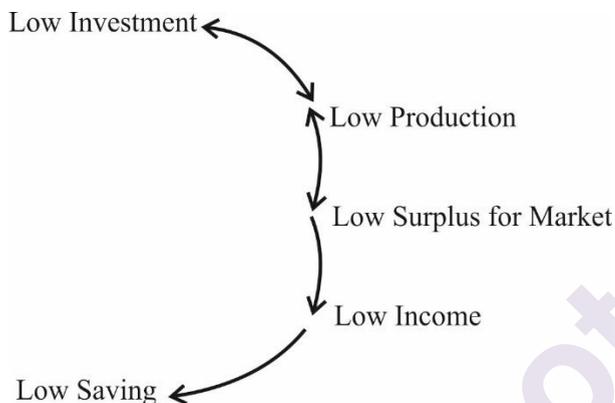
### **7.3.1 What is Green Revolution?**

The large increases in agriculture product which took place in a short span of time (1967-68 to 1970-71) as a result of the application of H.Y.

varieties of seeds & chemical fertilizer & which raised high hopes found expression throughout the world in the dynamic term 'Green Revolution'. So the Green Revolution refers to a rapid & sizeable increase in the quantity of agriculture inputs as well as output.

**7.3.2 Conditions prevalent:** The productivity per hectare which depends upon the degree of intensive cultivation was extremely low in India as compared with that of developed countries of the world. As Dr. Glouton said, "In India we have our depressed industry; people & unfortunately agriculture is one of them".

- 1) The output per worker was also miserably low in India when compared to the level of output labour in other countries. Indian agriculture is caught in vicious circle; the circle beginning with low product low surplus for market low income - low saving - low investment ending up once again with low production.



The following factors appears to be mainly responsible for rising demand to agriculture output :

- 1) High rate of population growth.
- 2) Rise in per capital income
- 3) Rising demand for raw materials due to industrialization
- 4) Need for ever increasing exportable surpluses in the agriculture sector.

Almost all of the Indian farmers were using the traditional method of cultivation when India embarked upon its First Five Year Plan in 1951. They were making use of the traditional input's viz cowdung manure; normal traditional seeds & age - old agriculture implements. They did not use any plant protection devices nor did they have any additional sources of assured water supply. They largely depended upon rainwater.

**7.3.3 The New strategy:** a new strategy to increase agriculture product was evolved by the introduction of H.Y.V. of paddy & wheat in 1966. Popularly known as the High yielding variety program it was introduced along with the Intensive Agriculture Development Program (IADP) called the package program to modernize Indian farming the new strategy aims

at concentrating on small & selected areas & applying all the inputs in an intensive manner hence it came to be known as IADP. This program has been taken up in the third plan as a major program to bridge the food gap in the shortest possible time. The program was initially based on 7 acres. These areas or districts were called innovative districts. Which should have assured supplies of water; absence of natural hazards & difficulties, with facilities like co-operative societies panchayats etc.

**7.3.4 Result :** As a result of the program substantial improvements have taken place in the used of inputs such as fertilizers improved seeds pesticides plant protection equipment's & the use of improved agriculture implements. The product of wheat which stood at (12.3 m tons in 1964-65) rose to about (26.5 m tons in 1971-72). So wheat; sugarcane & bajra responded exceptionally well to the Green Revolution but it is very disappointing to note that the growth rates were negative in grain; jute & cotton. It was hailed that Green Revolution has resulted in stoppage in imports; it has led to substantial accumulation of buffer stocks. The Green Revolution didn't cover pulses. As a result of Green Revolution the crop patterns in India had gone two significant changes; decline in the importance of pulses in food grains & a small decline the proportion of pulses. The use of fertilizers likes nitrogenous & phosphate; extension of irrigation facilities a large areas has been additionally brought under irrigation both major and minor. Entirely new crop rotation practices have been introduction by farmers in agriculture prosperous states like Punjab & Haryana.

### **7.3.5 Effects of the Green Revolution :**

The Green Revolution in India has led to a heated debate on the subject in the country. Some consider it as a precursor of prosperity while others look down upon it as a portent of distaste. Some feel that the Green Revolution would eventually turn greater while others fear that the Green Revolution may lead to possibility of turning it into a Red Revolution.

The **Positive** are as follows :

- 1) Avoidance of possible deficit of food crops the Green Revolution has led to the increase in agriculture product which has enabled the country to reach the level of total production in food grains to 125 m tones in 1977-78. The demand had been increasing at a fast rate of various factors such as increase in population excess investment in the public sector etc. if there had been no increase in agriculture product. The country faced more difficult times then what it has been facing now & so Green Revolution with H.Y.V. seeds gives the assurance of filling up the gap.
- 2) **Increase in Production :** There was a small increase in food product in 1966-67 over 1965-66 but there after there was a sharp rise in output between 1967-68 & 1970-71 the product of food grains jumped up from 95.1 to 108.4 m tones.

- 3) **Use of chemical fertilizers** : An important supplement to the use of H.Y.V. of seeds in the use of chemical fertilizers like nitrogenous & phosphate which were unknown before to Indian farmers with this introduction new pesticides & urea began to come in markets & the development of large companies like R.C.F. Bayer etc come into existence.
- 4) **Use of Machines** : India's agriculture economy witnessed tremendous increase in the use of machines for various agriculture operation such implements as power tillers; pump sets; tractors; harvesters; sprayers; dish arrows; threshers etc. has been increase. Soil & water conservation measures for a part of the new agriculture strategy. The use of modern agriculture technology brought to the sector visible benefits. Today a large majority of Indian farmers is aware of modern tech & is keen on making use of it to better its lot.
- 5) **Plant protection** : Measures relating to the protection of plants included seed treatment; intensive ground & aerial spraying weed rodent control to get the maximum yield from seeds & to save the quality of crops grown.
- 6) **Increases in irrigation facilities** : Increased provision of irrigation facilities with a stress on efficient management of water resources assuming an adequate supply of water. Stress on research & evolution of better agriculture practices. Better seeds & fertilizers could be more productive only under conditions of adequate quantity of water being made available.
- 7) **Agriculture loans** : Agriculture loans both short term & medium term have been on the increase during the last 5 years; especially after the Nationalization of the big commercial banks. In 1969 July likewise the substantial for were benefited the most from commercial banks which use to provide credit for agriculture & rural development. More over now with the introduction of NABARD in 1982 the farmers can develop their land & production.
- 8) **Raised standard of living** : As these changes relate to green crops people refer to it as the Green Revolution; farmers who were first to adopt the modern methods quickly have become leaders in their villages reaping considerable benefits.

With this many states also started flourishing due to Green Revolution like Punjab, Haryana etc.

**Negative Effect** : This new agriculture strategy considered to be the root cause of the spectacular change in Indian agriculture.

- 1) **Cause of Capitalist Farming** : The Green Revolution has been blamed for having capitalistic farming in Indian agriculture it require heavy investment which is possible for richer farmers & so they could take advantage of it to their benefit succeeded in amassing wealth. They have converted agriculture activity into a commercial

proposition at the cost of poor farmers who had to sell of their small holidays to the bigger farmers who problem more & more land to take advantage of large scale farming. The widening gulf between the farmers of difficult categories is fraught with serious implications.

- 2) **Regional Imbalances :** Green Revolution has not taken in its strides all the Indian states. Some states such as Punjab & Haryana have developed at a faster rate as compared to some others. This has given an impetus to the development of non-farm sectors. Some of the states which were slow in adopting the new technique e.g. Rajasthan & M.P. are lagging far behind. It is argued in this content that Green Revolution has sharpened the disparities in the levels of state Domestic product (SDP) of different states. This process has brought about unbalanced regional development in India.
- 3) **Unbalanced growth in India :** The rise in food product has taken place in Punjab, Haryana, Western U.P., A.P. kerala & Tamil Nadu. But these areas cannot claim to cover the bulk of India. All that can be said is that they have shown the way to a big take off in agriculture product. In other words the already better off areas have made their eco position still better. This had initiated a process of unbalanced growth in India. So unless all the major states enter the take off stage it wouldn't fair to speak of an agriculture Revolution.
- 4) **New Strategy is limited :** The new strategy is limited to wheat maize & bajra only. The major crop of India i.e. rice has not been affected in a significant manner by the Highest Yeilding Variety (H.Y.V.) Besides this progress in major commercial crops viz oil seeds; cotton & jute is very slow. Agriculture research has not been diverted to the development of new seeds in them.
- 5) **Widened the Inequalities :** The new strategy has created 3 kinds of conflicts namely 1) between large & small farmers between employers & employees an agriculture farms. The holders of large farms are capable of making heavy investment in the farm of fertilizers pump sets tube wells & agriculture machinery. They are also able to procure credit home co-operatives as also obtain fertilizers & better seeds. For all practical purposes the large farmers enjoy the right of holdin of agriculture input's this the right of small farmers are deprived of the much needed inputs. This has widened the inequalities of income & fostered the growth of capitalist agriculture in the country. The incomes of the richer farmers have been increasing at a fantastic rate while the have been left for behind. This has created a new class of rich people in the rural areas. This class has been wielding power to interfere with the population & social freedom of the people in the rural areas.
- 6) **The problem of unemployment :**

The application of new technology in large farms has led to the substitution of human labour with mechanical process. It is feared

that the new technology being capital intensive would lead to the displacement of labour this would further aggravate the problem of rural unemployment. Especially new innovations which displaced human & animal labour has led to an increase in unemployment. The greatest sufferers are landless labourers or daily wages labour unless alternative opportunities of employment are provided to this most vulnerable section of the rural community agriculture Revolution will be meaningless to the millions of landless presents in this country.

- 7) **Poor farmers left out:** The H.Y.V. necessitate heavy investment in fertilizers & water which are beyond the capacity of small & medium farmers. The big farmer's sales are making heavy investments in the installations of tube wells; pumping sets; fertilizers etc. required for the purpose. The poor & small farmers have thus been converted into landless labourers.
- 8) **Increase in imbalance in Rural areas :** These imbalance will increase
  - a) Areas with an assured supply of water. Through irrigation will affect progress faster than areas which have no similar irrigation facilities.
  - b) Bigger farmers who have a greater command over resources can avail themselves of the expensive outputs in the greater qualities. Than small farmers those resources are limited
  - c) The no of big farmers has increased the number of middle farmers has goes down.
- 9) **Drop outs :** A fairly large number of dropouts among the adopters of the new techniques. The adoption of H.Y.V. seeds requires areas of assured irrigation. About 75% of our area under crops is unutilized. This factor restricts the adoption of H.Y.V. technology.
- 10) **Prices of Fertilisers gone up :** It is true that the product of pesticides & fertilizers has increased. Even then we have to depend on imparts of fertilizers.
- 11) **Growth of capitalist farming:** The new strategy has helped the growth of capitalist farming on India. The poor peasantry is not being benefited but it has led to concentration of wealth in the hands of the top 10% of the rural population.
- 12) **Loss of good varieties seed:** With the adoption of Hybrid seeds Indian farmers lost the original good quality seeds of wheat etc. Even where the adoption of H.Y.V. provides the higher yields; the taste of such varieties of crops produced is inferior.

- 13) The majority of farmers :** probably as many as 75% to 89% in the rice-belt have experienced a relative decline in their economic position.

**7.3.6 Solution to failures (like all Revolution) :** the Green Revolution also has produced its own disillusionment. The strategy of Green Revolution needs to be modified in view of the field experiment conducted during the last years.

- 1) Enlargement of Double Cropping Area Vitality necessary i.e. to produce a much higher yield per acre by promoting the sowing of two or more crops on mitigated lands. Such a policy can increase the effective supply of good land & thus help in the maximization of output.
- 2) The problem of better allocation of fertilizers govt. should modify the criteria for allocation of fertilizers by introducing more subsidies.
- 3) The state should at least extend the program of provision of H.Y.V. seeds even to non - IADP area.
- 4) H.Y.V. program with particular reference to commercial crops like cotton jute & oil seeds & crops like rice; millets & pulses should be launched.
- 5) It to encourage public investment so that price would be lower & by wide sp. Reading technological changes in the labour abundant sectors. Such as back word regions & the small farms.
- 6) It is essential that landless labourers tenant are owners & a trade union mechanism is developed so that non exploitative farmers of tenancy can be developed in rural India & the wages of landless labourers can be improved.

From an analysis of the socio-eco relationship that are developing with the introduction of new technology; euphemistically termed as Green Revolution one way conclude that if an effort is not made to provide credit to the small farmers provide security of tenure to the cultivating tenants reduce the rents charged from tenants / share croppers or to provide an institutional framework which takes care of the eco inequalities there is every danger of Green Revolution farming into “Red Revolution”. Which is been already termed as partial & lopsided.

### **7.3.7 Conclusion :**

Green Revolution is by far the most important simple post-independence eco phenomenon that has contributed to the transformation of the rural peasantry into a dynamic agrarian class. It broadly summarizes the technological & institutional changes that have taken place & have affected the fortunes of those engaged in agriculture product 2) The availability of more food in the country will decrease our dependence on food imports & there by release scarce foreign exchange resources for

other sectors of the economy 3) Similarly increased product of commercial crops will enable the expansion of agro-based industries 4) In other words the program is conceived as an insurance against the vagaries of monsoon.

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## **7.4 INTRODUCTION TO INDUSTRIAL POLICY :**

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The Indian Economy experienced far reaching changes during the post independence which transformed it into a colonial semi-feudal; lopsided; stagnant & backward economy. The plant & equipment worn out during the Second World War were further damaged by the partition disturbances. Independent India inherited grave economic problems from her colonial past. Under colonial rule India's industrial development had been severely constrained & distorted. India's independence removed a major hurdle many new products in several new industries made their appearance. Now the country has created a sizable base of modern industries including construction materials; metals machine building; electronic; chemical & petroleum industries which form the core of the industrial sector.

**7.4.1 Definition Industrial Policy :** The concept of Industrial policy is comprehensive & it covers all those procedures; principles; policies; rules & regulations which control the industrial undertakings of a country & shape its pattern of industrialization. It incorporates fiscal & monetary policies; the tariff policy; labour policy & Government's attitude not only towards external assistance but to the public & Pvt. Sectors.

Industrial policy Resolution of (1948, April 16) It was the First Form inauguration of Government's intentions. It contemplated a mixed economy reserving sphere for the Pvt. Sector & another for public ownership.

**7.4.2 Division of Industries** The industries were divided into 4 categories.

- a) **Defense & strategic industry :** The manufacturing of arms & ammunition the production & control of atomic energy; ownership & management of railway transport monopoly of central govt.
- b) **Basic Key Industries:** The 2<sup>nd</sup> category covered coal; iron & steel; aircraft manufacturing ship-building; manufacturing of telephone; telegraph & wireless apparatus.
- c) **The 3<sup>rd</sup> category** made up of industries of basic importance like salt; automobiles tractors; prime movers; electric Engineering machine tools; heavy chemical fertilizers cement; sugar etc.
- d) **The 4<sup>th</sup> category** comprised of remainder industrial fields which were left open to the Pvt. Enterprises; individual as well as Co-operative.

Besides the sphere of Public & Pvt. Sector.

- 1) **Role of Cottage industries & small industries** offering them the scope for individual village or Co-operative enterprises.

- 2) The resolution enunciated a policy of fair labour conditions as an essential basis for harmonious relations between management & labour.
- 3) Govt. recognized need for securing the participation of foreign capital & enterprise as regards industrial technique & knowledge.

The aim of the mixed economy of 1948 was to clear the foggy atmosphere & help the process of investment (both domestic & foreign). Its main thrust was to lay the foundation of a mixed economy in which both Pvt. & Public enterprises would march hand in hand together to accelerate pace of industrial development.

**7.4.3 Industrial Resolution of 1956 :** It stated clearly the inherent right of the state to acquire any industrial undertaking. The resolution was passed by parliament with following objectives :

- 1) Acceleration of the rate of industrial growth with special emphasis on diversification of industrial product of basic & key good industries.
- 2) Protection & promotion of the small industry.
- 3) Reduction in disparities in the distribution of industrial activity among different regions in the country.
- 4) Prevention of the concentration of economic power in Pvt. Hands.

**7.4.4 Schedules :** The industries were divided under the schedules.

**Schedule 'A' :** Industries whose development responsibility was to be inclusive of the state. There were arms & ammunition atomic energy; iron & steel, heavy plant & machinery; heavy industries like coal, mineral oil; electrical plant; mining of diamonds, non-ferrous metals; atomic energy; air craft; transport; railway & ship building telephones & cables; generation & distribution of electricity.

**Schedule 'B' :** included industries which were to be primarily state owned included aluminum; machine tools, ferroalloys tools steels, basic chemicals; fertilizers & drugs etc.

**Schedule 'C' :** It included the residual industries. Their future development was to be left to the initiative & enterprise of the Pvt. Sector.

Following the 1956 I.P. & the initiation of the Second Five Year Plan (1956-61) the govt. of India adopted a number of measures to sub serve; the object of rapid industrial growth with special emphasis on the production of basic & heavy industries & on their production in the public sector. Some of the more significant measures included protecting industry against imports; diverting growing savings increasingly into industrial investments giving special facilities & incentives to priority industries; expanding the public sector by starting new enterprises & Nationalising Pvt. Enterprises in industry infrastructure, finance & trade.

#### 7.4.5 Failure of I.P. of 1956 :

- 1) Certain regions had been preferred for location of industries.
- 2) Many large industrial licenses had been imposed to obtain a large number of licenses.
- 3) There was concentration of monopoly & economic power in the hands of large houses. Entry in many industries for new firms was difficult.

**7.4.6 Conditions of Indian economy :** An important development in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was the development of large scale machine based industries in India. The machine age in India began when cotton textile; jute & coal - mining industries were started in the 1850s. The first textile mill was started in Bombay by Cowasjee Nanabhoy in 1853. Most of the modern Indian industries were owned or controlled by British capital. On the whole industrial progress in India was exceedingly slow & painful. It was mostly confined to cotton & jute industries & tea plantations in the 19<sup>th</sup> century & to sugar & cement in the 1930s.

Indian industries development was extremely top-sided regionally. Industries were concentrated only in a few regions & cities of the country. Large parts of the country remained totally underdeveloped. This unequal regional economic development not only led to wide regional disparities in income but also affected the level of integration plan for industrial development in India after independence :

Among the favorable factors those which would permit a rapid industrial expansion are the

- 1) size & variety of India's natural resources
- 2) a high potential economic surplus in relation to the National income. The concentration of the current surplus within a small social group which should facilitate liquidation
- 3) the large labour force
- 4) the high urban concentration which will allow India to setup new industries or develop existing ones at less cost
- 5) The large number of executive & industrial workers at management level who are technically competent & some of whom are unemployed & available; so there is possibility of training the executive on the spot with better equipment than in a most economically underdeveloped countries
- 6) A stable political structure dominated by one large party with popular support an experienced administrative organization relatively.
- 7) Powerful means of state economic contrast for a weakly developed capitalist economy.

These factors have given India a leading place among economically under developed capitalist. Countries in the figures of industrial expansion.

**7.4.7 Industrial progress during 5 year plan :** The industrial pattern in India on the eve of planning was worked by law capital intensity less development of medium sized factory enterprises & imbalance between consumer goods & capital goods industries.

Ist Five Year Plan during the First Five Year Plan no big effort was contemplated to industrialize the economy. Rather the emphasis was to build basic services like power & irrigation. So that the process of industrialization is facilitated the Sindri Fertilisers factory; chitranjan locomotive factory: Indian Telephone Industry etc. were completed.

There was 12% of rise in industrial product for 1951 is the largest during the period. The harvest in 1953-54 helped to expand the domestic market for textiles & for other industrial goods.

**Second Five Year Plan :** The situation changed with the Second plan mainly owing to state investment & the development of the public sector. The Second plan was based on the Industrial policy Resolution of 1956 most of the investments were in heavy & basic industries. The building up of 3 steel plant Rourkela (Orissia); Durgapur (Bengal) Bhilai (M.P.), also the expansion of H.M.T. in the sphere of village & small industries substantial progress was recorded. About 60 industrial (states comprising 1,000 small factories were set up)

The total amount was 938 crores i.e. 20%.

Following the 1956 industrial policy Resolution & the initiation of the Second Five Year Plan (1956-61) the Govt. of India adopted a number of measures to sub serve. The object of rapid industrial growth with special emphasis on the product of basic & heavy industries & an product in the public sector. Some of the one significant measures included protecting industry against imports; diverting growing savings increasingly into industrial investments giving special facilities & incentives to priority industries expanding the public sector by starting new enterprises & wat lising pvt. Enterprises in industry infrastructure finance & trade.

Third Five Year Plan The purpose was to expansion of industries especially capital & producers goods with special expansion machine building & development of managerial skills; technical knowhow etc. The industrial output increased for 1965-66 at the ratio of 76% per annum than visualized of 14%.

Fourth Five Year Plan (1969-74) in the Fourth plan many factors contributed to the slow pace of industrial development like lack of integrated planning & deficiencies in design inadequacy of investment resulted in reduced demand for industrial machinery failure to arrangement production of steel & non-famous metals & especially bureaucratic delays in executive their construction and implementation program progress of the public has been rather very slow.

First Plan 4.1%	Second Plan 4.0%	Third Plan 3.5%	Fourth Plan lower
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**Overall progress:** During the planning production countrymen able to train a cadre of technical manpower which can handle factories & industries etc? About 1.6 lakhs diploma holders' turned out of institution & also may went abroad for training in top skills.

Large & Small Industries with the expansion of large & small industrial sector in coal, steel; metals, Air & shipping; industries is paring the way of self-sufficiency.

**Change in composition of Production:** Capital goods industries & intermediate goods industries have assumed greater importance over the consumer goods industries which had their filed day before independence basic industries such as iron & steel, engineering goods machine tools. Locomotives; chemical fertilizers etc. represent a greater part of production goods such as cotton textiles; sugar paper etc.

**7.4.8 Absence of a proper distribution:** In the past industrial development ltd. to certain areas for instance; Bihar region was supply chosen.

Coal & iron are found there. Similarly Bombay & Calcutta developed as centres of industries. Bombay was the Centre of the cotton textile industry. Calcutta became the centre of jute industries. It is true that these industries have spread towards other areas; but they have not spread sufficiently with the result that some regions in India are very well industrialized while others remain industrially back ward. This leads to tensions & conflict among people.

- 1) Expanding role of the Govt. The govt. has been pushing ahead with more & public sector undertakings. Since 1972-73 public sector enterprises have started yieldings profits. Public sector enterprises of
  - a) Govt. under takings such as (Bharat Heavy Electrical Ltd. at Bhopal & Hardwar) & (Hindustan Machine Tools Ltd. at Bangalore; Hyderabad & Pinjare)
  - b) Public utilities such as posts & telegraphs road, transport service; railways etc.
  - c) Industrial enterprises which receive finance from the central govt. in the form of equity capital. Thus the role of govt. in the industrial development has increased.
  - d) Role of Pvt. Sector : India has accepted the ?? of mined economy allowing the enterprises in the Pvt. Sector to operate together & medium firms which required large capital & specialized management are run by Pvt. & Public Ltd. firms. Small firms operate in the forms of partnership & proprietary organizations.

- e) **Foreign Capitals in Industrial Development :** With the collaborations of foreign business Indian business are starting new industrial enterprises. Foreign governments. Are even providing loans or grants; also international institutions like the world bank; I.M. F. etc. are investing in industrial markets.

#### 7.4.9 Distortions or Imbalance in Industrial Pattern :

Despite planning industrialization has resulted in a number of distortions & caused bottlenecks & dislocations in the Indian economy.

- 1) **The Rate of Growth not uniform in all industries :** In the case of traditional industries the growth rate has been relatively low like cotton, textiles, jute; iron & steel etc. comparatively to new industries like heavy chemicals; machine tools etc. which is high. The basic industries like iron & steel are growing at a slow rate causing short fall in production.

- 2) **Industrial sickness:** (Sick industries are those which are unable to run properly & run at a loss. The main causes of industrial sickness are paucity of funds; shortage of raw materials inadequate technology; managerial inefficiency absence of harmonious relations between labour & management & lack of planning & foresighted approach. Industrial sickness acts as a slow poison & affects the pace of industrialization.

The sick industries are mostly small scale are who have a significant place in Indians rural economy, they have made some progress but the grow this not enough.

- 3) **Regional imbalances:** Maharashtra; Tamil Nadu & West Bengal account for more than 50% of the total value added by manufacture. The other states like Kerala, Rajasthan & Orissa are not much developed industrially.

- 4) **Target not achieved while the post :** Independence rate of industrialization compared with that in the pre-independence period is quite impressive; but when comparing with other countries like Japan; Poland etc. Indian lagged behind.

Targets provide the norms against which the performance can be assessed. Here we are handicapped by the fact that target on industrial development have not been fixed.

- 5) **Too much stress on the production of consumer Durables :** The output of consumer durable goods such as A.C. Refrigerators; domestic appliance etc. has increased 4 times than the output of daily consumption item such as soaps; matches; tea etc. So it leads to immobilization of large amounts of capital & leads to a 'pseudo - industrialization'. Thus the pattern of industrialization catered to the needs of the few rich at the cost of the needs of the masses.

- 6) **Sufficient Employment opportunities not Generated:**  
Emphasis on heavy industries also resulted in centralization of investment & use of capital - intensive technology. With the use of modern technology industrialization did not generate employment opportunities commensurate with the growth in the labor force.
- 7) **Absence of link between industry & agriculture:**  
The essential link between industrial development & agriculture development was ignored with the result that on the one hand agriculture was deprived of essential input's & on the other many industries could not get adequate markets for their products in rural areas.

#### Factors weakness of industrial Development :

- 1) Lack of planning
- 2) Labour Problems
- 3) Old & out dated machinery
- 4) Dependence on foreign capital
- 5) Irregular power & fuel supply
- 6) Development of non-priority industries
- 7) Big Business houses like Tata, Birlas etc. monopolized.

#### 7.5 SUMMARY:

The plans have been of fundamental importance in starting India's industrial development. Technological innovative modernization of equipment & processes & production of new range of goods have been the distinctive features of the emerging pattern of industrialization in the country. For all practical purpose industries in India are now in a position to meet - their requirements of technical knowhow & managerial & other skills .

The envisaged relationship between the 2 sectors is basically complementary rather than competitive.

	Public Sector	Ist Plan (1951-56)		IInd Plan (1956-60)		IIIrd Plan (1961-65)	
		Rs. 2,356	%	Rs. 6,750	%	Rs. 10,400	%
1)	Agriculture & Community development	291	15	530	11	1,089	12
2)	Major & Medium irrigation	310	16	420	9	664	7
3)	Power	260	13	445	10	1,252	14.6
4)	Village & Small Industries	43	2	175	4	241	2.8
5)	Industry & minerals	74	4	900	20	1,726	20.1

6)	Transport & Communication	523	27	1,300	28	212	2.7
7)	Social services & Miscellaneous	459	23	830	18	1,493	17.4
	Total	1,960	100	4,600	100	8,577	100

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## 7.6 QUESTIONS

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- Q.1 Briefly review the progress of agriculture with special reference to the Green Revolution?
- Q.2 What is Green Revolution? Enumerate its limitations?
- Q.3 Write a critique on Green Revolution?
- Q.4 Review the industrial development of India with special reference to heavy industries?
- Q.5 Asses the Industrial policy of the govt. of India during the Nehru Era?
- Q.6 In the light of the 5 years plans; discuss the industrial policy of India?

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## 7.7 ADDITIONAL READING :

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- 1) Trivedi & Joshi : Impact of Green Revolution Indian Farmers.
- 2) Dutt & Sundram : Indian Economy
- 3) Grover polthiker of modern India
- 4) Beetelhai : Indian Independent

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## NATIONALISATION OF BANKS AND ERA OF GLOBALISATION

### Unit Structure

- 8.0 Objective
- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 Role of Indira Gandhi
- 8.3 Purpose of Nationalisation
- 8.4 Globalisation
- 8.5 Global International Economic Institutions
- 8.6 Globalisation
- 8.7 Critique
- 8.8 Summary
- 8.9 Questions
- 8.10 Additional Reading

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### 8.0 OBJECTIVE

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

- The purpose of Nationalisation of Banks in India.
- The definition and influence of Globalisation

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### 8.1 INTRODUCTION

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RBI's history points that the idea to nationalise banks and insurance companies germinated as early as 1948, in an All India Congress Committee report. The insurance sector was nationalised in 1956 with the formation of Life Insurance Corporation of India but banks had to wait till 1969, barring the case of SBI which was nationalised in 1955. India's political drama in the 1960s, before bank nationalisation, deserves special mention. As RBI's history points out, we had war with China in 1962, followed by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's death in 1964. This led to the appointment of Lal Bahadur Shastri as Prime Minister who soon saw war with Pakistan in 1965. Then Shastri died suddenly in 1966, leading to the appointment of Indira Gandhi as Prime Minister. The ruling Indian National Congress was in turmoil, which showed in subsequent election results. In the Lok Sabha elections of 1967, the Congress won 283 seats of the total 520.

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### 8.2 ROLE OF INDIRA GANDHI:

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On July 19, 1969, the nation went on to transit as Indira Gandhi the Prime Minister and Finance Minister at that time decided to nationalise 14

largest private banks of the country. With Imperial Bank already nationalised and renamed as State Bank of India in 1955, this decision pushed 80 percent of banking assets under the control of the state. The reason for nationalising banks was to sync the banking sector with the goals of socialism adopted by the Indian government after independence. On July 19, 1969, 14 major lenders that accounted for 85% of bank deposits in the country at that time were nationalised. In 1980, six more banks were nationalized. These banks with deposits of over Rs 50 crores nationalised ' to serve better the needs of development of the economy in conformity with national policy objectives'.

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### **8.3 PURPOSE OF NATIONALISATION OF BANKS**

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Indira Gandhi highlighted the purpose of nationalisation - removing control of the few; providing adequate credit for agriculture, small industry and exports; giving a professional bent to bank management; encouraging a new class of entrepreneurs - during her speech. On February 10, 1970 the Supreme Court held the Act void mainly on the grounds that it was discriminatory against the 14 banks and that the compensation proposed to be paid by Govt was not fair compensation. A fresh Ordinance was issued on February 14 which was later replaced by the Banking Companies (Acquisition and Transfer of Undertakings ) Act, 1970.

#### **8.3.1 Ideological Argument :**

The ideological argument given was that the banks served merely the interests of crony capitalists and hardly bothered with the vast farm sector. The failure of over 350 private banks since Independence leading to depositors losing all their money, also gave it a populist underpinning. In reality, of course, there was substantial politics at play between the prime ministers and dissidents in the party opposed to her. Eventually, the move was considered a masterstroke by her though its economics remains debatable.

While discussions on the issue had been going on for a while, given the possibility of legal challenges there was hesitation among the PM's people to move ahead. Besides Indira Gandhi, others involved in pushing through the radical decision were P.N. Haksar, principal secretary to the PM, as well as economists P.N. Dhar and K.N. Raj.

A key role was played by D.N. Ghosh, who was then attached to the banking division of the Ministry of Finance and would go on to become chairman of the State Bank of India (SBI) in 1985. Ghosh's biography *No Regrets* talks about how the move was rushed through from the moment he got a dramatic call on the midnight of July 17 from Haksar to join the team given the task of drafting the ordinance in 24 hours so that acting President V. V. Giri could sign it the day before demitting office and before Parliament met the day after.

The country was in the midst of a whirligig of political activities as New Delhi buzzed with rumors of a rift in the ranks of the Congress. Not

surprisingly, the Cabinet decision to nationalize the banks came a day after finance minister Morarji Desai, who was opposed to the move, was relieved of his portfolio leading to his resignation. What's more the Cabinet decision was followed by the signing of the ordinance by Giri who was to relinquish office the very next day. That was important because with Giri gone there was no telling who the next man in Rashtrapati Bhawan would be.

Just a week before that, some senior members of the Congress had challenged Indira Gandhi's authority by announcing Sanjiva Reddy as the party's presidential candidate in direct confrontation with Giri, the PM's chosen man for the job. Giri subsequently won the election as an independent with Indira Gandhi's support. After the cabinet had signed on, in the evening Indira Gandhi addressed the nation on radio and in a speech drafted for her by IG Patel, announced the nationalisation decision.

As expected, the move was challenged in court by the affected banks and on February 10, 1970 the Supreme Court held the hastily passed Act void mainly on the grounds that it was discriminatory against the 14 banks and that the compensation proposed to be paid by the government was not fair. A fresh Ordinance was issued on February 14 which was later replaced by the Banking Companies (Acquisition and Transfer of Undertakings ) Act, 1970.

Whatever the gains for the agricultural sector, the move did help shore up Indira Gandhi as a champion of the underserved. More significantly, it gave her the popular support to beat back the challenge of the old guard in the Congress opposed to her and threw the Syndicate in disarray.

The nationalisation process would continue through Indira Gandhi's tenure as PM with six more banks nationalised in 1980.

### **8.3.2 The process of the Nationalisation:**

As late as 9 July 1969, P N Haksar was not entirely convinced that banks had to be nationalised right away. Then three days later came the assault on Indira Gandhi's authority with the announcement of Sanjiva Reddy as the Congress's presidential candidate. Subsequently, Morarji Desai's resignation was secured after four days.

**Another eminent economist, PN Dhar, was also present when PNH and Raj met. Dhar was to later write that Raj strongly favoured nationalisation but felt it would take at least six months to carry it out.**

But just three days later, on 19 July 1969, 14 banks were indeed nationalised, making one of Indira Gandhi's "stray thoughts" an immediate reality. This account is from the memoirs of DN Ghosh, who was then the official concerned in the banking division of the Ministry of Finance and who was to later become the chairman of the State Bank of India (SBI). It was the night of 17 July 1969 and Ghosh recalls being summoned to Haksar's residence:

‘I saw that Haksar was browsing through a mass of papers, among which I could spot the Reserve Bank publication, Statistical Tables Relating to Banks in India. He was trying to figure out how many banks accounted for 80 per cent to 85 per cent of the total resources of the system. Off the cuff, I said the number could be 10 to 12 banks’.

‘Just then, the Union Minister of State for Company Affairs, KV Raghunatha Reddy, strolled in and stood listening to our discussion. He piped up that it was a golden political opportunity to nationalise all banks and that we should go ahead with the bold decision. Haksar waived his suggestion politely and requested him to keep his impetuous radicalism to himself’.

Haksar wanted to be left alone till he himself had been fully briefed on a subject that was entirely foreign to him. I then asked him if the Prime Minister had made up her mind on nationalising the banks. “Not yet”, he replied. “We are to discuss this tomorrow morning.” He was not sure if it would be possible to sort out all the legal conundrums involved and have the ordinance [for nationalisation] ready by 19 July which was a Saturday. The date was crucial for two reasons. [Acting] President VV Giri was due to demit office on the forenoon of 20 July and the Lok Sabha would begin its monsoon session on 21 July.

**The choice of Ghosh by Haksar to be the “keeper of secrets” as far as bank nationalisation was concerned reveals much of how Haksar operated.**

Mr.A. Bakshi, who was then deputy governor of the RBI, had worked with Haksar in London in the early 1950s. They were ideologically also similar and were exceedingly close personal friends. Thanks to Haksar, Bakshi would join the soon-to-be-created department of banking in the Ministry of Finance and later become the comptroller and auditor general (C&AG) of India in 1972. It was Bakshi who had given the seal of approval to Ghosh and had joined the duo late that night of 17 July 1969 for confabulations.

The next day, Ghosh writes, the prime minister herself summoned him in the morning. She wanted to be convinced that the legislative draft for nationalisation of banks could actually be prepared in less than 24 hours. When she was told that such a draft had, in fact, existed from the end of 1963 when nationalisation of five banks had first been considered, she appeared to relax and swore Ghosh to absolute secrecy saying that in case of any hitch he should apprise PNH.

For the next few hours, Haksar, Bakshi, Ghosh and a few others who had been specially commandeered for this purpose, like RK Seshadri (an RBI official) and Niren De (Attorney General) slogged to prepare the ordinance – which was an executive order that would have to be ratified by Parliament later.

### **8.3.3 Full list of banks nationalised:**

In 1969, Allahabad Bank, Bank of Baroda, Bank of India, Bank of Maharashtra, Central Bank of India, Canara Bank, Dena Bank, Indian Bank, Indian Overseas Bank, Punjab National Bank, Syndicate Bank, UCO Bank, Union Bank and United Bank of India were nationalised.

In 1980, six banks to be nationalised were Punjab and Sind Bank, Vijaya Bank, Oriental Bank of India, Corporate Bank, Andhra Bank and New Bank of India.

**8.3.4 Critique:** Today, after 52 years, there is some talk again of privatising the nationalised banks, which naturally raises the question: why were banks nationalised at all? The answer to this question is usually given in terms of the specific advantages of bank nationalisation. This is correct and appropriate, but what needs also to be kept in mind is the overall perspective underlying bank nationalisation. This is important because the issue of privatisation of banks today cannot be discussed without reference to this perspective. Bank nationalisation was neither a socialist measure, as many progressive Congress men claimed at the time, nor was it some minor routine measure of trivial importance that made so little difference to the capitalists that they couldn't care less, as many critics of it belonging to the extreme Left had suggested then.

True, Rudolf Hilferding, the well-known Marxist economist and author of *Der Finanzkapital*, a work that was extensively used by Lenin in developing his theory of imperialism, had argued that the nationalisation of half a dozen top German banks would break the back of German capitalism; but that was just unwarranted optimism.

### 8.3.5 Social Controls, the Nationalisation of Banks and the era of bank expansion - 1968 to 1985

Date	Event
Dec 1967	Introduction of Social Controls over banks with a view to securing a better alignment of the banking system to the needs of economic policy.
22 Dec 1967	National Credit Council set up to provide a forum to discuss and assess credit priorities on an all India basis. Council was to assist RBI and government to allocate credit.
01 Apr 1968	Quarternary Alloy Rupee Coins demonetised.
01 Sep 1968	Gold (Control) Act passed to bring the administration of the control on a permanent statutory footing. (see: 1966 Gold Control Rules)
1968	Export Credit (Interest Subsidy) Scheme, 1968 introduced to promote exports. Pre-shipment Credit Scheme introduced wef Jan 1969 as an export promotion measure. This allowed banks to get refinance from the Reserve Bank.
29 Jan 1969	Setting up of the Banking Commission by GOI to report on (i) Banking costs; (ii) legislations affecting banking; (iii) indigenous banking; (iv) bank procedures; (v) non banking financial intermediaries.

<b>Date</b>	<b>Event</b>
01 Feb 1969	Gold Holdings of RBI revalued at the current official IMF rate of 0.118489 grammes of fine gold per rupee (to take into account the devaluation of the Rupee by 36.5 % in June 1966) The profit on revaluation transferred to the reserve fund.
19 Jul 1969	14 major Indian Scheduled Commercial Banks with deposits of over Rs 50 crores nationalised ' to serve better the needs of development of the economy in conformity with national policy objectives'. On February 10, 1970 the Supreme Court held the Act void mainly on the grounds that it was discriminatory against the 14 banks and that the compensation proposed to be paid by Govt was not fair compensation. A fresh Ordinance was issued on February 14 which was later replaced by the Banking Companies (Acquisition and Transfer of Undertakings ) Act, 1970. (5 of 1970).
24 Sep 1969	National Institute of Bank Management (NIBM) established at Bombay (Mumbai). Shifted to its Pune campus in the mid 1980s.
29 Sep 1969	Cooperative Bankers Training College (CBTC) established at Poona (Pune) to provide training to the cooperative sector. Later renamed College of Agricultural Banking (CAB) in 1974.
Dec 1969	Lead Bank Scheme introduced which envisaged an area approach to banking to meet the credit gaps in the economy.
01 Jan 1970	Special Drawing Rights (SDR) created by the IMF to enhance international liquidity.
Jan 1970	RBI prescribed for the first time the minimum interest rate to be charged by banks on advances against sensitive commodities.
Feb 1970	The Agricultural Credit Board set up with Governor as Chairman to formulate and review policies in the sphere of rural credit.
03 Apr 1970	The Managing Agency system abolished by the Companies Amendment Act, 1969.
04 May 1970	B.N. Adarkar appointed Governor till June 15
16 Jun 1970	S. Jagannathan appointed Governor.
Between Feb & Aug 1970	Inflationary trends led to concern and strong measures including increasing bank rate and raising SLR from 25 to 28%.

<b>Date</b>	<b>Event</b>
01 Nov 1970	New Bills Rediscounting Scheme introduced was expected to impart flexibility to the Money Market, even out liquidity within the banking system and enable the Reserve Bank to exercise more effective control over the money market.
14 Jan 1971	Credit Guarantee Corporation of India Ltd. established. To facilitate bank lendings to the priority sectors. It guaranteed credit extended by scheduled commercial banks to small borrowers and for other priority purposes.
12 Apr 1971	Concerns related to Industrial sickness led to the establishment of the Industrial Reconstruction Corporation of India Ltd.
01 Jul 1971	Deposit Insurance cover extended to cooperative banks.
15 Aug 1971	Convertibility of USD suspended. This brought to an end the system of fixed exchange rates embodied in the Bretton Woods System. After an interim arrangement which lasted up to 1973, the world shifted to a floating exchange rate regime.
Oct 1971	State Level Bankers' Committees set up to consider problems requiring inter-bank coordination.
	Hindi Version of RBI Annual Report and Trend and Progress of Banking in India for the year ended 30 June, 1971.
25 Mar 1972	Differential Interest Rate Scheme Introduced which envisaged concessional interest rates on advances made by Public Sector Banks to selected low income groups.
03 Apr 1972	Import Policy for 72-73 stressed the importance of achieving self reliance reflecting the views of the times.
03 Nov 1972	Special payment arrangements with the erstwhile COMECON group of countries where payments were settled in rupees through bilateral trade which was a type of barter arrangement.
1973	"Oil Shock" when oil prices quadrupled. This led to double digit inflation as well as global recession. As a response the Bank deployed a series of restricted measures to contain / moderate the expansion of bank credit.  Call money rate rose to an all time high of 30% prompting the Indian Banks' Association to intervene and fix a ceiling of 15%.

<b>Date</b>	<b>Event</b>
01 Sep 1973	Miscellaneous Non Banking Companies (Reserve Bank) Direction, 1973 sought to regulate the acceptance of deposits by companies conducting prize chits, lucky draws savings schemes, etc.
08 Sep 1973	Quantitative credit ceiling on non food bank credit prescribed for the first time for the busy season of 1973-74.
Nov 1973	Restrictions on SBI and its subsidiaries removed to bring them on par with other commercial banks.
01 Jan 1974	Foreign Exchange Regulation Act, 1973 came into force to conserve foreign exchange. Its administration was entrusted to the Reserve Bank.
09 Dec 1974	Asian Clearing Union (ACU) established to facilitate payments for current international transactions on a multilateral basis. Clearing operations were to be denominated in member's currency or AMU which would be equivalent to 1 SDR. Clearing operations commenced November, 1975.
13 Dec 1974	Reserve Bank of India (Amendment) Act, 1974 widened the powers of the Bank.
19 May 1975	N. C. Sengupta appointed governor up to August 19.
09 Aug 1975	Tandon Committee Report emphasized need to correlate bank credit to the business/ production plans and own resources of borrowers. Entailed a shift from 'security based' to 'need based' approach to bank credit. The new norms formed the basis of bank lending for working capital requirements.
20 Aug 1975	K.R. Puri appointed governor
25 Sep 1975	Exchange value of Rupee linked to movements in a basket of selected foreign currencies (major trading partners)
26 Sep 1975	Regional Rural Banks were set up as alternative agencies to provide credit to rural people in the context of the 20 Point Programme. These were expected to "combine the rural touch and local feel, .....with the modern business organisation...".
01 Nov 1975	Foreign Currency (Non Resident) Account Scheme introduced in USD and GBP To encourage private remittance from abroad.
16 Nov 1975	Agricultural Refinance Corporation (ARC) renamed Agricultural Refinance and Development Corporation (ARDC) and its activities widened.

<b>Date</b>	<b>Event</b>
1975	20 point economic programme introduced.
01 Feb 1976	Duty Draw back credit scheme introduced as an export promotion measure.
1976	Village Adoption Scheme for banks introduced.
Apr 1977	A new series of Money supply introduced the concepts of M1, M2, M3 etc. Money supply with the public consisted of currency with the public, demand deposits of all commercial banks, of state, central and urban cooperative banks and of salary earners societies, and Other deposits with Reserve Bank of India'.
02 May 1977	M. Narasimham appointed Governor up to November 30.
1977	Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) initiated as a poverty alleviation measure.
01 Dec 1977	I.G. Patel appointed Governor.
16 Jan 1978	Notes of Rs 1,000/-, Rs 5,000/- and Rs 10,000/- denominations demonetised to curb 'the illicit transfer of money for financing transactions which are harmful to the national economy...!.
03 May 1978	RBI commenced gold auctions on behalf of Government of India out of government stock at fortnightly intervals.
27 May 1978	The Deposit Insurance Corporation (DIC) took over the undertaking of the Credit Guarantee Corporation of India Ltd. (CGCI) to form the Deposit Insurance and Credit Guarantee Corporation (DICGC) wef July 15, 1978.
03 June 1978	RBI Act amended. The amendments were made mainly to enable the more effective utilization of foreign exchange reserves.
12 Dec 1978	Prize Chit and Money Circulation Schemes (Banning) Act, 1978 came into force wef 12 December, 1978.
1978	Annual Appraisal of Banks introduced in the nature of management audit introduced. Emphasis mainly on the examination of the organizational set-up, manpower planning , machinery for supervision and control over branches, systems & procedures in key areas, funds management and management of credit.
30 Mar 1979	Penalty for non-compliance of CRR & SLR introduced to give the Reserve Bank teeth to implement Monetary Policy measures more effectively.

<b>Date</b>	<b>Event</b>
1979	Rural Planning and Credit Cell set up in the Reserve Bank of India to ensure proper implementation of the multi-agency approach to credit in rural areas.
Aug 1979	Credit Information Review started being published every month To disseminate in simple language and without delay the credit and banking policy decisions of the Reserve Bank.
17 Jan 1980	International gold prices soar to all time highs.
Mar 1980	Banks required to provide financial support to implementation of 20 point programme to improve lot of weaker sections.
	Sixth Five Year Plan.
15 Apr 1980	Six private sector banks nationalised "...in order further control the heights of the economy, to meet progressively, and serve better, the needs of the development of the economy and to promote the welfare of the people in conformity with the policy of the State..."
Dec 1980	Recommendations of Chore Committee related to the cash credit system, adopted. Emphasis on increasing contribution for working capital requirements by borrowers out of internal resources.
01 Jan 1981	Neighbourhood Travel Scheme (NTS) introduced.
15 Jan 1981	GOI announced special bearer bond To mop up unaccounted money and channelise it to productive purposes.
Apr 1981	Major Organisational internal restructuring in the Reserve Bank. New Departments set up.
1981	Build up of inflationary pressures and adverse movement in foreign trade following the hike in oil prices. Bank rate raised to 10%, CRR raised to 7.5%, SLR to 35%.
11 July 1981	Ordinance prohibiting companies (including Banking Companies) cooperative societies, firms, to repay any person any deposit otherwise than by an account payee cheque / bank draft when such repayment amounted to Rs. 10,000 or more.
01 Jan 1982	Export Import Bank of India established with the objective of providing comprehensive package of financial and allied services to exporters and importers.
01 Jan 1982	New 20 point programme announced by the PM.

Date	Event
12 July 1982	National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development (NABARD) established on the basis of the National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development Act, 1981. '...For providing credit for the promotion of agriculture, small scale industries, cottage and village industries, handicrafts, and other rural crafts for promoting integrated rural development and securing rural prosperity...!.
16 Sep 1982	Manmohan Singh appointed Governor.
1983	C D Deshmukh Memorial Lecture introduced as an annual event in Governor Deshmukh's honour
Nov 1983	National Clearing Cell (NCC) set up by the bank to introduce mechanised cheque processing and the national clearing of cheques.
12 Jan 1984	Banking Laws (Amendment) Act, 1983 widened the activities that banks could undertake (such as leasing), provided nomination facilities to account holders, strengthened the powers of the Reserve Bank, streamlined returns and prohibited unincorporated bodies from accepting deposits from the public except to a specified extent amongst others.
01 Feb 1984	Urban Banks Department formed to supervise the affairs of Urban Cooperative Banks.

Source: [https://www.rbi.org.in/Scripts/chro\\_1968.aspx](https://www.rbi.org.in/Scripts/chro_1968.aspx)

## 8.4 GLOBALISATION

Governments worldwide have integrated a free market economic system through fiscal policies and trade agreements over the last 20 years. The core of most trade agreements is the removal or reduction of tariffs.

This evolution of economic systems has increased industrialization and financial opportunities in many nations. Governments now focus on removing barriers to trade and promoting international commerce.

### 8.4.1 The History of Globalization

Globalization is not a new concept. Traders traveled vast distances in ancient times to buy commodities that were rare and expensive for sale in their homelands. The Industrial Revolution brought advances in transportation and communication in the 19th century that eased trade across borders.

The think tank, Peterson Institute for International Economics (PIIE), states globalization stalled after World War I, and nations' moved toward protectionism as they launched import taxes to more closely guard their industries in the aftermath of the conflict. This trend continued

through the Great Depression and World War II until the U.S. took on an instrumental role in reviving international trade.

Globalization has sped up to an unprecedented pace, with public policy changes and communications technology innovations cited as the two main driving factors.

One of the critical steps in the path to globalization came with the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), signed in 1993. One of NAFTA's many effects was to give American auto manufacturers the incentive to relocate a portion of their manufacturing to Mexico where they could save on the costs of labor. NAFTA was replaced in 2020 by the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMC).

### **8.4.2 Definition**

*What Is Globalization?*

Globalization is the spread of products, technology, information, and jobs across national borders and cultures. In economic terms, it describes an interdependence of nations around the globe fostered through free trade.

*The term "globalisation" is used to describe a variety of economic, cultural, social, and political changes that have shaped the world over the past 50-odd years, from the much celebrated revolution in information technology to the diminishing of national and geo-political boundaries in an ever-expanding, transnational movement of goods, services, and capital. The increasing homogenisation of consumer tastes, the consolidation and expansion of corporate power, sharp increases in wealth and poverty, the "McDonaldisation" of food and culture, and the growing ubiquity of liberal democratic ideas are all, in one way or another, attributed to globalization.*

*Globalisation may be described as the ever closer economic integration of all the countries of the world resulting from the liberalisation and consequent increase in both the volume and the variety of international trade in goods and services, the falling cost of transport, the growing intensity of the international penetration of capital, the immense growth in the global labour force, and the accelerated worldwide diffusion of technology, particularly communications.*

No matter which definition we choose to adopt, globalisation today has an influence in practically all the major areas of life and social organisation. Globalisation is everywhere; it has both negative and positive aspects.

Globalisation is allegedly responsible for human rights violations on the one hand, but allows human rights movements to counter its excesses and negative effects on the other hand. Globalisation results in lower prices paid to farmers for their crops, and increases the incentive to create abusive workplace conditions including the employment of child labourers.

However, globalisation also enables a level of networking which results in the emergence of global human rights movements, for example, to create fair trade, to reduce child labour and to promote a culture of universal human rights.

### 8.4.3 Advantages and Disadvantages of Globalization

Globalization gives us many advantages and disadvantages. so let us make an in-depth study on the **advantages and disadvantages of globalization**.

**Nine Advantages of Globalization:** As a result of globalization, we all enjoy many advantages. these are-

1. Transfer of Technology
2. Better Services
3. Standardization of Living
4. Development of Infrastructure
5. Foreign Exchange Reserves
6. Economic Growth
7. Affordable Products
8. Contribution to World GDP Growth Rate
9. Extensions of Market

#### 1. **Transfer of Technology**

Transfer of technology throughout the globe is good for us. Any country can borrow the technology through the agreement and can implement it in their country for their overall development. We can communicate each other easily from any part of the globe by using advance technology at minimal cost, time and efforts.

#### 2. **Better Services**

Globalization always provides us better services. Through the technological advancement our services like water supply, mobile networking, internet, electricity supply and any other services have been easier and better than before. By the way, easy access to the internet throughout the globe is also the result of the globalization.

#### 3. **Standardization of Living**

The integration of economies as the key process of globalization enables countries to fight against poverty and improve the standard of living of the people.

Many researchers have been stated that when a country open up their trade to the globe, their rate of economic growth is faster and living standards tend to increase.

#### 4. **Development of Infrastructure**

Due to the technological advancement and its transfer throughout the globe helps to improve country's infrastructure. Countries are more enabling to deliver their services to the people. Development of

infrastructure means overall development of respective countries. Here it is necessary to say that economic growth and development of infrastructure are compatible with each other.

5. **Foreign Exchange Reserves**

Through globalization countries can build foreign exchange reserves owing to international financial flows.

6. **Economic Growth**

Globalization entails to optimum utilization of resources wherein deficit resources are procured and surplus resources are exported to other countries. This ensure overall economic growth.

7. **Affordable Products**

With the access to the latest technology, the countries can provide products to its countrymen at affordable prices. Globalization promotes competition in domestic economies and their endeavor to compete against competition, companies reduce product price or follow penetration pricing strategy.

11. **Contribution to World GDP Growth Rate**

Globalization ensures contribution of every country to the world GDP growth.

12. **Extensions of Market**

Above all, Globalization promotes extension of market. It provides an opportunity to the domestic companies in going global. For instance, domestically, companies can witness saturation in the demand for their products or services but through globalization the domestic companies can sustain and satisfy the growing demands of foreign customers.

**Disadvantages of Globalization**

The globalization that just keeps doing well to us is not true. It impacts us in multidimensional way. So it has some disadvantages also. These are-

1. Growing Inequality
2. Increasing of the Unemployment rate
3. Trade Imbalance
4. Environmental Loots

1. **Growing Inequality**

Globalization can increase inequality throughout the world by increasing specialization and trade. Although specialization and trade boost the per-capita income it may cause relative poverty.To

illustrate this we will take an example. All dominated MNCs in the world are located in the United States. All these companies are buying cheaper labor from developing or underdeveloped countries for their product manufacturing or assembling. China, India and Africa are prime examples of this. It increases the employment of such countries but they are lagging behind relatively developed countries.

Again those companies coming to these countries for cheap labor, they also deprive of that country's i.e American people from work. So it appears that relative poverty is being created in developed countries as well.

## 2. **Increasing of the Unemployment rate**

Globalization can increase unemployment rate. Where people are getting jobs, how is it possible? Here is the explanation. Globalization demands for higher-skilled work with cheaper price. But countries where Institutions are relatively weak are not capable of producing highly skilled workers. As a result, the unemployment rate is increasing in those countries.

When many foreign companies invest heavily in developing countries, they hire employee from that country. In some cases their salaries are very lower than the other developed countries. Moreover, the demand for these employees in developed countries is very low. Moreover, with the emergence of Global Economic Crisis, their jobs are at risk of losing.

## 3. **Trade Imbalance**

The balance of trade refers to the balance of values between a country's export and import's goods and services. As the result of globalization, any country can trade to any part of the globe. That is why, in some cases developing countries are so much dependent on the developed countries in terms of import goods but their export capabilities are lower than import. The trade imbalance has been occurring.

So, trade imbalance refers to the imbalance of values between a country's import and export's goods and services. It is also called trade deficits. Trade imbalance may be increase in developed countries by their competitors.

## 4. **Environmental Loots**

The pace of industrialization is increasing as the result of globalization. Industrialization boosts the economic growth but it harms environment as well. Globalization loots from the nature and it harm us very badly. Let's try to understand with the example. Coca-Cola is the world's leading soft drink company. This company consume huge amount of water for making soft drinks. In a state of

northern India, Uttar Pradesh, a Coca-Cola bottle plant was closed by the government order because of too much usage of water claimed by local farmers.

In North India, the level of ground water is very low, but huge usage of this water for the interest of a MNC is very harmful to domestic farming. In Kerala, a state of southern India, Coca-Cola plant was also closed due to the polluting the water which was supplied to the local communities. Also, MNCs use the natural resources of different countries extensively for their personal gain. Various chemical industries are very harmful to our health by polluting the soil, water, air.

#### **8.4.4 Key Takeaways**

- Globalization is the spread of products, technology, information, and jobs across nations.
- Corporations in developed nations can gain a competitive edge through globalization.
- Developing countries also benefit through globalization as they tend to be more cost-effective and therefore attract jobs.
- The benefits of globalization have been questioned as the positive effects are not necessarily distributed equally.

One clear result of globalization is that an economic downturn in one country can create a domino effect through its trade partners.

From the above discussion on the **Advantages and Disadvantages of Globalization**, it can be said that the list of benefits of globalization can be easily lengthened. However, there are some disadvantages. According to critics, the process did not benefit the poor. The impact of globalization on environmental protection is not too great and did not stabilize the global economy. The policies formulated by the IMF, the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization only serve the interests of the developed world. Especially the internal interests of those countries. Developing countries have no place in it. The ideas of all these countries regarding globalization revolve around a particular economic and social scenario

#### **8.4.5 Understanding Globalization**

Corporations gain a competitive advantage on multiple fronts through globalization. They can reduce operating costs by manufacturing abroad, buy raw materials more cheaply because of the reduction or removal of tariffs, and most of all, they gain access to millions of new consumers.

Globalization is a social, cultural, political, and legal phenomenon.

- Socially, it leads to greater interaction among various populations.
- Culturally, globalization represents the exchange of ideas, values, and artistic expression among cultures.

- Globalization also represents a trend toward the development of a single world culture.
- Politically, globalization has shifted attention to intergovernmental organizations like the United Nations (UN) and the World Trade Organization (WTO).
- Legally, globalization has altered how international law is created and enforced.

**8.4.6 Analysis:** On one hand, globalization has created new jobs and economic growth through the cross-border flow of goods, capital, and labor. On the other hand, this growth and job creation are not distributed evenly across industries or countries. Specific industries in certain countries, such as textile manufacturing in the U.S. or corn farming in Mexico, have suffered severe disruption or outright collapse as a result of increased international competition. Globalization's motives are idealistic, as well as opportunistic, but the development of a global free market has benefited large corporations based in the Western world. Its impact remains mixed for workers, cultures, and small businesses around the globe, in both developed and emerging nations. Proponents of globalization believe it allows developing countries to catch up to industrialized nations through increased manufacturing, diversification, economic expansion, and improvements in standards of living. Outsourcing by companies brings jobs and technology to developing countries, which help them to grow their economies. Trade initiatives increase cross-border trading by removing supply-side and trade-related constraints.

Globalization has advanced social justice on an international scale as well, and advocates report that it has focused attention on human rights worldwide that might have otherwise been ignored on a large scale. One clear result of globalization is that an economic downturn in one country can create a domino effect through its trade partners. For example, the 2008 financial crisis had a severe impact on Portugal, Ireland, Greece, and Spain. All these countries were members of the European Union, which had to step in to bail out debt-laden nations, which were thereafter known by the acronym PIGS. Globalization detractors argue that it has created a concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a small corporate elite that can gobble up smaller competitors around the globe.

Globalization has become a polarizing issue in the U.S. with the disappearance of entire industries to new locations abroad. It's seen as a major factor in the economic squeeze on the middle class. For better and worse, globalization has also increased homogenization. Starbucks, Nike, and Gap dominate commercial space in many nations. The sheer size and reach of the U.S. have made the cultural exchange among nations largely a one-sided affair.

### 8.4.7 *The Impact of Globalisation*

In the **Economic field**, globalisation is associated with the development of capitalism as an economic system, often based on the belief of self-regulating markets. Globalisation has developed economic freedom and allegedly raised living standards worldwide, even if, in relative terms, the gap between rich and poor is growing.

Globalisation is connected with the development of international trade, and the global distribution of the production of goods and services, through the reduction of barriers to international trade, such as tariffs, export fees, and import quotas, and the reduction of restrictions on the movement of capital and on investment. Globalisation has accelerated processes of outsourcing and offshoring. Transnational corporations (TNCs) can exploit small and medium-sized enterprises intensively and at the lowest possible cost, at a world level, due to outsourcing. The small and medium enterprises may find it difficult, though, to resist global competition and ensure their workers' rights. TNCs cannot easily be held responsible for human rights violations when the corporation is legally incorporated in one state while it conducts its operation in another state. Globalisation has also had an impact on the privatisation of public utilities and goods such as water, health, security, and even prison management. Recently other goods, such as seeds or medicines, have been considered as economic goods and integrated into trade agreements.

Globalisation has contributed to the development of **Corporate Social Responsibility** and the concern for the accountability of non-state actors, such as transnational corporations for their activities, particularly when impacting negatively on the environment, on communities, and so on. Today, we can also see an increase in companies developing a code of conduct for their activities. Consumer boycotts and campaigns have also led TNCs to be more attentive to social responsibility and to their reputation risk.

In the **Political field**, the increased concern for the effects of the internal developments of one country on another has had consequences such as external political support to leaders who otherwise enjoy little domestic legitimacy. The concentration of economic and financial power results in reduced influence for national political actors and impacts on democratic processes. Gross inequality in distribution of wealth accentuates inequality, tensions in society and threatens effective access to social rights for all. Many trade agreements are decided by governments, without any public participation in decision making. Human rights considerations are rarely included in trade agreements, even if these agreements may have an impact on human rights. Globalisation is, however, also credited with supporting the spread of democracy and a greater awareness of human rights. Despite massive technological gaps, the political impacts of this include the democratisation of media through social networking sites, resulting in movements which organise for increased political openness,

an end to impunity of corruption and abuse of power, and improved political representation.

In the **Cultural field**, globalisation is associated with the development of communication networks, with knowledge and with an ideological discourse around globalisation, as a necessary step towards global happiness.

Globalisation has led to the development of common lifestyles and consumer habits. Cultural globalisation also impacts on media coverage, bringing human tragedies to our urgent attention and mobilising the conscience of the world in the light of massive population flows. "Media globalisation" has also led to massive monopolies controlling our key global media outlets, with all the risks of bias and lack of objectivity that this may imply.

Globalisation has enhanced the development of a different sense of community, for example the existence of digital communities. It has also encouraged exchange and excellence in the arts and created the impulse for the emergence of new musical genres and fusion cooking! Cultural globalisation has sensitised increasing numbers of us to be concerned with what we consume, for example the working and environmental conditions under which the products we purchase are produced. With globalisation, intercultural dialogue has become a need for both international solidarity as well as universal human rights respect. Not least, globalisation has triggered the development of cultures of resistance to globalisation and movements for a "different world".

In the **Social field**, globalisation has had consequences on the levels and conditions of employment and on the social rights of workers. Global competition, accompanied by relocations and off-shoring, push companies to move production to countries where salaries and social protection of workers are lowest. As a result, trade unions and workers in wealthier countries are "forced" to accept less favourable conditions, what is often referred to as social dumping.

Trade unions have been among the most concerned and vocal critics of globalisation processes. The European Trade Union Conference, for example, has called for a framework that supports sustainable development. This should include:

- a multilateral framework to protect migrants
- a multilateral framework to promote social protection
- a multilateral framework to promote dignified and fair work as a key tool for reducing poverty
- a multilateral framework for protecting the rights of workers, food safety, health, education, gender equality and the full autonomy of women.

## **8.5 Global International Economic Institutions**

The **International Monetary Fund (IMF)** provides policy advice and financing to member countries in economic difficulties and also works with developing nations to help them achieve macroeconomic stability and reduce poverty. IMF conditionality is a set of policies or "conditions" that the IMF requires in exchange for financial resources. There is little or no human rights integration with the policies of the IMF, whose main concerns are those of economic and monetary order. The **World Bank** provides loans to developing countries in order to reduce poverty, taking its decisions with a commitment to promote foreign investment, international trade and facilitate capital investment. While having an important power on developing countries, and even though it represents 186 countries, the World Bank is run by a small number of economically powerful countries. In the 1990s, both the World Bank and the IMF forged policies which included deregulation and liberalisation of markets, privatisation and the downscaling of government.

The **World Trade Organization (WTO)** is an organisation that supervises and liberalises international trade. Created in 1995, the WTO deals with regulation of trade between participating countries, provides a framework for negotiating and formalising trade agreements, and a dispute resolution process aimed at enforcing participants' adherence to WTO agreements.

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## **8.6 GLOBALISATION**

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As a response to financial and economic globalisation, many civil society actors oppose the insufficiently regulated power of large multi-national corporations as well as the negative impact of trade agreements and deregulated financial markets – each of these contributing to violations of human rights, of work safety, of environmental damage and even undermining the ability of national governments to uphold these standards. These groups and individuals promote what they call "globalisation with a human face". This is to distinguish it sharply from an economic globalisation in the framework of which companies neglect people and human rights from the equation. This international movement, commonly called the anti-globalisation or alter-globalisation movement, gathers trade unions, environmental non-governmental organisations, politicians, human rights activists, scholars, women's organisations, and others interested in building a more equitable world which, according to them, cannot exist as long as deregulation and global trade competition are the primary values of economic co-operation and development. The slogan, "**Think globally, Act locally**" has become the catchphrase of what have become the glocal movements. The phrase was first used in an environmental context in relation to urban planning, but has quickly spread to areas of social justice and education, and indicates an increased awareness of the connections between local actions, local decisions and the use or abuse of global resources. The glocal movement can be seen as a response, for example, to globalised economy, in which the environmental effects or the human rights

violations related to the production of a product might occur in a different country than the point of purchase. At the same time, it has come to work the other way around as well, as opportunities are also becoming more global and can be used to further local goals.

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## **8.6 GLOBALISATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS :**

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Globalisation in itself does not violate human rights; the main concern is that it affects negatively the realisation of universal human rights everywhere. These concerns include the human rights obligations of non-state actors, for example transnational companies, amplified by the fact that national governments, due to the economic and political globalisation, have less control of social and economic processes. Another example regards the primacy that human rights considerations should have in governmental decisions, which is questionable, particularly when governments' economic policies depend on market fluctuations and foreign investors' actions, as well as in settlements of trade disputes.

Some of the human rights that are at stake in the face of globalisation are the following:

- The rights to equality in dignity and to non-discrimination, for instance through poor health and safety conditions for workers in developing countries
- The rights to health, food and shelter, particularly through the imposition of trade barriers to developing countries, or through the purchase of arable land in African and Asian countries for producing export crops or bio-fuels
- The right to work, for example through the relocation of industries to countries with a cheaper labour force and where lower social standards can be imposed
- The rights to life, for example through trade agreements that make it prohibitive for people in poor countries to access medicines
- The right to own property, for example through evictions in situations of big infrastructure projects, such as dams or pipelines
- The right to health and healthy environment, for example through the concentration of hazardous waste in developing countries or through the lack of international consensus regarding climate change actions to be taken by governments
- The right to protection against harmful forms of work and exploitation, for example by governments tolerating harmful forms of work in order not to lose the interest of foreign investors
- The rights of indigenous peoples to their culture and development, for example through deforestation and/or severe pollution that destroy areas in which indigenous communities have been living, the industrial exploitation of their lands and expropriation.

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## 8.7 CRITIQUE:

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Critics of the way globalisation is organised refer to people as the ignored side of globalisation. While capital and goods enjoy a growing freedom of circulation, the freedom of movement of people has not enjoyed any easing of conditions. Despite this, globalisation is accompanied by increased migration, legal and illegal, either for economic reasons or due to environmental disasters.

Today, globalisation is not limited to the phenomena already mentioned. An important aspect connected to globalisation is the state of global environment, with the problems of ozone depletion, decreasing biodiversity, worsening land, air and water pollution, environmental catastrophes, oil spills, floods, droughts due to climate change, waste treatment, nuclear proliferation, deforestation, and so on. This also impacts on the flows of people, as the effects of globalisation on the environment can cause refugee flows.

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## 8.8 SUMMARY

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In essence, globalization is about the world becoming increasingly interconnected. Countries today are more connected than ever before, due to factors such as air travel, containerized sea shipping, international trade agreements and legal treaties, and the Internet. In the world of business, globalization is associated with trends such as outsourcing, free trade, and international supply chain

Proponents of globalization will point to the dramatic decline in poverty that has taken place throughout the world over the past several decades, which many economists attribute in part to increased trade and investment between nations. Similarly, they will argue that globalization has allowed products and services such as cellphones, airplanes, and information technology to be spread far more widely throughout the world. On the other hand, critics of globalization will point to the negative impact it has had on specific nations' industries, which might face increased competition from international firms. Globalization can also have negative environmental impacts due to economic development, industrialization, and international travel.

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## 8.9 QUESTIONS

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- Q1) What do you mean by Nationalisation of Banks? Discuss the factors that led to the nationalization.
- Q2) What was the process of the nationalization of banks and discuss the various stages post 1969.
- Q3) Define globalization. What are the advantages and disadvantages of globalization?
- Q4) What is Glocalisation? Evaluate the impact of globalization.
- Q5) Critically discuss the process of globalization and its impact on various sectors.

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## 8.10 ADDITIONAL READING

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- 14 Global Finance Magazine: [www.gfmag.com](http://www.gfmag.com)
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- 16 Naomi Klein, No logo: taking aim at the brand bullies, London: Flamingo, 2000
- 17 Shalmali Guttal, "Globalisation" in Development in Practice, vol. 17 no. 4/5, August 2007

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## HINDU CODE BILL AND THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

### Unit Structure

- 9.0 Objectives
- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 Section 12.1: The Hindu Code Bill
  - 9.2.1 Two different systems of law
  - 9.2.2 General changes
  - 9.2.3 Two categories
  - 9.2.4 Provision which relates to dowry
  - 9.2.5 Provisions relating to maintenance
  - 9.2.6 Two forms of marriages
  - 9.2.7 Provisions relating to divorce
  - 9.2.8 Provisions relating to adoption
  - 9.2.9 Provisions relating to minority and guardianship
  - 9.2.10 Support and opposition
- 9.3 Summary
- 9.4 Questions
- 9.5 Additional readings

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### 9.0 OBJECTIVE

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After completing this Unit, you will able to:

- Analyse the provisions of Hindu Code Bill.
- Evaluate the Support and opposition of Hindu Code Bill.
- Critically identify different ideological trends and debates on Hindu Code Bill.

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### 9.1 INTRODUCTION

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Notwithstanding the fact that he was unhappy with the caste-based inequalities in Hindu society, Ambedkar was a devoted patriot and wanted to make India great. He was not only worried about the miserable condition of the Untouchables, but also about the appalling customs and traditions in Hindu society. Women were not accorded equal treatment with men. Hindu laws governing the society were heavily biased in favour of the man not only with regard to marriage and divorce but also in relation to the question of inheritance. The colonial British rulers were also not happy with the treatment meted out to women, the laws of

inheritance and adoption in the country. But they did not do anything to set things right lest it should provoke opposition.

However, the Viceroy's Executive Council, which used to take important decisions regarding administrative matters, set up a Committee of Hindu Law Reforms. The Committee studied the problems and submitted its report, which remained unimplemented because by the time the then colonial government could consider its recommendations, the British had decided to quit India. Following his appointment as Law Minister in the government formed by Jawaharlal Nehru, Ambedkar examined the report and improved upon the recommendations of the committee. Guided by the committee's recommendations and his own observations, he drafted legislation, called the Hindu Code Bill, for reforming Hindu society.

But the introduction of the Bill on April 11, 1947, in the Constituent Assembly, which continued to function as the country's Parliament until general elections were held for the first time in free India in 1952, raised a political storm. Revolutionary changes in the Hindu society proposed in the Bill were unacceptable to many. So vociferous was the condemnation of the Bill that the man in the street without even understanding the reforms proposed in it, came to regard the Bill as a major assault on Hinduism. Although the Bill was a part of social engineering through law, it was by the social norms of those days, a revolutionary measure. There were heated debates in the Constituent Assembly on it.

The debate on the Bill in the Constituent Assembly continued for more than four years. This was probably the longest discussion on any single Bill in free India's Parliament. In view of the fierce controversy it had caused, the government decided to refer the Bill to a Select Committee consisting of top level judges, politicians, religious leaders, academicians and bureaucrats. It was hoped that the Select Committee, after examining whatever criticism of the Bill was being made, would make suitable recommendations so that the revised Bill could be passed without any problem.

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## **9.2 SECTION 12.1: THE HINDU CODE BILL**

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Moving a motion for referring it to the Select Committee in the Constituent Assembly, Ambedkar said the Bill seeks to codify the rules of Hindu Law which are scattered in innumerable decisions of the High Courts and of the Privy Council, which form a bewildering motley to the common man and give rise to constant litigation seeks to codify the law relating to seven different matters. Firstly, it seeks to codify the law relating to the rights of property of a deceased Hindu who has died intestate without making a will, both female and male. Secondly, it prescribes a somewhat altered form of the order of succession among the

different heirs to the property of a deceased dying intestate. The next topic it deals with is the law of maintenance, marriage, divorce, adoption, minority and guardianship.

### **Two different systems of law**

The Hindus are governed by two different systems of law. One system is known as Mitakshara and the other is known as Dayabhaga. The two systems have a fundamental difference. According to Mitakshara, the property of a Hindu is not his individual property. It is property which belongs to what is called a coparcenary, which consists of father, son, grandson and great Grandson. All these people have a birthright in that property and the property, on the death of any one member of this coparcenary, passes by what is called survivorship to the members who remain behind, and does not pass to the heirs of the deceased. The Hindu Code contained in this bill adopts the Dayabhaga rule, under which the property is held by the heir as his personal property with an absolute right to dispose it of either by gift or by will or any other manner that he chooses.

That is one fundamental change which this bill seeks to make. In other words, it universalizes the law of inheritance by extending the Dayabhaga rule to the territory in which the rule of the Mitakshara now operates.

Coming to the question of the order of succession among the heirs, there is also fundamental difference of a general character between the rule of the Mitakshara and the rule of the Dayabhaga. Under the Mitakshara rule the agnates of a deceased are preferred to his cognates; under the Dayabhaga rule the basis of heirship is blood relationship to the deceased and not the relationship based on cognatic or agnatic relationship. That is one change that the bill makes; in other words, here also it adopts the rule of the Dayabhaga in preference to the rule of the Mitakshara.

### **General changes**

In addition to this in the order of succession to a deceased Hindu, the bill also seeks to make four changes.

One change is that the widow, the daughter, the widow of a pre deceased son, all are given the same rank as the son in the matter of inheritance. In addition to that, the daughter also is given a share in her father's property; her share is prescribed as half of that of the son. Here again to point out that the only new change which this bill seeks to make, so far as the female heirs are concerned, is confined to the daughter; the other female heirs have already been recognized by the Hindu Women's Right to Property Act, 1937. Therefore, so far as that part of the bill is concerned, there is really no change in the bill at all; the bill merely carries the provisions contained in the act.

The second change which the bill makes so far as the female heirs are concerned is that the number of female heirs recognized now is much larger than under either the Mitakshara or the Dayabhaga.

The third change made by the bill is this that under the old law, whether the Mitakshara or the Dayabhaga, a discrimination was made among female heirs, as to whether a particular female was rich or poor in circumstances at the death of the testator, whether she was married or unmarried, or whether she was with issue or without issue. All these considerations which led to discrimination in the female heirs are now abolished by this bill. A woman who has a right to inherit gets it by reason of the fact that she is declared to be an heir, irrespective of any other considerations.

The last change that is made relates to the rule of inheritance in the Dayabhaga. Under the Dayabhaga, the father succeeds before in preference to the mother; under the present bill the position is altered so that the mother comes before the father. So much for the order of succession of heirs to a deceased male Hindu. The provisions in the bill which relates to intestate succession to females.

### **Two categories**

Under the existing law the property held by a Hindu female falls into two categories; one is called her stridhan, and the other is called 'woman's property'. Taking first the question of stridhan-under the existing law stridhan falls into several categories; it is not one single category, and the order of succession to the stridhan of a female under the existing law varies according to the category of the stridhan; one category of stridhan has a different law of succession than another category and these rules are alike, both as to Mitakshara as they are to the Dayabhaga. So far as stridhan is concerned the present bill makes two changes.

The one change it makes is that it consolidates the different categories of stridhan into one single category of property and lays down a uniform rule of succession; there is no variety of heirs to the-stridhan in accordance with the different categories of the stridhan-all stridhan is one and there is one rule of succession.

The second change which the bill seeks to make with regard to the heirs is that the son also is now given a right to inherit the stridhan and he is given half the share which the daughter takes. It is provided that while the daughter is getting half the share in the father's property, the son is also getting half the share in the mother's property, so that in a certain sense the bill seeks to maintain an equality of position between the son and the daughter. Coming to the question of the woman's estate', as members of the House will know, under the Hindu Law where a woman inherits property she gets only what is called a 'life estate'. She can enjoy the

income of the property, but she cannot deal with the corpus of the property except for legal necessity; the property must pass after the death of the woman to the reversionary of her husband. The bill, here again, introduces two changes. It converts this limited estate into an absolute estate just as the male, when he inherits, gets an absolute estate in the property that he inherits and secondly, it abolishes the right of the reversionary to claim the property after the widow.

**Check Your Progress:**

Q.1 Discuss the two different systems of Hindu law.

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**Provision which relates to dowry**

An important provision which is ancillary to the rights of women to inherit property contained in this bill is a provision which relates to dowry. The bill provides, one of the most salutary provisions, namely, that this property which is given as dowry to a girl on the occasion of her marriage shall be treated as a trust property, the use of which will inure to the woman and she is entitled to claim that property when she comes to the age of eighteen, so that neither her husband nor the relations of her husband will have any interest in that property; nor will they have any opportunity to waste that property and make her helpless for the rest of her life.

**Provisions relating to maintenance**

Coming to the provisions relating to maintenance, there is mostly nothing new in this part of the bill. The bill prescribes that the dependents of a deceased shall be entitled to claim maintenance from those who inherit his property, either under the rules of intestate succession or who inherit the property under his will. There are two different kinds of dependents enumerated in this bill. It is an unfortunate thing that even a concubine is included in the category of dependents, but there it is; it is a matter for consideration. The liability to maintenance is cast upon those who take the estate of the deceased. There is nothing very new in this part of the bill.

There is another part of the bill which is important and it relates to the rights of a wife to claim separate maintenance when she lives separate from her husband. Generally, under the provisions of the Hindu Law, a

wife is not entitled to claim maintenance from her husband if she does not live with him in his house. The bill, however, recognizes that there are undoubtedly circumstances where if the wife has lived away from the husband, it must be for causes beyond her control and it would be wrong not to recognize the causes and not to give her separate maintenance. Consequently the bill provides that a wife shall be entitled to claim separate maintenance from her husband if he is (1) suffering from a loathsome disease, (2) if he keeps a concubine, (3) if he is guilty of cruelty, (4) if he has abandoned her for two years, (5) if he has converted to another religion and (6) any other cause justifying her living separately.

### **Check Your Progress:**

Q.1 Discuss the Provisions which relates to dowry and maintenance.

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### **Two forms of marriages**

The code recognizes two forms of marriages. One is called 'sacramental' marriage and the other is called 'civil' marriage. The existing Hindu Law recognizes only what is called 'sacramental' marriage, but it does not recognize what we call a 'civil' marriage. When one considers the conditions for a valid sacramental marriage and a valid registered marriage, under the code there is really very little difference between the two. There are five conditions for a sacramental marriage.

- Firstly, the bridegroom must be eighteen years old, and the bride must be fourteen years old.
- Secondly, neither party must have a spouse living at the time of marriage.
- Thirdly, parties must not be within prohibited degree of relationship.
- Fourthly, parties must not be sapindas of each other.
- Fifthly, neither must be an idiot or a lunatic.

Except for the fact that similarity of sapindaship is not a bar to a registered marriage, so far as other conditions are concerned, there is no difference between the sacramental marriage and the civil marriage. The only other difference is that the registered marriage must be registered in accordance with the provisions in the bill while a sacramental marriage may be registered if the parties desire to do so.

Comparing the rules of marriage contained in the bill and the existing law, it may be noticed that there are three differences which the bill makes.

One is this, that while the existing law requires identity of caste and sub-caste for a valid sacramental marriage, the bill dispenses with this condition. Marriage under the bill will be valid irrespective of the caste or sub-caste of the parties entering into the marriage.

The second provision in this bill is that identity of gotrapravara is not a bar to a marriage while it is under the existing law.

The third distinctive feature is this-that under the old law, polygamy was permissible. Under the new law it is monogamy which is prescribed. The sacramental marriage was a marriage which was indissoluble. There could be no divorce. The present bill makes a new departure by introducing into the law provisions for the dissolution of marriage.

Any party which marries under the new code has three remedies to get out of the contract of marriage. One is to have the marriage declared null and void; secondly, to have the marriage declared invalid; and thirdly, to have it dissolved. Now, the grounds for invalidation of marriage are two: one, if one party to the marriage had a spouse living at the time of marriage, then such a marriage will be null and void. Secondly, if the relationship of the parties fell within what is called the ambit of prohibited degrees, the marriage could be declared null and void. Grounds for invalidation of the marriage are four. First, impotency. Second, parties being sapinda. Third, parties being either idiotic or lunatics. Fourth, guardian's consent obtained by force or fraud. In order not to keep the sword of dissolution hanging on the head, the bill, in very wisely, has provided a limit to an action for invalidation. It provides that a suit for the invalidation of marriage must be filed within three years from the date of the marriage; otherwise the suit will be barred and the marriage will continue as though there was no ground for invalidity. The bill also provides that even though the marriage may be invalidated and may be declared invalid by a court of law, the invalidation of marriage will not affect the legitimacy of the children born and they would continue to be legitimate just the same.

**Check Your Progress:**

Q.1 Describe the two forms of Hindu marriages.

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### **Provisions relating to divorce**

Then coming to the question of divorce, there are seven grounds on which divorce, could be obtained-(1) desertion, (2) conversion to another religion, (3) keeping a concubine or becoming a concubine, (4) incurably unsound mind, (5) virulent and incurable form of leprosy. (6) venereal diseases in communicable form and (7) cruelty.

### **Provisions relating to adoption**

Coming to the question of adoption, there again, most of the rules embodied in the bill are in no way different from the rules obtaining under the present law. There are two new provisions in this part dealing with adoption. Firstly, under the code, it will be necessary for the husband if he wants to make an adoption to obtain the consent of his wife and if there are more than one, at least the consent of one of them. Secondly, it also lays down that if the widow wants to adopt, she can only adopt if there are positive instructions left by the husband authorizing her to adopt and in order to prevent litigation as to whether the husband has, as a matter of fact, left instructions to his wife, the code provides that the evidence of such instructions shall be either by registered deed or by a provision in the will. No oral evidence would be admissible, so that chances of litigation are considerably mitigated. The code also provides that the adoption may also be evidenced by registration. One of the most fruitful sources of litigation in this country is the question of adoption. All sorts of oral evidence is manufactured, concocted; witnesses are suborned; widows are fooled; they one day declare that they have made one adoption and subsequently they make an avowal that they have not adopted and in order that all this litigation may be put a stop to, the code makes a salutary provision that there may be registration of adoption by a Hindu.

### **Provisions relating to minority and guardianship**

Then there is the question of minority and guardianship, the last subject which the bill seeks to codify. There is nothing new in this part of the code. The points which arise out of this bill for consideration and which are new are these: first, the abolition of birthright and to take property by survivorship. The second point that arises for consideration is the giving of half-share to the daughter. Thirdly, the conversion of the women's limited estate into an absolute estate. Fourthly, the abolition of caste in the matter of marriage and adoption. Fifthly, the principle of monogamy and sixthly, the principle of divorce. These departures which are made in this bill undoubtedly require justification, but it would be a waste of time if at this stage undertook any defense of the departures enacted by this bill.

**Check Your Progress:**

Q.1 Asses the Provisions relating to divorce, adoption, minority and guardianship.

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**Support and opposition**

The Hindu Code Bill was a progressive measure of reform, comprehensive in outlook, far-reaching in its results, medical in its nature insofar as it dealt with the rights of women in regard to inheritance, marriage, property, divorce and personal freedom.

But Ambedkar’s Bill was like a bolt from the blue for the Hindu orthodoxy. The predominant feeling among this section of society was that the Hindu law inspired by the Vedic literature and the post-Vedic literature known as the Shrutis and the Smritis had a divine origin. But the Bill goes against the very religious basis and the very religious structure of the Hindu society. In one fell stroke, it seeks to demolish Hinduism in the very land of Rishis and Munis. The cherished belief that marriages are made in heaven would become a thing of the past if women are given the right to divorce and contract another matrimonial alliance. If daughter is given her share of property in an agricultural family, there would be fragmentation of land. Instead of treating their sisters as their protégé, brothers would look upon them as rivals out to take a part of the property which earlier belonged to them. In such a situation, customs like Raksha Bandhan would cease to have any importance. The majority of members in the Constituent Assembly hoped that the Select Committee would seriously ponder over the implications of changes proposed in the Bill and make suitable amendments. But even after the Select Committee had seriously pondered over the implications of changes in the Hindu law introduced in the Bill and made many amendments, the Bill remained the subject of fierce controversy.

The Bill seeks to bring radical changes in the concept of marriage, in the scheme of Hindu laws, including the law of inheritance and succession. It will create endless and needless complications including such things as Civil Marriage Register, Sacramental Marriage Register, Marriage Notice Book, Director General of Marriages, Registrar of Marriages, and so on and so forth.

Half a dozen or so women members of the Constituent Assembly and many others marshaled facts and figures to demolish the argument that Hindu Code Bill was an assault on Hindu religion. They argued that the Bill does not seek to disturb the Hindu religion but to amend and modify the Hindu civil law. There is no rigidity about the law, which has changed from time to time.

Sharp division in the Constituent Assembly over the Hindu Code Bill made the Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru intervene in the debate to assure agitated members that the government had no intention of pushing through the Bill merely by virtue of a majority when there was a considerable variety of opinion with regard to it. The position of the government, so far as this Bill was concerned, was this. "We stand committed to the broad approach of the Bill as a whole. We are prepared, however, to consider every clause in a spirit of accommodation. Naturally, the government has put forward this measure as it is because they believe in it. But in such matters they desire to have as large a measure of support as possible. The government is sincerely interested to carry the Bill through this House and through the country with the largest measure of support."

Notwithstanding the fact that the Prime Minister had himself supported the Bill, there was no end to its criticism even by Congress members in the Constituent Assembly. Outside Parliament many influential people including the then President of India, Dr Rajendra Prasad, had reservations about it. Dr Prasad had gone to the extent of saying that even if the Bill was passed he would not allow it to be made a law in India by declining to give his assent.

This was the first longest discussion on any single Bill in the free India's Parliament. Dr. Ambedkar felt that the Government. i.e. the Congress were not no eager to clear the Hindu Code. He tendered his resignation on 27th September, 1951 to the Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. On the request of the Prime Minister he continued to participate in the Parliamentary debates till 10th October, 1951. To provide equal rights to the women as enjoyed by men he produced the Bill in the Parliament. The orthodox Hindu and the President of the Constituent Assembly Dr. Rajendra Prasad was against the Bill. Anathasayanam Ayyangar, the speaker of the Constituent Assembly was also against this Hindu Code Bill. Dr. Ambedkar resigned from the Nehru's Cabinet. In 1955, the laws relating to marriage, adoption, maintenance, divorce etc. were passed in parliament.

## Check Your Progress

Q.1. Evaluate the Support and opposition of Hindu Code Bill.

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### 9.3 SUMMARY

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Ambedkar was the first communist thinker who believed in egalitarian society. He did not differ between male and female. His opinion was that all The Hindu religious books such as Vedas, Shastras and Puranas etc. are responsible for discriminations between men and women. He suggested to formulate the new doctrinal basis of the Hindu religion “that will be in consonance with liberty, equality and fraternity”. Ambedkar realised that to remove the evil practices over women they should be safeguarded by constitutional provisions. To establish a ‘new notion of life’ of women Ambedkar suggested that various caste and sub-caste should be abolished from Hindu society, inter-caste marriage and inter-caste dinning should be established in Hindu society. He believed in social democracy as well as political democracy. To him, democracy is an associated mode of social life. His concept of ideal society would be based on egalitarian concept.

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### 9.4 QUESTIONS

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1. Analyse the provisions of Hindu Code Bill.
2. Describe the two forms of Hindu marriages.
3. Discuss the Provisions which relates to dowry and maintenance.
4. Discuss the two different systems of Hindu law.
5. Asses the Provisions relating to divorce, adoption, minority and guardianship
6. Evaluate the Support and opposition of Hindu Code Bill.

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### 9.5 ADDITIONAL READINGS

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## DALIT MOVEMENT (1957-2000 CE)

### Unit Structure

- 10.0 Objectives
- 10.1 Introduction
- 10.2 Dalit Movements (1957-2000)
- 10.3 Gaikwad and Others
- 10.4 Tailist Pursuit of Power
- 10.5 Splits and Schism: Imperative of Electoral Commerce
- 10.6 Dalit Panthers Movement
- 10.7 RPI and Dalit politics
- 10.8 Dalit Panther and Neo protest movement
- 10.9 Neoliberalism and rise of caste-based coalition politics
- 10.10 Kanshiram's Movement
- 10.11 Mayawati's Contribution to Dalit Movement
- 10.12 Multiplicity of Brands, Little Differentiation
- 10.13 Hinduised Buddhism: Turning the Wheel Backwards
- 10.14 SC / ST Associations: Facing a Dead End Ahead
  - 10.14.1 Regional outfits
  - 10.14.2 The Green Revolution
  - 10.14.3 Removal of Poverty
  - 10.14.4 Mandal Commission
- 10.15 Dalits and Contemporary Indian Politics
- 10.16 Summary
- 10.17 Questions
- 10.18 Additional Readings

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### 10.0 OBJECTIVES

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After reading this unit, students will be able to:

1. Understand the meaning of 'dalit' in India.
2. Identify the issues/problems involved in the dalit movement.
3. Know phases through which the dalit movement has passed.
4. Analyze the role of dalits and their organisations in the electoral politics.

Babasaheb Dr. Ambedkar has undoubtedly been the central figure in the epistemology of the Dalit universe. It is difficult to imagine anything serious or important in their collective life that is totally untouched by Dr. Ambedkar. For the Dalit masses he is everything together; a scholar par excellence in the realm of scholarship, a Moses or messiah who led his people out of bondage and ignominy on to the path of pride, and a Bodhisattva in the pantheon of Buddhism. He is always bedecked with superlatives, quite like God, whatever may be the context in Dalit circles.

It is not difficult to see the reason behind the obeisance and reverence that dalits have for Dr. Ambedkar. They see him as one who devoted every moment of his life thinking about and struggling for their emancipation, who took the might of the establishment head on in defence of their cause; who sacrificed all the comforts and conveniences of life that were quite within his reach to be on their side; who conclusively disproved the theory of caste based superiority by rising to be the tallest amongst the tall despite enormous odds, and finally as one who held forth the torch to illuminate the path of their future. Few in the history of millenniums of their suffering had so much as looked at them as humans and empathised with them as fellow beings. He was their own among these few. It was he, who forsook his high pedestal, climbed down to their level, gave them a helping hand and raised them to human stature. It is a commonplace occurrence to see dalits right from the humble landless labourer in villages to the highly placed bureaucrat in corridors of power, emotionally attributing their all to him. They all believe that but for him, they would still be living like their forefathers, with spittoons around their necks and broom sticks to their behind.

It is thus natural for dalits to place him at the centre as their beacon and conduct their collective affairs as directed by its beam. This beam however is not monochromatic like a laser beam, to use an analogy from physics, but is composed of many light frequencies, the filters for which are controlled not by the masses but by some others. They manipulate this beam as per their desire, sometimes letting some frequencies pass and sometimes some other. They could selectively amplify some part and de-amplify the other and present an entirely different spectrum. What reaches the masses, thus, is not the holistic and true picture of 'Dr. Ambedkar' but its part, sometimes a distorted part, carefully filtered out and amplified by the 'technicians'. This fragmented and false Dr. Ambedkar is what reaches the masses. For them, Dr. Ambedkar is no more a historical personality named Bhimrao Ramji Dr. Ambedkar. He is already metamorphosed into a symbol- a symbol for their collective aspiration, an icon for the thesis of

their emancipation. Because for the masses icons come handy. They are sans complexity of the main body, practical useable artefacts. Iconisation of the great heroes and their ideas at the hands of masses is thus inevitable. Human history is replete with such icons; rather it is largely made of them. The dalit politicians who never let the masses see the material aspects of their problems and kept them entangled in the cobweb of emotional issues have moreover promoted iconisation of Babasaheb Dr. Ambedkar.

This analysis is premised on a hypothesis that the history of post-Dr. Ambedkar dalit movement is largely influenced by the icons of Dr. Ambedkar that were produced by the socio-political dynamics of post-independence India. The process of iconisation, whatever be the motivations, has to have the basis, howsoever tenuous, in the material reality, in the facts about the subject. Being essentially a simplification of a complex reality, it involves the playing up of facts as per one's proclivities and propensities. The text therefore attempts to trace out the bases for various Dr. Ambedkar icons in Dr. Ambedkar himself and simultaneously highlights the motive force behind the underlying distortions that they embody. While it largely holds these icons responsible for the current sorry State of the dalit movement based on the near-monotheistic devotion of dalits towards Babasaheb Dr. Ambedkar, it still considers that the conceptual framework that he reflects could be used, not only to further the emancipatory struggles of dalits to its logical end but also to promote a true democratic revolution in India, provided it is seen in a radical light.

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## **10.2 DALIT MOVEMENTS (1957-2000)**

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The analysis is divided into four parts. The first reviews the post-Dr. Ambedkar dalit movement, essentially in relation to certain significant milestones or trends and attempts to trace the specific icon of Dr. Ambedkar that underscores each. The second part discusses the general limitations of transpositioning the ideologies, characterising specific episodes in the history across the historical periods and in specific reviews the predominant profiles of the Dr. Ambedkar-icons. It outlines the need to redefine Dr. Ambedkar, if he is to be the ideological icon to guide the dalit movement to its logical end.

A review of the significant events and episodes in the dalit movement after the demise of Babasaheb Dr. Ambedkar is attempted here in order to identify the icons behind them and assess their characteristics.

After the death of Babasaheb Dr. Ambedkar, the mantle of leadership fell upon the shoulders of Dadasaheb Gaikwad. He appeared to be the natural choice, by virtue of his stature in the movement as well as his age. He had grown up to be Dr. Ambedkar's trusted lieutenant through frontline participation in all the battles, right from the days of Mahad. He represented a typical activist of the Dr. Ambedkarian movement and had a mass identity. He seemed to know the exact pulse of dalit masses. It is interesting to note that the question of land that by and large constitutes the crux of the dalit problem (as recognised by innumerable scholars even today) was and could only be taken up by Gaikwad. It was the biggest and by far the most glorious event in the post-Dr. Ambedkar dalit movement. Even during the days of Babasaheb Dr. Ambedkar, the mass struggle for land had never materialised in direct terms and at such a scale. At the most, it could be said to have materialized symbolically in the form of a struggle for abolition of 'Khoti' a kind of landlordism that prevailed in the Konkan region of Maharashtra. At any rate, as a mass struggle for land at the national level, it did not have any parallel in Indian history. It was the first time that the economic dimension of the dalit problem was effectively integrated with their social oppression. It had gained an overwhelming support from the masses all over the country. Scores of dalit families went to jail and many dalit hamlets remained deserted for days.

However, although it had caught the fancy of dalit masses, the rest of the dalit leadership thought otherwise. They disapproved Gaikwad's struggle as being communist and declared that it had no place in Dr. Ambedkarian agenda. They highlighted Dr. Ambedkar's statement that mass struggles were the grammar of anarchy in the constitutional regime and should not have any place in a parliamentary democracy. They argued that if the land question was at all important, it could have been taken up judicially in the Supreme Court of India. Fortunately, none suggested parliamentary solution. It was perhaps considered infeasible as none could muster requisite majority to effect the people oriented fundamental changes after the Poona Pact. In tacit terms, the other leaders were accusing Gaikwad of being intellectually incapable of comprehending the subtleties of Dr. Ambedkar's ideology and hence unsuitable to step into his shoes.

Gaikwad, a rustic in the common man's Dhoti-Kurta attire, and not embellished with university degrees, could not be accepted by these people. They considered themselves the true heirs to the leadership after Dr. Ambedkar on the sole criterion that they fitted the Dr. Ambedkarian mould (as they conceived it) better than Gaikwad. They could thus project

themselves as better clones of Dr. Ambedkar to the gullible dalit masses. Gaikwad and the people of his ilk could be activists but not the leaders!

Without leaders the masses could not exist. It obfuscated, mystified and externalized the problems of dalits, if not their very existence. The sahib syndrome that curiously settled among dalits as the general honorific, almost devoid of any attribute association, got significant reinforcement by this icon. Moreover, in so far as this syndrome reflected middle class aspirations and value associations, this icon helped petty-bourgeoisise the entire dalit movement.

Although, later the Dalit Panthers brought in a change in this leadership model, certainly in its physical attributes and so made it more people friendly, it approximately recoiled back to the old RPI (Republican Party of India) model with the demise of the spirit behind Panthers. This leadership model was certainly regressive as it reproduced the decadent feudal structure that dalits were so familiar with in real life; perhaps it was both, its cause as well as its effect. Paradoxically, its protagonists and promoters were the very people who seemed to claim a larger share of modernity. Gaikwad's equation with the masses and his charisma would not be easily swept away by their attempts but it is a fact that he could not take up mass based struggles thereafter and rather chose to fall prey to the enticements of power and pelf from Congress circle. Thus, this early icon of Dr. Ambedkar certainly blocked the emerging mass orientation of the dalit movement.

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#### **10.4 TAILIST PURSUIT OF POWER**

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The importance of dalits in the scheme of post-1947 politics was duly recognised by the ruling classes, then predominantly represented by the Congress party. It was vital for them to tie dalits to the parliamentary alternative. Hypothetically speaking, if the latent alienation and the proletarian consciousness of dalits were allowed to grow in an unhindered manner, revolutionary prospects for India would have been closer than in any other conceivable place in the world. The mass struggle that materialized under the leadership of Gaikwad certainly shook the ruling classes. They had to devise special strategies to contain the threat of the emerging dalit challenge. It was a challenge indeed, although inadequately articulated, that had exactly touched the most sensitive nerve of the feudal structure, which still lay at the base of everything that mattered to dalits. The implementation of this strategy was soon seen in Gaikwad being befriended by Yashwantrao Chawhan, the then chief minister of Maharashtra and later the Deputy Prime Minister of the country. It culminated in the first alliance between the RPI and the Congress, which helped Gaikwad, and a few others reach the Parliament and Legislative

Assemblies. The inauguration of the era of unprincipled alliances could be discerned right here. The Congress was undisputedly a representative party of the Indian ruling classes comprising the high caste capitalists and landlords. The alliance between this party and the party of the most exploited in the land, to say the least, could only be termed unholy.

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## **10.5 SPLITS AND SCHISM: IMPERATIVE OF ELECTORAL COMMERCE**

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Then came the era of disintegration. The RPI split and further split till people lost count of its factions. Three predominant reasons could be discerned for this disintegration: (i) The ruling class strategy of ‘divide and rule’, (ii) the lack of ideological coherence in the dalit movement, and (iii) the petty-bourgeoisie aspirations of its leadership. Apparently, these reasons reinforced each other and in that sense were not exclusive.

‘Divide and Rule’ is the well-known strategy of the ruling classes world over to basically weaken the ruled people. Indians generally attributed it to the colonial British policy but the fact is that more than any one else, it is ingrained in the blood of their own ruling class. It underlay their caste system in the form of a continuum of hierarchies that kept the people perpetually divided. This caste continuum has certainly played its obnoxious role even in avowedly ‘caste annihilating’ dalit movement in terms of providing potential fissures to crack along. As explained above, the post-independence reality, comprising mainly the ‘Poona Pact’ and enslavement of dalits within the framework of parliamentary democracy exposed dalits to ruling class enticements and resultantly led to their perpetual division. The strong dalit movement even if co-opted for the time being, posed the threat of re-emergence and challenge. It had to be simultaneously weakened to perpetuate their political subordination. The petty bourgeoisie aspirations of dalit leaders made operationalization of this strategy easy. Its feasibility was further enhanced by the ambivalence reflected in Dr. Ambedkar’s sayings and doings from time to time, which provided scope for anyone to interpret him the way one liked. It was his icon as the demigod of dalits that was used up by the competing commanders of his army to do whatever they liked.

The ruling classes of course played their cards well in catalyzing this divide in their pursuit of buying the dalit support. This electoral commerce paid off handsomely and created its own rationale and motivation for the permanent division of dalit leaders. Through this process, some of the leaders of the wretched, while serving their cause, amassed wealth worth crores of rupees, became industrialists, maintained fleets of cars, roamed around by air and taxis, without any evidence of the basic source of their prosperity. It is a tribute to the political consciousness of dalits that while

they starved and bled themselves over the issue of unity of these leaders, it never occurred to them to ask, even in a whisper, a question about the source of their material wellbeing! Many blatantly indulged in the acts contrary to their profession for amassing wealth-some set up liquor factories and still remained the front rank leaders of the Buddhists, some allied with the rank castiest and communalist and still claimed to be ardent Dr. Ambedkarites. What counted was money and power. Paradoxically, the more affluent ones seemed to fit the bill better as they looked bigger 'sahebs', adding an additional aura to their leadership. Apart from the naked might of money in the electoral politics that tended to situate the moneyed men at the pedestal of power, the leadership model outlined above certainly contributed to their sustenance. With the money power they could invest into cultivation of their cronies and in turn command a better return in the wake of electoral parleys.

The splits were in a way a corollary of the leadership model and the over-reliance on the electoral politics sanctioned by the above-indicated icons. The leaders were always seen endowed with an uncommon wisdom that was really beyond the reach of masses. Leaders thus could do whatever they wanted without any scruples and they did it even breaking away from the party. As a result, the so-called giants who claimed the legacy of Dr. Ambedkar became contented with the identity of the parenthesised alphabets of their names after the RPI. They did not even worry about the fact that the formations represented by these parenthesized identities were basically a mere coagulation of their own sub castes, in their respective geographical areas. It was a qualitative leap backwards for the ones who had proudly launched upon the annihilation of castes as their mission. Every one claimed to be a better follower of Dr. Ambedkar than the other is, and in the process, proliferated his icons by projecting one's proprietary models.

### **Check Your Progress**

Q.1. Describe the Dalit Movements of Gaikwad and Others.

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## 10.6 DALIT PANTHERS MOVEMENT

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Dalit Movements in India  
(1957-2000)

In Bombay a small number of educated shudras and untouchables started the **Dalit Panther movement**, clearly inspired by the contemporary Black Panther movement in the US. They were the first movement by the underclass to deliberately adopt the term dalit to describe itself. They explicitly rejected the Gandhian term harijan. "If all people are God's children," they asked, "why should we alone bear the title?" They also were angered by the fact that the term harijan was previously used in some parts of India to refer to the fatherless children of temple dancers/prostitutes.

The most characteristic feature of the Dalit Panthers was a raw poetry and street theater intended to inflame dalit anger against the elite. During the last two decades a bewildering variety of movements dedicated to the cause of dalits have arisen. A large and increasingly vocal dalit women's movement has taken on not only the economic, social, and political elite, but patriarchal authority by dalit men over dalit women.

The degeneration that set in continued unabated till the birth of Dalit Panthers in early-1970s. There could be varied explanations for the paradigm shift in dalit politics (movement) marked by dalit Panthers. Remarkably, they spoke the language of defiance and militancy, which created waves. These waves had shaken the foundations of the established order in the country and in essence demonstrated what the wrath of the wretched could be! It provided a valuable insight that was pathetically missing in the dalit politics. Going by their manifesto, dalit panthers had broken many new grounds in terms of radicalising the political space for the dalit movement. They imparted the proletarian-radical class identity to dalits and linked their struggles to the struggles of all oppressed people over the globe. The clear cut leftist stand reflected by this document undoubtedly ran counter to the accepted legacy of Dr. Ambedkar as projected by the various icons, although it was sold in his name as an awkward tactic.

It is to the credit of Panthers that the assimilation of these two ideologies was attempted for the first time in the country but unfortunately it proved abortive in absence of the efforts to rid each of them of its obfuscating influence and stress their non-contradictory essence. Neither, there was theoretical effort to integrate these two ideologies, nor was there any practice combining social aspects of caste with say, the land question in the village setting. Essentially, it remained an emotional and a poetic negation of the status quo, craving for the broad revolutionary change and on ideological plane inevitably reflected an amalgam of Dr. Ambedkar and Marx. This ideological amalgam could not be acceptable to those

under the spell of the prevailing Dr. Ambedkar icons and therefore this revolutionary seedling in the dalit movement died a still death.

The possibility of the radical shift in the paradigm of dalit politics indicated by the manifesto was totally submerged by the reactionary upsurge of the new version of orthodox Dr. Ambedkarism.

The reactionaries objected to the radical content of the programme alleging that the manifesto was doctored by the radicals – the Naxalites. There is no denying the fact that the Naxalite movement which had erupted quite like the Dalit Panther, as a disenchantment with and negation of the established politics, saw a potential ally in the Panthers and tried to forge a bond right at the level of formulation of policies and programme of the latter. But even if the Panthers had chosen to pattern their programme on the ten point programme of the Black Panther Party (BPP) in the USA, which had been the basic inspiration for their formation, it would not have been any less radical.

The amount of emphasis on the material aspects of life that one finds in the party programme of the BPP could still have been inimical to the established icon of Dr. Ambedkar. Radicalism was the premise for the very existence of the Dalit Panther and hence the quarrel over its programme basically reflected the clash between the established icon of Dr. Ambedkar and his radical version proposed in the programme. The fact that for the first time the Dalit Panther exposed dalits to a radical Dr. Ambedkar and brought a section of dalit youth nearer to accepting it certainly marks its positive contribution to the dalit movement.

There were material reasons for the emergence of Dalit Panthers, as there are for any episode or event. Children of the Dr. Ambedkarian movement had started coming out of universities in large numbers in the later part of 1960s, just to face the blank future staring at them. The much-publicised Constitutional provisions for them turned out to be a mirage. Their political vehicle was getting deeper and deeper into the marsh of parliamentarism. It ceased to see the real problems of people.

The air of militant insurgency that had blown all over the world during those days also provided them the source material to articulate their anger. Unfortunately, quite like the BPP, they lacked the suitable ideology to channel this anger for achieving their goal. Interestingly, as they reflected the positive aspects of the BPP's contributions in terms of self-defence, mass organizing techniques, propaganda techniques and radical orientation, they did so in the case of BPP's negative aspects too. Like Black Panthers they also reflected TV mentality' (to think of a revolutionary struggle like a quick-paced TV programme), dogmatism,

neglect of economic foundation needed for the organisation, lumpen tendencies, rhetoric outstripping capabilities, lack of clarity about the form of struggle and eventually corruptibility of the leadership. The Panthers' militancy by and large remained confined to their speeches and writings. One of the reasons for its stagnation was certainly its incapability to escape the petit bourgeois ideological trap built up with the icons of Dr. Ambedkar. It would not get over the ideological ambivalence represented by them. Eventually, the petit-bourgeoise 'icon' of Dr. Ambedkar prevailed and extinguished the sparklet of new revolutionary challenge. It was completely sapped of its rebellious image and its vitality and soon got corrupted with a ridiculous prefix 'Bharatiya' to it. It survived as another living monument to the ideological bankruptcy and the degeneration of the dalit leadership. It went the RPI way and what remained of it were the numerous fractions engaged in internecine squabbles under the sly hands of the ruling classes.

The Dalit Panther phase represented the clash of two icons: one, that of a radical 'Dr. Ambedkar', as a committed rationalist, perpetually striving for the deliverance of the most oppressed people in the world. He granted all the freedom to his followers to search out the truth using the rationalist methodology as he did. He abhorred all kinds of humbug and hated to be bound by any dogma. He desired his followers to do the same. Like his mentor, the Buddha, he would exhort his followers not to take anything for granted until their own experience corroborated it or their intellect supported it. The other is of the 'Dr. Ambedkar' who has forbidden the violent methods and advocated the constitutional ways for his followers, who was a staunch anti-Communist, ardent Buddhist, nay, Bodhisatva, who has given a permanent doctrine that was infallible. As it turned out, the radical icon of Dr. Ambedkar was projected without adequate conviction. It was implanted in an alien soil. There was no one committed to propagating such an image of Dr. Ambedkar, neither communists nor dalits. Eventually it remained as a veritable hodgepodge compared to the familiar set of icons coming from the other camp.

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## **10.7 RPI AND DALIT POLITICS**

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In the latter part of his life, Dr. Ambedkar wanted to start a new party the Republican Party of India (RPI) which would represent all oppressed, deprived, backward poor of India surpassing the narrow confines of Scheduled Caste Federation into a broad based movement against inequality, discrimination and injustice. However, this did not happen; Dr. Ambedkar died before establishing RPI. It was established on 3 October 1957 by his followers all most one year of his death (6 December 1956) the party became only a name change as it remained confined to former

untouchables mainly Mahars in Maharashtra and Chamars in UP, the crucial leaders of RPI were Dadasaheb Gaikwad, B.C. Kamble, Bhandar and Khobragade. In 1960 when Samyukt Maharashtra was formed Y. B. Chavan then Chief Minister of Maharashtra offered some seats to RPI, few leaders wished to join hands with Congress while others wanted independent identity. Within two years of formation RPI broke into various factions which is realty even today. Unfortunately, the tempo and the revolutionary zeal of the party ceased as every leader started posing as a 'junior Dr. Ambedkar'. The RPI was subject to a series of splits based on personality clashes and personal political ambitions. The RPI leadership indulged in factionalism and power became the centre of attraction (Jogdand 1998).

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## **10.8 DALIT PANTHER AND NEO PROTEST MOVEMENT**

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By 1970 there came a young educated generation in the Dalit society that realised that the economic policies of the Indian government failed to reach the poor and the Dalit politicians are not helping the society and Dalit community at large. It was this awaking that contributed to the formation of Dalit Panther in 1972 their inspiration was Black Panther in the USA. Its prominent leaders were Namdeo Dhasal, J.V. Pawar, Raja Dhale, Arun Kamble, Avinash Mahatekar, and Arjun Dangle. It was the first movement in India where the oppressed caste tried to reply to upper-caste aggressively. Dalit Panther started fighting against atrocities and developed courage and a sense of social security among Dalits. They showed no repugnance towards violence and engaged in fighting against Shiv Sena cadres on the streets. Like Dr. Ambedkar, the Panthers also stood as a critique of the Congress government and tried to bring together the most diverse groups as a feasible political alternative. Unfortunately, like RPI even Dalit Panthers had to face problems of factionalism the fundamental difference came about 'Caste vs Class' 'Buddha vs Marx', Dhasal argued for class struggle Dhale argued for caste struggle as a result within two years Panther broke out into Dhasal faction and Dhale faction. Though it became a significant movement that had an impact not only in Maharashtra but all over the nation, However, it started declining in the later part 70s as it lacked basic ideology and organisational structure, further no efforts were made in cadre building. As a result, the Dalit Panthers which had created high hopes also became a defunct force within no time divided into various factions. There were massive displays of the strength of Dalit unity, but it all has been for emotional issues, e.g. the movements for 'Namantar, against the ban on the Riddles of Rama and Krishna, and many others representing the Dalit anger towards the attempts of casteist elements to denigrate and desecrate the statues of Dr Dr. Ambedkar, indeed demonstrated the potential force of Dalits

(Teltumbde 1997). However, the lack of political will on the part of the government and also on the part of bureaucracy in particular about the welfare schemes for Dalits led to further stagnation and backwardness of Dalit. One can see that every time they raised a voice against oppression, they had to bear the brunt.

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## 10.9 NEOLIBERALISM AND RISE OF CASTE-BASED COALITION POLITICS

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With an apparent exhausting of the Dalit Panther, the Dalit movement began to become politically more assertive as caste based parties like the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) under the leadership of Kashiram started to gain political weight under Bahujan identity he included S.C., S.T., O.B.C. and religious minorities than Dalit which represented S.C. The 1990's have come to be defined by caste politics, particularly with controversy on the Mandal Commission report on reservations in government jobs at the start of the decade became a high point of the Dalit struggle. In this decade there were many attempts by Dalit political parties to ally with OBCs, e.g. BSP, and Samajwadi Party (SP) formed an alliance in 1993 in UP and Mayawati became the first female Dalit Chief Minister in India, later BSP allied with BJP in 1997 and 2002. Encouraged by this Prakash Dr. Ambedkar also formed a separate party The Bahujan Mahasangha and made Makharam Pawar a Banjara by caste to represent the OBCs in Maharashtra and 1993 Kinwat assembly by-elections Bhimrao Keram won with a handsome majority against a Congress candidate which proved that a Non-Brahmin Non-Maratha alliance could be a winning combination. However, the 1995 assembly elections brought to the surface the contradiction in caste politics as OBC and Dalit are not single castes and there is various sub caste with the different interest the alliance got a shock when Keram himself joined Congress. As a result, in the 1995 assembly elections, Non-Maratha- Non Brahmin alliance did not win a single seat. However, this movement challenged the hegemony of the Maratha caste in Maharashtra politics and made them realise that Dalits have moved forward from just being vote banks to a fully autonomous voter influencing India's politics.

### Check Your Progress

Q.1. Discuss the Dalit Panthers Movement.

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## 10.10 KANSHIRAM'S MOVEMENT

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The movement of Kanshiram markedly reflected a different strategy, which coined the 'Bahujan' identity encompassing all the SCS, STS, BCs, OBCs and religious minorities than 'dalit', which practically represented only the scheduled castes. Kanshiram started off with an avowedly apolitical organisation of government employees belonging to Bahujana, identifying them to be the main resource of these communities. It later catalysed the formation of an agitating political group creatively coined as DS4 – the Dalit Shoshit Samaj Sangharsh Samiti, which eventually became a full-fledged political party - the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP).

Purely, in terms of electoral politics, which has somehow become a major obsession with all the dalit parties, Kanshiram's strategy has proved quite effective, though in only certain parts of the country. He has given a qualitative impetus to the moribund dalit politics, locating itself into a wider space peopled by all the downtrodden of India. But he identified these people only in terms of their castes and communities. It may be said to his credit that he reflected the culmination of what common place icon of Dr. Ambedkar stood for. Kanshiram shrewdly grasped the political efficacy of this icon that sanctioned the pursuit of power in the name of downtrodden castes.

In 1973, Kanshi Ram again with his colleagues established the BAMCEF: Backward and Minority Communities Employees Federation. The first operating office was opened in Delhi in 1976 with the motto-"Educate Organize and Agitate". This served as a base to spread the ideas of Dr. Ambedkar and his beliefs. From then on Kanshi Ram continued building his network and making people aware of the realities of the caste system, how it functioned in India and the teachings of Dr. Ambedkar. In 1980 he created a road show named "Dr. Ambedkar Mela" which showed the life of Dr. Ambedkar and his views through pictures and narrations. In 1981 he founded the Dalit Shoshit Samaj Sangharsh Samiti or DS4 as a parallel association to the BAMCEF. It was created to fight against the attacks on the workers who were spreading awareness on the caste system. It was created to show that workers could stand united and that they too can fight. However this was not a registered party but an organization which was political in nature.

In 1984, he established a full-fledged political party known as the Bahujan Samaj Party. However, it was in 1986 when he declared his transition from a social worker to a politician by stating that he was not going to work for/with any other organization other than the Bahujan Samaj Party. Later he converted to Buddhism. The movement of Kanshiram markedly reflected a different strategy, which coined

the 'Bahujan' identity encompassing all the SCs, STs, BCs, OBCs and religious minorities than 'dalit', which practically represented only the scheduled castes. Kanshiram started off with an avowedly apolitical organisation of government employees belonging to Bahujana, identifying them to be the main resource of these communities. It later catalysed the formation of an agitating political group creatively coined as DS4, which eventually became a full-fledged political party – the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP). Purely, in terms of electoral politics, which has somehow become a major obsession with all the dalit parties, Kanshiram's strategy has proved quite effective, though in only certain parts of the country. He has given a qualitative impetus to the moribund dalit politics, locating itself into a wider space peopled by all the downtrodden of India. But he identified these people only in terms of their castes and communities.

It may be said to his credit that he reflected the culmination of what common place icon of Dr. Ambedkar stood for. Kanshiram shrewdly grasped the political efficacy of this icon that sanctioned the pursuit of power in the name of downtrodden castes. The religious minorities which potentially rears the sense of suffering marginalisation from the majority community could be easily added to it to make a formidable constituency in parliamentary parlance. Everyone knew it but none knew how to implement. Kanshiram has seemingly succeeded in this task at least in certain pockets. The careful analysis will show that the combination of certain historical developments and situational factors has been behind this success. As Kanshiram has amply experienced, it is not replicable elsewhere. It is bound to be short-lived and illusory unless this success is utilised to implement a revolutionary programme to forge a class identity among its constituents. If not, one will have to constantly exert to recreate the compulsions for their togetherness and allegiance. In absence of any class-agenda, which is certainly the case of BSP, these compulsions could only be created through manipulative politics for which political power is an essential resource. BSP's unprincipled pursuit of power is basically driven by this exigency. It is futile to see in this game a process of empowerment of the subject people as could be seen from the statistical evidence of the cases of atrocities, and of overall situation of the poor people under its rule. The imperatives of this kind of strategy necessarily catapult the movement into the camp of the ruling classes as has exactly happened with BSP. BSP's electoral parleys with Congress, BJP, Akali Dal (Mann) that reached the stage of directly sharing State power in UP recently, essentially reflect this process of degeneration and expose its class characteristics today. It seems to have sustaining support from the icon that BSP itself created, where Dr. Ambedkar was painted as the intelligent strategist who could turn any situation to his advantage, who used every opportunity to grab political power to achieve his objective.

Kanshiram's reading of Dr. Ambedkar ignores the fact that Dr. Ambedkar had to carve out space for his movement in the crevices left by the contradictions between various Indian political parties and groups on one side and the colonial power on the other. For most of his time, he sought maximisation of this space from the contending Muslim League and Congress, and eventually brought dalit issue to the national political agenda. Kanshiram stuffs his Dr. Ambedkar icon entirely with such kind of superfluity that it would look credible to the gullible dalit masses. This icon approves of his sole ideology that political power to his party could solve all dalit problems. He did not care for democracy. To some extent this non-democratic stance spells his compulsions to have unitary command over his party structure as without it, his adversaries would gobble it up. He did not have any utility for any programme or manifesto, his sole obsession is to maximise his power by whatever means. In the rhetoric of empowering Bahujans, he does not even feel it necessary to demonstrate what exactly this empowering means and what benefits it would entail them.

The obsession with capturing power robbed him of certain fundamental values that Dr. Ambedkar never compromised. The underlying value of the movement of Dr. Ambedkar was represented by liberty, equality and fraternity. Kanshiram does not seem to respect any value than the political and money power. For Dr. Ambedkar political power was a means, to Kanshiram it appears to be the end. Notwithstanding these broad differences, he has succeeded in luring the dalit masses in certain pockets of the country by projecting an Dr. Ambedkar icon that sanctioned his unscrupulous pursuits of power. The crux of Kanshiram can be traced to his superfluous attempt to replicate Dr. Ambedkar's movement of 1920s.

Kanshiram's record so far clearly shows that he is ready to join hands with any one promising him the share of political power. Dr. Ambedkar pointed at the capitalism and Brahminism as the twin enemy for his movement but Kanshiram enthusiastically embraced them.

The crux of Kanshiram can be traced to his superfluous attempt to replicate Dr. Ambedkar's movement of 1920s as if the times had stood still for the bygone five decades. Dr. Ambedkar's mobilization of dalit masses through struggles is vulgarised by him as the 'agit prop' tool to collect people behind him. When Dr. Ambedkar realized the potency of political power, he launched his Indian Labour Party that reflected his urge to bring together the working class, transcending the caste lines. It is only when the political polarization took communal turn that he abandoned his ILP project and launched the Scheduled Caste Federation. For Kanshiram, the talk sans caste and communities is perhaps an anathema. His casteist platform as such appears preordained by his ambition for power.

Kanshiram's record so far clearly shows that he is ready to join hands with any one promising him the share of political power. Declaredly he would avoid the leftists of all hues and accept the friendship of the rank reactionaries of every kind. Dr. Ambedkar pointed at the capitalism and Brahminism as the twin enemy for his movement but Kanshiram enthusiastically embraced them without any pinch to his conscience. Dr. Ambedkar, in his own way, has been in search of suitable ideological carrier for the dalit movement. Kanshiram has no utility for such a thing.

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### **10.11 MAYAWATI'S CONTRIBUTION TO DALIT MOVEMENT**

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Mayawati Prabhu Das became the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh for four separated terms. She is the national president of the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP). She emphasized on a platform of social change to improve the lives of the weakest strata of Indian society — the Bahujans or Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Other Backward Classes, and religious minorities. Mayawati's government was branded as a "miracle of democracy" by P. V. Narasimha Rao, former Prime Minister of India. Mayawati during her tenure directed all the Commissioners and the District Magistrates to distribute 3 acre land pieces or pattas to weaker sections of society by launching a special drive for illegal possession of pattas be dispossessed of them and the eligible poor be identified by regular monitoring of pattas and strict action against the mafias and musclemen through spot verification of different development and public welfare programmes. In 2010, 5596 people belonging to the SC and ST communities were allotted 1054.879 hectares of agricultural land. In a special drive 74 FIRs were filed and 88 people were arrested for illegal occupation of agricultural land. Under the leadership of Mayawati, the government has taken the following decisions (from March 2007 to May 2008) in the interest of weaker sections;- (1) Special drive for filling backlog of reservations (2) Provision of reservation to SC/ST in private sector (3). Computerisation for transparency in the distribution of SC/ST scholarships (4) Mahamaya housing scheme (5) Shri Kanshi Ram Shabri Gharib Awas Yojna for providing housing facility to urban poor (6) Construction of community halls for Dalits (7). Janani Suraksha Yojna under which the eligible pregnant women are provided a sum of Rs.1400/- . Dalit empowerment is Mayawati's lasting contribution to the Indian polity. She has "given a sense of self-confidence to the community that even Dr. Ambedkar or Kanshi Ram could never give."

### Check Your Progress

Q.1. Write a note on Kanshiram’s Movement.

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### 10.12 MULTIPLICITY OF BRANDS, LITTLE DIFFERENTIATION

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Apart from these broad political trends, there are many regional outfits like Dalit Mahasabha in Andhra Pradesh, Mass movement in Maharashtra, Dalit Sena in Bihar and elsewhere, etc. some of which dabble directly into electoral politics and some of them do not. So far, none of them have a radically different icon of Dr. Ambedkar from the ones described above. They offer some proprietary ware claiming to be a shade better than that of others.

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### 10.13 HINDUISED BUDDHISM: TURNING THE WHEEL BACKWARDS

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Another trend in the dalit movement emphasises the spread of Buddhism as its goal. As in politics, there are numerous organisations devoted to this task. According to them, Buddhism was the culmination of Dr. Ambedkar’s mission and hence, the true Dr. Ambedkarite not only had to be a Buddhist but also had to work for the spread of Buddhism. Dr. Ambedkar’s declared vision of making India a Buddhist country spells a mission statement to them. Their activities revolve around building Buddhist viharas, becoming Shramners and Bhikkus; imbibing religious mode of living and engaging in quasi-studious pursuits like learning Pali, reading Buddhist scriptures, rewriting the episodes in history. At the renaissance some amount of excavation of skeletons is inevitable but it had become an obsession with the dalit intellectuals, who squandered considerable energies in dissecting the Hindu mythology to expose its cunning and rediscovering the Buddhist glories as their own legacy. One of the underlying motives in this enterprise was to project superiority of Buddhism and in turn their own as they believed that they were the original Buddhists. Paradoxically, all of them quibble over the distinction between ‘Dharma’ and ‘Dhamma’, claiming that Buddhism is Dhamma whereas others are the Dharmas. Unlike other religions, Buddhism does

not have any place for rituals, gods or any permanent entity like soul, and is just a practicable moral code for living.

Of late, the relatively upwardly mobile (middle class) among dalits are increasingly getting attracted towards 'Vipasyana'- a kind of meditation that is said to have been practiced by Buddha himself to get his enlightenment and so is 'prescribed' in Buddhism to be a good Buddhist. Many of them lately claim that it is the essence of Buddhism. It is amusing to see this mind-centric trend growing among dalits. In all this, Dr. Ambedkar's attempts at rationalisation and redefinition of Buddhism are completely forgotten. What rather is remembered is that he himself had given them the 'vidhi' for marriage and for such other occasions; that he himself had devotedly said the three precepts and five oaths and stood through the long winding Gathas in the language of antiquity, that how he got into spiritual trance in front of the Buddha's statue when he visited Sarnath.

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#### **10.14 SC / ST ASSOCIATIONS: FACING A DEAD END AHEAD**

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One more significant trend in the dalit movement has its source in the policy of reservations in services of the State. Apart from the central and State governments, the large number of public sector undertakings that were floated by them, and other institutions established and promoted with public money, also came to be the State, attracting the constitutional provisions regarding reservations for the SCs and STs in services. The dalits in these sectors represented the collective investment and achievements of the dalit community, as reservations were the only hope for them to secure material well-being. Although, they found themselves catapulted to modern sectors of economy, they found there were newer traps already in place, which clearly communicated the caste code for the modern organisations. The dalits had to conform their behaviour to this code for their survival. It reflected all the familiar prejudices against them. Their experience of the blatant violations of these provisions generally manifested in terms of backlogs in filling reservation posts, denial of promotions and general discriminatory treatment meted out in postings, transfers and other aspects of organisational life. The trade unions and management associations would not address their woes because they involved a contradiction between the interests of dalits and non-dalits. Thus, were born the SC/ST associations. Even after their countrywide proliferation, these associations do not have any locus standing with managements except for the ritualistic interviews during the annual visits of parliamentary committees on the welfare of SCs and STs.

It is a sad commentary on the functioning of the Constitution that over the last four decades it has driven these collectives to a State of hopelessness.

The constitutional provisions regarding the reservations flow in the form of various circulars issued by the Government of India that are supposed to be implemented by its executive machinery. Over the years there has been a plethora of these circulars each written in such a convoluted language that even the highest court of law also felt it an arduous task to interpret them. One of the deliberate lacunae that exist in this scheme is that there is no effective onus on any one for the implementation of these provisions.

The executive can blatantly refuse to implement them under the plea of variant interpretation and drive the SC/ST employee or his association to the courts of law. Even if the poor employee or the SC/ST association could last the long winding court process over the years and succeed in getting the favourable verdict (a remote possibility though) the employer can still persist with his negative attitude. There are scores of cases of this kind where the petitioner employee or his association had to launch contempt proceeding against the employers and end up being bankrupt in the process. The helplessness of dalit employees in the services, in a way is the reflection of the sorry State of dalit politics. Since, there was no way these associations could effectively struggle, they landed up seeking petty favours from managements and in return being a black sheep during anti-management struggles.

The typical activities of these associations comprise celebration of the birth anniversaries of Dr. Ambedkar, representing dalit employees to the management or administration, and doing certain philanthropic and community service, depending upon the degree of their own organisation and resources. The icon that they seem to be following is that of a saviour, emancipator, to whom they need to pay their obeisance, to obey his commandments. Their community service for instance could be easily traced to Dr. Ambedkar's call to dalits to contribute 20 per cent of their earnings to the cause of the community. Although, rarely any dalit (save the poorest ones) goes so far as to sacrifice one fifth of his income over the cause of the community, none seem to refuse some symbolic contribution. Some better organised associations distribute notebooks, text books among slum children, run coaching and career counseling classes, organise relief works in the wake of calamities, open eateries in the dalit congregations like the ones at the Dikshyabhumi in Nagpur and Chaityabhumi in Mumbai. These are the gestures of repayment of the social debt.

They see in Dr. Ambedkar as the one who struggled to get them so many facilities and it is their bounden duty to take fullest advantage of the same. It was their sacred duty to occupy positions of power in bureaucracy. It is assumed, as Dr. Ambedkar appears to have assumed himself, that the

educated dalits with bureaucratic authorities will serve the cause of their community in direct proportion to their relative position.

The myth is still sustained in spite of heaps of evidence to the contrary. Dr. Ambedkar's exhortation to 'agitate' is reduced down to making appeals to various authorities, having meetings with managements submitting memoranda and at the maximum, to filing the writ petitions in the courts – in short all that in the feasible range of the public service rules. However, the constraints soon constitute the conscience.

#### **10.14.1 Regional outfits**

Apart from these broad political trends, there are many regional outfits like Dalit Mahasabha in Andhra Pradesh, Mass Movement in Maharashtra, Dalit Sena in Bihar and elsewhere, etc., some of which dabble directly into electoral politics and some of them do not. So far, none of them have a radically different icon of Dr. Ambedkar from the ones described above. They offer some proprietary ware claiming to be a shade better than that of others. Did State really helped? The post-1947 State, which has never tired of propagandising its concern for dalits and poor, has in fact been singularly instrumental in aggravating the caste problem with its policies. Even the apparently progressive policies in the form of Land Ceiling Act, Green Revolution, Programme of Removal of Poverty, Reservations to Dalits in Services and Mandal Commission etc. have resulted against their professed objectives. The effect of the Land Ceiling Act, has been in creating a layer of the middle castes farmers which could be consolidated in caste terms to constitute a formidable constituency. In its new incarnation, this group that has traditionally been the immediate upper caste layer to dalits, assumed virtual custody of Brahminism in order to coerce dalit landless labourers to serve their socio-economic interests and suppress their assertive expression in the bud.

#### **10.14.2 The Green Revolution**

The Green Revolution was the main instrument to introduce capitalisation in agrarian sector. It reinforced the innate hunger of the landlords and big farmers for land as this State sponsored revolution produced huge surplus for them. It resulted in creating geographical imbalance and promoting unequal terms of trade in favour of urban areas. Its resultant impact on dalits has been far more excruciating than that of the Land Ceiling Act.

#### **10.14.3 Removal of Poverty**

The much publicised programme for Removal of Poverty has aggravated the gap between the heightened hopes and aspirations of dalits on one hand and the feelings of deprivation among the poorer sections of non-

dalits in the context of the special programmes especially launched for upliftment of dalits. The tension that ensued culminated in increasingly strengthening the caste – based demands and further aggravating the caste – divide. The reservations in services for dalits, notwithstanding its benefits, have caused incalculable damage in political terms. Reservations created hope, notional stake in the system and thus dampened the alienation; those who availed of its benefit got politically emasculated and in course consciously or unconsciously served as the props of the system. The context of scarcity of jobs provided ample opportunity to reactionary forces to divide the youth along caste lines.

#### **10.14.4 Mandal Commission**

Mandal Commission, that enthused many progressive parties and people to uphold its extension of reservation to the backward castes, has greatly contributed to strengthen the caste identities of people. In as much as it empowers the backward castes, actually their richer sections, it is bound to worsen the relative standing of dalits in villages.

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### **10.15 DALITS AND CONTEMPORARY INDIAN POLITICS:**

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While the Indian Constitution has duly made special provisions for the social and economic uplift of the Dalits, comprising the scheduled castes and tribes in order to enable them to achieve upward social mobility, these concessions are limited to only those Dalits who remain Hindu. There is a demand among the Dalits who have converted to other religions that the statutory benefits should be extended to them as well, to overcome and bring closure to historical injustices. Another major politically charged issue with the rise of Hindutva's (Hindu nationalism) role in Indian politics is that of religious conversion. This political movement alleges that conversions of Dalits are due not to any social or theological motivation but to allurements like education and jobs. Critics argue that the inverse is true due to laws banning conversion, and the limiting of social relief for these backward sections of Indian society being revoked for those who convert. Many Dalits are also becoming part of Hindutva ideology. Another political issue is over the affirmative-action measures taken by the government towards the upliftment of Dalits through quotas in government jobs and university admissions. The seats in the National and State Parliaments are reserved for Scheduled Caste and Tribe candidates, a measure sought by B. R. Dr. Ambedkar and other Dalit activists in order to ensure that Dalits would obtain a proportionate political voice. Anti-Dalit prejudices exist in fringe groups, such as the extremist militia Ranvir Sena, largely run by upper-caste landlords in areas of the Indian state of Bihar. They oppose equal or special treatment of Dalits and have resorted to violent means to suppress the Dalits.

A dalit, Babu Jagjivan Ram became Deputy Prime Minister of India In 1997, K. R. Narayanan was elected as the first Dalit President. K. G. Balakrishnan became first Dalit Chief Justice of India.

However, Caste loyalties were not necessarily the voters' principal concern. Instead, inflation and other issues of social and economic development were the top priorities of the electorate regardless of caste. Dalit who became chief Ministers in India are Damodaram Sanjivayya (Andhra Pradesh) , Mayawati four times chief minister of Uttar Pradesh, Jitan Ram Manjhi, chief minister of Bihar. Some Dalits have been successful in business and politics of modern India. Despite anti-discrimination laws, many Dalits still suffer from social stigma and discrimination. Ethnic tensions and caste-related violence between Dalit and non-Dalits have been witnessed. The cause of such tensions is claimed to be from economically rising Dalits and continued prejudices against Dalits.

Without in any way denigrating the efforts of those who are striving for Dalit Unity, we feel, even if all the Dalits of India, of all castes, shades and colours, unite, they cannot achieve any power without the help of other oppressed castes, as they are only about 16 per cent or so. And if there is no power, caravan of Dr. Ambedkar will be on retrograde journey. Many non-dalit castes are realising the mischief done by Caste system, they are having dialogue with Dalits and uniting with them, as is seen in North Indian states. To think that those who talk of 'Unity' belong to a 'dominant caste' and so have an unfair vested interest in 'unity', will rather be an injustice to their efforts. The dominance they achieved is not the cause of their 'Unity talks', but it is the result of it. Before Phuley, Shahu and Dr. Ambedkar thought of Unity, the condition of all dalit castes was more or less same, none was dominant and all were subservient to BSO.

### Check Your Progress

Q.1. Review the Dalits and Contemporary Indian Politics.

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## 10.16 SUMMARY

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The Dalit movement began as a protest movement to bring socio-political transformation in the status of dalits in India. Dalits have been ruthlessly exploited and inhumanly subjugated by the upper castes for centuries. They have been isolated, fragmented and oppressed by the hegemony of Brahmin culture. The new polity, the postmodern administrative framework, the rational judicial system, the current forms of land tenure and taxation, the new patterns of trade, the liberal education system, and the network of communications emphasized the spirit of liberty, equality and social justice for Dalits. The Dalit movement asserts rights and privileges to the Dalits. Ruman Sutradhar (2014) writes that the Dalit Movement is a social revolution aimed for social change, replacing the age old Dalit Movements in India hierarchical Indian society, and is based on the democratic ideals of liberty, equality and social justice. He also explains that the socio-cultural exclusion, economic deprivation and political exploitation of centuries made the Dalits break out of such kinds of age-old prejudices. Hence, they began to protest with the help of literature, or forming organizations like the Dalit Panthers, and this protest movement came to be recognized as the Dalit Movement. The postmodern researchers, social scientists and academia have developed their interest to study the dalit movement as it is one of the important social movements in India. Different dalit leaders through their organization and political parties have mobilized and motivated the dalit mass to achieve the overall objectives of creating an inclusive society. Due to stronger mobilization by the Bahujan Samaj Party, the dalits could participate in the democratic electoral process in the country and create a separate identity for themselves. The dalit leaders unleashed the movement for maintaining or increasing reservations in political offices, government jobs and welfare programmes. It is called the new political movements of dalits. Dalit movement brought a transformation in the caste structure of Indian society and emphasized the fight for self-dignity. The present reservation system is the outcome of dalit movement.

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## 10.17 QUESTIONS

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- Q.1. Describe the Dalit Movements of Gaikwad and Others.
- Q.2. Discuss the Dalit Panthers Movement.
- Q.3. Write a note on Kanshiram's Movement.
- Q.4. Review the Dalits and Contemporary Indian Politics.

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## 10.18 ADDITIONAL READINGS

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## LABOUR MOVEMENT

### Unit Structure

- 11.0 Objectives
- 11.1 Introduction
- 11.2 Features of the Labour Force
- 11.3 Splits in Working Class Unity
- 11.4 The problems of unionisation in the various sections of the working class.
- 11.5 The State's Role in Fragmenting the Labour Movements (1947-2000)
- 11.6 Summary
- 11.7 Questions
- 11.8 Additional Readings

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### 11.0 OBJECTIVES

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1. Study the nature of the labour force in India.
2. Know the main features of the trade union movement since Independence.
3. Understand the problems facing the Labour especially in the present period of structural adjustment and globalisation, and the means adopted to counteract them.
4. Analyse the growth of the labour movement in India and assess its future trends.

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### 11.1 INTRODUCTION

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At the time of Independence, the living conditions of Indian workers were amongst the worst in the world. Although the urban worker escaped the famines that the farmer faced, the lack of hygiene and terrible living conditions led to ill health and high mortality rates. The workers' localities were the epicentre of periodic epidemics. In Bombay, the rate of infant mortality stood at 20-30% , and was higher in the slums of Ahmedabad and Calcutta. This cramming in wooden barracks, on pavements or in dormitories of mediocre quality (chawls in Bombay, ahatas in Kanpur), long hours (10-12 hours), hard work and a high rate of alcoholism combined together to create a world of hardship.

The post-independence period saw the formations Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh ( BMS ) in 1955, affiliated to the Jansangh, which was formed in 1952. In 1970, following the split in the Communist Party of India in 1964, the AITUC split leading to the formation of the Centre of Indian Trade Unions (CITU ) which was affiliated to the newly formed Communist Party of India (Marxist) or the CPM. Thus, we find that the trade union movement, which began with a central organisation ( the AITUC) in 1920, had become divided into five major central organisations by 1970.

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## 11.2 FEATURES OF THE LABOUR FORCE

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The organised sector and the unorganised sector of the labour force in India can be distinguished from each other on the basis of the labour market and legal rights of the workers. The labour market in the unorganised sector is largely unstructured and unregulated for the workers. In legal terms to the unorganised sector hardly offers any protection to its workers. Given the number of unskilled job seekers in this sector, the situation results in low wages and lack of bargaining power for the workers. The labour market in the organised sector, in comparison to the unorganised sector, is more structured and regulated. In addition, workers in this sector have better skills. The workers are more protected due to the operation of laws regulating their work and employment conditions. These basic differences between the organised and the unorganised sectors also underline the wide gap between the working and living conditions of labour in the two sectors. The bulk of the labour force is engaged in the unorganised sector. The 1991 Census noted that the total working population in the country was 317 million, of which 290.2 million (92 per cent) was in the unorganised sector while only 26.8 million (8 per cent) was in the organised sector. The earnings of the workers in the two sectors differed considerably. Though the organised sector employed only 8 per cent of the total labour force, the workers collectively earned around 33 per cent of the country's total wages and incomes. The organised sector comprises mainly workers who get regular wages or salaries and have greater security of employment. Their services cannot be terminated at the whims of their employers. Their working time is regulated and they get benefits of social security. It is significant that the major group of employers in this sector are in the public sector and the government. Around 70 per cent of the work force in the organised sector is employed in these agencies. The unorganised sector comprises two types of workers, namely, self-employed and casual wage earners. The self-employed are those who earn paltry incomes through their own assets. In the urban sector these would include petty vendors, rag-pickers, artisans, domestic servants, and so on. In the rural sector small and marginal

farmers would be included. The entire employment in agriculture, 75 per cent of the employment in the manufacturing sector, 36 per cent of the employment in the construction sector and 50 per cent of the employment in the transport sector are in the unorganised sector .

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### **11.3 SPLITS IN WORKING CLASS UNITY**

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The most striking trend in the trade union movement before and after Independence is that in the earlier period there was a tendency towards unity while in the latter period splits became the order of the day. The All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC), formed on October 31, 1920, was the first national federation of trade unions. Till the eve of Independence it remained as the representative of the working class with all shades of political forces, ranging from the communists to the liberals, under its umbrella. The federation underwent two major splits over ideological issues during this period. The first split occurred in 1929 when liberals such as V.V. Giri, N.M. Joshi and others broke away to form a separate federation. The issue was over representation in the Royal Commission on Labour in India. The communists and the supporters of the Indian National Congress in the AITUC wanted to boycott the Commission but the liberals (known as the Rightists) wanted to support it. When the majority in the Executive Committee of the AITUC decided to support the move to boycott the Commission the Rightists broke away and formed the Indian Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU). In the following year the communists broke away to form the Red Flag Trade Union Congress. However, they rejoined the AITUC within two years and the IFTU decided to merge with the parent body in 1939. The communists managed to gain control over the AITUC during the last few years of colonial rule. Soon after Home Rule was declared, the leaders of the Congress decided that, since the working class would have to play a crucial role in the new pattern of planned development, it could not allow the trade union movement to be led by those who would not fully support its policies. The Congress decided to start another trade union centre which would rival the communist controlled AITUC's hold over the working class. Thus the Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC) was formed in May 1947, three months before Independence. The remarks of Kandubhai Desai, one of the founders, make the purpose clear. While inaugurating the new federation he said. 'It is high time that those interested in building up strong trade unionism dissociate themselves from the communists if not for anything else to demonstrate to the world that whatever prestige and status the movement had was because of the efforts of non-communist trade union workers'.

Apart from anti-communism, a more important reason was of dove-tailing trade unions with the government's policies. Desai admitted, 'It is also felt by many active trade union men that with the advent of the country's independence, the trade union movement would have to play its destined and legitimate role of influencing the trends towards the elimination of political, economic and social exploitation.' The underlying meaning of this statement is that the existing federation, with its pro-communist slant could not be a dependable ally of the Congress and its policies. The formation of the INTUC marked the first step of the state in controlling the labour movement. Some industrial relations experts, like C.K. Johri (1967: 11-12) tried to justify this by arguing that industrial peace was necessary during the period of national reconstruction, especially when there was a consensus that 'economic development must take place under the aegis of the government'. This in fact means that the government will have to play the role of employer in this system. Hence, trade unions would have to considerably soften their role as an opposition group. Johri (1967) asserted that in such a situation the government of a newly independent country could achieve its policy objectives easier if the trade union movement, or a major part of it, was ideologically aligned and politically close to the party in power. It is, however, necessary to consider the long-term effects of the policy of state intervention.

Usually it was found that though the state influenced the labour movement with all good intentions in the initial stages, its continued involvement did not help the working class movement. The movement became too dependent on the state for protective legislation, their implementation and even in solving industrial disputes. Moreover, in the case of India, there is enough evidence to show that in case of major industrial disputes the state rarely sided with the workers.

The split in the AITUC in 1947 paved the way for further splits based on narrow party lines with the result it almost became mandatory for every political party to have its trade union front. When a political party splits its trade union front also splits, thereby fragmenting the working class movement further. Similarly, a new political party invariably floats its own trade union. At the time of the formation of the INTUC the pro-socialist group within the Congress did not support the federation and their trade unions remained with the AITUC.

The Labour Movement in India broke away to form a new political party called the Praja Socialist Party (PSP) and decided to have its own trade union front which would attract the non-communist and non-Congress trade unions together. Thus the Hind Mazdur Panchayat (HMP) was formed in that year. The party's objective was partly realised as the Indian Federation of Labour which was inspired by M. N. Roy, a former

communist who later became severely anti-communist, merged with the HMP to form a new federation called Hind Mazdur Sabha (HMS).

In 1949 the unions supported by the Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP), a Marxist group having influence mainly in West Bengal and Kerala, which had earlier joined the HMS, decided to form their own federation, the United Trade Union Congress (UTUC).

In 1952, the Bharatiya Jan Sangh, a political party having a Hindu fundamentalist background was formed and in 1955 it initiated another trade union centre known as Bharatiya Mazdur Sangh. Meanwhile the socialists kept splitting and rejoining to form new parties.

In 1965, a new party comprising breakaway groups from the PSP and Socialist Party was formed known as the Samyukta Socialist Party. Its most important trade union leader, George Fernandes, broke away from the HMS to form a new Hind Mazdur Panchayat. However, till the early 1970s, the most important trade union centres in the country were the INTUC, AITUC and HMS. The split in the communist movement, in the wake of the Chinese aggression in 1962, led to the formation of another communist party — Communist Party of India (Marxist) — in 1964. Though initially the unions loyal to both communist parties remained with the AITUC, in 1970 the CPI(M) decided to set up another trade union centre known as Centre for Indian Trade Unions (CITU) which took away a large section of unions from the AITUC, especially the ones in West Bengal and Kerala. The other pro-communist federation of trade unions, the UTUC, was also split when a splinter group within the RSP (which later became a separate political party, the Socialist Unity Centre), formed its own UTUC. The two federations are distinguished from each other by the locations of their headquarters in Calcutta.

Apart from the working class being divided on lines of political parties at the national level, regional parties too started forming their own trade union centres since the late 1960s. This process was started by the Dravida Munetra Kazhagam (DMK) when it formed the state government in 1967 in Tamil Nadu (then known as Madras state). The initiated its own trade union centre in the state. Later when the All India Anna Dravida Munetra Kazhagam (AIADMK) was formed in 1977, it too set up its rival centre. The year 1967 saw the birth of the Shiv Sena in Mumbai. In its early phase the Shiv Sena claimed to represent the interests of Maharashtrians, more particularly the Marathi speaking people in Mumbai. It was avowedly anti-South Indian and anti-communist. It formed its own labour wing, the Bharatiya Kamgar Sena. It was widely believed that the Shiv Sena and its labour wing had the backing of the industrial houses (most of which were non-Maharashtrians) in the Mumbai-Pune industrial belt to combat the

communist unions which were very strong then. It managed to divide the working class in Mumbai on regional lines and it gained in strength. By the mid-1970s, its trade union became fairly strong. The birth of the Shiv Sena was linked, to a large extent, with the deteriorating economic situation in the country. In 1966-67, the country reeled under a recession which led to a decline in production and subsequently to job losses. Mumbai, being the financial and industrial capital of India, suffered the most. The existing trade unions, including the communists, were unable to cope with this phenomenon as their traditional means of seeking redress, namely, work stoppage, mass rallies, and so on, were ineffective. The legislations granting protection to workers in the organised sector provided little solace to retrenched workers. The Shiv Sena was formed at this time. It aggressively asserted that job losses were due to the influx of South Indians into the city as these people were taking away available jobs from the local population. The Shiv Sena's influence over the organised working class based on this reasoning could not be stemmed by the traditional trade unions.

It was only in the mid-1970s that Datta Samant, a medical practitioner turned trade unionist, could put an effective check on the Shiv Sena. The methods used by Dr. Samant were similar to those used by the Shiv Sena unions to oust the opposition, namely, intimidation and violence. Thus the underlying feature of the trade union scenario is: proliferation of political parties results in proliferation of trade unions. Alongside there is a growing tendency towards unions based on regional, communal and caste lines.

There are also a number of unions which are created by individuals in order to get political mileage or other person-centred benefits. A number of large enterprises, especially of the multinational companies (MNCs), have their internal unions which are The Labour Movement in India run by their own members. These unions are independent in the sense that they are not affiliated to any of the federations. These are called enterprise unions and they have their own strengths and weaknesses.

While commenting on the chaotic trade union scenario in India, an International Labour Organisation (ILO) report (1992: 64) notes: 'The early (post-Independence) splits in Indian trade unionism tended to be on ideological grounds each lined to a particular political party. Much of the recent fragmentation, however, has centred on personalities and occasionally on caste or regional considerations.' Hence we can see that the trade union movement, which was fairly united during the colonial rule, stands badly divided. This has considerably weakened the working class movement and has deprived it of whatever little power it had in

challenging capital and the state. Quite often, inter-union rivalries are stronger than the conflicts between management and labour.

Moreover, the mushrooming of unions makes it difficult for labour to get proper representation in the national policy making bodies such as the Indian Labour Conference (ILC) and the Planning Commission. The government, in consultation with the ILC, has laid down three conditions for recognition of national trade union centres. First, the centre must have a total membership of 5,00,000. Second, its membership must be spread over at least four states and, third, the membership must be in at least four industries. There are seven such centres which are recognised as national federations. These are, INTUC, BMS, CITU, HMS, AITUC, UTUC (BB), and UTUC (LS). These unions collectively represent the overwhelming majority of the unionised labour force, but given the level of unionisation of the total labour force the total membership is a mere drop in the ocean.

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#### **11.4 THE PROBLEMS OF UNIONISATION IN THE VARIOUS SECTIONS OF THE WORKING CLASS.**

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Trade Union Membership Apart from the problem of fragmentation of unions, the number of unionised workers is also very low. It is difficult to state the actual number of members of trade unions as there is no authentic data on this. The Registrar of Trade Unions is expected to maintain records of union membership based on the returns submitted by the registered unions. However, these figures are not totally reliable as there are cases of underestimation, when unions do not send their returns regularly, and overestimation of membership. The membership of unions is restricted mainly to the 8 per cent in the organised sector. The rate of unionisation in the public sector, which employs 70 per cent of the organised sector, is estimated to be around 80 per cent. Unionisation in the private sector is much lower. Taking into account these facts the total percentage of unionised workers in the organised sector should be around 50 per cent. Membership in unions in the unorganised sector small with the Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA), the largest union, having a membership of around 2,00,000. The total percentage of unionised workers should be around 5 per cent of the total labour force. The number of employees covered by collective wage agreements work out to a mere one per cent of the labour force. At the same time the unionised section of workers in the organised sector are more vocal and are able to wrest more benefits from their employers as well as the government.

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## 15.5 THE STATE'S ROLE IN FRAGMENTING THE LABOUR MOVEMENTS (1947-2000)

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In spite of its divisions, but also because of the strategic importance of a much localised proletariat, India has seen important and repeated social conflicts. In the half century since independence, one could point out the constants of the labour militancy, as weights of economic claims and importance of violent repression cycles, with nonetheless evaluating inflexions. If many big labour conflicts achieved the dimensions of a social movement that shook society as a whole, or at least the important sectors of a group as vast as Europe (railway or textile strikes), the Indian labour movement has never caused a government to rise or fall. The absence of a mass labour party-the communist parties being cadre-based organisations that focus on the countryside-and Datta Samant's failure set one up-lies at the bottom of these tendencies, along with the emergence of the small bourgeoisie and its models, and the weight of governmental unionism. On the other hand, nearly all the political parties, including the most conservative have had, since the 1970s, unions or labour activities.

Social movements had started with independence, when the war ended and the troubles of Partition were settled by hundreds of thousands of layoffs. More than a thousand strikes took place to oppose this and a general railway administrative strike was only barely avoided. The preoccupations of survival were dominant but the mobilisations linked with repression against the Communists and the enforcement of an authoritarian system to regulate conflicts had still taken place. The peace of the 1950s was very relative.

The conflicts started in 1952 in the Dhanbad mines and in the Bombay textile mills were marked by repressive violence as more than thirty workers were killed. In the first case, the claims were for salary and recruitment stabilisation; and in the second case, the claims were for bonuses and the right to set up unions, with a section of HMS defying the INTUC union.

In 1958, AITUC (Communist) attacked the monopoly of one union, INTUC, in the steel industries of Tatanagar, leading to military intervention during the course of a brutally negotiated conflict (four killed). Another general strike paralyzed the ports in the same year (four killed at the time of a shoot-out in Madras). Indian salaries were low, in all conditions, and these were the stakes in most conflicts. This was when INTUC and the industrialists reached a compromise, benefiting from the protectionism of economic policy. The low but stable remunerations and awful conditions of work were exchanged against the more or less tolerable amount of work and strong possibilities of being absent. The

moment the entrepreneurs tried to increase the work without touching the salaries, which they often tried, the situation became explosive. Many strikes occurred for this reason in the textile industry (Kanpur, 1955).

During the 1960s, the dominant struggle was that of the white collar government officers and workers in the public sector. Mobilised by the question of salaries, led by charismatic leaders (George Fernandes and V.B. Karnik), they showed their anti-Congress tendencies. In 1960, a Joint Action Committee (JAC) united the labour unions set up by opposition parties. In 1962, a general strike in the public sector administration took place in Bombay. By mid-decade, as economic and political crises surfaced, a situation that continued until the declaration of national Emergency, short and violent conflicts exploded nearly everywhere regarding salary and employment. They culminated in a wave of protest movements that engulfed Eastern India in 1967, when a leftist government came into power for the first time in Calcutta. 1,200 strikes and illegal confinements of officers and supervisors (gherao) took place in the industrial belt of Calcutta and the mining region of Chotanagpur alone. At first tolerated, the gherao was very soon violently suppressed, provoking police shooting and thousands of layoffs. The strikers obtained salary increases, but the demands for dignity and mobilisation against repression played an important role in these movements.

The social situation remained very tense in the early 1970s, when India suffered the full force of two petrol shocks. Major conflicts arose in administration and education, but also in the private mills, such as Godrej in Bombay, where the confrontation was marked by violence. In 1973, George Fernandes became the union president of the All India Railwaymen's Federation (AIRF), and made himself the spokesman of the railway workers. The union called for a general strike in May 1974, to demand new grades of classification, salary increment and recruitments. The government of Indira Gandhi opposed this even mobilising the army and the police to defeat the agitation, which had paralyzed the country. The declaration of Emergency can also be attributed to these 6,000 layoffs and the railway workers' movement.

During Emergency, conflicts were rare but repression was brutal. The killing at the Swadeshi Mills of Kanpur-almost 11 to 70 persons were killed following a gherao provoked by non-payment of salaries-remains one of the darkest episodes, The return to democracy was accompanied by an unprecedented wave of protest. During the Emergency, bonuses had been abolished and salary increases blocked. In Bombay, Datta Samant and other independent leaders led nearly 400 strikes, which did not last long but did give the workers a sense of victory. The movement soon touched small enterprises, which began to mobilise workers on the

minimum wages issue, particularly in the industrial zones of Uttar Pradesh and Haryana. In Faridabad, south of Delhi, police repression caused more than 10 deaths. The conflicts in the iron mines of Bastar (Madhya Pradesh) were also brutally repressed, with 20 killed.

Congress return to power in 1980 did not stop the wave of strikes. Major conflicts took place in the textile industry, against the longer working hours, low salaries and stoppage of recruitment. The sector included one-third nationalised mills following the bankruptcies of the 1970s. That is why in the case of the general strike in the textile mills of Bombay, which was sustained by initiatives all over the country and by all the salaried workers in Bombay, the government and private sector employees came together to form a common front. They supported the maintenance of status quo on the salaried worker and the monopoly of INTUC's representative character which was in fact one of the causes of the conflict. The strike, which involved 250,000 cotton mill employees, led by Datta Samant, began in January 1982 and disrupted life in Bombay for one and a half years. It ended in economic failure, a Social disaster-80,000 layoffs-and a symbolic large-scale defeat, which demoralized the workers for a long time to come. Indira Gandhi's government forcibly suppressed the railway workers' strike with 2,000 layoffs, in 1980 and 1981 and a general strike called by workers in the public sector in Bangalore, which was directed by a Joint Action Committee (JAC) of unions, excluding INTUC.

After 1983, the employers were on the offensive. Lock-outs were prevalent. These lock-outs surpassed the number of workers' strikes on many occasions after 1985, particularly in West Bengal and Maharashtra. Labour conflicts were intense salaried workers were on the defensive against lockouts and repression, while trying to maintain the benefits they had acquired. From the 1980s onwards, workers began to demand hereditary employment, with the job going from father to son and pressured the unions, including INTUC, to put forward their claim. Workers had realised that if they agitated, their salaries were doubled or tripled. In the public sector, where collective negotiations were a part of the union's life, the latest claims were based on parity, with everybody vying for the best salaries and benefits. This was particularly the case in the victorious dockers' strike in 1984. This part of the labour world, which was trying to integrate itself in the middle class, tried to accept the idea, widely diffused by the modern management of restricted recruitment, which would provide an opening to better paid jobs that required long working hours and discipline.

This was not the only reason for the development of sub-contracts and mass unemployment, but was also associated with the demographic thrust-

India needed to absorb 8 or 9 million workers per year. It was, however, profoundly linked to the phenomena of unemployment that obsessed the labour world. There was much disarray and hesitation in many sectors in the early 1990s. There were 12 million unemployed registered in the government employment exchanges in 1981 and 37 million in 1993, the thrust having stopped since 1989 due to statistical manipulations. Yet it has overcome 40 million (8% of the workforce). There was little knowledge on this front. The economic reforms seemed to have very contrasting results. If companies only employed diploma holders, the huge reserve of the unemployed or severely underemployed population (20% of the active population) would not get employment or sufficient work. The importance of the unemployment index forced the analysts to think that 15 to 20% of the active population was today without work or doing very unstable and unsatisfactory work. This is not a new phenomenon but the younger generation is increasingly aware of it. In spite of implementing the unemployment insurance in its embryonic stage since 1953, it was only from 1992 onwards that certain laid-off workers were compensated.

Unemployment in this new form had an impact on the entire Indian labour class. It explained, at least partially, the massive involvement of industrial workers and their offspring in the social and political movements that demanded jobs for the natives of a particular region. Employment quotas exist in several places (Mumbai-Maharashtra, Jharkhand, Assam and Andhra Pradesh). It also affected the involvement of Hindu workers, clearly less common and massive, in the pogroms or battles organised against minorities. The disoriented young urban workers, who were not able to adapt themselves as well as in other sectors of society, felt strongly about it and tried to hit back at others.

The Indian labour world is one where the disparities between lifestyles (temporary and permanent workers; rural and urban workers) as well as the persistence of community cultures and caste, has ensured that they have never been a single class. However there has been an undying workers' movement frequently associated with the national movement and popular culture, which the industrial workers at times used to add an important touch. The processes of liberalisation and the new forms of industrialisation could endanger or even suppress this culture.

The characteristics of salaried workers are now more disparately matched than in the past. The income gaps as well as the cultural differences and living styles are more severe. The entrepreneurs' politics—they preferred to systematically employ migrants and use ethnic criteria to create a hierarchical structure for the workers in their organisation—has played a big role in this evolution. Social practices, which were deeply rooted in complex race relations, were violently questioned, especially in the cities

and in the areas where workers resided. In this context, the efforts to revive or reinvent tradition or restore hardened and limited collective identities did not save the salaried workers, and particularly the workers threatened by unemployment. This demonstrates a “normalisation” of the labour world. The example of Mumbai’s Shiv Sena (populist and Hindu nationalist) and the Maharashtra Navnirman Sena (more centred on Maharashtra) shows that the salaried workers are disillusioned by vote bank politics.

The workers’ condition was threatened by economic reforms. They were never a priority in the developmental process or in the elite perspective. They were qualified as “lazy”, “parasites” or “profit seekers” by the “managerial” class and their journalistic relay systems (India Today being the largest). In a number of places, they were threatened with obsolescence. Home-based work and sub-contracts in the rural zones did not leave any place for them to have the perspectives of a class, or for the simple constitution of social interactions based on similar working conditions.

Popular culture was diluted with mass culture; the most qualified and stable workers identified themselves with a small bourgeoisie that itself lacked an identity and was insecure. Workers’ localities were transformed for the worse by the growing numbers of bitter unemployed workers and petty criminals. This was true both in the Eastern and Western states of India, which saw much violence, expulsions and ideological promotion of racketeering, in spite of hopes that were incited by education. There was no working class unity and, in a number of cases, there was no working class society any more. This reflects not only a breakdown of the traditional systems, whether feudal, social or familial, but also the general absence of perspectives, accompanied by an increasing global cynicism against government policies, that have temporarily hampered any mass movement of unsatisfactorily employed and unemployed labour.

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## 11.6 SUMMARY

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The Labour movement in India is a result of the introduction of capitalist economy by the colonial government. The plantations, railways, cotton and jute mills, coal mining and various other industries made their appearance in colonial India. Initially, most of the capital was British while certain industries, such as cotton textile and iron and steel were Indian owned. Lakhs of workers were recruited for running these concerns. The abysmal working and living conditions in the early decades gave rise to protests and ultimately led to movements among the workers. The trade unions which emerged later on provided organised expression to these early protests and movements. The organised struggles of the

working class resulted in the betterment of their conditions. There were, however, many problems with these unions as they did not, and could not, cover the majority of workers. Thus there emerged several other organisations of the working class which were not part of these unions.

In the post-independence period, the state became the sole arbitrator in the relationships between the industry and the working class. During this period the main concern of government was to achieve growth, industrial peace, and proper management of the conflict between workers and the management. In order to achieve these goals the state passed laws like the Industrial Dispute Act, 1947, and introduced the Labour Relations Bill and Trade Unions Bills in 1949.

Today, the Indian unions collectively might have a membership of about 18 million people (they claim at least 24), of which half are members of officially recognised national federations. The number of people in the organised sector, where workers unionise, is 29 million. The growth in the number of union members is because independent local or regional organisations have been set up. The bastions of unionism are banks (many trade and craft unions), public sector, railways and private companies, where independent unions dominate. In this framework, a rate of cent percent affiliation of salaried persons to many different unions is not rare. There are important “associations” of government officers, since they cannot belong to the big politicised federations and less important associations of executives (developed since the 1970s) in the private sector. Adjacent to these hyper-organised universes, the old sectors, the isolated or average enterprises are still where unionism has to fight to survive, and where the spheres of influence appreciated by the salaried workers have to often give precedence to the in-house unions or to the branches of INTUC (in the textile mills of Mumbai, for example) imposed by the government.

If a few sectors of the temporary job market are strongly but locally unionized (big construction works, temporary workers of public sector mines), it is rather the empty union that prevailed amongst the casual labourers, the workers of the informal sector and the salaried workers of small companies who constitute a large majority of the working world. Dependent on legal protection, and at first worried about financial Claims, the Indian unionism in a subordinate manner is associated with the emergence of stabilised poles and enriched in the midst of a society of insecurity and poverty. It draws its revenues and institutional recognition from it but also its social weakness and its popular mediocre legitimacy.

By labour movement we mean the ways and means through which labour organises itself in order to improve its working and living conditions.

Trade unions are of course the most important organisations in this process but, given the heterogeneity of the labour force and its vast number, these organisations have been able to mobilise only a small section. There are other means such as political parties, non-government organisations, and other types of grassroots organisations involved in this endeavor.

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## 11.7 QUESTIONS

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- 1) What is meant by “working class movement”? Discuss the nature of the working class movement in the pre-independence period.
- 2) Write a note on emergence and growth of trade unions in India.
- 3) Discuss the main features of the working class movement in India during the post-independence period.

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## 11.8 ADDITIONAL READINGS

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1. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Unprotected Labour in India, Delhi
2. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Independent Trade Unionism in West Bengal, Economic and Political Weekly.
3. World Labour Report, Geneva. Unionism in a Developing Economy, Delhi: Asia Publishing House.
4. P. Sinha, C.S. Venkat Ratnam and G. Botterweck (Eds.), Employment, Growth and Social Protection of Labour in India, Labour and Unions in a Period of Transition, Delhi.
5. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Power and Justice, Oxford University Press, Delhi.
6. P. Sinha, Changing Role of Trade Unions in a Period of Transition.
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8. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Bombay Textile Strike 1982-83, Oxford University Press, Delhi.



## TRIBALS ISSUES

### Unit Structure

- 12.0 Objectives
- 12.1 Introduction
- 12.2 Tribal Society and Economy
- 12.3 Tribal Issues in India
  - 12.3.1 Land Alienation
  - 12.3.2 Forest and Tribals
  - 12.3.3 Educational issues of Tribals
  - 12.3.4 Health issues of Tribals
- 12.4 Social and Political Movements in India
- 12.5 Tribal Movements (1947-2000)
  - 12.4.1 Pre – Independence period
  - 12.4.2 Post – Independence period
  - 12.4.3 Jharkhand Movement
  - 12.4.4 The North-East Tribal Movements
  - 12.4.5 The Naga Movement
  - 12.4.6 Tribal Movements against mining
  - 12.4.7 Agrarian and Forest-Based Movements
- 12.6 Characteristics and Consequences of Tribal Movements
- 12.7 Summary
- 12.8 Questions
- 12.9 Additional Readings

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### 12.0 OBJECTIVES

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After going through unit, students will be able to:

1. Understand The meaning and main features of tribals in India.
2. Know their socio -economic conditions.
3. Understand their movements in the pre-colonial and post-colonial periods.
4. Asses the reasons and consequences of the tribal movements in India.
5. Highlight the major tribal rebellions in India.

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## 12.1 INTRODUCTION

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Tribe is a colonial concept, introduced in the 19th century, by colonial authorities and ethnographers to describe all communities of India. In the latter half of the same century, the concept of tribe was narrowed down to the primitive groups as distinct from castes. It was under the Government of India Act of 1935 and the Constitution of India that the nomenclature of the Scheduled Tribe fully emerged. The Constitution of India does not define a tribe. The notion of the Scheduled Tribe has two aspects. It is administratively determined inter alia by the criteria of backwardness and remoteness – people living in forests and on hills. They are also called adivasis – the natives. The tribals like many other social groups have launched social and political movements for the redressal of their grievances. Most of the regions except the Southern pockets, the North – western region and the islands have witnessed several agitations of the tribals during the colonial and post – colonial periods. During the pre-colonial period tribals rose against the regional power of the Marathas or Rajputs. They resisted against the zamindars and non-tribal administrators. During the colonial period they struggled against the British rule for their autonomy. Birsa Munda revolt in Central India is best known example of this. There were also regio-political movements resisting against the non-tribal cultural authority through religious ideas.

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## 12.2 TRIBAL SOCIETY AND TRIBAL ECONOMY

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However, tribe in India today subsists on a single techno-economy of production. Most of them subsist on a combination of five modes or even more, of subsistence. The primitive technology, namely, hunting, food gathering and shifting and terrace cultivation is confined to the heavy monsoon zone covered by the tropical forests in the north-east, parts of eastern and central regions, the Nilgiris and the Andaman Islands. Pastoral economy which constitutes about 10 per cent of the tribal economy survives in the high altitude of the sub-Himalayan regions, the arid zones of Gujarat and Rajasthan, and in a small pocket in the Nilgiris. More than three quarter of tribal workers are engaged in the primary sector of economy, of which a majority are cultivators followed by agricultural labourers. A large number of them are engaged in livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting etc., and as workers in construction sector, mining and quarrying. Though barter is reported among tribal communities on a significant scale compared to the non-tribals, almost the entire tribal economy today is in the vortex of market forces. There has been a marked shift among the tribal communities from the traditional to the new occupations. For instance, a number of communities practising hunting and gathering has declined as forests have disappeared and wildlife has

diminished. Ecological degradation has severely curtailed the related traditional occupations of the tribal communities. However, there is a rise in horticulture terrace cultivation settled cultivation, animal husbandry, sericulture and bee-keeping. The tribes are moving away from their traditional occupations and settling down as peasants and that they have taken up new vocations to augment their income and raise productivity. We also find evidence of diversification in the tribal economy. There is a sharp rise in the number of tribals employed in government and private services, self-employment, etc. Many of the traditional crafts have disappeared and spinning, in particular, has suffered. Related activities such as weaving, dyeing and printing have similarly suffered. Skin and hide work, etc. have undergone changes; stone carving has declined. But the number of tribals employed in mining and masonry has gone up steeply which suggests a new mobility. The tribals are also craftsmen. Carving and body tattooing consist of the forms of arts and crafts prevailing among the tribal people. Wall painting and drawing have emerged as other major forms of art in recent years. In fact, there has been a significant revival of these forms of art on a commercial scale among the Warlis, Rabaris, Rathawas and others. Basketry involves the largest number of tribes, followed by those engaged in weaving, embroidery and pottery. The impact of development processes, particularly education, has created a new stratum of entrepreneurs/businessmen, teachers, administrators, engineers/doctors and members of defence services among the tribals. Development process has also created division in tribal society. Disparities have increased. With the loss of control over resources and growth of population, demographic growth rate has been higher among tribes than the national average, poverty among the tribals has also increased manifold. Barring a few tribes or a few sections among them, the tribals remain among the most backward and poorest sections of our populations.

**Check your Progress:**

Write a note on tribal society and Tribal economy.

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### 12.3.1 Tribals and land alienation.

The problem of land alienation is a much deeply connected phenomenon with full of contradictions related to the existing socio-economic order. The separation of land from the tribal communities can be understood in a more scientific way with the assistance of the theoretical formulations of the concept of alienation. Thus the concept of alienation may be interpreted to understand a specific problem of the tribals where land becomes the primordial source of exploitation and results in the creation of a society where exploitative production relations exist.

Land is the mainstay of the tribals. It is best of their livelihood and their economic empowerment, social status and dignity. More than 93 % tribals depend on agriculture and their economy is agro-based. Originally the tribals had a self-contained economy with large tracts of lands and forest. After taking over the forest by the British government in 1927, land is the only precious asset of the tribals. Land is not merely an important economic asset; its ownership is also socially valued, and both sought and denied.

Despite protective land laws in place, land alienation continues unabated mainly due to ineffective enforcement of the laws. The helpless tribals are struggling for survival. As per the Ministry of Rural Development of Government of India 2008 report, in the states with fifth schedule areas is really revealing with the exemption of Gujarat where there is a high percentage of decision in favour of the tribal claimants, the picture in other states is disturbing notwithstanding the 'legal presumption' being in favour of the tribal person. It appears that the burden of proof was placed on the tribal claimant to his / her disadvantages, when the spirit of the law was the opposite. The single conclusion that can be reached is that protection of the tribal land is a failed project. The failure can be squarely attributed to the lack of political will of the executive coupled with an equally pliant revenues bureaucracy which is a matter of serious concern. Continued land alienation is therefore, uprooting the tribals from their traditional areas and creating a tailor among them as they clearly visualize their elimination. It is disappointing to note that despite enabling provisions in the constitutions the central government has not issued any directive you want to the state covered under the fifth schedule of the Constitution to take effective steps to check land alienation or to reform their land laws.

The information received from the various state governments indicates that elimination of tribal land continues unabated for private and public purposes. It is disturbing to know that elimination has actually accelerated in the wake of liberalization, industrialisation and urbanisation. Apparent modes of tribals and alienation are listed below: land alienation

has been made for highways mining Industries cities special economic zones without any provision is either 'land for land' or for rehabilitation of the tribals.

long-term lease power of attorneys, Usufructory Agreements are common practices of land alienation.

### **Forms of Land Alienation :-**

The first and foremost is the manipulation of land records. The unsatisfactory state of land records contributed a lot to the problem of land alienation. The tribals were never legally recognized as owners of the lands which they cultivated. The second form of land alienation is reported to have taken place due to 'benami' transfers. The report of the study team of the Union Home Ministry (May 1975) pointed out that large scale transfers of ownership of the Adivasis' lands are being allowed to go out of hands through illegal and benami transactions, collusive civil proceedings etc., in which land remains to be in the names of the original owners who are reduced to the level of share croppers. Another form of land alienation is related to the leasing or mortgaging of the land. To raise loans for various needs the tribals have to give their land as mortgage to the local moneylenders or to the rich farmers.

Based on the critical appraisal of the state laws the main reason for an appetite loss of tribal land is that such laws suffer from various deficiencies and loopholes in them which enable the unscrupulous vested interest to grab tribal land rendering the poor tribals resourceless. Obviously, the law has not been used to safeguard Tribal interest. Limited application of protective land laws, inadequate limitation period, absence of suo moto action, lack of provision for oral evidence, comprehensive definition of the term transfer, absolute prohibition on transfer to non-tribals, provision on transfer by non-tribal in schedule area bar on appeal or stay summary trial through mobile codes time limit to restore land notified authority to restore physical possession of land to include any structure there on, regulation for intra-tribal transfers all tribal land laws beyond courts are the deficiencies noticed in various laws for justification of tribal land issue.

In conclusion, it may be stated that land alienation is one of the main reasons for poverty and hunger of the tribals. If it is not checked the tribals are bound to be wiped out of the traditional habitants and become landless bonded labourers.

### 12.3.2 Forests and Tribals

There is a symbolic relationship between the tribals and forest. Forests are closely associated with the tribal economy and culture. Tribals depend on forest for food, fuel, fodder and herbal medicines. Tribal communities are mostly identified by the geographical area traditionally occupied by them, culture and languages. They are generally animists and worship of trees. The tribal-forest interface has had a chequered history. For centuries tribal community is built up a whole Civilization Centre around nature's bounty. The Warli tribals celebrate 'forest as the sustainer of'; defined it as "hirva" (literally meaning green) and place it at the centre of the pantheon, to be worshipped as the entity that sustains all life. The multi-faceted relationship of tribals and forest can be placed under the four heads: i) forest as the tribal habitat ii) forest as tribal history iii) forest as the locus of conflict iv) forest as tribal future.

Before 1865, forest dwellers were completely free to exploit the forest wealth. Then, on 3 August 1865, the British rulers, on the basis of the report of the then-superintendent of forests in Burma, issued a memorandum providing guidelines restricting the rights of forest dwellers to conserve the forests. This was further modified in 1894. It stated that

The sole object with which State forests are administered is the public benefit. In some cases the public to be benefited is the whole body of tax payers; in others the people on the track within which the forest is situated; but in almost all cases the constitution and preservation of a forest involve, in greater or lesser degree, the regulation of rights and restriction of privileges of users in the forest areas which may have previously been enjoyed by the inhabitants of its immediate neighborhood. This regulation and restrictions are justified only when the advantage to be gained by the public is great and the cardinal principle to be observed is that the rights and privileges of individuals must be limited otherwise than for their own benefit, only in such degree as is absolutely necessary to secure that advantage.

In actual practice, however, all these pious declarations were set aside whenever they came in the way of British interests. For example, forests in Nagaland and the Terai were unscrupulously cut to meet the increasing demand of wood during both world wars. The National Forest Policy of the Government of India (1952) is an extension of this policy. This policy prescribed that the claims of communities near forests should not override the national interests, that in no event can the forest dwellers use the forest wealth at the cost of wider national interests, and that relinquishment of forest land for agriculture should be permitted only in very exceptional and essential cases. The old policy of relinquishing even valuable forests

for permanent cultivation was discontinued and steps to use forest land for agricultural purposes were to be taken only after very serious consideration. To ensure the balanced use of land, a detailed land capability survey was suggested. Conservation of wildlife was to be regularized. The tribals were to be weaned away from shifting cultivation.

The concept of "national interest" has been applied in a narrow sense. A welfare state cannot have a basic contradiction between local and national interests. As the analysis that follows will show, in the implementation of the forest policy, "national interests" remained confined to augmenting revenue earnings from the forests. Whenever the interests of the local people or ecological considerations hampered possible revenue from forests, the forest department pushed them aside on the pretext of broader national interest.

Forest dwellers have been dissociated from the management and exploitation of forest wealth. The British contractual system that still exists in many states has resulted in unscrupulous exploitation of the local people and of the natural vegetation and wildlife that the forest policy was intended to conserve. Development programs - construction of roads and availability of educational, medical and housing facilities - have allowed economically viable outsiders to enter forest regions. In order to make quick profits, they have exploited the forest dwellers, displacing them from their land and making them bonded laborers.

### **Forest rights of the tribal**

With a view to exercising closer control over the use of forest produce, the tribal were given the following privileges:

- i) right to take water for agriculture purposes, ii) digging of wells or canals for agricultural purposes, iii) free grazing in open forest (under passes), iv) removal of stones and earth for domestic or agricultural use, v) removal of timber, bamboos, reeds, canes etc., for construction and repair of houses and for agricultural implements, vi) collection and removal of head loads of dead wood for domestic use, vii) collection of grass for cattle and for covering their huts, x fishing and hunting excluding the protected fauna, and viii) cultivation of forest lands.

### **Forests and Tribals rights**

A key piece of legislation which concerns the rites of tribes and other peoples who traditionally live within forested areas is "The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006". It was passed into law in India on December 18, 2006.

This act is known by several names, including the “Forest Rights Act”, the “Tribal Rights Act”, the “Tribal Bill”, and the “Tribal Land Act”. The law focuses on the rights of forest dwelling communities to land and other resources which have been often stolen or exploited by outside forces, using the justifications provided within colonial forest law. Supporters of the act contend that it will redress the injustices which have been committed against forest dwellers for hundreds of years. Supporters of the law also contend that it will make process of conservation more effective and less prone to corruption. Opponents to the law contend that it will actually make the forest more likely to be devastated and exploited. The Act was officially notified into force on December 31, 2007. However, studies indicate that the law has not had the desired benefits, as much of the surveying work has not been completed. Other studies indicate that forest dwellers have been illegally evicted, threatened, blackmailed, and forced to undergo other type of humiliation at the hands of unethical forest officers. The Act, because of lack of clear enforcement, and the failure to follow through with the proper registration of forest dwellers has proven to be another false hope for redressing the rights abuses suffered by forest dwellers.

The imperative of forest conservation hinges on the inevitability of restoring relationship of mutually interdependent dignified survival of the both the forest and tribals, an imperative to evolve a comprehensive program based on inclusion, integration and involvement of tribal community in forest conservation. First on the agenda is the reversal of the colonial process of alienation of tribals from their forest habitat. Second on the agenda is the ratification of all rights in the forest conferred on the tribal communities by the nation after independence. Third, on the agenda is strengthening the right of ownership of non-Timber Forest producer of the tribals. Forth on the agenda is to dovetail development of tribals with conservation of forest. Sustained involvement of tribals in conservation, not merely as wage of labours of Forest Department but as the stewards of the forest habitat demands all the creative energy the lovers of the tribals and forests can muster. The important challenge before the nation today is to find a way in which both the forest and tribals can survive with the dignity.

### **12.3.3 Educational issues of Tribals**

Education is key catalyst of human resources development for tribals who have been deprived of education for centuries. Lack of education is largely responsible for exploitation and pitiable plight of the tribals. As with Scio-economic condition, the educational background of tribal communities is unstable. Lack of education not only deprives the tribals of opportunities

of development but also alienates them from the basic resources i.e., the land forest and minerals available in tribal dominated areas and subjects them to exploitation by the middleman, moneylender’s contractors.

Literacy is an important indicator of development among tribal groups. The trend of literacy of tribes in India from 1961 to 2011 is shown in table-3. The percentage of literacy of tribes was only 8.54 per cent in 1961 which has increased to 63.1 per cent in 2011. But female literacy of tribes is only 54.4 per cent compared to male literacy of 71.7 per cent. During the post-Independence period, the Indian government implemented legislation and allocated funds to facilitate access to enrolment in primary education (grades I-V) in India. As a result, both literacy rates and gross enrolment ratios of boys and girls across the general population have increased substantially during the past 50 years.

Literacy Trends of Scheduled Tribes in India from 1961 to 2011(in Per cent)

Year	Male	Female	Total
1961	13.83	3.16	8.54
1971	17.63	4.85	11.39
1981	24.52	8.05	16.35
1991	40.65	18.19	29.60
2001	59.17	34.76	47.10
2011	71.70	54.4	63.1

Source: National Commission for SCs & STs, Fifth Report & Census, 2011

### **Constitutional mandate on education to scheduled tribes**

Recognizing the importance of education as a vital tool of human resource development the framers of the Constitution have made specific provision under article 15 (4), 41, 45 and 46 for promoting education among the weaker section of the society. Article 15 (4) empowers the state to make special provision for the advancement of socially and educationally backward classes of the citizen or for the Scheduled caste and the Scheduled Tribes. This provision is in accordance with the policy envisaged in article 46 which direct the state to promote with special care educational and economic interests of the schedule caste and Scheduled Tribes and protect them for social injustice. Article 41 explicitly mention about the "right to work, to education and to public assistance in certain ".

Despite constitutional provision the schedule tribe continues to suffer due to lack of requisite education which is very low compared to general population particularly in rural areas.

### **Problems of Tribal Education**

There are many critical issues and problems in the field of tribal education. They are as follows:

#### **Medium of Language**

Language is one of the important constraints of tribal children which prevents them access to education.

#### **The Location of the Village**

The physical barriers create a hindrance for the children of a tribal village to attend the school in a neighbouring village.

#### **Economic Condition**

The economic condition of tribal people is so poor that they do not desire to spare their children or their labour power and allow them to attend schools.

#### **Attitude of the parents**

As education does not yield any immediate economic return, the tribal parents prefer to engage their children in remunerative employment which supplements the family income.

#### **Teacher Related Problems**

In the remote tribal areas the teacher absenteeism is a regular phenomenon and this affects largely the quality of education.

#### **Lack of Proper Monitoring**

Proper monitoring is hindered by poor coordination between the Tribal Welfare Department and School Education Department.

For the improvement of the tribal education there should be some suggestion and parameter follow by the government mechanism. Tribal should be taught the importance of education. Due to priority should be given for improving educational infrastructure and supporting services opening of educational institution in the tribal areas and construction of school building should be undertaken under the National Rural Development programme. Tribal language should be made the medium of instruction at primary stage in the schools as also balwadis. There should

be proper arrangement for vocational education. The curriculum should keep in view of the traditional skills and tribal crafts. Tribals have inherent talent for games and sports they already made their mark the several National and international sports events. Their talent in this field should be harnessed and developed by providing adequate in for success training and coaching facilities.

In short, it may be stated that education should be take into consideration the needs and aspiration of the tribal people, their talents and their culture which has survived through the ages. There is a need of sound education policy and honest political will for ensuring 'growth with justice' so as to enable to tribals to join mainstream of the nation.

#### **12.3.4 Health issues of Tribals**

Tribal communities mainly live in remote rural hamlets in hilly, forested or desert areas with difficult terrains, leading a culturally distinct life. The most of the tribal population are in a condition of absolute poverty with inadequate access to basic and minimal services particularly health services. It is revealed that the general health condition and indicators of health among the tribal population is very low in comparison to the non tribal population. Therefore, the status of the health among the tribal population is in a need of great concern and care. There is a need for continuous efforts from all stakeholders of the governance. The poor health status is furthermore complicated by the low level of awareness, religious and cultural beliefs, inaccessible areas of dwelling, and financial constraints. Health status of a community depends on open access to adequate food, nutrition, portages worth and good sanitation facilities. Tribal communities in the country show a varied state of health and sanitation. Poor infrastructure development couple up with remote and inaccessible landscape makes their lives more miserable and backward.

These are Malaria, malnutrition, child mortality, maternal health problems, family planning and infertility, addiction and mental health issues, sickle cell disease, animal bites and accidents, low health literacy, and poor health of tribal children in Ashramsals.

It is not a surprising fact that the incidence of health-related issues is found more among the tribal women and children because of their biophysical attributes and the state of vulnerability which further makes them more vulnerable group among the tribal people. The state of malnutrition is also a grey side of the tribal health. Studies show incidences of malnutrition among the tribal population is very high. The malnutrition among the children below 5 years of age is also reported very high. The recently released NFHS-4 report again brought home the widely

anticipated truth that, despite improvements, the under nutrition among STs has remained poor, and much higher than that for all groups taken together. As per the report, in India, 44% of tribal children under five years of age are stunted (low height for age), 45% are underweight (low weight for age) and 27% are wasted (low weight for height) . Nutritional deficiency leads to diseases like endemic goiter, anemia, pellagra, and beriberi. Problems like in-sanitary food supplies, water contamination, and poor food intake reflect on the health status of tribals.

### **Inadequate Health care facilities**

There is a consensus that the health condition of tribal people is very abysmal. This state of health is further complicated by their remoteness of the areas and inaccessibility makes it furthermore compounded and complex. Most of the tribes in India live in hilly terrain where health care facilities or system cannot be reached and it automatically becomes impossible for the health care personnel and system to reach there. It is evident from the many studies that health care system in the tribal areas is largely dependent on the traditional health care system, i.e., magico-religious. The modern health care system in the tribal areas is in a state of absolute negligence and ignorance. Though Govt. Initiatives of National Rural Health Mission was able to establish the health fracture into the most of the remote areas of tribal population, yet there are very few or no medical personnel are there to look after the people coming for treatment. Number of Studies show there is a shortage of staff in the tribal areas in the country.

Primary healthcare has been proven to be a highly effective and efficient way to address the main causes and risks of poor health and well-being today, as well as handling the emerging challenges that threaten health and well-being tomorrow. There is evidence that quality primary healthcare reduces total healthcare costs and improves efficiency by reducing hospital admissions: A good value investment. More importantly, mere establishment of PHCs and sub-centres cannot overcome the poor health of tribal population. Scarcity of trained manpower to deliver quality health services is the major problem and an obstacle to the extension of health services to rural and tribal areas. Traditional healers, who are often the first point of care, can be sensitized and trained to deliver simple interventions and to assess when to refer to higher centres. Tribal boys and girls with minimum education can be trained as community health worker and incentivized to work in their own community; primary healthcare system as a whole, infrastructure and HRH, has to be strengthened. More research needs to be done on the traditional herbal medicines used by tribal people and their use encouraged, wherever beneficial. It is high time

and states should act swiftly to assess the needs, priorities of their own tribal population and set goals, targets to achieve the same through proven public health strategies.

Check Your Progress:

1. Describe the concept of land alienation and its impact on tribals.

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2. Comment on Forests and Tribals.

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## 12.4 TRIBALS MOVEMENTS (1947-2000)

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### 12.4.1 Pre- Independence period

In the pre-colonial period some of the tribes founded states in the territories extending from the north-east, through middle India to western and southern India. Where they did not found states, they were accommodated within regional political system, retaining a great deal of autonomy and freedom. Elsewhere the tribes were reported to be in disturbed conditions on the eve of the colonial rule. For example, in western India the tribes such as Gonds, Vills and Kolis were reportedly in a disturbed state. The tribals often rose against regional powers such as the Marathas, Rajputs etc. The Mughals had put down the Kolis and the Marathas had dealt with the Bhils and Gonds, with a heavy hand. All this radically changed during the colonial period that witnessed the first major assault on tribal autonomy and tribal's control over their resources such as land, forest, minerals, etc. Colonialism also witnessed the dismantling of pre colonial political structures built up by the tribals or those that accommodated them. Therefore, tribals rebelled more often and organised movements and protests on a larger scale than any other community during the colonial period.

### 12.4.2 Post- Independence period

The post-colonial period witnessed intensification of the exploitation of resources of the land of the tribals and their marginalisation, immiseration or pauperisation, despite progress in education and employment, representation in politics and share in power, and affluence of a section of tribal middle class. Therefore, this period witnessed the rise of a larger number of movements centered on the issues of identity, equality, empowerment, self-rule, etc. After independence, various efforts have been made to improve the socio-economic conditions of the tribals and to sustain the constitutional safeguard given to them. The Central and State Governments have made incessant efforts in the direction of tribal welfare and development. Special programmes for their development have been undertaken in the successive Five Year Plans. The aim was to bring them on par with other developed sections of the society. But the results are not encouraging in all cases with an introduction of development plans, some societies have found themselves disintegrated.

The establishment of heavy industries, construction of dams and launching of development plans in tribal zones has necessitated displacement of local population. Thousands of tribal families were displaced from their traditional habitats. Contact situations with outsiders have been equally detrimental.

Destruction of forests as a consequence of felling of trees for industrial purposes has threatened the small communities of hunters and food-gathers.

Those who could take advantage of new economic and educational frontiers were able to better their lot, while a large sections of the tribals, not adequately prepared to deal with new challenges, gradually depressed into poorer sections of the society. Against economic and social disparities, they have raised a collective voice.

The tribals especially in central India, had reacted against their exploiters. These movements were directed towards freeing their land from all those who exploited them economically and culturally. At the same time, each of these movements put emphasis on revitalisation of their culture, their traditional culture which was swayed under the impact of the outsiders.

Tribal movements may broadly be classified into:

- (a) Political movements for autonomy, independence, state formation, and self-rule
- (b) Agrarian and Forest-based Movements:

Movements for control over resources, such as land and forest or the movements directed against land alienation, and displacement and against restrictions in forest and for forest conservation. There been attempts at articulation of the aspirations for political autonomy among the Gonds and Bhils during the period that followed independence. The Raj Gond leaders such as Raja Naresh Singh demanded the formation of a separate state for the adivasis to be carved out of the tribal areas of Chattisgarh and contiguous districts of Rewa region and Vidarbha, in a memorandum submitted before the States Reorganisation Commission. On 19 May 1963 Narain Singh Ukey, President of the Gondwana Adivasi Seva Mandal reiterated the demand for the formation of the Gondwana state, consisting of the Gond and other tribal regions of the Chattisgarh and contiguous districts of Vidarbha in Maharashtra. It was in Chotanagpur - Santal Pargana region of Bihar that the movement for political autonomy and formation of a state really developed further. The Adivasi Mahasabha was wound up and merged with a new regional party, the Jharkhand Party, in 1949. Behind it were the experiences of the failure of the militant movements and of the framing of the Constitution of India. The Jharkhand Party was thrown open, at least, in principle, to all residents Chotanagpur. There was thus a transition from ethnicity to regionalism as the formative factor in the movement.

#### **12.4.3 Jharkhand Movement**

The period from 1952 to 1957 was in many ways the peak period for the Jharkhand movement and party, which had emerged as the major party in the Chotanagpur-Santal paraganas region. The second general elections in 1957 had seen it extend its influence to Orissa, where it captured five seats and held the balance of power in the state politics which was plagued by instability. It displayed remarkable unity, laid down the law in the tribal region, could mobilise thousands of people and take out mammoth processions at short notice. The decline of the party which began in the early 1960s. The reasons for its decline were the following: involvement of the tribals in the process of development; rivalry between the advanced Christian tribals and backward non-Christian tribals arising out of competition on education, employment and control on the resources for development; and, shift in the support of the non-Christian tribals from Jharkhand to the Congress and Jana Sangha. The Jharkhand Mukti Morcha emerged as a major political force in the industrial and mining belt of Chotanagpur and in state politics after the 1980 general elections. It sought to broad base the separatist movement by including with its ambit the peasant and working classes. The Jharkhand is described by its ideologues as an internal colony which is being exploited by outsiders. Even though the region accounts for 28 percent of minerals it avails itself of only 15 per

cent of the state's budget for development. The development process itself is exploitative of the local inhabitants and outsiders have moved in to seize all opportunities of employment. Through many vicissitudes that affected Jharkhand movement, the groundswell of support for a separate state continued and even intensified, bringing within its sweep major political parties. They started by setting up the regional structures in the 1980s, The then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi declared in 1980 that Chhotanagpur was a culturally distinct area. This was translated into an autonomous political authority in the early 1990s. In 1988, Bhartiya Janata Party committed itself to the formation of Vananchal State in terms of regional backwardness. Thus the two important players who were for long opposed to Jharkhand reversed their roles. All Left parties barring the CPI(M) supported the demand for a separate state in 1980s while highlighting land and forest issues, nationality, class and ethnic question, generally ignored by major parties. Thus while on the one side, the Jharkhand State was steadily growing and this was translated into electoral gains for the pro-state parties particularly the BJP in the 1990s. The Committee on Jharkhand Matters recommended setting up of an autonomous authority. The Jharkhand Area Autonomous Council (JAAC) came into existence in 1993, but it fell short of the expectations of the people who demanded nothing short of a full state. In the two general elections held in 1995 and 1996 the all India parties advocating a separate state swept the polls Jharkhand state became a reality on 15 November 2000, substantially fulfilling the objective of a Jharkhand state set by the Jharkhand Party in 1950 and dream of a tribal raj held out by Birsa Munda, about one hundred year ago.

### Check your Progress

1) What were the reasons for the decline of the Jharkhand Party in the 1960s?

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### 12.4.4 The North-East Tribal Movements

Political Movements in the North-East Tribal movements in the North-East stand in a category by themselves because of the region's unique geopolitical situation and historical background. Political processes in the North-Eastern hills picked up on the eve of transfer of power when a considerable number of tribals and a substantial section of their elite

among the Khashis, Mizos, Garos and even a section among the Nagas agreed to participate in the constitutional system of India. Old tribes assumed new names, small tribes merged with larger tribes, and the tribes combined to form a new ethnic-cum-territorial identity. While the processes up to the formation of the autonomous councils or the state were almost common to all tribes, there were differences on the question of their relationship with the nation-state. A section of the Nagas chose the path of insurgency, followed by the Mizos, the Meiteis, and the Tripuris. Other sections of the same tribes later preferred integration. For example, in Nagaland the Angami, the Ao and the Sema who had played the major role in the beginning of Naga insurgency opted for sedate regional politics. The centre of gravity shifted from the area dominated by these tribes to the areas inhabited by the Konyak and Lotha and now to the international border. The insurgency is now dominated by the Hemis, and the Konyaks and Tangkhuls. In fact there has been a reaction among these minor tribes against the dominated by the Hemis, and the Konyaks and Tangkhuls. There is also a demand for the formation of the remote and underdeveloped Mon and Tuensang districts into a union territory.

#### **12.4.5 The Naga Movement**

The Naga movement is the oldest ongoing movement for autonomy or independence. The origin of the present Naga movement could be traced to the formation of a Naga club in the year 1918 at Kohima with a branch at Mokokchung, which consisted mainly of the members of emerging Naga elites, including government officials who came from the administrative centres of Kohima and Mokokchung educated in Christian educational institutions, and a few leading headmen of the neighbouring villages. The club discussed social and administrative problems involving all the tribes of the Naga Hills. The Naga Club submitted memorandum to the Simon Commission in 1929. It prayed for keeping the hills outside the scheme of reforms and for continuing the direct British administration of the hills. In April 1945 the District Tribal Council which united the individual tribal councils was formed in the Naga hills at the initiative of the then Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills District. The nomenclature of this Council was changed to Naga National Council (NNC) in 1946. The Japanese fought their last battle during World War II at Kohima, the headquarters of the Naga Hills District. The constitution of the Naga National Council as the political forum of the Naga tribes could be considered the beginning of the modern phase of the Naga movement. It gave a sense of political unity to the Naga tribes and it embodied the concept of Naga nationhood. In 1946, the British Government proposed a scheme to carve out a Trust Territory comprising the Naga Hills, the then NEFA area and a part of Burma, as a 'Crown Colony' under control from London. The educated Nagas in the NNC quickly opposed this idea of

British colonisation, like the Indian National Congress, and declared that the British must quit Naga Hills when they quit India. The objectives of the NNC have developed through many phases from autonomy to independence. Under the in the 9-point agreement reached between the NNC and the Government of India — represented by the late Sir Akbar Hyderi, the then Governor of Assam on 27-29 June 1947, there were provisions for protection from land alienation, creation of administrative autonomy and a special responsibility of the Government of India for their implementation. The Naga movement from 1947 to 1954 in the Naga Hills remained peaceful and constitutional. Towards the end of 1949, the Naga National Council changed its goals favouring Independence outside India Union. In 1954, the Naga announced the formation of the Hongkin Government that is the 'People's Sovereign Republic of Free Nagaland'. Violence broke out in 1954 and there were many incidents involving the Indian army and rebels.

In July 1960, a 16-point agreement was reached between Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and a Naga delegation. On 1 August 1960, Prime Minister Nehru announced in Parliament the decision of the Government to make 'Nagaland' the 16th state of the Indian Union. By this time a new group of 'over ground' Naga leaders had emerged in Nagaland, who formed the Nagaland Nationalist Organisation (NNO). The NNO was formed mainly by those leaders who had been instrumental in bringing about statehood for Nagaland. In the same way, there emerged the Democratic Party of Nagaland which was formed by those who differed from the NNO leadership and harboured sympathy for the secessionist underground group. However, the militant section of the Naga movement remained underground for more than a decade between 1954 and 1964. Till 1968, several rounds of talks were held between the underground leaders. Another landmark was the signing of the Shillong Accord, on 11 November 1975 under the terms of which the underground Naga accepted the Indian Constitution, the deposited their arms and government of India in turn released Naga political prisoners and promised their rehabilitation. However, while there has been no resumption of insurgency and more and more underground have come over ground, renouncing violence and Nagaland has generally remained an oasis of peace and stability in the troubled North-East, the Accord has been repudiated by Phizo himself and the hostiles. The hostiles stood divided into three camps

- (i) the pro- Phizo Federal Party,
- (ii) the group led by Mown Angami who became Vice-President of the underground Naga national Council and who condemned the Federal party of its reconciliation with New Delhi and denounced the insurgents for betraying Christianity and

- (iii) the insurgents imbued with Moists ideology led by a Tanghkul Naga, T. Muivah and Isak Swu who have established the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN). There were incidence of shootouts, cross fire, murderous attacks, and indeterminate killings between pro-Phizo and Muivah-Isak factions on the Indo-Burma borders.

Behind the permutations and combination of Naga politics one sees the changing equations among various tribes. The Angami, Ao and Sema who played the major role in the beginning of Naga insurgency have opted for sedate regional politics. The centre of gravity has shifted from the area dominated by these tribes and by the Konyak and Lotha to the international border. The insurgency is now dominated by the Hemis, and the Konyaks and Tanghuls loyal to pro-Phizo party have been killing the Angami, Khomengan and Chakesang. In fact there has been a reaction among these tribes against the dominance of the advanced tribes such as the Ao, Angami, Chakesang and Lotha. Meanwhile, the Nagaland politics have moved between the mainstream and regional poles.

The Nagaland National Organization ran the government from 1964 to 1975. In 1976 it merged with the Indian National Congress to gain a national identity. The Nagas in the meantime have emerged as the most dynamic and progressive people in the northeast who has built up village development board as the catalyst of rural development and also raised a Naga regiment which fought at Kargil. And yet, the final solution to the Naga problem is not yet in sight, though negotiations often take place between the government of India and insurgent group to find a solution.

#### **12.4.6 Tribal Movements against mining**

Conflict over the mining of bauxite has taken a violent turn with killing of three innocent tribal people. Since 1993, the police have registered 80 criminal cases against the tribal people and activists. On several occasions, the police resorted to lathi charge. Activists were attacked and offices of the resistance movement were destroyed.

The resistances to the alumina project and the police firing have important implications. Successive Governments, various political parties that have been in power, local elites and local businessmen supported the alumina project. At the same time, the struggle of the people and their determination to make any sacrifice in order to protect their civil and political rights, right to livelihood and habitat clearly demonstrate that people at the grassroots are not going to tolerate the onslaught of market force.

Another movement has been started in Keonjhar district of Orissa against mining in the 90s for the displaced people, particularly tribals. In Keonjhar, the mining activities have led to heavy influx of workers from many parts of the country. The 90s decade saw an increase in migration due to geographical and socio-economic reasons, leading to a threat of cultural invasion. Violence of all type increased. Mining has led to indiscriminate deforestation and displacement of inhabitants.

The movement against mining is popular among the Advisees such as Bhuiyan, Juang, Munda, Santhal, and Kondh. The chief slogan of the movement against mining has been "Our lands, our minerals and our rights". The villagers have been harassed by police and implicated in false cases for organising meetings, public rallies and hunger strikes. A number of villagers had been sent to jail in false cases between 1994 to 1999.

The villager and tribals of Rallagaruvu village in Vishakhapatnam district of Andhra Pradesh had put up a brave resistance against illegal mining by various companies in the last decades. Kondadora tribe is the biggest tribe in Northern Andhra Pradesh located in hilly terrains of the State. Rallagaruvu is famous for its calcite, firestone and mica reserves and is one of the most sought after places for mining! There have been hundreds of attempts at illegal acquisition of tribal lands. Due to prolonged struggle of the tribals that much of the land still remains free from the clutches of the illegal mining.

#### **12.4.7 Agrarian and Forest-Based Movements**

In the post-colonial era the pattern of alienation of tribals' resources such as land shows a marked change. Tribals are being displaced not only by non-tribals but also by the state and other organisations which require land for development. They are now pitted not only against other people but also against the state which they see as the major instrument for displacing them from their land. The tribals are asking not only for restoration of the land that they lost by invoking the provision of the Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Area Land Transfer Regulations, 1959, which came into force in 1963, but also the transfer of ownership and delivery of possession in regard to the land allotted to them. Of late, they have been organised by CPI (ML) of the People's War Group (PWG). In February 1981 there was an unusual spurt of forced harvesting on lands taken away from them by non-tribals, raiding of houses of moneylenders and decamping with mortgaged valuables. The traditional system of communication was revived to organise the tribals. Signals were exchanged by beating the drum. The Gond durbar held on 6 February 1981 at Keslapur declared that the problems of the tribals had come to a boiling point. The Gonds also prevented the demarcation of land for afforestation. They had earlier

reacted strongly to the scheduling of the Lumbadars, a community of traders and moneylenders, as a tribe in 1977, because the Lumbadars always exploited the tribals and their status as a tribe helped them to legitimize their illegal possession of the Gonds' land. On 20 April 1981 a conference was planned by CPI(ML) at Indervalli. The meeting was banned and the tribals were persuaded not to assemble there. However, they took out a procession which came into conflict with a police force. About 15 tribals lost their lives.

### Check your Progress

1) Discuss the movements of Naga.

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## 12.5 CHARACTERISTICS AND CONSEQUENCES OF TRIBAL MOVEMENTS

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The leadership of the tribal movements has mainly emerged from themselves. While the leadership of the first phase emerged from the upper crust of tribal society, that of the second rose from the lowest rung of it. The Santal brothers were landless - Birsa Munda was a raiyat or a parja (crop-sharer) and Govind Giri was a hali. The leadership of the third phase and postcolonial periods was provided by the members of the upcoming tribal middle class, both in middle India and in the North-East. They were educated people which included priests, catechists, teachers, public servants, rural leaders and professionals who spoke largely in secular idioms. The leadership of the social reform movement was provided by the outsiders such as the Gandhian workers, of the Parja Mandal agitation by outsiders like Motilal Tejawat and of some tribal uprisings such as the Nagesia by even "Baniyas".

The goals of the movement ranged from the restoration of the pre-colonial polity, service tenure (Chuar), and land (Sardar) and right in forest to expulsion of outsiders, end of taxation, social reform, political

independence, or establishment of the tribal raj or participation in constitutional and democratic political apparatus, formation of tribal states, gaining equality and end of exploitation.

The social and ethnic composition of the movements ranged from the movement led by a single tribe to a confederacy of tribes and the castes subordinate to the tribes such as the artisans and service groups. Most of the movements were limited to a tribe but such movements in the first phase such as Kol and Santhal insurrections encompassed many tribal and non-tribal groups. In the third and post-colonial period broad based political parties emerged among the tribes, both in North-East and in middle India.

The All India tribal platforms gradually emerged in 1960s. All tribal movements were limited in scale but they had an immediate impact on policy which has been partly discussed above. Their impact has however to be studied both in the short and long term perspectives. In the short run the authorities responded by taking immediate measures to address the tribal concerns, devise measures to protect their resources, facilitate access to the officials etc. In the long term the colonial policy built up a framework to institutionalise the isolation for tribals, a combination of elements of direct and indirect rule (in princely states, in the North-East etc., a mix of legal and administrative measures to protect land against alienation to non-tribals, and protect customary rights in forest. There was, however, to be no development of any kind – the missionaries were left free to manage education and health services. It was left to the Gandhian workers and Congress ministries which assumed office in late 1930s to institute inquiries into tribals' poverty, indebtedness and backwardness and put in place the first slew of welfare measures.

The results of the uprisings were thus not uniform for whole of tribal India. While in British India they achieved a non-regulation administrative system for tribes and special agrarian laws to protect tribal land, little was done or allowed to be done for them in princely states. However, the political agent did intervene to uphold status quo rather than promote change. This ambivalence was typical of the colonial system.

### **Check your Progress**

Q.1. What are the characteristics and consequences of the tribal movements in India?

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## 12.6 SUMMARY

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The tribal movements are now being characterised as identity-based movements, of which various other issues relating to autonomy, land, forest, language and scripts are only ramifications. It is identity that is under stress. Identity stands at the centre-stage. This change in perception has now been made possible by people's own understanding of the situation, their perception of growing threat to their identity, the ongoing environmental and indigenous people's movements, and so on. The tribal movements now are being placed within the context of power relations, the scramble for power, the search for equation among various communities within a region. The tribes have emerged as political communities, like other communities. The tribal movements are no longer perceived as belonging to one type. The movements arising out of the complex social situations are perceived as a mix of types and traits. So are the causes and processes, which are now perceived as endogenous and exogenous, a mix of issues relating to resources, culture and identity.

Unfortunately, even after fifty years of independence, tribals have benefited least from the advent-of freedom. Although independence has brought widespread gains for the vast majority of the Indian population, Dalits and Adivasis have often been left out and new problems have arisen for the tribal population. With the tripling of the population since 1947 pressures on land resources, especially demands on forests — have played havoc on the lives of the tribals. The basic issues behind the tribal movements in India after independence are land alienation, forest training and job deprivation due to influx of the outsiders, cultural sub-mergence, and unbalanced development.

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## 12.7 QUESTIONS

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1. What were the main reasons behind Tribal revolts?
2. Who motivated the tribals for such revolts?
3. Which kind of sacrifices did they have to make?
4. Discuss the various issues of tribals in India
5. Give an account of the Educational and Health issues of Tribals
6. What were the reasons for the decline of the Jharkhand Party in the 1960s?
7. What are the characteristics and consequences of the tribal movements in India?
8. What have been the main goals of the tribal movements in India?

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## 12.8 ADDITIONAL READINGS

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Tribals Issues  
(1947-2000)

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## PANCHSHEEL AND NON-ALIGNMENT MOVEMENT

### Unit Structure

- 13.0 Objectives
- 13.1 Introduction
- 13.2 Third world and Cold War
- 13.3 Neutrality and Non-Aligned Philosophy
- 13.4 Non-Alignment Movement and its History
- 13.5 India's role in Non-Alignment Movement 'The Panchsheel'
- 13.6 Non-Alignment movement and global politics
- 13.7 Summary
- 13.8 Questions
- 13.9 Additional Reading

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### 13.0 OBJECTIVES

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This unit forms part of module-4 on 'Indian and the World Paper', that aims at integrating political, cultural, and economic aspects of global history with context of India from the year 1947 to 2000. In this unit students will be introduced to:

- 1) Concept of Non-Alignment movement in global politics during Cold war.
- 2) History and emergence of Non-Alignment Movement
- 3) Role of India in Non-Alignment movement.
- 4) Non-Alignment movement and its contribution in India

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### 13.1 INTRODUCTION

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*"It is in no spirit of pride or arrogance that we pursue our own independent policy. We would not do otherwise unless we are false to everything India has stood for in the past and stands for today. We welcome association and friendship with all and the flow of thought and ideas of all kind, but we reserve the right to choose our own path. That is the essence of Panchsheel."*

(Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, speaking in the Lok Sabha, September 15, 1955)

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was created and founded during the collapse of the colonial system and the independence struggles of the

peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and other regions of the world and at the height of the Cold War. In its essence the philosophy of India's **Panchsheel** propounded by the then Prime Minister of India Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru remains a core component. During the early days of the Movement, its actions were a key factor in the decolonization process, which led later to the attainment of freedom and independence by many countries and peoples and to the founding of tens of new sovereign States. Throughout its history, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has played a fundamental role in the preservation of world peace and security.

Non-alignment, for India, was a policy and a strategy to survive and negotiate with a world that was getting dragged into the politics of cold war.' To a considerable extent, non-alignment represented an unconventional approach to power politics. After assessing the then dominant forces and especially the trend towards a division of the world into two mutually hostile camps led by the superpowers the USA and its allies and the Soviet Union, India was gradually carving out space for an uncommitted world where none of the decolonized nations after World War-II were inclined to join any of the camps. India's urge to steer clear of power politics stemmed from a combination of factors. In the following sections of the UNIT we will discuss several of these aspects about Non-Alignment movement (also abbreviated as NAM) and India's role in it with congruent to impacts of NAM on India and its global politics.

**Image-1: India during Non-Alignment Movement**



From left to right: Gamal Abdel Nasser Hussein (President of Egypt) Josip Broz Tito (President of Yugoslavia) and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (Prime Minister of India)

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## **13.2 THIRD WORLD AND COLD WAR**

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The Cold War was a conflict that lasted for decades between the communist countries of the world, led by the Soviet Union, and the non-

communist countries of the world, led by the United States. It was a conflict in which both sides tried to dominate the world with their ideology. It is called “cold” because it was not an actual “shooting war” between the US and the USSR. The world was divided into three categories the first world belonged to United States and the western bloc, the second world belonged to Soviet Union and eastern bloc and the rest of newly decolonized nations who were either developing or underdeveloped in their economies and depended on the superpower’s blocs, thus, they were referred as ‘**the third world**’. In addition, the cold war spawned many different third world rebellions and affected many small nations during its course. Third world countries became the perfect battleground for cold war proxy battles. United States wanted to flex its political muscle and try to curtail the spread of Soviet Communism in the developing nations. Most of the nations in developed world had already made their political and socio-economic stand regarding the form of governance and leadership pursued. Underdeveloped nations in Asia, Latin America and Africa were still vulnerable and easily influenced in terms of ideologies and political direction. Most nations in Africa like Algeria were recovering from colonialism and thus, logistic, economic, and political aid from powerful nations to propel their economies which made it easy for Americans and Russians to act as their “saviors”. The quest for global dominance had intensified between United States and USSR and the shift was focused to developing nations like Algeria, Vietnam, Korea, Philippines, Guatemala, Cambodia and many more.

### **History of the term ‘The Third World’ Countries**

The exact origin of the terminology “third world” is unclear. In 1952, a French demographer anthropologist, and historian named Alfred Sauvy wrote an article in a French magazine, *L’Observateur* with this term ‘**Third World**’ during the Cold War, that ended by comparing the Third World with the Third Estate of pre-revolutionary France. Sauvy may have been the first to use the phrase, remarking “this ignored Third World, exploited, scorned like the Third Estate he observed a group of countries, many former colonies, that did not share the ideological views of Western capitalism or Soviet socialism (Alfred Sauvy, *L’observateur*, August 14,1952).

### **COLD WAR AND ITS IMPACTS ON THIRD WORLD**

Cold war inadvertently affected the Third World in various forms primarily its affects were experienced as follows:

- 1) **Political Structures:** Wars and revolutions destructed old political structures. Many, but not all, were replaced **Economic Structures:** by democratic governments.

- 2) Poor countries which were predominantly third world nations faced tough economic challenges. Aid from rich nations and international agencies influenced their choices.
- 3) **Social Structures:** Social classes in poor nations suffered from deep economic inequality. Class divisions sometimes gave rise to social unrest.
- 4) **Human-Environment:** Interactions of rich nations of capitalist and communist bloc developed new means to obtain natural resources. Wars damaged the environment in many regions of the Third World nations.

### **CHALLENGES TO THIRD WORLD NATIONS DURING THE COLD WAR**

In the decades after World War II, many nations in Africa and Asia gained independence from European colonial rule. These new nations faced many challenges as they tried to overcome the legacy of imperialism. Their futures were affected by the Cold War, as competing superpowers sought to extend their power and influence throughout the world. Three Worlds During the Cold War, the two sides in the superpower struggle were sometimes referred to as separate “Worlds.” The capitalist nations of the West were known as the First World, while the communist countries of Eastern Europe were the Second World. Both sets of countries had advanced industrial economies and great economic and political power. In economic terms, they were considered as developed countries. Most countries, however, fell into another category, called the Third World. Because these countries were in less advanced stages of economic development, they were known as developing countries. It was among the developing countries of the Third World that most Cold War conflicts took place.

**The Third World Dilemma:** Many Third World nations were caught in the middle of the superpower struggle. Some had clear ties to one side, but did not fully belong to either camp. Other countries had less defined loyalties. Many Third World countries had only recently after the second world war (1945) had shaken off colonial rule. Others—such as those in Latin America—had been independent for longer but were still struggling within because of settler colonialism. These nations faced many problems as there were political and socio-economic hierarchies in their nations among the communities. Most suffered from conditions of extreme poverty and social inequality. Often, a small minority of citizens held most of the wealth and power. By controlling the reins of government, this upper class was able to stifle reforms that might help the poor and benefit the nation as a whole. In the 1950s and 1960s, however, a number of nationalist leaders emerged in the Third World. These leaders wanted to

build stronger, more developed countries. They also wanted to reduce the influence of foreign powers over their affairs. At the same time, they also needed aid and assistance from wealthier nations. If a country accepted aid from one of the superpowers, though, it risked falling under that superpower's control. It also might prompt a hostile reaction from the other side. The country could become the target of covert actions or other measures designed to undermine the government and remove its leader. In this way, Third World nations were often squeezed between East and West and became a battleground in the superpower conflict. The Nonaligned Nations A number of Third World leaders sought to distance their countries from the Cold War struggle. They tried to follow a separate path—not aligned with either East or West—that would allow them to grow and develop on their own terms. This group of countries became known as the nonaligned nations. One of the main leaders of the nonaligned movement was Jawaharlal Nehru, the prime minister of India. Nehru had helped lead his country to independence from Great Britain in 1947. Now he wanted to ensure India's independence from both superpowers. Along with other nonaligned leaders—such as President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt and President Sukarno of Indonesia—Nehru convened a conference at Bandung, Indonesia, in 1955. There, 29 Asian and African states condemned colonialism and asserted their freedom from restrictive Cold War alliances. In a speech, Nehru declared: “If all the world were to be divided up between these two big blocs, what would be the result? The inevitable result would be war. Therefore, every step that takes place in reducing that area in the world that may be called the unaligned area is a dangerous step.” —Jawaharlal Nehru, speech at the Bandung Conference, 1955 The nonaligned movement enjoyed some success. More than 110 countries eventually joined the movement, trying to chart a middle course between East and West. By remaining neutral, some nonaligned countries were able to get economic and political support from both sides. However, the movement remained weak, in part because member states quarreled with each other and failed to build a unified policy. It also faltered because the superpowers continued to exert hegemony—a dominating influence—over poor nations.

### **Check your Progress-1**

**Write a short note on concept of the ‘Third World’**

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### Check your Progress-2

**What were the impacts of Cold on Third World nations?**

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### Check your Progress-3

**Discuss the factors hindering in the development of Third World nations**

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### Check your Progress-4

**Discuss the nature of economic deprivation in the Third World nations.**

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## **13.3 NEUTRALITY AND THIRD WORLD PHILOSOPHY**

Non-alignment is a philosophy for the conduct of international relations that was introduced into the diplomatic and scholarly vocabulary in 1961 with the founding of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). It was a product of the cold war, and its founders declared that they would not be aligned to either of the two competing political camps, led by the United States and the Soviet Union. The key intellectuals of Non-alignment philosophy have been Josip Tito, Fidel Castro, Julius Nyerere, Jawaharlal Nehru, Amilcar Cabral, and Léopold Senghor. The two central ideas of Non-alignment are the freedom to conduct an independent foreign policy and the eschewing of alliance politics. However, because the leading states of the NAM during its early years—such as Cuba and Yugoslavia—were closer to the USSR than to the United States, the movement has had the reputation of not promoting independent foreign policies. It has not been taken seriously in the academic power centers of international relations in North

America and Europe. However, the NAM has been one of the most durable mechanisms of rhetorical mobilization for most of the former colonies of the world, and particularly powerful at the United Nations General Assembly, where the non-aligned bloc has been able to put on the agenda initiatives that the great powers would rather not debate, including, most prominently, proposals for a New International Economic Order and a New World Information and Communication Order.

It is useful to see Non-alignment as one of a variety of political strategies used by states to pursue their interests and survive in international politics. In contrast, the “power politics” strategy deployed by the most powerful states in the international system involves promoting alliances and placing military concerns ahead of economic and social development as objectives of foreign policy. In its early years (1961–1971), Non-alignment was seen as a form of neutrality, a philosophy of foreign policy conduct that eschewed international alliances of all types, even membership in the United Nations. However, the death knell of formal neutrality came with Switzerland’s joining the United Nations in 2002. In contrast, Non-alignment has been durable, and its use of UN structures to pursue the collective foreign policy aims of its members is evidence of its attractiveness and viability as a “third way” of international relations. However, it is important to note that Non-alignment is not a revolutionary philosophy in international politics, because it adheres to the principle that the state is the primary actor in international affairs, and it promotes the continued viability of the United Nations. The so-called “cultural turn” in international relations may mean that Non-alignment will be increasingly studied for its insights into identity construction in international politics.

**Check your Progress-1**

**Who were the leading philosophers of Non-Aligned philosophy?**

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**Check your Progress-2:**

**How the concept of ‘Non-Aligned’ defines neutrality in Cold War?**

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## 13.4 NON-ALIGNMENT MOVEMENT AND ITS HISTORY

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The Non-Aligned Movement was formed during the Cold War, largely on the initiative of then-Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito, as an organization of States that did not seek to formally align themselves with either the United States or the Soviet Union, but sought to remain independent or neutral. The basic concept for the group originated in 1955 during discussions that took place at the Asia-Africa Bandung Conference held in Indonesia. The Non-Aligned Movement was formed as an organization of States that did not seek to formally align themselves with either the United States or the Soviet Union, but sought to remain independent or neutral. The basic concept for the group originated in 1955 during discussions that took place at the Asia-Africa Bandung Conference held in Indonesia. The first NAM Summit Conference took place in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, in September 1961. Currently the NAM has 120 members. There are also 17 countries and 10 international organizations that are Observers at NAM. The Non-Aligned Movement was founded and held its first conference (the Belgrade Conference) in 1961 under the leadership of Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, and Sukarno of Indonesia. The purpose of the organization was enumerated in Havana Declaration of 1979 to ensure "the national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of non-aligned countries" in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, and all forms of foreign subjugation. During the cold war era the NAM played a vital role in stabilizing the world order and preserving peace and security. Subsequently, a preparatory meeting for the First NAM Summit Conference was held in Cairo, Egypt from 5-12 June 1961.

At this meeting, participants discussed the goals of a policy of nonalignment, which were adopted as criteria for membership. These were as follows:

- The country should have adopted an independent policy based on the coexistence of States with different political and social systems and on non-alignment or should be showing a trend in favor of such a policy;
- The country concerned should be consistently supporting the Movements for national independence;
  - The country should not be a member of a multilateral military alliance concluded in the context of Great Power conflicts;
  - If a country has a bilateral military agreement with a Great Power, or is a member of a regional defense pact, the agreement or pact should not be one deliberately concluded in the context of Great Power conflicts;

- If it has conceded military bases to a Foreign Power the concession should not have been made in the context of Great Power conflicts.

The First NAM Summit Conference took place in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, in September 1961.

### **Objectives**

NAM has sought to "create an independent path in world politics that would not result in member States becoming pawns in the struggles between the major powers." It identifies the right of independent judgment, the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism, and the use of moderation in relations with all big powers as the three basic elements that have influenced its approach. At present, an additional goal is facilitating a restructuring of the international economic order.

### **Principal Organs**

NAM does not have a formal constitution or permanent secretariat, and its administration is non-hierarchical and rotational. Decisions are made by consensus, which requires substantial agreement, but not unanimity.

### **Chair**

At each Summit, a new Head of State formally becomes the chair, and assumes that position until the next Summit. The chair was responsible for promoting the principles and activities of NAM, and the Foreign Ministry and Permanent Mission in New York of the Chair's State assumes administrative responsibility.

Working groups, contact groups, task forces, and committees: These groups meet as often as is necessary. At present, they include: NAM High-Level Working Group for the Restructuring of the United Nations; NAM Working Group on Human Rights; NAM Working Group on Peace-Keeping Operations; Ministerial Committee on Methodology; NAM Working Group of the Coordinating Bureau on Methodology; NAM Working Group on Disarmament; Committee of Palestine; Contact Group on Cyprus; Task Force on Somalia; Task Force on Bosnia and Herzegovina; Non-Aligned Security Council Caucus; Coordinator Countries of the Action Program for Economic Cooperation; and the Standing Ministerial Committee for Economic Cooperation.

### **Coordinating Bureau**

This ambassadorial-level body, based at the United Nations in New York, reviews and facilitates activities between the working groups, contact groups, task forces, and committees. It is also charged with strengthening

coordination and cooperation among NAM States. The Chair's Permanent Representative to the UN in New York functions as the CoB chair.

### **Troika**

Created in 1997, this body consists of past, serving and future Chairs, and operates at the discretion of the incumbent chair.

### **Non-Aligned Security Council Caucus**

The Caucus consists of NAM countries who are elected to the UN Security Council as rotating members. These States seek to adopt unified positions and to reflect the decisions and positions adopted at NAM Summits and Ministerial Conferences.

### **Joint Coordinating Committee**

This committee of NAM and the Group of 77 members meets regularly in New York to coordinate and promote the interests of developing countries in the international community. It was established in 1994.

Meetings convened regularly by various NAM bodies include: Summit Conferences; Ministerial Conferences; Ministerial Meetings held in New York during the regular session of the UN General Assembly; Extraordinary Ministerial Meetings, Ministerial Meetings of the Coordinating Bureau, meetings of the Ministerial Committee on Methodology, meetings of the Standing Ministerial Committee on Economic Cooperation; and Ministerial Meetings in various fields of International Cooperation. The Summit Conference of Heads of States or Government, which is composed of a political issues committee and an economic and social issues committee, is the highest decision-making body of NAM, and generally convenes every third years. The Summit is preceded by senior official and ministerial meetings, which serve preparatory functions.

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## **13.5 INDIA'S ROLE IN NON-ALIGNMENT MOVEMENT 'THE PANCHSHEEL'**

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India's non-alignment as an instrument of foreign policy evolved through continuous interaction with domestic circumstances and the external environment. This evolution was marked by staying power, a capacity to encounter volatile configurations of power and flexibility to incorporate changes demanded by circumstances. A combination of circumstances such as the urge to follow an independent foreign policy, the pragmatic choice \*of befriending a powerful socialist state like the USSR and commitment to promote peace shaped the concept as well as the praxis of non-alignment. In the process of its evolution, non-alignment inspired smaller Afro-Asian states striving to carve out their identities in a world

torn between stereotype social systems. The eventual merger of these states within the mainstream of the non-aligned movement transformed the movement's principal concerns from east-west tensions to north-south issues and the new international economic order. India being a founder and largest member in NAM was an active participant in NAM meetings till 1970s but India's inclination towards erstwhile USSR created confusions in smaller members. It led to the weakening of NAM and small nations drifted towards either US or USSR.

Non-alignment, for India, was a policy and a strategy to survive and negotiate with a world that was getting dragged into the politics of cold war.' To a considerable extent, non-alignment represented an unconventional approach to power politics. After assessing the then dominant forces and especially the trend towards a division of the world into two mutually hostile camps led by the superpowers, India was gradually carving out space for an uncommitted world. India's urge to steer clear of power politics stemmed from a combination of factors.

**Firstly**, after freeing itself from British imperialism, India, like a typical newly liberated state, wanted to protect its hard-won freedom and sovereignty. It was also determined to rally round all anti-imperialist and anti-racist crusades against western domination. India's support to freedom struggles in Afro-Asia and staunch opposition to racism and apartheid practiced in South Africa can be understood in this light. By championing the right of self-determination of the colonies and dependencies, India's non-alignment chose to unleash the process of eastern westphalia.<sup>2</sup> This process led towards the birth of sovereign independent states which could actively participate in shaping the world order.

**Secondly**, geographic proximity with two socialist states, the Soviet-Union and China, deterred India from joining the US-led ^amp. Moreover, Nehru was an ardent admirer of the process of socialist reconstruction in Soviet Russia. The very fact that a backward, pre-industrial and huge Euro-Asian state like Soviet Russia could achieve spectacular successes in development objectives attracted Nehru's attention. Furthermore, India was the second Asian country to offer de jure recognition to the Peoples Republic of China. Such a recognition symbolized an acceptance of the legitimacy of revolutionary movement under Mao Zedong. The growth of Indo-Soviet friendship during the past few decades and India's urge to normalize relations with China have highlighted India's disposition towards its socialist neighbours.

**Third**, political and socio-economic structures in India have represented a curious melange. Seemingly contradictory organisational structures like a parliamentary democracy, a partially planned economy and co-existence between the ever-expanding public sector and private sector had

cumulatively set in motion the process of development in India. After probing these structures, one is struck by the untypical nature of India's state and the process of development. Characterizing the nature of the post-colonial state in India has posed persistent problems to Marxist and non-Marxist scholars. It is not our intention to go into the controversies that have stimulated theoretical debates on the nature of Indian state. But it might be essential to spell out some significantly odd features of the Indian state as well as its development process. The development process in India has witnessed the rise of large private monopoly houses and the growth of national bourgeoisie as a class increasingly staking its claims towards greater control of state apparatus. The landowning classes have, at varying levels, struck an alliance with the bourgeoisie.

In addition, the so-called intelligentsia-intellectuals, managers, military officials, bureaucrats and other professionals have also constituted a significant component in the developmental process. Very few third world countries can boast of a substantially well-developed middle class that bloomed under the auspices of state as in India. However, it might be facile to attribute the control of the Indian state entirely to these dominant classes. For 'state' has not merely enjoyed a measure of autonomy but has stepped out to perform welfare functions to incorporate the hitherto downtrodden sections in the process of development. Persistent efforts by the state to accommodate the interests of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes is a case in point. Political democracy in India has functioned with a measure of consensus although such consensus has largely operated in favour of the dominant classes. The above-mentioned pattern of domestic development in India has shaped its foreign policy. India's non-alignment mirrored this process of development. Considering its domestic set up, India could not have categorically rejected or accepted either of the stereotypes represented by the two super-powers. The superpowers in turn could not categorically accept India's development pattern. While India appealed to the US attacked largest democracy, the Soviets were attracted to India's partially planned economy and emphasis on the development of state sector. Finally, promoting peace has been central to India's foreign policy stance, considering peace as a pre-requisite for economic development. India's concept of peace broadly had three dimensions. In the Indian sub-continent India's immediate concern has been Pakistan. By promoting the 'status quo' in Kashmir, India aspired to live in peace with Pakistan. Within the wider sphere of Asia, India has always shown awareness of the potential power of revolutionary China.

The key aspects of India's role in Non-Alignment movement were guided by the concept of PANCHSHEEL. The concept panchsheel came into existence in 1950's in response to a world asking for a new set of principles for the conduct of international relations that would reflect the aspirations of all nations to co-exist and prosper together in peace and

harmony. Fifty years later, on the golden jubilee of Panchsheel, the chord that was struck in 1954 still rings pure and true in a world yet seeking the lodestar that will guide it into the harbour of peaceful co-existence. Panchsheel, or the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, were first formally enunciated in the Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between the Tibet region of China and India signed on April 29, 1954, which stated, in its preamble, that the two Governments “have resolved to enter into the present Agreement based on the following principles: -

- i. Mutual respect for each other’s territorial integrity and sovereignty,
- ii. Mutual non-aggression,
- iii. Mutual non-interference,
- iv. Equality and mutual benefit, and v. Peaceful co-existence.”

This vision caught the imagination of the peoples of Asia and the world. Panchsheel was incorporated into the Ten Principles of International Peace and Cooperation enunciated in the Declaration issued by the April 1955 Bandung Conference of 29 Afro-Asian countries. The universal relevance of Panchsheel was emphasised when its tenets were incorporated in a resolution on peaceful co-existence presented by India, Yugoslavia and Sweden, and unanimously adopted on December 11, 1957, by the United Nations General Assembly. In 1961, the Conference of Non-Aligned Nations in Belgrade accepted Panchsheel as the principled core of the Non-Aligned Movement. Down the years, the ethos of Panchsheel continued to be reflected in world events even if there was no conscious attribution, finding expression in the position of the developing countries in the North-South dialogue, and in other groupings. The timeless relevance of Panchsheel is based on its firm roots in the cultural traditions of its originators, two of the world’s most ancient civilisations. The linkage that was established by the spread of Buddhism in China laid the historical basis for the formulation of the principles of Panchsheel by India and China.

- Further disintegration of USSR led the unipolar world order dominated by US. India’s New Economic Policy and inclination towards US raised questions over India’s seriousness over non-alignment.
- Prime Minister of India skipped the 17th Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) summit held in Venezuela in 2016, it was only second such instance when Head of a state didn’t participate in NAM conference.
- Moreover, NAM continued losing relevance for India in a unipolar world, especially after the founding members failed to support India during crisis. For instance, during 1962 War with China, Ghana and Indonesia, adopted explicitly pro-China positions. During 1965 and

1971 wars, Indonesia and Egypt took an anti-India stance and supported Pakistan. 8 Challenges for NAM

- World has again moved towards bipolarity, one led by US and other by China Russia. The war-torn Syria is prime example of this, where both US and Russia is asserting power.
- The escalating tension in Indo-pacific region due to China's assertion and US acting as a counterweight to check the Chinese expansionist policy.
- The large-scale migration in Europe and Asia due to the unstable regimes and ethnic conflict in different parts of world.
- Issue of global climate change, changing US policies, protectionism, prevalent terrorism and nuclearization of Middle East.

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### **13.6 NON-ALIGNMENT MOVEMENT AND GLOBAL POLITICS**

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NAM as a concept can never be irrelevant; principally it provides a strong base to foreign policy of its members. It should be used as a platform to raise global issues like terrorism, climate change and trade protectionism and others. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries could not spare itself difficulties to act effectively in an adverse international political situation marked by hegemonic positions and unipolarity as well as by internal difficulties and conflicts given the heterogeneity of its membership and, thus, its diverse interests. Nevertheless, and in spite of such setbacks, the principles and objectives of nonalignment retain their full validity and force at the present international juncture. The primary condition that led to the emergence of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, that is, non-alignment from antagonistic blocks, has not lost its validity with the end of the Cold War. The demise of one of the blocks has not done away with the pressing problems of the world. On the contrary, renewed strategic interests bent on domination grow stronger and, even; acquire new and more dangerous dimensions for underdeveloped countries. The movement has succeeded to create a strong front on the International level, representing countries of the third world in the International organizations on top of which the United Nations. Current challenges facing the NAM also include the necessity of protecting the principles of International law, eliminating weapons of mass destruction, combating terrorism, defending human rights, working toward making the United Nations more effective in meeting the needs of all its member states in order to preserve International Peace, Security and Stability, as well as realizing justice in the international economic system. Though the long-standing goals of the Movement remain to be realized. Peace, development, economic cooperation and the democratization of international relations, to mention just a few, are old goals of the non-

aligned countries. In conclusion, the Non-Aligned Movement, faced with the goals yet to be reached and the many new challenges that are arising, still the Movement played an important role in the support of nations which were struggling then for their independence in the Third World and showed great solidarity with the most just aspirations of humanity. It contributed indisputably to the triumph in the struggle for national independence and decolonization, thus gaining considerable diplomatic prestige.

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### 13.7 SUMMARY

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It is a widely held belief that the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was highly relevant for India and its foreign policy interests during the bipolar era of the Cold War and that it has, since the 1990s, lost this relevance in a unipolar international order.

It is true that NAM played an important role during the Cold War years in furthering many of the causes that India advocated: decolonisation, end to apartheid, global nuclear disarmament, ushering in of new international economic and information orders, etc. But what is generally ignored is the fact that NAM was more or less irrelevant for India in terms of helping to protect and promote its security and interests – the principal criterion by which the utility of a multilateral group should be measured.

NAM's lack of utility for protecting and promoting India's security and interests is clearly demonstrated by the diplomatic positions adopted by member countries during the various wars in which India has been involved. On each of these occasions, NAM members invariably adopted diplomatic positions that were not favourable towards or supportive of India.

To begin with, during the 1962 War with China, Ghana and Indonesia – two of the co-founders of NAM, along with India – adopted explicitly pro-China positions. Ghana, which had developed close economic ties with China, even cautioned the United Kingdom against giving military aid to India since it might “aggravate the unfortunate situation”.

In general, most countries of NAM adopted even-handed positions and refused to unequivocally condemn China's aggression. Astonishing as it may sound for realist ears, Indian leaders and officials were simply dismayed at the behaviour of their nonaligned partners. That dismay also extended to the so-called Colombo states which had put forward the Colombo Proposals. In the light of this experience, the official history of the 1962 War wryly noted the serious limitations of Afro-Asian solidarity, a statement that, by extension, also reflects on the Non-Aligned Movement.

Three years later came the 1965 War with Pakistan. Again, Indonesia not only adopted an anti-India position but also supplied some arms to Pakistan. NAM members from West Asia, including Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Kuwait, adopted pro-Pakistan positions. Overall, India had no active supporters and few sympathisers in the world at large. As *The Indian Express* noted in an editorial at that time, “we do not seem to have many friends abroad”.

The worst, of course, came during the 1971 War. Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Libya, Kuwait and other Arab states were all fiercely pro-Pakistan. Egypt’s position was particularly dismaying to India, given that it was even unsympathetic to the massive refugee problem that India confronted. If India was disappointed about the diplomatic positions adopted by NAM members from West Asia, the situation was only slightly better in South East Asia. Indonesia once again stood against India and it even compelled a more sympathetic Malaysia into backing Pakistan.

Overall, most NAM countries adopted anti-India diplomatic positions. This was starkly evident during the vote on the UN General Assembly Resolution of 7 December 1971 calling for a ceasefire and withdrawal of forces. Of the total of 129 members of the UN at that time, 104 countries voted for the resolution, which was unfavourable for India and its position that only the establishment of an independent Bangladesh would put a stop to the brutal repression unleashed by the Pakistan military in East Pakistan and create the necessary condition for the return of the 10 million refugees from Indian territory. Only 11 votes were cast against the resolution, with almost all of these coming from the Soviet Union and its satellites. The brutal fact is that most NAM members stood completely opposed to India during the 1971 War.

The one exception to this rule was the diplomatic positions adopted by several NAM members during the Kargil conflict. Indonesia, Iran, Saudi Arabia and South Africa highlighted the importance of peaceful dialogue under the Simla Agreement as well as maintaining the Line of Control inviolate. However, the decisions of these countries did not flow from NAM solidarity. Instead, their decisions were a function of the new international diplomatic outreach that India had initiated in the early 1990s as well as in the wake of the 1998 nuclear tests.

In the light of such lack of support from NAM members for India at critical moments in its history, it is astonishing that the dominant view so far has been that NAM was deeply relevant for India during the Cold War years. In reality, the only use NAM had for India was during the 1970s and 1980s. During this period, NAM served as a forum to channel India’s deep dissatisfaction with the international order, characterised as it was by economic, political, and nuclear hierarchies. It was through NAM that India articulated the call for a new international economic order that

would cater for the special needs of the developing countries. Similarly, it was through NAM that India articulated the call for a new world information and communication order to provide a greater voice for developing countries in global communications. NAM also served as a forum for India to articulate its views on global nuclear disarmament and the discriminatory nature of the global nuclear order at the centre of which stood the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

As we now know, all of these were failed causes that did not acquire any purchase and have since been abandoned. India in particular, but also most other NAM countries, have integrated themselves to varying degrees within the liberal economic order and have benefited from it. India today is a member of the G20 and its rising economic profile has contributed to the greater resonance of Indian popular culture around the world. In addition, India has declared itself as a nuclear weapons power and has for all practical purposes abandoned the call for global nuclear disarmament. Even India's dissatisfaction with the nuclear order has waned in the wake of its accommodation into global nuclear commerce and the very real prospects of it becoming a member in various nuclear and dual-use technology cartels. The only dissatisfaction with the international order that India continues to nurture is with respect to a permanent seat on the UN Security Council. Even in this case, India has sought to assuage itself by gaining verbal assurances from almost all the countries of the world.

Further, since the end of the Cold War, India has become a key member of various multilateral groupings: BASIC (Brazil, South Africa, India and China) for protecting and promoting its interests on climate change; G4 for pushing through reforms of the UN Security Council; G20 for managing the world economy; BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) and IBSA (India, Brazil and South Africa) to enhance economic coordination with countries that are similarly placed; and ASEAN-centred institutions, the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, and Russia-India-China grouping for pursuing political and security interests. These engagements in multiple forums for varying economic, political and security purposes have, in the words of Shashi Tharoor, made the Non-Aligned Movement "largely incidental" to India's pursuit of its national interest since the end of the Cold War.

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## 13.8 QUESTIONS

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- Q.1 Write an essay on Non Alignment Movement and Cold War.
- Q.2 How the Cold War affected the Third World countries?
- Q.3 What were the methods of exploitation of Communist and Capitalist Bloc to exploit Third World Countries?
- Q.4 What was relationship between Third World nations and Non-Alignment movement?

- Q.5 How will you explain Third World nations?
- Q.6 What was role of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in making of Non-Alignment movement?
- Q.7 Which were the major philosophers in founding of NAM?
- Q.8 Who were the main policy of Non Alignment Movement ?
- Q.9 How the philosophy of 'Panchsheel' traced the progress of Non-Alignment movement?

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### 13.9 ADDITIONAL READING

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1. Chopra V D (ed) (1986) *NAM Summit: New Delhi to Harare*, Patriot Publishers, New Delhi
2. Appadorai A. (1981) *The Domestic Roots of India's Foreign Policy 1947-72* (Oxford University Press, New Delhi.
3. Harshe, Rajen (1990) 'India's Non-Alignment: An Attempt at Conceptual Reconstruction', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 25, No. 7/8, Feb. 17-24, 1990, Pp. 399-405

#### ONLINE REFERENCES

[http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/191\\_panchsheel.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/191_panchsheel.pdf)

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## INDIA AND ITS NEIGHBOURS

### Unit Structure

- 14.0 Objectives
- 14.1 Introduction
- 14.2 Indian Independence and its Post-Colonial Frontiers
- 14.3 The New Neighbouring Nations: China, Pakistan (East and West), Nepal, Bhutan, Ceylon 'Sri-Lanka', Burma 'Myanmar', Maldives, and Afghanistan
- 14.4 India and China policy with Tibet 'India and China (focus on issues of dispute and efforts at normalization).'
- 14.5 Formation of SAARC and dynamics with neighbouring nations
- 14.6 Assessing India's role in 20<sup>th</sup> century with its neighbours
- 14.7 Summary
- 14.8 Questions
- 14.9 Additional Reading

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### 14.0 OBJECTIVES

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This unit forms part of module-4 on 'Indian and the World Paper', that aims at integrating political, cultural, and economic aspects of global history with context of India from the year 1947 to 2000. In this unit students will be introduced to:

- 1) Concept of India and its neighbours in post-colonial times i.e. from 1947-2000
- 2) Indian border systems during the partition and creation of East and West Pakistan, and later Bangladesh in 1971
- 3) Indian foreign policy with Nepal, Bhutan, and Maldives.
- 4) Cooperation, conflicts, and mediation with Srilanka
- 5) India's relations with Burma and Afghanistan
- 6) The policy of India with its neighbours through SAARC

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### 14.1 INTRODUCTION

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India's neighbourhood which the member-countries of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) namely Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, Maldives, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka comprise, is a fairly complex geographical entity. This is to say the least. In fact, India can be said to be living in a dangerous neighbourhood. The constituent countries-individually as well as collectively-represent a world

of historical links, shared legacies, commonalities as well as diversities which are so elaborately reflected in their ethnic, linguistic, religious, and political fabric. China and Myanmar, the other two neighbours, are no less complex.

***India's relationship with its neighbours: Conflict and Cooperation: Amb (Retd) Achal Malhotra, 2014***

The formation of post-colonial India and boundaries of its neighbourhood is a unique narrative in the annals of world history. The contemporary border formation and structure of frontlines with its neighbours to a large extent is derived from the colonial narratives and supremacy. The Indian sub-continent in pre-colonial cartography always had India in its focus and derived its ecological positioning also with India which remained located in the centrality of the Indian ocean. In the post-independence era of 1947, the borders of present positioned India got reformulated due influence of British colonial policy. Later also because of Indian relations with her neighbouring nations the boundaries changed. In 1961 and 1971 Goa, Tripura and Sikkim became part of India. Simultaneously, the Chinese aggression led to the loss of nation states like Tibet and confronted border politics in Afghanistan and neighbouring areas of East and West Pakistan. The resolve to East Pakistan occurred in 1971 with creation of separate nation called 'Bangladesh'. With these historic changes India established its relations with its neighbours. Since 1947, we could see there are several conflicting and relations of balance between India and its neighbours. In the following sections of the Unit, we will see how India developed its relations with its neighbouring nations. We will take each of the nation and its history of political relations with India. Thereafter, a comparative concluding section will be discussed about the way Indian external affairs policies formulated India's relations with its neighbours. From the time of the first Indian Government in power in 1947 under leadership of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru till the rule of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee.<sup>1</sup> The transitions in the policy foreign affairs of Indian Governance are defining factors as how Indian politics transitioned in these last 60 years which are apart of the syllabus of this module. Below in the map we can see the map of India in 1947 as what were various regions in India which later made the map of India of today.

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<sup>1</sup> Prasanta Sahoo, A History of India's Neighbourhood Policy, *World Affairs: The Journal of International Issues*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (AUTUMN: JULY-SEPTEMBER, 2016), pp. 66-81

**Image-1: India and its neighbours**



**Source: Creative commons**

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## 14.2 INDIAN INDEPENDENCE AND ITS POST COLONIAL FRONTIER NATIONS

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Before we enter into the discussion about Indian policies with its neighbouring nations, first let's introduce ourselves about the India and its neighbouring nations. Below here we will get introduced about India and all its neighbouring nations brief history and geography.

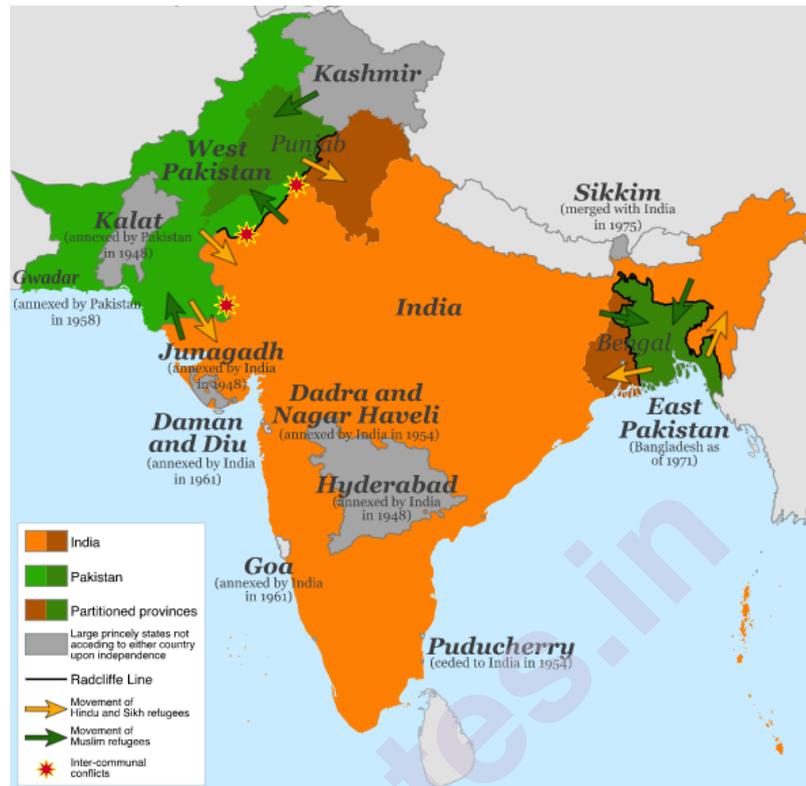
### India Its Geography and Neighbours

India is located in Southern part of the Asia. It is the second largest nation in the South and South- East Asia. It is in the Northern Hemisphere and Eastern Hemisphere of the world. India is the seventh largest country of the world as per the area and second largest in population count. India has very vast geographical area with land border of 15,106.7 Km and also a very lengthy coastline of 7,516.6 Km. Here, we are providing you the list of Neighbouring Countries of India and the states that share border with them. Check the important information about the neighbouring countries that will helps you to enhance your general knowledge in dealing with the questions related to Geography of India. India has a land frontier of 15,106.7 km. The total length of the coastline of India is **7,516.6 km**. India shares its border with seven countries namely **Afghanistan, Pakistan, China, Bhutan, Nepal, Myanmar, Bangladesh, Maldives, and Sri Lanka.**

In the popular academia it is often stated that, India lacked the strategic policies with its neighboring nations in the ancient times, contrary to it if we will study, Indian texts and historic references we come across. In the Shanti Parva of the Mahabharata, the king–priest Bhishma while teaching *rajadharma* (law of the king) and *dandaniti* (art of punishment) to the Pandavs says there are no permanent friends or foes of a king, only circumstances make them so. In the Bhagwad Gita, Lord Krishna tells Arjun the same thing on the battlefield at Kurushketra. Except for Kautilya's ancient classic the Arthashastra, Indians have not recorded strategic thinking in written texts, at least not in those that have survived. *Arthashastra* as the treatise is perhaps the first comprehensive study of India's neighbourhood policy and strategies for safeguarding frontiers and national security. Kautilya was prime minister to Emperor Chandragupta Maurya and the Arthashastra was meant only for that particular kingdom. He suggested building forts around the empire and establishing a hierarchical military officialdom as well as diplomatic relations with neighbouring states. Kautilya elucidated three important approaches to defend the empire— when you are strong you must lead, when you are weak you must make alliances but if you are neither powerful nor weak you must remain neutral. Similarly, when we come to context of Mauryan king Ashoka, his policy of Dhamma and peace building measures for political expansion remain one of the most significant one. He expanded his empire with Buddhist teachings of peace and these aspects further expanded his territorial empire farthest ever in the Indian history. The lack of a nationalistic spirit kept India divided for a long time and prevented it from becoming one nation. This drawback was exploited and furthered first by the Mughals and then the British. While the Mughals faced challenges from external powers from all the sides of their empire, the British were able to defeat them and other kingdoms of Medieval India, bringing them under a single power. The British then formulated a policy of using neighbouring countries as buffer states to resist the West Asians, Russians and Chinese. Although the British exploited India before granting independence in 1947, they did devise several strategies that reflected in economic, political, and sociocultural life as well as in foreign policy and national security strategies. To rule, the British not only united the scattered, unorganized small and big political units but developed communication and transportation networks as well. The improved connectivity within several states of India, improvised the border navigation and consolidated the way we see Indian subcontinent in the time of independence and partition of India.

## Image-2: India in 1947

### Partition of India and formation of Indian borders



Acknowledgement: This file was derived from: Hyderabad in India (1951). <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=56172721>

### South Asia And India In The Twentieth Century

India's Neighbourhood could be classified as a bunch of versatile countries. "Neighbourhood" whether immediate or extended is a complex term difficult to define. India's neighbourhood consists of seven South Asian countries—**Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, the Maldives, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and Pakistan**—along with **China and Myanmar** with whom it shares borders. Some scholars include **Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and Central Asia** in India's extended neighbourhood due to their histories and strategic relations. India's policy elucidates its close economic, political, and socio-cultural relations as well as threats to national security. From 1947-2000 India experienced mix of conflicting and harmonious relationship with her neighbours. With five major wars 1947, 1962, 1965, 1971, 1999 with Pakistan and China determine that India constantly remains in cross fires and guards from some of its turbulent neighbours to retain its sovereignty. The conflicting border zones and continued nuclear and missile tests with political upheavals, underdeveloped economies, cross border illegal migrations, growing subversive movements (insurgencies, fundamentalism, left wing extremism, terrorism), the trafficking of animals, humans and narcotics,

the proliferation of arms, border disputes, ecological and sociocultural problems as well as the unscientific management of borders in the region have prompted India to reexamine, reinvestigate and rethink its neighbourhood policy. In the image below we can see how the India and its neighbouring territories evolved in historical times when India got independence. The major transition in political map of India occurred when India got independence and two nations were created out of it, which eventually turned into three nations.

### **Check your Progress-1**

**Write a short note on concept of the 'Neighbouring Nations'**

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### **Check your Progress-2**

**Write a short note on India's challenges with its neighbours?**

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### **Check your Progress-3**

**How the British colonial policy decided about nature of India's relations with its neighbours.**

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## Check your Progress-4

**What were the views on neighbouring nations in the ancient India.**

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### **14.3 THE NEIGHBOURING NATIONS: CHINA, PAKISTAN (EAST AND WEST), NEPAL, BHUTAN, CEYLON ‘SRI-LANKA’, BURMA ‘MYANMAR’, MALDIVES, AND AFGHANISTAN**

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In the following section we will discuss about India’s relationships with her neighbouring nations since 1947. As India’s boundaries shifted in post-independent era, it also brought with it, some territorial disputes which created conflicting situations with our immediate border sharing neighbours.

#### **India’s Neighbourhood Policy: 1947 To 1998**

India was liberated from external dominance on 15 August 1947, a critical juncture in Cold War politics, when the whole world was polarized and divided into two military zones led by the United States of America (US) and the Soviet Union respectively, leaders especially Jawaharlal Nehru, independent India’s first prime minister, took the strategic decision of not becoming a part of either group. His vision for India was expounded in his historical parliamentary speeches and included strategic positions, destinies, future plans and important roles to be played in world affairs. As Nehru asserted, “one of the notable consequences of the European domination of Asia has been the isolation of the countries of Asia from one another. Before the British, India always had contact and intercourse with neighbouring countries but for the last two centuries it has been almost completely isolated from the rest of Asia”. The two most important policies and strategies Nehru gave India for defense and prosperity were nonalignment and Panchsheel. At the Asian Conference of 1947 and the Afro-Asian Conference of 1955, Nehru argued for newly independent countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America to keep out of Cold War politics and not permit foreign powers to set up bases on their soil. Although India’s leadership was often questioned, it succeeded in not becoming a part of the Cold War. Nonalignment, however, does not mean maintaining a distance from the big powers or practicing isolation but

rather bargaining for best self-interests without military participation. Further, in 1952 Nehru signed an agreement with China based on India's Vedic tradition and culture. The five principles of Panchsheel are:

**1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty**

**2. Mutual nonaggression**

Since India gained its independence from Great Britain in 1947, it has developed institutions and processes to promote a strong foreign policy. However, core values and ideas from India's history continue to inform India's foreign policy goals. Before 1947, India's foreign policy especially with its neighbouring nations were completely guided by its colonial guidelines of British imperialism. It is important to note that Post independent India has many simultaneous foreign policy goals especially with its neighbouring nations. Among the many facets of neighbouring nations foreign policy with its neighbours is its mission is to be:

1. Recognized as a significant power steering nation in the South Asian politics and its objective is to maintain complete independence from foreign powers.
2. Maintaining peace and border security with its neighbouring nations with mutual economic and cultural collaborations.

As these two neighbouring nations foreign policy goals were formulated in direct response to the aforementioned periods of 1947-2000.

Among these many issues which we will study in following sections one major historical shift was partition of India and creation of our neighbor Pakistan.

**India's Partition and Pakistan as our Neighbour With Creation of New Neighbour Bangladesh**

The two countries in the world which have so much in common as ever could be experienced by any person are India and Pakistan. Yet they have perpetually been in a state of undeclared war with varying degree of intensity. Pakistan's aggression in Kargil (1999) brought the two countries even on the verge of a nuclear confrontation. The legacy of suspicion and mistrust predates the partition of India in 1947. During the freedom struggle the Muslim League, under the leadership of Mohammad Ali Jinnah propounded the two-nation theory, in support of a separate Muslim state. Jinnah insisted that since Hindus and Muslims were two communities, two separate states must be constituted for the two communities. The Indian National Congress (INC)'s long rejection of and reluctant acceptance of partition gave room for suspicion in Pakistan that

India would try to undo the partition and divide Pakistan. Moreover, Pakistan was concerned at the possibility of India's domination in the region and its inability to match India's power all by itself. There are three broad significant issues which decided about Indian and Pakistan's relationship; 1) Creation of Bangladesh from East Pakistan 2) The Kashmir issue and the 3) Four wars fought between two nations because of the bilateral issues which were in 1947, 1965, 1971 and 1999.

### **1) The Kashmir Issue:**

At the time of partition Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) was one of those several princely states, the fate of which was left uncertain in 1947. Pakistan desired that Kashmir with Muslim majority population should join Muslim country, Pakistan. But the popular leader of National Congress opposed Pakistan's ideology. Maharaja Hari Singh did not take a decision until Pakistan sent armed intruders into the Kashmir valley in October 1947. Seeking Indian help to repulse the Pakistani intruders Maharaja signed the 'Instrument of Accession' making Jammu and Kashmir a part of Indian Union. On this occasion, as true democrat, Prime Minister Nehru assured that after Pakistani aggression was cleared, the future status of the state would be decided on the basis of wishes of the people of Kashmir. Since India did not want an open clash with Pakistan, it referred the matter to the United Nations. Indian forces saved Srinagar from the invaders, pushed back the Pakistanis from the Kashmir Valley. But the whole of Kashmir could not be recaptured, as it would have meant direct and difficult war between the two new nations. India sought United Nations help in 1948. A ceasefire came to be implemented on January 1, 1949. It left a large part of Jammu and Kashmir (nearly 2/5 of the State) under Pakistan's possession, which we call Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK).

In 1950s the UN mediators put forward several plans to resolve the dispute, but they failed to bridge the differences between the two countries. The problem of Kashmir was still pending. Plebiscite was to be conducted only after Pakistan withdrew its forces from the occupied territory, as per the UN resolution of 1948, which Pakistan refused to comply. Hence India pleaded that the wishes of the people were ascertained in 1954 in the form the direct election to the Constituent Assembly which satisfied the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India. The mediation came to an end. Pakistan was desperate to capture Kashmir. Thinking that India's army was weak after defeat in the war with China in 1962, Pakistan tried through a war to take Kashmir in 1965. But Indian forces defeated the Pakistani designs. Moreover, Pakistan suffered another humiliation, when its eastern wing, 1000 miles away from West Pakistan successfully waged independence struggle in 1971. India played a

key role in the war to liberate Bangladesh. The birth of Bangladesh proved to be the final burial of two-nation theory on the basis of which Pakistan put a claim to Kashmir. Pakistan was reduced to one-fourth of the size of India. This altered the power equation in South Asia in India's favour.

In order to normalise relations India invited Pakistan for an agreement, the result of which was the Shimla Pact of 1972. This Shimla agreement however bears important significance as the two countries agreed to seek the settlement of all bilateral problems, including Kashmir, mutually without the intervention of any third party. Thus under the Shimla Pact, the Kashmir issue cannot be raised in international or any other forum, although Pakistan has not hesitated to ignore the spirit of the agreement. The agreement also talked about the return of Prisoners of War (POW). Though Pakistan's territory in India's possession was returned, a new cease-fire line (in place of the old cease-fire line of 1948–49) was drawn, which is known as the LoC, Pakistan found ways other than open war to destabilize India by encouraging and assisting terrorism in Punjab, and the State-sponsored militancy in Jammu and Kashmir since the mid-1980s. Pakistan still continues to encourage terrorist and separatist tendencies in Kashmir, operating mainly from terrorist training camps situated in POK. The sanctity of the LoC that came to be agreed upon between India and Pakistan under the Shimla Agreement of 1972, was violated by Pakistan in May 1999 as a part of a big plan. This was done when the Pakistani forces infiltrated into India, after crossing the line of control in Kargil, Drass and Batelik sectors of J & K. Indian army once again gave a befitting defeat in a war that continued for about 60 days. The purpose of Pakistani operation in Kargil was to create a crisis with a threat of nuclear war, which would in turn ensure intervention by the United States in its favour on Kashmir dispute. Neither United States nor China came to Pakistan's help. In fact, Pakistan had a diplomatic and military defeat.

## 2) **The Creation of New Neighbours Bangladesh and Indo-Pak war of 1971:**

India and Pakistan become embroiled in their third conflict as Pakistan descended into a civil war that ended with the creation of Bangladesh, formerly East Pakistan, on December 6th 1971. The Bangladesh Liberation War in 1971 was for independence from Pakistan. India and Pakistan got independence from the British rule in 1947. Pakistan was formed for the Muslims and India had a majority of Hindus. Pakistan had two parts, East and West, which were separated by about 1,000 miles. East Pakistan was mainly the eastern part of the province of Bengal. The capital of Pakistan was

Karachi in West Pakistan and was moved to Islamabad in 1958. However, due to discrimination in economy and ruling powers against them, the East Pakistanis vigorously protested and declared independence on March 26, 1971 under the leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. But during the year prior to that, to suppress the unrest in East Pakistan, the Pakistani government sent troops to East Pakistan and unleashed a massacre. And thus, the war for liberation commenced.

The Reasons for war Both East and West Pakistan remained united because of their religion, Islam. West Pakistan had 97% Muslims and East Pakistanis had 85% Muslims. However, there were several significant reasons that caused the East Pakistani people to fight for their independence. West Pakistan had four provinces: Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan, and the North-West Frontier. The fifth province was East Pakistan. Having control over the provinces, the West used up more resources than the East. Between 1948 and 1960, East Pakistan made 70% of all of Pakistan's exports, while it only received 25% of imported money. In 1948, East Pakistan had 11 fabric mills while the West had nine. In 1971, the number of fabric mills in the West grew to 150 while the number in the East went down to 26. About 2.6 billion dollars of resources were also shifted over time from East Pakistan to West Pakistan. Although East Pakistan had the largest population among all the provinces, it had much less political power than West Pakistan. This eventually made the people of East Pakistan rebel. Sheik Mujibur Rahman, the leader of the Awami League in East Pakistan, explicitly demanded more economic and political powers. The struggle finally culminated into the war of independence. There was also the language issue that kept East Pakistan and West Pakistan in an uneasy status. In 1948, Mohammad Ali Jinnah stated in Dhaka that Urdu was the official language for Pakistan. There was a big argument about this because only the Muhajir in the West and the Biharis in the East spoke Urdu. Most of the West Pakistanis spoke Punjabi and Sindhi, while East Pakistanis spoke Bangla. East Pakistan therefore disagreed; seven students were killed in a fierce protest on February 21, 1952. This day has been remembered since then and is observed each year to emphasize the importance of the Bengali language. February 21st is now recognized as the International Mother Language Day by the United Nations. A devastating cyclone hit East Pakistan in 1970. It was called the Bhola Cyclone. It killed about 500,000 people and made many more homeless. It brought great shock and deep depression among the East Pakistani people. The government did not provide enough relief to alleviate the extremely miserable conditions wrought by the cyclone. This caused enormous misery in East Pakistan.

The War the Awami League, led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, won a landslide victory in the national elections in 1971 and demanded autonomy for East Pakistan. The party won a 160 seats and a majority in the national assembly. This victory also gave it the right to form a government, but Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party refused to let the Sheikh become the Prime Minister of Pakistan. This initiated the war. The Sheikh gave a speech on March 7, 1971 when he urged the people to turn all their homes into a fort of fight. He demanded transfer of power to the elected representative before the assembly meeting on March 25. Tikka Khan, a West Pakistani general, flew to Dhaka to become the Governor of East Bengal. But, the East Pakistani judges denied him entry. Thereafter, on the night of March 25, the Pakistani army tried to violently crush the Bengali's opposition. Residence halls of the Dhaka University were viciously attacked. On March 26, the Pakistani forces arrested Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. On the same day, he signed an official declaration for the independence of Bangladesh. M. A. Hannan, an Awami league leader, is said to have been the first person to read and announce the Declaration of Independence over the radio. Political events approached a climax.

The war between the Pakistan Army and the Bengali freedom fighters, the Mukti Bahini, began. The head of the Mukti Bahini was General Muhammad Osmani. The Mukti Bahini were trained like guerillas. India gave shelter to the refugees and trained the Mukti Bahini. India also helped with ammunition and its own soldiers. They attacked the Pakistani army. During the training period of the Mukti Bahini, the Pakistani Army encouraged Razakars, the Bengalis who did not want Bangladesh to become an independent country, to suppress the rebellion. The Pakistani Army faced problems as the monsoon came. This helped Mukti Bahini because they could counter the moves of the Pakistanis. India assumed an active role. Indira Gandhi ordered air and ground attacks. India, having superior equipment and forces, mounted a three-pronged movement on Dhaka from the Indian province West Bengal, Assam, and Tripura. The Indian soldiers, Air Force, and Navy defeated the Pakistani army, while the Bangladeshi Navy helped India. On the ground, three groups of Mukti Bahini and Indian forces fought the Pakistanis. The Pakistanis tried to fight back, but failed to resist them.

On December 16th, 1971, Dhaka fell to the Mukti Bahini, the elite forces of the Mukti Bahini and the Indian army. An "Instrument of Surrender" was signed by the defeated Pakistani General Niazi and by the Indian commander General Aurora at 16:31 Indian Standard Time. This is how Bangladesh became liberated and independent. December 16th is recognized as the Victory Day in Bangladesh,

while March 26 is recognized as the Independence Day. With sovereignty, Bangladesh is progressing in all aspects

### 3) **The Kargil War of 1999 and Nuclear threat:**

Since the 1998 nuclear tests, India and Pakistan have been through a war and a major military crisis, both prominently featuring nuclear threats, making clear that the nuclearization of India and Pakistan has not made conventional war obsolete. Both states have pushed forward with establishing the institutions, doctrines and delivery systems required to deploy their nuclear arsenals.

Emboldened by the tests, in 1999 Pakistan's army and political leaders sent Islamist militants and troops across the Line of Control near the town of Kargil in Indian-held Kashmir. After two months of bitter fighting, and intervention by the USA, the troops were withdrawn. Pakistani leaders believe that, while they failed to fulfil their anticipated military or political objectives in the Kargil war, Pakistan's nuclear weapons prevented India from launching a massive military attack across either the Line of Control in Kashmir or the long international border.

For Indian leaders, Pakistan is clearly seen to have lost the Kargil war, especially politically. Nonetheless, the war inspired a search for ways to wage limited war against Pakistan that would not lead to the eventual use of nuclear weapons. At the same time, the Indian military has been conducting training exercises with scenarios involving the use of nuclear weapons.

The December 2001 militant attack on the Indian Parliament triggered a major crisis that stopped short of war, including a tense stand-off for several months involving over half a million troops. Indian politicians, media commentators and military personnel called for India to follow the USA's lead in unilaterally bombing Afghanistan without a UN Security Council resolution and attack facilities in the part of Kashmir held by Pakistan.

Since India did not actually conduct any military attacks, Pakistan claimed this as further evidence of its nuclear deterrent at work. For Indian leaders, Pakistani President Musharraf's promise in January 2002 to rein in the Islamic militant organizations that fight in Kashmir is seen as proof that India's 'coercive diplomacy' worked. Indian leaders also emphasize that the military crisis forced the international community to recognize Pakistan's support for terrorism.

The fact that the lessons taken from the Kargil war and the 2002 crisis by leaders in the two countries have been so very different has

important implications for the future of South Asia. The USA may be a possible source of instability in a future crisis. Indian leaders may believe that the USA would intervene to prevent Pakistan's use of nuclear weapons.

India and Pakistan have been taking steps towards gradually making their nuclear arsenals operational. In 2003 India set up a Nuclear Command Authority to manage a proposed nuclear triad. An official nuclear doctrine emphasizes the retaliatory capability of its nuclear weapons. It has also claimed the right to nuclear retaliation if India is attacked using chemical and biological weapons. Following the other nuclear weapon states, semi-official documents have suggested that India should develop: (a) sufficient, survivable, and operationally prepared nuclear forces; (b) a robust command and control system; (c) effective intelligence and early-warning capabilities; (d) planning and training for nuclear operations; and (e) the will to employ nuclear weapons.

Pakistan set up a National Command Authority in February 2000. Statements by officials and retired officials suggest that Pakistan would try to match India in posture and that it would use its nuclear weapons if: (a) India attacks Pakistan and takes a large part of its territory; (b) India destroys a large part of Pakistan's armed forces; (c) India imposes an economic blockade on Pakistan; or (d) India creates political destabilization or large-scale internal subversion in Pakistan.

Currently, neither country is believed to keep its nuclear weapons mounted on missiles and ready for launch. However, recurring crises and the growing familiarity of the military in both countries with nuclear weapons is likely to generate pressures for deployment of nuclear weapons with a launch-on-warning posture—with the attendant grave risk of accidental nuclear war.

Public opinion in the region is in flux. Hindu nationalist groups in India and Islamic fundamentalist groups in Pakistan have repeatedly called for the use of nuclear weapons. An active peace movement has emerged in both India and Pakistan, with national coalitions of civil society groups working for nuclear disarmament and peace.

## **INDIA AND CHINA AS NEIGHBOURS**

India and China are the two great giants of Asia. Besides being the most populous countries, they are also two of the most ancient civilisations of the world. Historically, several historians have successfully traced the cultural linkages dating back to 2nd century BC. As a result of the communist revolution in 1949, China became the People's Republic of China (PRC), under the leadership of Mao Tse Tung. Nehru regarded

India as China's rival for the leadership of the non-white people of the world. India, on the other hand, tried India and the World its best to come close to China. It was the first non-communist country to recognise communist China in 1949. India fully supported China's claim for membership in the United Nations. It also acknowledged China's claim over Formosa (Taiwan). It refused to be a party to peace treaty with Japan without China. In the Korean crisis too, India refused to brand China as aggressor when China intervened on behalf of North Korea. In fact, India supported China even though the Western bloc especially USA was displeased with it. Nehru's China policy received the first jolt in 1950, when China occupied Tibet in 1950.

It is important to remember in this context that India had long term interests in Tibet because it was a buffer lying between India and China. India even enjoyed certain special privileges in Tibet. Therefore direct Chinese control over Tibet was likely to endanger these, and India's security. India's suggestions for a peaceful settlement of the Tibet problem were treated as interference by the communist regime. Gradually the Tibetans grew restless under China's yoke and rose in revolt in 1959. China ruthlessly suppressed the movement and declared Tibet as an integral part of China. The head of Tibet, Dalai Lama took shelter in India while Tibet lost whatever autonomy it still enjoyed. The granting of political shelter to Dalai Lama by India added to China's distrust. China appreciated India's neutral and mediatory role in easing the Korean problem (1950- 53). Thus, began a period of friendship between the two countries, with the signing of the Sino-Indian Treaty of friendship in 1954. This treaty put a seal of approval upon Chinese suzerainty over Tibet. The Preamble of the treaty embodies the famous 'Panchsheel Principles' about which you have studied (lesson number 26). This agreement initiated a period of relaxed relationship, marked by the slogan of Hindi Chini Bhai Bhai. It is interesting to note that at the Bandung Conference (1955), Nehru actively brought China into the hold of the Afro-Asian solidarity.

#### 1) **Boundary dispute between India and China:**

The 1950s were marked by the boundary dispute between India and China, the flash point of which unfortunately caused a war between the two countries in 1962. China first started to claim large parts of Indian territory in Northeast Frontier Agency (NEFA, now Arunachal Pradesh) and Ladakh by publishing maps in which these were shown as included in China. China continued extending its borders and also constructed a 110-mile-long road across Aksai China area (Ladakh) of India in 1956-57. In 1959, China put claim to some 50, appa sq. miles of Indian territory and also denied the validity of McMahon Line. **McMahon Line** is the boundary line between India and China, east of Bhutan. It was determined in 1914 at a Conference of representatives of British India, Tibet, and China.

The Secretary of State for India (in British Cabinet) Arthur Henry McMahon represented British India in the Conference. By 1959, Tibet had been fully integrated into China; it was in a strong position at the India-China border with Chinese troops posted all along. While the two countries were in dispute over the McMahon line issue, China launched a massive attack on India in October 1962, in the NEFA as well as the Ladakh sector. After overrunning large areas of Indian territory, China announced a unilateral ceasefire after occupying huge territory of India 200 sq. miles in the Northeastern sector and 15,000 sq. miles in Ladakh.

## 2) **Normalizing Indo-Chinese relations-1962-2000:**

Although the two countries resumed diplomatic relations in 1976 by exchanging ambassadors. The efforts of normalisation of Sino-Indian relations received a boost when the then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi paid a successful five day visit to China in 1988. The two countries pledged to settle the border dispute through dialogue. Several high level visits followed including visit by Ex-Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee in 2003. The two countries agreed to keep the border dispute apart, and develop friendly relations in other fields. Until the border dispute is resolved, both countries agreed to maintain peace and tranquility on the Line of Actual Control (LAC). One could see a clear shift in the Chinese attitude towards India. The fact that erstwhile USSR had mended fences with China, there were no more apprehensions from the South. Moreover, China's post-1979 economic transformation demanded big markets for its massive production under economic liberalisation. President Jiang Zemin's visit to India in 1996 witnessed a major consolidation of this progress. This was first ever visit of China's head of State to India. China's withdrawal of support to Naga and Mizo rebels; meaningful silence on the status of Sikkim (China considered Sikkim's status as that of an independent state) and a neutral stand on Kashmir issue could be seen as positive shift in Chinese attitude towards India.

Nevertheless, there was suddenly a brief setback in the mutual ties of the two after the nuclear explosions by India during 1998. These were followed by sharp Chinese reaction and its leading role in getting the resolutions condemning the tests in UN and similar fora, passed. These tests by India were seen as neutralising Chinese prominence in the region. But the Chinese posture of neutrality during the Indo-Pak military showdown in Kashmir, Kargil sector in 1999 exhibited China's inclination to toe a softer and friendly line with India. In fact, Chinese refusal to interfere in the conflict forced Pakistan for cessation of hostilities with India. However, Ex-Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee's 2003 visit to China is a renewed

effort in the promotion of close and cordial ties between the two neighbours. The border agreement has recognised the Nathula Pass in Sikkim as a border pass, implying that China no more considers Sikkim as an independent state. Another positive breakthrough was the Joint Declaration that underlined the need to explore a framework of a boundary settlement at political level of bilateral relations. This is an acknowledgement that the key issue in resolving the dispute is political. This is seen as Beijing's readiness to give up its policy of delaying dialogue. India's National Security Advisor and Chinese Vice Minister have been appointed for holding the tasks. The developments at the diplomatic and political levels have been supplemented by fresh initiatives at the economic level to strengthen bilateral relations. The border trade between India and China has crossed \$ 10 billion quickly

## INDIA AND SRILANKA

Sri Lanka, earlier known as Ceylon (until 1972), is a small island country situated in the Indian Ocean to the south of India. Its total area is 25,332 sq. miles. Of all countries, it has geographical proximity to India. Only 18 miles wide shallow water in the Palk Straits separates Jaffna in northern Sri Lanka from the Southernmost tip of the Indian state of Tamil Nadu. Its geostrategic location in the Indian Ocean (at the Centre of commercial and strategic sea and air routes) and its closeness to US naval base in Diego Garcia indicates its importance far beyond its size, population and resources. The history of cultural relations between India and Sri Lanka dates back to the ancient times. Out of the total population of Sri Lanka, about 64 percent believe in Buddhism and about 15 percent believe in Hinduism. Sri Lanka became a British colony in early 19th century. It was granted independence on February 4, 1948. India-Sri Lanka relations have generally been cordial, though there have been occasions of tense relations due to the ethnic conflict between Tamils and the Sinhalese. Despite ethnic problems, India has never sought to impose its will on Sri Lanka and has always based its foreign policy towards this southern neighbor on mutual understanding and friendship. An important area of common interest between the two neighbours is the foreign policy of non-alignment. Sri Lanka has generally stood neutral in Sino-Indian disputes. In fact, it made efforts to mediate between India and China after the war of 1962. Sri Lanka also showed understanding when India become nuclear. Recently in 2005, India extended valuable help to Sri Lanka after Tsunami devastated the coastal areas of that country.

- 1) **The Srilankan Tamils:** Jaffna province of Sri Lanka has large concentration of Tamil population. The problem became serious when Tamilians began demanding a national homeland or "Eelam" in northern Sri Lanka. It is important to understand that there are essentially two categories of Tamilians in Sri Lanka: The Ceylon

Tamils whose forefathers had migrated to Sri Lanka centuries ago. They are estimated to be one million. The second category is of Indian Tamils whose forefathers were taken by the Britishers as plantation workers in the 19th century. They are another one million, many of them without citizenship. The problem of their status dominated early India-Sri Lanka relations. The conflict with Ceylon Tamils came later. The Sinhalese fear Tamil domination, which is the principal reason behind the ethnic conflict. The difference between the two communities was exploited by British rulers in order to check the growing Sinhalese nationalism. The Tamils were allowed to enter the administration structure and thus gradually took control of the trade and profession. Scarce economic resources and opportunities plus the majority pressure from its own people forced the Government of Sri Lanka to pass series of steps to reducing the importance of A territorial dispute arose between India and Sri Lanka over the ownership of one mile India and the World long and only 300 yard wide small island known as Kacchativu, in 1968. In 1974 under the agreement signed between the two countries, India accepted Sri Lankan ownership of the island. Tamils- Indian and the Ceylonese. The representation of Tamilians in public service in 1948 was 30 percent, but by 1975 it had fallen to mere 5 percent. The Sinhalese were encouraged to settle down in Tamil dominated areas in large numbers. The citizenship law of 1948 and 1949 had deprived about 10 lakh Indian Tamils of political rights. The Tamil youth who had lost faith in non-violence organised themselves into Liberation Tigers. The aim of these 'Tigers' is a sovereign Tamil State of Eelam. The issue of Tamilians, and the policy pursued by government cast a dark shadow on Indo-Sri Lanka relations. India from time to time complained against the discriminatory policy of the Ceylon government. The agreement of 1964 sought to solve the problem of stateless persons (Indian Tamils) in Sri Lanka. About 3 lakhs of these people were to be granted Sri Lankan citizenship and about 5 lakh 25 thousand persons were to be given citizenship of India. These people were given 15 years time to shift to India in instalments. Later in 1974, the fate of the rest 1 lakh 50 thousand stateless persons was decided. It was agreed between the two countries that half of them were to be given citizenship of Sri Lanka and rest would become Indian nationals. Thus, the issue of stateless persons was sorted out peacefully between the two countries.

- 2) **Tamil Separatism:** The ethnic problem between Tamils and Sinhalese had a long history. It assumed serious proportions in 1983. As the gulf between the communities developed, militancy, separatist organisations became active. Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) demanded separate homeland for Tamils in 1988 – Tamil Eelam. A reign of terror was unleashed against the agitating

Tamils in 1983. During 1983 – 86, about 2 lakh Tamils were rendered homeless. The worst racial riots in the history of the country made thousands of Tamils refugees in India. India offered to help resolve the crisis but it was interpreted as “Indian intervention in Sri Lanka” on behalf of the Tamils. When the situation became grim, India and Sri Lanka signed an agreement in 1987. India offered military assistance under the Accord. Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) was sent to Sri Lanka to help restore normalcy in the country. The deployment of IPKF was also an extension of India’s policy of reminding Sri Lanka and outside powers that if their involvement inside the region were to have an anti-Indian orientation, New Delhi would not remain a mute spectator. Though the accord of 1987 was a triumph of Indian diplomacy, it proved to be costly for India. India lost about 1200 soldiers and it costed Rs. 2 crore a day on IPKF in the height of its involvement. The worst part was that the Tamils turned against IPKF and a fighting broke out between the two. Rajiv Gandhi, the architect of India-Sri Lanka Accord of 1987 was assassinated in 1991 at the behest of LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam) leader, Velupillai Prabhakaran.

- 3) **Areas of Mutual Cooperation:** Systematic efforts at strengthening economic ties have been taken by India and Sri Lanka since the 1990s, especially after the withdrawal of Indian troops. In 1998, the two countries set up an Indo Sri Lankan Foundation for increasing bilateral exchanges in various fields. They have agreed on a free trade area to facilitate trade, which has gone up greatly. India encouraged Sri Lanka to invite the peace process between the Tamils and the Sinhalese. In 1998 Sri Lanka invited Norway to work out a peaceful solution to the ethnic problem. India stands for unity of Sri Lanka. The greatest milestone of this process was the cease-fire agreement of 2002 between LTTE and Sri Lanka and the revival of the dialogue between the two. From India’s long term point of view, Norway recognized India’s legitimate interests in Sri Lanka and stated that it has no desire to come in the way of any Indian initiative to end the conflict in the region.

## INDIA AND AFGHANISTAN

### Check your Progress-1

**Who were the leading philosophers of Non-Aligned philosophy?**

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**Check your Progress-2:****How the concept of 'Non-Aligned' defines neutrality in Cold War?**

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**14.4 INDIA AND CHINA POLICY WITH TIBET**

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The Non-Aligned Movement was formed during the Cold War, largely on the initiative of then-Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito, as an organization of States that did not seek to formally align themselves with either the United States or the Soviet Union, but sought to remain independent or neutral. The basic concept for the group originated in 1955 during discussions that took place at the Asia-Africa Bandung Conference held in Indonesia. The Non-Aligned Movement was formed as an organization of States that did not seek to formally align themselves with either the United States or the Soviet Union, but sought to remain independent or neutral. The basic concept for the group originated in 1955 during discussions that took place at the Asia-Africa Bandung Conference held in Indonesia. The first NAM Summit Conference took place in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, in September 1961. Currently the NAM has 120 members. There are also 17 countries and 10 international organizations that are Observers at NAM. The Non-Aligned Movement was founded and held its first conference (the Belgrade Conference) in 1961 under the leadership of Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, and Sukarno of Indonesia. The purpose of the organization was enumerated in Havana Declaration of 1979 to ensure "the national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of non-aligned countries" in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, and all forms of foreign subjugation. During the cold war era the NAM played a vital role in stabilizing the world order and preserving peace and security. Subsequently, a preparatory meeting for the First NAM Summit Conference was held in Cairo, Egypt from 5-12 June 1961.

At this meeting, participants discussed the goals of a policy of nonalignment, which were adopted as criteria for membership. These were as follows:

- The country should have adopted an independent policy based on the coexistence of States with different political and social systems

and on non-alignment or should be showing a trend in favor of such a policy;

- The country concerned should be consistently supporting the Movements for national independence;
  - The country should not be a member of a multilateral military alliance concluded in the context of Great Power conflicts;
  - If a country has a bilateral military agreement with a Great Power, or is a member of a regional defense pact, the agreement or pact should not be one deliberately concluded in the context of Great Power conflicts;
  - If it has conceded military bases to a Foreign Power the concession should not have been made in the context of Great Power conflicts.

The First NAM Summit Conference took place in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, in September 1961.

### **Objectives of NAM**

NAM has sought to "create an independent path in world politics that would not result in member States becoming pawns in the struggles between the major powers." It identifies the right of independent judgment, the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism, and the use of moderation in relations with all big powers as the three basic elements that have influenced its approach. At present, an additional goal is facilitating a restructuring of the international economic order.

### **Principal Organs of NAM**

NAM does not have a formal constitution or permanent secretariat, and its administration is non-hierarchical and rotational. Decisions are made by consensus, which requires substantial agreement, but not unanimity.

### **Chair**

At each Summit, a new Head of State formally becomes the chair, and assumes that position until the next Summit. The chair is responsible for promoting the principles and activities of NAM, and the Foreign Ministry and Permanent Mission in New York of the Chair's State assumes administrative responsibility.

Working groups, contact groups, task forces, and committees: These groups meet as often as is necessary. At present, they include: NAM High-Level Working Group for the Restructuring of the United Nations; NAM Working Group on Human Rights; NAM Working Group on Peace-Keeping Operations; Ministerial Committee on Methodology; NAM

Working Group of the Coordinating Bureau on Methodology; NAM Working Group on Disarmament; Committee of Palestine; Contact Group on Cyprus; Task Force on Somalia; Task Force on Bosnia and Herzegovina; Non-Aligned Security Council Caucus; Coordinator Countries of the Action Program for Economic Cooperation; and the Standing Ministerial Committee for Economic Cooperation.

### **Coordinating Bureau**

This ambassadorial-level body, based at the United Nations in New York, reviews and facilitates activities between the working groups, contact groups, task forces, and committees. It is also charged with strengthening coordination and cooperation among NAM States. The Chair's Permanent Representative to the UN in New York functions as the CoB chair.

### **Troika**

Created in 1997, this body consists of past, serving and future Chairs, and operates at the discretion of the incumbent chair.

### **Non-Aligned Security Council Caucus**

The Caucus consists of NAM countries who are elected to the UN Security Council as rotating members. These States seek to adopt unified positions and to reflect the decisions and positions adopted at NAM Summits and Ministerial Conferences.

### **Joint Coordinating Committee**

This committee of NAM and the Group of 77 members meets regularly in New York to coordinate and promote the interests of developing countries in the international community. It was established in 1994.

Meetings convened regularly by various NAM bodies include: Summit Conferences; Ministerial Conferences; Ministerial Meetings held in New York during the regular session of the UN General Assembly; Extraordinary Ministerial Meetings, Ministerial Meetings of the Coordinating Bureau, meetings of the Ministerial Committee on Methodology, meetings of the Standing Ministerial Committee on Economic Cooperation; and Ministerial Meetings in various fields of International Cooperation. The Summit Conference of Heads of States or Government, which is composed of a political issues committee and an economic and social issues committee, is the highest decision-making body of NAM, and generally convenes every third years. The Summit is preceded by senior official and ministerial meetings, which serve preparatory functions.

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## 14.5 FORMATION OF SAARC AND DYNAMICS WITH NEIGHBOURING NATIONS

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India's non-alignment as an instrument of foreign policy evolved through continuous interaction with domestic circumstances and the external environment. This evolution was marked by staying power, a capacity to encounter volatile configurations of power and flexibility to incorporate changes demanded by circumstances. A combination of circumstances such as the urge to follow an independent foreign policy, the pragmatic choice \*of befriending a powerful socialist state like the USSR and commitment to promote peace shaped the concept as well as the praxis of non-alignment. In the process of its evolution, non-alignment inspired smaller Afro-Asian states striving to carve out their identities in a world torn between stereotype social systems. The eventual merger of these states within the mainstream of the non-aligned movement transformed the movement's principal concerns from east-west tensions to north-south issues and the new international economic order. India being a founder and largest member in NAM was an active participant in NAM meetings till 1970s but India's inclination towards erstwhile USSR created confusions in smaller members. It led to the weakening of NAM and small nations drifted towards either US or USSR.

Non-alignment, for India, was a policy and a strategy to survive and negotiate with a world that was getting dragged into the politics of cold war.' To a considerable extent, non-alignment represented an unconventional approach to power politics. After assessing the then dominant forces and especially the trend towards a division of the world into two mutually hostile camps led by the superpowers, India was gradually carving out space for an uncommitted world. India's urge to steer clear of power politics stemmed from a combination of factors.

**Firstly**, after freeing itself from British imperialism, India, like a typical newly liberated state, wanted to protect its hard-won freedom and sovereignty. It was also determined to rally round all anti-imperialist and anti-racist crusades against western domination. India's support to freedom struggles in Afro-Asia and staunch opposition to racism and apartheid practiced in South Africa can be understood in this light. By championing the right of self-determination of the colonies and dependencies, India's non-alignment chose to unleash the process of eastern westphalia.<sup>2</sup> This process led towards the birth of sovereign independent states which could actively participate in shaping the world order.

**Secondly**, geographic proximity with two socialist states, the Soviet-Union and China, deterred India from joining the US-led ^amp. Moreover,

Nehru was an ardent admirer of the process of socialist reconstruction in Soviet Russia. The very fact that a backward, pre-industrial and huge Euro-Asian state like Soviet Russia could achieve spectacular successes in development objectives attracted Nehru's attention. Furthermore, India was the second Asian country to offer de jure recognition to the Peoples Republic of China. Such a recognition symbolized an acceptance of the legitimacy of revolutionary movement under Mao Zedong. The growth of Indo-Soviet friendship during the past few decades and India's urge to normalize relations with China have highlighted India's disposition towards its socialist neighbours.

**Third**, political and socio-economic structures in India have represented a curious melange. Seemingly contradictory organisational structures like a parliamentary democracy, a partially planned economy and co-existence between the ever-expanding public sector and private sector had cumulatively set in motion the process of development in India. After probing these structures, one is struck by the untypical nature of India's state and the process of development. Characterizing the nature of the post-colonial state in India has posed persistent problems to Marxist and non-Marxist scholars. It is not our intention to go into the controversies that have stimulated theoretical debates on the nature of Indian state. But it might be essential to spell out some significantly odd features of the Indian state as well as its development process. The development process in India has witnessed the rise of large private monopoly houses and the growth of national bourgeoisie as a class increasingly staking its claims towards greater control of state apparatus. The landowning classes have, at varying levels, struck an alliance with the bourgeoisie.

In addition, the so-called intelligentsia-intellectuals, managers, military officials, bureaucrats and other professionals have also constituted a significant component in the developmental process. Very few third world countries can boast of a substantially well-developed middle class that bloomed under the auspices of state as in India. However, it might be facile to attribute the control of the Indian state entirely to these dominant classes. For 'state' has not merely enjoyed a measure of autonomy but has stepped out to perform welfare functions to incorporate the hitherto downtrodden sections in the process of development. Persistent efforts by the state to accommodate the interests of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes is a case in point. Political democracy in India has functioned with a measure of consensus although such consensus has largely operated in favour of the dominant classes. The above-mentioned pattern of domestic development in India has shaped its foreign policy. India's non-alignment mirrored this process of development. Considering its domestic set up, India could not have categorically rejected or accepted either of the stereotypes represented by the two super-powers. The superpowers in turn could not categorically accept India's development pattern. While India

appealed to the US attacked largest democracy, the Soviets were attracted to India's partially planned economy and emphasis on the development of state sector. Finally, promoting peace has been central to India's foreign policy stance, considering peace as a pre-requisite for economic development. India's concept of peace broadly had three dimensions. In the Indian sub-continent India's immediate concern has been Pakistan. By promoting the 'status quo' in Kashmir, India aspired to live in peace with Pakistan. Within the wider sphere of Asia, India has' always shown awareness of the potential power of revolutionary China.

The key aspects of India's role in Non-Alignment movement were guided by the concept of PANCHSHEEL. Panchsheel was born in 1950's in response to a world asking for a new set of principles for the conduct of international relations that would reflect the aspirations of all nations to co-exist and prosper together in peace and harmony. Fifty years later, on the golden anniversary of Panchsheel, the chord that was struck in 1954 still rings pure and true in a world yet seeking the lodestar that will guide it into the harbour of peaceful co-existence. Panchsheel, or the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, were first formally enunciated in the Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between the Tibet region of China and India signed on April 29, 1954, which stated, in its preamble, that the two Governments "have resolved to enter into the present Agreement based on the following principles: -

- i. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty,
- ii. Mutual non-aggression,
- iii. Mutual non-interference,
- iv. Equality and mutual benefit, and v. Peaceful co-existence."

This vision caught the imagination of the peoples of Asia and the world. Panchsheel was incorporated into the Ten Principles of International Peace and Cooperation enunciated in the Declaration issued by the April 1955 Bandung Conference of 29 Afro-Asian countries. The universal relevance of Panchsheel was emphasised when its tenets were incorporated in a resolution on peaceful co-existence presented by India, Yugoslavia and Sweden, and unanimously adopted on December 11, 1957, by the United Nations General Assembly. In 1961, the Conference of Non-Aligned Nations in Belgrade accepted Panchsheel as the principled core of the Non-Aligned Movement. Down the years, the ethos of Panchsheel continued to be reflected in world events even if there was no conscious attribution, finding expression in the position of the developing countries in the North-South dialogue, and in other groupings. The timeless relevance of Panchsheel is based on its firm roots in the cultural traditions of its originators, two of the world's most ancient civilisations. The linkage that was established by the spread of Buddhism in China laid the

historical basis for the formulation of the principles of Panchsheel by India and China.

- Further disintegration of USSR led the unipolar world order dominated by US. India's New Economic Policy and inclination towards US raised questions over India's seriousness over non-alignment.
- Prime Minister of India skipped the 17th Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) summit held in Venezuela in 2016, it was only second such instance when Head of a state didn't participate in NAM conference.
- Moreover, NAM continued losing relevance for India in a unipolar world, especially after the founding members failed to support India during crisis. For instance, during 1962 War with China, Ghana and Indonesia, adopted explicitly pro-China positions. During 1965 and 1971 wars, Indonesia and Egypt took an anti-India stance and supported Pakistan. 8 Challenges for NAM
- World has again moved towards bipolarity, one led by US and other by China Russia. The war-torn Syria is prime example of this, where both US and Russia is asserting power.
- The escalating tension in Indo-pacific region due to China's assertion and US acting as a counterweight to check the Chinese expansionist policy.
- The large-scale migration in Europe and Asia due to the unstable regimes and ethnic conflict in different parts of world.
- Issue of global climate change, changing US policies, protectionism, prevalent terrorism and nuclearization of Middle East.

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## 14.6 ASSESSING INDIA'S ROLE IN 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY WITH ITS NEIGHBOURS

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NAM as a concept can never be irrelevant; principally it provides a strong base to foreign policy of its members. It should be used as a platform to raise global issues like terrorism, climate change and trade protectionism and others. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries could not spare itself difficulties to act effectively in an adverse international political situation marked by hegemonic positions and unipolarity as well as by internal difficulties and conflicts given the heterogeneity of its membership and, thus, its diverse interests. Nevertheless, and in spite of such setbacks, the principles and objectives of nonalignment retain their full validity and force at the present international juncture. The primary condition that led to the emergence of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, that is, non-alignment from antagonistic blocks, has not lost its validity with the end of the Cold War. The demise of one of the blocks has not done away with the pressing problems of the world. On the contrary,

renewed strategic interests bent on domination grow stronger and, even; acquire new and more dangerous dimensions for underdeveloped countries. The movement has succeeded to create a strong front on the International level, representing countries of the third world in the International organizations on top of which the United Nations. Current challenges facing the NAM also include the necessity of protecting the principles of International law, eliminating weapons of mass destruction, combating terrorism, defending human rights, working toward making the United Nations more effective in meeting the needs of all its member states in order to preserve International Peace, Security and Stability, as well as realizing justice in the international economic system. Though the long-standing goals of the Movement remain to be realized. Peace, development, economic cooperation and the democratization of international relations, to mention just a few, are old goals of the non-aligned countries. In conclusion, the Non-Aligned Movement, faced with the goals yet to be reached and the many new challenges that are arising, still the Movement played an important role in the support of nations which were struggling then for their independence in the Third World and showed great solidarity with the most just aspirations of humanity. It contributed indisputably to the triumph in the struggle for national independence and decolonization, thus gaining considerable diplomatic prestige.

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## 14.7 SUMMARY

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It is a widely held belief that the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was highly relevant for India and its foreign policy interests during the bipolar era of the Cold War and that it has, since the 1990s, lost this relevance in a unipolar international order.

It is true that NAM played an important role during the Cold War years in furthering many of the causes that India advocated: decolonisation, end to apartheid, global nuclear disarmament, ushering in of new international economic and information orders, etc. But what is generally ignored is the fact that NAM was more or less irrelevant for India in terms of helping to protect and promote its security and interests – the principal criterion by which the utility of a multilateral group should be measured.

NAM's lack of utility for protecting and promoting India's security and interests is clearly demonstrated by the diplomatic positions adopted by member countries during the various wars in which India has been involved. On each of these occasions, NAM members invariably adopted diplomatic positions that were not favourable towards or supportive of India.

To begin with, during the 1962 War with China, Ghana and Indonesia – two of the co-founders of NAM, along with India – adopted explicitly pro-

China positions. Ghana, which had developed close economic ties with China, even cautioned the United Kingdom against giving military aid to India since it might “aggravate the unfortunate situation”.

In general, most countries of NAM adopted even-handed positions and refused to unequivocally condemn China’s aggression. Astonishing as it may sound for realist ears, Indian leaders and officials were simply dismayed at the behaviour of their nonaligned partners. That dismay also extended to the so-called Colombo states which had put forward the Colombo Proposals. In the light of this experience, the official history of the 1962 War wryly noted the serious limitations of Afro-Asian solidarity, a statement that, by extension, also reflects on the Non-Aligned Movement.

Three years later came the 1965 War with Pakistan. Again, Indonesia not only adopted an anti-India position but also supplied some arms to Pakistan. NAM members from West Asia, including Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Kuwait, adopted pro-Pakistan positions. Overall, India had no active supporters and few sympathisers in the world at large. As *The Indian Express* noted in an editorial at that time, “we do not seem to have many friends abroad”.

The worst, of course, came during the 1971 War. Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Libya, Kuwait and other Arab states were all fiercely pro-Pakistan. Egypt’s position was particularly dismaying to India, given that it was even unsympathetic to the massive refugee problem that India confronted. If India was disappointed about the diplomatic positions adopted by NAM members from West Asia, the situation was only slightly better in South East Asia. Indonesia once again stood against India and it even compelled a more sympathetic Malaysia into backing Pakistan.

Overall, most NAM countries adopted anti-India diplomatic positions. This was starkly evident during the vote on the UN General Assembly Resolution of 7 December 1971 calling for a ceasefire and withdrawal of forces. Of the total of 129 members of the UN at that time, 104 countries voted for the resolution, which was unfavourable for India and its position that only the establishment of an independent Bangladesh would put a stop to the brutal repression unleashed by the Pakistan military in East Pakistan and create the necessary condition for the return of the 10 million refugees from Indian territory. Only 11 votes were cast against the resolution, with almost all of these coming from the Soviet Union and its satellites. The brutal fact is that most NAM members stood completely opposed to India during the 1971 War.

The one exception to this rule was the diplomatic positions adopted by several NAM members during the Kargil conflict. Indonesia, Iran, Saudi Arabia and South Africa highlighted the importance of peaceful dialogue

under the Simla Agreement as well as maintaining the Line of Control inviolate. However, the decisions of these countries did not flow from NAM solidarity. Instead, their decisions were a function of the new international diplomatic outreach that India had initiated in the early 1990s as well as in the wake of the 1998 nuclear tests.

In the light of such lack of support from NAM members for India at critical moments in its history, it is astonishing that the dominant view so far has been that NAM was deeply relevant for India during the Cold War years. In reality, the only use NAM had for India was during the 1970s and 1980s. During this period, NAM served as a forum to channel India's deep dissatisfaction with the international order, characterised as it was by economic, political, and nuclear hierarchies. It was through NAM that India articulated the call for a new international economic order that would cater for the special needs of the developing countries. Similarly, it was through NAM that India articulated the call for a new world information and communication order to provide a greater voice for developing countries in global communications. NAM also served as a forum for India to articulate its views on global nuclear disarmament and the discriminatory nature of the global nuclear order at the centre of which stood the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

As we now know, all of these were failed causes that did not acquire any purchase and have since been abandoned. India in particular, but also most other NAM countries, have integrated themselves to varying degrees within the liberal economic order and have benefited from it. India today is a member of the G20 and its rising economic profile has contributed to the greater resonance of Indian popular culture around the world. In addition, India has declared itself as a nuclear weapons power and has for all practical purposes abandoned the call for global nuclear disarmament. Even India's dissatisfaction with the nuclear order has waned in the wake of its accommodation into global nuclear commerce and the very real prospects of it becoming a member in various nuclear and dual-use technology cartels. The only dissatisfaction with the international order that India continues to nurture is with respect to a permanent seat on the UN Security Council. Even in this case, India has sought to assuage itself by gaining verbal assurances from almost all the countries of the world.

Further, since the end of the Cold War, India has become a key member of various multilateral groupings: BASIC (Brazil, South Africa, India and China) for protecting and promoting its interests on climate change; G4 for pushing through reforms of the UN Security Council; G20 for managing the world economy; BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) and IBSA (India, Brazil and South Africa) to enhance economic coordination with countries that are similarly placed; and ASEAN-centred institutions, the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, and Russia-India-China grouping for pursuing political and security

interests. These engagements in multiple forums for varying economic, political and security purposes have, in the words of Shashi Tharoor, made the Non-Aligned Movement “largely incidental” to India’s pursuit of its national interest since the end of the Cold War.

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## 14.8 QUESTIONS

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- Q.1 Write an essay on Non Alignment Movement and Cold War.
- Q.2 How the Cold War affected the Third World countries?
- Q.3 What were the methods of exploitation of Communist and Capitalist Bloc to exploit Third World Countries?
- Q.4 What was relationship between Third World nations and Non-Alignment movement?
- Q.5 How will you explain Third World nations?
- Q.6 What was role of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in making of Non-Alignment movement?
- Q.7 Which were the major philosophers in founding of NAM?
- Q.8 Who were the main policy of Non Alignment Movement ?
- Q.9 How the philosophy of ‘Panchsheel’ traced the progress of Non-Alignment movement?

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## 14.9 ADDITIONAL READING

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## INDIA AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

### Unit Structure

- 15.0 Objectives
- 15.1 Introduction
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- 15.3 India's foreign policy features after Independence till 2000
- 15.4 The Sovereignty of India in International politics of commonwealth
- 15.5 The evolution of Indian Foreign Policy (including the role of Nonalignment).
- 15.6 India's relations with Northern Nations: USA-Canada, USSR/Russia, and Europe
- 15.7 India's relations with Southern Nations: West Asia, South-East Asia, Africa and Latin American
- 15.8 India and the United Nations with special reference to the role in UN Peace Keeping: 'India's Nuclear Policy.'
- 15.9 India and the emergent world order since 1991, including political, economic, and social issues.
- 15.10 Summary
- 15.11 Unit End Questions
- 15.12 References and Suggested Reading

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### 15.0 Objectives

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This unit forms part of module-4 on 'Indian and the World Paper', that aims at integrating political, cultural, and economic aspects of global history with context of India from the year 1947 to 2000. In this unit students will be introduced to:

- 1) Concept of foreign policies, India, and its foreign relations in post-colonial times i.e. from 1947-2000
- 2) Indian foreign policy in the post-colonial world as a system of governance in Peace and International sovereignty and decolonizing organizations *per se* non-Alignment movement, Nuclear Non-Proliferation policy
- 3) Indian foreign policy with Northern Imperial and Southern Decolonizing nations
- 4) India in the post Uni-polar world as an economic and political power, BRICS, and related organizations

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### 15.1 Introduction

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In this Unit students will be introduced about why any nation requires a foreign policy and some of the prominent definitions of foreign policy that

are in discussion for many years. This chapter will look into some of the common factors that figure in foreign policy of all the countries in modern era in context to India. Similarly, there are common determinants, both internal and external, of foreign policy in almost each country, which we will discuss briefly here. In context to India and its diplomatic foreign policy there are several factors which need special attention. India remained one of the vanguards of post-colonial sovereignty of nation decolonized from rule of imperial powers.

India's relations with the world have evolved since the British Raj (1857–1947), when the British Empire took responsibility for handling external and defense relations. When India gained independence in 1947, few Indians had experience in making or conducting foreign policy. However, the country's oldest political party, the Indian National Congress, had established a small foreign department in 1925 to make overseas contacts and to publicize its independence struggle. From the late 1920s on, Jawaharlal Nehru, who had a long-standing interest in world affairs among independence leaders, formulated the Congress stance on international issues. As Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs from 1947, Nehru articulated India's approach to the world.

India's international influence varied over the years after independence. Indian prestige and moral authority were high in the 1950s and facilitated the acquisition of developmental assistance from both East and West. Although the prestige stemmed from India's nonaligned stance, the nation was unable to prevent Cold War politics from becoming intertwined with interstate relations in South Asia. On the intensely debated Kashmir issue with Pakistan, India lost credibility by rejecting United Nations calls for a plebiscite in the disputed area.

In the 1960s and 1970s India's international position among developed and developing countries faded in the course of wars with China and Pakistan, disputes with other countries in South Asia, and India's attempt to match Pakistan's support from the United States and China by signing the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in August 1971. Although India obtained substantial Soviet military and economic aid, which helped to strengthen the nation, India's influence was undercut regionally and internationally by the perception that its friendship with the Soviet Union prevented a more forthright condemnation of the Soviet presence in Afghanistan. In the late 1980s, India improved relations with the United States, other developed countries, and China while continuing close ties with the Soviet Union. Relations with its South Asian neighbours, especially Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Nepal, occupied much of the energies of the Ministry of External Affairs.

Even before independence, the Indian colonial government maintained semi-autonomous diplomatic relations. It had colonies (such as the Aden Settlement), who sent and received full missions. India was a founder member of both the League of Nations and the United Nations. After India gained independence from the United Kingdom in 1947, it soon joined the Commonwealth of Nations and strongly supported independence

movements in other colonies, like the Indonesian National Revolution. The partition and various territorial disputes, particularly that over Kashmir, would strain its relations with Pakistan for years to come. During the Cold War, India adopted a foreign policy of not aligning itself with any major power bloc. However, India developed close ties with the Soviet Union and received extensive military support from it.

The end of the Cold War significantly affected India's foreign policy, as it did for much of the world. The country now seeks to strengthen its diplomatic and economic ties with the United States, the European Union trading bloc, Japan, Israel, Mexico, and Brazil. India has also forged close ties with the member states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, the African Union, the Arab League, and Iran.

Though India continues to have a military relationship with Russia, Israel has emerged as India's second largest military partner while India has built a strong strategic partnership with the United States. The foreign policy of Narendra Modi indicated a shift towards focusing on the Asian region and, more broadly, trade deals.

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## 15.2 Nature, Objectives and Determinants of Foreign Policy

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Foreign policy is a complex and dynamic political interaction that a state gets involved in pursuing relations with other states and entities outside the purview of its own jurisdiction. As Joseph Frankel puts it, “Foreign Policy consists of decisions and actions, which involves to some appreciable extent relations between one state and others.”

**Foreign policy**, general objectives that guide the activities and relationships of one state in its interactions with other states. The development of foreign policy is influenced by domestic considerations, the policies or behaviour of other states, or plans to advance specific geopolitical designs. Leopold von Ranke emphasized the primacy of geography and external threats in shaping foreign policy, but later writers emphasized domestic factors. Diplomacy is the tool of foreign policy, and war, alliances, and international trade may all be manifestations of it.

It implies that foreign policy involves set of actions by the forces working within state's borders and intended towards forces existing outside the country's borders. It is a set of tools employed by the state to influence exercise of law-making power by other states as well as actions of non-state actors outside the purview of its jurisdiction. It comprises of formulation and implementation of a set of ideas that govern the behaviour of state actors while interacting with other states to defend and enhance its interests. Hume Gibson says, “Foreign policy is a well-rounded comprehensive plan based on knowledge and experience for conducting the business of government with rest of the world. It is aimed at promoting and protecting the interests of the nations. This calls for a clear understanding of what those interests are and how far we hope to go with the means at our disposal. Anything less than this falls short of being a foreign policy.”

A doctrine of foreign policy can be simple and succinct; or it may be complicated and vague. One thing is sure that foreign policy is much more than meetings of diplomats, formal statements proclaimed by statesmen, and public statements of state leaders. On the other hand, foreign policy definitely includes current nature of state's objectives and interests and principles of self-perceived right conduct in dealing with other states. Paddelford and Lincoln defines it as, "A State's Foreign Policy is totality of its dealings with the external environment. Foreign Policy is the overall result of the process by which a state translates its broadly conceived goals and interests into specific courses of action in order to achieve its objective and preserve its interest." In view of such variety of definitions, we can conclude that core of foreign policy consists of achieving the national objectives through the available national means by interacting with other states. Foreign policy cannot exist in a vacuum. Foreign policy of a particular state evolves from historical events responsible for creation/strengthening of the statehood, principles and ideological foundations of nation-building, and purpose and interests of the State. Foreign policy can be comprehended only in the greater milieu of form of the government, economic situation, political conditions, geographical situation, and general culture of the country. All the foreign policy decisions aim at achieving either co-operation/co-existence or conflict or neutrality towards a particular state or group of states or rest of the world.

It is pertinent for a nation-state in the modern world to formulate their respective foreign policies to protect and enhance its national interest. Since process of formulating and implementing of a foreign policy is complex and ever evolving, the scholars have struggled to narrow down its definition, but without success. However, there is unanimity on broad objectives of foreign policy, which are

- i) Protection of unity and integrity of the country,
- ii) Promotion of safety and welfare of its citizens.
- iii) Protection of security and interests of its citizens even when they are residing in any other country;
- iv) Protection of dignity and sentiments of people of Indian origin throughout the world; and
- v) Promoting good relations with all other countries to enhance trade and cultural, educational and scientific exchanges.

Foreign policy of any country is shaped of multiple internal and external factors. The main internal factors influencing the foreign policy are:

- 1) size, geographical elements, and population,
  - 2) its history, culture and liberation and reformation struggles,
  - 3) national capacity in terms of economic development, technological progress including spread of information technology and military preparedness,
  - 4) social structure and form of the government, and
  - 5) influence of ideologies and personality of leadership in command.
- At the same time, external factors such as existing structure of world

politics and military strength of other countries shape the options and opportunities in the foreign policy making. These factors together work as pull and push elements and their fine-tuning or balancing produces the final print of a country’s foreign policy.

**Realism and Foreign Policy:** What does realism really mean? It means placing your national interest first and foremost. In a situation where every nation is giving priority to its own self-interest, we are likely to be left behind if we did not look at our interests. This historical analysis in which I have given you a very broad picture shows that we have at times succeeded and at times failed. There have been occasions where we can look back and say clearly, we failed to protect our national interests. Many of the problems we are facing today arise perhaps out of some of these mistakes which have been made and some of the failures which came our way in the course of conduct of foreign policy over the last five decades.

The guiding principle of foreign policy today is realism and the pursuit of national interest. But, in this pursuit what are the issues and challenges which confront us? Clearly, uni-polarism as against multi-polarism is a real issue which every country in the world has to reckon with. We are committed to multi-polarism. India is not in favour of uni-polarity and therefore, the kind of world order which we envisage and are working for is not one merely of technical equality in the United Nations but greater balance among nations of the world. It should not be one country’s will which alone prevails in all situations.

**Check your Progress-1**

**Write a short note on concept of the ‘Foreign Policy’**

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**Check your Progress-2**

**What are the major components of a foreign policy?**

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**15.3 India’s foreign policy features after Independence till 2000**

Before we look at the content and direction of our foreign policy and the challenges that we face today for India, it’s important to understand India’s historical background in creating its foreign policies.

## **Some of the salient features of the India's foreign policy from 1947-2000**

**India and Commonwealth:** India had a unique freedom struggle. It was different from any freedom struggle that the world had known before. The freedom struggle of India was not only largely non-violent but also contained a high degree of idealism. That perhaps explains why India, even after it became independent, did not nurse the kind of bitterness against former colonial rulers that we have noticed in other countries which achieved independence. The fact that we joined the Commonwealth of nations is proof of the absence of that bitterness.

**India as vanguard of decolonization:** The evolution of foreign policy that took place immediately after independence was informed with the same degree of idealism that permeated the freedom struggle. In fact, you will find that not only in the case of India, but all over the world there has been a conflict between idealism and realism in the formulation and implementation of all policies, especially foreign policy. So initially when India achieved its independence, this idealism formed the bedrock of her foreign policy and there was no dearth of issues for her to espouse. For example, the war against colonialism had started in India. In that war, the first victory was that of India. It was therefore natural for India to assume a leadership role against colonialism. It was also India's destiny to lead the fight against racism, particularly the policy of apartheid which was being practiced in South Africa. The war against colonialism and the war against racism formed, some of the basic ingredients of India's early foreign policy.

**India in NAM and anti-Cold war diplomacy:** Immediately after the independence of India, Pt. Nehru observed, and I quote "the objectives of our foreign policy are the preservation of world peace and the enlargement of human freedom". He also described the idealism of today as the realism of tomorrow. So, these were the origins of India's foreign policy and during the decade of 50s and 60s, you will notice that as a result of this idealism, India was among the most prominent countries which had not only achieved independence but was also working for the independence of other countries. India also looked at the world and saw more and more countries achieving their freedom from colonial rule. When these newly emerging countries looked at the world, they found a world divided between the communist bloc and the non-communist bloc. It was the age of the Cold War. Under the leadership of Pandit Nehru, President Nasser and President Tito, this community of nations evolved what is known as the Non-Aligned Movement. Over a period of time, NAM not only acquired a political dimension but also strong economic content. The Group of 77 which consisted mostly of the non-aligned countries became an important instrument of negotiation and articulation of views of the developing countries in all fora where economic issues were discussed. India has, and because of nonalignment, India had a role in international affairs which was perhaps disproportionate to our military and economic strength. What sustained that role was the idealism and morality that

informed our foreign policy. It is this idealism which gave us the stature internationally.

**India emerging as global power:** When Mrs. Indira Gandhi became the Prime Minister of India, she leaned more on the realist aspects of India’s foreign policy. She did not depend on idealism entirely. During her regime, a lot of things happened which clearly brought India onto the world map. We had the nuclear tests in 1974. We went into space and the first satellite was launched by us in July 1980. We started to reform our economy. Clearly a change was noticeable, both in the economic content of foreign policy as well as the military and defence content. It was not that Mrs. Gandhi did not play a role internationally. We are all aware that she attended a number of important international meetings during her tenure as Prime Minister and hosted a number of important meetings in India. During her era, there was emphasis on disarmament, development and on the environment in the international field. These are three things that she brought into sharper focus as part of her foreign policy.

**Unipolar World and India:** This realism was followed by subsequent regimes and the culmination of this realism was in May 1998 when India decided overtly to go for nuclear tests. India declared to the world that it was a nuclear-weapon power. In the meanwhile, in the decade of 90s a uni-polar world emerged with the collapse of the Soviet Union. The international backdrop also underwent a dramatic change. In our country, we launched ourselves on a definite path of economic reforms, liberalization, and greater integration with the global economy. During this phase, globalisation became a force which no country could ignore. Today’s foreign policy is therefore more realistic based on the recognition that India’s place in the comity of nations will be determined by the economic and military strength that is there to back it up. It does not mean abandonment of idealism but clearly idealism alone cannot suffice. We live in a world where such idealism does not exist. It has become a thing of the past and everyone is interested in making one’s foreign policy on realistic considerations.

**Check your Progress-1**

**What was the major foreign policy frameworks of India?**

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**Check your Progress-2:**

**How the concept of ‘Non-Aligned’ defines neutrality in Cold War?**

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## 15.4 The Sovereignty of India in International politics of commonwealth

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India's foreign policy has been subject to various pulls and pushes since its inception. In this chapter, we will study the orientation of India's foreign policy, which was a product of the long-drawn freedom struggle and Indian leadership's interaction with the outside world during that period. This chapter analyses the goals of the foreign policy and policy instruments adopted to achieve those goals. We will also discuss the new orientation of foreign policy in post-Cold War era and elements of continuity and change thereof.

In the first half of the 20th century, India was acting as a quasi-international entity under the British rule. During the First World War, Government of Britain made it a point to hold regular consultations with India and other dominions on matters related to defence and foreign affairs to ensure effective conduct of War. Since national leadership felt betrayed at the end of the World War for not receiving concrete assurance about self-rule, to placate them, Britain encouraged India's participation in war conferences in 1917-18. There began India's official engagements with other countries and international organizations. Thus, India was party to the Paris Peace Conference and signatory to the Treaty of Versailles that brought the First World War to a close. India was also admitted as the original member of the League of Nations that was established in the aftermath of the War. Similarly, India became member of International Labour Organization and Permanent Court of International Justice. India's participation in such international forums was not symbolic but it was substantial. India played active roles in drafting of several important international conventions, for example, Opium Convention, Convention on Traffic of Women and Children, Slavery Convention, etc. After the Second World War, India

became party to the San Francisco Conference and an original signatory to the Charter of the United Nations. India also took up issues of discriminatory policies towards Indians being followed up in many of the dominions of British empires. India established trade relations with many countries in pre-independence period, while remaining closely entangled with the trade practices in the British Empire. In 1931, India and Britain signed Trade Agreement at Ottawa to grant preferential tariff rates to each other. Thus, India gained substantial experience of international diplomacy in its pre-independence days, which proved helpful in quickly establishing relations with most of the countries on the globe. During this period, India's nationalist leadership articulated national movement's position on various international issues. It came down heavily on European powers for dragging the world into second Great War in less than three decades time. Similarly, it expressed strong opposition to Britain's expansionist policies in India's neighbourhood, e.g. in Tibet, Afghanistan and Persia. Thus, basic tenets of India's foreign policy took shape during pro-independence period and the freedom struggle provided coherent vision to it. A resolution at Haripura Congress in 1938, i.e. on the eve of the outbreak of Second World War, precisely described India's objective in international politics. The resolution said, "The people of India desire to live in peace and friendship with their neighbours and with all other countries and for this purpose wish to resolve all causes of conflict between them.... In order, therefore, to establish world peace on enduring basis, imperialism and exploitation of one people by another must end." Thus, India showed readiness to burden the efforts to attain perpetual understanding, peace, and co-operation among people of all nations. On 2nd September 1946, i.e. after assumption of reigns of Provisional Government, Pandit Nehru made a categorical statement with regard to India's foreign policy. He said, "We hope to develop close and direct contacts with other nations and to cooperate with them in the furtherance of world peace and freedom. We propose, as far as possible, to keep away from the power politics of groups, aligned against one another, which have led in the past to World Wars, and which may again lead to distress on an even vaster scale. We believe that..... denial of freedom anywhere must endanger freedom elsewhere and lead to conflict and war. We are particularly interested in the emancipation of colonial and dependent countries and the peoples and the recognition in theory and practice of equal opportunities for all races..... We seek no domination over others, and we claim no privileged position over other peoples. But we do claim equal and honourable treatment for our people wherever they may go, and we cannot accept any discrimination against them." Nehru also displayed optimism when he said, "The world, in spite of its rivalries and hatred and inner conflicts, moves inevitably towards closer co-operation and building up of a world commonwealth. It is for this One World that free India will work, a world in which there is the free co-operation of free peoples, and no group or class exploits another." Inherent in Nehru's thinking was the understanding that India needed world peace for its economic development, and it could contribute positively to build the peaceful international relations among all nations.

The dominating ideology of India's freedom struggle undoubtedly got reflected in its post-independence foreign policy. While formulating India's foreign policy, the policy makers put the national interest at the core of it, along with the strategy to carve out an independent role for it in world politics. Accordingly, following objectives attained most important positions in its foreign policy:

**Preservation of Sovereignty and Independence:** At the time of India's independence, world was divided into two hostile camps; a socialist block led by the USSR and a capitalist group led by the USA. The ideological rivalry between them had brought the world on the brink of the Third World War with the possibility of devastating consequences for the human race. Each block was cemented with military alliances among its member countries. What was of independent India's concern was their rivalry in fetching newly free countries in their respective military alliances. This gave birth to what is now popularly referred as Cold War between the two superpowers where in both sides fought each other with all other means but the actual direct war. Free India wanted to preserve its hard own sovereignty and autonomy in decision making under such difficult international conditions prevailing at that time. Indian leadership was more than convinced that such a country of vast geographical proportion, huge population, rich talents, and ancient living civilization had been destined to play a major role in world affairs. However, this role can be performed only by maintaining its independent voice in international relations. Also, developmental needs of newly free country demanded preservation and promotion of peaceful international environment, which was threatened by the two rival factions in world politics. This understanding formed the crux of decision-making in the realm of formulating and navigating India's foreign policy in the post-independence years.

**INDIA AND COMMONWEALTH:** India's pre-independence emergence into the international arena was premised on her association with the British Commonwealth/Empire. Colonial and Imperial Conferences, convened irregularly since 1887, enabled the British Empire to shape a common position on foreign policy and security matters. Dominions like Australia, Canada, and New Zealand enjoyed the privileges of direct participation, which were initially denied to India on the grounds that it was not a self-governing part of the empire. It was only at the 1917 Imperial Conference that India was allowed rights of direct participation, in appreciation of its substantial contributions during the First World War. The term "Commonwealth" was first officially used to describe the institution at the 1926 Imperial Conference.

Until 1944, India was often represented by the secretary of state for India (a member of the British cabinet) and occasionally by nominees of a princely state or the viceroy. India's concerns during these conferences were asserting its right to participate with status equal to that of the dominions, safeguarding its economic interests, and bringing up the

treatment of overseas Indians.<sup>11</sup> Notably, India's entry into the British Commonwealth became a justification for its membership in the League of Nations.

Choosing to remain in the organization was India's first major foreign policy decision after independence. This provided the bedrock for the modern Commonwealth. India did not compromise its sovereign and democratic status by remaining a member. Consequently, its example precipitated the transformation of the Commonwealth into a diverse organization over subsequent decades, as newly independent Asian, African, Pacific, and Caribbean countries followed suit. A mix of pragmatic economic and political considerations motivated India's decision. One was the need to safeguard the rupee-sterling balance and to ensure continued access to the British market, which accounted for more than half of India's foreign exchange earnings in 1947. Another factor was the desire to secure British support in negotiations with the princely states following independence. Yet another was the need to neutralize any possible support Pakistan, which had already decided to remain in the Commonwealth, might garner against India's interests on matters arising from partition and the dispute over Jammu and Kashmir.

The Prime Ministers' Conference of 1949 accepted India as a full member. India accepted the king "as the symbol of the free association of independent member nations, and as such the Head of the Commonwealth." The conference declaration made it clear that all members were "free and equal" while "co-operating in the pursuit of peace, liberty and progress." Then prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru had "security" replaced with "liberty," for neither India nor any other Commonwealth country could be assured of support from other members in all circumstances.

The decision to join was not free of controversy in India, especially among those on the left. The criticism mainly consisted of anti-British sentiment and apprehension that an association with the Commonwealth would dilute India's sovereignty. During the 1950s, anti-Commonwealth sentiment increased, due to disapproval of British actions vis-à-vis the Kashmir dispute and the British-French attack on Egypt during the 1956 Suez Crisis. Nevertheless, Nehru stood by the Commonwealth throughout his premiership. Still, many believed that Indo-Commonwealth relations would not survive his death in 1964. In the 1960s, as India began to pull away from the Commonwealth, several developments transformed the organization's character. A large number of African countries joined, and issues in South Africa and Rhodesia attained high priority on the Commonwealth's agenda. African states felt that India was not aggressive enough in its support for their continent's anticolonial agenda. Indeed, Indian leaders refrained from continuing an active role on African problems because they believed it might cause resentment among the newly independent African members. In 1970, then prime minister Indira Gandhi acknowledged this risk:

*We ourselves . . . would not like that position [of a leadership role for India]. . . . We should be very careful that at no time we give an impression that we . . . [want] to take a leading position. That would immediately mean that we are trying to push them [other smaller developing countries] towards a somewhat backward position.*<sup>1</sup>

During the 1970s, Indian foreign policy makers also paid greater attention to bilateral and regional security issues. The importance of the Commonwealth and India to each other diminished in parallel. Between 1950 and 1971, the net value of India's trade with the Commonwealth, as a percentage of the total value of the country's foreign trade, dropped from 38 percent to 15.9 percent. The shrinking economic value of the Commonwealth, therefore, curtailed its significance in the overall framework of Indian foreign policy. At the 1975 CHOGM, other participants saw India as a "diffident" attendee.

From the 1970s onward, the Commonwealth also began to take on an economic dimension, which over time substantially increased as a proportion of its activities. Commonwealth aid to India nearly doubled as a percentage of the organization's total aid between 1965 and 1971, from 10.4 to 19.9 percent. However, in the last quarter of the twentieth century, massive U.S. aid programs began to overshadow the organization's economic and technical assistance (although British and Canadian assistance remained significant in crucial areas such as steel and nuclear technology). The Commonwealth's share of India's trade also fell, and the United Kingdom's membership in the European Economic Community accelerated this decline.

The 1990s witnessed the end of the Cold War and other systemic changes that necessitated new preoccupations for India, particularly a focus on maintaining friendly relations with the United States and expanding economic relations with a variety of trade groups, particularly in Asia. As a result, the Indian government had little interest in Commonwealth matters. The participation of prime ministers in CHOGMs grew erratic, while the diversification of the Commonwealth into law, finance, and trade areas allowed the relevant ministers to participate.

For example, at the 1991 CHOGM then prime minister Narasimha Rao was the last head of government to arrive, and he left the meeting early. Instead of attending the 1993 and 1995 CHOGMs, Rao sent his ministers of finance and foreign affairs. On the other hand, when then prime minister Inder Kumar Gujral led a high-level delegation to the 1997 conference, he had the privilege of speaking in the opening session on behalf of all the Commonwealth delegations. As prime minister, Vajpayee attended the 1999 and 2003 CHOGMs, but not the one held in 2002. Lack of interest prevailed after the United Progressive Alliance government came to power in 2004. The commerce minister, not the prime minister, represented India at the 2005 meeting. Then prime minister Manmohan

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<sup>1</sup> Nandhini Iyer, *India and the Commonwealth: A Critical Appraisal* (New Delhi: ABC Publishing House, 1983), 50

Singh attended the next two CHOGMs, in 2007 and 2009, but sent the vice president and the foreign minister to the succeeding conferences in 2011 and 2013. At the 2013 CHOGM, held in Colombo, a coalition partner insisted that India not appear to endorse Sri Lanka's much deplored violations of humanitarian norms in its military operations against the Tamil people. The government led by Modi has demonstrated a similar lack of interest in the CHOGM, and he opted not to attend the 2015 conference, with External Affairs Minister Sushma Swaraj participating in his stead.

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### **15.5 The evolution of Indian Foreign Policy (including the role of Nonalignment).**

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India's non-alignment as an instrument of foreign policy evolved through continuous interaction with domestic circumstances and the external environment. This evolution was marked by staying power, a capacity to encounter volatile configurations of power and flexibility to incorporate changes demanded by circumstances. A combination of circumstances such as the urge to follow an independent foreign policy, the pragmatic choice \*of befriending a powerful socialist state like the USSR and commitment to promote peace shaped the concept as well as the praxis of non-alignment. In the process of its evolution, non-alignment inspired smaller Afro-Asian states striving to carve out their identities in a world torn between stereotype social systems. The eventual merger of these states within the mainstream of the non-aligned movement transformed the movement's principal concerns from east-west tensions to north-south issues and the new international economic order. India being a founder and largest member in NAM was an active participant in NAM meetings till 1970s but India's inclination towards erstwhile USSR created confusions in smaller members. It led to the weakening of NAM and small nations drifted towards either US or USSR.

Non-alignment, for India, was a policy and a strategy to survive and negotiate with a world that was getting dragged into the politics of cold war.' To a considerable extent, non-alignment represented an unconventional approach to power politics. After assessing the then dominant forces and especially the trend towards a division of the world into two mutually hostile camps led by the superpowers, India was gradually carving out space for an uncommitted world. India's urge to steer clear of power politics stemmed from a combination of factors.

**Firstly**, after freeing itself from British imperialism, India, like a typical newly liberated state, wanted to protect its hard-won freedom and sovereignty. It was also determined to rally round all anti-imperialist and anti-racist crusades against western domination. India's support to freedom struggles in Afro-Asia and staunch opposition to racism and apartheid practiced in South Africa can be understood in this light. By championing the right of self-determination of the colonies and dependencies, India's non-alignment chose to unleash the process of eastern westphalia.<sup>2</sup> This process led towards the birth of sovereign

independent states which could actively participate in shaping the world order.

**Secondly**, geographic proximity with two socialist states, the Soviet-Union and China, deterred India from joining the US-led ^amp. Moreover, Nehru was an ardent admirer of the process of socialist reconstruction in Soviet Russia. The very fact that a backward, pre-industrial and huge Euro- Asian state like Soviet Russia could achieve spectacular successes in development objectives attracted Nehru's attention. Further- more, India was the second Asian country to offer de jure recognition to the Peoples Republic of China. Such a recognition symbolized an acceptance of the legitimacy of revolutionary movement under Mao Zedong. The growth of Indo-Soviet friend- ship during the past few decades and India's urge to normalize relations with China have highlighted India's disposition towards its. socialist neighbours.

**Third**, political and socio-economic structures in India have represented a curious melange. Seemingly contradictory organisational structures like a parliamentary democracy, a partially planned economy and co-existence between the ever-expanding public sector and private sector had cumulatively set in motion the process of development in India. After probing these structures, one is struck by the untypical nature of India's state and the process of development. Characterizing the nature of the post-colonial state in India has posed persistent problems to Marxist and non- Marxist scholars. It is not our intention to go into the controversies that have stimulated theoretical debates on the nature of Indian state. But it might be essential to spell out some significantly odd features of the Indian state as well as its development process. The development process in India has witnessed the rise of large private monopoly houses and the growth of national bourgeoisie as a class increasingly staking its claims towards greater control of state apparatus. The landowning classes have, at varying levels, struck an alliance with the bourgeoisie.

In addition, the so-called intelligentsia-intellectuals, managers, military officials, bureaucrats and other professionals-have also constituted a significant component in the developmental process. Very few third world countries can boast of a substantially well-developed middle class that bloomed under the auspices of state as in India. However, it might be facile to attribute the control of the Indian state entirely to these dominant classes. For 'state' has not merely enjoyed a measure of autonomy but has stepped out to perform welfare functions to incorporate the hitherto downtrodden sections in the process of development. Persistent efforts by the state to accommodate the interests of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes is a case in point. Political democracy in India has functioned with a measure of consensus although such consensus has largely operated ip favour of the dominant classes. The above-mentioned pattern of domestic development in India has shaped its foreign policy. India's non-alignment mirrored this process of development. Considering its domestic set up, India could not have categorically rejected or accepted either of the stereotypes represented by the two super- powers. The superpowers in turn could not categorically accept India's development pattern. While India

appealed to the US attacked largest democracy, the Soviets were attracted to India's partially planned economy and emphasis on the development of state sector. Finally, promoting peace has been central to India's foreign policy stance, considering peace as a pre-requisite for economic development. India's concept of peace broadly had three dimensions. In the Indian sub-continent India's immediate concern has been Pakistan. By promoting the 'status quo' in Kashmir, India aspired to live in peace with Pakistan. Within the wider sphere of Asia, India has' always shown awareness of the potential power of revolutionary China.

The key aspects of India's role in Non-Alignment movement were guided by the concept of PANCHSHEEL. Panchsheel was born in 1950's in response to a world asking for a new set of principles for the conduct of international relations that would reflect the aspirations of all nations to co-exist and prosper together in peace and harmony. Fifty years later, on the golden anniversary of Panchsheel, the chord that was struck in 1954 still rings pure and true in a world yet seeking the lodestar that will guide it into the harbour of peaceful co-existence. Panchsheel, or the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, were first formally enunciated in the Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between the Tibet region of China and India signed on April 29, 1954, which stated, in its preamble, that the two Governments "have resolved to enter into the present Agreement based on the following principles: -

- i. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty,
- ii. Mutual non-aggression,
- iii. Mutual non-interference,
- iv. Equality and mutual benefit, and v. Peaceful co-existence."

This vision caught the imagination of the peoples of Asia and the world. Panchsheel was incorporated into the Ten Principles of International Peace and Cooperation enunciated in the Declaration issued by the April 1955 Bandung Conference of 29 Afro-Asian countries. The universal relevance of Panchsheel was emphasised when its tenets were incorporated in a resolution on peaceful co-existence presented by India, Yugoslavia and Sweden, and unanimously adopted on December 11, 1957, by the United Nations General Assembly. In 1961, the Conference of Non-Aligned Nations in Belgrade accepted Panchsheel as the principled core of the Non-Aligned Movement. Down the years, the ethos of Panchsheel continued to be reflected in world events even if there was no conscious attribution, finding expression in the position of the developing countries in the North-South dialogue, and in other groupings. The timeless relevance of Panchsheel is based on its firm roots in the cultural traditions of its originators, two of the world's most ancient civilisations. The linkage that was established by the spread of Buddhism in China laid the historical basis for the formulation of the principles of Panchsheel by India and China.

- Further disintegration of USSR led the unipolar world order dominated by US. India's New Economic Policy and inclination towards US raised questions over India's seriousness over non-alignment.
- Prime Minister of India skipped the 17th Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) summit held in Venezuela in 2016, it was only second such instance when Head of a state didn't participate in NAM conference.
- Moreover, NAM continued losing relevance for India in a unipolar world, especially after the founding members failed to support India during crisis. For instance, during 1962 War with China, Ghana and Indonesia, adopted explicitly pro-China positions. During 1965 and 1971 wars, Indonesia and Egypt took an anti-India stance and supported Pakistan. 8 Challenges for NAM
- World has again moved towards bipolarity, one led by US and other by China Russia. The war-torn Syria is prime example of this, where both US and Russia is asserting power.
- The escalating tension in Indo-pacific region due to China's assertion and US acting as a counterweight to check the Chinese expansionist policy.
- The large-scale migration in Europe and Asia due to the unstable regimes and ethnic conflict in different parts of world.
- Issue of global climate change, changing US policies, protectionism, prevalent terrorism and nuclearization of Middle East.

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## 15.6 India's relations with Northern Nations: USA-Canada, USSR/Russia, and Europe

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### Resurgent India: Are there any Implications for the Neighbours

In the course of over seven decades of its independent existence, India's global image has undergone substantial change: from the distorted western perception of a land of Sadhus, Beggars and Snakes to one of a leading economy and emerging global player destined to play an important role in international affairs. The past fifteen years have been of utmost importance. India's economy has moved out of insulated and protected shell and stands integrated into world market. The resilience it demonstrated during the global financial crisis had earned the Indian economy the due appreciation it deserved. The marginal slowdown in the recent past is in sync with the global trends, particularly in the emerging economies, and therefore has had no adverse impact on India's global image. India's credentials as a responsible de facto nuclear power are now well established. Most of those who matter in contemporary global affairs have placed on record their support for India's candidature for Permanent Seat in UN Security Council as and when it is expanded. There is much more to celebrate India's success story.

It is often said against this backdrop that on international arena India does not punch according to its weight even though it aspires to sit on the high seat of UN Security Council. It is a matter of debate as to what should be

the levels of aggression with which India should conduct itself at international fora. It is arguably clear however that India can ill afford to adopt aggressive postures in its neighbourhood and will have to tread with caution while dealing with its oversensitive tiny neighbours.

**Indo-Soviet Friendship:** India's friendly relation with one of the super powers of the Cold War period, i.e. the USSR, was a result of multiple factors. The then Indian leadership was greatly influenced by the planning method of Soviet economy. Nehru made the Planning Commission central to India's economic decision making and adhered to the mixed economy with emphasis on creation of large scale public sector units. The USSR readily helped India in technical and technological terms in its industrial endeavors without any conditions. This was in sharp contrast with developed western countries whose reluctance was more than evident. Also, the USSR echoed India's zealous campaign for de-colonization and against racism, which resulted into creation of common global goals for both the countries. Further, a complexity of world politics; wherein western countries did not support India on Kashmir issue, Pakistan was lured into anti-Soviet military tactics, China became hostile to India and drift occurred in Sino-Soviet relations; led both the countries to forge friendly ties with each other. Realizing the necessity and potential of friendship with the USSR, the then Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi signed a 20-Years' Bilateral Treaty of Friendship, Peace and Cooperation with the Soviet Union in 1971. This treaty helped India in strengthening its regional as well as world position without compromising its sovereignty. India steadfastly remained committed to policy of non-alignment and did not participate in or support any of the military campaigns of the USSR. India resisted pressures as well as temptations of supporting the Soviet Union when its military entered Afghanistan, even though India's arch-rival Pakistan was used as a frontline state by the US to counter Soviet presence in Afghanistan. On the other hand, India received consistent support from the USSR in the UN on Kashmir issue, along with technological and scientific exchanges. This treaty played a significant role during Bangla Desh Liberation War. The US wanted to help Pakistan at that time, but refrained from doing so as the USSR showed readiness to provide all kind of support to India. Thus, friendship with the Soviet Union was important frame of India's foreign policy doctrine.

**Indo-USA Relationship:** In the 21st century the US has made its engagement in Asia as a top priority and India is being seen as a corner stone of the new policy. With a series of significant events unfolded in Asia in the post cold war era, the US engagement in the region become indispensable. In Asia, South Asia in particular drew US attention for a number of new developments. In South Asia the nuclearisation of India and Pakistan, conversion of Kashmir into prospective nuclear flash point, the gradual and steady emergence of India along with the increasing Chinese attempts to penetrate into Indian Ocean were the prominent issues among other attracted the US attention to the subcontinent. Right from the Bill Clinton to Barak Obama administration, special emphasis was given on engagement with India as a core ally in the US security policy towards

south Asia on the basis of shared interests in regional and international affairs. It is pertinent to note that in this period engagement, the divergent perceptions of India and US on the certain issues like help to Pakistan, Kashmir and terrorism did not come in way of cooperation in the field of security and trade. It demonstrates the mutual willpower to segregate contentious issue from shared interests. Despite being largest democracies in the world and having common faith in universal democratic values, the Indo-US relations were constantly marked by frequent ups and downs during the cold war years. The relationship witnessed strains and stresses due to differences in foreign policy orientations and perspectives in respect of certain crucial regional and international issues mostly emanated from the cold politics. There was a clear lack of objective understanding of each other concerns and compulsions. India had doubts about the US intentions and preferred to maintain safe distance under the veil of its non-alignment strategy. The US who planned to engage India to represent US policies in the south Asian subcontinent after China embraced communism antagonized with this Indian stance. During the cold war period the US was not directly indulged into the sub continental politics and mainly acted as an offshore balancer in South Asia. For the US, North and Southeast Asia were the priority regions as its and its allies interests were directly threatened there by the USSR.

However with the end of cold war the US perspective towards South Asia undergone changes. The post cold war US foreign policy drafted during the presidential tenure of Bill Clinton accorded priority to economic interests. Pragmatism became determining factor in conduction of US foreign policy than the rhetoric of ideology. Accordingly the long run US policy of defining relations in terms of super power conflict both at bilateral and multilateral level was replaced by new pragmatism based on commercial interests. This pragmatism was oriented to protect the vital US trade and economic interests irrespective of political systems and secure extensive commercial opportunities at the newly emerging markets in Asian countries. In south Asia under the prism new pragmatism, the US began to look at India and Pakistan differently and unlike the cold war days, essentially from the regional perspective. Pursuant to new priorities, serious attempts were made in last two decades by the US to dispel the long shadow of cold war over the relationship with a series of agreements and pacts for healthy alliance. India also reciprocated positively considering complimentary of interests with the US.

**INDO-EUROPEAN REALTIONS:** EU- India relations date backs to 1962 when India established diplomatic relations with the European Economic Community (EEC). India was amongst the first country to enter into a diplomatic relation with the EEC. Despite this vintage association India- EU relationship remained docile during the cold war. One of the obvious reasons for this was the ideological differences about the worldview subscribed by New Delhi. The Non-Alignment orientation of Indian foreign policy during the height of cold war never allowed it to develop a strong alliance with the capitalist western countries and blocs. This equally applies to the India- EU relations, which remained passive for a very long time. While pointing towards India it is also important to

underline the culpability of the EU, which is equally responsible for neglecting South Asia as a region of priority for its external policy. The EU, which is presently regarded as the most successful exercise in regionalisation to date and role model for the other projects around the world did not had a comprehensive policy for South Asia and this was also one of the reasons why India-EU relations remained ceremonial till end of the cold war. Arguing from the realist paradigm of international relations, South Asia was not considered as the region of interest by the European community for a very long time. South Asia was geographically inaccessible and had Soviet and Chinese influence making it unattractive for the EU to get involved in this region. In 1973, India and the EC had signed commercial and economic cooperation agreements. Preferences given to the Indian products and steps are taken to promote the EU's trade with India. As a part of trade promotion, Indian Trade Centre (ITC) opened in Brussels with the financial help from the community. The primary export commodities of India to the EC supported through preferential treatments. This includes textile, jute, and sugar. For Indian textile, the EC had GATT Multifibre Arrangement (GMA) and this was simply to encourage Indian products. India also benefited from the import duty free quotas, which the EC granted annually for its handicraft and handloom products. Going beyond this the EC lifted tariff and quota restrictions on import of jute products from India, which helped jute industry at a large scale. The EC also signed cane sugar agreement with India in 1975. Under this agreement, the EC had undertaken to import annually up to a total of 1.3 million tons of sugar at the price, which are generally higher than the world market price. In short, the history of India-EU relations is more of development partnership where India was generally benefited and developed some of its contemporary core structures by the aid, help and support of the European Union.

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### **15.7 India's relations with Southern Nations: West Asia, South-East Asia, Africa and Latin American**

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A very important fact not only for India but for the entire global community was recently when the whole discussion on how we should deal with Iraq became urgent. We are aware of the fact that there was a desire or eagerness on the part of the US to proceed unilaterally. But I recall to my mind speeches in the UNGA which was held in September where starting from the Secretary General of the UN to perhaps every other leader of the world spoke about the need to involve the United Nations. Ultimately, whatever time it might have taken (seven weeks), a resolution which could command an unanimous vote in the Security Council was passed and all the 15 members including Syria voted for this resolution. This is a triumph of multi-polarity and a triumph of the United Nations over uni-polarity. Truth of the fact is that however strong and mighty a nation may be, it ultimately has to submit to the will of the global community. Somebody or the other will stand up and say that this is not the way. There are other alternatives to look at. On our part, we supported the United Nations in the speech our Prime Minister made in the UNGA.

We are happy at the outcome which recognizes the value of the United Nations as an agency which should be used for resolution of international conflicts.

The other impact of multi-polarity would be in the security area and in all the arrangements internationally which govern nuclear weapons, missiles, high technology, etc. India has been consistently of the view that you cannot have two categories of countries in the world – one, which has stolen technological lead over others and others who came in late. That has been our basic objection to the NPT and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. That is our basic objection to the MTCR and to the conference that is going to be held in Netherlands in the next few days on International Code of Conduct on Missiles. We are committed entirely and whole heartedly to disarmament. But we want every country in the world to disarm. We are also supportive of making a distinction between a responsible State and an irresponsible State. There are some States which are clearly helping other countries in nuclear proliferation. India cannot be accused of that. We have developed our technology indigenously. We did not have to go and borrow. Our technology is by and large our own. But there are countries in the world who proliferate nuclear and missile technology and are guilty. The current debate on North Korea is a case in point. Our own neighbour, Pakistan's role in this triangle of China-North Korea-Pakistan is quite clearly established. India is the only country which has committed itself to No-First Use. Our nuclear doctrine also clearly says non-use against Non-Nuclear-Weapon States. No other country to the best of my knowledge has committed to No-First Use. So as far as disarmament is concerned, we have clear views and are prepared to, not only go along but actively work for disarmament which is universal, non-discriminatory and time bound.

The other aspect of our foreign policy currently and for some time to come, is the phenomenon of regionalism. In order to establish a multi-polar world, smaller countries in the world are getting together and evolving themselves not merely into economic groups but also acquiring a political personality. The European Union is a good example of a group which started as a union or a conglomerate of countries for economic and trade matters but has now acquired a clear political dimension. While one must admit that EU has not been able to evolve a common position on all issues which are of political importance, (the recent Iraq case is proof of that) EU is gradually evolving a political personality of its own. When EU can have a convergence of views on economic, political, and strategic matters which are globally important, EU will perhaps be a counterbalance and force in the international global situation.

#### **INDIA AND LATIN AMERICAN, CARRIBEAN, AFRICAN, WEST ASIA AND ASEAN NATIONS**

Four countries - Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay have formed the MERCOSUR and the rest of them are in the Andean bloc of countries. The African Union is again a recent phenomenon which seeks to bring together nations of the African Continent. Nearer home, we have the

ASEAN which has emerged as a major group of nations in East Asia and is now evolving its relationship with the rest of the world. In our immediate neighbourhood, we have SAARC (the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation) which unfortunately has not made the kind of progress that it should have made because of the difficulties which exist in this region.

India has evolved a policy to deal with these regional groups. A few years ago, we had our first Summit with European Union, and the third summit was held recently in Copenhagen. We had our first summit with ASEAN in Cambodia recently. We are trying to forge relations with the Latin American groups and with the African groups. It will be our policy to promote a strong regional cooperative group in South Asia and to promote friendly relations with all groups of countries which have organized themselves regionally. In this effort, economic diplomacy will be our principal tool. It is our experience and the experience of other countries that a major content of foreign policy at bilateral and global level is economic arrangements. Every country is looking for some economic benefit or the other for itself. We have also given an indication of the kind of arrangement that we are looking forward to. When Prime Minister went to Cambodia for the ASEAN summit, we offered ASEAN a free trade arrangement and are working out a road map in a 10-year period which will ultimately enable us to achieve that goal. In fact, within SAARC, we wanted a free trade arrangement by the end of this year itself. But, it has not been possible so far and we are a few weeks away from the end of the year. India has arrangements with EU and trying to evolve similar arrangements with Latin America and Africa. The thrust of India's economic diplomacy in the coming days will be to work out a road map which, within a fixed time frame, will ultimately lead us to a free-trade arrangement with all regional groups of developing countries. We will have and we should have free-trade arrangements with the Andean group of countries, MERCOSUR, CARICOM, and Africa. We are working on one with ASEAN and we will look at other groupings of developing countries also. We will start with preferential trade arrangements and ultimately move to a free-trade arrangement. Trade and South-South cooperation will continue to play a very important role in our policy framework.

In recent years, the nuclear tests which India carried out in May 1998 was a watershed. The world did not look at it kindly and we were subjected to economic sanctions. We explained our point of view and our security concerns. I am glad to say that ultimately, we have been able to convince the world that India had no malafide intentions in carrying out these nuclear tests. It was not that we were waiting to join a certain exclusive club. It was concern about our national security which prompted us to do it. We are clear in our mind that we will not compromise on our nuclear programme. We will also not compromise on our missile programme. We will do whatever it takes to protect India and to defend India. The government will do everything needed to ensure the security and safety of our people. India has emerged today as a key global player. This change which has come about within four-and-a-half years from the nuclear tests

is remarkable in itself and calls for a much deeper study of Indian diplomacy during this period. In fact, the extent to which we are a global player is evident from the figures of incoming visits since January of this year. We will have had around 41 visits at summit level and at Foreign Ministers level during just this one year, not to talk of outgoing visits abroad that we have made. To mention a few, Prime Minister of India attended the summits with ASEAN and with EU. He attended the SAARC Summit Meeting in Kathmandu in January. He visited Singapore and Cambodia. He attended the CICA Summit in Almaty. He had a summit meeting with President Bush on the margins of the UNGA as well as many other dignitaries including the Japanese Prime Minister. The Chinese Prime Minister visited India. The UK Prime Minister has been here twice. The Russian President is going to visit us in the next couple of weeks. The Japanese Prime Minister came here a few years back and our Prime Minister returned that visit early this year. I have not included in the above visits at the Foreign Minister level where people are interested in finding out what India's position is with regard to various international issues. Moreover, India is a legitimate aspirant for a permanent seat in the Security Council of the UN and there are by now a number of countries which have publicly pledged their support. As and when this issue is seriously taken up by the United Nations, I am sure, India's aspirations will be fulfilled.

Secondly, the Indian diaspora has an important economic role to play in the development of India. For example, in 1998, when economic sanctions were imposed and the East Asian crisis was underway, our foreign exchange reserves were on the decline. I was Finance Minister at that time, and we devised what is known as the Resurgent India Bonds. We went with these Bonds to the diaspora. The alternative was to go to IMF. But clearly you cannot have nuclear tests and still go to IMF for assistance. Their doors were closed. We, therefore, went to the diaspora and I remember I was told we may get a million or at the most two million dollars. The State Bank of India which issued these Bonds kept them open for only ten working days and collected US\$ 4.2 billion. That was the contribution that the diaspora made. Subsequently in 1999, when international oil prices were going up, we again went with the Millennium Bonds. This time we got over US\$ 5 billion. The US\$ 65 billion foreign exchange reserves that we see today has risen from US\$ 1 billion in 1991 when also I was Finance Minister. This contribution of the PIOs and NRIs cannot be overlooked. They supported us when our reserves were under pressure. So, relations with the diaspora are important role for both political and economic reasons. This is an aspect of our foreign policy we propose to continue to emphasise in future.

India faces many challenges. We have made mistakes in the past. It will be our endeavour to learn from those mistakes so that we do not repeat them in future. The conduct of foreign policy is closely linked to economic and military strength. We will build our economic and military strength. We will not be deterred by the challenges we face.

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## 15.8 India and the United Nations with special reference to the role in UN Peace Keeping: 'India's Nuclear Policy.'

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A founding member of the United Nations, India has actively engaged with the world body, made significant contributions to its work, and emphatically and consistently affirmed its relevance. Seventy years on, the UN-India relationship has only grown stronger. The United Nations has been a partner in India's development journey since independence, giving effect to the UN Charter's determination to promote "the economic and social advancement of all peoples". India, for its part, has helped strengthen every aspect of the UN's mandate and operations, contributing to peacekeeping missions, helping develop and strengthen the international legal framework, and asserting the fundamental values of peace, security, development, and justice for all. In his address to the United Nations General Assembly in Paris in November 1948, former Prime Minister Jawahar Lal Nehru urged Member States to look beyond the "political problems" it was focused on: "It is a strange thing that when the world lacks so many things, food and other necessities in many parts for the world and people are dying from hunger, the attention of this Assembly of Nations 4 is concentrated only on a number of political problems. There are economic problems also. I wonder if it would be possible for this Assembly to take a holiday for a while from some of the acute political problems which face it and allow men's minds to settle down and look at the vital and urgent economic problems, and look at places in the world where food is lacking." Nehru also reaffirmed faith in the UN's potential to address many of those issues: "I should like to state to this General Assembly, on behalf of my people and my Government, that we adhere completely and absolutely to the principles and purpose of the United Nations Charter and that we shall try, to the best of our ability, to work for the realization of those principles and purposes." Fifty years later, in October 1995, then Prime Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao said: "[W]e... have the task of making the United Nations truly and effectively the global repository of humankind's aspirations. Right-thinking nations and peoples working together have in the past achieved miracles. I am confident that they can do so again. India will be proud and happy to be part of such an endeavour." At the Millennium Summit of the United Nations in September 2000, former Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee spoke of the need for all countries to "transcend issues of narrow concerns and chart a new course for humanity... [leading] to enduring peace, development and security for all."

At the time of signing the United Nations Charter, India was not yet independent. Even as it struggled to free itself from colonialism, it started to craft an independent foreign policy and to build a unique relationship with the United Nations. There was much debate among leading political figures in India as to who would represent the country at the conference in San Francisco. The official selection of the delegation, by the Viceroy and the British Government, did not find approval from leaders of the Indian national movement. However, after the formation of the United Nations,

Indian leaders took on the role of representing the country. At the San Francisco conference, the UN Charter was signed on behalf of India by a delegation led by Sir Arcot Ramaswami Mudaliar, Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council and Member of Winston Churchill's War Cabinet, and Sir V.T. Krishnamachari, Representative of the Indian States. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar went on to serve as the first President of the United Nations Economic and Social Council in 1946. During 1945-1947, the interim Government of India, under Jawaharlal Nehru, threw itself vigorously into the activities of the United Nations. Its goal was to encourage complementarity between the foreign policy of 'Free India' and the objectives of the United Nations. In 1946, India drew the attention of the General assembly to the conditions of Indians in South Africa, marking India's first international protest against racial discrimination. the same year India also strategically used the international platform to raise its voice against colonialism in India and around the world. On gaining its independence in August 1947, India continued its focus on freedom for colonized nations and action against racial discrimination. It also called for universal United Nations membership, with the aim of maintaining international peace. at the second session of the United Nations General assembly, in September 1947, as the representative of India, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit said, "the only road to peace and freedom and well-being for us all, is through our steadfast and wholehearted cooperation, at whatever inconvenience, within the framework of the United Nations and in the spirit of the Charter.

The UN Charter sets out, among other things, the 'Purposes of the United Nations', which include, among other things, maintaining international peace and security, developing friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and achieving international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character. Over the past 70 years, India has strongly and consistently emphasized the relevance and importance of the United Nations.

India's support for peacekeeping is universally seen as one of the country's greatest contributions to the United Nations. It serves as material proof of the depth and strength of the country's relationship with the United Nations. India is the largest cumulative troop contributor to the United Nations, having provided troops for 50 of the 71 UN peacekeeping operations so far. As of 2016, India had contributed a total of more than 160,000 troops to 43 peacekeeping missions. It has sustained 162 casualties in its support for maintaining peace across the globe. India's contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security began prior to its independence. this was its participation in the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, from May to August 1947, in which it made recommendations to help defuse conflict in the region. this was followed by the Indian army's first commitment to a United Nations assignment, contributing troops as well as medical corps during the Korean War in 1950.

While efforts are made to secure the agreement of as many countries as possible to a treaty, sometimes key issues in multilateral treaties remain unresolved because of domestic interests or other considerations. In these cases, countries register their dissent by signing with reservations, or by refusing to sign altogether. It is crucial to the efficacy of international law that no country is bound by laws to which it has not agreed. This principle serves to increase the weight of laws to which a country has agreed. India has declined to sign, or has expressed reservations about, several treaties. For example, 191 countries are party to the treaty on the Non-Proliferation of nuclear weapons, which came into force under the auspices of the United Nations in 1970.

It is argued that one of the greatest contributions the United Nations has made to history has been in creating international norms in fields such as development and human rights. With its depth of intellectual resources and decades of experience as a Member State, India's role in addressing and reconciling these challenges can grow even further if the country chooses to take leadership in creating norms in key fields. In the World Trade Organization (WTO) negotiations on food stockpiling and pharmaceuticals, and climate change negotiations under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, India has accepted as well as challenged emerging agreements. In many areas, such as cyber security and energy, international norms have not yet stabilized into a legal regime. Through its expanding global engagement, India has the opportunity to shape the agenda on each of these.

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### **15.9 India and the emergent world order since 1991, including political, economic, and social issues.**

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In 1991, India met with an economic crisis relating to its external debt — the government was not able to make repayments on its borrowings from abroad; foreign exchange reserves, which we generally maintain to import petroleum and other important items, dropped to levels that were not sufficient for even a fortnight. The crisis was further compounded by rising prices of essential goods. All these led the government to introduce a new set of policy measures which changed the direction of our developmental strategies. In this chapter, we will look at the background of the crisis, measures that the government has adopted and their impact on various sectors of the economy. To cope up the economic crisis India approached the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), popularly known as World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and received \$7 billion as loan to manage the crisis. For availing the loan, these international agencies expected India to liberalise and open up the economy by removing restrictions on the private sector, reduce the role of the government in many areas and remove trade restrictions between India and other countries. India agreed to the conditionalities of World Bank and IMF and announced the New Economic Policy (NEP). The NEP consisted of wide-ranging economic reforms. The thrust of the policies was towards creating a more competitive environment in the economy and removing the barriers to

entry and growth of firms. This set of policies can broadly be classified into two groups: the stabilisation measures and the structural reform measures. Stabilisation measures are short-term measures, intended to correct some of the weaknesses that have developed in the balance of payments and to bring inflation under control. In simple words, this means that there was a need to maintain sufficient foreign exchange reserves and keep the rising prices under control. On the other hand, structural reform policies are long-term measures, aimed at improving the efficiency of the economy and increasing its international competitiveness by removing the rigidities in various segments of the Indian economy. This transition in the Indian economic structure brought three broad structural reforms in Indian economy well known as

1. Liberalisation
2. Privatisation and
3. Globalisation

Together as LPG, which comprehensively also transformed the way India was managing its foreign affairs prior to 1991 in commercial policies. As part of these policy reforms the leap in the foreign trade policy was taken with World Trade Organisation. World Trade Organisation (WTO), the WTO was founded in 1995 as the successor organisation to the General Agreement on Trade and Tariff (GATT). GATT was established in 1948 with 23 countries as the global trade organisation to administer all multilateral trade agreements by providing equal opportunities to all countries in the international market for trading purposes. WTO is expected to establish a rule-based trading regime in which nations cannot place arbitrary restrictions on trade. In addition, its purpose is also to enlarge production and trade of services, to ensure optimum utilisation of world resources and to protect the environment. The WTO agreements cover trade in goods as well as services to facilitate international trade (bilateral and multilateral) through removal of tariff as well as non-tariff barriers and providing greater market access to all member countries. As an important member of WTO, India has been in the forefront of framing fair global rules, regulations and safeguards and advocating the interests of the developing world. India has kept its commitments towards liberalisation of trade, made in the WTO, by removing quantitative restrictions on imports and reducing tariff rates.

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## 15.10 SUMMARY

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India's relations with the world have evolved since the British Raj (1857–1947), when the British Empire took responsibility for handling external and defense relations. When India gained independence in 1947, few Indians had experience in making or conducting foreign policy. However, the country's oldest political party, the Indian National Congress, had established a small foreign department in 1925 to make overseas contacts and to publicize its independence struggle. From the late 1920s on, Jawaharlal Nehru, who had a long-standing interest in world affairs among independence leaders, formulated the Congress stance on

international issues. As Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs from 1947, Nehru articulated India's approach to the world.

India's international influence varied over the years after independence. Indian prestige and moral authority were high in the 1950s and facilitated the acquisition of developmental assistance from both East and West. Although the prestige stemmed from India's nonaligned stance, the nation was unable to prevent Cold War politics from becoming intertwined with interstate relations in South Asia. On the intensely debated Kashmir issue with Pakistan, India lost credibility by rejecting United Nations calls for a plebiscite in the disputed area.<sup>[12]</sup>

In the 1960s and 1970s India's international position among developed and developing countries faded in the course of wars with China and Pakistan, disputes with other countries in South Asia, and India's attempt to match Pakistan's support from the United States and China by signing the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in August 1971. Although India obtained substantial Soviet military and economic aid, which helped to strengthen the nation, India's influence was undercut regionally and internationally by the perception that its friendship with the Soviet Union prevented a more forthright condemnation of the Soviet presence in Afghanistan. In the late 1980s, India improved relations with the United States, other developed countries, and China while continuing close ties with the Soviet Union. Relations with its South Asian neighbours, especially Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Nepal, occupied much of the energies of the Ministry of External Affairs.<sup>[13]</sup>

Even before independence, the Indian colonial government maintained semi-autonomous diplomatic relations. It had colonies (such as the Aden Settlement), who sent and received full missions. was a founder member of both the League of Nations and the United Nations.<sup>[16]</sup> After India gained independence from the United Kingdom in 1947, it soon joined the Commonwealth of Nations and strongly supported independence movements in other colonies, like the Indonesian National Revolution. The partition and various territorial disputes, particularly that over Kashmir, would strain its relations with Pakistan for years to come. During the Cold War, India adopted a foreign policy of not aligning itself with any major power bloc. However, India developed close ties with the Soviet Union and received extensive military support from it.

The end of the Cold War significantly affected India's foreign policy, as it did for much of the world. The country now seeks to strengthen its diplomatic and economic ties with the United States the European Union trading bloc, Japan,<sup>[21]</sup> Israel, Mexico, and Brazil. India has also forged close ties with the member states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, the African Union, the Arab League, and Iran.

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## 15.11 UNIT END QUESTIONS

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**Q.1 Write an essay on Foreign Policy of India.**

**Q.2 How the Cold War affected the India's foreign policy with USA?**

- Q.3 What were the main objectives of India's foreign policy with the African nations?**
- Q.4 What was relationship between Third World nations and Non-Alignment movement?**
- Q.5 How will you explain India's foreign policy with USSR?**
- Q.6 What was role of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in making of Non-Alignment movement?**
- Q.7 Which were the major philosophers in founding of Commonwealth Nations?**
- Q.8 Who were the main policy of Panchsheel in India's foreign policy?**
- Q.9 How the philosophy of 'Panchsheel' traced the progress of Indo-Chinese relations?**

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